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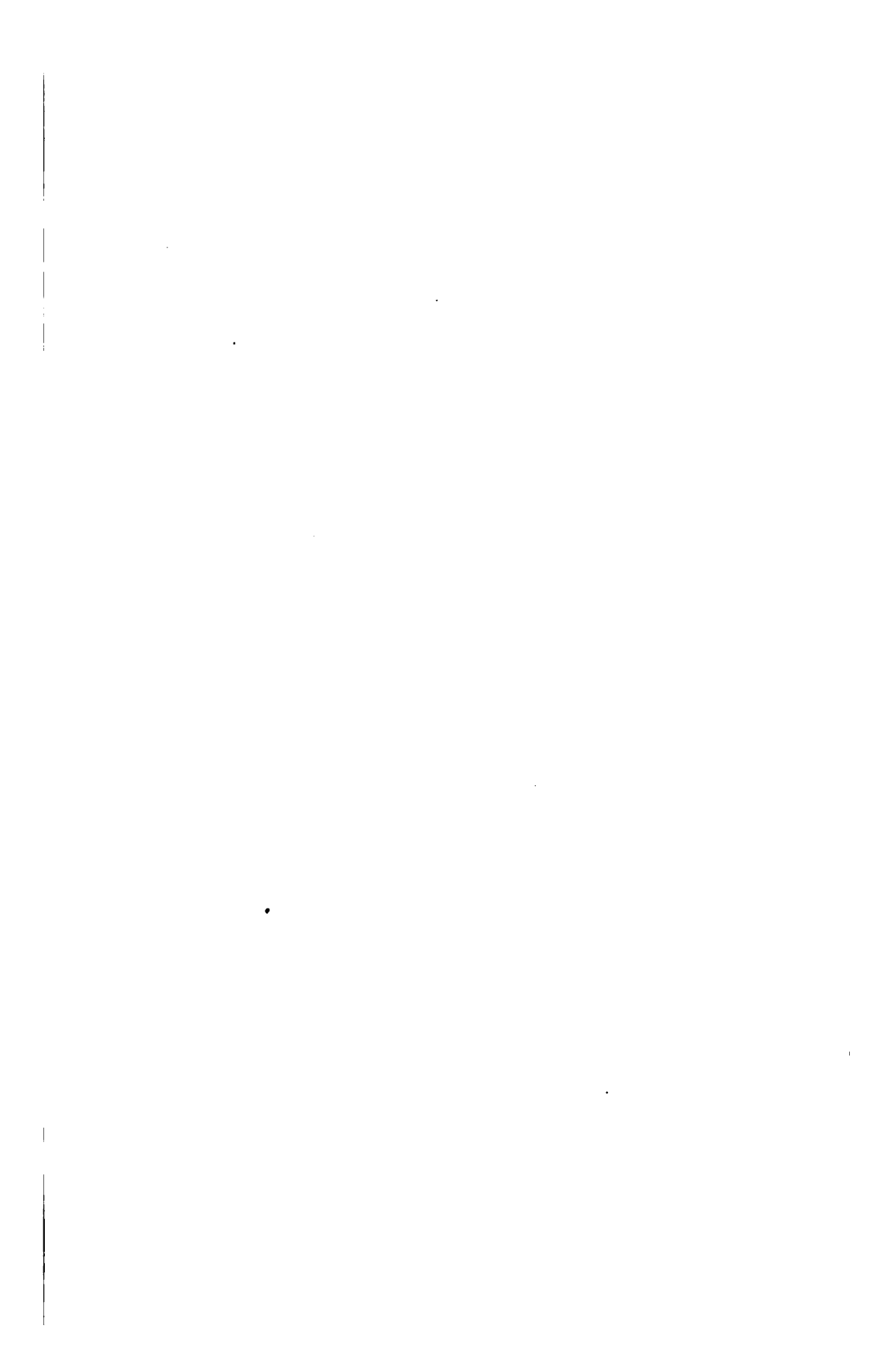
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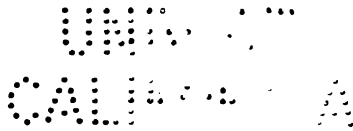
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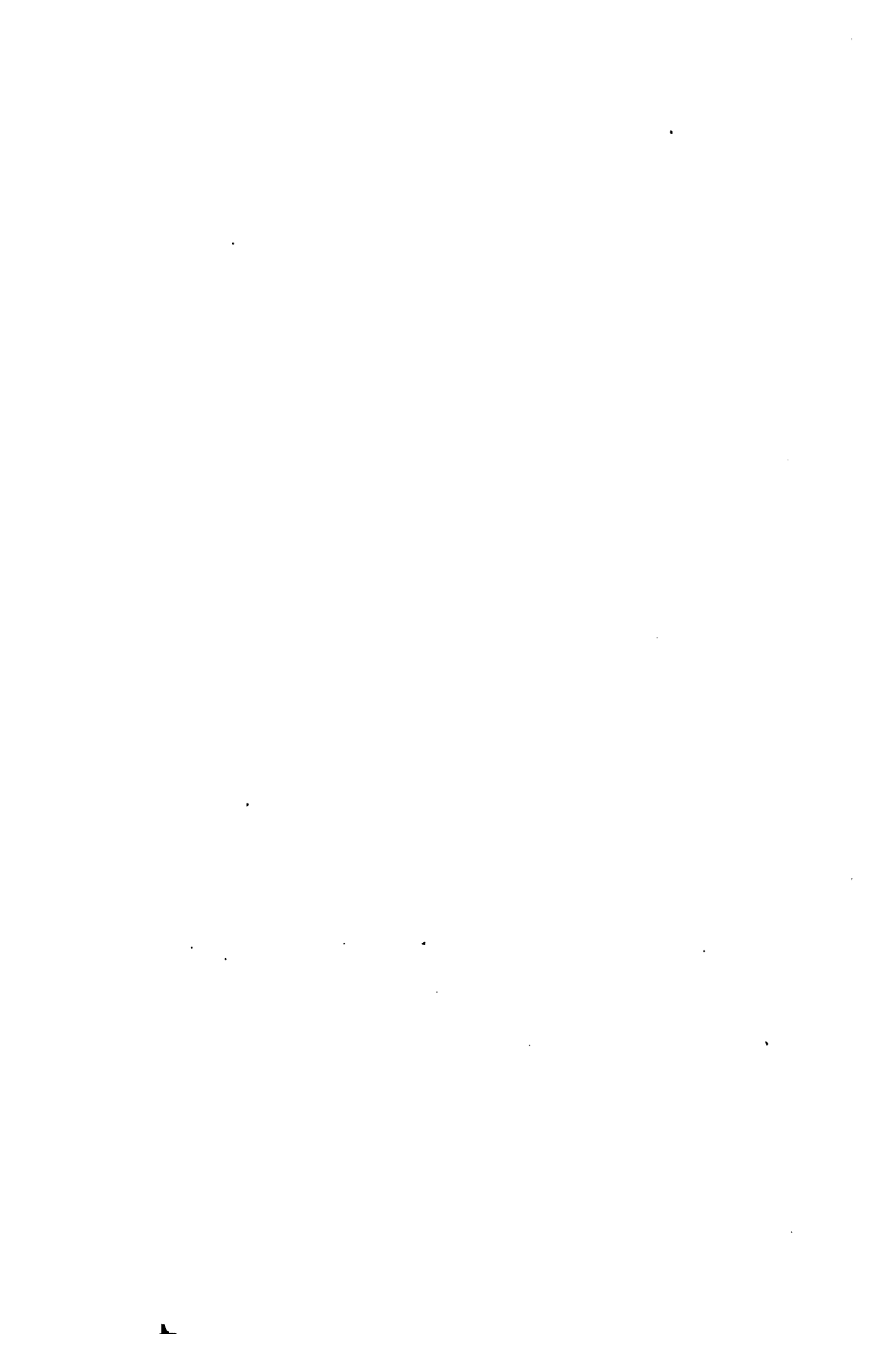
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JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

THE INDIAN FIGHTER AT PIGWACKET



MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS.

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN, THE INDIAN
FIGHTER AT PIGWACKET.

BY GEORGE W. CHAMBERLAIN.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, March 11, 1897.

SEVERAL historical writers in the vicinity of Boston have given to the public, during the years 1895 and 1896, long discussions relative to the part performed by John Chamberlain, of Groton, while under the command of Capt. John Lovewell in the Pigwacket fight of 1725.

It is the purpose of this paper to give a summary of the life of this man in general, and of his part at the Pigwacket fight in particular.

Born in the town of Chelmsford, March 29, 1692, he was the eldest child of Thomas and Elizabeth (Hall) Chamberlain, who lived first in Chelmsford, but later in Groton. His life had its beginning in the earlier half of the Indian war period of New England (1675-1725).

His grandfather, Thomas Chamberlain of Chelmsford, who was both senior and junior, was a soldier in King Philip's war, being stationed at the frontier garrison in Groton on November 30, 1675. He was probably the Thomas Chamberlain who served in Syll's Company and also in Poole's Company in 1676. Thomas, the father, and Thomas, the grandfather,

were both stationed at the garrison in Chelmsford on

March 16, 1691-92.

In 1697, when John Chamberlain had reached the age of five, he first listened to the story of the capture of Hannah Dustin at Haverhill, less than twenty-five miles from his home. At the fireside he often heard rehearsed her heroic bravery in scalping her captors on the island at Penacook. In 1703, he was thrilled by news of the massacre of the Rev. Thomas Weld, the first minister of old Dunstable, within ten miles of his own home.

In 1704, in the same year that the fearful slaughter at Deerfield occurred, the Indians carried their guerilla warfare into Groton, where they killed one or two men in the northwesterly part of the town. On May 8, 1706, at a town meeting held in Groton, "Thay ded by uot [vote] declare they would and doe desire Thomas Chamberill [lain's] mill may bee uphelde by a solgar or solgars for the good of the town." Therefore, John Chamberlain was cradled and reared in the midst of Indian warfare and vigilant defense.

Of his education nothing is known except that his signature to a petition to the judge of probate for Middlesex County was plainly written. It was probably as good as that of the average man of that time.

Thomas Chamberlain, the father, removed from Chelmsford to Groton before March 10, 1699. He was a wheelwright, and on the last-mentioned date bought of John Codey, Sr., fifty acres of land at "Baddacook" by "Brown Loafe Brooke," near

“Cow-pond Medow” in Groton. The inventory of his estate was taken March 30, 1710. On the preceding day John Heald of Concord was appointed guardian to “John, son of Thomas Chamberlain, late of Groton, a minor in ye 18th yeare of his age.” In 1713, John Chamberlain reached his majority, and on June 30 of that year the estate of his father was settled. Abigail, the widow (who was the second wife), received her dower. John received “two-thirds of the mill, housing, stream, and lands in Groton,” conditional upon his paying the other ten children £2, 17s., 6½d. each. Here at a place called “Baddacook,” a little southeast of the center of old Groton, John Chamberlain lived from 1699 to 1729.

On September 4, 1724, Thomas Blanchard and Nathan Cross, both of old Dunstable, were captured within the limits of the city of Nashua, New Hampshire, by a band of Indians, who carried them captives into Canada. A small party of Dunstable men pursuing the Indians some distance up the Merrimac valley, the entire party was killed excepting Josiah Farwell. For this reason John Lovewell, Josiah Farwell and Jonathan Robbins, all of Dunstable, petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts for leave to raise a company “to keep out in the woods for several months together in order to kill and destroy their enemy Indians.” Their petition was granted November 17, 1724, and they were promised for each male scalp brought in one hundred pounds, which, according to Kidder, was equivalent to one hundred and thirty-six dollars.

John Lovewell, a son of John Lovewell (who by some authorities is said to have been first of Weymouth), a native of old Dunstable, was commissioned captain, and conducted three expeditions northward in quick succession. John Chamberlain, however, is not named in the list of the sixty-two men of the second expedition; but all agree that he was one of the forty-six men who started on the third expedition, and that he was one of the thirty-three who met and resisted more than twice their number of Indians on the north shore of what is now Lovewell's pond in the town of Fryeburg, Maine, on May 8, 1725, O. S.

Four accounts of this fight were published within one and one-half years of its occurrence. The first and second, published on the seventeenth and twenty-fourth of May, 1725, in *The Boston News-Letter* and *The New-England Courant* respectively, make no mention of Paugus, the chief of the Pigwacket tribe, nor of any of the surviving English except Ensign Seth Wyman, who took command on the death of Capt. Lovewell, Lieut. Farwell and Ensign Robbins, near the beginning of the engagement. Wyman had returned to Boston and been granted a captain's commission by the lieutenant-governor, William Dummer, before May 24, 1725. *The New-England Courant* of that date states that "His Honour the Lieut.-Governour has been pleased to grant a Captain's Commission to Lieut. Wyman who distinguished himself with great courage and conduct during the whole engagement." The other accounts were written by the Rev. Thomas Symmes of Bradford, Massachusetts, and by

Judge Samuel Penhallow of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Each of these accounts is invaluable; both say that Paugus, the chief of the Pigwacket tribe, was killed during the action, but neither states by whom the deed was done.

If John Chamberlain killed the old chief, the evidence of such fact rests entirely upon widely disseminated traditions. If Ensign Seth Wyman performed the act resulting in the death of that "vile and bloody wretch," as Penhallow calls the chief, the evidence for such conclusion is found in an anonymous ballad of uncertain age and veracity; and I am asked to choose between Scylla and Charybdis.

The Chamberlain-Paugus tradition was first published at Fryeburg, Maine, in the year 1799, by Elijah Russell in his edition of Rev. Thomas Symmes' "Memoirs of the Fight at Piggwacket." It runs as follows:—

Several of the Indians, particularly Paugus their chief, were well known to Lovewell's men, and frequently conversed with each other during the engagement. In the course of the battle Paugus and John Chamberlain discoursed familiarly with each other; their guns had become foul from frequent firing; they washed their guns at the pond, and the latter assured Paugus that he should kill him; Paugus also menaced him, and bid defiance to his insinuations. When they had prepared their guns they loaded and discharged them, and Paugus fell.

This story was printed seventy-four years after the battle occurred, and one year after Noah Johnson, the last survivor of the battle, had died. Was this story a fabrication invented by Elijah Russell? Did

it exist before 1799 in other parts of New England?
Does it contain any of the elements of truth?

In 1846, the Rev. Stephen Thompson Allen delivered an historical address at the centennial anniversary of the town of Merrimack, New Hampshire. In that address, which has the appearance of being truthful and scholarly, he alludes to one of the early settlers of that town, a man whom I have traced in the state and provincial papers of New Hampshire as a provincial representative of Merrimack from 1756 to 1775 inclusive. That man was Capt. John Chamberlain, who erected the first mills at "Souhegan Falls" in 1734. He was a large land owner at "Souhegan Falls," "Naticook," "Benton's Farm," and "Narraganset Township No. 5."

In his address Mr. Allen says:—

"It is by many supposed that this Chamberlain is the same that killed Paugus, the Indian chief in Lovewell's fight. But such is not the fact. They were cousins, and from a descendant of the family I learn that to distinguish them from each other, one was called "Paugus John" and the other "Souhegan John."

Continuing, Mr. Allen says:—

Souhegan John Chamberlain married [Hannah] a daughter of Lieut. [Josiah] Farwell, who died of wounds received in Lovewell's fight. Souhegan John Chamberlain lived until the year 1792.

Mr. Allen learned these facts of a descendant of Souhegan John, and published them within fifty-two years of his death. If they are true they show what? That Paugus John Chamberlain was so called during his lifetime. Is it reasonable to suppose that the name "Paugus" should have been affixed after the

year 1799 to John Chamberlain, who had then been dead forty-four years? If it was not affixed after 1799, but was an appellation of his lifetime, it could not have had its origin in Elijah Russell, but must have originated from some other source.

But Souhegan John Chamberlain's wife Hannah was the daughter of Lieut. Josiah and Hannah (Lovewell) Farwell. Her father was killed in the Pigwacket fight, as also was her uncle, her mother's brother, the intrepid Capt. John Lovewell. May we not believe that this woman frequently heard the incidents of the battle related by those who were eye witnesses, and may we not suppose that she had more than a passing interest in every particular, especially as her father and her uncle both fell on the battlefield? May we not also suppose that she knew that Paugus John Chamberlain was so called because he shot Paugus?

In 1890, I found a tradition in the Chamberlain family concerning the origin of that family in America. It was told by one Jacob Chamberlain of Chelsea to his wife before 1735. About 1777 she related it to her grandson, Gen. William Chamberlain of Peacham, Vermont, once a lieutenant-governor of that state. He wrote it down in 1820. After six years of research on the earlier families of the name, I am prepared to say that that tradition contains some of the elements of truth, but is not literally true. A correspondence and acquaintance with other genealogists have brought to my attention other family traditions, not true in letter, but resting on the foundation of more or less of truth. From these facts I am led to believe that

traditions of long standing contain some of the elements of truth.

The story of John Chamberlain would seem to have come to us from other sources. Caleb Butler, a native of Pelham, New Hampshire, a graduate of Dartmouth College in 1800, and a tutor there in 1801, removed to Groton in 1802. After many years of research he published his history of Groton in 1848. On page 104 he gives the story of John Chamberlain and Paugus, mentioning in a foot-note his authorities. As the story is somewhat different from Russell's, I give it in Butler's words: —

Some time in the day the gun of John Chamberlain, of Groton, becoming foul by continued firing, he undertook to wash and cleanse it at the pond. While in this act, he espied Paugus, whom he personally knew, performing the same process upon his gun at a small distance. A challenge was immediately given and accepted, each confiding in his own dexterity, and predicting the speedy fall of his antagonist. Chamberlain, trusting to the priming of his gun by a thump on the ground, had time to take deliberate aim, while Paugus was priming from his horn. Chamberlain's ball reached Paugus' heart just as he was in the act of firing. His ball passed over Chamberlain's head.

Notice how Butler continues: —

After this event there was a short respite. The Indians withdrew. Ensign Wyman and Chamberlain crept unperceived after them, and found them formed in a circle around one in the center, whom they were qualifying, it was supposed, for a chief instead of the deceased Paugus. Wyman fired and killed this intended chief. Then both hastened back to their fellows at the pond.

Compare the above paragraph with one sentence of *The New England Courant*, of May 24, 1725, already

referred to. It reads: "About two hours before night the Indians drew off, and presently came on again." One cannot help thinking that Butler's relation contains some truth.

As to authorities, his foot-note states that the general account of the fight was taken from printed sources, and some of the incidents were from the lips of the wife of Josiah Johnson, one of the men. In the same connection he writes that this woman was thirteen years old when the battle was fought, that she lived in Woburn, where Johnson belonged, and afterwards married him. "In the latter part of her life," continues Butler, "she lived in my father's family [at Pelham], often told the story, and always told it alike, agreeing with the printed account in general and adding some particulars." From Butler's statement as to how he obtained the list of Lovewell's men, it is inferred that he never saw Russell's edition of Symmes' "Memoirs."

It seems to me that we are warranted in concluding that this story was not a fabrication invented by Elijah Russell, a newspaper editor of uncertain character. If we accept Butler, may we not see that the part performed by Seth Wyman and the part performed by John Chamberlain would, in the absence of positive statements, end in confusion.

In 1824, ninety-nine years after the battle, and twenty-five years after the Chamberlain-Paugus story had first been published in the Russell edition of Symmes' "Memoirs of the Fight," Farmer and Moore published at Concord, New Hampshire, in the third

volume of their "Historical Collections" a ballad entitled "The Song of Lovewell's Fight." It is here stated that Seth Wyman "shot the old chief Paugus which did the foe defeat." In their introductory note the editors affirm that the author of the ballad is unknown, that it is about one hundred years old, and that it was sung throughout a considerable portion of New Hampshire and Massachusetts for many years.

If Wyman shot Paugus, and everybody throughout New Hampshire and Massachusetts sang this ballad for many years, why did not the old people ascribe to Wyman this fact? Why did Wyman's neighbors accord that act — not to their own townsman who had received praises from the newspapers and a captain's commission from the Commonwealth — but to John Chamberlain, a private? Why did not Sarah Wyman, the widow of Seth Wyman, in her petition to the Great and General Court in 1726, in giving the particulars of her husband's military record, incidentally refer to his Paugus combat if the ballad story were true?

As early as 1865, Frederic Kidder in his "Expeditions of Capt. John Lovewell," asserted that the ballad is true, and that not John Chamberlain but another slew Paugus. In his sketch of John Chamberlain he gives these facts. Why did he not in his biographical sketch of Seth Wyman accord to him the honor which he denied to Chamberlain? Did it seem to Mr. Kidder that the ballad, which he would have his readers believe is the "very best authority," is strong enough for a destructive argument against the Chamberlain-Paugus story; but that it was not of sufficient

strength for a constructive argument for his Wyman-Paugus theory? Consistency seems to require that Wyman should have had not only a widely-extended tradition among the common people of such fact, but that his biography should also have contained such a statement. The New England-Courant of September 11, 1725, gives ten lines on the death of Wyman. Why did it not refer to the killing of Paugus, if by that Wyman did defeat the foe?

When it is remembered that a great poet, a renowned professor in the most learned university in America, in writing what has become classic, places Priscilla, the wife of John Alden, for her wedding tour upon a "snow-white bull" before a single bovine animal had been brought to the Plymouth Colony, the immortal Longfellow cannot be excepted in stating that poetry, however beautiful, is not historic truth.

What value, then, shall we place upon a single statement of an anonymous ballad first published ninety-nine years after the battle it describes occurred? One statement of the ballad is contrary to all contemporary accounts, viz., that by the death of Paugus the foe was defeated. Since this ballad is untruthful on one fact, may we not consider it untrustworthy on every fact not corroborated by the narrations of that time.

But Mr. Kidder prejudices his own argument by saying that "we trust that the story of [Chamberlain and Paugus] will not again be republished as historical truth." In the absence of documentary evidence reason dictates that circumstantial and traditional evidence is suggestive and to some extent reliable.

John Chamberlain has such evidence. Seth Wyman was accorded by Symmes the honor of killing the chief of the powow during the respite, as Butler relates. Is it likely that he shot both Paugus and the new red chief, and that Symmes should have accorded him the less important service without ascribing to him the more important act in the battle?

It is not claimed, however, that the other traditions relating to Chamberlain and the son of Paugus, and growing out of this one, are true; but the bottom fact that John Chamberlain shot the old chief Paugus on the shore of Lovewell's Pond, on that memorable May 8, 1725, must, in my opinion, await a more critical investigation before the honor can be consistently denied him.

After the Pigwacket fight John Chamberlain, although reported by Symmes as wounded during the action, returned to his farm and corn-mill — the Chamberlain homestead — at Baddacook, in Groton. On May 31, 1727, the township of Suncook (now Pembroke, New Hampshire), on the Merrimac River, was granted by Massachusetts to sixty grantees who served in Lovewell's expeditions. John Chamberlain was one of the grantees, and on April 12, 1729, he sold all his right and title to said lands to Joseph Gilson, of Groton, for twenty pounds and ten shillings, equivalent then to the paltry sum of twenty-seven dollars and eighty-eight cents. His deed to Gilson recorded at Middlesex Registry, Liber 30, page 106, mentions that the tract of land described was recently granted "to the Officers and Soldiers lately in the service of the

Province under the command of Capt. John Lovewell, deceased, and others, in an expedition to Pigwacket against the Indian enemy, and which shall hereafter accrew and fall to me as one of the soldiers under said Capt. Lovewell."

On the fifth of January of the same year, 1729, he sold the Baddacook homestead to Samuel Woods, Sr., of Groton, and on February 19, 1730, he bought another farm of James Lakin, at a place called the "Four Acres" in Groton. Dr. Samuel A. Green, who is authority on the history of Groton, is unable to identify this place. He lived here until April 20, 1741, when he deeded this farm at the "Four Acres" to Samuel Chamberlain, of Chelmsford, a gentleman.

In the meantime his wife's father, Thomas Woods, of Groton, had died and there was trouble in settling the Wood's estate. On September 8, 1740, John Chamberlain and Amos Woods, two of the heirs, petitioned the Judge of Probate for Middlesex, to have Samuel Chamberlain, of Chelmsford, a gentleman, appointed administrator. A lawsuit followed. On August 20, 1741, his wife Abigail, sold to this same Samuel Chamberlain, of Chelmsford, and Josiah Sartel, of Groton, her share in her father's estate, situated on the north side of Brown Loaf Hill. This Samuel Chamberlain, called captain, was, I conjecture, an uncle to Paugus John and the father of Souhegan John, and should be distinguished from Samuel Chamberlain, of Westford, called Lieutenant, a contemporary.

However, John Chamberlain probably owned no real estate after 1741. In June, 1742, his name appears

among the inhabitants and residents of the northerly part of Groton (now Pepperell), on a petition to Governor William Shirley.

Of his family I will give but little. On October 13, 1713, the year he reached his majority, he married Abigail, daughter of Thomas and Abigail Woods, of Groton. To them were born four daughters and two sons, John Jr., and Thomas. On December 9, 1895, there was living at Rhoades, Iowa, Mr. A. E. Chamberlain, who writes that he is a great-grandson of Paugus John. In his letter, now in my possession, he states that he is the possessor of a part of the gun that his great-grandfather, John Chamberlain, took from the old chief Paugus after killing him, as tradition states. He also says that the stock was once very handsome, being worked with beads. The stock was broken by his grandfather in a fight with a bear on Lyndeborough Mountain in New Hampshire, which necessitated putting on a new stock. This is his claim. Judge of its value.

On March 31, 1756, Jeremiah Lawrence, then of the district of Pepperell, a son-in-law, was appointed "administrator of the estate of John Chamberlain, late of Groton, Husbandman." The last resting-place of this man is unknown; but his service rendered at Pig-wacket outlives the skepticism of the ages.

SOME LETTERS OF RICHARD CUTTS.

BY REV. HENRY S. BURRAGE, D. D.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, March 11, 1897.

A PACKAGE of letters written by Richard Cutts of Saco, for the most part during his congressional career, was placed in my hands a few weeks ago by Mr. Benjamin N. Goodale of Saco, whose wife is a great niece of Mr. Cutts. By his permission copies of these letters have been made, and I have the privilege of presenting them to the Society with such notes as the matters referred to in the letters have suggested.

I take this opportunity to correct a few errors in my paper, Collections and Proceedings, Maine Historical Society, January, 1897. Anna Payne, the wife of Richard Cutts, died in Washington, August 4, 1832, and not August 14. Mr. Goodale writes: "I find this in a letter written by Richard Cutts, dated and postmarked 'Washington, August 6.'"

Col. Thomas Cutts, or "Thomas Cutt" as he signed his name then, came to Saco from Kittery probably in 1757. Mr. Goodale writes:—

I have papers that show that December 24, 1756, he was still a clerk of Sir William Pepperrell, and also that January 23, 1758, he was doing business in Biddeford. What is now Saco was incorporated by Massachusetts as Pepperrellboro, June 8, 1762; so he was living here several years before the change of name.

I was in error, therefore, in saying that when Thomas Cutts came from Kittery to Saco the place was known as Pepperrellboro.

I am also informed by Mr. Goodale that Col. Cutts' father, Richard Cutts of Kittery, known as "Major," "Honorable," and "Deacon," died there November 14, 1767.

Hon. Richard Cutts Shannon, member of Congress from New York City, is not a descendant of Robert Cutts of Kittery, but of Richard Cutts of Strawberry Bank (Portsmouth), a brother of Robert.

Concerning the location of Richard Cutts' house in Saco, Hon. Edward P. Burnham of that place writes to me as follows : —

The Richard Cutts house on Indian Island, Saco, on the main street to Biddeford, stood about fifty feet back from the street, was three stories and built of wood. It is now on the northerly side of Alfred Street in Biddeford, to which location it was removed in 1849, and is still in use. There was an eminence or hill where the house stood before its removal. This required quite a number of steps, not continuous, but first steps, then a level space, second, steps, then a level space, until the porch was reached. Richard's brother, Dominicus, occupied the house after Richard gave up his residence in Saco. I saw three men to-day [March 2, 1897] who remembered the house and its location. One was born in 1814, another in 1816, and the third is younger. The house stood just a little west of the westerly end of our Savings Institution Block, as nearly as they remembered. My wife was in the house about 1839, and remembers the steps and general situation. There was an open space on that side of the street. The island has been called Cutts' Island, also Factory Island.

In the preparation of my paper on Richard Cutts, I inferred from the obituary notice of Mr. Cutts by John Quincy Adams that Mr. Cutts visited Europe, after his graduation from Harvard, for the purpose of travel and "experimental instruction." His written

orders, however, in his father's handwriting, dated January 6, 1796, and placed in my hands by Mr. Goodale, show that Richard Cutts went abroad as captain of one of his father's ships. His stay in Europe, of course, may have given him an opportunity to see a little of the Old World. The Cutts papers in Mr. Goodale's possession make it evident that Richard Cutts made at least two voyages across the Atlantic, one in 1796 and one in 1797.

The following are the Richard Cutts letters placed in my hands by Mr. Goodale:—

Charleston, March 23; 1796.

Hon^d Sir:—I am now loaded and waiting for a wind to proceed to sea. My freight and primage amount to about fourteen hundred pounds sterling. I shall make no voyage unless some favorable circumstance should offer in Europe. By charter party I am bound first to Cowes and then to one port between Cadiz and Copenhagen. However, I fancy I shall be the sport of the strongest party. I intended to forward on my account current here, but have had no opportunity as yet to draw it off not having completed my disbursements before to-day, by which you will perceive the great error in not fitting ye ship completely before she came away. Articles that I might have been supplied with at home have cost me three hundred per cent. more here. If ever you should send a vessel to Charleston let her be completely fitted, for I might almost say there is a general combination here to swindle strangers. Their extravagance must be supported by extravagant prices. Capt. Hartly has come to ye determination to go to Savannah and load with lumber for Liverpool in consequence of which he has taken 3,000 dollars of Capt. Salter of Portsmouth and drawn on you to that amount. Capt. Salter would not accept the bills without two endorsers which were myself and Mr. Winthrop. Capt. Sutherland is ballasted and bound to Savannah. I hear Capt. Moulton has arrived in Jamaica. No news of Thomas. Isaac Murch ran away from the ship on ye

20th inst., and I can gain no intelligence of him. I have shipped a man in his room at twenty-three dollar per month. On my arrival in Europe I shall embrace the first opportunity of advising you. I am wishing you health and peace.

From your obedient son,
Richard Cutts.

N. B. John Nason being here, and as he then informed me bound to London, requested me to take 120 dollars, and give him an order to receive the money when he returns next fall, which I hope you will accept and place to account of ship Mercury.

To Thomas Cutts, Pepperrellborough.

Charleston, South Carolina, April 14th, 1797.

Hon. Sir:—This will advise you that I am loading as fast as an invalid crew will admit of, and hope in the course of ten days to be ready for sea; but what will be my fate time must bring forth as there are many piratical French cruisers off this port. You must not expect that I can know much of the situation of affairs in this city. Each one tells a different story. All the shipping in port are fitting out as fast as possible to English as well as other ports, and as I think the ships will make a good freight I am doing the same. Being bound to a neutral port I hope they will let me pass. I must request you to make some insurance for me to what amount you think best. Consider that my little all is at stake in these dangerous times and that I should not be willing to return poor and proud. I hope the voyage will afford some insurance. If my rice [rise] on cargo pays as good a freight as the freighters, which I cannot doubt of, I expect to make about nine thousand dollars freight to Hamburg, should the ship stow as she ought. I have drawn two bills on you, one payable in Boston by Jenks for six hundred dollars, the other in Pepperillborough for six hundred and fifty dollars; my people are almost well of the small pox.

From your dutiful son,
Richard Cutts.

To Thomas Cutts, Sr.

Off Charleston Bar, May 7, 1797.

Hon. Sir:—After having been detained since the first inst. I am happy to inform you that the Mercury is once more clear of Charleston Bar, tolerably well loaded and every way fitted for sea that I know of. I think it probable that I shall proceed to Hamburg north about, as I expect to avoid cruisers more that way than up channel and possibly may be no detention of my passage. We are all well and in good spirits to proceed the voyage.

From your dutiful son,

Richard Cutts.

To Thomas Cutts, Sr., Pepperilborough.

Hamburg, Sept. 5, 1797.

Hon. Sir:—This will inform you that I have been detained several days for a fair wind which I hope to be favored with soon. I have purchased about twenty-six tons Russia Hemp, four hundred boxes window glass, glass ware, looking glasses some Geneva glass, etc., and determined at present to proceed directly for Boston. Our critical situation with France renders it impossible to get freights here, and produce is so high I expect that it will not pay any freight home. However, I have expended all my money for such articles as the best information here affords. I hope not to have such a passage as I had out. This goes by the Success of Gloucester, who sails in company with me. I leave it to you to make such insurance as you please. The officers here do not incline to insure on American property; however I do not expect there is so much difficulty as they make of it.

From your obedient son,

Richard Cutts.

To Thomas Cutts, Esq.

Boston, Nov. 16, 1800.

Dear Brother:—Yesterday the Legislature¹ closed their extra session. You have undoubtedly seen by the papers who the electors

¹ Mr. Cutts was a member of the Legislature of Massachusetts at this time.

are. It is hoped and expected they will not all vote for General Pinckney.¹ The Federalists carried everything before them. Now for business. There has not arrived any of our coasters yet, which I am very glad of as it will give me an opportunity to attend to your memorandum before they come. My rum was sold before I came in town at 117 cts. cash since which it has fallen to 110 & dull. I think, if you have not shipped yours, December will do better. Coffee is said to be quick at 26cts. Brandy from 7 to 7/6 No arrivals from the West Indies lately. Yesterday Capt. Little arrived here with a French prize ship mounting twenty-two brass nines and two twelves and belonging to Victor Hughs from Cyanne. Had taken two American Indiamen before she fell in with Capt. Little who had seven men killed in the engagement, so report says.

From yours affectionately,

Richard Cutts.

Washington City, Dec. 6, 1801.

Dear Brother :—It is with pleasure that I am able to date my letter from this place having come in last evening well and with a whole skin, not much fatigued with my journey which was a dangerous one. Nothing extraordinary happened except the breaking, running away and oversetting the stage, in a very dangerous place going down a steep hill with eight passengers. Fortunately I escaped without injuring even my clothes, and was the first that was disentangled from the wreck to pity and assist my companions who were lamenting broken legs, arms, noses, etc., but having a skillful physician with us the wounds were examined and found to be nothing but flesh wounds, being frightened with ye blood. The carriage was broken to pieces. We cleared ye wreck and mounted again without top or bottom to our carriage, the floor being gone. I have had ye pleasure of being introduced to the President² yesterday fore-

¹ Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, who in 1800 was an unsuccessful candidate for vice-president of the United States, receiving with John Adams the votes of the Federal party.

² Thomas Jefferson, who became president, March 4, 1801. Jefferson and Aaron Burr received an equal number of electoral votes, and the decision devolved upon the House of Representatives. Mr. Jefferson was elected on the thirty-sixth ballot, and Burr became vice-president.

noon and received an invitation to dine with him tomorrow, when I shall observe every motion and give you my sentiments on ye subject.¹

From your affectionate brother,
Richard Cutts.

Washington, Dec. 19th, 1801.

Hon. Sir: — Enclosed is the President's communication² to Congress. I sent one copy on the 1st inst. This I could wish preserved and shall continue to forward the documents accompanying the communications as they are printed, by which you'll perceive the grounds on which the President's communications are founded. The public papers have undoubtedly given you the strength of the Republican party in Congress. In the Senate when all are present they stand 18 to 14, in the House of Representatives, 69 to 86. The President in his communication has given us flattering prospects respecting the competency of the Revenue to the support of Government without the aid of the internal taxes. As peace has taken place and we know not how the revenue may be effected, many doubt the propriety of taking off all the internal taxes. I think you may calculate upon a repeal of the Judiciary Act passed last session and the Stamp act. The Senate have this day confirmed the ratification of the French Treaty.³ The Supreme Court yesterday issued their anathemas against the Secretary of State⁴ to summon him before their holinesses. I presume it is the expiring groan of Federalism and that the Secretary will not notice their conduct. I expect the Secretary of the Treasury⁵ will make his report on Monday next and

¹ The Seventh Congress, in which Mr. Cutts took his seat as a representative from Massachusetts (the district of Maine), opened December 7, 1801, the day after this letter was written.

² Messages and Papers of the Presidents, Vol. I, p. 396.

³ Dec. 11, 1801, the President sent to the Senate this special message: "Early in the last month I received the ratification by the First Consul of France of the convention between the United States and that nation. His ratification not being pure and simple in the ordinary form, I have thought it my duty, in order to avoid all misconception, to ask a second advice and consent of the Senate before I give it the last sanction by proclaiming it to be the law of the land.

⁴ James Madison, who held this position during the eight years of Jefferson's administration.

⁵ Albert Gallatin, who was appointed to this office by Jefferson, May 15, 1801.

no doubt will be interesting papers which I will forward you when laid upon my table.

From your dutiful son,

Richard Cutts.

Thomas Cutts, Esq., Pepperrillborough.

Washington, Jan. 14th, 1802.

Sir: — Enclosed is a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury exhibiting a statement of the duties and draw backs on goods imported and exported.

The Senate have not yet determined upon the expediency of repealing the Judiciary System, but I believe that they have every man determined on the vote they will give and that it will be repealed by a majority of four or five. Whenever a decision takes place I will inform you. It will pass in the House by a great majority.

I am your dutiful son,

Richard Cutts.

Thomas Cutts, Esq., Pepperrillborough.

Washington, March 23, 1802.

Sir: — Yesterday a bill to repeal the Internal Taxes, passed the House of Representatives, sixty-two votes to twenty-four, a very handsome majority on so very important a subject. The House are now occupied on a bill “making an appropriation for defraying the expenses which may arise from carrying into effect the convention made between the United States and the French Republic.”

A settlement has been effected with the British Government. The amount due to the British Government and for carrying into effect the French Treaty is about three millions of dollars. The payment of this sum does not interfere with the repeal of the Internal taxes or extinguishment of the public debt as calculated by the Secretary of the Treasury. The money is now in the Treasury and has been calculated for this purpose. I observe in the papers a schooner from

Saco cast away on Cape Cod. None of my friends has been good enough to inform me what vessel it is.

I am your dutiful son,
Richard Cutts.

Thomas Cutts, Esq.

Washington, Dec. 13th, 1802.

Hon. Sir:—I arrived in this City last evening after a pleasant journey, and found my friends all well.

I called on Mr. Sukamp of Baltimore respecting the Ship Mercury. She has not arrived yet but is expected every day. Should she arrive safe, the owners have agreed to give five hundred dollars for the necessary papers to enable them to get a register. I expect to receive the papers to-morrow and shall forward them to you immediately. Congress have not done any business of consequence yet. The Senate did not form a quorum until this day, and upon the choice of a Vice-president were equally divided nine & nine and have adjourned without making a choice. Since the adjournment Mr. Breckinridge has come in which will give the Republicans a majority.¹ It is possible we shall have the President's message to-morrow. I will forward it for your gratification as I presume it will be highly gratifying to you, particularly when you are informed that the Revenue has exceeded Mr. Gallatin's calculations about one million of dollars, and that the Treasury contains about four millions of dollars after meeting all the appropriations of the last Session of Congress. I have just returned from the President's. He informed me the affair of New Orleans will probably be settled and finally advantageous to the United States.² The sale of the Bank shares has been extremely lucrative to the Government.

I am your dutiful son,
Richard Cutts.

P. S. I shall enclose the
news papers to Wm. Hooper.

¹This was the election of a vice-president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the vice-president. A choice was effected on the following day, when Stephen R. Bradley received the appointment.

²The reference is to the purchase of Louisiana, which had been ceded to France by Spain. Jefferson referred to the matter in his second annual message, December 15, 1802, and in a communication to the Senate, January 11, 1803. The territory was secured by the United States by instruments bearing date April 30, 1803, and at a cost of fifteen million dollars.

Washington, Dec. 25, 1802.

Dear Brother:—I fear the peace and harmony that was likely to prevail during this session will be disturbed by an unfortunate accident that happened yesterday. A dispute has existed for some length of time between C. Ellery and J. Rutledge, respecting the forged letter to the President. Mr. Rutledge challenged Mr. Ellery, who declined acceptance. Being absent on a friendly visit from the City about twenty miles, at a tavern on the road Mr. Rutledge way-laid Mr. Ellery and gave him a severe caning. It is probable the whole matter of the forged letters will be laid before Congress.¹

I am your affectionate brother,

Richard Cutts.

Washington, Nov. 28, 1804.

Hon. Sir:—I informed Foxwell² of our safe arrival in this City about ten days past, requesting him to mention same to you. I congratulate you upon the complete success of Republicanism in Massachusetts. No event could have given more satisfaction. By this circumstance all geographical distinction of politics is done away. It is not now New England against the Southern states, but a combination of the whole. Federalism is nowhere triumphant. You cannot fully appreciate this event. As it respects our foreign connections, it is of the utmost importance. It shows to the whole

¹ C. Ellery was Christopher Ellery, a nephew of William Ellery, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. He was United States senator from Rhode Island from December 7, 1801, to March 3, 1805. J. Rutledge was John Rutledge of Charleston, South Carolina, who served as a member of the National House of Representatives from May 15, 1797, to March 3, 1803. According to a statement in *Jenk's Portland Gazette* for January 17, 1803, it appears that the forged letters to which Mr. Cutts refers were letters signed by one Geoffrey in imitation of the handwriting of Mr. Rutledge. The letters were sent to Mr. Jefferson, and one of them he answered. Mr. Ellery published the letters as Mr. Rutledge's. Mr. Rutledge denied under oath any knowledge of the letters, and publicly declared his intention of demanding "such satisfaction of Ellery as gentlemen usually give in similar cases." During the Christmas holidays Mr. Ellery was invited to spend a few days with Dr. Newman at Port Tobacco, and Mr. Campbell, who resided near Dr. Newman, invited Mr. Rutledge and Gen. Morris to his house. In passing through Port Tobacco, Mr. Rutledge sent Mr. Ellery a challenge. The latter declined, saying that he would not fight any man and that he chose to refer any difference he might have with Mr. Rutledge to the Senate of the United States. The incident to which Mr. Cutts refers occurred at an inn at Piscataquay, when Mr. Ellery was on his return to Washington. It was not brought to the attention of Congress.

² Mr. Cutts' brother.

world that we are a happy and united people, electing our chief Magistrate almost unanimously. England will no longer flatter herself with having a strong party in this Country. It will give energy to all our measures and command respect from all Nations.

The rejoicings on this occasion are general. Every Republican from Maine to Georgia is elated with the success in Massachusetts. Yesterday we had the pleasure of dining with the President, who is in high spirits, having the firm pillar of Massachusetts to support his administration.¹

The French Minister, Gen. Thuriot, arrived in this City a few days past. He has not been presented to the President yet, owing to his baggage not having arrived. Should he bring any information worth communicating, you shall be informed immediately, particularly respecting ye bills. All kinds of produce is extremely high in this quarter; Corn one dollar a bushel, Flour ten dollars, Hay thirty dollars, Tobacco 6 dollars. No freight or shipments in Alexandria.

We shall remain a few weeks with Mrs. Madison. Anna is well and sends her best love to Papa together with myself.

I am your dutiful Son,

Richard Cutts.

Washington, March 8, 1805.

Hon. Sir:—The Mediterranean pass¹ I have forwarded to Norfolk by Mr. Newton, a member of Congress, who has promised to see the bonds cancelled. I find by a conversation with the French Minister that he is entirely unacquainted with the mode of paying those bills, and the cause of the great discount. A Mr. Cazeau of Portsmouth, the French Consul, informs me that he has had many of those bills, which have been all paid. He thinks there must be something wrong in the transaction or they would have been paid before this. It is expected that Gen. Armstrong will commence arranging bills under the French Treaty immediately, if so you will

¹ At this election in Massachusetts the Federal ticket received 25,777 votes and the Democratic 29,810 votes.

² A license granted for the protection of vessels from the general operation of hostilities.

probably get the Bordeaux embargo money very soon. Notwithstanding the overtures for Peace by the Emperor it is generally believed that the war in Europe will continue, and most of the Powers in Europe will be engaged during the summer. If so shipping will be in great demand.

I am your affectionate Son,
Richard Cutts.

Thomas Cutts, Esq., Saco.

Philadelphia, Nov. 19, 1805.

Hon. Sir: — I have the pleasure to inform you of our arrival in this City after a very agreeable journey. Not the least accident has happened since we left Saco. We found Mrs. Madison here waiting for us to accompany her to Washington.

I observe by the papers that Mr. Skipwith has returned to Washington. I shall profit by this opportunity of impressing upon him the justice of our claim for the Plumper and inform you of same. I mentioned the circumstances of your claim to the French Minister who is in this City at present. Since we are informed that the claim is not ultimately decided, every exertion on my part will be used to ensure a favorable verdict by the Council of prizes. Should you wish to say anything to Mr. Skipwith on the subject of your other claims please to write me immediately.

Your dutiful son,
Richard Cutts.

Thomas Cutts, Esq.

Washington, Feb. 4, 1806.

Dear Brother: — Your long-expected favor of the 20th came to hand yesterday evening; its contents observed. If convenient I should like to know the amount of expense in fitting the ship out together with her cargo, and the amount you have drawn, or shall draw from Mr. Tucker, that I may make my calculations, for I have not relinquished that pleasure. Has a dividend been made upon the wharf earnings?

The Committee of Commerce & Manufactures have not yet been able to take up the petition for a Light house.¹ I have spoken to the most of them who appear favorable. Should the prayer obtain, I think it will raise the value of your possessions at the Pool.

We shall have hard work upon the motion of Mr. Gregg for non-importation. Mr. Randolph and several other Republicans will oppose the measure. However, I think it will obtain.²

Mr. Nye informs me that the underwriters in Boston would not write for more than a single passage. I don't believe Britain is going to declare war upon this Country in haste. She has too much at stake. Vienna stares her in the face, perhaps a continental peace and left alone to contend against France.

R. Cutts.

Washington, Feb. 25, 1808.

Hon. Sir:—Your frequent absence from Saco has prevented my writing to you, as often as duty and inclination dictated, particularly at this interesting moment, when the feelings of every American

¹ This was the lighthouse at Wood Island. The Committee of Commerce and Manufactures, Feb. 10, 1806, reported a bill to provide for a lighthouse on this island.

² On Wednesday, January 29, Mr. Gregg submitted the following:—

Whereas, Great Britain impresses citizens of the United States, and compels them to serve on board her ships of war, and also seizes and condemns vessels belonging to citizens of the United States, and their cargoes, being the *bona fide* property of American citizens, not contraband of war, and not proceeding to places besieged or blockaded, under the pretext of their being engaged in time of war in a trade with her enemies, which was not allowed in time of peace;

And whereas the government of the United States has repeatedly remonstrated to the British government against these injuries, and demanded satisfaction therefor, but without effect;

Therefore, Resolved, That until equitable and satisfactory arrangements on these points shall be made between the two governments, it is expedient that from and after the — day of — no goods, wares or merchandise, of the growth, product, or manufacture of Great Britain, or of any of the colonies or dependencies thereof, ought to be imported into the United States. *Provided, however*, that whenever arrangements deemed satisfactory by the President of the United States, shall take place, it shall be lawful for him, by proclamation, to fix a day on which the prohibition aforesaid shall cease.

The resolution was referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the union. Mr. Gregg withdrew his resolution March 17, after the adoption of a resolution by Mr. Nicholson for partial prohibition by a vote of 87 yeas to 85 nays. Mr. Nicholson's resolution was:—

Resolved, That from and after the — day of — next, the following articles, being of the growth or manufactures of Great Britain or Ireland, or of any of the colonies or dependencies of Great Britain, ought to be prohibited by law from being imported into the United States, or into the territories thereof, viz. —

All articles of which leather is the material of chief value; all articles of which tin or brass is the material of chief value, tin in sheet excepted; all articles of which hemp or flax is the material of chief value; all articles of which silk is the material of chief value; woolen cloths, whose invoice prices shall exceed —; woolen hosiery of all kinds; window glass, and all other manufactures of glass; silver and plated wares; paper of every description; nails and spikes; hats; clothing made ready; millinery of all kinds; playing cards; beer, ale and porter; and pictures and prints.

must be alive and anxious to know the state and probable result of the pending negotiations in this City. Who ever contemplates a favorable result I fear will be very much disappointed. The present British Ministry are not much in the habit of consulting honor, justice or good faith. Witness the affairs of Copenhagen and the consequent treatment to the Danes. I should not be surprised if it should appear that their object in sending an envoy to this Country¹ was to wear away the winter and to attack it in the Spring. If so their envoy to this Country was undoubtedly instructed to insist upon such haughty and insolent terms of accommodation, that the United States could and would not accept, without an abandonment of their independence and every principal of honor. But the times have changed. Russia has declared war against her. She is completely shut out from the Continent of Europe. America will not be duped by her intrigues, but has put her non-importation act in force and laid an embargo. Starvation begins already to stare them in the face. Britain must yield to justice. The Parliament meet on the 24 of Jan'y when a change of Ministry is expected. A report is in circulation but not believed of the death of the King. A great hue and cry has been raised against the administration, upon a false statement of their being determined to go to war against Great Britain, and to knuckle to France; it is not true. I believe that the administration have observed the greatest circumspection as a neutral in not giving offense to nor receiving injuries from either belligerent nations, without complaint. I trust that in proper time, when the proceedings of the administration and of the British Ministry come to be laid before the public, every American will be satisfied with the conduct of our Government and exasperated at the insolence of the British Ministry. From the wretched and depressed situation of Britain, peace is yet to be hoped for.

I am your dutiful son,

Richard Cutts.

Thomas Cutts.

¹ June 22, 1807, the frigate Chesapeake, leaving port, was attacked by the Leopard, a British war vessel of superior force, and several of the crew of the Chesapeake were killed and four taken away. The American minister in London was instructed by the president to call the attention of the British government to the outrage, and demand satisfaction. A special minister, Mr. Rose, was sent by the British government to this country, charged with the adjustment of the disturbed relations.

Washington, Nov. 7th, 1808.

Hon^d. Sir : — We arrived in this city on Friday last after a very pleasant journey & found all our Friends well. This day Congress have formed a quorum, sent a message to the President of the U. S. and received for answer that he would make a communication in writing tomorrow at 12 o'clock, which shall be forwarded as soon as printed.¹

From the best information that I have been able to obtain our administration have made the most liberal offers to both France and Great Britain to raise the embargo, provided that they would rescind their orders in Council & decrees, or to raise it partially with that nation that should revoke her orders. Both decline, and appear tenacious of continuing their orders and decrees under these circumstances I see no prospect of the Embargo's being raised at present, but rather a more strict construction of the law. The haughtiness of Great Britain will strike a home stroke to the feelings of every true American & arouse all the spirit of '76. I believe that even the Essex Junto, to whom all our present difficulties may be attributed, will not even dare to vindicate her conduct. It is a well ascertained fact that much if not all our troubles arise from the course of conduct that they have pursued. An idea is prevalent in England that we are on the eve of a revolution — that our Citizens particularly of the North will not submit any longer to

¹ In his message transmitted to Congress the next day Mr. Jefferson said :—

“The instructions to our ministers with respect to the different belligerents were necessarily modified with a reference to their different circumstances, and to the condition annexed by law to the executive power of suspension, requiring a degree of security to our commerce which would not result from a repeal of the decrees of France. Instead of a pledge, therefore, of a suspension of the embargo as to her in case of such a repeal, it was presumed that a sufficient inducement might be found in other considerations, and particularly in the change produced by a compliance with our just demands by one belligerent and a refusal by the other in the relations between the other and the United States. To Great Britain, whose power on the ocean is so ascendant, it was deemed not inconsistent with that condition to state explicitly that on her rescinding her orders in relation to the United States their trade would be opened with her, and remain shut to her enemy in case of his failure to rescind his decrees also. From France no answer has been received, nor any indication that the requisite change in her decrees is contemplated. The favorable reception of the proposition to Great Britain was the less to be doubted, as her orders of council had not only been referred for their vindication to an acquiescence on the part of the United States no longer to be pretended, but as the arrangement proposed, whilst it resisted the illegal decrees of France, involved, moreover, substantially, the precise advantages professedly aimed at by the British orders. The arrangement has nevertheless been rejected.”

the Embargo — that they shall be able to effect a complete revolution in the politics of this Country, favorable to their interest. Pickering's Letter & such trash have had a wonderful effect in deceiving the British Ministry as to the real sentiments of the People of this Country. An unprecedented unanimity prevails from New York, South & West to support the administration, as you'll see by the enclosed Paper.

Mrs. Cutts & Boys join me in offering our
best respects & well wishes for
your health & happiness.

your Dutiful Son,

Rich— Cutts.

Thomas Cutts, Esq., Saco.

Washington, Dec. 8, 1808.

Hon. Sir : — The House of Representatives in Committee of the whole, have agreed to the resolution reported by the committee appointed, on so much of the President's message as respects our foreign relations. No division of the Committee was called on the first and third resolutions. They passed unanimously. A division was called for on the second; 84 in favor of the resolution and 25 against it. The second resolution is in the following words : — *Resolved*, " That it is expedient to prohibit by law the admission into the ports of the United States of all public or private armed or unarmed ships and vessels belonging to Great Britain or France or to any other of the belligerent powers having in force orders or decrees violating the lawful commerce and neutral rights of the United States : and also the importation of any goods, wares or merchandise, the growth, produce or manufacture of any of the said Powers, or imported from any place in the possession of either." You'll find the resolutions in the Intelligencer forwarded several days past.

R. Cutts.

Thomas Cutts, Esq., Saco.

Hon. Sir : — The House of Representatives late last night agreed to the second resolution offered by their Committee on foreign relations, 84 to 30. The third Resolution, unanimously. You'll find the

Resolutions at the end of the Report forwarded several days past. I don't believe that our vessels will be permitted to arm or to clear for Spain or Portugal. It seems to be the prevailing opinion here that we ought to adhere to the Embargo¹ a little longer, with a total non intercourse. I shall be able to forward to you tomorrow the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, a document which will afford infinite satisfaction to the friends of our Country, inasmuch as he does not contemplate any direct taxes, even if we should be so unfortunate as to be drawn into war, under the present arrangement of commerce. Upon the present establishment he says he can get along for two years to come. Nothing new here.

Your dutiful son,

Richard Cutts.

Washington, Dec. 18, 1808.

Washington, Jan'y 5th, 1809.

Hon'd Sir: — The late news from Europe has excited many speculative opinions here, relative to a general peace, & the result of the contest in Spain. The terms of peace said to be offered by the two Emperors to Great Britain are — a restoration of Hanover to England — Holland to the House of Orange — to restore the Duke of Brunswick — to give up Portugal to the Prince of Braganza, or to let England hold it as a Colony — Joseph Bonaparte [to be] King of Spain — Ferdinand to be King of Sicily — these are the great outlines of the Treaty. The prevailing opinion here is that England will not accept of the terms offered, being pledged to reinstate Ferdinand on the throne of Spain.

Mr. Lee, our Consul in Bordeaux, writes under date of the 2d of November that Bonaparte staid only three hours in that city on the 1st of November, on his way to take the command of his army about to enter Spain — which consists of three hundred thousand of his most veteran troops, that the wagons, provisions, supplies &c

¹ December 23, 1807, on the recommendation of Jefferson, Congress enacted a law prohibiting the departure from the ports of the United States of all but foreign armed vessels with public commissions, or foreign merchant ships in ballast, or with such cargo only as they might have on board when notified of the act. All American vessels engaged in the coasting trade were required to give heavy bonds to land their cargoes in the United States.

that had passed through Bordeaux towards Spain were immense, that the Spanish troops were unable to prevent a concentration of the French armies already in Spain — that the Spaniards were in want of supplies, &c. Many are of the opinion that the contest in Spain will not be of a bloody nature — that Bonaparte will march direct to Madrid, without opposition.¹

With respect to our own affairs nothing material has occurred since I wrote you last. The National Intelligencer gives you all our proceedings. An opinion is fast gaining ground that we shall have no change of Measures this session — that Congress will meet again on the first of May, when, if the belligerents persist in their unjust decrees we must raise the Embargo² & grant letters of Marque & reprisal. If we were to grant letters of Marque & reprisal at this session our opponents would say we had not waited until our measures were known to Great Britain & France — which, if known, would have produced a relaxation or some modification of their orders & decrees — therefore to give full time for our sentiments & proceedings to be known to both of the belligerents — to receive their answer — & to exhaust every pacific overture & means of preserving peace, I am inclined to believe that Congress will wait yet a few months longer, before they appeal to the last resort, with a hope that such a change may take place in Europe as will relieve us from the calamities of War & restore the freedom of the ocean.

Your Dutiful Son,
Richd Cutts.

Washington, March 9, 1809.

Hon. Sir: — I have finally concluded to remain here during the recess of Congress, and shall avail myself of the situation to give you the earliest and most correct information from this City. Mr.

¹ Bonaparte entered Madrid December 4, 1808. The British, under Sir John Moore, came to the assistance of the Spaniards, and were pursued to Corunna, where Sir John was mortally wounded. In January, however, Napoleon was compelled to return to Paris in order to counteract the movements of Austria. Taking the field he defeated the Austrian forces, and May 13, he entered Vienna.

² The Embargo was removed by an act of Congress passed February 27, 1809. It took effect March 15, 1809, except so far as related to France and Great Britain and their dependencies. With them it was to take effect at the close of the next succeeding session of Congress.

and Mrs Madison¹ have been so good as to press us to remain here and pass the time with them, to which invitation we have acceded. They go still further and say, that we must pass the summer recess with them in Virginia. Upon this question we have deferred making up our minds until the time arrives. If there should be any prospect of doing business to advantage I shall return to Saco immediately. I shall return after the May session.

Although so happily situated here, I sigh for my own home, the society of my Saco friends, and the pleasure of cultivating my little garden remains undiminished. As the Spring advances I want to be at work in my garden. The time until the next meeting of Congress is not more than sufficient for us to perform the journey to Saco and back again, which through the mud at this season of the year, with so numerous a family, must be from necessity not from pleasure.

Your dutiful son,
Richard Cutts.

Washington, March 11, 1809.

Hon. Sir:—Yesterday in the forenoon Mr. Gibbons, the Messenger, arrived here from England, and in the evening Mr. Parviance from France. They came out in the Union. So far as the contents of their dispatches have transpired no important change has taken place in the conduct of either of the belligerents toward this country. Some trifling modification has been made in the orders in Council, which will be seen in the Monitor forwarded this day to William P. Hooper, who has been requested to hand the same to you. I shall forward the Monitor during the recess of Congress to William Hooper for you. The news from Spain is down to the 8th of December, at which time Bonaparte was carrying all before him. The general impression is that the British cannot escape. The dispatches for England and France leave the City on Monday next. I shall keep you well advised of all the important transactions here.

Your dutiful son,
Richard Cutts.

¹ Madison became president of the United States, March 4, 1800.

Washington, March 19, 1809.

Hon. Sir: — Dispatches were received yesterday from our minister in Paris, dated late in December. So far as I could understand them, they contain no information of importance relating to this Country, unless the successes of Bonaparte in Spain may so be considered. He is still in Madrid,¹ legislating for the Spanish nation at a great rate, threatening to put the Spanish Crown on his own head, if they do not behave well. The despatches received yesterday were unaccompanied by any newspapers. Probably you'll get the newspapers almost as soon as we shall here.

Your dutiful Son,

Richard Cutts.

Thomas Cutts, Esq., Saco.

Washington, March 28, 1809.

Hon. Sir: — Dispatches were received yesterday from Mr. Erving² dated in Cadis on the last of January from which and the accounts published in the New York papers, no doubt remains as to the complete overthrow of the Spanish patriots in Spain together with the British Army. The Spanish Generals and Grandees are continually joining the French. The Spaniards have become extremely jealous of the English. They begin to see by the late movements of the British that they are consulting their own interests and not that of the Spaniards. It is probable the Supreme Junta will retreat from Seville to Cadis, when hard pressed by the French and Spanish Fleets lying in Cadis and come out to the New Colonies in South America. No news from England since the arrival of the Union.

Your dutiful son,

Richard Cutts.

Thomas Cutts, Esq., Saco, Me.

Washington, July 10, 1809.

Hon. Sir: — I forward the enclosed paper for your amusement, to see what immense parade was made in Baltimore on the 4th inst.

¹ As has been stated Napoleon left Spain in January.

² George W. Erving, who was made consul at London by President Jefferson, and in 1804 was appointed secretary of legation to Spain, where he remained six years. Later, from 1814 to 1819 he was United States minister to Spain.

The President intended to have left this City for his seat in Virginia on the 5th inst, but he has been detained by the arrival of the Russian "*Charge des affairs*" in Philadelphia. He is expected here in the course of two or three days. Immediately after his arrival we set out for Virginia. Mr. Madison lives about ninety miles from this City. I shall accompany them there, leave Mrs. Cutts and children and return to Saco, I hope about the first of August. The late despatches from Mr. Armstrong¹ are reported to contain nothing new. They were written before the arrival of the *Mentor*. Her return is daily expected with important information.

Your dutiful son,

Richard Cutts.

Thomas Cutts, Esq., Saco.

Washington, Nov. 4, 1809.

Hon. Sir: — I have delayed writing from a belief that Foxwell, to whom I am obliged to write on business, made mention of my safe arrival here and finding my little family all well. He will occasionally give you all the news after the session commences. I shall forward the *Intelligencer*.

The late important news from Great Britain and France is of an interesting nature to this Country. It portends a complete change of conduct. As both the belligerent Nations for years past have been contending who should distress neutral commerce the most, it would not be surprising if tired of that system, they should now take the opposite course. It is fortunate for this Country that we kept from an alliance with either, perhaps we shall yet reap the reward of being faithful to ourselves — more so, if we had adhered to the embargo a little longer. The news from France, by the way, is thought to be favorable. Austria and France will make peace. Napoleon and Alexander are on good terms with each other, notwithstanding the reports in the British papers.

Your dutiful son,

Richard Cutts.

Thomas Cutts, Esq., Saco.

¹ Gen. John Armstrong, who was appointed minister to France in 1804, and at the same time acted as minister to Spain. He returned to the United States in 1810.

Washington, Nov. 3, 1809.

Dear Brother :— I have delayed writing to you with the expectation of being able to communicate some intelligence relative to Mr. Jackson's¹ proceedings ; but I believe now that he has no authority, or does not intend to make any propositions to our Government of a friendly nature. All our hopes are now turned towards the reported change in the British Ministry. If the Grenville party have come into power, of which there seems to be very little doubt, probably among their first acts will be a withdrawal of the order in Council, and a renewal of intercourse with this Country. France appears to be in a pacific mood at this moment. Our commercial prospects have very much changed, although nothing is yet decisively accomplished. I have no doubt but that shipping will be in great demand the coming winter and Spring. Of course, I presume you'll hasten off your new ship. Such are my present impressions.

Richard Cutts.

Capt. Thomas Cutts, Saco.

Washington, Jan. 27, 1810.

Hon. Sir :— I have the pleasure to announce to you the birth of another grandson on the 22nd inst.,² a fine little fellow that will compare with either of his brothers. Mrs. C. and son are both doing very well, the other boys have grown very much ; you'd scarcely know them. Madison and Thomas often speak of their Grandpapa and of going to Saco ; ask them where they want to go and they immediately answer Saco to see their Grandpapa. Thomas has christened him by the name of " Saco Cutts." He thinks it is the prettiest name that can be given to him. His Parents think of calling Thomas, Thomas Scammans Cutts, and the little fellow " Richard Payne Cutts," so that the eldest will bear up the name of his grandfather and grandmother and the youngest that of his father and mother. How do you like this arrangement? Your grandsons are pronounced the finest boys in all the City. May they prove the most virtuous and honest of men.

¹ The British minister, Francis James Jackson.

² Richard, who died October, 1815.

We have no late foreign news here. The bill to repeal the non-intercourse and for other purposes passed on Thursday last to a third reading by a majority of seventeen. The Federalists all opposed this Bill, although so much in favor of the Commercial interests of this Country, and at the same time the most efficient protection against the discriminating duties and orders in Council of Great Britain and French decrees. The other measures recommended by the President in his last Message will probably be adopted to put the Country in a state of defence; not from any idea of wars taking place, but to be prepared for such an event if Great Britain should take that course. The dismissal of Jackson¹ cannot bring on a war, as he was dismissed for personal insult offered to the Government, and not in consequence of any point of dispute between the two Nations. Although the Federal Papers are endeavouring to excite an alarm of war with England, we have no idea of such an event at present. Has not the President said to the British Government that another Minister should be received in a friendly manner? Is not this complete evidence of his desire to avoid war if possible? All the reports and extracts from letters from this quarter published in the Federal Papers, of despatches being received from France and of division in the Cabinet, of the resignation of Mr. Gallatin, are without foundation. No despatches have been received lately from France. Before the House adjourns I hope to be able to say that Macon's bill,² so called, has passed the House of Representatives.

Your dutiful son,

Richard Cutts.

I am disappointed; no decision
has taken place.

¹ Concerning Mr. Jackson, the British minister, Schouler (History of the United States of America, Vol. II, p. 289) says: "His business was sounded and disposed of very soon after his arrival in Washington; for bringing with him neither explanations to our government, nor authority to substitute new proposals in place of those rejected by Canning, and treating the Chesapeake outrage as though the first step toward adjustment ought to come from the United States, his correspondence soon turned to insolence, and Secretary Smith cut it short."

² This bill proposed excluding all English and French goods except on vessels wholly owned by citizens of the United States; and confining these importations to such as came directly from England and France. The bill contained twelve sections, of which the ninth authorized the President to remove these restrictions as to England or France, should either nation remove hers; the eleventh repealed the old non-intercourse, and the twelfth limited the duration of the act to March 4th, 1810.

Washington, Feb. 25, 1810.

Hon. Sir: — The Senate this morning passed Mr. Macon's bill so called, to a third reading after striking out all the Commercial restrictions. It now stands simply to repeal the non-intercourse law and to exclude British and French armed vessels. I am inclined to believe the House will agree to the amendment. We have no late news from Europe.

Your dutiful son,
Richard Cutts.

Thomas Cutts, Esq., Saco.

Washington, Feby 2d, 1811.

Dear Sir: — I am offered Bill of Exchange upon Liverpool by Jacob Barker, to meet my half of our protected Bills. I shall hear more fully from him by this day's mail & will inform you. In the mean time, I do not wish that this offer may interfere with any better arrangements that Foxwell may have been able to effect.

The Committee of Commerce and Manufactures have agreed to report in fav'r of a light house on Boon Island.

A motion is now pending to recommit the non importation Bill to the Committee on our foreign relations, with a view to extend the time of its operation & the Bill of the 1st of May last, which commences its operation this day.¹ The late news rec'd from France (which was forwarded yesterday) is not considered of so hostile a nature, as it was apprehended to be at first.

A Bill to renew the charter of the U. S. Bank will be reported to the Senate. Its fate [is] extremely doubtful in that body; in our house, the majority remains the same. Every engine will be put in requisition to aid its progress. I believe it will not pass.

Y D Son,
Richard Cutts.

Hon Thomas Cutts Esqr.
Boston.

Washington, Feb. 7, 1811.

Dear Sir: — The following extract of a letter dated Norfolk, Feb. 2, 1811, was received here this morning. "I wrote to you

¹ The motion was carried on that day, eighty-two yeas, nine nays.

hastily yesterday, since which, I have to inform you the French Minister who came up last evening in a Pilot boat from the Commodore Rogers bound to New York in 35 days from Bordeaux, is a Mr. Serrurier,¹ son or nephew of a French General of that name." Nothing further has transpired, the moment any information of importance to know I will advise you.

Your dutiful son,

Richard Cutts.

Since writing you I have seen another letter from Norfolk, an abstract of which I will send to Mr. Gray.

Washington, June 11, 1812.

Dear Sir:—I arrived here on the 7th inst, after a very fatiguing journey, the weather being warm and the stages in general being very much crowded. I found my friends all well and apparently much rejoiced at my return although at the eleventh hour.

An important question² of which I am not permitted to speak, was decided in the House of Representatives before my arrival. It has been several days before the Senate and will probably remain so for several days to come. Its ultimate fate in that body is very doubtful, however I think in substance they will finally concur with the House of Representatives. Everybody seems busy in forming conjectures and circulating reports of what is going on in the Senate and what will be the result of their deliberation. A correct opinion cannot be formed at present.

Your dutiful son

Richard Cutts.

N. B. It is rumored that the Senate will agree only to a maritime war, that is letters of Mark and reprisal only.³

¹ He succeeded the departing French minister Turreau.

²The President, June 1, sent to Congress a war message. This was referred to the usual committee in the House, which two days after, through Mr. Calhoun, reported a declaration of war. The bill passed the House, June 4; seventy-nine yeas, forty-nine nays, and went to the Senate.

³The effort to bring this about kept the measure in suspense nearly two weeks, but was finally relinquished.

Washington, June 17, 1812.

Dear Sir:—The Senate have this day concurred with the House of Representatives in a Bill,¹ the passage of which I fear will be destructive to the best interests of this Country.² Probably the injunction of secrecy will be taken off to-morrow and the Bill and proceedings thereon promulgated to the world. What will be the consequences of this message it is impossible to foretell.

Richard Cutts.

Washington, June 18, 1812.

Thomas Cutts, Jr., Esq.,

Sir:—Since war is declared,³ now to do the best we can. I have just got a promise from the Secretary of the Navy that he will station one of the Government Boats in Winter Harbor.⁴ A Captain is wanted, will you consult with Doctor Thornton⁵ and others. I have a good man recommended. I presume that it would be best to ship the men in and about Saco. I think he told me it would require 45 men to man her. Nothing new. A battle may soon be expected off New York, between the English and our Frigates.

Your affectionate Brother,

Richard Cutts.

Washington, June 29, 1812.

Dear Brother:—I have this moment received your favor of the 23d inst. I was in hopes that Foxwell would not have suffered us to have been called upon. As it is we must do the best we can. I

¹ A bill from the House of Representatives, entitled "An Act declaring war between Great Britain and her dependencies, and the United States and their Territories."

² The war could not but be harmful to Mr. Cutts' personal interests, and it is evident that his course with reference to it was determined only by public considerations.

³ The bill declaring war passed in the Senate June 17, was concurred in by the House on the eighteenth. The bill received the signature of the President on the same day.

⁴ Now Biddeford Pool.

⁵ Thomas Gilbert Thornton (for whom the academy at Saco received its name in 1822). In 1796 he married Sarah, daughter of Col. Thomas Cutts. In 1795, 1796, 1798 and 1803 he was a representative in the General Court of Massachusetts. In 1803 he was appointed United States marshal for Maine, and he discharged the duties of that office until his death, March 4, 1824.

am to-day unable to do anything, however we must rally and do the best we can. There remains a small sum in Morrell & Borland's hands which must be drawn for. After deducting the insurance premium, &c. the balance must go to the account. The balance I hope you'll be able to meet in some way or other, for I am ashore. Write to Mr. Tucker and get it put off if possible until we can look about ourselves, or if you can accommodate the matter so much the better. Nothing but absolute necessity keeps me here. I was in hopes and did all I could to put off the war for a little time, but in vain. The House had determined the question before my arrival. Nothing new, all bustle and confusion.

Your affectionate brother,
Richard Cutts.

Washington, July 16th, 1813.

Dear Brother:— I am extremely anxious lest I should be disappointed of the means of making you a remittance in season to meet my part of the protected Bill of Morrell & Borland. The fact is that I fully expected the means of doing so from Jacob Barker of New York from letters lately received from him. I am fearful that he will disappoint me. If that should be the case (for the moment I can get the money of him I will send it to you) I hope you'll be able to prevail upon the Saco Bank to extend the payment another term. If not procure it by any means & I will be responsible for my part. I don't know how you get along these hard times. I only know that it is impossible almost for me to keep above water. The least disappointment puts me out very much. We had a little alarm here yesterday lest the British should take it into their heads to pay us a visit. From the alacrity with which the troops turned out no danger will be apprehended hereafter. It is supposed five thousand were under arms before night. Should they attempt to come here they will pay dear for their audacity.¹ I wish it was in my power to give you any information from England since the re-

¹ Mr. Cutts shared the strange infatuation of the officials at Washington. The battle of Bladensburg occurred August 24, and the British occupied Washington on that day.

ceipt of the Russian Mediation being accepted by our Govr. alth. dispatches were said to have arrived by the Fair Trader, I believe they contained nothing more than news papers the Gov't are ignorant whether the Russian Mediation will be accepted by Gt Britain or not.

Yr affect Brother,

Richard Cutts.

Thomas Cutts Junr Esq.

Washington, July 24th 1813

Dear Sir:—The enclosed Paper gives you all the news here except what has arrived since the morn'g. The mails have come in from the West. Harrison's¹ army is in motion for Malden.² Nothing particular from Niagara. 1 oClock. An Express has just arrived from opposite Blackstones Island. The enemy have abandoned the Island in haste & fallen down the river. Two deserters have come ashore from the fleet. They report that Admiral Warren received an express on the 21st; that he immediately ordered the whole fleet to be ready to sail for Bermuda as soon as possible; that they would have sailed on the 22 if the wind had been fair. Whether this is a manouever to deceive, while they attempt some other expedition remains to be seen. Some apprehend it to be in consequence of information received from England & that the probability is that she will accept the proffered Russian Mediation³ & endeavor as soon as possible to detach America from the proposed Congress at Prague.

Yr Dutiful Son,

Richard Cutts.

N. The House & Senate will act efficiently upon the measures before them.

Thomas Cutts Esq.

¹ Maj. Gen. William Henry Harrison, afterward ninth president of the United States, then in command of the northwestern army.

² A post where the Detroit River enters Lake Erie, then occupied by the British.

³ This offer of mediation came through Daschkoff, the Russian Ambassador, on behalf of his sovereign, Alexander, who was a strong friend of the United States. "The high character of the emperor Alexander being a satisfactory pledge for the sincerity and impartiality of his offer," says Madison in a special message, May 25, 1813, "it was immediately accepted" on the part of the United States, but Great Britain declined.

Washington, Nov. 10th 1812

Dear Sir:—I should have written to you & my friends much oftener, but for a severe inflammation in my eyes, which continues to afflict me. Enclosed is a draft upon the Union Bank for two hundred & fifty dollars to meet the advance made by you to Tristram Hooper & thirty five dollars still due on the order. I wish Tristram Hooper to erase my name from the order, & forward the same to me.

Mr. Russell¹ has arrived in New York from England. He reports that the British govr. has rejected the last proposition made to them through Mr. Russell. No other course now seems left but to pursue the war with all the energies of the Nation. I am rejoiced that even in the prosecution of the war, no taxes will be required this session. I presume the war can be carried on for any length of time by loans.

Yr Dr Son,
Richard Cutts.

Washington, July 28th 1813.

Dear Sir:—I had the pleasure to receive your favor of the 15th July with its enclosure day before yesterday. Mr. Belham's request was immediately made known to the Post Master General, & granted, so that hereafter he & his friends will be indulged with a daily Mail. The Mails are in this Morn'g from the North, west & South & bring nothing new. We had flying report that the vessels at Erie had been destroyed, but Letters from there and several places on the route are silent on the subject. Therefore we conclude there is nothing in the report. The British are descending the Bay towards the Capes. We have nothing from England concerning the Russian Mission. The Senate have rejected the nomination of Mr. Gallatin² in consequence of the hostility of a few persons to him,

¹ Mr. Russell was the United States charge d'affaires at London, and June 26 Mr. Monroe, Secretary of State, wrote to him, proposing terms for an armistice, viz., a repeal of the orders in council, with no illegal blockades substituted, and a discontinuance of the impressment of seamen. The English government refused to accede to these proposals, and Mr. Russell returned to the United States.

² The Russian government made an offer to mediate between the United States and Great Britain, and March 8, 1813, Pres. Madison nominated as ministers to negotiate, Gallatin, James A. Bayard of the Senate, and John Quincy Adams, who was at that time the American minister to Russia. Gallatin and Bayard sailed in May for St. Petersburg. The Senate refused to confirm Gallatin's appointment as incompatible with the position he held as secretary of the treasury. The attempt at mediation was a failure.

personally, they joined the Feds & quids & produced a majority of one against him. He was the most able & best man in the Mission. No other person will be named in his place — as it is believed that if England should accept the offer, they will have completed the business before another could arrive to take Mr. Gallatin's place. Besides their commission was joint & several, so that the negotiations if accepted will go on as well with two as with three Commissioners. If England should refuse to accept the offered Mediation, then no inconvenience can possibly arise from the rejection of Mr. Gallatin by the Senate. Some are of the opinion that Gt. Britain will (under the circumstances of affairs on the Continent) reject the Mission & send Commissioners immediately to this Country or instruct Admiral Warren to open negotiations. This is merely conjecture. We may daily expect news from England which will put an end to all our conjectures.¹ The Senate are with closed doors every day; the result of their proceedings unknown. Congress will adjourn Monday next. I am rejoiced to learn that your prospects of abundant crops are so good. It will be a great relief to the People who are suffering so much under the present state of affairs. I wish an honorable and speedy peace might be added to this abundant harvest. It is uncertain when I shall have occasion for hay in my stable, yet if you have any to spare or can purchase a few tons for me, I should like very much to have some laid up in store for me. Probably I shall want it next Summer. I hope Mr. Jamison has got what little grew upon my lot in good order. We are all well. With our most affectionate regards for your health and happiness,

Yr Son,

Richard Cutts.

N. B. I have written to Mr. Belham.
Thomas Cutts, Esqr. Saco.

Washington, Aug. 10, 1813.

Dear Sir: — We have nothing new here this morning, except that about 15,000 men have been called out in Ohio, enough to sweep

¹ Great Britain in January, 1814, proposed direct negotiations. The American Commissioners appointed by Pres. Madison were John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell, James A. Bayard, and Albert Gallatin. The latter, to obviate the objection of the Senate as to the incompatibility of the appointment, resigned his office as secretary of the treasury.

all before them. We hope soon to hear of Malden being taken and that Harrison's¹ army will be at liberty to join Wilkinson's at Michigan. A great military force will be called out in New York and perhaps in Vermont, so that we are expecting that something will yet be done towards the Conquest of Canada before the close of the Campaign.

Your dutiful son,

Richard Cutts.

Thomas Cutts, Esq., Saco.

COL. EDMUND PHINNEY'S 18TH CONTI- NENTAL REGIMENT.

ONE YEAR'S SERVICE, COMMENCING JANUARY 1, 1776.

BY NATHAN GOOLD.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, April 24, 1896.

There is a history in all men's lives.

— *Shakespeare.*

As early as September, 1775, Gen. Washington was much concerned at the prospect of the terms of service of the men, then in the army, expiring in December, with no provision made to fill their places with new regiments; and September 20, he addressed a letter to Congress, calling attention to this matter, and to the condition of the finances of the colonies.

October 18, authority was given to raise twenty-six regiments of about eight hundred men, for one year, and October 28, after the men then in the service had received their pay, an order was issued recommending the soldiers, especially those who were to continue another year, to purchase with their money only

¹ Gen. Harrison had resumed offensive operations after the disaster that overtook Winchester's command when advancing on Malden in January. It was the splendid cooperation of the American flotilla on Lake Erie, with Harrison's army, that opened the way to Detroit and victory.

shirts, shoes, stockings, and a good pair of leather breeches, as it "was intended the new army should be uniformed." Congress was to purchase cloth, in the best market, hire tailors to make uniform coats and waistcoats, which they were to furnish the soldiers cheaper than clothing of the same quality could be bought elsewhere. November 4, it was voted that the cloth of the army should be dyed brown, and the distinction of the regiments should be made in the color of the facings; and the same day Congress "Resolved that each regiment consist of 728 men, officers included, to be divided into eight companies. Each company to consist of one captain, two lieutenants, one ensign, four sergeants, four corporals, two drums or fifes, and seventy-six privates."

These were the preparations then made toward the organization of the twenty-six infantry regiments of the new Continental army, to go into service January 1, 1776, to take the places of the regiments whose terms of service would expire with December, 1775.

From an act passed January 22, 1776, by the General Court, for regulating the militia of Massachusetts, the lawful equipment of a soldier of that date was as follows:—Officers and soldiers of sufficient ability were obliged to equip themselves, and the others were equipped by the towns. The equipment was ordered to be, "A good firearm with a steel or iron ramrod with a spring to retain the same, a worm, priming wire and brush, a bayonet fitted to the gun, a scabbard and belt therefor, a cutting sword or tomahawk or hatchet, a pouch containing a cartridge-box that

will hold fifteen rounds of cartridges at least, a hundred buckshot, a jackknife and tow for wadding, six flints, one pound of powder, forty leaden bullets fitted to gun, a knapsack, blanket and a canteen or wooden bottle sufficient to hold one quart." Probably few soldiers were fully equipped.

In the organization of the new army, Col. Edmund Phinney of the 31st Regiment of Foot, then in the service at Cambridge, was recommended by Gen. Washington to be commissioned colonel of the new 18th Continental regiment, and orders for the enlistment of the men were issued November 12. Col. Phinney retained the same field and staff officers who were serving with him in his old regiment, and the new regiment may properly be called the successor to the old 31st Regiment of Foot.

This reorganization of the army, from thirty-eight regiments to twenty-six, gave Washington and his generals great perplexity. In the new organization it was intended to make it a continental instead of a colonial army, so as to encourage the union spirit and break up the jealousy between New England and the other colonies. It was expected that most of the old army would reenlist, but after one month's trial only five thousand recruits were procured.

At the time this regiment entered the service the British ministry had resolved to hire over seventeen thousand German troops, known to us as the Hessians, to help subdue the colonists. The colonies were not united. The finances were at a low ebb, and the Southern colonists gave only half-hearted support to

the rebellion. The army was weaker than it had been at any other time during the siege of Boston. The old regiments were disbanded December 31, within gunshot of twenty or thirty regiments of British soldiers at Boston and Charlestown. The supply of fire-arms was so small that the guns of the retiring soldiers were taken from them and paid for at an appraisal which, in many cases, caused great dissatisfaction. The army was in a critical condition, and had not powder enough for four rounds. They had but few cannon, and some of them were almost useless.

January 1, 1776, the day the 18th Continental regiment entered the service, was the birthday of the new Continental army, and the Union flag of thirteen stripes and a British union, was raised on Prospect Hill, with a salute of thirteen guns, and with loud huzzas by the soldiers. The British at Boston heard the cheering of the men, and thought the colonists had decided to submit to the king, as his speech had just been received; but that idea was soon dispelled.

Col. Phinney's new regiment was assigned to Gen. Heath's brigade, in the center of the army, at Cambridge, under Gen. Israel Putnam. The following return, made about that time, shows the regiments composing the brigade:—

GEN. WILLIAM HEATH'S BRIGADE, JANUARY 24, 1776.

Col. William Prescott's 7th Continental regiment.

Col. Paul D. Sargeant's¹ 16th “ “

Col. Edmund Phinney's 18th “ “

Col. John Greaton's 24th “ “

Col. Loammi Baldwin's 26th “ “

¹ Col. Paul D. Sargeant died at Sullivan, Maine, September 15, 1837.

Weak as the army was, scantily supplied with arms, powder, and the necessary comforts of life, the country looked to see it expel the British forces from Boston. Gen. Washington wrote, January 14:—

The reflection upon my situation and that of this army produces many an uneasy hour, when all around me are wrapped in sleep. Few people know the predicament we are in, on a thousand accounts. I shall most religiously believe the finger of Providence is in it, to blind the eyes of our enemies; for surely, if we get well through this month, it must be for want of their knowing the disadvantages we labor under.

The people of the colonies had become accustomed to war, and were then entertaining the idea of their political independence, which was very popular with the army. It had become offensive to pray for the king, and the spirit for a government of the people was abroad in the land.

Gen. Putnam was active at Cambridge, inspiring the soldiers with his zeal, and Col. Moylan, writing from there in regard to the January thaw, said:—

The bay is open; everything thaws except Old Put. He is still as hard as ever, crying out for powder, powder — ye gods, give us powder.

He had his headquarters in the Inman house, which was on what is now Inman Street, Cambridge. Here he was as near the enemy as possible, with his Connecticut troops camped in Inman's field close at hand.

Gen. Washington's headquarters was at the Vassal House, now known as "Longfellow's Home," at Cambridge, and his wife was with him. Dorothy Dudley,

in her journal, describes the appearance of Martha Washington as follows : —

She is a fine-looking lady, with regular features, dark chestnut hair and hazel eyes, and a certain gravity in carriage, which becomes her position.

All through the month of February great preparations were made for an attack on Boston, and the army was preparing for a great battle, but the object of those preparations was then unknown to the soldiers. The army had been reenforced by several regiments that were enlisted for two months' service to expire April first.

The rations issued to the soldiers at Cambridge in February were : — Corned beef and pork four days in a week ; salt-fish one day ; fresh beef two days ; one and one-half pound of beef, or eighteen ounces of pork, every day ; one-half pint rice or a pint of Indian meal was given the soldiers for a week ; a quart of spruce beer daily or nine gallons of molasses to one hundred men, per week. Every man had one pound of flour every day except one, when hardbread took its place. Each soldier was given six ounces of butter per week. Peas, beans, and other vegetables, such as potatoes, turnips, onions, were dealt out in weekly portions. Six pounds of candles were given one hundred men for a week.

It was in February that Gen. Henry Knox hauled, with forty-two ox teams from Fort Ticonderoga, 14 mortars, 41 cannon, 2,300 lbs. lead, and a barrel of flints, to be used in Boston. Ten of these cannon probably came to Falmouth Neck, the next July, to

defend that town. During this month there were about fourteen thousand Americans about Boston.

Gen. Washington wrote, February 26 : —

We have under many difficulties on account of hard frozen ground completed our work on Lechmere Point. We have got some heavy pieces of ordnance placed there, two platforms fixed for mortars, and everything for offensive operations. Strong guards are mounted there and at Cobble Hill.

A return of Col. Phinney's regiment, dated March 2, 1776, gave the whole strength as 413 men, with 285 fit for duty.

Ensign Henry Sewall, of this regiment, kept a journal while in the army, from which many of the facts of their service are taken, and but for which they would have been lost forever. To such men as he history is indebted for much authentic information.

March 2, a heavy firing of cannon and mortars at Cambridge and Roxbury on Boston was the beginning of the attempt to drive the British out of the town, and the next day three companies of Col. Phinney's regiment were marched to Cobble Hill (Somerville), and five to Lechmere Point (East Cambridge), to assist in the bombardment. At the Point two howitzers were burst, but no one was hurt. Towards night the thirteen-inch brass mortar Congress was moved down. March 4, the bombardment commenced about 8 A. M., and the Congress was burst at the third firing in an attempt to hit the Old South steeple in Boston.

It was during the night of March 4, which was bright moonlight, that Gen. John Thomas, with two

thousand men and three hundred carts, fortified Dorchester Heights. Here Gen. Peleg Wadsworth, as an aid to Gen. Artemus Ward, rendered valuable assistance to the army.

Col. Phinney's regiment was stationed, during the bombardment, at Lechmere Point and Cobble Hill, and the object of the attack on Boston was to divert the attention of the British from the operations going on at Dorchester Heights. From Lechmere Point during that night were fired thirty-two twenty-four-pound shot, fourteen eighteen-pound shot, and two ten-inch shells; from Cobble Hill eighteen eighteen-pound shot. The next morning the soldiers discovered the fortifications that had been built during the night, and then knew the reason for the bombardment of the night before.

The earth was frozen eighteen inches, and Gen. Heath said of the works at Dorchester, "Perhaps there never was so much work done in so short time." Gen. Howe said, "The rebels have done more in the night than my men could have done in a month."

It was during the forenoon of March 5, that the worst was expected. Washington thought that when the British commander discovered the works at Dorchester he would order an assault on them at once. The American soldiers expected it, and although tired, and suffering from the want of their night's rest, they were in high spirits, being ready and anxious to try Bunker Hill over again. March 5, the anniversary of the Boston massacre, was selected for this event, and as those brave men lay in the trenches, resting before

the assault, Gen. Washington rode along the lines, and was received with great enthusiasm. As he passed by he encouraged the men, and said, "Remember this is the fifth of March, a day never to be forgotten. Avenge the death of your brothers."

The British commenced a tremendous cannonade from Boston and the fleet, which the Americans hardly noticed in their preparations. The assault, which was expected to be a desperate one, did not occur, for the furious gale of wind, which continued with a heavy rain through the next day, prevented the enemy from making the attack on our lines. Thacher says, "Cannon shot are continually rolling and rebounding on the hill, and it is astonishing to observe how little our soldiers are terrified by them." "Gracious God! if it be determined in thy Providence that thousands of our fellow creatures shall this day be slain, let thy wrath be appeased, and in mercy grant that victory be on the side of our suffering, bleeding country." After waiting for the assault, Thacher wrote in his journal, "Thus has kind Providence seen fit to frustrate a design which must have been attended with immense slaughter and bloodshed."

On the morning of March 5, Col. Phinney's regiment was marched to Cambridge Common with the brigade, and there four thousand chosen troops were ready for the assault on Boston. They were organized into two divisions, one under Gen. John Sullivan and the other under Gen. Nathaniel Greene, and both under Gen. Putnam. On signals being given, they were to embark in boats near the mouth of the Charles

River, and under cover of three floating batteries to attack Boston. The first division was to land at the powder house and gain possession of Beacon Hill and Mount Horam, afterwards called Mount Vernon, which was near where Louisburg Square now is. The second division was to land at Barton's Point, or a little south of it, and after securing that post was to join the first division, force the gates and works at Roxbury Neck, and let in the American troops. Col. Phinney's men were marched back to their quarters in the afternoon, and probably dismissed, as the danger of an assault that day was over.

Joseph Reed wrote Gen. Washington : —

I suppose Old Put was to command the detachment intended for Boston on the fifth instant, as I do not know of any officers but himself who could have been depended on for so hazardous service.

Gen. Washington's reply was : —

The four thousand men destined for Boston on the fifth, if the ministerialists had attempted our works at Dorchester Heights, or the lines at Roxbury, were to have been headed by Old Put.

These letters show the hazardous service which Col. Phinney's regiment was expected to perform, and in what estimation they were held by their commanders. The continuation of the storm prevented the attack of the enemy, and many useful lives were saved for a better purpose. The battle would have been a bloody one, as the Americans were in high spirits to try again their mettle with the British regulars. By the seventh of March the situation of Gen. Howe had become critical by the enforced delay.

Capt. John Rice of this regiment wrote, March 9, that if the British "do not depart voluntarily they will be obliged to go soon." That, probably was the spirit of the regiment.

In the evening of the ninth, the Americans attempted to fortify Nook's Hill, Dorchester, which resulted in bringing on a terrible battle of artillery. More than eight hundred shot and shell were fired by the armies during the night, and five Americans were killed.

March 10, the British commenced their preparations for the evacuation of Boston, which was finally accomplished on the morning of the seventeenth.

Ensign Sewall states in his journal, March 17:—

11 A. M., a party of our army who had had the smallpox landed and patrolled Boston without the least shadow of opposition.

In the latter part of the afternoon about five hundred troops under Col. Ebenezer Learned, with Gen. Artemus Ward, entered Boston from Roxbury. Ensign Richards carried the standard. The next day Gen. Washington entered the town.

March 18, Dorothy Dudley wrote in her journal:—

How glad to their ears were the sounds of the soldiers' tread keeping time to the tune of Yankee Doodle, and the shouts of the American regiments, as cheer after cheer was borne upon the air. With drums beating and colors flying they traversed the town, end to end.

The main body of the army entered Boston, March 20, and with them was Col. Edmund Phinney's regiment, which was stationed near Fort Hill, and employed in building a battery in which were mounted

nine twenty-four-pounder King's guns pointed toward the harbor.

The occupation of Boston gave great joy to the colonists. It was regarded as reflecting the highest honor on Washington and his army, and was considered a glorious triumph. Washington and his soldiers were thanked by Congress, and to commemorate the event a gold medal was struck, which is now deposited in the Boston Public Library. Washington's other medals, which are all bronze, are in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

It has been stated that during all the months Gen. Washington was in command at Cambridge less than twenty men were killed within our lines.

Of his army, at the siege of Boston, Washington wrote as follows:—

They were indeed, at first, an army of undisciplined husbandmen ; but it is, under God, to their bravery and attention to duty that I am indebted for that success which has procured me the only reward I wish to receive, the affection and esteem of my countrymen.

After the battle of Bunker Hill, Gen. Joseph Warren's body was buried on the field, but April 4 it was taken up, and a public funeral was held on the eighth, when at the head of the procession marched a company of Col. Phinney's regiment, noted for its fine appearance, which was probably the reason the company was selected. Gen. Warren's body was buried then in the Granary burying-ground. In 1825, it was removed to St. Paul's Church, and finally to Forest Hills Cemetery.

March 18, Gen. Heath was ordered to march five regiments and a portion of artillery to New York, via New London, Connecticut. Gen. Putnam was ordered to New York, March 29, and took command there, April 5. Gen. Washington left Boston April 4 for New York. Col. Phinney's regiment was under the command of Gen. Greene until March 31, when Gen. Artemas Ward took command.

Drake says:—

In Col. Edmund Phinney's regiment stationed in Boston, after the departure of the English, the men were supplied with coats and double-breasted jackets of undyed cloth, just as it came from the looms, turned up with buff facings. They had also blue breeches, felt hats with narrow brims and white bindings.

Col. Hutchinson's order book says:—March 20, upon an alarm, Col. Phinney's and Col. Hutchinson's regiments are to man Fort Hill. Men, that day, from this regiment, were ordered to work on the Fort Hill battery, and Col. Phinney was the officer of the day. King Street, now State, was the grand parade ground.

March 23, every soldier was ordered to fasten his accouterments to his gun every night that they might be prepared at a moment's warning for an alarm. The thirty-first, Col. Phinney was the adjutant of the day. April 2, this regiment furnished the guards. Gen. Peleg Wadsworth was then an aid-de-camp to Gen. Ward.

April 6, Lieut.-Col. March was appointed the muster master of the division. The twentieth, Maj. Brown

was field officer. The twenty-second, Peleg Wadsworth was appointed brigade major. The twenty-sixth Maj. Brown was president of a court-martial, and the following order was issued by the general: —

The Adjutant will bring no men on the parade for guards without being first accoutered, washed, shaved, and dressed as well as his clothes will admit.

Lieut.-Col. March was the field officer the twenty-eighth. The following appears on the order book under same date: —

The General directs the officer commanding the fatigue to see the rum drawn for the men be properly mixed with water and served to them at such times as will do them the most good.

The next day Col. Phinney was the field officer, and May 2, Maj. Brown served in the same capacity.

Capt. Watkins was the officer of the day May 12, Capt. Tyler the fourteenth, Capt. Hill the twenty-first, Capt. Watkins again the twenty-second, Capt. Fernald the twenty-ninth and Capt. Wilde the thirtieth. The officers were allowed "one dollar and one-third" for each man they recruited and mustered.

The seventeenth, a large ship from Ireland, which had been captured loaded with munitions of war, was brought into Boston harbor, and men from this regiment were placed on guard over her.

Col. Phinney wrote home May 26: —

I am well and in high spirits and hope to continue so until every Tory is banished from this land of liberty and our rights and privileges are restored.

June 4, one hundred and seventy soldiers from this regiment, with others, went to the islands to drive

away the British shipping, which they succeeded in doing without the loss of any of their men. The same day Col. Phinney was appointed president of a court martial, and the seventh, Capt. Hart Williams was exempted from regimental duty, while as assistant engineer he superintended the works, under construction by this regiment, in order to forward them with all possible despatch. The ninth, the order book says : —

As Col. Phinney's regiment is employed upon works out of town, they cannot get their milk in the morning before they march off to fatigue, therefore the commissary will supply them with provisions in the same manner he did last winter so long as they shall be employed out of town.

The same day it says : —

The guards will shave and powder and be on parade at 8.

The eleventh, Capt. Fernald was officer of the day, Capt. Hill the twelfth, Capt. Tyler the fourteenth, and Capt. York the sixteenth. The twenty-first, Col. Phinney was ordered to relieve the magazine guard at Jamaica Plain with a sergeant, corporal, and ten privates. The twenty-seventh, Capt. Hill was the officer of the day, Capt. Williams the twenty-eighth, Capt. Watkins the twenty-ninth, Capt. Wilde the thirtieth, July 1, Capt. Sawyer, and the sixth Col. Phinney.

Those who wished were allowed to be inoculated for the smallpox, and July 6, Col. Phinney's quartermaster was ordered to inform the commissary the next morning early what part of the regiment will draw rice, etc., instead of meat, and the surgeons and mates

were ordered to exert themselves to take the best of care of the men under the operation of the smallpox. The officers were ordered to turn out their men before sunrise for exercise, "as their health depends greatly on their taking the morning air and moderate exercise." Captains Rice and Stuart, and several others, died of the smallpox while the regiment was at Boston.

Gen. Ward, appreciating the value of the inspiring music of the fife and drum to the soldiers, ordered, April 9, that a drum-major and a fife-major be appointed for each regiment to instruct the fifers and drummers in their duty and said further: "This is by no means to be neglected, as martial music is always pleasing to the soldiers and gives luster and dignity to every corps." The twenty-ninth, he commended them for their improvement and hoped that it would continue. The next day all the drummers and fifers were ordered to meet at the "bottom" of Boston Common to practise, twice a week, and it was recommended that the musicians of each regiment "emulate each other in striving to excel in this pleasant part of military discipline."

April 21, the order book says: —

Complaints having been made to the general that many of the soldiers frequent grog shops and tippling houses whereby they waste their time and money and destroy their health and reputation, the general therefore forbids all such practises and commands all officers to exert themselves to prevent such evil among men.

The general under date of May 5, called attention to the evil of profane swearing in the army and said, — "Unless we pay sacred regard to the duty of sobriety

and virtue we cannot expect the blessing of heaven, nor the approbation of the wise and good among men."

While in Boston, the officers exercised particular care of the soldiers in regard to the cleanliness of their persons and linen, probably on account of the small-pox. They were also ordered not to take undue liberties with the property of others, and forbidden to address any of the inhabitants as Tories.

July 5, Gen. Washington was empowered by Congress to order, "the three fullest regiments stationed at Cambridge to be sent to Canada. An equal number of militia to take their places." These regiments were to reenforce the Northern army then at Lake Champlain. Of the condition of that army at that time, John Adams wrote his wife in July, 1776: —

Our army at Crown Point is an object of wretchedness enough to fill a human mind with horror; disgraced, defeated, discontented, dispirited, diseased, naked, undisciplined, eaten up with vermin, no clothes, beds, blankets, no medicines, victuals, but salt pork and flour.

The ninth, Gen. Washington ordered Gen. Ward to march the four following regiments: —

Col. Asa Whitcomb's 6th Continental Regiment.		
Col. Edward Phinney's 18th	"	"
Col. Samuel Brewer's Militia		"
Col. Aaron Willard's	"	"

In Col. Aaron Willard's regiment was a company from Maine under the command of Capt. John Wentworth of Cape Elizabeth.

July 4, independence was declared, and the Continental Congress said, "We have counted the cost of

this contest and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery." The eighteenth, from the balcony of the old State House on King Street, which was soon changed to State Street, was read the Declaration of Independence in the presence of soldiers and citizens. The soldiers fired thirteen volleys of small arms, and the batteries fired salutes. From Fort Hill Battery, where Fort Hill Square now is, Col. Phinney's men did their part in saluting the birth of the new government, which has grown beyond the dreams of the most sanguine of those times.

Col. Edward Phinney's regiment started on its march towards Fort Ticonderoga, Thursday, August 8, and lodged that night at Roxbury. The next day the regiment started at 9 A. M., marching through Watertown, Waltham, into Weston, where the men lodged. The tenth, marched through Lincoln, Concord, Acton, and probably lodged at Littleton. The next day marched to Groton where the men lodged. The twelfth, marched through Lunenburg, where the "regiment was agreeably entertained by music," to Fitchburgh, where it staid that night. The next day marched "over bad roads" to Ashburnham. Michael Tierney was tried here for theft and sentenced to receive thirty-nine lashes, which he received the next day. The fourteenth, marched to Winchendon, where the regiment put up about noon, because of the other regiments ahead. The next day resumed march through the woods to Fitzwilliam, New Hampshire. The sixteenth, marched to Swanzey, where most of the regiment put up. The next day went through Keene, Surry, to

Walpole. The eighteenth, proceeded to Charleston Number Four, where the regiment staid two days. The twenty-first, marched about 9 A. M., and crossed the ferry over the Connecticut River, but all of the regiment did not get over until about 3 P. M., when it moved into Springfield, Vermont, "N. Y. Government." The next day, marched to Cavendish, through about eight miles of woods, with "bad roads and poor entertainment," then proceeded about eight miles more into the woods, where the night was spent in a bush encampment. The twenty-fourth, marched all day, but saw no house, and encamped in the woods. The next day resumed the march and came to a house about four o'clock, where it was expected that beef would be killed, but the men were disappointed, then pushed on to the next house and probably camped in the woods, in a rainstorm. The twenty-sixth, they marched four or five miles to a village near Otter Creek, where the regiment put up. It was still raining and the condition of the men was anything but comfortable. This village was Rutland, Vermont, and here Col. Phinney wrote a letter to Gen. Gates, August 28, explaining the cause of the delay. The twenty-seventh it rained, and the regiment did not move, but the twenty-eighth, marched on to Otter Creek, where a court-martial was held, and tried Corp. Buzzell, Moses Gamman and Jonathan Norton for desertion, and for punishment they were given five lashes each, which were ten short of the sentence. The crime of desertion was not then considered so grave an offense as now. Gen. Washington said, "even officers of the regular

troops often left the camp without permission, went to their homes or elsewhere with great coolness, drew their pay at their place of abode, and vegetated on in the ordinary existence, without a thought of return to their standard and this without the slightest punishment." The camp discipline was very irksome to most of the men, as their lives had been lived in the freedom of the new settlements. The balance of the twenty-eighth, and part of the next day, the regiment was crossing Otter Creek, and then proceeded to Castleton. The teams and baggage got over the Creek the thirtieth, when the regiment marched into the woods to Poultney River and went into camp. This was on the boundary line between Vermont and New York. September 1, the regiment had crossed the river, and arrived at Skenesborough, now Whitehall, New York. The next day the men embarked on batteaux and proceeded to Mount Independence, opposite Fort Ticonderoga. The batteaux used on Lake Champlain in 1776, were thirty-six feet long, eight feet wide, and had a mast where a blanket could be put on for a sail when the wind was favorable.

The Northern army, at Lake Champlain, was under the command of Gen. Philip Schuyler, with Gen. Horatio Gates second in command, they having superseded the gallant Gen. John Sullivan, July 5, on the arrival of the army at Crown Point in their sad retreat up the river Sorel from the St. Lawrence River.

The regiment had no tents, and the men were put into a long storehouse until they could build themselves barracks to live in. They were engaged in this

work and preparing a parade-ground until September 9, when two hundred of the men were ordered to Fort George, at the south end of Lake George, where they arrived on the morning of the tenth. The next day part of the regiment were engaged in transporting flour in batteaux over the lake to Fort Ticonderoga, and continued in this service until the twenty-seventh, when Col. Phinney's men were ordered to return to Mount Independence where they arrived in the evening of the twenty-eighth. They were assigned to the Second brigade.

On the summit of Mount Independence the Americans erected a star fort; the sides and foot of the mountain were strengthened with works to the water's edge, and the entrenchments were well lined with heavy cannon. Among the weapons used in the forts by our soldiers were poles twelve feet long, with sharp iron points, to be employed against assailants when they mounted the breastworks.

After the British withdrew, about November first, the floating bridge, four hundred yards long, between Mount Independence and Fort Ticonderoga, was completed. To protect this bridge a boom was laid across the lake so the enemy's vessels could not approach it.

Charles H. Jones, Esquire, in his history of the Northern campaign of 1776, says:—

The story of the suffering, the zeal, the patience, the patriotism, the perseverance and valor of the men who won the victory at Ticonderoga, should be held in grateful remembrance by their countrymen to the latest generation. Like the story of Valley Forge, it is not told in startling deeds of blood. Though but a few had perished by the sword, yet five thousand who had gone out at the call

of their country never returned. More than one out of every three became victims of pestilence, want and exposure, and many of those who passed through the campaign came out of it with broken constitutions to fill premature graves.

Timothy Remick's order book, kept at Fort Ticonderoga, says under date of October 11 : —

The long stillness and seeming suspense of the enemy strongly indicate that they are meditating some stroke of importance. It therefore behooves every officer and soldier of this army to be exceedingly vigilant and alert, particularly when on duty.

October 13, the army was alarmed by firing on the lake between the two fleets, and about four o'clock the army manned the forts ready for action. The next morning they were called to quarters before daylight. On the eleventh there had been a naval battle on Lake Champlain between Sir Guy Carleton and Generals Arnold and Waterbury, which continued four hours, and the American fleet was obliged to withdraw. On the thirteenth, our fleet was attacked by the British, who destroyed or captured eleven of our vessels, but five escaped, and this last attack was the one that caused the alarm at Mount Independence that day. Gen. Arnold and his men fought bravely, but were overpowered. Our army lost about one hundred men, and the retreat of the fleet was conducted with great skill.

Sergeant Remick's order book, under date of October 14, at Ticonderoga, has the following entry : —

As every regiment is well acquainted with their alarm-posts, the General expects the troops will be alert in marching to support the works they are severally appointed to defend. He has the utmost

dependence in the bravery and fidelity of the whole army, and believes when they are rallied to action they will show themselves worthy of the cause they are engaged to defend. He returns his thanks to Gen. Arnold, the officers and seamen and marines of the fleet for the gallant defense they made against the great superiority of the enemy's force. Such magnanimous behaviour will establish the fame of American arms throughout the Globe.

The nineteenth, the order book says : —

The General has no doubt but a vigorous defense will be made with that animated zeal becoming soldiers who are also citizens of America.

The weather during the fall of 1776 was stormy, and the soldiers suffered much from exposure. In the order book it states that the men shall in wet weather have served them one-half gill of rum, and if very wet they shall have a gill. There was such a deficiency of entrenching tools that the men were divided into squads so that they could take their turns, and thus have them in use all of the time.

After the destruction of so much of our fleet, October 13, there was a reasonable fear of the British fleet, flushed with victory, reenforced, perhaps, by their army. A strict watch was kept for the enemy, and October 28 they appeared before Fort Ticonderoga, and a general alarm was sounded for the army to man the forts. Thirteen thousand Americans were under arms. The fleet withdrew without making an attack, and the Northern campaign of 1776 was at an end. The British troops withdrew to Canada about November 4, where they remained all winter. In the spring of 1777, they emerged, reenforced by the German troops, to embark in the campaign which ended the next

October in the surrender of the army of Gen. Burgoyne, which was probably the most important event during the Revolutionary war.

A distinguished writer, speaking of the Northern campaign, said it was "an enterprise bold in conception, daring and hardy in execution, full of ingenious expedients and hazardous exploits; and which, had not unforeseen circumstances counteracted its well-devised plans, might have added all Canada to the American confederacy."

November 20, Col. Phinney's regiment marched about 9 A. M. from Mount Independence, and arrived about noon at Lake George, where it encamped in the woods for want of boats to transport the men over the lake. Here the regiment remained until November 22, when three of the companies embarked and arrived at Fort George, at the head of the lake, about nine o'clock of the twenty-third. The other five companies of the regiment arrived the twenty-fourth, and Col. Phinney took command of Fort George, superseding Col. John Stark, as he probably was the senior officer. The duty of the regiment here was transporting flour over the lake to the other forts.

December 8, the regiment was mustered when the rolls of companies were made. The twelfth, "a she-male," was drummed out of camp. On Christmas day there was no snow on the ground, and the lake was not frozen over, but the next day the snow was a foot deep.

The regiment was discharged the last of December at Fort George, and many started for home the next

day by the way of Fort Edward and Albany. Some of the men came from Albany through the following towns: Phillipstown, Pittsfield, Glasgow, Westfield, Springfield, Wilbraham, Palmer, Brookfield, Spencer, Leicester, Worcester, Northborough, Marlborough, Sudbury, Weston, Watertown and Cambridge, to Boston. Some came by a more direct route through Hadley.

After the colonies had declared their independence the war was no more a rebellion, but a struggle to establish a government, which must be continued to the end. Congress realizing this, made provisions in October for raising an army for three years or the war, as the prospect was that the new government would not be established in a few months, but that it must be a long and bitter contest.

Congress passed, October 6, the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That further encouragement for gentlemen of abilities to engage as commissioned officers in the battalions to be furnished by the different states for service during the war, their monthly pay to be increased as follows:—A Colonel, \$75.00; Lieut.-Col., \$60.00; Major, \$50.00; Capt., \$40.00; Lieut., \$27.00; Quarter Master, \$27.50; Adjt., \$40.00.

The pay of the non-commissioned officers and privates for the regiment was to be as follows:—sergeant-major and quartermaster sergeant, \$9.00; drum major and sergeant, \$8.00; corporal and drummers, \$7.33; and privates, \$6.67. The commissioned officers were to be allowed one soldier each for a waiter.

The soldiers of the Northern army were urged to reenlist, and every argument was used to induce them

to continue in the service until the close of the war. They were offered in October a bounty of twenty dollars and a complete suit of clothing, to consist of two linen hunting-shirts, two pairs stockings, two pairs shoes, one pair breeches, one waistcoat, two pairs of overalls, two shirts, and one leather cap or hat amounting in the whole to twenty dollars, or that sum to be paid to the soldier. The order book at Ticonderoga says: —

This noble bounty of \$40.00 and 100 acres of land at the end of the war is such an ample and generous gratuity from the United States that the General is convinced no American will hesitate to enroll himself to defend his country's posterity from every attempt of tyranny to enslave them.

November 2, a committee of Congress arrived in camp to engage the officers and make the arrangements for the enlistments of the men. Col. Phinney retired from the service, as his affairs at home required his attention, but he was an active patriot until the close of the war. Nearly one hundred of the regiment reenlisted for three years mostly in the regiment of Col. Brewer.

The condition of the affairs of the colonies in December was gloomy and discouraging. The time of the regiments was expiring, and new recruits did not arrive in sufficient numbers to take their places. "Gen. Washington," Thacher says, "was suffering the most agonizing distress for the fate of his army and his country." The only bright ray for the colonists was that Christmas night, Washington, during a severe snow- and rain-storm, crossed the Delaware,

fought and won the battle of Trenton, which revived the drooping spirits of the patriots.

THE ROSTER OF COL. EDMUND PHINNEY'S EIGHTEENTH CONTINENTAL REGIMENT — 1776.

Edmund Phinney,	Colonel,	Gorham.
Samuel March,	Lieut. Colonel,	Scarborough.
Jacob Brown,	Major,	North Yarmouth.
Samuel Adams,	Surgeon,	Truro, Mass.
John Sprague,	Surgeon's Mate,	Malden, "
George Smith,	Adjt.,	Cape Elizabeth.
Moses Banks,	Quartermaster,	Scarborough.
Edward Milliken,	"	"
Ebenezer Storer,	Q. M. Sergt.,	Wells.
Jacob Foster,	Chaplain,	Berwick.
John Carnes,	"	
Total 11 men.		

FIRST COMPANY.

Wentworth Stuart,	Captain,	Gorham.
Jonathan Sawyer,	Lieut. and Capt.,	"
Caleb Rowe,	First Lieut.,	Standish.
Josiah Jenkins,	Second Lieut.,	Gorham.
Archelaus Lewis,	Ensign,	Falmouth.
Joseph Stuart,	"	Scarborough.
Total 87 men.		

SECOND COMPANY.

Tobias Fernald,	Captain,	Kittery.
James Donnell,	First Lieut.,	York.
Henry Sewall,	Ensign and Sec. Lieut.,	"
Timothy Remick,	Ensign,	Kittery.
Total 68 men.		

THIRD COMPANY.

John Rice,	Captain,	Scarborough.
Bartholomew York,	First Lieut. and Capt.,	Falmouth.

Crispus Graves,	Second and First Lieut.,	North Yarmouth.
Austin Alden,	Second Lieut.,	Gorham.
Ebenezer Hogg,	Ensign,	Hamstead.
James Perkins,	"	Gorham.

Total 69 men.

FOURTH COMPANY.

Jeremiah Hill,	Captain,	Saco.
William Baston,	First Lieut.,	Wells.
Samuel Stubbs,	Second Lieut.,	North Yarmouth.
Simeon Goodwin,	Ensign,	Pepperrellborough (Saco)

Total 72 men.

FIFTH COMPANY.

Hart Williams,	Captain,	Gorham.
William McLellan,	First Lieut.,	"
Cary McLellan,	Second and First Lieut.,	"
John Perkins,	Ensign,	"
David Watts,	Ensign and Second Lieut.,	"
James Means,	Ensign,	Stroudwater.

Total 82 men.

SIXTH COMPANY.

Nathan Watkins,	Captain,	Hopkinton (Mass.).
Silas Burbank,	First Lieut.,	Scarborough.
Jacob Lyon,	Second Lieut.,	Gageborough (Windsor, Mass.).
Peter W. Brown,	Ensign and Second Lieut.,	North Yarmouth.
Robert Walker,	Ensign,	Gageborough (Windsor, Mass.).

Total 82 men.

SEVENTH COMPANY.

Silas Wilde,	Captain,	Braintree (Mass.).
Daniel Merrill,	First Lieut.,	Arundel.
William Frost,	Second Lieut.,	Kittery.
John Pray,	Ensign,	"

Total 83 men.

EIGHTH COMPANY.

Abraham Tyler,	Captain,	Scarborough.
Elisha Meserve,	First Lieut.,	“
Edward Milliken,	Second Lieut.,	“
Solomon Meserve,	Ensign,	“
Total 70 men,		

SUMMARY.

Field and Staff Officers,	11 men.
First Company,	87 “
Second “	68 “
Third “	69 “
Fourth “	72 “
Fifth “	82 “
Sixth “	82 “
Seventh “	83 “
Eighth “	70 “
Total,	<hr/> 624 “

This regiment was composed mostly of men from the Province of Maine, the others were from towns in what is now Massachusetts. Col. Phinney and his men, by circumstances, had no opportunity to distinguish themselves in an important battle, but from the records that have been preserved, they performed their duty with a fidelity that was honorable to themselves and the Commonwealth. They acted well their part in the struggle for an independent government, and their posterity will always regard with satisfaction that their ancestors were men who had the courage of their convictions and will be proud that their forefathers assisted in making a chapter in the history of the Revolution.

The history of Col. Phinney's 31st Regiment of Foot, gives biographical sketches of the commissioned officers, and those there given are omitted here. Those that are given in this history held no commissions in that regiment in 1775, or what is given is additional to that already published.

THE EIGHTEENTH CONTINENTAL OR FOOT REGIMENT IN THE SERVICE OF THE UNITED COLONIES, JAN. 1, 1776.

FIELD OFFICERS.

Edmund Phinney,	Colonel,	Appointed Jan. 1, 1776.
Samuel March,	Lieut Col.,	“ “ “
Jacob Brown,	Major,	“ “ “

sick, absent on furlough by Dr. Potts.

STAFF OFFICERS.

Samuel Adams, Surgeon, Appointed Jan. 1, 1776. On command at Albany.

John Sprague, Surgeon's Mate, Appointed Jan. 1, 1776. Sick in garrison.

George Smith, Adjt., Appointed Jan. 1, 1776. Reengaged as Capt. with Col. Patterson, Nov. 13, 1776.

Moses Banks, Quarter Master, Appointed Jan. 1, 1776. Cashiered July 26, 1776.

Edward Milliken, Quarter Master, Appointed July 27, 1776. On command at Albany.

Ebenezer Storer, Q. M. Sergt., Appointed April, 1776.

Jacob Foster, Chaplain, Appointed Jan. 1, 1776. Resigned Feb. 28, 1776.

John Carnes, Chaplain, Appointed March 1, 1776.

The above is taken from the original December return in the Massachusetts Archives, Vol. XLVI, page 9.

Of Col. Edmund Phinney a biographical sketch appears in the history of the 31st Regiment of Foot, but

it must have been his great-grandfather, who is said to have been a soldier in the Swamp Fight in 1675. His first wife was Elizabeth Meserve, born at Scarborough, September 2, 1730, a daughter of Clement Meserve, the third generation of the name, who married Sarah Decker, October 12, 1726. Clement Meserve was born in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, about 1703, and lived in the towns of Newington, New Hampshire, Scarborough, Gorham, Standish and Bristol. Col. Phinney's children were Decker, Sarah, Joseph, Betty, Edmund Jr., Stephen, James and Nathaniel.

Surgeon Samuel Adams was born in Killingly, Connecticut, in 1745; studied with Dr. Nathaniel Freeman of Sandwich, Massachusetts, and is said to have practised at Truro, Massachusetts, from which place he entered the army. He is said to have had four wives and nine children. He was surgeon of this regiment January 1 to December 31, 1776, surgeon of the Third Continental Artillery May 14, 1778, hospital physician and surgeon October 6, 1780, and served until the close of the war. He died at Bath, Maine, March 6, 1819, aged seventy-four years.

Surgeon's Mate John Sprague was from Malden, Massachusetts, where he was born January 13, 1754, and was the son of Phineas and Hannah Sprague. May 1, 1775, he was surgeon's mate to Dr. Walter Hastings, surgeon of Col. Ebenezer Bridge's regiment, and served in Col. Phinney's 18th Continental regiment from January 1 until December 31, 1776. In 1777, he was surgeon of the armed schooner Active, Capt. Andrew Gardner. This vessel was in the

unfortunate fleet of Com. Manley, and, with others, he was carried to Halifax, Nova Scotia, as a prisoner. On being exchanged, John Sprague reentered the service, but was again unfortunate, and suffered capture. He was carried to Kinsale, then a naval depot in Ireland. He remained there until the winter of 1781-82. On return, he was again commissioned, this time as surgeon of the Massachusetts sloop Winthrop, Capt. George Little, and was in that position from May 4, 1782, until March 17, 1783. Edward Preble was first lieutenant of the Winthrop.

John Sprague returned to Malden and passed the remainder of his life as a physician there. He died of consumption, October 21, 1803, aged forty-nine years.

Adjutant George Smith was from Cape Elizabeth, and he married Deborah Bayley, daughter of Daniel Bayley of the same town, before the war. He was a tailor by trade, and entered the service May 7, 1775, in Col. Phinney's regiment, served through 1776 in this regiment, was appointed captain in Col. Joseph Vose's 1st Massachusetts regiment, January 1, 1777, and resigned May 3, 1779. He was at the siege of Boston, marched to Fort Ticonderoga, served in the campaign of 1777, and spent the winter at Valley Forge.

Chaplain Jacob Foster was ordained at Berwick, Maine, in 1757, where he preached twenty-one years. He was chaplain of this regiment from January 1 to February 28, 1776, when he resigned.

Chaplain John Carnes was appointed March 1, 1776, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Rev. Jacob Foster.

Quartermaster Sergeant Ebenezer Storer was born in Wells, Maine, July 9, 1758. He was the son of John Jr., and Mary (Langdon) Storer. His mother was the eldest daughter of John Langdon Esq., of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and she married for her second husband Jeremiah Hill, Esq., of Saco, the father of Capt. Jeremiah Hill of this regiment. Ebenezer Storer married first, November 10, 1785, Eunice Titcomb, daughter of Dea. Benjamin Titcomb of Falmouth, and she died November 13, 1798, aged thirty-nine years. He married again, June 16, 1800, Catherine Stevenson, a daughter of Capt. John and Tabitha (Longfellow) Stevenson of Gorham. By both wives he had a large family. He was a prominent merchant at Portland, Maine, for over twenty years, removed to New York, returned to Gorham, Maine, where he died January 20, 1846, aged eighty-seven years. It was said of him that he "was a respected citizen and a gentleman of military tastes and polished manner."

Sergeant Storer served as a private in Capt. Samuel Sawyer's Company, in Col. James Scamman's regiment at Cambridge, in 1775, enlisted January 1, 1776, as sergeant in Capt. Jeremiah Hill's Company, in Col. Phinney's 18th Continental regiment, appointed ensign in Col. Samuel Brewer's regiment November 13, 1776, and made lieutenant in same regiment, under Col. Sprout, July 5, 1779, transferred to the 2d Massachusetts regiment January 1, 1781, and served until November 3, 1783; almost eight and one-half years' service. He witnessed the battle of Bunker Hill, was at the siege of Boston, marched to Fort Ticonderoga

in 1776, served in the Saratoga campaign, was at Valley Forge, and no doubt participated in several battles. He was a member of the Society of the Cincinnati. He also served as the paymaster and clothier of his regiment, and signed the oath of allegiance at Valley Forge.

FIRST COMPANY.

Second Lieutenant Josiah Jenkins was from Gorham, and his wife was Prudence Davis. He married in 1776. They had seven children. He was a sergeant in Capt. Wentworth Stuart's Company in Col. Phinney's 31st Regiment of Foot at Cambridge in 1775, second lieutenant in this regiment February 1, first lieutenant April 18 to December 31, 1776, and was captain in the 12th Massachusetts regiment January 1, 1777. He was discharged April 1, 1779, and died in 1831, aged eighty-one years.

Ensign Archelaus Lewis lived at Cumberland Mills. He was born at Berwick, Maine, February 15, 1753; married (1) March 14, 1779, Rebecca Hubbard, who died December 17, 1788; (2) September 18, 1791, Elizabeth Browne, daughter of Rev. Thomas Browne, who died September 15, 1804; (3) October 10, 1807, Frances Angier, who died November 15, 1815. He died at Westbrook, January 2, 1834, aged eighty years.

Ensign Lewis was a minute-man in Capt. John Brackett's Company, April 21, 1775; sergeant under same captain in Col. Phinney's 31st Regiment of Foot in 1775; was ensign in this regiment from February 1

to April 18, 1776; second lieutenant to December 31, 1776, and lieutenant and adjutant in Col. Joseph Vose's 1st Massachusetts regiment, January 1, 1777, to February 20, 1779.

Ensign Joseph Stuart of Scarborough was a fifer in Capt. Wentworth Stuart's Company in Col. Phinney's 31st Regiment of Foot at Cambridge in 1775, sergeant in this regiment January 1 to April 18, 1776, promoted to ensign, and deserted November 6, 1776.

FIRST COMPANY.

A Muster Roll of the late Capt. Wentworth Stuart's, now Capt. Jonathan Sawyer's Company, in Col. Edmund Phinney's Battalion of Massachusetts Bay Forces. Garrison at Fort George, Dec. 8, A. D. 1776.

Date of Enlistment.

Wentworth Stuart, Capt.,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Died at Brookline, April 17, 1776.
Jonathan Sawyer, Lieut. & Capt.,	"	Promoted Apr. 18, 1776.
Caleb Rowe, 1st Lieut.,	"	Discharged Feb. 1, 1776.
Josiah Jenkins, 2d "	"	2d Lieut. Feb. 1, 1st Lieut. April 18. Reengaged as Capt. in Col. Brewer's Regt. Nov. 18, 1776.
Archelaus Lewis, Ensign,	"	Ensign, Feb. 1. 2d Lieut., April 18. Reengaged with Col. Patterson, Nov. 18, 1776.
Joseph Stuart, Ensign,	"	Ensign, April 18. Deserted Nov. 6, 1776.
James Webb, Sergt.,	"	Deserted Nov. 6, 1776.
Nathaniel Adson, "	"	Reengaged Nov. 18, 1776.
George Johnston, "	"	Sergt. Feb. 1. Discharged Aug. 15, 1776.
Adriel Warren, "	"	Sergt., April 17. On command at Albany.

James Irish, Sergt.,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Sergt., Aug. 20.
John Thurlo, "	"	Corp., Feb. 6, Sergt., Nov. 10. Sick in Genl. Hospital.
George Tacara, Drummer,	"	Reengaged Nov. 18, 1776.
Reuben Cookson, Corp.,	"	Reduced Feb. 6, 1776.
Elijah Davis, Corp.,	"	Corp. Feb. 6. Sick in Genl. Hospital.
John Davis, "	"	Corp. Aug. 14, 1776.
Amos Brown, "	"	Corp. Nov. 10. Reengaged Nov. 17, 1776.
John Richards, Fifer,	"	Reengaged Nov. 13, 1776.

<i>Privates.</i>	<i>Date of Enlistment.</i>	
Parker Adams,	Jan. 1, 1776.	On command with surgeon to Albany.
Joseph Blake,	"	Discharged Nov. 6, 1776.
Ephriam Russell,	"	Deserted Aug. 4, 1776.
Nathaniel Barber,	Dec. 1, 1775.	
Nathan Bangs,	"	Reengaged Nov. 20, 1776.
John Ballard,	"	Deserted Sept. 1, 1776.
Jonathan Bean,	6,	" "
Jonathan Cole,	1,	" "
Moses Craige,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Discharged Aug. 4, 1776.
Benjamin Clifford,	"	
Danforth Champney,	Dec. 1, 1775.	Sick at Wellfleet, Nov. 14, 1776.
Samuel Cavener,	"	
Reuben Cookson,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Deserted Sept. 1, 1776.
Soloman Coombs,	Dec. 1, 1775.	
Josiah Cahoon,	"	Deserted July 1, 1776.
John Fowler,	"	Discharged Nov. 6, 1776.
John Foy,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Reengaged Nov. 17, 1776.
Moses Grant,	"	Discharged Oct. 7, 1776.
Caleb Green,	Dec. 1, 1775.	
George Hatch,	"	Discharged Sept. 21, 1776.
Job Hall,	Jan. 1, 1776.	
Charles Hall,	Dec. 27, 1775.	
Ezekiel Hatch,	Jan. 1, 1776.	
Asa Hatch,	"	
Joseph Harding,	May 7, 1776.	Deserted Oct. 28th, 1776.
Samuel Knights,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Sick in Gen. Hospital.
Moses Lord,	"	" "

Ephriam Lucas,	Dec. 1, 1775.	On command to guard Gen. Washington.
Richard Lowe,	"	Deserted Sept. 1st, 1776.
Simon Lombard,	"	On command to Fort Edward.
Ebenezer Lovell,	"	Died Nov. 15th, 1776.
Stephen Manchester,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Discharged Aug. 20th, 1776.
John Matthews,	"	Sick in barracks.
Moses Merrill,	"	
Mark Morse,	Dec. 1, 1775.	
Thomas Moses,	"	Died July 23d, 1776.
Carle McMahan,	Jan. 1, 1776.	On command with Gen. Washington.
John Mitchell,	"	Deserted Aug. 1, 1776.
Bartholomew Nason,	"	Discharged Sept. 26th, 1776.
Anthony Noble,	Dec. 1, 1775.	Reengaged Nov. 13, 1776.
Josiah Peabody,	Jan. 1, 1776.	
Jeremiah Pennell,	"	Reengaged Nov. 13, 1776.
Richard Preston,	"	" Nov. 13, 1776. Sick in Genl. Hospital.
Adams Royal,	"	" Nov. 13, 1776.
George Robinson,	"	Died Aug. 28, 1776.
Benjamin Rowe,	"	Discharged Sept. 20, 1776.
Joseph Roberts,	"	Sick in barracks.
Eli Royal,	"	Deserted July 23, 1776.
Thomas Shaw,	"	
Harding Snow,	Dec. 1, 1775.	Deserted Sept. 1, 1776.
John Strout,	4,	" "
Prince Strout,	Jan. 1, 1776.	
Moses Spencer,	"	Discharged Nov. 6, 1776.
William Smith,	Dec. 1, 1775.	
Elias Starbord,	Jan. 1, 1776.	
Ephriam Smith,	Dec. 1, 1775.	Deserted July 1, 1776.
Joel Simmons,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Discharged Feb. 1, 1776.
Simeon Sanborn,	Nov. 27, 1776.	
Daniel Toward,	Jan. 1, 1776.	On command attending the sick at Albany, reengaged Nov. 17, 1776.
James Thurlo,	Dec. 1, 1775.	Sick in Genl. Hospital.
William Thompson,	"	Deserted July 1, 1776.
David Wilson,	"	
Samuel Webster,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Discharged Sept. 8, 1776.
Jonathan Whitney,	Dec. 1, 1775.	Sick in Genl. Hospital.
John Warren,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Died May 23, 1776.

Thomas Wallis,	Dec. 1, 1775.	Deserted July 1, 1776.
John Young,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Sick in barracks.
Isaac Ilsley York,	"	"
Isaac York,	"	On guard.

The original roll is in the Massachusetts Archives, Volume XLVI, page 8. 87 men.

SECOND COMPANY.

Capt. Tobias Fernald was born at Kittery, Maine, February 1, 1744, married in 1780 Dorcas McIntire of York, Maine, and had two daughters, Harriet and Juliet. He lived on land now occupied by the Navy Yard at Kittery. He had the small-pox in Boston in April, 1776, and died August 15, 1784, aged forty years.

Capt. Fernald was first a captain in Col. Scamman's regiment at Cambridge, from May to December, 1775, in this regiment January 1, to November 6, 1776, and October 22, was ordered to do the duty of major during the absence of Maj. Brown. He was major in Col. Brewer's 12th Massachusetts regiment, November 6, 1776, promoted to lieutenant-colonel in Col. Michael Jackson's 8th Massachusetts regiment, March 6, 1779, transferred to Col. Marshall's 10th Massachusetts regiment January 1, 1781, and retired January 1, 1783.

First Lieutenant James Donnell of York, Maine, was a first lieutenant in Col. Scamman's regiment at Cambridge from May until December, 1775, in this regiment January 1, to November 13, 1776, promoted to captain and served until December 31. He was commissioned captain in the 12th Massachusetts regiment January 1, 1777, and resigned July 5, 1779.

Second Lieutenant Timothy Remick was born in Kittery, married in 1775 Mercy Staples of Kittery. He came home from the army sick and died in February, 1785, aged twenty-eight years.

Lieutenant Remick was a corporal in Scamman's regiment at Cambridge in 1775, sergeant in this company January 1, to November 13, 1776, when he was promoted to second lieutenant and served until December 31. He was first lieutenant in the 12th Massachusetts regiment January 1, 1777, captain October 14, 1780, transferred to 1st Massachusetts regiment January 1, 1781, adjutant July 1, 1781, major and brigade inspector July 8, to December, 1781, and served in the 1st Massachusetts regiment until June, 1783. He signed the oath of allegiance at Valley Forge.

SECOND COMPANY.

A Muster Roll of Capt. Tobias Fernald's Company in Col. Edmund Phinney's regiment. Garrison at Fort George Dec. 8th, 1776.

Date of Enlistment.

Tobias Fernald, Capt.,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Reengaged as Major	Nov. 6, 1776.
James Donnell, 1st Lieut.,	"	" as Capt.	Nov. 13, "
George Smith, 2nd	"	" as Capt. with Col. Pat-	terson Nov. 13, 1776.
Henry Sewall, Ensign,	"	" as 1st Lieut.	Nov. 13, "
Timothy Remick, Sergt.,	"	" as 2d	" Nov. 13, "
Samuel Brooks,	"	"	"
Jotham Donnell,	"	Reengaged as Sergt.	Nov. 15th, 1776.
Levi Doane,	"	Sick in Genl. Hospital.	
Pelataiah Hanscom, Corp.,	"		
George Spinney,	"	Sick in Genl. Hospital.	
Obadiah Donnell,	"	On guard.	
Joshua Berry,	"	Sick in Genl. Hospital.	
Nathaniel Hooper, Drummer,	"	Reengaged	Nov. 14, 1776.
Jeremiah Grover, Fifer,	"	Sick in Genl. Hospital	Dec. 7.

Privates.

Jacob Amee,	Jan. 1, 1776.	On command at Ticonderoga.
Moses Amee,	"	Died Nov. 3, 1776.
Nathaniel Abbott,	Feby 22, 1776.	Deserted Aug. 21st, 1776.
Josiah Brooks,	Jan. 1, "	Discharged July 8, 1776.
Thomas Cummings,	Jan. 1, 1776.	
John Cox,	Feby 16th, "	On guard. Reengaged Nov. 15, 1776.
James Claridge,	May 21st, "	
Thomas Curtis,	Feby 22d, "	Sick in Genl. Hospital.
Phillip Davis,	Jan. 1, "	
Stephen Dixon,	" " "	
Paul Doton,	May 23, "	Discharged Sept. 20th, 1776.
Dennis Fernald,	Dec. 3, 1775.	
Moses Gammon,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Furlough by Col. Phinney to Boston, Nov. 20th, 1776.
John Henney,	Dec. 1, 1775.	
Reuben Hanscom,	Jan. 1, 1776.	
Mark Hanscom,	" " "	On guard.
Jotham Harris,	" " "	
Noah Hutchins,	" " "	Reengaged Nov. 15th, 1776.
Joseph Hutchins,	Feby 16, "	Deserted Sept. 30, 1776.
Thomas Hervey,	" 17, "	Reengaged Nov. 15th, 1776.
Samuel Hall,	" 23, "	Died Dec. 31, 1776.
Robert Jemmison,	Jan. 1, "	Died April 24, 1776, in the Hospital.
Edmund Fernald,	May 18, "	Discharged Nov. 8, 1776.
Benjamin Jenkins,	Jan. 13, "	Sick in Genl. Hospital.
John Kelley,	" 1, "	On command on board fleet.
William Keating,	Feby 22, "	" " "
Theodore Lovejoy,	Jan. 1, "	
Abraham Linscott,	May 23, "	Reingaged in November.
Isaac Moore,	Jan. 1, "	Sick in barracks.
James McManners,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Died Oct. 19th, 1776.
John McCastelin,	Dec. 1, 1775.	Reengaged. Died Dec. 26, 1776, in a fit.
John Main,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Died Oct. 9, 1776.
Israel Murfy,	" " "	Deserted Aug. 21, 1776.
Jonathan Mendum,	Feby 16, "	Reengaged Nov. 15, 1776.
John Manson,	" 22, "	On command at Ticonderoga. Reengaged Nov. 15, 1776.
Charles Perrin,	" 1, "	Reengaged Nov. 15, 1776.
Daniel Prebble,	May 23, "	" " "
Cato Rogers,	Jan. 1, "	Sick in Genl. Hospital.

David Rogers,	May 14, 1776.	
James Rand,	Dec. 1, 1775.	Sick in barracks.
Josiah Remick,	May 21, 1776.	“ “ Genl. Hospital.
John Smart,	Jan. 1, “	Reengaged Nov. 15, 1776.
Thomas Spokesfield,	“ “ “	
Henry Spokesfield,	Dec. 1, 1775.	Sick in Genl. Hospital.
Jacob Smith,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Died April 8, 1776, of a fever.
Daniel Sargent,	“ “ “	Sick in Genl. Hospital.
William Stacy,	May 21, “	
Benjamin Trafton,	Feb'y 22, “	
David Vickery,	Dec. 1, 1775.	
William Wheron,	Jan. 1, 1776.	
Moses Willson,	“ “ “	Died Oct. 31, 1776.
Samuel Weeks,	Feb'y 18, “	Sick in Genl. Hospital.
James Williamson,	Jan. 1, “	Deserted Sept. 30th, 1776.

The original roll is in the Massachusetts Archives, Volume XLVI, page 4. 68 men.

THIRD COMPANY.

Second Lieutenant Austin Alden was born at Marshfield, Massachusetts, March 25, 1729, and was a descendant of John Alden, the Pilgrim. He married in 1756 Salome Lombard, daughter of Rev. Solomon Lombard of Gorham. She was born at Truro, Massachusetts, June 10, 1734, and died May 18, 1780, aged forty-three years. He settled at Gorham in 1755, and died there March 23, 1804, aged seventy-five years. He was a sergeant in Capt. Joseph Woodman's Company May 2, to November 14, 1757, served in Capt. Wentworth Stuart's Company, in Col. Phinney's 31st Regiment of Foot at Cambridge in 1775, enlisted in this regiment January 1, 1776, was promoted to first lieutenant and November 13, 1776, he reenlisted probably for three years in Col. Brewer's 12th Massachusetts regiment. He was a deacon in the Congregational

church, selectman, town clerk, and "ever sustained an unblemished character."

Ensign James Perkins of Gorham served in Capt. Hart Williams' Company, in Col. Phinney's 31st Regiment of Foot at Cambridge in 1775, was sergeant under same captain January 1, 1776, promoted to ensign and transferred to Capt. Bartholomew York's Company in this regiment, enlisted as second lieutenant in the 15th Massachusetts Regiment January 1, 1777, and resigned February 24, 1778. He died March 4, 1830.

Ensign Ebenezer Hogg of Hamstead, served as a sergeant in Capt. McFarland's Company, in Col. Nixon's regiment eight months, in 1775, joined this regiment January 1, 1776, promoted to ensign May 18, and was cashiered July 31, 1776.

THIRD COMPANY.

A Muster Roll of Captains John Rice and Bartholomew York in Col. Edmund Phinney's regiment. Garrison at Fort George, Dec. 8th, 1776.

Date of Enlistment.

John Rice,	Capt.,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Died of small-pox, May 18th, 1776.
Bartholomew York,	"	"	Capt. May 18th, 1776.
Crispus Graves,	1st Lieut.,	"	1st Lieut. " " "
Austin Auldin,	2nd "	"	Reengaged Nov. 13, 1776, with Col. Brewer.
Ebenezer Hogg,	Ensign,	"	Ensign May 18th, Cashiered July 31, 1776.
James Perkins,	"	Aug. 1, 1776.	
James Leary,	Sergt.,	Jan. 1, "	Reengaged Nov. 13, 1776.
Abijah Parker,	"	" " "	
Abner Lunt,	"	" " "	Discharged Aug. 8th, 1776.
Samuel Bass,	"	May 20, "	

James Lambert, Sergt.,	May 18, 1776.	Exchanged for Saml Bass May 20, 1776.
Silas Durgin,	“ Jan. 1, “	Corp. Aug. 9, 1776.
Benjamin Rice,	Corp., “ “	Sick in Genl Hospital.
Francis Quinn,	“ “ “	Deserted Aug. 8th, 1776.
Nicholas Buzzell,	“ “ “	Reduced Aug. 28th, 1776.
James Diall,	“ Feby 21, “	Corp. Aug. 8, 1776. Sick in barracks. Reengaged Nov. 15, 1776.
Cornelius Bramhall,	“ Nov. 21, 1775.	Corp. Aug. 9, 1776.
Samuel Webber,	“ Feby 1, 1776.	“ “ 28, “
John Newall, Drummer,	Jan. 1, “	Exchanged for Ro. Polly May 1, 1776.
Robert Polley,	“ May 1, “	Deserted Aug. 9, 1776.
Francis Dizer,	“ Feby 1, 1776.	Drummer, Aug. 9, 1776.
John Patterson, Fifer,	Jan. 1, “	Deserted Aug. 19th, 1776.

Privates.

John Butler,	Feby 21, 1776.	Sick in barracks.
Nicholas Buzzell,	May 25, “	
Broadstreet Bootman,	Feb. 21, “	Reengaged Nov. 24, 1776.
Amos Brown,	Jan. 1, “	Discharged Aug. 28, 1776.
Tobias Butler,	“ “ “	“ Sept. 30, 1776.
George Bell,	Apr. “ “	Deserted July 10, 1776.
Ebenezer Bullard,	May 12, “	Discharged Aug. 28, 1776.
Samuel Cole,	Jan. 1, “	“ “ “ “
Edward Clark,	May 25, “	“ “ “ “
James Coolbroth,	Jan. 1, “	Reengaged Nov. 15, 1776.
John Dunlap,	Feby 21, “	Sick in barracks.
James Fitzgerald,	“ 22, “	Deserted Aug. 7, 1776.
John Fitzgerald,	“ 18, “	Discharged Oct. 2, 1776.
Enoch Grafton,	“ 1, “	Reengaged Nov. 24, 1776.
James Dunlap,	“ 21, “	Deserted Aug. 22, 1776.
Jabash Gage,	May 28, “	Discharged Aug. 28, 1776.
Abraham Guile,	Jan. 1, “	Deserted Sept. 20, “
Jacob Hardy,	“ “ “	Discharged Aug. 8, “
Job Jennings,	March 1, “	“ Sept. 30, “
James Kimball,	May 21, “	“ “ 20, “
Abraham Millett,	Feby 1, “	Reengaged Nov. 15, 1776.
John Motes,	“ “ “	Discharged Aug. 28, 1776.
John Adverson,	Jan. 1, “	Died March 18, 1776.
Samuel March,	Feby 1, “	
Thomas Middletown,	Jan. 5, “	Discharged Sept. 20, 1776.

Samuel Middletown,	May 22, 1776.	Discharged Sept. 30, 1776.
Stephen Mansfield,	" 12, "	Died Nov. 14, 1776.
Benjamin Murch,	April 10, "	Deserted Aug. 8, 1776.
John Morgan,	Jan. 1, "	Died in Dec., 1776.
Richard Mitchell,	" " "	Sick in barracks.
John Patten,	Feb'y 12, "	Reengaged Nov. 24, 1776.
John Phelman,	" "	Deserted Aug. 8, 1776.
Benjamin Parker,	" 1,	Sick in barracks.
Joss Page,	Jan. 1,	Reengaged Nov. 15, 1776.
Thomas Rice,	" "	Deserted Aug. 19, 1776.
Benjamin Randall,	May 12,	Lame in barracks.
David Sears,	" "	Deserted Aug. 20, 1776.
Joseph Salt,	Dec. 20, 1775.	On command in the fleet.
Reuben Sargent,	June 1, 1776.	Discharged Sept. 30, 1776.
Michael Turney,	May 2,	Died Nov. 2, 1776.
William Vance,	" 21,	Discharged at muster, Dec. 8, 1776.
James Milliken,	Jan. 1,	Discharged Feb'y 15, 1777.
James Witcher,	May 22,	
John Williams,	April 1,	Deserted July 20, 1776.
James Whittier,	" "	Reengaged Nov. 24, 1776.
Samuel Yeaton,	Feb'y 12,	Sick in barracks.
Jonathan Young,	Sick in barracks.	Reengaged Nov. 24, 1776.

The original roll is in the Massachusetts Archives, Volume XLVI., page 7. 69 men.

FOURTH COMPANY.

Captain Jeremiah Hill of Saco, was born April 30, 1747, and was the son of Jeremiah and Mary (Smith) Hill. He married, September 6, 1772, Mrs. Sarah Emery, she a daughter of Capt. Daniel and Rebecca (Emery) Smith of Biddeford. He was a captain in Scamman's York County regiment at Cambridge in 1775, became captain in this regiment January 1, 1776, and January 1, 1777, was commissioned captain in Col. Joseph Vose's 1st Massachusetts regiment, and resigned November 4, 1777. He joined the 1st Massa-

chusetts regiment at West Point, and took part in the Saratoga campaign. He was commissary of prisoners in Rhode Island, in 1778, and was adjutant-general of the Bagaduce Expedition in 1779. Capt. Hill was a representative to the General Court, a justice of peace, and was the first collector of Saco, 1789 to 1809. He had the small-pox at Boston in April, 1776, and died June 11, 1820, aged seventy-three years.

First Lieutenant William Baston was from Wells, Maine. He enlisted May 3, 1775, in Capt. Josiah Bragdon's company, in Col. Scamman's regiment, and was commissioned first lieutenant in this regiment January 1, 1776, and served until December 31, 1776.

Second Lieutenant Samuel Stubbs was from North Yarmouth, Maine. He was a sergeant in Capt. John Worthley's company, in Col. Phinney's 31st Regiment of Foot in 1775, and served as such in this regiment from January 1, until August 1, when he was appointed as second lieutenant and served until December 31, 1776. He reenlisted in the army November 13, 1776, his service to commence January 1, 1777, probably for three years. He died March 3, 1823.

Ensign Simeon Goodwin of Pepperrellborough (Saco), was a sergeant in Capt. Hill's company, in Col. Scamman's regiment; enlisted May 3, 1775, and served eight months at Cambridge; he enlisted as sergeant in this regiment January 1, 1776, promoted to ensign August 1, and served until December 31, 1776. He was quartermaster-sergeant in Capt. Romery's company, in Col. Storer's regiment August 30 to November 30, 1777.

FOURTH COMPANY.

A Muster Roll of Capt. Jeremiah Hill's Company in Col. Edmund Phinney's Regiment in Garrison at Fort George, December 8th, 1776.

Date of Enlistment.

Jeremiah Hill, Capt.,	Jan.	1,	1776.	Reengaged with Col. Patterson, Nov. 13, 1776.
William Baston, 1st Lieut.,	"	"	"	"
Moses Banks, 2nd "	"	"	"	Promoted to Q. M. and Cashiered July 26, 1776.
Samuel Stubbs, "	"	"	"	Lieut. Aug. 1, 1776. Reengaged Nov. 13, 1776. On command recruiting.
Simeon Goodman, Ensign,	"	"	"	Ensign Aug. 1, 1776. Left on command at Ticonderoga Saw Mills.
John Hill, Sergt.,	"	"	"	Died June 9, 1776.
Ebenezer Stephens, "	"	"	"	Ensign Nov. 13, 1776.
Charles Byles, "	"	4,	"	Discharged Aug. 1st, 1776.
Daniel Hill, "	"	1,	"	Promoted June 10, 1776. Reengaged as Ensign Nov. 13th, 1776.
Ebenezer Storer, "	"	"	"	Promoted Sergt. Aug. 1, 1776. Reengaged as Ensign Nov. 13, 1776.
Richard Stubbs, "	"	4,	"	Sergt. Aug. 1st, 1776.
David Daniels, Corp.,	"	1,	"	Died July 11, 1776.
Daniel Morrison, "	"	"	"	Discharged Sept. 30th, 1776.
Benjamin Sanborn, "	"	"	"	Corp. July 12, 1776.
Levi Foss, "	"	"	"	" Aug. 1, 1776.
Nathan Woodman, "	"	"	"	" " " "
Bela Mitchell, "	Jan.	1,	1776.	" Oct. 1, "
John Davis, Drummer,	"	"	"	Reenlisted Nov. 14th. 1776.
Jeremiah Banks, Fifer,	Dec.	4,	1775.	Discharged July 31st, 1776.
Pomp Jackson, "	June	15,	1776.	Fifer Aug. 1. Reenlisted Nov. 14, 1776.

Privates.

Daniel Bradbury,	Jan.	1,	1776.	Reenlisted Nov. 23d, 1776.
James Bridget,	"	"	"	On command. Reenlisted Nov. 1st, 1776.
Caleb Barrett,	"	"	"	Discharged Sept. 26th, 1776.
Jonathan Byram,	"	"	"	"

David Byram,	Dec. 12, 1775.	
James Byram,	Feb'y 13, 1776.	
Benjamin Brown,	Jan. 18, "	
David Crague,	" 1, "	On command. Reenlisted Nov. 1st, 1776.
John Cole,	" " "	On command attending the sick at Genl Hospital.
Ebenezer Cole,	" 13, "	Reenlisted Nov. 16th, 1776.
James Campbell,	" 1, "	" " 23, "
Samuel Coolidge,	" 12, "	
Alexander Collier,	May 3, "	Deserted June 28th, 1776.
John Chewin,	Jan. 1, "	On command. Reenlisted Nov. 18th, 1776.
Joseph Ceaser,	June 28, "	
Nicholas Davis,	Jan. 1, "	On command. Reenlisted Dec. 1st, 1776.
James Ellison,	May 10, "	Reenlisted Nov. 14th, 1776.
Jonathan Fields,	Jan. 1, "	Discharged Sept. 26th, "
Michael Ferress,	" " "	Reenlisted Nov. 23, 1776.
Joseph Hunter,	" " "	On command at Fort Edward.
Thomas Hannaford,	Feb'y 15, "	Deserted Oct. 1st, 1776.
John Hannaford,	" 19, "	" July 30th, "
Josiah Hannaford,	June 1, "	Reenlisted Nov. 17th, "
Aaron Harris,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Discharged April 6, 1776.
John Hobbs,	" " "	" Sept. 20, "
John Jepson,	" 9, "	
Edward Jumper,	Feb'y 13, "	
John Kenrick,	Jan. 1, "	Left on command with Ensign Goodwin Nov. 22, 1776.
Zephaniah Lane,	" " "	On command at Fort Edward.
Theodore Linscott,	Feb'y 19, "	Sick in Genl Hospital.
Robert Martin,	Jan. 1, "	Lame in Barrack.
George Martin,	Nov. 27, 1775.	
James McFarland,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Killed Oct. 13th, 1776.
Jonathan Norton,	" " "	On furlough. Reenlisted Nov. 15th, 1776.
John Pierce,	Nov. 29, 1775.	Reenlisted Nov. 15th, 1776.
Joseph Plaister,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Deserted Oct. 18th, "
George Phillips,	April 5, "	Discharged Sept. 26th, "
James Rogers,	Jan. 1, "	
Joseph Ross,	Feb'y 13, "	
Timothy Rolfe,	Jan. 1, "	

Isaac Ross,	Feb'y 14, 1776.
Joseph Studley,	Dec. 17, 1775. On command with Lieut. Stubbs. Reenlisted Nov. 14. 1776.
James Soul,	Jan. 4, 1776. On guard.
James Sawyer,	" 21, "
Edvardus Shaw,	Feb'y 13, "
James Tucker,	Jan. 1, "
James Uran, sick at Albany in hospital.	Reenlisted Nov. 15, 1776.
James Weston,	Sick in Hospital.
John Webster,	On furlough to Aug. 1st. by Gen. Ward, supposed deserted Aug. 31st.
Thomas Whalam,	sick in barracks. Reenlisted Nov. 24th, 1776.
Edward Wilson,	April 13, 1776. Sick in Genl Hospital.
Roger Woodworth,	June 28, " Sick in Genl Hospital. Re-enlisted Nov. 14th, 1776.
William York,	Jan. 13, " On guard.

The original roll is in the Massachusetts Archives, Volume XLVI, page 3. 72 men.

FIFTH COMPANY.

Ensign John Perkins served as sergeant under Capt. Hart Williams in Col. Phinney's 31st Regiment of Foot at Cambridge in 1775, enlisted in this regiment January 1, 1776, as ensign, and died at Brookline hospital, April 18, 1776, of small pox. He went from Gorham. He married Lois Hadaway in 1769.

Lieutenant David Watts went from Gorham and served as sergeant in Capt. Williams' company, in Col. Phinney's 31st Regiment of Foot at Cambridge in 1775, enlisted as ensign in this regiment January 1, 1776, promoted to second lieutenant April 17, promoted to first lieutenant in Col. Brewer's 12th Massachusetts regiment January 1, 1777, and resigned July 1, 1779. He married, December 9, 1779, Sarah Davis, and had children, Samuel, David and Betsey.

FIFTH COMPANY.

A Muster Roll of Capt. Hart Williams Company in Col. Edmund Phinney's Regiment in Garrison at Fort George, December 8th, 1776.

Enlisted.

Hart Williams, Capt.,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Sick at Albany.
William McLellan, 1st Lieut.,	"	Deserted Aug. 3d, 1776.
Cary McLellan, 2nd "	"	Promoted Aug. 3, 1776.
John Perkins, Ensign,	"	Died April 18, 1776, of small-pox.
David Watts, Lieut.,	"	Lieut. April 17. Reengaged in Col. Brewer's Regt., Nov. 13, 1776.
James Means, Ensign,	"	Reengaged as 2d Lieut. in Col. Brewer's Regt., Nov. 13, 1776.
James Perkins, Sergt.,		Promoted Ensign Capt. York's Co., Aug. 1, 1776.
James Morton, "		Discharged in April.
William Cole, "	April 21, 1776.	
Richard Switcher, "	Jan. 1, "	Sergt. April 17, 1776.
Pelatihah McDonald, "	" 1, "	" Aug. 1, 1776.
David McIntire, Corp.,	" 1, "	Promoted Aug. 3, 1776.
Daniel Hunt, "	Jan. 1, "	
John Melven, "	Jan. 1, "	Corp. April 17th, 1776. Reengaged Dec. 1st, 1776.
Peter Biter, "	Dec. 5, 1775.	Corp. Aug. 1, 1776.
Soloman Green, "	Jan. 10, 1776.	" Aug. 3, 1776.
John Whitney, Drummer,	Jan. 1, "	Reengaged Nov. 15th, 1776.
Jeremiah Jones, Fifer,	" "	" " " "

Privates.

Jonah Austin,	Jan. 1, "
John Burnell,	Dec. 5, 1775. Reengaged Nov. 26, 1776.
Stacey Blush,	Jan. 1, 1776. Deserted May 1, 1776.
James Berry,	" " " " " 4, "
Soloman Brown,	Dec. 1, 1775. Died Oct. 25, 1776.
Abel Bathorick,	Jan. 1, 1776. Deserted Sept. 1, 1776.
Moses Blansher,	Dec. 27, 1775.
Samuel Bradshaw,	Jan. 1, 1776. Died Aug. 1, 1776.
Jeremiah Clark,	April 9, " Deserted April 11, 1776.
Israel Coley,	Jan. 1, " Discharged March 1, 1776.

Abraham Cummings,	Dec. 5, 1775. Deserted Oct. 31, 1776.
Josiah Clark,	Jan. 1, 1776. Discharged Oct. 4, 1776.
Loring Cushing,	" " " Reengaged Nov. 15, 1776.
Daniel Dyer,	" " " Sick in Genl Hospital.
Jonathan Doughty,	" " " Reengaged Nov. 26, 1776.
Ebenezer File,	Dec. 11, 1775. On command at Fort Edward.
Vinsen Fickett,	" 12, " Discharged Nov. 8, 1776.
Thomas Gustin,	Jan. 1, 1776.
James Gilkey,	Dec. 3, 1775. Sick in barracks.
Thomas Hill,	Jan. 1, 1776.
William Haskell,	Dec. 7, 1775. Died Nov. 18th, 1776.
John Hand,	Jan. 1, 1776. Sick in Genl Hospital.
Prince Hamlin,	" 1, " " " Barracks.
Joshua Hamilton,	" 1, " Discharged Nov. 20th, 1776.
Ichabod Hunt,	Jan. 1, 1776.
George Hunt,	" 1, " Died March 14, 1776.
Timothy Johnson,	" 1, " Reengaged Nov. 30, 1776.
Jacob Knight,	" 1, " Discharged Sept. 21st, 1776.
James Lary,	" 1, " Sick in Genl Hospital.
Nathan Lombard,	" 1, " Discharged Oct. 7th, 1776.
Joseph McLellan,	" 1, " Deserted Sept. 1st, 1776.
Abner McDannell,	Dec. 12, 1775. Sick in Genl Hospital.
Soloman McIntire,	Jan. 1, 1776. Discharged Nov. 8, 1776.
Matthias March,	Dec. 5, 1775. Reengaged Nov. 30, 1776.
Daniel Maxwell,	Jan. 1, 1776. Died March 2, 1776.
Jonas Nowland,	May 10, " On command at Ticonderoga.
Thomas Poot,	Jan. 1, "
John Parker,	" " " Discharged Oct. 8, 1776.
John Potter,	Dec. 26, 1775.
James Potter,	" " " Deserted Sept. 1, 1776.
Joseph Pitman,	" " " " July 15, "
Arthur Pottinger,	Jan. 1, 1776. On command at Albany attending sick in Genl Hospital.
Theodore Rounds,	" " " Deserted Sept. 1, 1776.
James Rounds,	Dec. 2, 1775. Discharged Nov. 8, 1776.
Elijah Richardson,	Jan. 1, 1776. Discharged Sept. 30, 1776.
Joseph Randall,	April 19, " " Oct. 1, "
Owen Runnells,	Jan. 1, " Died Feby 29, "
Jonathan Sampson,	Dec. 26, 1775. On guard.
Samuel Smith,	Dec. 10, 1775. Sick in Genl Hospital.
Jonathan Sharpe,	" 5, " Deserted May 2, 1776.

Jesse Whitney,	Dec. 5, 1776.	Discharged Sept. 30, 1776.
Joseph Weymouth,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Deserted Jan. 5, 1776.
Paul Whitney,	" "	Discharged Aug. 4, 1776.
Ebenezer Whitney,	" "	" Sept. 20, "
Daniel Whitney,	Dec. 4, 1775.	
James Wagg,	Jan. 1, 1776.	
John Whimble,	"	Died Aug. 3, 1776.
John Whitney,	"	" May 5, "
John York,	"	Discharged Oct. 7, 1776.
James Whitney,	March 17, 1776.	
Phillip Gammon,	Jan. 1, "	On guard and reengaged Dec. 8, 1776.
Joseph Green,	" " "	
Bickford Dyer,	" " "	On command at Ticonderoga. Reengaged Nov. 30, 1776.
Samuel File,	Dec. 11, 1775.	
William Smith,	" 10, "	

The original roll is in the Massachusetts Archives, Volume XLVI, page 2. 83 men.

SIXTH COMPANY.

Captain Nathan Watkins was the son of Daniel and Thankful Watkins of Hopkinton, Massachusetts, and was born in 1737; his wife's name was Sarah, and he died in 1814. He removed from Hopkinton to Part-ridgeville, Berkshire, and Naples, New York. He was captain in Col. Patterson's regiment in 1775, in this regiment January 1, to December 31, 1776, and also in the 12th Massachusetts regiment January 1, 1777, taken prisoner July 7, 1777, and was discharged September 8, 1778. He signed the oath of allegiance at Valley Forge.

Second Lieutenant Jacob Lyon was from Gageborough, named for Gen. Gage, but changed to Windsor, Massachusetts. He was a sergeant in Capt. Watkins' company, in Col. John Patterson's regiment,

eight months in 1775, joined this regiment January 1, 1776, and died April 15, 1776.

Second Lieutenant Peter W. Brown of North Yarmouth, served in Col. Phinney's regiment at Cambridge in 1775, enlisted in this regiment January 1, 1776, as ensign, promoted to second lieutenant April 15, and served until December 31, 1776. He enlisted July 1, 1778, in Capt. Benjamin Lemont's company, in Col. Nathaniel Wade's regiment, and served six months and twelve days in Rhode Island. He died February 28, 1830.

Ensign Robert Walker of Gageborough, was a corporal in Capt. Watkins' company, in Col. Patterson's regiment at Cambridge in 1775, joined this regiment as sergeant January 1, promoted to ensign April 15, and served until December 31, 1776. He was commissioned first lieutenant in 12th Massachusetts regiment January 1, 1777, taken prisoner April 7, 1778, exchanged April 4, 1781, promoted captain July 15, 1781, transferred to Col. Sprout's 2d Massachusetts regiment January 1, 1783, and served until the close of the war. He died at Windsor, Massachusetts, in January, 1834.

SIXTH COMPANY.

A Muster Roll of Capt. Nathan Watkins' Company in Col. Edmund Phinney's Regiment at Garrison, Fort George, December 8th, 1776.

Enlisted.

Nathan Watkins, Capt.,	Jan.	1, 1776.	Sick in Barrack.
Silas Burbank, 1st Lieut.,	"		Capt. in Col. Brewer's Regt. Nov. 13, 1776.
Jacob Lyon, 2nd "	"		Died April 15, 1776.

Peter W. Brown,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Promoted to Lieut. April 15th, 1776.
Ensign and Lieut.,		
Robert Walker, "	"	Advanced Ensign April 15th. Reengaged with Col. Brewer Nov. 13, 1776.
Robert Thompson, Sergt.,	"	Sick in Genl. Hospital.
John Stevens, "	"	
Ezra Twitchell, "	"	
Daniel Parcher, "	"	Sergt. April 15, 1776. Sick in Genl. Hospital.
Ebenezer Seavey, Corp.,	"	Deserted Sept. 1, 1776.
John Watkins, "	"	Sick in Genl Hospital.
Timothy Bacon, "	"	" " " "
Joseph Morse, "	April 15, 1776.	
Isaac Milliken, "	Sept. 1, "	Promoted from Private.
Jacob Brown, Drummer,	Jan. 1, "	Sick in Genl Hospital.
Elijah Bacon, Fifer,	" " "	" " " "
<i>Privates.</i>		
John Ayer,	Dec. 1, 1775.	Artificer at Ticonderoga.
Jacob Adams,	" " "	On duty in Fleet.
Abiel Beddle,	May 1, 1776.	
William Boothby,	Dec. 1, 1775.	On guard.
Ishmal Bussey,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Died Oct. 11, 1776.
Jotham Bruce,	" " "	
Melzar Biram,	Dec. 1, 1775.	Discharged Sept. 20th, 1776.
John Bullard,	May 1, 1776.	Died Oct. 20th, 1776.
Mathias Button,	Febry 25, "	" " 19th, "
Jonas Bruce,	June 10, "	
James Bacon,	Jan. 1, "	Sick in Genl Hospital.
Eleazer Burbank,	Nov. 24, 1775.	Discharged Aug. 1, 1776.
Elijah Clarke,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Sick in Genl Hospital.
John Curate,	"	Deserted Sept. 1, 1776.
Theophilus Cornish,	"	Sick in Genl Hospital.
Samuel Cole,	Dec. 1, 1775.	On Guard.
Francis Cash,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Deserted Sept. 1, 1776.
Salmon Daton,	"	
William Eaton,	"	On guard.
Bartholomew Gyer,	"	
Stephen Googins,	Dec. 1, 1775.	Sick in Genl Hospital.
Benjamin Goodrich,	"	
John Googins,	"	Sick in Genl Hospital.
Samuel Gage,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Deserted April 15, 1776.

Daniel Hall,	Jan. 1, 1776.
John Hooper,	Dec. 1, 1775. Sick in Genl Hospital.
Calvin Holloway,	Jan. 1, 1776. Deserted Sept. 1, 1776.
James Hide,	Feby 25, " Died Aug. 4, 1776.
Rufus Hemmenway,	Jan. 1, " Sick in Genl Hospital.
Bazuleel Low,	" " "
Joseph Lunt,	April 13, "
Joseph Loomer,	Jan. 1, " Sick in Genl Hospital.
Thomas Lewis,	Dec. 1, 1775. Died Oct. 13, 1776.
Edward Lewis,	Jan. 1, 1776. Reenlisted Nov. 25, 1776.
Isaac Townshend,	Dec. 1, 1775. Sick in Genl Hospital.
Abijah Tarbox,	" " "
Malachi Tore,	June 1, 1776. On command at Fort Edward.
Moses Twitchell,	Jan. 1, " Sick in Genl Hospital.
Michael Tenroy,	Dec. 24, 1775. Reenlisted Nov. 25, 1776.
John Moore,	" 1, "
Robert McKnight,	Jan. 1, 1776. Deserted Feby 1, 1776.
Daniel Marshall,	" " " Discharged March 10, 1776.
Bartholomew Read,	Dec. 1, 1775. " Sept. 20, 1776.
Benjamin Prince,	" " "
Levi Russell,	Jan. 1, 1776.
Ephriam Ridley,	Dec. 1, 1775.
Soloman Rose,	" Deserted Sept. 1, 1776.
Josiah Read,	" On command at Fort Edward. Reenlisted Nov. 25, 1776.
James Scamans,	"
Jacob Smith,	Jan. 1, 1776.
Daniel Sweney,	Nov. 24, 1775. Sick in Genl Hospital.
John Smith,	Dec. 1, " Reenlisted Nov. 25, 1776.
Abraham Townsend,	" " "
Elisha Williams,	Jan. 1, 1776. Sick in Genl Hospital.
Lemuel Welsh,	Dec. 1, 1775. On command at Ticonderoga. Reenlisted Nov. 20, 1776.
Mark Watkins,	Jan. 1, 1776. Sick in barracks.
Jonathan French,	June 1, " Discharged, under age.
Jack Brown,	April 10, "
Samuel Blood,	June 17, "
Ceaser Jackson,	Jan. 1, " Discharged Aug. 1, 1776.
James Shirley,	June 11, " " " 1, "
Prince Batchelder,	April 3, " On command to Ticonderoga.
Samuel Dinsmore,	Jan. 1, " Died April 15, 1776.
Eliphalet Wood,	" " " Discharged March 10, 1776.

Moses Cromett, April 1, 1776. Taken as a deserter into Col.
Poor's Regt. Sept. 5, 1776.
Jno. Twitchell, Dec. 24, 1775.

The original roll is in the Massachusetts Archives,
Volume XLVI, page 1. 82 men.

SEVENTH COMPANY.

Captain Silas Wilde of Braintree, Massachusetts, was under Capt. Benjamin Lincoln in the Lexington Alarm, then a captain in Col. William Heath's regiment at Cambridge in 1775, captain in this regiment January 1 to December 31, 1776, a committee to raise soldiers at Braintree in 1777, captain in Col. Ebenezer Thayer's 3d regiment July 8, 1777, and a captain in Col. John Brook's regiment, guarding Burgoyne prisoners at Cambridge, February 3 to April 3, 1778. He was a prominent citizen of Braintree, where he died September 30, 1807, aged seventy-one years.

First Lieutenant Daniel Merrill of Arundel, had wife named Sarah, and he died at Kennebunkport, Maine, September 6, 1808. He served in Col. Scamman's regiment at Cambridge in 1775, joined this regiment January 1, and served until December, 1776. He enlisted in Col. Brewer's 12th Massachusetts regiment January 1, 1777, was promoted to captain, and retired April 1, 1779.

Second Lieutenant William Frost of Kittery, Maine, was born May 26, 1747, and married Elizabeth Randall of Berwick, Maine, and died June 2, 1827, aged eighty years. He was second lieutenant in Col. Scamman's regiment at Cambridge in 1775, was in this regiment in 1776, joined Col. Brewer's 12th Massachusetts

regiment in 1777, promoted to first lieutenant August 10, 1777, and was discharged in December, 1778. He signed the oath of allegiance at Valley Forge.

Ensign John Pray of Kittery, Maine, sergeant in Capt. Tobias Fernald's Company in Col. Scamman's regiment 1775, joined this regiment January 1, 1776, then became ensign in Col. Brewer's 12th Massachusetts regiment in 1777, promoted to first lieutenant January 1, 1779, and captain July 5, 1779, transferred to the 1st Massachusetts regiment January 1, 1781, serving until June, 1783. He signed the oath of allegiance at Valley Forge, and died in September, 1812.

SEVENTH COMPANY.

A Muster Roll of Capt. Silas Wilde's Company in Col. Edmund Phinney's Regiment in Garrison at Fort George, December 8th, 1776.

Enlisted.

Silas Wilde, Capt.,	Jan.	1,	1776.	
Daniel Merrill, 1st Lieut.,	"	"	"	Reengaged Nov. 13th, 1776, Col. Brewer's Regt.
William Frost, 2nd	"	"	"	Reengaged Nov. 13th, 1776, Col. Brewer's Regt.
John Pray, Ensign,	"	"	"	Reengaged Nov. 13th, 1776, Col. Brewer's Regt.
Lemuel Miller, Sergt.,	"	"	"	Reengaged Nov. 13th, 1776, Col. Brewer's Regt.
Benjamin Thompson,	March	10,	"	On guard. Reengaged Nov. 13, 1776, Col. Brewer's Regt.
Enoch Meloon,	"	Jan.	1,	" On com'd as Artificer at Ti- conderoga.
William Cole,	"	"	"	" Discharged June 15, 1776.
Joseph Crain, Corp.,	June	16,	"	" Sick in Barrack.
Richard Thompson,	"	Jan.	1,	" " Genl Hospital.
Joshua Emery,	"	"	"	" On com'd as Artificer at Ti- conderoga.
Joshua Nason,	"	"	"	"

Eastman Hutchings, Corp., Jan. 1, 1776. Corp. June 16, 1776. Sick at
Genl Hospital.

Andrew Stone, Drummer, " " "

Joseph Taft, Fifer, " " " Sick in Gen. Hospital. Reen-
gaged Nov. 26th, Col.
Brewer's Regt.

Privates.

Elisha Andross, Jan. 1, 1776.

John Austin, March 10, " On command Fort Edward.

Jeremiah Bettess, Jan. 1, " Reengaged Dec. 1. On com-
mand at Fort Ticonderoga.

Thomas Bickford, Jan. 1, 1776. On guard. [Wounded at Hub-
bardton. Killed on a guard-
ship in Boston Harbor
quelling an insurrection.
A young man of much
promise.]

David Burrell, " " " Discharged Sept. 1, 1776, at
Boston.

Samuel Bickford, June 1, "

John Brown, May 31, " Deserted June 15, 1776.

Soloman Barber, " 28, " On duty baking.

Abel Burnham, Mar. 10, " Died Oct. 5, 1776.

Joseph Crain, Jr., Feby 1, "

Nathan Cooms, Mar. 10, " Discharged Oct. 8, 1776.

Hosea Cooms, " " " " at Boston Sept. 1,
1776.

Joseph Stoutbooms, " " "

Calvin Cowen, " " " On command at Ticonderoga.

Hezekiah Cooms, " " " " " " Fort Edward.

Thomas Crawford, " " "

Thomas Crawty, " " " Wounded and lame in Genl.
Hospital.

Israel Dorman, Feby 6, "

Dependence Day, " 20, " Present reengaged Nov. 15,
1776.

Joseph Donnett, Jan. 1, " Sick in Genl Hospital.

Jacob Emery, " "

John Ferguson, " "

Thomas Faxon, May 1, "

Samuel Goodwin, Feby 20, " Present reengaged Nov. 15,
1776.

Patrick Grace,	Mar. 10, 1777.	
Daniel Green,	Jan. 1, "	Discharged Oct. 8, 1776.
Tobias Goold,	" 15, "	
Simeon Hutchings,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Deserted March 1, 1776.
Levi Hutchings,	Feby 29, "	Reengaged Nov. 14, Col. Brew- er's Regt.
Seth Hinkley,	Mar. 10, "	
Israel Hebbard,	April 1, "	
Joseph Hibbard,	" " "	Reengaged Nov. 14, Col. Brew- er's Regt.
Nehemiah Hubbard,	May 1, "	Sick in Genl Hospital.
Nelson Hill,	June 1, "	Reengaged Nov. 15, 1776.
John Jordan,	Jan. 1, "	" Dec. 2, "
Paul Kilborn,	Feby 21, "	Deserted Nov. 1, "
Andrew Lydstone,	Jan. 1, "	
Daniel Lord,	" " "	
John Michaels,	Mar. 10, "	
Anthony Marsh,	Jan. 15, "	Died Sept. 7, 1776.
Samuel Maning,	June 1, "	
Benjamin Nason,	" " "	Sick in Genl. Hospital.
Stephen Nason,	Jan. 1, "	
Samuel Neal,	" " "	
Reuben Nason,	Dec. 15, 1775.	Died Sept. 30, 1776.
Jonathan Osburne,	Mar. 18, 1776.	Sick in Barrack.
John Penney,	Jan. 1, "	Deserted Aug. 30, 1776.
George Penny,	" 10, "	
Salathiel Penny,	" 10, "	Reengaged Nov. 14, Sick in Barrack.
William Parker,	Feby 21, "	
Robert Patch,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Present reengaged Nov. 29, 1776.
James Randall,	" " "	On guard.
Benjamin Gavell,	Feby 1, "	
Christopher Stover,	Mar. 10, "	
Charles Sargent,	Jan. 1, "	
Lemuel Smith,	" " "	On guard.
James Smart,	" " "	Sick in Barrack.
James Standley,	" " "	On command as Artificer at Ticonderoga.
Eleazer Taft,	" " "	On command with Gen. Wash- ington.
John Thayer,	" " "	Sick in Genl Hospital.

Richard Thompson, Jr.,	Mar. 10, 1776.	Reengaged Nov. 14th, in Col. Brewer's Regt.
William Welch,	" " "	
Elijah Whithum,	Dec. 15, 1775.	
Nathan Whithum,	* Jan. 15, 1776.	
Paul Wilde,	April 1, "	Discharged at Muster Dec. 8, 1776.
James Whithum,	March 1, "	
Reuben Young,	May 1, "	On command with Col. Patterson, Reengaged Nov. 13, 1776.
Moses Whitton,	June 1, "	Died Oct. 8, 1776.

The original roll is in the Massachusetts Archives, Volume XLVI, page 6. 83 men.

EIGHTH COMPANY.

Ensign Soloman Meserve of Scarborough was born July 9, 1743; married, December 19, 1769, Isabella Jordan, and had children. He was a sergeant in Capt. Abraham Tyler's Company in Col. Phinney's 31st Regiment of Foot at Cambridge in 1775, became ensign in this regiment January 1, 1776, and was dismissed from the service September 30, 1776.

EIGHTH COMPANY.

A Muster Roll of Capt. Abraham Tyler's Company in Col. Edmund Phinney's Regiment in Garrison at Fort George, December 8th, 1776.

Enlisted.

Abraham Tyler, Capt.,	Jan. 1, 1776.	
Elisha Meserve, 1st Lieut.,	" " "	
Edward Milliken, 2d "	" " "	On command at Albany.
Soloman Meserve, Ensign,	" " "	Dismissed the service Sept. 30, 1776.
George Vaughan, Sergt.,	" " "	
John Waterhouse, "	" " "	
William Hasty,	" " "	On furlough by Col. Sick at Castleton, Nov. 15, 1776.

David Fogg, Sergt.,	Dec. 1, 1775.	On command at Ticonderoga.
William Bragdon, Corp.,	Jan. 1, 1776.	On furlough by Col. Sick at Castleton in Nov.
Elisha Bragdon,	" " "	"
William Chamberlain,	" " "	Sick in Genl Hospital.
Jonathan Libby,	Dec. 10, 1775.	Exchanged for Daniel Libby May 1, 1776.
William Warren,	Dec. 5, "	Corp. May 1, 1776. Sick in barracks.
Abner Harmon, Drummer,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Discharged Sept. 20th, 1776.
Benjamin Hoyt, Fifer,	" " "	" May 4, "
William Comer,	May 5, "	Reengaged Nov. 15, 1776.
<i>Privates.</i>		
Wright Allen,	Feb'y 28, 1776.	On guard.
Jonathan Bragdon,	Jan. 1, "	Deserted July 27, 1776.
John Boulter,	Jan. 22, 1776.	On guard.
William Burrell,	Dec. 20, 1775.	Reengaged Dec. 4, 1776.
Nathan Badeen,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Died May 23, 1776.
Wyman Bradbury,	" 23, "	On command at Ticonderoga. Reengaged Nov. 15, 1776.
Daniel Coolbroth,	" 1, "	On command at Albany. Re- engaged Nov. 15, 1776.
Richard Collins,	" 23, "	Deserted Aug. 8, 1776.
Abraham Durgin,	" 1, "	On duty.
Benjamin Dyer,	Dec. 20, 1775.	
John Folsome,	" 27, "	Sick in Genl Hospital.
John Fly,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Discharged Sept. 20, 1776.
Uriah Grafham,	" " "	Deserted Aug. 8, 1776.
Edward Hulin,	June 11, "	
Gideon Hanscom,	Jan. 1, "	Discharged Sept. 20, 1776.
Thomas Harmon,	" 22, "	Sick in Genl Hospital.
Humphrey Jordan,	" 24, "	On command at Ticonderoga.
James Jackson,	" 1, "	On board Galley on Lake Champlain.
Israel Jordan,	Dec. 9, 1775.	
Isaac Jordan,	" 12, "	Deserted Aug. 8, 1776.
Samuel Jordan,	" 11, "	Sick in Genl Hospital.
Edmund Kenney,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Died Aug. 8, 1776.
Thomas Kenney,	" 23, "	Discharged Sept. 30, 1776.
Isaac Larraby,	" " "	
Robert Libby,	Dec. 12, 1775.	
Urbain Lewis,	April 29, 1776.	Discharged Oct. 4, 1776.

William Libby,	Jan. 1, 1776.	Sick in Genl Hospital.
Abner Milliken,	" " "	
Benjamin March,	April 5, "	Discharged Aug. 1, 1776.
Josiah Milliken,	Jan. 1, "	
James Marrs,	" " "	On command by Col. Phinney.
Nathaniel Meserve,	Dec. 9, 1775.	Discharged Oct. 4, 1776.
Pierce Moody,	Jan. 1, 1776.	
William Milton,	Dec. 7, 1775.	On command at Ticonderoga. Reengaged Nov. 28, 1776.
William Maxwell,	June 28, 1776.	
David Northey,	" 11, "	
Edward Plummer,	Dec. 1, 1775.	
Salem Poor,	May 14, 1776.	
John Runnells,	Jan. 10, "	Sick in Genl Hospital.
Lazarus Rand,	Feby 28, "	
Michasa Rand,	" " "	
Charles Smith,	Jan. 6, "	
Joseph Severence,	" 1, "	Discharged Sept. 26, 1776.
James Small,	" " "	On command at Castleton at- tending sick.
Jonathan Sprague,	" " "	Discharged Aug. 8, 1776.
William Shute,	" 22, "	
Andrew Tyler,	Dec. 13, 1775.	Sick in Genl Hospital.
Humphrey Tyler,	May 10, 1776.	Discharged Sept. 20, 1776.
Joshua Thorndike,	Dec. 8, 1775.	
Daniel Libby,	May 1, 1776.	Left sick near Boston, Aug. 8th, still sick.
Henry Carver,	Dec. 20, 1775.	Reengaged Nov. 15, 1776.
John Croxford,	Feby 28, 1776.	
Lemuel Coolbroth,	Jan. 1, "	Reengaged Nov. 15th, 1776.
Zebulon Libby,	" " "	

The original roll is in the Massachusetts Archives, Volume XLVI, page 5. 70 men.

The story of the Eighteenth Continental regiment is respectfully dedicated to the posterity of those noble, liberty-loving patriots who served and suffered for your good. They were a race of men of whom you have every reason to feel proud, and were as noble as

the weaknesses of their natures would admit. In honoring them you honor yourselves. My reward is your gratitude.

They went where duty seemed to call,
 They scarcely asked the reason why;
 They only knew they could but die,
 And death was not the worst of all!

HALLOWELL RECORDS.

COMMUNICATED BY THE LATE DR. W. B. LAPHAM.

[Continued from Page 92, Vol. VIII.]

John Woods, son of John Woods, was born in Portsmouth, state of New Hampshire, March 7, 1777. Married Sally, daughter of Ebenezer Phelps of this town, but formerly of Salem. Their children are:—

Abigail, b. March 18, 1800.

John, b. Dec. 23, 1801.

Francis, b. Aug. 9, 1803.

Samuel, b. July 28, 1805.

Henry, b. June 4, 1807.

Nathaniel, b. Feb. 23, 1809.

Christopher, b. Feb. 23, 1811; d. May 21, 1827.

Mary, b. March 12, 1813.

Sally, b. July 21, 1815.

Charles William Dummer, b. Aug. 13, 1817.

Hannah, b. April 26, 1819; d. 1844.

George, b. March 19, 1821.

John Woods, Senior, died 1839. Mrs. Woods died at Augusta, July 11, 1840.

Tristram Locke, son of Caleb Locke and Elizabeth Dyer his wife, was born in Hollis, county of York, October 18, 1771. Married

Anna, daughter of James and Elizabeth Lord of Gardiner, formerly of Ipswich. Their children are : —

Elizabeth, b. April 4, 1795.
 Tristram, b. June 3, 1798.
 Joan, b. Jan. 26, 1800.
 Samuel, b. Dec. 11, 1801.
 Mary Ann, } b. April 8, 1807.
 Lucy Ann, }
 Thomas L., b. March 11, 1810.
 Augustine, b. Dec. 6, 1812

Samuel Locke, brother of the above Tristram, was born at Hollis, August 16, 1784. Came to this town as a schoolmaster, 1810. Married Elizabeth, daughter of Isaac Stanwood and Eunice Hodgkins his wife of Ipswich, who was then the widow relict of Hate Wait of said Ipswich, and then had two children ; she was born September 29, 1782.

Sally, b. May 26, 1801; d. Oct. 17, 1820.
 Eunice Hale, b. Jan. 27, 1803.

The children of said Samuel and Elizabeth are : —

Elizabeth Stanwood, b. Jan. 24, 1814.
 Hannah Stanwood, b. Jan. 8, 1816.
 Samuel Ebenezer, b. Jan. 18, 1818.
 Joseph Hale, b. April 7, 1820.
 Hosea Ballou, b. July 12, 1822.
 Isaac Stanwood, b. July 29, 1824.
 John Caleb, b. Dec. 12, 1826.

Mrs. Elizabeth Locke died April 15, 1850.

Benjamin Adams, son of Joshua Adams and Hannah Whitney his wife, was born in Gorham, District of Maine, May 25, 1783. Married Fanny, daughter of Peter Gilman and Martha Clough his wife, of Norridgewock, who was born August 22, 1781. Came to this town with his family September, 1817. Their children are : —

Catharine, b. Nov. 19, 1804, in Norridgewock.
 Peter Gilman, b. July 20, 1806, in Norridgewock.
 William, b. March 18, 1808, in Anson.
 Ripley, b. March 29, 1810, in Anson.
 Harrison, b. March 19, 1812, in Anson.

Sarah, b. June 25, 1814, in Anson.

Micajah Lane, b. March 11, 1816, in Anson.

Charles Dummer, b. Jan. 2, 1819, in Hallowell.

Benjamin Adams, above named, is grandson of Joseph Adams, formerly of York, District of Maine.

Simon Johnson, son of James Johnson and Elizabeth Porterfield his wife, was born in Falmouth, District of Maine, April 13, 1774. Married Mary, daughter of Abiezer Holbrook and Elizabeth Snow his wife. Came to this town May, 1816. Their children are: —

Elizabeth, b. July 14, 1799, in Lisbon.

Mary, b. Aug. 3, 1804, in Lisbon.

Jeremy, b. Jan. 29, 1807, in Lisbon.

Maria, b. Sept. 22, 1809, in Lisbon.

Harret, b. July 16, 1812, in Bowdoinham.

Converse, b. Dec. 8, 1815, in Bowdoinham.

Mr. Simon Johnson died August 31, 1841.

Enoch Davenport was born in Stoughton, Massachusetts, June 25, 1744. Priscilla Parker, his wife, was born November 2, 1749. Their children are: —

Moses, b. Aug. 5, 1778.

Benjamin, b. Nov. 9, 1780.

Priscilla, b. July 9, 1783.

Enoch, b. Aug. 8, 1785.

Isaac, b. May 9, 1792.

Benjamin Davenport, son of the above Enoch, came to this town. Married Sally, daughter of Briggs Turner and Mary Gardiner his wife, who was born in Newcastle, March 20, 1782. Their children are: —

Juliann, b. May 30, 1808.

Edward, b. Aug. 4, 1809; d. Aug. 26, 1810.

Mary Jane, b. July 27, 1812.

Isaac, b. July 9, 1814.

Hampton, b. Nov. 30, 1815.

Charles, b. June 18, 1818.

William Henry, b. May 23, 1824.

Joseph Boynton, son of William Boynton, was born at Frankfort, District of Maine, July 20, 1786. Married Charlotte, daughter of

Robert Townsend and Mary Sawtell his wife. Came to this town with his family, March, 1814. Their children are : —

John Townsend, b. Aug. 9, 1810.
 Ruth Ann, b. Feb. 6, 1812.
 Eunice, b. March 26, 1813.
 Mary, b. April 6, 1815.
 Eliza, b. Sept. 7, 1816.
 Joseph Shepard, b. May 7, 1818.
 Caroline, b. Nov. 29, 1819; d. July 12, 1820.
 Charlotte, b. May 7, 1821.
 William Turner, b. Jan. 11, 1822.
 Allevia Caroline, b. July 21, 1824.
 Charles, b. July 28, 1828.

Spencer Fenno, son of Enoch Fenno and Mary Holden his wife, was born in Dorchester, Massachusetts, March 15, 1781. Came to this town June 3, 1802. September 29, 1805, married Olive, daughter of — Knapp, who was born February 19, 1780. Their children are : —

Edward, b. Feb. 28, 1807.
 Mary Elizabeth, b. June 11, 1809.
 Jeremiah, b. Nov. 4, 1811; d. Dec. 30, 1815.
 Caroline Fillebrown, b. June 22, 1813.
 Jeremiah, b. Sept. 26, 1815.

Mehitable Nye, daughter of Elisha Nye, has at this time (January 26, 1820) three children, whose names are as follows, viz. : —

Henrietta, b. April 8, 1808.
 John, b. Dec. 24, 1809.
 James, b. Jan. 7, 1819.

Benjamin Prescott, son of Jeremiah Prescott and Mary Hayes his wife, was born in Epping, state of New Hampshire, September, 1776. Came to this town October, 1783. Married Mary, daughter of Shubael and Mary Hinkley. Their children are : —

Stephen, b. Feb. 18, 1790.
 Freeman, b. July 21, 1792.
 Charlotte, b. Sept. 25, 1794.
 Mary, b. March 30, 1797.
 Pamela, b. July 5, 1800.
 Benjamin Franklin, b. May 14, 1802; d. Jan. 26, 1819.

Octavia Jane, b. Jan. 16, 1807.
 Harrison Gray, b. Oct. 3, 1810; d. April 30, 1814.
 James Greenleaf, b. Jan. 23, 1817.

William Woodbridge, son of Thomas Woodbridge and Lydia Ayer his wife, was born in Newcastle, August 16, 1782. Married Nancy, daughter of Barnabas Tobey and Thankful Parker his wife, of Sandwich. Came to this town with his family, August 7, 1816. Their children are : —

Sarah Jane, b. in Alna, May 18, 1809; d. June 23, 1849.
 Mary Ann, b. in Alna, Oct. 18, 1810.
 William A., b. in Alna, July 25, 1813.
 Harriet, b. in Alna, July 20, 1815.
 Calvin, b. in Hallowell, Sept. 1, 1818; d. Dec. 6, 1841.
 Alonzo K., b. in Hallowell, Jan. 7, 1825.
 Ellen Elizabeth, b. in Hallowell, Jan. 27, 1827.

Joseph Alexander, son of Joseph Alexander and Abigail Weare his wife, was born in Boston, July 25, 1792. Came to this town October, 1812. Married Eliza, daughter of George and Martha Gardiner of this town. Their children are : —

Abigail, b. Jan. 16, 1818.
 Catharine, b. Sept. 20, 1820.
 Mr. Alexander died March, 1850.

Solomon Wells, son of Moses Wells and Anna Warner his wife, was born in East Windsor, state of Connecticut, November 9, 1761. Married Lovisa, daughter of Solomon Ensign and Irene Allis his wife, who was born in Hartford in said state, February 19, 1771. Came to this town with his family in 1812. Their children are : —

Hiram, b. in East Windsor, Conn., Jan. 4, 1798.
 Cornelia, b. in East Windsor, April 26, 1799.
 Moses, b. in East Windsor, Sept. 8, 1800.
 Solomon Ensign, b. in East Windsor, Jan. 27, 1802.
 Lovisa, b. in Colebrook, N. H., Sept. 1, 1804.
 Frederic, b. in Colebrook, Dec. 11, 1805.
 Lewis, b. in Colebrook, Nov. 4, 1807.
 Sarah M., b. in Augusta, Oct. 18, 1809.
 Irene, b. in Augusta, Jan. 28, 1812; d. Feb. 12, 1812.
 Irene M., b. in Hallowell, June 28, 1813.

Peleg Sprague, son of Seth Sprague and Deborah Sampson his wife, was born in Duxbury, county of Plymouth, April 28, 1793. Graduated at Harvard University, 1812. Admitted to the practise of law, August, 1815. Came to this town March, 1817. Married Sarah, daughter of Moses Denning and Sarah Noston his wife, who was born in Berlin, state of Connecticut, February 17, 1799. Their children are:—

Charles Franklin, b. May 25, 1819.

Seth, b. April 12, 1822.

Sarah, b. May 7, 1828.

PROCEEDINGS.

A MEETING of the Society was held in the library, Baxter Hall, December 3, 1897, and was called to order at 2.30 P. M., the President in the chair.

The Librarian and Curator, Mr. Bryant, read a report of the accessions to the library and cabinet since the last Annual Meeting.

Mr. S. T. Dole of South Windham read a paper on the early schools of New Marblehead (Windham, Maine).

Remarks on the paper were made by several, and attention was called to the fact that many of the early schoolmasters throughout New England were men of Irish origin.

The Secretary read a paper contributed by Mrs. Kate Granpner Stone of Boston on the Scotch Covenanters and some of their descendants in Maine. A portion of the paper related especially to the Beath Family Genealogy.

A paper on Martha's Vineyard and the Province of Maine, being an unwritten chapter in territorial jurisdiction under Gorges, contributed by Dr. Charles E. Banks of Washington, D. C., was read by Dr. Charles D. Smith.

"How Maine became a State," was the title of a paper contributed by L. F. Schmeckebier of the Johns Hopkins University, and was read in part by Rev. Henry O. Thayer.

Hon. George F. Emery read a paper entitled "Changes in our Body Politic."

Mr. Baxter presented, in the name of Miss Mary F. Farnham, transcripts made by herself of twelve hundred pages of original documents relating to the earliest history of Maine.

The President appointed Mr. Thayer to draft a special vote of thanks to Miss Farnham for her valued gift.

A committee of three, consisting of Messrs. J. H. Drummond, M. F. King and Nathan Goold, were appointed to take into consideration the desirability of reprinting the literature relating to the separation of Maine from Massachusetts.

Votes of thanks were passed for the papers read, and copies were requested for the archives.

Adjourned.

MINISTRY ON THE KENNEBEC.

BY REV. HENRY O. THAYER.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, March 26, 1896.

ICHABOD WISWALL.

MEN and events that were agencies in making the early history of Maine deserve recognition. If in the higher or subordinate places, attempts failed and enterprise was void of results by hostile forces of nature or hazards of war — the man and his work merit permanent record. When endeavor was applied to mental and moral forces to shape and guide them, the work was not lost, though the wicked hand of the savage struck down or expelled the founders of a state.

I wish to rescue from oblivion so much of the life of one man as concerns Maine, who, known and honored subsequently, bore no inferior part in a stirring and perilous period of her history.

I have previously given details of the life of Robert Gutch, whom I have styled "the pioneer minister of the Kennebec."¹ With his name should be associated another worthy of equal or greater honor, that of a successor, perhaps a colaborer, both in civil and ministerial service. This man was Ichabod Wiswall. His parents were Thomas and Elisabeth, of Dorchester,

¹ Collections Me. Hist. Soc., 2d Series. Vol. VIII, page 289.

Massachusetts, immigrants previous to 1635, and valued members of the first church, in which Thomas Wiswall long served as an elder. This son, their third child, was born in the latter part of the year 1637. He became a student at Harvard College, as its records show, in 1651, when he was fourteen years old. Not prosecuting study continuously, he did not complete the ordinary three years' course till 1656, and then was one of seventeen students who left the college without obtaining a diploma of regular graduation, because a new policy required four years' study instead of three, as previously, to gain the first degree.

Three years of teaching in Dorchester followed, and then the annals of the institution show an annoying gap of fifteen years in the personal history of this non-graduate. It is now disclosed that he spent portions of this period in the new settlements on Kennebec River. It is possible he went thither as a teacher, though what attention was there thus early given to education is unknown; more probably Mr. Wiswall fell in with the tide of eastern emigration as an enterprising young man of twenty-three, seeking some hopeful path of life. Whatever were then his aims he did later engage in the work of the ministry of the gospel. The first trace of him in the East is his name appended in witness to a conveyance of Parker to Vereen, in 1661. This discloses him then at Kennebec, and doubtless as resident, since for legal reasons a transient visitor would seldom perform that service.

A few years later he had returned to Massachusetts and was a preacher in the town of Sandwich. The

minister of that town fifty years subsequently says of the people : — “They never could attain a settlement of the ministry among them till about the year 1675, in which intervening time they had occasional preachers, first Ichabod Wiswall, who removed from hence to Sagadahoc and then went to sea.”¹ Evidently he was at Sandwich a candidate for the ministerial office, as he was then unordained. The date is some years before 1675, and presumably was about 1667, as his residence in the town is shown by his signature to a legal document in that year.² Joined with his name as witness is another, Remember Wiswall, evidently his wife. The fact that he chose the ministry as his vocation is thus manifest, but when and where he prepared himself, or first began preaching, is wholly unknown.

Mr. Wiswall's ministerial service at Sandwich could not have continued long, as he was a candidate to a factious or fastidious people. No trace of similar candidacy in the following years, or service in any capacity in Massachusetts has been discovered. Return to Maine is both a reasonable presumption, and is affirmed in the foregoing statement. If this trial of the ministerial office occurred in 1667, that was the year of the death of Robert Gutch at Kennebec. A vacancy was thus suddenly made for a preacher and missionary. This frontier field, however inviting or otherwise, opened to him as to no other, since he was well acquainted with it. His early entrance upon it is most agreeable with the known facts in the case ;

¹ History of Cape Cod, Vol. II, page 70.

² History of Duxbury, page 180. Plymouth Colony Records, Vol. IV, page 194.

but how soon, the recovered fragments of his personal history do not show. One or more sea voyages followed his return to Sagadahoc, but whether they preceded his ministry, or from some necessity — possibly the immediate pay — suspended it, we cannot know. But in a few years subsequent to the inferred Sandwich ministry, he appears a resident at the Kennebec, and at some date became “the minister of the place,” as old records style him. A few such entries furnish all that we know of the fact, and nothing, except what the man himself was, as afterward exhibited, indicates the methods or results of his ministry in the Sagadahoc valley. Religious services in the Arrowsic church on Long Reach, and in garrisons and houses, can be assumed.

In 1672, Massachusetts stretched her virile arm — possibly an easy conscience — far eastward, and drew a line well adjusted to her purpose and brought the settlements beyond Casco Bay into her alleged chartered domain. The agent and surveyor, George Munjoy of Falmouth, reporting his determination of the latitude in order to fix the boundary required, says: — “This I have observed by a large quadrant, with the approbation of Mr. Wisewall, who is well skilled in the mathematics.”¹ What other than Ichabod Wiswall, collegian, teacher, practical seaman, was the skilful assistant at hand, to attend and give approval to the surveyor in this piece of important professional work? The line determined by Mr. Munjoy crossed the Kennebec at a little distance from the place where

¹ Records of Mass., Vol. IV, Part II, page 519.

Mr. Wiswall purchased land and made his home. This incidental mention gives evidence for Mr. Wiswall's residence at Kennebec at this date.

Two years later the newly adopted subjects of Massachusetts — an efficient and politic adoption resented by some, petitioned for and approved by others — were invited to own their adoption and promise to be loyal sons. In the list of men who upon requisition of the parent state appeared in court at Pemaquid,¹ before the magistrates of the new government, the second name is "Mr. Ichabod Wiswall." The title "Mr." prefixed testifies to his rank in the social scale. In this record his name is joined with names of well-known settlers of the Sagadahoc valley. This fact with others assures that he belonged there, not at Pemaquid. This court entry beyond a doubt furnished the evidence on which Mr. Savage, in his Genealogical Dictionary, wrote in the attempt to trace Mr. Wiswall, "perhaps at Pemaquid." Thence manifestly the statement was repeated by Mr. J. L. Sibley in his "Harvard Graduates." It seems also as if on so slender a basis another able investigator wrote the hasty and expanded statement, "the noted minister at Pemaquid."²

In the same year, 1674, Ichabod Wiswall purchased eleven acres of land, and in the next year one hundred more adjoining, lying west of the Kennebec, and just below the present village of Phippsburg Center. A point of land sheltering a cove took his name, from

¹ Mass. Archives, Vol. III, page 307, and Coll. Me. Hist. Soc., Documentary History, Vol. IV, page 345.

² Old Times in North Yarmouth, page 440.

which was a delighting view northward of the river and its shores. The ruins of a cellar in the midst of a green sloping half-acre, now point out with scarcely a doubt the site of his house, though perchance one and another has been built upon it after successive destructions in the Indian wars.

In this place of permanent abiding, and agreeably to the old-time custom, he was husbandman, caring for his own, while he also was shepherd of a scattered flock.

The ability and worth of Mr. Wiswall in the common appreciation are indicated by a few glimpses of the man in the Indian war, which in three months after the latter purchase, burst upon the colonies, and in the year following swept clean, except the marks of blood, the Sagadahoc territory and the most of Maine. The historian, Hubbard, tells that when the first fears and threats of an uprising startled the people, a consultation was held at Captain Patteshall's (which was about a mile from Mr. Wiswall's house), and a deputation was sent to confer with the natives up the Kennebec, and that the management of these critical affairs devolved upon "Capt. Lake, Capt. Patteshall with Mr. Wiswall, in whose hands was settled a kind of military power in those parts." He also mentions Mr. Wiswall's views after return from conference with the Indians. Whatever was the duty of these three men, or from whence and to what extent the authority they held, it is shown that Mr. Wiswall was selected, and joined with the two leading men of the settlement as a council of

supervision and control, and that he applied himself with alacrity and vigor to the difficult and dangerous task.

Once more a glimpse of the man is given when in August, 1676, the threatened storm raged mercilessly, sweeping down the Kennebec; then Mr. Wiswall appears a leader of the fugitives, as a large company got temporary safety on Damariscove. After two days' attempts at fortifying, but to little purpose, as in their terrified state divided counsels were scattering them to Monhegan and elsewhere, Mr. Wiswall, with Mr. Collacott and others, sailed for Boston, promising best endeavors to send speedy help. Disclosing his further action I have a copy of the petition¹ then addressed to the General Court in which Mr. Wiswall sets forth the pitiable state of "the distressed Inhabitants of the countie of Devon, suffering by the treacherous & blood-thirstie heathen," and beseeches the Court's wisdom and compassion to be immediately employed in devising measures for their defense and relief. This earnest plea, dated August 28, is signed by him and James Giles and Richard Collacott, but no speedy action was taken; and the fugitive settlers — their dead and captives left behind — cared for themselves as they could till they made escape to the western towns. In these ways Mr. Wiswall rendered his last services to his townsmen of the Sagadahoc, and departed a fugitive, driven from his home as the rest. We may assume that his wife and child were in the company that fled down the river that day, whose

¹ From the original by courtesy of Gen. Samuel Adams Drake.

early morning spread abroad the affrighting tale of massacre and fire.

Thus Ichabod Wiswall's frontier ministry ended, and in a few months he was ordained, and settled as pastor of the church of Duxbury, in Plymouth County, where he served well the people twenty-four years, till his death in 1700. This portion of his life does not connect itself with our state, and I pass its events by, though it was a ministry valued and honored as was the man himself. Here also Mr. Wiswall added to his high vocation that of teaching, and maintained for years a school that gained much praise. His name stands high among the able and useful citizens of Massachusetts in that century, and is borne in high esteem in the list of her clergy. One writes of him at his too early death, as one might say — only sixty-two — “Much lamented by his people among whom he had been a friend, an adviser and instructor.” Another testifies, “A man of eminent accomplishments for the services of the sanctuary.” Another tribute, “He was a gentleman of piety and learning, and was of much use in the colony, sometimes in civil capacities, and for many years was an instructor of youth.” Another honors him, saying, “High in the estimation of the whole Plymouth colony for talents, piety, and incorruptible integrity.”

Worthy of record and recognition is it that this man spent an important part of his life in our state, and gave the strength and abilities of his early manhood to advance the moral and religious welfare of the people, and then in the trying exigency, with

unselfish devotion and daring applied himself to assist and defend them in the sudden outburst of savage war.

The foregoing tributes were not merely *post mortem* praise. The colony discerned his worth and honored him. Its legislative body selected him from its able and judicious men to be its agent in England after the revolution of 1688, to obtain a new charter. He remained at this post of duty for three years. The ability with which he managed the affairs entrusted to him gained the approbation and thanks of the colony, though the project for a separate charter failed. He was associated with Rev. Increase Mather, who represented Massachusetts and her aims; and in dealing with the conflicting interests of both colonies and saving one or both from an unwelcome union with New York, the two men were led into sharp differences, causing irritation and animosity, yet entirely smoothed away subsequently. In letters from London, Mather, if not in spite yet in mischief, employed his colleague's name somewhat invidiously in easy punning, calling him "the little weasel," "the old weasel."

Mr. Wiswall's name was indeed well suited to suffer change by familiar use, and hence possibly he wrote it sometimes "Wisewalle," as he did in London. It could not be kept unharmed at Kennebec, and I have found corrupted forms, as Wissell and Wizzle — the written conformed to the spoken name. The next step by those who knew nothing of the man was easy, and all unwittingly following Doctor Mather's pun,

that point of land in the Kennebec which should have remained a true witness to the former owner, "Wiswall's Point," became "Weasel Point," and so stands on the charts of the United States Coast Survey.

Though primarily the agent of the Plymouth colony, yet Massachusetts recognized the value of Mr. Wiswall's services in the common cause by an allowance or donation of sixty pounds in 1694, and then in 1716 a further sum of one hundred pounds to his heirs in acknowledgment of services at Whitehall from December, 1689, to October, 1692. Twenty years later a grant of three hundred acres wild land was made to them in further "remuneration and recognition of his services and sufferings."¹

He was twice married.² Of the first wife, Remember —, nothing has been gleaned, save her name joined with his in the Sandwich documents. She died either during the Kennebec residence or soon after the expulsion, and left to her husband but one child. His second wife, married in 1679, was Priscilla Peabody, a granddaughter of John and Priscilla Alden. But two of his seven children were sons, and only Peleg grew to maturity, who became the successful teacher of the Boston grammar school. The son of the latter became the Rev. John Wiswall here in Falmouth, who so tried the soul of Parson Smith by his movements unto and in Episcopacy. He was a strong loyalist in the Revolution, and in that perturbed period of antagonisms, hot tempers and clamor, fled to

¹ Mass. Archives, Vol. LVIII, page 409.

² Wiswall Family, New England Hist. Gen. Register, Vol. XL, page 88.

the security of Mowat's ship, went to England and then to Nova Scotia, where he died.

These few fragments of the life of Ichabod Wiswall previous to his Duxbury ministry preserved here and there by chance, as it were, suggest so much more of incident and service which made it valuable, though for but a few years to the settlers by the Sagadahoc.

MARTHA'S VINEYARD AND THE PROVINCE OF MAINE.

AN UNWRITTEN CHAPTER IN TERRITORIAL JURISDICTION UNDER GORGES.

BY DR. CHARLES EDWARD BANKS.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, Dec. 3, 1897.

It was a surprise to me, and I presume it will be to others, to know that at one time the authorities of the Island of Martha's Vineyard owned political allegiance to the Province of Maine, and acted in accordance with this acknowledgment of dependency. As far as I am aware, this incident of our history has never been formally disclosed, and as a result of some examination of the early records of the Vineyard, I think it interesting enough to present the subject as it unfolded itself to me.

In our York County Deeds, Volume III, page 114, will be found entered an instrument of sale, dated September 27, 1666, and executed by Thomas Mayhew,

then chief magistrate of Martha's Vineyard, and later its governor, and probably it has occurred to others, as it did to me, that it was a remote registry in which to record the sale of property in the Elizabeth Isles and the Vineyard, for by contiguity those islands belonged to Massachusetts. The explanation of it lies in the following circumstances:—

When the council for New England resolved, in 1635, to parcel among the patentees the territory comprised in their jurisdiction, there fell to the lot of Sir Ferdinando Gorges that portion of the present State of Maine between the Piscataqua and the Kennebec, and the "Isles of Capawock and Nautican," while Lord Sterling drew the eastern half of Maine, from the river of Pemaquid to the St. Croix and "Matoax or the Long Islnd." In consequence of the nebulous ideas then prevailing respecting localities and names, these two patentees, or their agents, both laid claim to the sovereignty of Martha's Vineyard, then called, though erroneously, "Capowak." After Thomas Mayhew had purchased this island of Lord Sterling's agent in 1641, he was confronted by Richard Vines, as steward general of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in 1643, who, writes Mayhew, "showing me his Masters Patent and his Power, insomuch that I was convinced by him and Thomas Gorges who was then Governor of the Province of Maine th[at it was] realy Sir Ferdynandoes Right, and for a Some of Money did obtaine from said Vynes a Graunt alsoe." (Letter, Mayhew to Andros, April 12, 1675; Colonial Mss. XXIV.)

It is clear that the pretensions of James Forrett, the agent of the Lord Sterling in respect to the patent rights of the latter to Martha's Vineyard, were unfounded, and that Mayhew was deceived in that claim. "Mr. Forrett went suddenly to England before he had showed me his Masters Pattent," writes Mayhew to Sir Edmund Andros, and he continues, "Some years after this came over Mr. Forrester furnished with Power, who was here with me and told me he would cleare up all Things." But this agent also failed to show Sterling's title, and he adds, "So we remained under Gorges." The death of Sir Ferdinando in 1647, the unsettled state of affairs during the Civil war and the Protectorate, left the question of jurisdiction pending, until the grandson of Gorges, Ferdinando, his namesake, sent over John Archdale in 1664, to look after his inherited proprietary rights in New England, and Archdale informed Mayhew that the king had "most strongly confirmed Ferdynando Gorges Esq. to be the Lord of the Province of Maine of which this (the Vineyard) be a Pt." This is Mayhew's language. (Ibid.) Col. Richard Nicolls, one of the royal commissioners sent over in 1665, took the subject under his consideration during his term of service here, and "a little before he went Home for England," says Mayhew again, "did acknowledge that the Power of these Islands was proper in the hands of Sir Ferdinando Gorges." This chain of authority seems to establish the proprietorship safely in the hands of Gorges, and it is evident from the first that Mayhew regarded him as the lawful patentee of

Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket. He formally recognized the suzerainty of Gorges and his successors in the following instances:—

In 1665 he brought suit in the local court at Edgartown against Joseph Codman of that town, for trespass, "for taking fish at Mattakes," and the verdict was returned for the defendant. Thereupon

" . . . Mr. Mayhew Before the Court doth appeal from the sentence of Court held upon the Vineyard March 29 : 65, unto the Cheif & high Court and Counsell of the Province of Mayne : it is on the Case of Trespass touching a Share of fish which this Court Possesseth Joseph Codman of, as I Judge not rightly." (Edgartown Town Records, page 114.)

By recording transfers of property in the Vineyard at the York County Registry of Deeds, as above noted, he recognized the jurisdiction of Maine over his island.

But this situation was an unnatural one for two outlying and weak provinces, separated by such distance, and Mayhew found that the officials of Maine had but little if any interest in him or his island. They were too busy struggling for their own existence at that time, trying to preserve their independence against the usurpation of the Massachusetts authorities, to waste any of their strength on an unknown and somewhat uncertain offspring. In this predicament Mayhew, who had already purchased his titles from Sterling, Gorges and the Indians, now wrote to the Massachusetts officials for some advice in the matter, and he thus reports the result:— "I have the Testimony of the Generall Court of Boston for it which Court sent to the Gentlemen of the Province

of Maine, whose answer was that it was in myself &c." Thus did the Gorges officials discard all connection between the two interests, and until 1670 Mayhew governed his patent by virtue of ownership of the soil.

The Duke of York bought in 1663 the rights of Lord Sterling, and received from Charles II, the next year, a charter for governing New York, New Jersey and Delaware, including Long Island and Nantucket, but New York being in the hands of the Dutch he did not exercise this authority until 1670, when he reorganized these provinces under Gov. Lovelace. Martha's Vineyard was reached in the process in 1671, when Mayhew was appointed governor for life over his island domain. Martha's Vineyard has thus been under three jurisdictions, Maine, 1641-64, Duke of York, 1664-92, and Massachusetts from this latter date to the present time. The Gorges interest was not bought by the duke, and no attempt seems to have been made to revive it, though it was the best-established title to the island; and if it be held that when Massachusetts purchased the Province of Maine in 1678, she acquired the sovereignty of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, though not expressed in the deed of sale as being a part of that province, it would seem that the sovereignty reverted to the crown.

JOHN TABER & SON OF PORTLAND, AND THEIR PAPER MONEY.

BY WILLIAM GOOLD.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, March 14, 1878.

JOHN TABER, a tanner, came from Vassalborough to Portland about the first year of the present century, and went into commercial business in connection with Samuel F. Hussey and Isaiah Hacker. They were all Quakers. The firm was dissolved, and Taber took his son Daniel into partnership. The father had established a good reputation as a merchant. The firm were extensive shippers to Europe of ton timber and staves, importing foreign goods in return. This business required a large capital.

In 1799, the General Court of Massachusetts passed an act prohibiting the banks of the state from issuing bills of less denominations than five dollars. Silver was not plenty, and the small bills of the banks of other states formed a large part of the circulating medium. During this state of the currency merchants and others of the commonwealth issued small bills in the usual form of bank bills. There was one bank in Maine only, the Portland Bank, incorporated in 1799, up to 1802, when the Maine Bank, also of Portland, was established. By law these institutions could issue no bills of less denomination than five dollars, until the repeal of the law in 1805. In 1804, in this

crisis, John Taber & Son issued private bills for the sums of one, two, three and four dollars. These private bills were the only ones issued as currency in Portland. The reputation of the Tabers for integrity and pecuniary ability to redeem their obligations at sight was so well established that their bills were sought for in preference to the small bills of other states, of which there were numerous counterfeits, and the "Taber's bills" formed a very large part of the circulating medium of Cumberland County. Portland, and indeed all the commercial towns of the commonwealth, were then in the enjoyment of a profitable mercantile, and of course a good mechanical, business.

This season of commercial prosperity continued until 1806, when in November Napoleon Bonaparte, the imperial ruler of France, being at war with England, from the palace of the king of Prussia, whom he had dethroned, issued his famous "Berlin decree," declaring the British Island in a state of blockade. In November, 1807, Great Britain retaliated with her "orders in council," interdicting all trade with neutrals not in amity with herself. The British king was hard pressed for men, and he ordered his naval commanders to seize his subjects, in whatever foreign service they might be found, the officers to be judges of nationality. This arrogant claim of the right to search their vessels and impress whom they pleased embittered the people of the United States, and in December, 1807, Congress laid an embargo on the shipping in all the harbors of the nation, thinking that

this non-intercourse would starve England and France into better manners, but its first operation was to starve their own people and bankrupt nearly the whole business community.

During the first year of the embargo about thirty mercantile firms of Portland failed, and among them was that of John Taber & Son, who had come to be commonly called "John Taberson." Probably this abbreviation of the firm name was because the son was not so much respected as the father. Daniel was a sportsman, and pursued pleasure in preference to business. An aged gentleman of the city informs me that when a boy he often accompanied Daniel on his shooting excursions, to pick up the birds, and never failed to receive a Taber bill for his services, which passed as silver coin. It was said that when Daniel wanted money, which was often, he filled out and signed a new batch of bills, unknown to his father, who never lost the respect of his fellow citizens, except those whose standard of respectability was money.

I will relate one amusing anecdote of the many I have heard, of which the capital was Taber money. After his failure John Taber called on his former partner, Samuel F. Hussey, who had not failed, for a settlement, knowing that there was a balance due to Taber. The settlement showed a balance of sixty dollars in Taber's favor. The debtor deliberately counted out the amount in Taber bills, and handed them to the creditor. Taber was disappointed, as he needed the money, and undoubtedly thought this was

sharp practise for an old Quaker. He replied nervously, "Now thee knows, friend Hussey, this money is not good now." Hussey retorted, "Well, well, that is not my fault. Thee ought to have made it better." The large amount of Taber's bills in the possession of the working classes, which they never redeemed, caused much distress. By the care of my ancestors I am enabled to show samples of those bills. They have on the margin Latin mottoes, of which this is a translation: "What are laws without morals." "Rather restrain than punish." This is the form adopted in the bills. On the ends, "Massachusetts, One dollar."

"No. 430.

"We promise to pay Hugh McLellan or bearer, on demand, one dollar at No. 13 Union wharf, Portland

"12th month, 1st, 1804.

"John Taber & Son.

"Attest: N. Pratt."

Pratt was the cashier and bookkeeper, and redeemed these bills with silver on presentation, until the failure. He married Taber's daughter. There was a large and respectable family of daughters and sons, except one son who attempted to rob his father. In disguise, he waylaid him in the night, and demanded his money, but the father knew his voice, and said, "Reuben, is this thee?" which disarmed the would-be robber, and he fled. Joshua, another son, was lost in the private armed brig Dash of Portland, in 1814.

John Taber first lived in Portland, in a two-story wooden house, which stood on Franklin Street, near

the east corner of Federal Street. His last residence was in a house which stood on the north corner of Congress and Wilmot streets, formerly occupied by Parson Smith. In this house Mr. Taber died in 1811. Both of these houses were burnt in the great fire of 1866.

ABSTRACTS

RELATING TO THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR. FROM THE DIARIES
OF THE REV. ISAAC HASEY, FIRST SETTLED MINISTER OF
THE FIRST PARISH OF LEBANON, MAINE (1765-1812).

TRANSCRIBED BY GEORGE W. CHAMBERLAIN.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, April 10, 1897.

1775

- April 20 Squally good news this Morn. 4 o'Clock A M news of ye
Regulars fighting. Striking Contrast!
- “ 21 . . . Muster Day to Send of[f] ye minute men.
- “ 22 . . . Shocking alarm @ 1 o'Clock Last night of the
Regulars being Landed and fighting in Kittery.
- May 4 . . . men listing.
- “ 5 . . . rode to Berwick and return'd listing men @
Berwick.
- “ 7 . . . read a Proclamation for a fast next Thursday.
- “ 10 . . . Capt. Hubbard up to List men.
- “ 11 . . . Fast Day.
- “ 28 . . . bill up by S Stevens for himself going into ye
Army.

ABSTRACTS RELATING TO THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR. 133

- June 18 . . . bills up by Gilbert Perkins for his son and Elizabeth Corson for her husband both in ye Army and bill [by] Abigail Stevens for herself sick and husband in ye Army.
- July 2 . . . Moses Corson and Elisha James Came from the Army.
- “ 20 . . . Continental fast Day.
- Sept. 9 . . . Capt. Goodwing Set out for Cambridge 11 o’Clock A M.
- Dec. 9 . . . Goodwing Marched for Cambrid[g]e with 27 men.
- “ 25 . . . Mr. Burrows Set out for Cambridge.

1776

- Jan. 14 . . . bill up by Benj Foss for his son Sick in ye Army.
- Feb. 2 . . . goodwin got home.
- March 4 . . . March Meeting to Day receiv’d a proclamation for a fast.
- April 18 . . . @ Goodwins P M where ye Train[ing] band Chose Jn^o Goodwin for Capt Jonaⁿ Door 1st Lieut^t Jo Door 2^d Lieut.
- May 17 . . . Continental fast no bill up Lieu^t Hanson here.
- “ 19 Clear bill by E Burrows for his Son in the Army.
- “ 20 . . . Town Meeting to Chuse [choose] Committee of Saf[e]ty Chos[e] Ri Hussey Eb. Blasdel [Blaisdell] S. Copps.
- June 5 Clear Company mustered to Chuse [choose] unde[r] Officers.
- “ 20 Clear Hot Day Training Day Of[f]icers opened their Commissions.
- “ 23 D^o no bill up Officers appeared in y^r Dress.
- July 9 Clear Training Day to list men Jonaⁿ Door listed with others.
- “ 14 . . . bills up by Sam Copps D Quinby Rob^t McCrelis for ymselves bound into ye army.
- “ 15 Clear Col. Goodwin here to muster and pay men.
- July 21 Clear hot bill up by Ichabod Cowel[1] for himself and Son going into ye Army.

- July 22 Clear rode to Berwick to Coheco & Berwick again where Lodg'd @ Col Goodwins our Men with Lieut Cowel[1] Set out for Canada.
- Augt 1st . . . Colony Fast bill up by Tom Witherel for a son in ye Army.
 " F[11] . . . bill Up by M^{rs} Cole for her husband in [ye] army.
 " F[18] . . . bill up by Mol[1]y Cole for her husband Sick in ye Army.
- Sept. 1 . . . bill by John James for a Son in ye Army.
 " 8 . . . bill by Molly Door for her husband in ye Army.
 " 15 . . . bill by Mol[1]y Cole for her husband in ye Army.
- Octo^r 5 Clear rode with Tris Copp to wakefield [N. H.] to Capt. Cops.
 " 6 Cloudy preached at Wakefield bill up by Dodifer his Son Dead — & one in ye army — Phil Car[?] for his Son Army — Molly Mills for her husband in ye army — & for herself in trouble.
- Octo^r 20 . . . bill by Abijah Stevens for a Son in ye Army.
- Nov. 10 . . . bill of Thanks by E Cole for his return from ye Army.
 " 24 . . . Major Tebets and a Gentleman with him here Capt. Fisher.
 " 29 . . . order Came to rais[e] $\frac{1}{4}$ of ye Militia.
- Dec. 3 . . . @ Yqrk training to raise $\frac{1}{4}$ of ye Militia and at Lebanon.
 " 12 . . . Cowell got Home.
 " 15 . . . Bills of thanks by Ichabod Cowell for himself and Son returned from ye Army by Sam Wingate for his Son return'd.
 " 16 . . . Thos Burrows Set out for New York.

1777

- Feb. 16 . . . read an Address to ye people from this State.
- April 27 . . . read proclamation for fast.
- May 1 Very Snowy Day Colony fast . . .
 " 18 bills up by Ben Furbish and Jonaⁿ Door for y^mselves gone into ye Army.
 " 19 . . . training Day.

ABSTRACTS RELATING TO THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR. 135

- May** 21 . . . training Day.
June 9 . . . wrote Some Notes to give the three Years Men
 £34 one-third to be paid annually.
 " 29 . . . by [bill] by Eben Cole for himself going into ye
 Army.
Aug. 3 . . . bill of thanks by Jona^a Burrows for his return.
 " 7 Company Met to have Arm[s] Viewed.
 " 19 . . . every Sixth Man Draughted to go to war.
 " 24 . . . read a proclamation for a fast.
 " 28 Clear Colony Fast no bill up.
 " 31 bill by Ben Furbish for his Son gone in ye Army and by
 Mrs. Worster and Mrs. Jona^a Horsom for their hus-
 bands gone in ye Army.
Sept. 21 . . . bill by M^{rs} Worster for her husband in ye Army.
Octo. 5 . . . Bill by Ben Furbish for his Son in ye Army.
Nov. 16 . . . read proclamation for thanksgiving.
 " 20 . . . Massachusetts State Thanksgiving.
Dec. 7 . . . Bill of Thanks by Ben furbish for his return from
 the Army.
 " 14 . . . read a proclamation for a Continental Thanksgiving.
 " 18 Snowy Day Continental Thanksgiving.

1778

- March** 2 Town Meeting draughted 9 Men for ye Cont^l
 " 15 . . . bill by M^{rs} Cole for her husband in ye Army.
April 22 . . . Continental and State fast.
May 13 . . . Cole died in ye Army.
 " 19 . . . Capt. Goodwin draughting men.
 " 24 . . . Bill by M^{rs} Cole for her husband in the Army.
June 14 . . . read Congress ad[d]ress.
July 12 . . . bill by M Cole for ye Death of her husband.
Nov. 29 . . . bill of thanks by Sam Wingate for his Sons return
 from ye Army.
Dec. 30 . . . Continental Thanksgiving.

1779

[The diary for 1779 is missing. A company of Lebanon men commanded by Capt. John Goodwin of Lebanon were in the Penobscot expedition of 1779.]

1780

Dec. 7 . . . Thanksgiving for Continent and Commonwealth.

1781

May 1 . . . Chose Militia Of[f]icers in Lebanon.
 " 3 . . . Continen^l and Comth fast.
 " 14 . . . Town Meeting to Chuse [choose] Representative
 Chose Benjamin Chadbourn[e].
 Nov. 28 . . . @ Capt. Goodwins Assessing Soldiers Bill.
 " 30 . . . @ Capt. Goodwins finished ye Soldiers BillAssessing.

1782

Jan. 27 . . . bills by Jonaⁿ and David Burrows going into ye
 Army.
 Feb. 3 . . . bill by Jonaⁿ Burrows gone into ye Army.
 March 17 . . . bill by M^{rs} Stevens for her Son Ben in ye Army.
 March 31 Clear bill by Elizabeth Burrows for her husband in ye
 Army.
 April 3 . . . assisting Assessors fix Classes to get men for war.
 " 25 Clear Continental & State fast . . .
 June 9 Sac Day bill by D[ea.] Burrows on ye Death of David
 his Son.
 " 23 . . . bill by bety [Betty] Burrows for her husband in
 ye Army.
 Dec. 10 . . . 3 frenchmen came here after runaways.

1783

Feb. 16 . . . bill by Bet[t]y Burrowes for her husband in ye
 Army.
 March 9 . . . bill by Jonⁿ Burrows for his Safe return from ye
 Army.

1784

Jan. 8 . . . two Whites & Jo & Ben Stevens got Home from
 Army.

A MEMORIAL OF FATHER RALE.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, February 4, 1897.

BY JOSEPH WILLIAMSON.

WHOEVER has visited the pleasant town of Norridgewock must have heard of Indian Old Point, as the people call the place where Father Rale's village stood, and perhaps curiosity may have carried him thither. If so, he has found a lovely, sequestered spot in the depth of nature's stillness, on a point around which the waters of the Kennebec, not far from their confluence with those of Sandy River, sweep on in their beautiful course, as if to music of the rapids above; a spot over which the sad memory of the past without its passions will throw a charm, and on which, he will believe, the ceaseless worship of nature might blend itself with the aspirations of Christian devotion. He will find that vestiges of the old settlement are not wanting now; that broken utensils, glass beads and hatchets, have been turned up by the husbandman's plow, and are preserved by the people in the neighborhood; and he will turn away from the place with the feeling that the hatefulness of the mad spirit of war is aggravated by such a connection with nature's sweet retirement.

Such is the language used by the Rev. Convers Francis, in what Parkman calls his judicious and candid life of Rale, published half a century ago. Since then several vestiges of the Jesuit missionary, more impressive than those mentioned, have found their way to our cabinet. His chest, or "strong box," as it is commonly called, obtained with its contents by Col. Westbrook in his expedition against the Indians in 1721, after various wanderings has reached our possession, while the bell of the rude chapel, rescued

from its forest concealment of nearly one hundred years, is preserved by us as an object of peculiar interest. We have also a crucifix exhumed on the occasion of the reerection of the monument at Old Point in 1861, and in the Willis room of the public library may be seen a *vade mecum*, or handbook for Catholic worship, which was once owned by the reverend father.

Through the courtesy of Mr. C. R. Gannon of Salem, Massachusetts, I am enabled to make an addition to these relics, and to place in the custody of the Society a curious ring, found in 1892 on the site of the Indian village. It has a wire-like circlet of gold, much corroded by exposure, and a seal bearing a representation of the crucifixion of Christ. The figures of two women appear on either side, presumably those of the two Marys who were "last at his cross and earliest at his grave." If the assertion is true that only missionaries of the early days were allowed to wear such an emblem, there is a reasonable certainty that it belonged to Father Rale.

The original finder of this very valuable memento was Mr. J. W. Welch of Oakland, who presented it to Mr. Gannon. The former, while searching for relics during the summer of 1892, discovered the ring about three rods from the monument, protruding from the ground on a spot where the soil had been repeatedly dug over and over.

The crucifix referred to is not the only one associated with Father Rale. Bourbourg, in his History of Canada, citing a manuscript journal of Archbishop

Plessis' visit to the missions of the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1813, says "that the Abenakis, being without a missionary since the conquest of Canada, and hearing of Mr. Carroll, superior general of the missions of the United States, sent a deputation to request a missionary. The chief, who was spokesman for the whole tribe, made an address which drew tears from the virtuous Carroll; he painted the sad condition of his brethren and the evils which the drunkenness introduced among them had caused. Throwing himself at his feet, he drew from his heart a crucifix, which he kissed several times, and presented to Carroll. 'This crucifix,' he said, 'was the crucifix of our Father Rale, whom the English assassinated at Norridgewock, and it is the only remembrance which remains of him in our tribe. We have preserved it from father to son to this day, and if I give to you, my Father, this pledge of love for us, it is that it may be in your hands as a pledge and as a promise that you will send us a priest.'"

"Carroll, profoundly moved, accepted the present of the Abenakis tribe, and in his turn kissed the crucifix which Sebastian Rale had carried at the moment of his martyrdom. He then sent back the chief with the Indians who accompanied him with the promise that he would promptly make efforts to satisfy their desires. He kept his word, for at his request Mr. Emery, of the seminary of St. Sulpitius, sent him from Paris Mr. Ciquard, and one of his brethren, who did not delay carrying to the Abenakis of the Penobscot the consolations of his holy ministry. He fixed his

residence at the village of Old Town, where he remained ten years, and having been ordered to New Brunswick, he gave to the Abbe Cheverus, who had just been charged with the care of the missions comprised in the present diocese of Boston, the care of the Abenakis of the state of Maine, who were visited from time to time by the missionaries of New England when they had no resident priests among them."

As one examines this memento of Father Rale, which I now present, so symbolical of his religious faith, he overlooks the imperfections of its probable owner, and almost accepts the tribute paid by Father Chasse to "his dauntless courage and unchanging firmness, his severity to himself and his tenderness to others, his contempt of peril in the way of duty, his glad sacrifice of all, even of life, to the welfare of his wild disciples, his unyielding observance of the most rigorous discipline of the church, his patient endurance of hardship and privation, and his holy self-denial." Nor can impartial judgment forget that his influence over the Indians was more successful in its fruits than that of any New England missionary. "It must be admitted," says a recent writer, "that however heroic and even temporarily successful may have been the efforts of individual Protestant missions among the red men, they have been in most cases spasmodic and intermittent, or their results have been annihilated by some selfish act of the civil power, such as the displacement of a whole Indian population. There is nothing similar to the wholesale Christianizing — whatever may have been the means employed,

and however low the grade of Christianity imparted— of the Indians in the Spanish colonies, or to the vast network of French missions in Northern America, and to their widespread influence over the natives.”

ALBION KEITH PARRIS.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, April 10, 1897.

BY HIS GRANDSON, ALBION KEITH PARRIS.

ALBION KEITH PARRIS was born at Hebron, Maine, on the seventeenth day of January, 1788, and was the only child of Samuel and Sarah Pratt Parris of Middleborough, Massachusetts. He was a descendant of Samuel Parris of London, who lived in that city in 1660. All his uncles appear to have been ministers of the Dissenting church, and after their settlement in this country more than one story is told of their unfortunate connection with matters of witchcraft and the like, which would but feebly interest the present generation.

Benjamin Parris, the grandfather of Albion K., in 1776, enlisted as a private in Capt. Calvin Partridge's company, Col. John Cushing's regiment, of Massachusetts. He also served in Capt. Nathaniel Godwin's company, Col. Theophilus Cotton's regiment, in 1777. He was a sergeant in the regiment organized by Col. Josiah Whitney, and was also, in 1779, a member of Capt. Edward Sparrow's company, Col. Nathaniel

Tyler's regiment, Massachusetts militia, and served through the Revolutionary war, I am glad to say, as a private (all honor to the privates) until 1783, when he was mustered out.

Samuel Parris, son of Benjamin Parris and father of Albion K., was also, at the same time, a servant of the new republic. He was a member of Capt. James Keith's company, Col. Paul Dudley Sergeant's regiment, in 1775, was in the naval service, was taken prisoner at Santa Cruz and kept in irons, and afterwards, on the first day of January, 1778, was made lieutenant in a Massachusetts regiment.

Thus it will be seen that the subject of this memoir was a descendant of those who were intimately associated with the early history of the Union which has grown to the magnificent proportions of the present day.

His education was that of the typical New England boy. His early life was spent upon the farm of a beloved and revered father, yet there was that within him which impelled him to reach out from a life uncongenial with such surroundings, and he yearned for an opportunity to attempt intellectual rather than manual achievements.

These aspirations for a career of intellectual pursuits led him to enter Dartmouth College in 1803, and he graduated from that institution in 1806. After his graduation he commenced the study of law under Chief Justice Whitman, and in 1809 was admitted to the Cumberland Bar. At this time he was twenty-one years of age. At twenty-three he was elected

attorney for Oxford County, and a few years later, at the age of twenty-five, he was elected, from Paris, to the General Court of Massachusetts. In 1814, he then being twenty-six, he was elected state senator from the counties of Oxford and Somerset, and in the same year was elected a representative to the 14th Congress of the United States, and was reelected to that branch of our national Legislature for two successive terms. While a member of the House, in 1818, and at the age of thirty, he was appointed judge of the district court of the United States for Maine.

In 1819 he was chosen a member of the commission to form a constitution for the new state, then seeking admission into the Union, and took a prominent part in the proceedings and debates of that body. He was afterwards made judge of probate for Cumberland County under the new régime, and while holding this position was nominated as governor for the state, to which position he was elected and entered upon the discharge of his duties before he had attained the age of thirty-three. He was reelected as governor for five successive terms.

The period of repose which existed during the years of his governorship will be remembered by the older inhabitants of the state, and it is to them, and to the page of history, that we should turn for the story of this period, rather than to him who undertakes this brief sketch. Safe it is to say that they were years of repose and quietude.

Questions of dispute relative to the northeastern boundary and the common property owned by

Massachusetts were matters which claimed public attention during his governorship, and which were settled during his administration with justice to all parties concerned.

It was during his administration as governor, in 1825, that La Fayette visited the State where he met with a most cordial reception, and although Governor Parris was not, at that time, a formal member of the church, history says that he was unwilling to accord a military escort to La Fayette because the French general determined to leave the city in state on the Sabbath day. Many years have passed since then, but in the light of subsequent events we are inclined to believe that the kind of religion preached by this early governor of Maine in respect to the Sabbath has borne fruit in subsequent generations.

In 1827, he was appointed to the United States Senate to complete the unexpired term of John Holmes, but had scarcely entered upon the duties of his new position when he was appointed associate justice of the Supreme Court of the state. He had occupied this office but a short time when, in 1836, he was called to Washington by Mr. Van Buren, to fill the position of second comptroller of the treasury.

He continued in the exercise of his duties as comptroller for a period of thirteen years—through the administrations of Presidents Van Buren, Harrison, Tyler and Polk.

At this day, after the changes which have occurred in the political character of the administrations subsequent to the time of Albion K. Parris, there can be

found on record decisions of this honest and faithful man which carry with them great legal ability, and which have been of vast assistance to those who have filled the position once occupied by him.

He was a Democrat of the old school, and was conscientiously faithful to the principles of his political party. I am inclined, however, to believe, basing my opinion upon what I learn from those who knew him best, that had he lived through the years of the near past he would have quickly absolved himself from the errors which, during the past three or four years, have crept into the platforms of that party. He was a man strong in his prejudices, and anyone who was acquainted with him could very soon understand his position upon any question of local or national importance. Although a politician by nature, he found ample time to attend to those duties, the performance of which tends to promote domestic happiness and comfort.

He loved the city of Portland, and as soon as his duties in Washington were at an end, he returned to that city, where he became actively engaged in local politics, and in 1852, was elected mayor. Governor Parris has, in recent years, been very severely criticized for allowing himself to be made a candidate for this position, but those who are better able to appreciate the circumstances under which he was placed can better decide upon the honesty of his action.

Even in middle life he made no pretension of being more than a man of correct Christian character, and it was not until within a few years before his death that

he associated himself with the High Street Church of Portland. His professions were rather of practise and principle than of outward form.

He was a member of the Order of Free and Accepted Masons, and belonged to the old and respected Ancient Landmark Lodge of Portland. He received his Master's degree during the official term of Master Oliver Bray, March 27, 1809, and it is probable that he took his first degree on or near the very day he attained his majority.

Mr. Parris was the first president of the Maine Historical Society.

HOW MAINE BECAME A STATE.

BY L. F. SCHMECKEBIER.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, Dec. 3, 1897.

THE admission of Maine to the Union is indissolubly bound up with the Missouri Compromise, the first of that series of compromises arranged by Henry Clay, the great Kentucky statesman. After the election of President Monroe in 1816, the Federalist party quietly melted away, and there ensued that period in our history which historians have been fond of calling "the era of good feeling." But this propitious era was not to be of long duration. A new issue was to come before the country; an issue which was to break the old party lines more completely, but to arrange men anew in parties formed on the line of sectional and

class interest. This issue was one which was destined to occupy the country, off and on, for a period of forty years. It was one which was to be discussed and compromised again and again, but which was finally to be settled by the dread power of the sword. This momentous issue was the struggle for the admission of slavery into the territories and newly-formed states of the Union. This was the question which in 1819 startled Jefferson, then an old man living at Monticello, "like a fire bell in the night," and which put an end to this "era of good feeling" as quickly as the gathering storm-clouds obscure the afternoon sun. Well might the old sage compare the coming of this question to a "fire bell in the night," for it was the roaring of a fire which burned deep in men's hearts, and which finally was only to be extinguished by the blood of another generation. The application of Maine for admission to the Union was the lever by means of which this great compromise was effected, and in telling the story of the Missouri Compromise we shall tell how Maine became a state. These two commonwealths, the one washed by the storm-driven waves of the deep Atlantic, the other hundreds of miles away, bounded by the great Mississippi and traversed by the muddy Missouri, were linked together in one of the greatest political struggles in American history.

The district of Maine had been a part of the colony and state of Massachusetts since the latter half of the seventeenth century. The question of separation from the older commonwealth was first agitated about

1785. In that year the question was discussed in the Falmouth Gazette, and on September 17 and October 1 there appeared in that paper the following notice:—

Agreeable to a request made and signed by a large and respectable number of persons to the printers of this Gazette, the inhabitants of the three counties of York, Cumberland and Lincoln, are hereby notified, that so many of them as are inclined, or can conveniently attend, are requested to meet at the meeting-house of the Rev. Messrs. Smith and Deane in Falmouth, on Wednesday the fifth day of October next, to join in a conference, then and there to be held, on a proposal of having the said counties erected into a separate government; and if it should be thought best, to form some plan for collecting the sentiments of the people on the subject, and pursue some orderly and regular method of carrying the same into effect.

In response to this call about thirty persons met, and issued an address to the people, requesting them to elect delegates to a convention to be held on the first Wednesday of January, 1786, for the purpose of considering the question of separation. Before this convention met the attitude of Massachusetts was shown in the governor's speech, delivered at the opening of the General Court on October 20. The governor deeply deprecated these proceedings, and deplored them as having a tendency toward dismembering the commonwealth.

In spite of this condemnation on the part of the governor the convention met as arranged on January 4, 1786, and organized by electing William Gorham, president, and Stephen Longfellow, clerk. The next proceeding of the convention was to appoint a committee of nine to report on their grievances, and to

estimate the expense of a separate government. Upon the question of expense the committee did not report, as they did not know what form of government was wanted. An address of grievances, however, was drawn up by the committee, and adopted by the convention.

That from their local situation their interests are different; and consequently cannot be fully understood, particularly attended to, and promoted in their present connection; whereby their growth and importance are prevented, which retards that of the United States.

That the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts being so large, and their business so various and perplexing, unavoidably renders it inconvenient and expensive to the inhabitants of those counties, both with regard to their members of Court, and suitors for justice.

That applications to the supreme executive authority, being frequently necessary, are attended with great expense; to the injury and prejudice of the inhabitants of those counties.

That the business of the Supreme Judicial Court, from the extent of territories is so great as to render a proper arrangement in that department exceedingly difficult: and to repair to their office at Boston is very expensive.

That the present regulations of trade operate unequally, and against those counties, by reducing the price of lumber, which is detrimental to those that are employed in making the same; while they tend to the emolument of many in the other part of the commonwealth.

That we consider it as a matter of grievance that a considerable part of the inhabitants of these counties are deprived of a vote in the House of Representatives, where all money bills originate; and there appears to be no prospect of a speedy relief.

That the present mode of taxation, by polls and estates, is very injurious to this territory, as the inhabitants cannot be employed to the same advantage, and their stocks are not so profitable; neither

can their land be so advantageously improved, as in the other part of the commonwealth, where they enjoy a milder climate.

That the excise and impost acts operate grievously on the inhabitants of these counties, as they have not in general the advantages of orchards; and the keeping of sheep is difficult and expensive, by the hazard from wolves and other beasts of prey, and the great length of their winters.

That the act imposing a duty on deeds, etc., operates unequally by reason of the more frequent conveyances of property in a new than in old settled countries.

That the necessary attendance upon the state treasury is inconvenient, expensive and grievous.

This formidable list of grievances having been drawn up, they were ordered printed, and copies sent to every town and settlement in the district. Another convention was then appointed to be held on the first Monday in September, the delegates to be elected at the March meetings; and then the convention itself adjourned until September.

At the appointed time the convention again reassembled, and the new convention appointed also effected its organization. At first it seemed likely that there would be a conflict between the two conventions, but this difficulty was soon overcome by the two conventions coalescing. This being disposed of, a committee was immediately appointed to consider further grievances. This committee reaffirmed the old grievances, except the fifth, in regard to trade regulations, and as regards additional grievances, it stated that they were "such as demanded the attention of the convention, but that they could not at that time undertake to enumerate the multiplicity of

them." The only remedy for these grievances was the power of legislating for themselves. The convention then issued an address to the people, and drew up a memorial to the General Court.

When the convention reassembled in January, 1787, the opposition to separation had increased. It was argued that the grievances complained of would be incidental also to state government. The expense of a state government, it was urged, would be much greater than the sum then collected in taxes. Another point was that in case of war the country would be more exposed to the aggressions of the British. But, on the other hand, some of the advocates of separation spoke in a bolder key. Massachusetts was concerned with internal troubles, and had with difficulty put down Shay's rebellion in the previous autumn. It was openly hinted that if her consent was not given to separation such a thing as a forcible separation was possible. The separation scheme, however, received a hard blow when it was discovered that of the seventy-three towns in the district fifty-three had never been represented in the convention. A motion to present the memorial to the General Court was defeated; a reconsideration, however, was effected; and it was finally determined that it should be given to the discretion of the committee whether it should be presented. The memorial was at length presented, but the General Court adopting conciliatory measures, the question of separation was dropped for a while. The convention continued to drag out a weary existence from adjournment to adjournment,

until September, 1788, when it died from lack of attendance, the last meeting being attended by only three persons, and two of these were officers.

After this fruitless attempt we hear nothing more of the separation project for three years. By 1791 it had been definitely ascertained that the tax paid to Massachusetts by the district was sufficient to maintain a state government. The population of the district had also increased until it was equal to that of Vermont, Rhode Island, or Delaware. Accordingly the project was again revived, and the General Court, in May, 1792, was prevailed upon to order an election to be held to decide the question. The result of this election was that the project was defeated by about five hundred votes in a total vote of forty-six hundred. The smallness of this majority gave room for hope, however, to the advocates of separation, and in the following year we find the matter again being agitated. A series of conventions was held until 1797. Then for ten years the question seems to have been in abeyance, for not until 1807 was the matter seriously considered by the General Court. In this year the Maine delegates again persuaded the General Court to submit the matter to a vote of the people. This was done, and the proposition was overwhelmingly defeated by a vote of nine thousand to three thousand.

Such a decisive defeat should seem to have settled the question for many years to come, but within eight years there were conditions which placed matters in a very different light. Accordingly the year 1815 saw an agitation more active and more aggressive than

any which had preceded it. Many of the inhabitants of the district were leaving for the West, and it was feared that the district would be depopulated. This exodus, it was hoped, would be checked by the increased interest in home affairs engendered by the change to statehood. For the fifth time the agitation was carried on. Tracts and pamphlets were distributed broadcast over the country, and the General Court was finally persuaded to allow another election.

At last it appeared that the efforts of the advocates of separation were to be crowned with success. In the vote taken May 20, 1816, the yeas were 10,393, the nays 6,501. But the vote merely showed the indifference of the greater part of the population to the subject, for the legal voters numbered 37,828, and not half this number cast any vote in the election. The General Court, however, accepted this vote as expressing the will of the people, and a bill for separation was passed on June 20. It prescribed terms for separation, and ordered an additional vote to be taken on the subject on the first Monday in September. The towns were also authorized to elect delegates to a constitutional convention to be held at Brunswick. If this convention found that of the votes cast a majority of five to four were in favor of separation, then and not otherwise was it authorized to form a constitution. When the convention met it was found that the yeas were 11,969 and the nays 10,347. This not being the majority contemplated by the act, the convention endeavored to put a new construction upon its provisions. Of this, however, the

General Court disapproved, and the convention was dissolved.

The course of events had clearly shown that separation was inevitable. These "down-easters," as they were termed in Massachusetts, did not share in the federalism and state pride which animated the mother commonwealth, and which had resulted in the Hartford Convention in 1814. The people of these eastern counties were Republicans, and looked to the Union, and were becoming eager to take their place in it as a state. Massachusetts resisted the separation, not so much from any great regret, but more to avoid the mortification of dismemberment and the wound to state pride. As grudgingly as it had passed the former acts looking to separation, in the face of the demands now made it could not refuse its assent. In 1819, of the members of the General Court elected in Maine, one hundred and fourteen were in favor of separation, while only thirteen were opposed to it.

On June 19, 1819, an act of separation similar to the former one was passed. All the state property in Massachusetts was to be forever hers, while that in Maine was to be divided share and share alike between the two commonwealths. Maine was to receive one-third of the money reimbursed by the United States for war purposes, and was also to receive a due proportion of the military arms and ammunition. Maine and Massachusetts were each to appoint two commissioners, and these were to appoint two others. These four commissioners were authorized to determine all questions in regard to Indian subsidies and

also in regard to the actual division of public lands and other property. A vote was to be taken on the question on the first Monday in July, and if the yeas exceeded the nays by fifteen hundred the governor was to issue a proclamation for a convention at Portland on the second Monday in October. The bill also stipulated that Congress should give its consent to the admission of Maine by the fourth of March, 1820. In making this provision little did the Massachusetts General Court know the effect it would have upon national politics.

When the vote was counted it was found that the separatists had won by a vote of 17,091 yeas to 7,132 nays. The convention accordingly met in October, and drew up a constitution. This was voted upon by the people early in December, and almost unanimously adopted. At almost the same time the memorial of Maine, asking for admission to the Union, was presented to Congress, and it was at this point that Maine got into the current of national politics and Congressional debate. It is now necessary to go back a few months and trace the course of events up to this time.

The territory west of the Mississippi River had rapidly grown in population, and the residents in that section were clamoring for the benefits of statehood. The requests became so frequent and influential that Congress finally saw that it was necessary to make some provision for forming a state government in this region. On February 13, 1819, a bill to allow the people of Missouri to form a state government was taken up in the House in committee of the whole.

Scarcely had the debate begun when James Tallmadge Jr., moved as an amendment "that the further introduction of slavery or involuntary servitude be prohibited, except for the punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; and that all children born within the said state after the admission thereof into the Union shall be free, but may be held to service until the age of twenty-five years."

At once the House was thrown into the wildest excitement, and the debate was enlivened by the most violent personal language. Colston of Virginia accused Livermore of New Hampshire of speaking to the galleries, and said, "he is no better than Arbuthnot and Ambrister, and deserves no better fate." Arbuthnot and Ambrister, it will be remembered, had been summarily executed by Jackson in Florida for high treason. Scott, the Missouri delegate, spoke threateningly of the "Ides of March," and bade the House "beware of the fate of Cæsar and of Rome."

The restriction of slavery was denounced as unconstitutional, unwise, and not possible to carry out. The states' rights advocates at once took the ground that it was unconstitutional, as the state was sovereign, and Congress had no right to lay a restriction on any state as a condition of admission to the Union. Furthermore, it was claimed that even if the people of the state accepted the restriction they were at liberty at any time to change their constitution after they had become a state. The treaty of cession from France in 1803 was appealed to. This treaty contained the following clause: "The inhabitants of

the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States and admitted as soon as possible, according to the privileges of the Federal constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages and immunities of citizens of the United States; and in the meantime they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess." A treaty, it was argued, was the supreme law of the land, and Congress was bound to form the purchased territory into states, and admit them to the Union on the same footing as the original states. That if this restriction was imposed Missouri would not be on an equal footing with the other states.

The clause in the constitution which gives the "citizens of each state all the privileges and immunities of the several states," was also invoked in favor of the Southern side. One of these rights was to go where you please with property. The most important and valuable property in the South was slaves, and the slaveholder was impaired of his right of colonization by the prohibition of slavery in the new states of the Union. Besides, the territory of Missouri had been obtained at the cost of the whole Union, and it would be unjust to deprive half the citizens of the right of colonization, and to put the South under the ban of empire by the restriction of slavery. Furthermore, the restriction would operate to the detriment of Missouri, and would cripple its activity as a state. Missouri would be open to colonization by free state men alone, and consequently

the number of settlers would be decreased, and as a result of this there would be a fall in the price of land and a decrease in revenue.

The advocates of restriction answered these arguments with as great ability, but not with the wild and violent language of the proslavery speakers. The chief Southern leaders were Clay, Philip Barbour, Cobb, Pindall and Scott. Against these were pitted Tallmadge, Taylor, Livermore and Fuller. The central figure in the discussion was Tallmadge. Comparatively unknown to the country, he sprang at once into prominence by the courageous and forcible manner in which he repelled the attacks in debate. In feeble health, he pressed his point with the moral earnestness of one who feels that the effort might be his last, and to his eloquence might be ascribed the fact that the House stood firmer against slavery than it did for a long time afterward.

The constitution, the advocates of restriction claimed, did not concede that the newly-formed states should be admitted as unreservedly as the original members. Congress was given the discretion to admit or not, and this discretion carried with it the right to impose restrictions on that admission. In reply to the appeal to the French treaty, it was asked whether the treaty-making power had authority to bind Congress. If such were the case, the House was at the mercy of the Senate and the president. The constitution only intended that the treaties should be the supreme law of the land as long as they were not in conflict with the laws or the constitution. The

treaty with France was irrelevant to the debate, for the instant Congress passed a law the treaty gave way to it. Besides, the general government had all the powers which France possessed, and there were no slaves in the country when the United States acquired it. As to discriminating against settlers from the South, the admission of slavery would just as much discriminate against the settlers of the free states; for it was a well-recognized fact that free and slave labor could not exist side by side.

Such were the main arguments for and against the restriction. For some days the debate went on, and the committee agreed to the amendment by a vote of seventy-nine to sixty-seven. When it again came up in the House the bill with the amendment was passed by a vote of ninety-seven to fifty-six. The bill was now sent to the Senate. As the session was rapidly drawing to a close, the bill was read a second time by unanimous consent and referred to a committee. The committee at once reported the bill with the amendment restricting slavery stricken out, and in this form on the first of March it passed the Senate. The House, by a majority of two, refused to concur, and the Senate adhering to the bill as it had passed that body, the bill was lost for want of agreement. In the meantime a bill had been passed organizing the southern part of Missouri into the territory of Arkansas without any restrictions on the introduction of slavery.

Thus ended the first part of that memorable struggle, with a victory for the opponents of slavery in the House and a defeat in the Senate. When the new

Congress assembled in December, Maine was also to be an applicant for the privilege of statehood. During the intervening months, and after the meeting of the new Congress, the country was filled with the wildest excitement. The country was suffering from a terrible crisis, but the tariff, banking, and all other issues were forgotten when the specter of slavery again raised its head. Meetings were held throughout the North, and these not only showed an opposition to slavery, but also a revival of the old Federalism and a jealousy of Southern ascendancy. A large meeting at the Boston State House was addressed by Daniel Webster; a similar one in New York was addressed by Peter A. Jay. Large meetings were held at Philadelphia and Trenton, as well as in the less important towns. The legislatures also took a hand in the agitation. The Indiana legislature censured Senator Taylor for voting to admit slaves into Arkansas. The legislatures of New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Ohio passed resolutions protesting against slavery or instructing their representatives in Congress to vote against it, and that of Pennsylvania appealed to the other states to "refuse to covenant with crime."

The sectional character of the agitation was well shown by the altered tenor of the resolutions passed south of Mason and Dixon's line. A meeting in Baltimore, after a sharp debate, resolved to protest against the further extension of slavery; but the division of opinion was shown when another meeting adopted a counter resolution. The General Assembly of Maryland requested the representatives in

Congress "to see that new states are admitted without any condition limiting their sovereign power." The legislature of Kentucky also passed resolutions against any restriction. In Missouri a convention of Baptists memorialized Congress not to impose any restrictions on the introduction of slavery.

It remained, however, for that commonwealth which had been the greatest opponent of Federal aggression, and which had taken the lead in the resolutions of 1798, to make the most emphatic and violent protest against the imposition of any restrictions upon the admission of Missouri. In a threatening tone the General Assembly of Virginia passed a resolution

That the Congress of the United States have no power under the Federal constitution to dictate to the people of the Missouri territory what principle shall govern them in the formation of their constitution or system of government, or in the adoption of regulations respecting their property, but are simply bound to guarantee to them, in common with the other states, a republican form of government.

That the General Assembly of Virginia will support the good people of Missouri in their just rights and admission to the Union, and will cooperate with them in resisting with manly fortitude any attempt which Congress may make to impose restraints or restrictions, as the price of their admission, not authorized by the great principles of the constitution, and in violation of their rights, liberties or happiness.

Such was the state of opinion in the country at the time of the assembling of the sixteenth Congress in December, 1819. It could easily be seen that slavery was to be the uppermost question during the session. Clay was elected speaker, and hardly had the House settled down to business when, on December 8, Scott

presented the memorial of Missouri praying to be admitted on equal terms with the other states. Upon this a New York member gave notice that on the following day he would ask leave to introduce a bill to prohibit slavery in the territories of the United States. At the same time a memorial was presented from Maine asking admission as a state. All three bills were referred to committees.

The Maine bill was the first to be presented to the consideration of the House. On the last day of the year it was taken up in committee of the whole. On a motion to report the bill, Clay took the floor and argued long and bitterly against it. Never would he vote for the admission of Maine as long as restrictions of any sort were imposed upon Missouri. "Equality is equality," he said, "and if it is right to make the restriction of slavery the condition of the admission of Missouri, it is equally just to make the admission of Missouri the condition of that of Maine." A further question was raised as to the representation of Maine in the House. The gentlemen then representing Maine were merely members of the Massachusetts delegation who lived in the district. These gentlemen were only known to the House as members of the Massachusetts delegation, and it was asked whether Congress had the power to take these seven members away from Massachusetts and give them to Maine. In vain did the advocates of Missouri and slavery try to impede the Maine bill; in vain did they try to couple together the bills for the admission of the two states. The House stood firm, and on January 3, the

Maine bill was passed, and the House went on with the consideration of the Missouri bill.

The arena of combat was now transferred to the Senate. The bill was at once referred to the committee on judiciary, and it was soon reported back coupled with a bill to admit Missouri without restrictions. By this piece of *finesse* the friends of Missouri in the Senate achieved what their colleagues in the House had labored for in vain. Maine was to stand or fall with Missouri. A senator from Pennsylvania moved to recommit the bills with instructions to separate them. The condition of the two was entirely different. Maine had been part of the thirteen original states; her population was known, and her boundaries definitely decided upon. A constitution had been adopted, and she only needed the consent of Congress to become a member of the Union. Was the same true in regard to Missouri? By no means. Her population was only approximately known, and her boundaries had not been determined. It was indeed doubtful if it was wise to admit her to the Union, as her application had stirred up so much strife. Besides, the Missouri bill was prospective; the state had yet to form a constitution, and that constitution must be ratified by Congress.

In answer to this the old sophistry of the treaty with France was brought forward. The object of the two bills, it was said, was the same, and of the two Missouri had better claims than Maine, for Congress had discretion to admit or not to admit Maine, but it *must* admit Missouri by reason of the stipulations of the

French treaty. By a vote of twenty-five to eighteen the Senate refused to separate the two bills, and it was evident that Maine did not stand much chance in that body.

After this motion had been voted down, Senator Roberts of Pennsylvania moved to add to the Missouri bill the proviso that the "further introduction into said state of persons to be held to slavery or involuntary servitude within the same, shall be absolutely and irrevocably forbidden." For three weeks the Senate discussed it, yet hardly a new point was brought out on either side. But two great figures stood out before all others in this debate, William Pinckney of Maryland, and Rufus King of New York. When Pinckney spoke the House adjourned to give the members an opportunity to hear him. Pinckney had had almost every honor which his native state could confer upon him, and he had just taken his seat in the Senate. A brilliant lawyer and finished orator, his method was to appear impromptu, where he had made the most studious and laborious efforts to make a momentary impression. Dressing in the height of fashion, with his white gloves, which he drew on and off during the debate, he was the beau ideal of the ladies who flocked into the Senate chamber when it was known that he was to speak. King was more dignified, earnest, and grave, and was a model of the old Federalist time in dress and manners.

In the private diary of John Quincy Adams we get a first-hand estimate of these two men. Of Pinckney he says: "His language is good, his fluency without

interruption or hesitation, his manner impressive, but his argument weak, from the inherent weakness of his cause." And of King: "Nothing new in his argument, but he unravelled with ingenious and subtle analysis many of the sophistical tissues of the slaveholders. . . . He spoke with great power, and the slaveholders of the House gnawed their lips and clenched their fists as they heard him. . . . The slaveholders cannot hear him without being seized with cramps. They call them (his speeches) seditious and inflammatory, when their real weakness is their timidity. . . . The most eloquent orators are on the slavish side."

When this debate had run its course, and the vote was taken, the Roberts amendment was defeated by a vote of twenty-seven to sixteen. On the following day, February 2, 1820, Senator Burrill of Rhode Island moved that the first three articles of compact of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 should be added to the Missouri bill. These three articles ordained religious freedom, the right of trial by jury and the writ of habeas corpus, and the establishment of common schools. This amendment, however, was withdrawn the next day in favor of one proposed by Senator Thomas of Illinois. This amendment, which was adopted in the final compromise, proposed to admit slavery in Missouri, but prohibited it in all that tract of country ceded by France north of the line of 36° 30', this line being the southern boundary of Missouri. A few days later, on February 7, Thomas withdrew his amendment in order to present it in another form.

This left nothing except the amendment uniting the Maine and Missouri bills, and after a week's debate this was passed by a vote of twenty-three to twenty-one.

Senator Thomas now moved that the sixth article of the Ordinance of 1787, prohibiting slavery, should apply to all the Louisiana purchase north of $36^{\circ} 30'$, except the state of Missouri. Barbour of Virginia at once moved to insert 40° . This was voted down by a great majority. Several other minor amendments were made, and they were all lost, and on February 16 the Senate adjourned with the Thomas amendment pending. On the next day Senator Thomas withdrew his amendment, and substituted the one he had withdrawn ten days before. The bill was then passed by a vote of thirty-four to ten. As passed by the Senate it united Maine and Missouri in one bill, and allowed slavery in Missouri, but prohibited it in the Louisiana country north of $36^{\circ} 30'$. In this form it was sent to the House.

The House, after passing the Maine bill, had taken up a Missouri bill of its own, and had discussed it violently ever since. Mrs. Seaton, wife of the editor of the National Intelligencer, had written from Washington in December, 1819:—"The senators and members generally are so excited that unless their angry passions are allowed to effervesce in speaking the most terrible consequences are apprehended by experienced statesmen." The same old arguments were gone over again and again with the same heat and rancor which had characterized the debate of the last session. The newspapers facetiously spoke of it

as "the misery debate," and John Quincy Adams in his diary spoke of the extreme length of the debate, and compared it with like proceedings in the British Parliament, where most of the speaking is done by the ministers. But in spite of the length and violence of the discussion the House was crowded at every session, the ladies seeming to take a special interest in the proceedings. One day John Randolph, seeing the floor crowded by the fair sex, rose, and pointing his long index finger, said in his peculiarly shrill voice, "Mr. Speaker, what, pray, are all these women doing here, so out of place in this arena? Sir, they had better be at home attending to their knitting."

To the lovers of the Union it seemed as if an awful crisis had come. Scott, the Missouri delegate, had said that if Congress insisted on the restriction Missouri would go ahead and organize a state government. On all sides was heard ominous talk of disunion. On February 7, 1820, Jefferson wrote:—"It is the most portentous question which ever threatened our Union. In the gloomiest moment of the Revolutionary war I never had any apprehensions equal to that I feel from this source." Clay thought that the end had come and that within five years the Union would be divided into three distinct confederacies. To John Quincy Adams it appeared that the question was a "mere preamble—a title page to a great tragic volume." Of the prominent men whose opinions have come down to us, Monroe alone felt that a satisfactory compromise would be effected. Events have proved that both Monroe and Adams were right.

As Monroe thought, the compromise was effected, but it and its succeeding compromises only staved off the tragedy to another generation.

When the Maine-Missouri bill came from the Senate the House was considering its own Missouri bill. After three days' debate the House separated the bills admitting Maine and Missouri, voted down the Thomas amendment to the Missouri bill, and went back to consider its own bill for Missouri. The Senate, however, insisted on its amendment, but the House likewise insisted on its disagreement, and sent its clerk to so inform the Senate. The Senate was on the point of adjournment when it received the message of the House, but it continued its session, and after a sharp debate voted to ask for a conference. This was on February 23, and as the assent of Congress to the admission of Maine had to be given by March 4, the friends of Maine were beginning to get very anxious. Clay also deprecated the present agitation and took care to appoint to the committee men who were inclined to peace and compromise. The conferees of the House were Holmes, Taylor, Lowndes, Parker of Massachusetts, and Kinsey. Those representing the Senate were Thomas, Pinckney and Barbour.

While the conference committee was in session, the House again proceeded to consider its own bill for the admission of Missouri. In spite of the efforts of Clay and of Storrs of New York, the House passed its own Missouri bill with a prohibition of the further introduction of slaves, but providing that persons there held to service should not thereby secure civil rights or

freedom. The bill was sent to the Senate and received back within twenty-four hours with the Thomas amendment tacked on to it. By this time the conference committee was ready to report. In its report it recommended three things: (1) The Senate should give up the attempt to unite Maine and Missouri in one bill, and Maine should be admitted. (2) The House should not insist on the exclusion of slavery from Missouri. (3) Both Houses should agree to pass the Senate bill admitting slavery to Missouri, but excluding it from all the rest of the Louisiana purchase north of 36° 30'.

Even now it looked as if the compromise was not to be effected, and it required all the personal influence of Clay to carry the measure through. Of those who had voted against the introduction of slavery to Missouri, three stayed away, four changed their vote, and the measure was carried by a vote of ninety to eighty-seven. Thirty-five ultra radical southern members, led by John Randolph, who believed that Congress had no right to prohibit slavery in the territories, voted against it. Randolph himself termed it a "dirty bargain," and gave to those members who voted for it the name of "doughfaces." For forty years this title was used to designate a Northern man with Southern principles. In his opposition to the compromise Randolph was moved as much by his enmity toward Clay as by any other motive; and on the day after the passage of the act, after the reading of the journal, Randolph rose and moved a reconsideration of the vote by which the House had concurred

with the Senate. Clay was much alarmed, as the bill was still in his possession, and he did not wish to reopen the question. Randolph was ruled out of order, and the House sustained the speaker. While petitions were being received, Clay signed the bill, and sent it off at once to the Senate. When the proper time arrived, and Randolph had moved a reconsideration, Clay announced that the bill was no longer in the possession of the House. Randolph never forgave Clay this trick, and it added to the personal hatred which was rapidly developing between them. At a later time Randolph said of Clay that "he was so brilliant, yet so corrupt, that he reminded him of a rotten mackerel in the moonlight, which glittered and stunk."

The Senate promptly filled its part in the agreement. The bill for the admission of Maine was passed at once, and on March 3 the bill went to the president for his approval, and was signed before night. It was well that it was leap year, for if there had been a day less it would have been necessary for the Massachusetts General Court to pass a new act of separation with all the consequent delays and formalities. Indeed, it is very likely, if this attempt failed, that Massachusetts would not soon again give the northeastern counties such an opportunity for separation.

Another struggle over Missouri occurred in the second session of the sixteenth Congress, after Missouri had formed a constitution and desired to be declared a state. But the principles of the great compromise were not departed from. Its results indeed were more far reaching than its promoters ever dreamed of.

Jefferson alone seemed to see the danger of making a marked moral and political principle coincident with geographical lines. The advantage of the compromise was with the South, as most of the territory then open to settlement was south of that line. Furthermore, it caused that insatiable appetite for new southern territory which plunged us into the war with Mexico, and intrigued for the annexation of Cuba with a desire to increase the slave area of the United States. But if the immediate advantage was with the South, the ultimate advantage was with the North. It is always dangerous to speculate on what might have been, but it is very doubtful, if the compromise had not been carried, whether the Union could have been preserved. The South advanced comparatively little in strength and resources during the four decades preceding the civil war, while the increase in the power of the North, especially through the settlement of the Northwest, was something enormous. Almost another forty years have passed since the war, and the young generation which knows only a united North and South may well feel grateful to those compromises which enabled the North to increase its strength, and to prevent the disruption of the Union.

Such were the results of this first great slavery struggle in which these two distant states played such an important part. For over a quarter of a century the Missouri Compromise was accepted as almost a part of the constitution. It remained for Douglas in 1854, in his audacious Kansas-Nebraska act, to violate this solemn agreement in repealing the Missouri

Compromise, and in opening these territories to his principle of squatter sovereignty. But it was too late for slavery to extend itself over the Northwest, and as Prof. Woodrow Wilson has well said, "The act sowed the wind; the whirlwind was not long in coming."

A SOLDIER OF THREE WARS.

NATHAN NOBLE OF NEW BOSTON, NOW GRAY, MAINE

BY NATHAN GOOLD.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, February 14, 1896.

And though the warrior's sun has set,
Its light shall linger round us yet,
Bright, radiant, blest.

TRUTH is stranger than fiction, so are the stories of the lives of the men and women of the days when men's souls were tried more interesting and instructive than the most fascinating novel written by a gifted author. How well those forefathers met the responsibilities of their time and generation will always be an interesting study for their descendants and the historian, as everyone must at some time have some curiosity to know whether his ancestors were worthy men and women.

Those who have passed through a war know what it is for men to leave their comfortable homes, bid their family and friends perhaps a last farewell and battle for their country's existence. It takes a patriot with a stout heart to endure the long marches and the

privations and sufferings without complaint, and in so doing those brave men are but repeating history. The story of one man is the story of hundreds, and will always be, so long as a free people love to transmit their freedom to their children.

The story of the life of Nathan Noble of New Boston, now Gray, Maine, answers as an example for others. He was a farmer, but of his private life little is known by his descendants, but the indications are that he was a plain, straightforward man. That he was a man of courage and patriotism there can be no doubt, as he entered the army only in emergencies. Six times he enlisted as a private soldier, and six times he left his home and loved ones, perhaps never to return, and finally when called upon to meet death he exhibited the same resolute courage that he had shown through his life, dying as a grand example of the brave patriots of the American Revolution.

Nathan Noble was born in New Milford, Connecticut, February 24, 1723, and was the son of John Jr., and his second wife Abigail (Buck) Noble of that town. His father was born in Westfield, Massachusetts, February 15, 1685; was a member of the Congregational church, and captain of the train band in 1732. He had three wives, and died in the summer of 1773, aged eighty-eight years. In his will, probated September 7, 1773, he gave his daughter Rachel, as an additional bequest, his "Negro man Robbin," after the decease of his wife. He had thirteen children; but three sons grew to manhood. His oldest son, Thomas, was a successful business man at New Milford, was

selectman, representative to the General Assembly, and was a member of the Episcopal church in his later years. He was "a man of unblemished character, universally esteemed by all who knew him." He had eleven children. Beside Nathan, there was a son John who married and died, aged about forty, at New Milford, and had four children.

Nathan Noble's mother was Abigail, the daughter of Ezekiel and Rachel Buck, and a granddaughter of Emanuel Buck of Wethersfield, Connecticut. She was born in January, 1691, was a member of the church, and died about 1731.

Nathan Noble's paternal grandfather was John Noble, born in Springfield, Massachusetts, March 6, 1662, who had two wives and eleven children. He was the first white settler of New Milford, Connecticut, and founder of that beautiful town, in about 1707. He was a public-spirited and prominent citizen of the town, but died suddenly in the full strength of his manhood, August 17, 1714, aged fifty-two years. He was a member of the Congregational church. Nathan Noble's father was the son of the second wife, Mary Goodman, a daughter of Richard and Mary (Terry) Goodman of Hadley, Massachusetts. She was born November 5, 1665, and married in 1684. Her grandfather was Richard Goodman, who was a deacon at Cambridge in 1632, at Hartford in 1639, and one of the first settlers of Hadley, Massachusetts. His wife Mary was a daughter of Stephen Terry, who probably came in the Mary and John in 1630, removed to Windsor, Connecticut, in 1636, and, about 1657, was a

member of the first troop of cavalry established in this country. He removed to Hadley, where he died in September, 1668.

Nathan Noble's paternal great-grandfather was Thomas Noble, the emigrant ancestor of the largest family of the name in America, who was born in England as early as 1632. He was at Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1653, visited England about 1657, and in 1664, he, with others, erected a sawmill on the west side of the Connecticut River. Being there financially unsuccessful he removed to Westfield, Massachusetts, before 1669, and was one of the early settlers of that town. He was a member of the Westfield church and a prominent man in the town, where he died January 20, 1704, aged at least seventy-two years, leaving a good estate. He had ten children. His wife was Hannah Warriner, married in 1660; she was a daughter of William and Joanna (Scant) Warriner of Springfield. He was made a freeman May 2, 1638, and died June 2, 1676. His wife married, for her second husband, in 1705, Dea. Medad Pomeroy, she being his third wife. They lived at Northampton, Massachusetts, where he was a man of influence and of wealth for those times.

Nathan Noble lived at New Milford until he was twenty-two years of age, when he enlisted in Sir William Pepperrell's Louisburg expedition, in 1745, probably in Gen. Roger Walcott's regiment under Col. Burr, and participated in the siege and surrender of the fortress, June 17, 1745, and was there as late as October 9 of that year. The fortress of Louisburg

was the strongest in America, and had cost the French about six millions of dollars, and its capture by the yeomanry of New England must always be a brilliant fact in the history of those colonies, in which Maine took a prominent part. The soldiers endured almost incredible hardships, suffering for want of food, clothing, severe duty and exposure. It is said the soldiers were half naked, covered with vermin and infected with a disease which they called "a distemper." Nathan Noble returned to his home at the end of his service with his health much impaired, suffering, it was said, with "fever and ague."

On May 2, 1748, Nathan Noble married Mary Gray, a daughter of John and Phebe Gray of Provincetown, Massachusetts, who was born January 13, 1726. They both joined the church at New Milford, November 13, 1748, he being then twenty-five years of age. About 1756, they removed to Cape Elizabeth, Maine, bringing their daughter Phebe, born May 15, 1749, and Reuben, born February 15, 1755, with them. They had had three sons who died in infancy at New Milford. The next year, 1757, they removed to Stroudwater, and his daughter Hannah was born April 9, 1757.

Nathan Noble enlisted, April 12, 1757, with Col. Ezekiel Cushing, and received one pound, sixteen shillings bounty. He joined the Earl of Loudon's expedition to recapture Louisburg, which had been restored, in 1748, by the treaty of Aix-la-Chappelle, when the colonists considered that "the fruits of their valor were wrested from them." This expedition

consisted of about six thousand regulars and about five thousand provincial troops, together with a naval armament under Admiral Holburn. They arrived at Halifax, June 30, and on learning that a large French fleet had arrived and that the fortress was strongly garrisoned, the earl, being a faint-hearted man of small ability, abandoned the enterprise and returned home. The following lines were written not long after: —

Lord Loudon, he was a regular general, they say;
With a great regular army he went on his way,
Against Louisburg, to make it his prey,
But returned — without seeing it — for he didn't feel bold that day.

The next year, 1758, Nathan Noble again enlisted. He joined, April 12, Capt. Samuel Glover's company of Col. Williams' regiment, and was in the service over six months that year. A billeting roll, on which appears his autograph, states that they enlisted in the "Intended Expedition against Canada." This expedition was under the command of Gen. James Abercrombie, and in it the colony of Massachusetts had about seven thousand men. In June, the army was gathered at the head of Lake George, preparing to capture Fort Ticonderoga, and then consisted of over fifteen thousand men, of which the provincials numbered over nine thousand. Abercrombie was merely the figure-head of the expedition. Lord Howe was in reality the commander. This young nobleman was but thirty-four years of age, but possessed the qualities necessary for a leader of men. He reformed the army and shared the lot of the common soldier, although a man of rare

accomplishments. He was loved and respected both by the British soldiers and provincials, which was very uncommon in those days when prejudice was so strong against the regulars. General Wolfe said that Abercrombie was a "heavy man," and that Howe was "the best soldier in the British army."

Under Howe's direction the whole army embarked July 5, without confusion, and a spectator said, that when they were three miles away the surface of the lake was completely hidden from sight. There were nine hundred bateaux, one hundred and twenty-five whale boats, and a large number of heavy flat boats carrying the artillery. The line was from front to rear six miles long. The day was fair, each corps had its flags and music and the soldiers were in the highest spirits. Parkman says: "The spectacle was superb; the flash of oars and glittering of weapons; the banners, the varied uniforms and the notes of the bugle, trumpet, bagpipe and drum answered and prolonged by a hundred woodland echoes. I never beheld so delightful a prospect, wrote an officer a fortnight after." Such a sight is worth almost a lifetime.

The provincials were uniformed in blue, and in their ranks were Israel Putman and John Stark, whose names, for services after in the Revolutionary war, have become a part of our country's history.

The expedition, headed by Lord Howe and Israel Putnam, with two hundred rangers, landed and proceeded through the dense woods. The next day, July 6, they became bewildered and lost their way in the

forest, when suddenly they came upon the advance guard of the French, when a sharp skirmish ensued, in which the enemy were defeated, but in which Lord Howe was killed. As soon as his death became known all was confusion. The loss of one man was the ruin of the army. The gallantry of the rangers, who fought the fight alone until the rest came back to their senses, saved a panic.

July 8, the army rallied and attacked Fort Ticonderoga, and after a desperate battle in the woods, of four hours, Abercrombié was obliged to raise the siege and the army retired to the head of Lake George. The army returned dejected and in disorder, a marked contrast with the pomp of their advance. Our army had been defeated by Gen. Montcalm with an inferior force, and had lost, in killed, wounded and missing, nineteen hundred and fifty-four men and officers. A gallant army had been sacrificed by an incompetent commander. From this time forth the provincials called their commander "Mrs. Nabbycromby."

August 8, Israel Putnam was captured in a skirmish with the French and Indians, and after he was tied to a stake by the Indians and the fire lighted about him, he was rescued by the French officer Molang and carried to Montreal, where he found Col. Schuyler as a prisoner on parole, and through his efforts Putnam was soon exchanged.

Fort Frontenac, which controlled Lake Ontario, was captured August 27, by about three thousand men, mostly provincials, under Lieut.-Col. Bradstreet. This attempt to capture that important French post was

only consented to by Abercrombie after a council of war, but the news of its capture was cheering tidings to the melancholy camp at Lake George. The provincial troops were probably discharged about the first of November, then returned to their homes, and the balance of the army went into winter quarters.

Nathan Noble's individual services in this campaign will probably never be known, but what he saw and the experiences he must have had fall to the lot of but few men.

Another year came round, and Nathan Noble enlisted, April 2, 1759, from Capt. Nathaniel Jordan's Company of Col. Samuel Waldo Jr.'s regiment, and the enlistment roll states that he served in Canada the year before. On the back of the roll it is stated that he took the oath of fidelity at Falmouth, and that he had had the second and sixth sections of the articles of war read to him. This was certified to by Samuel Waldo Jr., as the colonel of the regiment. He, with his comrades, joined Gen. Jeffrey Amherst's expedition to Fort Ticonderoga and Crown Point in 1759. They arrived at Ticonderoga, July 22, and the army prepared for a general attack, but the French, after partially demolishing the fort, abandoned it, and retired to Crown Point, being pursued by the English. The French then abandoned Crown Point, and retired to a small island in the River Sorel, called Aux Noux. Gen. Amherst constructed several vessels, and with his whole army embarked in pursuit, but was delayed by a series of heavy storms, and then the lateness of the season rendered it impracticable to further con-

tinue the undertaking and he returned to Crown Point, where he went into winter quarters.

Nathan Noble has no record of further service in the Seven Years' war. The next important events known in his life were the births of his son, Nathan Jr., February 20, 1761, and his daughter Mary, who was born June 24, 1764. He took up a farm at New Boston Plantation, now Gray, which was deeded to him, May 4, 1767, by "William Shirley Esq., governor of the Bahama Island," by his attorney at Boston, Eliakim Hutchinson Esq., he agreeing to the conditions of the grant. This farm of sixty acres "with the appurtenances thereto belonging," was lot seventy-four, second division, and was situated about a mile southwest of Gray Corner, on the West Gray road. He probably soon after moved his family to this farm, where his youngest child, Anna, was born July 9, 1769.

Nathan Noble was living in comfortable circumstances in New Boston, at the beginning of the Revolutionary war. He probably scented the conflict afar off, and many must have been the stories of his experiences in the army that he told those boys. When the news came of the battle of Lexington, and that the war had begun, his oldest son, Reuben, joined Col. Phinney's regiment, determined to do or die. He marched to Cambridge in July and served under generals Heath, Old Put and Washington, returning home about the first of January. In his absence his father must have assisted at Falmouth Neck, but sixteen miles away, because a man of his spirit could not have remained at home during such times of excitement

and alarms as there were in 1775, when soldiers were so much needed.

In 1776, Gen. Washington called for two months' men to assist in driving the British out of Boston, and Nathan Noble enlisted February 2, in Capt. Winthrop Baston's company, although then fifty-three years of age, with a family of six living children. The company elected their officers, and marched the same day towards Cambridge, walking the entire distance of about one hundred and thirty miles. The company was assigned to Col. Jacob French's regiment, and were employed on the fortifications and guarding the powder at Winter Hill. The British evacuated Boston, March 17, retreating towards New York, and Capt. Baston's company was discharged April 1, their time having expired, and Nathan Noble returned home.

Reuben Noble, his oldest son, heard the call for men to reenforce the Northern army at Fort Ticonderoga, in the summer of 1776. He joined Capt. Johnson's company of Col. Wigglesworth's regiment of militia, and marched with them. They arrived at Ticonderoga, August 5, went into camp near the old fort, and at that time were five hundred strong, and in a good state of discipline. They probably served in the fleet on Lake Champlain, as Col. Wigglesworth had the command of the left of the squadron. In November they were dismissed, marched down to Albany, and home by the way of Hadley, Massachusetts.

About the time of the return of Reuben, Congress had decided to enlist an army for three years or the

war and offer a bounty. The war was a serious matter. Independence had been declared but a little over four months, and the new government must be sustained by the colonies. Nathan Noble, although in his fifty-fifth year, volunteered his services, thinking probably as others did, that life without liberty was not worth living, and with the spirit for independence, he enlisted, January 6, 1777, for three years in Capt. John Skillings' company of Col. Ebenezer Francis' regiment, then forming. He was mustered at Falmouth Neck, January 27, by Maj. Daniel Ilsley, who paid him a bounty of twenty-six pounds. They marched to Beverly, the home of the colonel, he leaving Reuben, who had returned from the army, and Nathan Jr., then sixteen, to carry on the farm. His colonel was but thirty-three years of age and a noble Christian man whom the regiment soon learned to love and respect. Col. Francis gathered his men in the village church at Beverly and held a religious service before they started on their march. They arrived at Bennington, Vermont, about February 1, and there, on a travel roll, Nathan Noble was allowed for three hundred and eighty-three miles marching. The regiment proceeded to Skenesborough, New York, and were there April 3, when Capt. John Skillings was killed by a "Jersey Blue," probably accidental. Lieut. Samuel Thomes, of Stroudwater, was then commissioned captain of the company. The regiment served in the garrison at Fort Ticonderoga, and Henry Sewall, who died at Augusta, Maine, in 1845, was there as an officer in the 12th Massachusetts regiment, and in a letter, dated

June 10, 1777, said that Col. Francis' regiment was miserably clothed, and that they were obliged to go on duty and even on scouting parties without shoes.

The garrison was forced to evacuate Ticonderoga in the early morning of July 6, 1777, when they were closely pursued by Gen. Burgoyne's army. This act caused great indignation in the colonies against Gen. St. Clair, the commander. The Americans neglected to fortify Sugar Loaf Hill, which was seven hundred feet higher, and commanded the fort. The British seized the hill, named it Mount Hope and planted a battery on the top. The evacuation was imperative to save the garrison of three thousand men. They left the fort the next night after the discovery of the enemy on the hill, which was bright moonlight, but got under way safely. The retreating soldiers were so closely pressed that they threw away whatever encumbered them, and their regimental baggage was captured in the morning of July 7. This retreat was to Hubbardton, a distance of about twenty-two miles, and Col. Francis was in command of the rear guard, which consisted of his regiment, the 11th Massachusetts, Col. Seth Warner's regiment, and Col. Hale's New Hampshire militia, all amounting to about thirteen hundred men, but they were poorly equipped.

Col. Francis' command camped for the night of July 6, at Hubbardton, the men being much fatigued by their long march. When Gen. Frazer came up with the advance guard of the enemy on the morning of the seventh, Col. Francis ordered his regiments into a

line of battle to engage them. Col. Hale's militia disobeyed orders and fled, being soon after captured, including the colonel. The two remaining regiments, consisting of less than nine hundred men, formed for the conflict. On the approach of Frazer's troops Col. Francis made three terrific charges on their lines, heading his men in person. The British fell back, but immediately received reinforcements, and in the next onslaught Col. Francis was wounded in the right arm, but still led his men until he was shot through the breast, falling on his face, mortally wounded. The exhausted Americans were obliged to fall back, and his regiment retreated to Rutland. In the death of Col. Francis the army lost a brave and conscientious officer. This was one of the most desperate battles of the war, and at the time it was said that the Americans "fought like lions." In one of the assaults Col. Francis' men went into action singing the songs that they sung in their village churches at home. The British account of the battle said that the Americans "fought with the greatest degree of fierceness and obstinacy." Lord Balcarres, the young commander of the English Light Infantry, in writing of the behavior of the Americans at Hubbardton, said, "Circumstanced as the enemy were, as an army very hard pressed in their retreat, they certainly behaved with great gallantry." After the death of Col. Francis, Col. Warner took command of the rear guard. Of the soldiers who fought on the patriots' side in the battle of Hubbardton, about one-quarter part were from the province of Maine.

In the retreat our soldiers endured great privations and suffering. Capt. Moses Greenleaf of the 11th Massachusetts regiment, wrote in his journal July 8, "Our men have no blankets, nothing but the heavens to cover them, and not a mouthful of meat or bread. Thanks be to God, it continues fair weather." The battle was fought on a very warm day and the weather continued mild.

From the timeworn journal of Capt. Greenleaf we can follow the movements of Nathan Noble's regiment, and verify the general accounts of the retreats and the battle. The journal says: —

July 2. — Enemy advances with two frigates of twenty-eight guns and fifty gunboats. Land troops about two miles from us.

Saturday, July 5. — 12 o'clock, spied British troops on the mountain overlooking Ticonderoga. At 9, received the disagreeable news of leaving the ground. At 2 next morning, left Ticonderoga. At 4, Mt. Independence; after a most fatiguing march arrived at Hubbardton, twenty-two miles from Mt. Independence. Supped with Col. Francis. Encamped in the woods, the main body going on about four miles.

Monday, July 7. — Breakfasted with Col. Francis. At 7 he came to me and desired me to parade the regiment, which I did. At 7½ he came in haste to me, told me an express had arrived from Gen. St. Clair informing that we must march with the greatest expedition, or the enemy would be upon us, also that they had taken Skeensborough with all our baggage; ordered me to march the regiment; immediately marched part of it. At twenty minutes past 7 the enemy appeared within gunshot of us; we faced to the right, when the firing began, which lasted till 8½ A. M. without cessation. Numbers fell on both sides; among ours the brave and ever-to-be-lamented Col. Francis, who fought bravely to the last. He first received a ball through his right arm, but still continued at the head of our troops till he received the fatal wound through his body, entering the right breast; he dropped on his face. Our soldiers

being overpowered by numbers, were obliged to retreat over the mountains, enduring on the march great privations and sufferings.

Soon after the death of Col. Francis, Lieut.-Col. Benjamin Tupper of the Second Massachusetts regiment, was promoted to the command of the regiment, of which four companies were from Maine.

The Americans retired to the Mohawk River, but delayed the progress of Burgoyne by felling trees and burning the bridges after them. They had lost in the retreats a large part of their artillery and a great quantity of stores and provisions. Col. Tupper's regiment was stationed on Van Shaick's Island, at the mouth of the Mohawk, until after September 1, to resist the advance of the British on Albany. They were at Stillwater from September 9 until October 1, and after the surrender marched to Albany, and were there October 25.

In August, Gen. Burgoyne despatched Col. Baum with a force to capture the stores at Bennington, but on the sixteenth he was defeated by Gen. Stark, and Baum was mortally wounded. The loss of the men and the effects of this defeat were extremely disastrous to the British cause.

In September, Burgoyne's army crossed the Hudson River, and encamped on the heights and plains of Saratoga the fourteenth. Gen. Horatio Gates took command of the American army the nineteenth, and marched them from the mouth of the Mohawk River to near Stillwater. The removal of Gen. Schuyler was unjust, as he was a braver and more capable officer, and a nobler man than Gen. Gates.

Now the armies were within about four miles of each other, and the eighteenth Gen. Burgoyne formed his army close in front of the American left, intending to cut his way through to Albany and form a junction with Clinton, but Gen. Gates determined to resist further progress. The Americans had received many reenforcements, so that their numbers greatly exceeded the British, but they were mostly undisciplined militia.

The battle of Stillwater was fought in the afternoon of September 19, 1777. In the morning activity was noticed in the British camp, and about noon the Americans sent out a force to resist any advance, and were soon engaged. Between two and three o'clock there was a lull in the battle, which was only the calm before the storm. At about three o'clock the battle again commenced, and for three hours it raged furiously. Few have been more obstinate and unyielding. The ground was first occupied by one army and then by another, the dead of both being mingled together. At dark the contest ceased. It had been a desperate struggle. Our army retired to their redoubt, the British occupied the battle ground, and both claimed the victory. The Americans were much elated because they had withstood the best regular troops of the English army. This is sometimes called the battle of Freeman's Farm.

The two armies remained near each other until the seventh of October, Gen. Gates strengthening his position and Burgoyne waiting to hear from Clinton. The delay was disastrous to the British, as they had

consumed nearly all their provisions. Burgoyne intended to wait until the twelfth for reinforcements from Clinton, but circumstances obliged him to move previous to that date. Gen. Gates attempted to cut off Burgoyne's communications with Canada, and to recapture the forts Ticonderoga, Independence and George, which was only partially successful, and resulted only in destroying some of Burgoyne's provisions. This forced the British general to make a movement for his own preservation, and October 7 he sent out a small force to forage and reconnoiter. Gen. Arnold drove them back to their camp. Morgan and his rifle-men tried to cut them off, and did get six field-pieces from them. Then the British general, Frazier, attempted to dislodge Morgan, when a general battle commenced along the lines, and Frazier fell, mortally wounded. The first assault was made on the British left, which was repulsed by the British grenadiers. Then our army attacked their center, which prevented the Germans from sending reinforcements to the grenadiers. Then the American left rushed forward and attacked the British right, forcing back the English Light Infantry and the 24th regiment, who were by this movement enabled to assist the grenadiers on their left, and but for this aid they would have been cut to pieces. Gen. Arnold, at about this point in the battle, made his famous assault on the British right, and was repulsed, then broke their center, when their left and center were in complete disorder, and but for the stubborn resistance of the English Light Infantry and the 24th regiment the British army would have been

completely demoralized. Arnold, during one of his mad charges, was carried from the field wounded in the leg, but the Americans kept on.

Toward night, after the battle was won, and as Col. Tupper's regiment was taking possession of the enemy's works, Nathan Noble was struck in the forehead by a musket-ball and mortally wounded. He never spoke afterward. On an original return taken at Valley Forge, January 26, 1778, appear these words after his name, "Slain in battle October 7, 1777."

Far better would it have been that Benedict Arnold, the brave and gallant soldier, the ambitious and unscrupulous man, who in an hour of disappointment turned traitor to his country, had also been slain in that battle while leading the Americans to victory. Then his statue would adorn the vacant niche in the monument erected to commemorate the deeds of valor on that field.

In the battle Gen. Gates' left completely turned the right wing of Burgoyne's army, capturing a large quantity of the munitions of war and many prisoners. A British account said that the Americans "threw themselves with frenzy on the British lines."

Our army forced the British to the heights above Stillwater, and at nine o'clock in the night of October 8, during a heavy rain, Gen. Burgoyne commenced his retreat toward Saratoga, leaving behind his sick and wounded, who were well cared for by Gen. Gates. The Americans prevented Burgoyne's attempted retreat toward Fort Edward, and finally, after finding that his several plans for escape must be unsuccessful,

and his provisions being about exhausted, held a council of war October 13, which finally ended in the surrender of October 17, 1777, of his army, of about six thousand men, thirty-five brass field-pieces, and nearly five thousand muskets, besides an immense quantity of other munitions of war. This was a brilliant victory for the Americans, and the most important of the whole war, and without which it is doubtful whether we should have obtained our independence.

These two battles were fought on Bemis Heights, in the town of Stillwater and county of Saratoga, hence their names. The last battle is called the first battle of Saratoga, the second battle of Stillwater, and the battle of Bemis Heights.

Gen. Epaphras Hoyt, the historian, visited the battlefield in 1825, and in speaking of the knoll where Lord Balcarras was posted, in his second position, said:

In the battle of October 7, here toward the close of the day, Arnold, with Poor's and Patterson's brigades, made his desperate attack, and was repulsed. "A more determined perseverance," says the British commander, "than the Americans showed in this attack upon the lines, though they were finally repulsed by the corps under Lord Balcarras, I believe is not in any officer's experience." Had the assailants been less embarrassed with the abattis probably they would have carried the works, though manned with Burgoyne's best troops.

Other historians say it was Glover's brigade instead of Poor's. Col. Tupper's 11th Massachusetts regiment was in Patterson's brigade.

Soon after the surrender a Hessian officer wrote of the appearance of the American soldiers, that they

were slender, sinewy, and averaged four to six inches taller than the men of the German regiments: —

Not a man was regularly equipped. Each one had on the clothes he was accustomed to wear in the field, tavern, the church, and in everyday life. The determination which caused them to grasp the musket and powder-horn can be seen in their faces as well as the fact that they are not to be fooled with, especially in skirmishes in the woods.

Nathan Noble was but one brave soldier in one of the best and bravest regiments in Gen. Gates' army a regiment who fought gallantly at Hubbardton, Stillwater, and at Bemis Heights, and had followed Arnold in his mad charges on the British lines. In the winter of 1777-78 this regiment drank of the very dregs of despair at Valley Forge, and at the battle of Monmouth, on that hot day of June 28, 1778, they added more to their proud record, ending their service in the march to Danbury, Connecticut, in the fall of 1778, and the operations on the Hudson River. They were an honor to the colony of Massachusetts Bay.

Nathan Noble went through the battles of Hubbardton and Stillwater without injury, but he suffered from exposure and want of proper food and clothing in the retreats. On the morning of October 7, he fully realized what the day might bring forth, for he told his comrades that he should not live through the day. It was a presentiment of his fate. He died as a brave soldier dies, and no doubt his comrades laid his body tenderly in what is now an unknown grave on the field of one of the fifteen decisive battles of the world. He was nearly fifty-five years of age.

Nathan Noble had been twice in expeditions to capture Louisburg, twice he went to Lakes George and Champlain against the French, served during the siege of Boston in 1776, under Washington, and finally in the battles of the Saratoga campaign, where he died as a soldier dies, at a supreme moment in the struggle for independence. He probably never saw the flag of his country, the stars and stripes, as that flag was not unfurled over Gates' army until the surrender, the seventeenth, although a crude affair had been raised at Fort Stanwix a short time before.

The proud boast of the survivors of his regiment through their lives was that they served in the left wing of Gen. Gates' army at Saratoga in 1777, in Col. Tupper's 11th Massachusetts regiment.

The news of the death of Nathan Noble probably did not reach his home at New Boston for perhaps two weeks, without a special effort was made to forward the news. There at his home were his family, attending to the duties about the farm. The family then consisted of his wife Mary, then fifty-one, the oldest son, Reuben, then twenty-two, and his wife Hannah, who had been married but nine months, his daughter Hannah, then twenty, Nathan Jr., aged sixteen, Mary thirteen, and the youngest child Anna, then eight years of age, making a family of seven. His oldest daughter Phebe was married and lived at Windham. During the hours of each day their thoughts must have turned to the head of the family who was battling for his country's freedom. They probably knew of his being in that retreat from Fort

Ticonderoga, also in the fierce assaults at Hubbardton, and in the stubborn battle of Stillwater, and that he had escaped injury. They no doubt hoped and prayed for his safe return, but it was not to be. Sad must have been the news to that family and great their grief at the loss of the husband and father, and their only comfort, as they gathered about their mother, was that he had died bravely while upholding the honor of the colonies, and had laid down his life that they might enjoy the blessings of liberty.

Mary Noble, his wife, lived but eight years after her husband's death, dying October 29, 1785, aged fifty-nine years. The oldest child, Phebe Noble, married, in 1775, a young Quaker at Windham named Benjamin Goold, who had come from Kittery to that town. Their first child, Simeon, was born July 4, 1776, Independence Day. The next child was born the next April after her father was killed, and she named him Nathan, for her father. He became a prominent man in Windham, and was captain of the town company in the war of 1812. Phebe had ten children. William Goold the historian, of Windham, was the son of Nathan, and her grandson. He recollected his grandmother "as a smart old lady in Quaker dress, whose meetings she belonged to, and regularly attended Sunday and Thursday mornings. She always rode a pacing horse, familiarly called 'Knitting Work.'" She died in a lethargy, after sleeping four days, February 19, 1817, aged sixty-seven years.

Nathan Noble's three next children were sons, who died in infancy, and then came Reuben, who married

Hannah Merrill in 1777. He enlisted May 15, 1775, in Capt. Moses Merrill's company in Col. Edmund Phinney's 31st Regiment of Foot, and served until December 31 of that year. He also served in Capt. Samuel Johnson's company in Col. Edward Wigglesworth's regiment, and took part in the campaign at Lake Champlain in the fall of 1776. Reuben lived at Gray, occupying his father's farm until 1778, when he sold it, excepting the buildings and one acre of land, which had been set off to his mother as her dower. He removed to North Yarmouth, and about 1782 to Mt. Desert, where he died October 20, 1818, aged sixty-three years. The next child, Hannah, married Elisha Hayden; they first lived in Hebron, then removed to Bernardstown, now Madison, Maine, where she died June 11, 1801, aged forty-four years.

The next child was Nathan Jr., who married Hannah Hobbs in 1785. He enlisted, at eighteen years of age, in Capt. Nathan Merrill's company in Col. Jonathan Mitchell's regiment, and served in the Bagaduce expedition in the year 1779. He probably lived in his father's house at Gray, his mother living with him until her death. He bought, in 1789, one hundred and twelve acres of land in Rustfield Plantation, now Norway, Maine, and sold his farm and his father's buildings to John Humphrey, March 25, 1790, and was one of the early settlers of Norway, in 1789. His wife's father, Jeremiah Hobbs, had lived there since 1786. He was a prominent citizen in the town, and served eleven years as selectman; had four sons in the war of 1812, and several descendants in the

war of the Rebellion. He died at Norway, January 13, 1827, aged sixty-five years. Next came Mary, who married Malachi Bartlett in 1790. She first lived at Hartford, Maine, then moved to Dead River, Maine, and after a few years to Vassalborough, Maine, where her husband died February 28, 1831, aged seventy-one years. She was alive at Dead River in March, 1853. The youngest child was Anna, who married Nathaniel Fuller in 1797, and lived at Hebron, Maine, where she died August 24, 1861, aged ninety-two years. She left among her descendants the memory of a woman who was social, kind and gentle in her manner, and was beloved by all.

Nathan Noble was my grandfather's grandfather, from whom we inherited our Christian name, and to whom we are indebted for a modest, heroic life, to which it is my pleasure to pay this simple tribute that he may never be forgotten, at least by his descendants.

He left as a heritage to all his posterity the memory of a man who made the greatest sacrifice for his country — his life — and lived to the family motto, "Death rather than dishonor."

Rest on, embalmed and sainted dead,
Dear as the blood you gave ;
No impious footsteps here shall tread
The herbage of your grave ;
Nor shall your glory be forgot
While Fame her record keeps,
Or Honor points the hallowed spot
Where valor proudly sleeps.

LITTLE FALLS.

A CHAPTER OF LOCAL HISTORY.

BY SAMUEL T. DOLE.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, March 26, 1896.

THE village of Little Falls is situated on both sides of the Presumpscot River, which is here the dividing line between the towns of Windham and Gorham, and is about eleven miles from Portland. The water power here is one of the best on the river, and was improved for manufacturing purposes at an early date in the history of these towns. It is impossible to determine just who the first person was to improve the privilege; but some time previous to 1756, William Knights, the first of the name in town, had a sawmill on Windham side; as in February of that year his son Joseph was taken a prisoner by the Indians while felling logs for the mill on lot No. 2, first division of one hundred acre lots. This capture took place but a few hundred yards below the mill, and was the second time he had suffered a like indignity; and his residence among them, and his escape from bondage form an interesting incident of our town's history, that I shall reserve for a future paper. The family tradition that Mr. Knights lived near his mill, and had no near neighbors, makes it presumable that he was the first man to locate within the precincts of the

present village. It appears that he was a successful lumberman for many years, and was succeeded by his sons; but how long they operated the first mill I am unable to ascertain. However, according to an old plan now in my possession, Joseph, of Indian fame, purchased ninety acres and eighty-four rods of the four hundred acres granted Gov. William Shirley by the proprietors of Narraganset No. 7 (now Gorham), in 1743. This purchase included the falls on that side, and the plan was made by Ephraim Jones, and bears the date of September, 1768.

It is a well authenticated fact that Mr. Knights erected a mill on his privilege which he occupied for many years. He married and had a large family. He built a dwelling-house on the ninety acres before mentioned as being a portion of Gov. Shirley's grant, a part of which is still owned by his descendants. One day while at work at the mill he accidentally lost his footing, fell into the river and was drowned. He left several children, among whom was a son also named Joseph, who succeeded to the business, which he conducted successfully until the spring of 1822, when a company of Portland capitalists purchased the falls on both sides of the river, built a new dam, and erected a large cotton mill on Gorham side, obtained a charter in which they are styled the "Casco Manufacturing Company," and the next year commenced the manufacture of cotton sheetings.

During the building of the mill Mr. Knights, while crossing a floating bridge, fell into the river, and like his father before him was drowned, leaving a wife and

family of children to mourn his untimely end. The mill owners installed as their first agent a Mr. Winsor, who remained but a short time, and was succeeded by John J. Butler, then Henry Smith, and last, John R. Larrabee, who was here in that capacity for many years; what became of the three first mentioned I have no means of knowing, but Mr. Larrabee went from here to Brunswick, Maine, where he was instantly killed by falling down a flight of stairs. He was a dignified gentleman, honest and upright in his dealings, and generally liked by the operatives. This mill soon caused a decided improvement in the general affairs of the little hamlet, as the company built several large dwelling houses for the accommodation of their employees, and many families from this and the neighboring towns soon came here and made permanent settlements; many of whose descendants are among the best citizens of the village at the present time. In my boyhood there was a little old-fashioned grist mill on Windham side whose presiding genius was a kindly old man named William Johnson. His bent form, gray hair, and dusty clothes were familiar to the inhabitants for many years. He died in a ripe old age, and his remains are interred in the cemetery near the village. Within a stone's throw stood a similar weather-beaten building containing a wool-carding machine, whose operators were first, Leonard Bacon, and in after years Lathrop L. Crockett, both of whom are now dead, and the old mills have long since vanished in the march of improvement, and not a trace now remains to mark the places where they

stood. In the year 1846 or 1847, I. W. Leighton and Freeman Harding erected a sawmill on the spot now occupied by the pulp mill, which they operated five or six years, when it was taken down and rebuilt at Cloudman's Falls, on Little River, where it still remains.

The cotton mill before mentioned proved a financial success, and was run by the company almost continuously until 1856, when it took fire from some unknown cause and was totally destroyed; nothing more was done on the falls until 1875, when the privilege was purchased by Messrs. C. A. Brown & Co., who erected a large brick mill in which in they manufacture an article called wood-board. These gentlemen have within a few years built an additional mill, and give constant employment to a large number of workmen, and are apparently doing a successful business. Their superintendent is George T. Pratt, a man of fine executive abilities and is a general favorite with the operatives one and all. Many grocers and general traders have established themselves here from first to last, many of whom retired with ample fortunes gained by a careful attention to the details of their business. The first general trader here was Jonathan Andrew, father of Gov. John A. Andrew of Massachusetts, whose store it is said stood near the Windham end of the present bridge. I have been unable to ascertain what year he began to trade here, but as he had previously occupied a store about one-half mile from the present village on the main, or river road, it is presumable that he moved here near the time when

the cotton mill was first put in operation. He appears to have been a popular man in the community and a successful merchant; after having accumulated an ample fortune he retired, and finally went to live in Boxford, Massachusetts, where he died in 1849, full of years.

Moses Little was the next grocer to locate in the village. He was a native of Windham, and I am told, that shortly after Mr. Andrew retired, commenced business in the same store, and remained there until his death, which took place in 1843. Mr. Little was a pleasant, agreeable man, and a universal favorite, especially with the young people. He was succeeded by Albert Webb, who purchased the stock of goods then in the store and continued the same business for several years, when, desirous of a larger field in which to operate, removed to Portland, and is now living, I think, in some part of York County.

Probably the next man to open a grocery store in Little Falls, was Deacon William Bacon, a blacksmith, who becoming tired of the anvil and leather apron, sometime during the year 1845 fitted up a store on the site hitherto occupied by his blacksmith shop, purchased a stock of groceries, and at once became a full-fledged merchant; contrary to all expectations he prospered, and for some years his was the principal store on Windham side. During his career he had several partners, among others A. M. Burton and Albert Stevens, both afterwards well-known merchants of Portland. Deacon Bacon died in the winter of 1891, upwards of eighty years old.

For several years the late Jonathan Hanson traded in the brick store on the corner of Main and Depot streets, where he did a safe and remunerative business, but finally went to Portland, where he remained until his death. In 1869, the late William Bickford came here from Casco village and purchased the Bacon property, removed the old store and built on the same spot the large establishment now (1896) owned and occupied by his son William H. Bickford. The first drug store here was kept by George W. Swett, a native of the place, but now resident in Portland.

During the year 1867 Charles Nichols established himself here as an undertaker, and continued in the business until his death, in 1887. He was succeeded by his son Charles A., who has lately added a fine stock of furniture and upholstery to his original business, in which line he is doing well. Messrs. R. H. Soule & Co., erected a grain mill near Black Brook in 1892, which is now (1896) in successful operation.

The first physician to settle in Little Falls was Dr. James Paine, who came from Limerick, Maine, in 1797, and practised in his profession until 1818, when his health failed and he removed to Portland, where he died February 22, 1822, aged sixty-three years. Dr. Paine built the house on the hill near the present railroad station, which he afterwards sold to Jonathan Andrew, who occupied it until his removal to Boxford.

A post-office was established here in 1828, called South Windham, and Jonathan Andrew appointed first postmaster. Since that time a large number of men have filled that office, among whom may be noticed,

William Silla, Eli Edgecomb, Jonathan Hanson, William Bacon, for many years, A. M. Burton, George W. Swett, F. H. Freeman, Joseph W. Read and Howard M. Smith, the present incumbent being Harrison R. Waterhouse.

On Windham side there are at present two grocers, William H. Bickford and A. J. Magnussen; two drug stores, one kept by D. M. Rand, the other by Dr. C. W. Bailey; one carriage maker, E. T. Smith, who came here in 1848, and has worked continuously at that occupation since; one meat market, kept by F. W. Bryant; one blacksmith, William Jordan; and one variety store, of which Joseph W. Read is the proprietor.

The physicians located here since Dr. Paine have been many, among others, S. W. Baker, J. A. Parsons, James M. Buzzell, Eli Edgecomb, Isaiah T. Hedge, S. C. Gordon, Silas E. Sylvester, Roscoe G. Milliken, Frank Carter, John Swan, N. M. Marshall, Jabez C. Cushman, and at the present time B. F. Marshall and Charles W. Bailey.

On Gorham side the first grocer of which we have any knowledge was Jacob Coburn, who commenced trade about 1824. His store stood on or near the present site of "Hill's Block." Mr. Coburn remained in trade but a short time, and was succeeded by his son Edwin, who continued the business until 1838, when he sold to Ichabod W. Leighton, who came here from Falmouth. Mr. Leighton moved the building to a site near the Cumberland and Oxford Canal, built an addition to the original structure in which he lived

and traded more than twenty years, after which he moved to Portland, where he became a wholesale dealer in corn, flour and groceries, and where, I think, he still resides. After his removal the store was occupied a short time during the year 1861-62, by a man named Elisha Guilford, but where he came from or whither he went, I have no means of knowing.

Some time previous to 1840, Edmund Libby, a native of the place, began the manufacture of boots and shoes in a small shop that stood on the site of Coburn's old store. Mr. Libby was successful from the first, and soon found it necessary to enlarge his store, after which he added a stock of provisions and groceries to his other business. He remained here until the year 1858, when he formed a partnership with Thomas S. Lamb and Charles J. Walker of Portland, and moved to that city, and died several years ago. Mr. Libby was a shrewd, clear-headed business man, and although he suffered almost constantly from ill health was always a busy man. He had several partners at different times. There were, so far as I can remember, John F. Smith, Walter Berry, Joseph M. Plummer, Lendall Brown, and possibly others. After his removal the store was occupied for short terms by George E. Cole, Benjamin Sturgis, John F. Smith, Josiah C. Shirley and Orrin A. Hill, who owns it at the present time.

The late Col. John Frink located here near the same time that Mr. Libby did, and built a shop near his in which for many years he gave employment to a large number of workmen in the manufacture of boots and shoes. About 1862, he sold his interest here to

Clement F. Brackett, and went to Aroostook County, but finally returned and purchased a farm near Little Falls, where he died in 1890. Clement F. Brackett, who succeeded him here, remained but a few years, and then went to Vineland, New Jersey, and is now dead. In 1861, Freeman Harding sold his farm near the village, and opened a grocery store in the building now occupied as a furnishing store, where he traded until 1867, at which time he sold out to Jonathan S. Lovett, another Gorham farmer, and soon after removed to some part of Massachusetts. These gentlemen, with but little experience at the start, were both successful, and both are now dead.

At the present time there is but one grocery on that side, kept by Fred. H. Freeman, in addition to which there is a gentlemen's furnishing store, Dana A. Brackett, proprietor, the meat market of Waterhouse & Hanson, the blacksmith and carriage shop of M. Q. Brackett, and the carriage-painting establishment of Hawkes Brothers.

There are two churches in the village, one on Gorham side belonging to the Free Baptist Society, the other to the Universalists. Both these churches were first opened for religious services in 1841, and both have had a long line of pastors that it is now impossible to enumerate; at this writing Rev. E. C. Harmon is pastor of the Free Baptist church, while the Universalists are making preparations to settle a pastor, but services are held in their meeting-house every Sabbath morning.

The village usually contains a population of between three and four hundred inhabitants subject somewhat

to the amount of business done at the mills here and at Mallison. Fine school privileges are afforded to the scholars of both towns, while our people are all quiet, orderly and honorable citizens.

Sometime in 1832 a public house was established at Little Falls by Andrew Libby. This was on Windham side of the river. Mr. Libby remained here but a few years, and then sold to William Silla, who in turn leased the premises to Eben Hicks. He remained but a short time, and Mr. Silla was landlord until 1840, when the late Thomas Bodge refitted the house and remained in the business until 1848, at which time Mr. Silla took possession of the venerable structure for the third time, but soon left for more congenial fields of labor. The old hostelry is still standing on the corner of Main and Depot Streets, having been used many years as a tenement house, but is yet known as the "Old Tavern."

About 1845 or 1846 a man who gave his name as Justus Butler came here, and for a time carried on tailoring, but in the course of a few years opened a public house on Gorham side, which he kept for a short time, but not being successful he closed up business and went to some place to me unknown. These were the only hotels ever kept in the village so far as I can learn.

In addition I will say that within the past ten years two gentlemen have operated grocery stores on Gorham side, whom I should have noticed among the grocers and general traders; these were Mr. Benjamin B. Mayberry deceased, and Mr. A. L. Folsom, now in business in another place.

LETTER FROM JUDGE SULLIVAN CONCERNING THE EASTERN BOUNDARY OF MAINE.

COPIED FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE EMMET COLLECTION OF MANUSCRIPTS BELONGING TO THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY. DR. SMITH, TO WHOM IT IS ADDRESSED, WAS PROBABLY THE REV. WILLIAM SMITH, PROVOST OF THE COLLEGE OF PHILADELPHIA.

Communicated by Hon. Joseph Williamson.

BOSTON 20th October 1796.

REVD SIR.

When I took the freedom to address you on the subject of the eastern boundary of the United States, I did not expect that you would have either leisure, or inclination to afford so copious, and learned a disquisition on the subject as your goodness has induced you to give. Having not had the honour to be known to you, I was induced at the instance of the honorable Mr. Bingham to address you on the important business, merely with a hope, that you would forward through the Secretary of State, any Documents or memorandums, which might be in your possession, and pertinent to the occasion.

Whilst I was at Passimaquody Bay I received your obliging letter; and since my return to Boston I have had a copy of another addressed to Mr. Bingham and myself on the same subject. Both these contain arguments to prove that the river Scoduck is the river intended by the Treaty of 1783 as the river

St. Croix. To attempt an answer to the arguments, which you have placed in your letter, in the mouth of the British Government, would in this acknowledgement of your goodness be in my opinion, very improper: because, that although those arguments have been relied on by that Government, yet many of them are now abandoned; and because it would be an imperfect anticipation of the trial of the question.

The Secretary of State has inclosed to me your sketch of Mitchels map, with the piece of paper pasted upon it. The men who made the Treaty of 1783, do not, I believe, recollect any such paper as being on Mitchels map at that time; but if the fact was fully established, as you state it, even that addition to the Map would give the river Magaguadavic as the boundary under the name of the St. Croix.

There is no perfect map of Passimaquody Bay, and of the rivers in question, now in being. But all the maps as they are drawn, represent two rivers as running into the Bay, and all of them which were made before the year 1787 call the northern, or eastern river the St. Croix: and when it is established that the Magaguadavic, or eastern river of the two, is the St. Croix, the point is settled in favour of the United States.

You remark that you never knew, until you learned it from my history of the District of Maine that a river emptying its waters into the Eastern side of the Bay was claimed by Massachusetts, as the line of the Province. In your first letter you appear to be confident, that I am, in that Book mistaken, in my asser-

tion, that Governor Bernard ordered a Survey there in the year 1764 ; and express your idea that it was in 1765 or 1766. That book was hastily compiled in order to preserve facts which might be otherwise lost to the public. It was not intended as a disquisition on the boundary, and is in some instances a very imperfect and erroneous description of the facts, and places, which now demand our attention. Its merits, or mistakes, can by no means affect the dispute. Indeed Sir, it can be asserted with truth, and propriety, that the dispute between the two nations cannot be understood by any one without his being on the place, or seeing a better map than has ever yet been compiled.

Had you ever been at Passimaquody Bay, you would not have understood L Escarbot, and other writers as you now understand them. However good L Escarbot may be as a Pilot, yet the courses you propose to steer under his direction, will never land you on any Island, which either party would now agree to, as the one on which Demonts wintered ; nor on any Island to be found in those waters.

The Island is not of much importance as I understand the case, nor do I find any thing in the business which places the island where Demonts wintered on the western side of the Bay, or in the mouth of a river.

Upon receiving your first letter, the idea I had of your great accuracy and attention induced me to believe that I had mistaken the date of Governor Bernards survey. I therefore had recourse to his orders, the journals, and returns, and affidavits, of the Surveyors, and chainmen, which are all in my possession. His

orders were issued the 14th day of April 1764, and have attached to them the Governors Map of the river St. Croix, which appears beyond doubt to be the Magaguadavic. I have the returns, journals and Depositions of the Surveyors, and Chain Bearers, now before me. They arrived at Campobello the 8th of May, finished their Surveys and returned to Boston the 30th of June 1764. I have taken their oaths myself on these facts. They are all now alive.

The same river was again Surveyed as the boundary, by General Brattle, Colonel Royal and others under the orders of Governor Hutchinson, in the year 1770. In the year 1784 General Lincoln, and General Knox were appointed by the General Court of Massachusetts, to go down to the place and investigate the question. Their report signed by them both is now before me; wherein they declare the Magaguadavic to be the St. Croix. You will, I believe consider these claims on behalf of Massachusetts. Besides this, the Indians were examined under oath, at the several times before mentioned and all declared, that the river Magaguadavic was always called the St. Croix, and that no other river connected with that Bay, was ever called by that name. They have now been sworn before the commissioners, and say the same unanimously. Indeed, I never had an idea until October 1783, that the river Magaguadavic was a contested boundary; nor has any Person in Massachusetts, ever heard until that time, that the English claimed any other line, than that river, as the western boundary of Nova Scotia; excepting that Charles Morris Esqr, of whose

character you justly make such honorable mention, surveyed the Cobscook as the St. Croix, fixed on an Island in its mouth as Demonts Island, and returned a plan of it as the true river to the Governor of Nova Scotia. But notwithstanding, his great ability as a man of science, and his accurate knowledge, which you say he was possessed of, as to the Geography of that Province &c, he now declares that he was mistaken, and the English Government has abandoned all claim to that river as the boundary. Their views in doing this I shall not now say any thing upon.

The Singular Provision in the Charter of William & Mary to Massachusetts, in regard to the Land in the territory between Kenebec and St. Croix, induced several Grants under the authority of the crown. The opinion of the Attorneys and Solicitor General in 1734 that the fee remained in the Crown is of no consequence at this time. The Grant made to you and others, is treated as other Grants made within and without Nova Scotia before the revolution. It is vacated by an Act of Government. And should the line be settled on our claim that Land will still be within the Province of New Brunswick. Though your tenants &c may have taken a part in execution, yet the whole is now regranted, if my information is correct, and your Grant deemed a nullity.

I have been used to treat subjects which happened to fall under my direction with as much conciseness as their nature would admit of; and in the present case I am of opinion that the interest of neither nation will call up a discussion of what the ancient Acadie

was, or of what was the line between Acadie and Nova Scotia anterior to the year 1690, consequently all the learning on Pentagoet, and Kenebec will be laid aside; the English have made their claims to Nova Scotia by boundaries in the Grant to Sir William Alexander, and do not pretend with Shirley and Milday, that it ever extended west of the Scooduck.

The Act of parliament of 1774 can certainly have no weight in the decision of the case.

I inclose you your first letter according to your request, with many thanks for your attention and am with sentiments of great respect.

Your most humble Servant

Ja Sullivan

DR Smith

(Endorsed :)	Judge Sullivan	Octr
	to	
	Dr Smith	1796

HALLOWELL RECORDS.

COMMUNICATED BY THE LATE DR. W. B. LAPHAM.

[Continued from Page 111, Vol. IX.]

John Beeman, son of John Beeman of Hartford, state of Connecticut, and Sarah Brooks, his wife, was born in Northfield, county of Hampshire, Massachusetts, February 9, 1755. Came to this town May, 1781. March 20, 1785, married Hannah, daughter of John Jennings and Hannah Newcomb his wife (who was at the time of her marriage with him the widow relict of ——— Sturgis.) Their children are : —

Hannah, b. Dec. 21, 1785.

Sarah, b. Nov. 20, 1787; d. Dec. 22, 1787.

Sarah Sturgis, b. Jan. 21, 1790.

Mary, b. May 15, 1792.

John, b. May 23, 1794; d. May 31, 1805.

Robert, b. Sept. 1, 1797.

Catharine, b. June 8, 1802; d. April 22, 1804.

Catharine, b. June 6, 1804.

Jane Carpenter, b. Mar. 31, 1807; died Feb., 1868.

John, b. Jan. 24, 1810.

Mrs. Hannah Beeman was born in Sandwich, county of Barnstable, August 21, 1766; died August 2, 1845.

Daniel Stevens, son of Samuel Stevens, was born in Brentwood, state of New Hampshire; married Mehitable, daughter of Samuel and Mary Dudley of Exeter, state of New Hampshire. Came with his family to this town, July, 1780. Their children are:—

Mary, b. Sept. 25, 1768.

Samuel, b. Feb. 25, 1771.

Mehitable, b. Feb. 5, 1773.

Abigail, b. Feb. 3, 1775.

Hannah, b. July 10, 1777.

Sarah, b. Jan. 22, 1780.

Betsey, b. March 15, 1782.

Nancy, b. May 4, 1784.

Olive, b. July 27, 1786.

Daniel, b. Feb. 23, 1789.

Sophia, b. Aug. 27, 1792.

Mr. Daniel Stevens died March 24, 1796. Mrs. Mehitable Stevens died September, 1814.

Samuel Stevens, son of Daniel Stevens, married Mary, daughter of John Bell, by whom he had one child named Mary, born August 17, 1812. Mrs. Mary Stevens died August 18, 1812.

Aaron Stevens, son of Ephraim Stevens, and Sibyl Foster, his wife, was born in Winthrop, February 26, 1786. Married Ruth, daughter of Seth Delano, and Rebecca Fish, his wife, of said Winthrop. Came to this town, May 12, 1815. Their children are:—

Hannah, b. Dec. 6, 1809, on Plantation No. 6.

Charles Franklin, b. Jan. 4, 1813, in Litchfield.

Emily, b. Nov. 23, 1814, in Litchfield.

Sibyl Ann, b. Nov. 25, 1816, in Hallowell.

Henry Delano, b. Jan. 8, 1819, in Hallowell.
 William Augustus, b. May 30, 1821.
 Albert Mann, b. April 8, 1823; died Dec. 25, 1823.
 Caroline, b. August 5, 1826.

John Chamberlin, son of Jonathan Chamberlin, and Margaret Cram, his wife, was born in Lyndsborough, state of New Hampshire, March 26, 1774. Married Abigail, daughter of Abijah and Deliverance Brown, of Packersfield, state of New Hampshire. Came to this town with his family June 26, 1806. Their children are: —

Sophia, b. July 30, 1802, in Packersfield; d. Sept. 27, 1857.
 John, b. Dec. 30, 1803, in Packersfield; d. May 12, 1826.
 Lyman, b. Nov. 2, 1805, in Packersfield.
 Mary Ann, b. Oct. 31, 1807, in Hallowell.
 Abijah Brown, b. July 18, 1810.
 Abigail, b. March 2, 1813. Died.
 Della, b. June 30, 1816. Died.
 Charles Henry, b. Nov. 5, 1819.

John Smith, son of Samuel Smith, married Lydia Towns of Gardiner. Their children are: —

John Adams, b. Jan. 12, 1805.
 Samuel, b. March 11, 1807.
 George Thomas, b. Aug. 15, 1810.
 Mrs. Lydia Smith died May 6, 1814.

Joseph Richards, son of Bradley Richards and Judith Kent, his wife, was born in St. Johnsborough, state of Vermont, January 21, 1789. Came to this town with his father's family. Married Hannah, daughter of Thomas Kenney of this town. Their children are: —

Charles Greenleaf, b. Jan. 6, 1817.
 Martha Jane, b. Feb. 21, 1819.
 Joseph, b. Oct. 13, 1820.
 William Henry, b. Mar. 22, 1822.
 Harriet Emeline, b. June 9, 1824.
 Hannah Frances, b. May 7, 1826.

Joseph Leigh, son of James Leigh and Mary Wright, his wife, was born in Eccles, county of Lancashire, in Great Britain, June

30, 1781. Came to this town in 1800. Married Elizabeth, daughter of William Bachelder and Elizabeth Greely, his wife. Their children are : —

Thomas, b. Mar. 8, 1816; died Dec. 5, 1819.

Robert Wright, b. Apr. 22, 1818.

Elizabeth, b. Dec. 27, 1820.

Thomas, b. Dec. 15, 1822.

James Hope, b. Oct. 28, 1825.

Mary Wright, b. Feb. 14, 1831.

Mr. Joseph Leigh died December 27, 1838.

Isaac Sawyer, son of John and Mary Sawyer, of Falmouth, was born in that town September 18, 1789. Married Diana Guabert of Dresden, who was born June 23, 1789. Came to this town 1813. Their children are : —

Robert, b. June 3, 1809, in Dresden.

Margaret, b. Dec. 23, 1810, in Dresden.

Catharine, b. Mar. 13, 1812, in Dresden.

Isaac, b. Nov. 2, 1813, in Hallowell.

Mary Jane, b. Oct. 17, 1815.

William W., b. June 2, 1817.

Diana R., b. Mar. 9, 1819.

Hannah, b. July 2, 1820; d. Feb. 15, 1848.

Frances Elizabeth, b. Apr. 27, 1823.

George Addison, b. Nov., 1824; d. Jan. 30, 1825.

George Addison, b. June 16, 1826.

Ebenezer Buswell, son of Samuel Buswell, was born in Kingston, New Hampshire, April 9, 1775. Married Abigail Myric of Methuen. Came to this town March, 1802. Mrs. Buswell died March 20, 1851. Their children are : —

Jacob, b. Apr. 8, 1800.

Ira, b. Dec. 15, 1802, in Hallowell.

Sally, b. June 10, 1805. Died.

Loisa, b. Mar. 4, 1807.

Polly, b. June 29, 1809.

John, b. Feb. 23, 1812.

Mehitable, b. July 8, 1814.

Ebenezer, b. Dec. 31, 1816.

Sarah Olive, b. Dec. 18, 1824.

The children of Daniel Horn and Judith Buswell, his wife. Mr. Daniel Horn died.

Ebenezer Horn, b. Apr. 2, 1802. Died.

Samuel, b. Mar. 6, 1804.

Mary, b. Aug. 1, 1806.

Archibald, b. Apr. 14, 1809.

Emily, b. Mar. 23, 1812.

William Jones, son of George Jones, was born in Barrington, New Hampshire, October, 1789. Married Abigail Felker of said Barrington. Their children are :—

Belinda, b. May 30, 1806.

Mercy, b. Feb. 15, 1808.

William, b. Dec. 10, 1809.

A daughter, b. Jan. 15, 1811. Died same day.

George, b. Mar. 7, 1813.

Abigail, b. Apr. 19, 1816.

Nancy, b. May 14, 1818.

Ebenezer Hinkley, son of James and Mary Hinkley of this town, was born October 22, 1780. Married Tabitha, daughter of Joseph Austin, who was born in York, June 23, 1784. Their children are :—

Olive Dill, b. Nov. 1, 1810.

Mary Jane, b. Aug. 6, 1812.

Mehitable, b. Nov. 24, 1814.

Charles Austin, b. Jan. 21, 1817; d. June 3, 1837.

Ann Maria, b. Jan. 23, 1820.

James Oliver, b. June 4, 1823. Died.

Sarah Louisa, b. Nov. 11, 1825.

Julia Augusta, b. Mar. 25, 1828.

Owen Hinds, son of Ebenezer Hinds, was born in Middelborough, Massachusetts, June, 1788. Married Mary Bales, of Rochester, Massachusetts. Came to this town with his family March, 1812. Their children are :—

William Canada, b. Sept. 12, 1812.

Cordelia, b. Sept. 28, 1814.

Reserved, born Sept. 29, 1816. Died.

Berilla, b. Sept. 29, 1818.

Daniel Smith, son of Joseph Smith, married Dorcas, daughter of Joshua and Sarah Lovell, of Falmouth (now Portland). Mr. Daniel Smith above named died March 22, 1837. Their children are : —

Hamilton, b. Apr. 8, 1806.
 Joseph, b. Mar. 18, 1808.
 Daniel, b. Mar. 7, 1811.
 Elizabeth, b. Nov. 23, 1812.
 Thomas Metcalf, b. Apr. 11, 1815.
 Mary Loring, b. May 13, 1817; d. same day.
 A daughter, b. Apr. 18, 1819; died same day.

John Smith, son of Joseph Smith, married Rebecca, daughter of Levi Hoyt, of Augusta. Mr. John Smith died February 12, 1850. Their children are : —

Henry Albert, b. Sept. 10, 1813.
 Harriet, b. Apr. 27, 1815.
 Joseph Sargent, b. Nov. 8, 1816.
 Theodore, b. Sept. 4, 1819.
 Susan, b. Aug. 13, 1821.
 John, b. Jan. 23, 1824.
 Elizabeth, b. Mar. 5, 1826; d. Feb. 27, 1851.
 George, b. Dec. 7, 1828.
 Adeline, b. June 4, 1831.
 Augustine, b. Oct. 4, 1833.
 Charles, b. Mar. 29, 1836; d. Jan. 1, 1839.

Cook Kimball, son of Nathaniel Kimball and Dolly Cook, his wife, was born in Brookfield, Massachusetts, May 8, 1792. Married Betsey, daughter of Enoch Greely, of this town. Their children are : —

Mary Elizabeth, b. Nov. 22, 1816.
 Nancy Caroline, b. Sept. 1819; d. Aug. 9, 1820.
 Hannah Martha, b. Mar. 17, 1823.

John Johnson, son of Benjamin Johnson, of this town. Married Olive, daughter of Joseph Smith. Their children are : —

Betsey, b. Sept. 9, 1810.
 John, b. Jan. 1814.

Mr. Johnson died August 30, 1813, and Mrs. Johnson married his brother, Jonathan Johnson.

Benjamin Hodges, and Mehitable Hodges, his wife, was born in the part of Hallowell which is now Augusta, August 18, 1790. Came to this town. Married Hannah, daughter of Ichabod Varney, of Topsham. Their children are :—

Caroline, b. Mar. 10, 1816.

George, b. Nov., 1818.

Freeman Hinkley, son of Shubael Hinkley, married Mary, daughter of Malcolm Stewart, of Boston, September 20, 1797. Their issue :—

James Henry, b. Oct. 31, 1808.

Mr. Freeman Hinkley died April, 1806, and Mrs. Hinkley married Chase Avery, son of Nathaniel Avery, of Stratham, New Hampshire, who was born September 22, 1777. Their children are :—

John Albert Stewart, b. Mar. 18, 1815; d. June 21, 1816.

Emeline Page, b. July 16, 1817.

Joseph Hudson Page, son of Benjamin Page and Judith Hudson, his wife, was born in Gilmantown, New Hampshire, April 13, 1784. Came to this town November, 1806. Married Sally, daughter of ——— Whitten, of Topsham. Their children are :—

Joseph Shepard, b. July 25, 1811.

Sarah Loisa, b. Aug. 17, 1813.

Caroline, b. Mar. 16, 1816.

In 1817 Mr. Page removed to Augusta, where he remained til January, 1820. From thence he removed to Gardiner.

Woodbury Kenney, son of James Kenney, married Nancy, daughter of Elisha Nye Jr. Mr. Kenney died Feb. 25, 1816.

Frederick, their only child, b. Feb. 25, 1815.

John Arnold, son of John Arnold, and Elizabeth Banks, his wife, was born in the state of New York, April 1, 1754. Married Hannah, daughter of Ebenezer Loomis and Hannah Snow, his wife, of Lebanon, Connecticut, by whom he had eleven children. Mrs. Arnold died and Mr. Arnold married Ruthy, widow relict of Moses Sewall, of this town, by whom he had two sons, viz. :—

Nathaniel Barrell, b. Mar. 24, 1805.

Henry Augustus, b. Mar. 22, 1807.

Isaiah Thing, son of Levi Thing, was born September 6, 1790. Married Mary Ann, daughter of Gershon Cocks, of this town. Their children are : —

Gorham, b. Oct. 4, 1819.
 Mary Ann, b.
 William Henry, b.
 Arthur, b.

Thomas Lewis Hovey, son of Francis Hovey, was born in Ipswich, August 9, 1773. Married Mary Perkins of said Ipswich, who was born September, 1774. Their children are : —

Naomi, died Dec. 3, 1813.
 Thomas L., d.
 Mary, d. Mar. 25, 1883.
 Thomas L., d.
 Hannah, d. Jan., 1883.
 Abraham, d.

Mrs. Mary Hovey died and Mr. Hovey married Cynthia, daughter of Ebenezer Mayo, of this town. Their children are : —

Lewis, b. Feb. 18, 1810; d.
 Cynthia, b. Aug. 3, 1811; d.
 William M., b. Mar. 23, 1813.
 Thomas, b. Aug. 15, 1815.
 John N., b. Jan. 20, 1817; d.
 Naomi, b. Jan. 3, 1819; d.
 Daniel Chapman, b. Feb. 12, 1821; d. 1829.
 Ebenezer, b. May 11, 1823; d. Nov. 17, 1826.
 Sarah, b. Nov. 14, 1824; d. 1825.
 Ebenezer I., b. Sept. 15, 1827.
 Frances Ellen, b. July 4, 1830.

Thomas L. Hovey died May 17, 1856.

Rev. Eliphalet Gillet, first minister of Hallowell, and son of Eliphalet and Lydia Gillet, was born at Colchester, Connecticut, November 19, 1768. (His paternal grandfather was Samuel Gillet, whose ancestors came from England. His maternal grandfather was James Pinnes, deacon of a church in Lebanon, Connecticut, and son of a protestant emigrant from France at the time of the revocation of the edict of Nantz.) He was graduated from Dartmouth

College, August 24, 1791. Licensed to preach the gospel May 13, 1794; ordained at Hallowell, August 12, 1795; married to Mary Gurley, daughter of the Rev. John Gurley, May 22, 1805. Mr. Gillet died October 19, 1848. Their children are as follows:—

Mary Gurley, b. Apr. 27, 1806.
 John Henry, b. Dec. 21, 1807.
 Ann Elizabeth, b. July 15, 1809.
 Helen Loisa, b. Apr. 25, 1811.
 Edward Payson, b. Apr. 24, 1813.
 William Eliphalet, b. July 11, 1814; d. Sept. 27, 1815.
 Frances Pinnes, b. Apr. 19, 1817, d. Nov 2, 1838.
 Abigail Porter Caroline, b. Apr. 24, 1819.
 Austin Handfield Gurley, b. Mar. 20, 1821.

Shubael Hinkley, son of Shubael Hinkley, married Betsey Spade. Their children are as follows:—

Elizabeth, b. Aug. 27, 1813.
 Elijah Robinson, b. May 16, 1815.
 Mariah, b. Oct. 2, 1818.

Jacob Richards, son of Bradley Richards, was born October 8, 1784. Married Sally, daughter of Samuel Smith. Their children are as follows:—

Elizabeth, b. Apr. 12, 1806; d. Aug. 8, 1808.
 Hannah Elizabeth, b. Nov. 20, 1808.
 Daniel, b. Apr. 5, 1811; d. July 18, 1812.
 Frances, b. Feb. 18, 1812; d. Dec. 31, 1814.
 Daniel Ferdinand, b. Jan. 8, 1814; d. Feb. 14, 1815.
 Ferdinand Smith, b. Feb. 5, 1816.
 John, b. Feb. 24, 1818.
 Sally, b. Sept. 6, 1819.
 Jacob Jr., b. Jan. 20, 1822; d. Mar., 1815.

Mr. Jacob Richards died November, 1847.

Benjamin Page, son of Benjamin Page and Mary Sanborn, his wife, was born in Kensington, state of New Hampshire, February 12, 1748. Married Abigail, daughter of John Odlin, Esq., of Exeter, New Hampshire. Came with his family to this town November, 1800. The Benjamin Page first mentioned is of the fourth generation from Sir Francis Page of Great Britain. His wife, Abigail,

was great-granddaughter of Hon. Dudley Woodbridge, Governor and Director General of Royal Atlantic Company in the Island of Barbadoes. Mrs. Abigail Page died November 8, 1816, and Mr. Page married Lydia, daughter of ——— Goodwin who was then the widow relict of Thomas Lothrop of Plymouth. Their children are :—

Benjamin, b. Apr. 12, 1770, in Exeter.
 John Odlin, b. Mar. 22, 1772, in Exeter.
 Alice, b. Apr. 3, 1774, in Exeter.
 Abigail, b. June 17, 1776, in Exeter; d. Aug. 21, 1778.
 William Henry, b. Feb. 3, 1778, in Exeter; d. Aug. 26, 1778.
 William Henry, b. July 9, 1779, in Exeter.
 Samuel, b. Sept. 17, 1781, in Exeter.
 Dudley Woodbridge, b. Oct. 4, 1783, in Exeter; d. Feb. 22, 1784.
 Lucretia Flagg, b. Feb. 12, 1785, in Exeter.
 Rufus King, b. Mar. 13, 1787, in Exeter.
 Caroline, b. Dec. 12, 1789, in Exeter.

Freeman Prescott, son of Benjamin Prescott, and Mary Dinkley, his wife, was born in Hallowell, July 21, 1792. Married Nancy, daughter of Thomas Atkinson and Lydia Norris, his wife. Their children are :—

Freeman Harrison, b. Dec. 1, 1816.

Thomas Fillebrown, son of John, and grandson of Edward Fillebrown of Mendomy, now West Cambridge, was born in Woburn, County of Middlesex, October 8, 1783. Came to this town October 27, 1783. January 30, 1791, married Elizabeth, daughter of Nathaniel Cheever and Elizabeth Bancroft, his wife, of Salem, who was born August 20, 1771. Mr. Fillebrown with his family removed to Winthrop some time in 1808. Mrs. Elizabeth Fillebrown died October 23, 1817. Their children are :—

Elizabeth, b. Feb. 2, 1792.
 Thomas, b. Sept. 15, 1794.
 William, b. June 11, 1796.
 Caroline, b. Mar. 6, 1798.
 Cheever, b. Jan. 29, 1800.
 Emily, b. Dec. 29, 1801; d. June 8, 1815.

George, b. Mar. 31, 1804.

Henry, b. May 14, 1807.

James Bowdoin, b. Oct. 24, 1809, in Winthrop.

The children of Farley Mayo and Myra, his wife : —

Myra, b. Jan. 24, 1799.

Thomas, b. Sept. 8, 1800.

Hannah, b. Mar. 5, 1803.

Jesse, b. Feb. 14, 1805.

Isaac Smith, son of Joseph Smith, married Betsey, daughter of Benjamin Johnson and Betsey Buswell, his wife, of this town but formerly from the state of New Hampshire. Mrs. Betsey Smith died March 15, 1819. Mr. Isaac Smith died February 1, 1844.

Their children are : —

Deborah, b. Jan. 18, 1805.

Miriam, b. May 7, 1807.

Sophia, b. Jan. 22, 1811.

Isaac, b. Dec. 28, 1812; d. Jan. 8, 1848.

Jones, b. Dec. 28, 1814; d. Jan., 1847.

Sally, b. Feb. 14, 1817.

Aaron Taylor Hinkley, son of Thomas Hinkley, married Elizabeth, daughter of Anthony Cockrun and Elizabeth Orpwood, his wife, of the city of London, in the Kingdom of Great Britain. Their children are : —

Betsey, b. Dec. 20, 1816.

Hannibal Cockrun, b. Apr. 5, 1819.

Robert Sager, son of Joseph Sager and Mary Collins, his wife, was born in Richmond, Yorkshire County, in the Kingdom of Great Britain, May 6, 1767. Married Hannah, daughter of Robert Jarvis and Esther Sanderson, his wife, who was born in Croft, in the county aforesaid. Came to America August 9, 1800. Resided in Portland about 11 months then in Freeport nearly 4 years, then made a stand at Topsham where he remained about 10 years, then removed to this town July, 1815. Mrs. Sager died July 25, 1846. Their children are : —

Mary Elizabeth, b. May 31, 1796.

Joseph, b. Jan. 6, 1798.

Henry, b. Feb. 9, 1801.

Charles, b. May 19, 1804.

Robert Jarvis, b. Mar. 22, 1806.

George Pemberton, b. Feb. 23, 1808.

William Franklin, b. July 17, 1810.

Apprentices to the said Sager, viz., September, 1819.*

Elijah Jacobs, b. Mar. 16, 1800.

Daniel Taylor Weeks, b. 1801.

PROCEEDINGS.

A meeting of the Society was held in the library, Baxter Hall, February 24, 1898, and was called to order at 2.30 P. M., by the president, Mr. Baxter.

Mr. John W. Penney, of Mechanic Falls, read a paper on William Ladd, the Apostle of Peace, and exhibited an oil painting of Mr. Ladd's homestead in Minot, Maine. Rev. Henry O. Thayer read a sequel to his former paper on the Wiscasset tragedy entitled The Indian's Administration of Justice.

Colonel Nathaniel Sparhawk of Kittery was the title of an extended account of Sparhawk and his services, by Rev. Dr. Burrage of Portland. Dr. Charles E. Banks, of Washington, contributed an account of the death and burial place at Hampton, Virginia, of Captain Henry Mowat of the Royal Navy, who was well known but not especially lamented by the citizens of Portland, Maine.

Hon. Joseph Williamson contributed a copy of an important letter written by Governor James Sullivan on the St. Croix boundary question, from the original letter in possession of the New York Public Library.

On motion of the Rev. Dr. Dalton, it was voted that the Society's president, Mr. Baxter, be requested to deliver an evening address on his recent visit to California.

At the evening session Rev. Henry O. Thayer presided. Mr. Nathan Goold read an account of the early inhabitants on Munjoy Hill with a history of the observatory. Votes of thanks were passed for the papers read at both sessions and copies were requested for the archives.

Adjourned.





Ad per hant

COLONEL NATHANIEL SPARHAWK OF KITTERY.

BY REV. HENRY S. BURRAGE, D. D.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, February 24, 1898.

AMONG the English households that came from Old England to New England in the great Puritan emigration, 1629-40, was that of Nathaniel Sparhawk,¹ son of Lewis and Elizabeth (Bayning) Sparhawk.² The English home of these adventurers was in Dedham, Essex County. Whatever may have been Nathaniel Sparhawk's prospects in life, he had heard of the brighter prospects opening to his countrymen beyond the sea, and ready to bear his share of the hardships that necessarily must be incurred by a removal to the New World, he joined his neighbors and friends who were hastening thither.

With him came his wife Mary (who died January 23, 1643-44) and probably his children, Nathaniel, Anne, Mary and Esther. He also had a son Samuel by this wife. By his second wife, Katherine, he had two daughters, Ruth and Elizabeth. We find him in Cambridge as early as 1638.³ His home was on the

¹ Also written Sparhawke, Sparhawk, Sparrowhauke, Sparowhauke, and Sparrow Hawke.

² I have here followed Mr. Cecil H. Cutts Howard in his *Materials for the Genealogy of the Sparhawk Family*, Historical Collections, Essex Institute, Vol. XXV, page 80. Yet see Mr. W. S. Appleton, *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, Vol. XIX, page 125, who makes Nathaniel Sparhawk the son of Samuel.

³ Paige, in his *History of Cambridge*, says 1636, but 1638 is the generally accepted date. See *Materials for a Genealogy of the Sparhawk Family*, Historical Collections, Essex Institute, Vol. XXV, page 80.

easterly side of Brighton Street, between Mount Auburn and Harvard Square. He must have brought with him some property, and this he enlarged. "He appears to have owned, in 1642, five houses and about five hundred acres of land, which quantity was afterwards increased. After his death about a thousand acres were sold from his estate, leaving a large quantity of land on the south side of the river (now Brighton District), a part of which still remains in possession of his descendants."¹

His worth as a member of the community was early recognized by his fellow citizens, and he became a freeman of the colony, May 23, 1639. He was also made a deacon of the church in Cambridge, and from 1642 until his death he was a deputy from Cambridge to the General Court. He died June 28, 1647, and his wife Katherine, July 5, of the same year.

Nathaniel, his son, married, October 3, 1649, Patience, daughter of Rev. Samuel Newman, of Rehoboth, Massachusetts. His residence was in what is now the Brighton District. He also was a deacon of the church, and he was selectman from 1677 to 1686. He died in January, 1687.

John Sparhawk, the second son of Nathaniel was born about the year 1673.² He was graduated at Harvard College in 1689, and was ordained pastor of the church in Bristol, Rhode Island, June 12, 1695, and died April 29, 1718, in the forty-fifth year of his age, having, in the quaint language of the time, "approved himself a faithful Steward in the House of

¹ Paige's History of Cambridge, page 657.

² Harvard Graduates, Vol. III, page 421.

God, eminent for his Prudence, Patience and Peaceableness in his whole conduct." He was married twice,¹ first to Elizabeth Poole and second to Priscilla Hemans (probably the mother of his children), who survived him and married Jonathan Waldo,² a wealthy Boston merchant. John Sparhawk, the older of Mrs. Waldo's³ two sons, born September 27, 1711, was graduated at Harvard College in 1731, and became pastor of the church in Salem, Massachusetts. He married, October 4, 1737, Jane Porter, and died April 30, 1755, aged forty-three years. It was on the birth of this son that Judge Samuel Sewall addressed the following sonnet to "the Rev'd Mr. Jn^o Sparhawk": —

Hath God, who freely gave you his own Son,
 Freely bestowed on you one of your own?
 You certainly can justly do no less
 Than thankfully own yours to be his.
 Your doing so, may very much conduce
 To love him well, and yet not love too much.
 Don't love so much; you cannot love too well.
 Love God for all, your Love will then excell.
 Love not so much, lest you too soon should lose.
 Our comforts wither may, upon abuse.

¹ Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, says twice or thrice.

² Jonathan Waldo had a son Samuel by a former wife. "Extensively concerned in the Waldo land patent in Maine, Samuel passed a portion of his time at Falmouth to superintend the landed interest. On the division of Pepperrell's regiment of Maine militia into two, Samuel Waldo was appointed to the command of the eastern one. He was also chosen many years a councilor at the same board with Pepperrell, and was largely concerned with him in mercantile affairs." See Parsons' Life of Pepperrell, page 182.

³ The will of Mrs. Waldo is recorded in the probate office at Alfred, Maine. "In it she bequeaths to her son John 'all that wrought plate which he has already received,' also to her son Nathaniel 'all the plate of which I shall die possessed or shall not have disposed of and delivered in my lifetime to those to whom the same may be conveyed.' She wills to her daughter-in-law, Elizabeth (Pepperrell) Sparhawk, her 'Suit of Masquerade Damask,' in return or offset for a 'suit of silk cloths given to her daughter-in-law, Jane (Porter) Sparhawk.'" Historical Collections, Essex Institute, Vol. XXV, page 119.

May Father, Mother, Son, be always blest ;
 With all the Blessings purchased by Christ !
 Sic tibi corde suo ferventior optat amicus,
 Omnia qui tua vult sua gaudia semper habes.¹

The younger son of Rev. John Sparhawk of Bristol, Rhode Island, Nathaniel Sparhawk, born² March 27, 1715, became the son-in-law of Col. William Pepperrell, afterward Sir William Pepperrell³ of Kittery, and as the greater part of his life was spent in Maine some account of his career cannot fail to be of interest to the members of this Society. He directed his attention early to business pursuits, and formed a partnership in Boston with Benjamin Colman. In the social circles in which he moved he met Elizabeth, the only daughter of Col. Pepperrell. Her brother Andrew entered Harvard College in 1741, while she availed herself of the advantages of the best schools that Boston afforded for her sex. It was doubtless during the period of her school life in Boston that Nathaniel Sparhawk made the acquaintance of Elizabeth Pepperrell, and an engagement followed. Col. Pepperrell sent to England for his daughter's outfit, and his letter containing the order has been preserved. It was dated Pascataqua, Oct. 14, 1741, and in his communication, Col. Pepperrell said : —

Send me by ye first opportunity for this place or Boston, Silk to make a woman a full suit of clothes, the ground to be white paduroy and flowered with all sorts of coulers suitable for a young woman —

¹ Mass. Historical Collections, 5th Series, Vol. VII, page 408.

² Historical Collections, Essex Institute, Vol. XXV, page 35.

³ The Maine Historical Society has some of Pepperrell's papers. These were purchased from Capt. Luther Dame of Newburyport, Massachusetts, who received them from his maternal uncle, Medical Director Charles Chase, U. S. N., who was born in Kittery, and lived for many years in the Sparhawk house.

another of white watered Taby, and Gold Lace for trimming it; twelve yards of Green Paduroy; thirteen yards of lace, for a woman's head dress, two inches wide, as can be bought for 18s per yard; a handsome Fan, with a leather mounting, as good as can be bought for about 20 shillings; 2 pair silk shoes, and cloggs a size bigger than ye shoe.

The wedding occurred June 10, 1742,¹ and although no description of it has come down to us, it could hardly have failed to be an occasion of very great interest, not only in Kittery, where the wedding took place, but also in the metropolis of the Bay colony. A residence for the young people was prepared by Col. Pepperrell near his own residence in Kittery. The house is still standing, and is one of the "historic homes of Kittery," so well described in a paper read before the Society, December 7, 1893, by Moses A. Safford, Esq.² Here in Kittery Nathaniel Sparhawk opened a mercantile house, although he still retained his connection with the business interests that had engaged his attention in Boston.

In 1744, events growing out of the war between England and France drew Col. Pepperrell, his father-in-law, into public life in connection with the siege and capture of Louisburg, and Mr. Sparhawk was compelled to give much of his time to the larger business interests in which Col. Pepperrell was engaged. Very early he himself also was drawn into public life. In 1744-45, he was made a justice of the peace. In

¹ Nathaniel's brother, Rev. John Sparhawk of Salem, Massachusetts, made the following record concerning the marriage: "My dear and only brother, Nath'l was married at Kittery to Miss Elizabeth Pepperrell, the only daughter of the then Hon'ble William Pepperrell, Esq., now Sir William Pepperrell, Bart., on June 10, 1742."

² Collections Maine Historical Society, 1894, page 121.

1746, he took his seat in the General Court of Massachusetts Bay as the representative of the town of Kittery.

In the Fogg collection of autograph letters, which at a future day are to come into the possession of this Society, there is a letter written by Nathaniel Sparhawk to his brother-in-law, Andrew Pepperrell, dated Boston, June 2, 1746. This letter is quoted in part in Parsons' Life of Sir William Pepperrell, Bart, page 149, but by the courtesy of Mrs. Fogg I am permitted to give it here in full.

DEAR SIR. — I am favoured with yo^{rs} of the 29th Ultimo, and am much Oblidged to you for y^e concern y^e express for my welfare. You may depend upon it that I as much wish for y^{rs} and shall always rejoice in your happiness and prosperity. Enclosed I send you Mr. Frenches letter and Inv^o of the Goods on board Buttler As soon as he arrives (w^h its soon expected he will if well) I will reship the Goods to you, nor will I forget Cap^t Barry. I keep the Bill Lading of the Goods on board Buttler for w^h end I opened the letter.

The Expedition against Canada is at last agreed upon By the General Court, & being Honoured wth a seat in the Committee to consider the Expediency of it etc, have been confined day & night almost ever since I came to Town, so that instead of having a little respite by my tour from the fatigues of busyness, I have been in a greater hurry then when at home, & now have the utmost difficulty in finding time to write.

There is 5 Battallions, besides Lt. General Framptons Regim^t daily expected from Great Brittain, for y^r Expedition, w^h are to be joyned by the two Gibraltar Regiments at Luisbourg, w^h with the Recruits that are to be levyed in No. America, are to be our Land Force, w^h are to be Comanded by Lt. General St. Clear. The Americans go by Land (except w^h are raised in Massach^{ts} Conn Rhode Isl^d & N. Hampshire) to Canada under Lt. Gov^r Gooch,

now Brigadier Gen^l. Admiral Warren Com^{ds} By Sea, The Gov^t Regim^{ts} and our ffathers are to defend Cape Breton. I rejoyce that He is excused from a concern in this Expedition, & that He is hourly expected almost. The Gen^l Court have voted 3000 men for the service of the Expedition. If you have any small arms I believe the Gov^t must want them, & you may sell them at a good price. I hope Ryan will soon appear. If Capt. Mason has any recruits to send down 3 or 4 may go in Every vessell my people send to Luisbourg, w^h pray inform him, & they ought forthwith to be sent down. When I have time to see any of the Ladys that you esteem, I shan't forgett yo^r Compliments. I beg my Mother Pepperrell will excuse me a day or two longer, I am ashamed to write her in my present hurry, was it in my power. I hope she'll hold out a litle longer, when she will be happy, I doubt not, in the safe arrivall of our ffather.

I present my highest regards to her & am wth great sincerity
y^r aff^o Bro^r &c

N. SPARHAWK.

Gov. Shirley will have Blank Comm^{ns} for 3 Regim^{ts} so our N. Engl^d men that were at C. Breton may now be provided for if they like war well enough to go again.

Andrew Pepperrell, Esq.

For his services at the siege and capture of Louisbourg, Pepperrell, now a general, was made a baronet of Great Britain, an honor only once¹ before conferred on a native of the American colonies, and he was given a commission to raise and command a regiment in the British line. In September, 1749, Sir William Pepperrell embarked for London, where he was received with high honor by the king, George II, Sir Peter Warren, and others with whom he had cooperated at Louisburg. The province of New Hampshire

*Phips was
only knighted
not made
baronet*

¹ Capt. William Phips, afterward captain-general and governor-in-chief of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, born, as Cotton Mather says, "at a despicable plantation on the river Kennebeck," was knighted at Windsor Castle, June 28, 1687, for his services in securing the treasure of a sunken Spanish ship.

was at this time under the governorship of Benning Wentworth. Dissatisfaction with his services in this position existed, and petitions were sent to the king for his removal. Sir William was asked to use his influence to this end while in London, but he remained non-committal. In the following letter from his son-in-law, Nathaniel Sparhawk, dated Kittery, September 24, 1749, allusion is made to the efforts of Sir William's friends to secure the governorship of New Hampshire for him.

I hope this will find you (through the great goodness of God to you & your family) safe arrived at London, and that you will have found favour with the King & His Ministry, and a Kind reception, from mankind in general, But especially with all you may be more immediately concerned, and that you always enjoy the kind influences of Heaven to preserve your life & Health to assist, direct, & to Succeed you in all your Laudable undertakings, both Publick & private; There has little occurred since you left New England, that I think it material to Advise you of, what relates to the Publick, Brig^r Waldo will easily recollect, when you meet, as to your private affairs, my Bro^r to whom I conclude you have committed the care of them, will doubtless communicate to you what may be needfull. My Mother Pepperrell a few days since acquainted me of Cap^t Gardner, late Major Gardner having wrote you, a pretty extraordinary letter. I advised Her by all means to send you a copy of it, and my Brother Pepperrell not to enter upon a correspondence with Gardner upon it, at least in writing, as perhaps He might drop something, that a Handle might be made of. I have Heard nothing more about the Vacant pay; If I should you shall have the Spedyest notice of it, nor shall I on any occasion be inattentive to your Intrest, as it may fall within the compass of my Knowledge. I have (a day or two past) had a conversation with Mr. Odiorne, & He tells me, that its proposed by Him & some other of your Friends, that all the leading people (a certain family only excepted) in the Province of N—— H———e, Sign a letter to you,

praying that you will use your Intrest to get the Government.— And as soon as this is compleated, an Attempt will be made to Ascertain those facts, that I hinted to You, respecting another Post there — In the mean time, such is the Unhappy State of that people, and such the dislike that the great family have contracted, to you & yours, w^{ch} is increased now to a degree that denominates 'em our proper enemys, that I should imagine, all things considered, that nothing would be wanting to prevail on you, to push your Interest to the utmost, if need be, that you may Obtain both one & the Other. Mr. Odiorne tells me they were exceedingly shocked at your sudden departure, and that it is evident they Have the greatest Apprehensions from your Voyage. However they cant help showing their teeth, an Instance of w^{ch} I beg leave to mention. The morn^s you sailed, It was discovered that William Dering had Broke Goal, & it was soon Industriously reported, among your good friends at Portsmouth, that He was doubtless gone in the Mastship, and that you ought to have the Credit of His escape, &c. This I think it my duty to tell you, and at the same time that the Authours of this peice of detraction are heartily despised by all of any worth. But inasmuch as this & many other things plainly show, How we should be treated if in the power of some, It would lead almost any man to endeavour to get as far removed from it as possible, to Unhorse them at least, if He didn't himself take their place. But I would not trouble you further on this subject at present.

I have lately wrote Mr. Colman again relating to our Seperation, & Hope in my next to Advise you of our agreeing to Part next Xmas. He has Already consented to my embarking directly on my own acc^t So that I leave a power wth Mr. Cutt to act for me, in our Joynt concerns. But I think it will be prudent to see them closed myself, w^{ch} in respect of all matters of consequence, I think may be easily effected by the Spring, when, if you desire, or advise me to embark I shall gladly wait on you. In the mean time I would take leave to pray your remembrance of me, as a Branch of your family, in respect of any Busyness you may be able to influence the negotiation of in New England, and I make no doubt, that as there is not the least prospect of any Mast's being got in the

Contract this Winter, y^t you might, for a price little less yⁿ what is given in England, take an order from the Commissioners of the Navy, to procure a Number of Shiploads on the Kings acc^t to be delivered Here to the Kings Ships, which might call for them as they go home yearly from Virginia, the West Indies, Chebucta &c. & be little or no expence to the Crown — whereas the freight they pay to the Contractors is very considerable. Besides, if the Board of Ordnance knew that Mess^{rs} N——p & H——k had no share in the Expedition to Luisbourg, and have got more mony by it yⁿ anybody else y^t was upon it, It might be thought reasonable, y^t your family should Have the Supply of Chebucta [Halifax], & Nffland [Newfoundland], rather than they.

There is now no Contract for supplying the Yards in the West Indies, which might be provided for in the same way y^t I proposed the Yards at Home should be, & if Mr. Wallace's friends could find that the same would open a door for His Employment in taking care of the Masts, &c., & receiving them, It might procure you their Interest. Now I take it His friends are very leading men at the Boards. But besides these publick things, There will be great Opportunitys of your recommending private Gentlemen y^t may want Ships, fish &c. I say, Sir, that a Share of your notice on these occasions, I should esteem as a token of your parental regard & affection for my family w^{ch} you must be sensible is large & expensive, nor Have you any reason, I hope, to question, from seven years experience of my conduct, my answering your recomendations of me, or my making a good use of any advantages y^t might accrue to me through your influence, to w^{ch} I shall only add, y^t you may always be sure of my most grateful returns, and that, as my Partnership will soon be closed, y^t no Stranger can reap any benefit with me, But that all the effects of yo^r goodness to me will center in the happiness of my own family.

I would beg leave to Hint to you that Mr. Gulston has refused a Bill of ours for £1200 a 2d time, we drew on him last year for this sum, when he gave this reason for protesting our draft, y^t He Imagined we Had charged him for two Cargos of Masts twice. We demonstrated the Contrary to Him & yⁿ drew again, viz. last may, and having all His effects by this time out of the country (which we

might have stopped instead of delivering them over to Mr. Wentworth, from whom we obtain'd a very great price for them) unless outstanding debts in the mastmens hands, He has been so Ungenerous, as to oblige us, if He can, to take our reimbursement from them, although we advanced this mony for him more yⁿ 2 years since, & Had charged him no Interest. I mention this, y^t if any notice is taken of it at home, you may not be unacquainted with the true state of the case.

I Hope I shall be so happy as to be favoured with a letter from you as often as possible, & I shall not fail to improve every Opp^o from hence to convince you, that with all possible Affection & Respect
I am, Hon^d Sir, y^r most Ob^t &c. &c.

In the following letter, dated Kittery, November 30, 1749, Mr. Sparhawk manifests his continued interest in the efforts of Sir William's friends to obtain for the hero of Louisburg the governorship of New Hampshire.

The above and foregoing is copy of my last w^{ch} I Hope has 'ere this Kissed your Hands. Capt. Staple has been with me lately to Know if you had left any directions relating to His Vacant Pay, and at the same time told me, that He Had a memorial in His pockett, that He should forward to London if my Brother or I would not Oblige ourselves on your behalf to refund the same to Him and offered to Shew it me, But I thought it would be too great a Condescention to look upon it, & therefore I refused & said that that matter had been under consideration at Home a long time ago, and I was pretty confident He would never be the better for it, But much worse for His Insolent Behaviour to His Colonell, and that if He didnt ask your Pardon, He might expect to be Broke. I understand He takes an Unbounded Liberty with yo^r Character. I can't But Hope you'l Have it in your power to Vindicate your Conduct towards all the Scoundrells, and duly Humble them for their Ingratitude & Baseness to you. — Mr. Odiorne & Several Other of yo^r Friends Have on Behalf of a great Number of the most Influential people in New Hampshire formed an Address to you, w^{ch} they

were so good as to send me a copy of, wherein they Have earnestly entreated you to Accept of the Government of that Province, & its very likely by this Opp^o you'l receive the same, signed by a very large number of Gentlemen. Besides many private Letters on the same Occasion, and I beg you'l excuse me if I say, that seeing your Family is scituated in Trade so near that Government, and those in power there at present are farr from being well disposed to us, & our Interest, and considering, too, what a Vast Publick Blessing you might be to the Interest of the Dissenting Church, w^{ch} receives no Encouragement from the present Adm—is—on, and also to the civil Interests of that people, I say, Sir, that inasmuch as so many advantages, publick & private, civil & religious, will be the happy consequence of your accepting the Commission, what inducement greater can you possibly have? But I submit the matter with a sincere petition to Heaven for an event, that will contribute so much to the Happiness of a great number of His Majesty's Subjects, as well as to many of our Friends, & add vastly to my own private satisfaction in life.* In case you should Have this mark of His Majestys Favour, you may, I doubt not, for your Coll^e Commission purchase the Surveyors post, w^{ch} as your years advance, I should think would be a more genteel & agreeable thing to you. — Mr. Colman & I Have at last agreed under hand to part the 31^o March next, and we are each of us writing & solliciting our Friends seperately in respect of Busyness, and whatsoever is addressed to either of us seperately after this our Agreement, whether it arrives to us before or after the 31^o March, is to be for the sole use and benefit of Him to whom Its so addressed. therefore if you should be so good as to recomēd anything to me, in the way of Trade, or any of your or my Friends, I must beg it may be in my name only. I have in my last so fully requested your regard to me & my Family in this respect, to w^{ch} I beg your reference, that I need not enlarge, nor Have I occasion to add anything more in respect of my Voyage to England, then that I shall attend the advice you were so good as to promise me, and which I Hope to receive by Xmas. In my last I Hinted to you that Mr. Gulston had protested our draft, a 2^d time, for £1200. — But we have since advice of His paying one-half of it. The rest, I fear we shall be obliged to take from His N. England

Debts, w^{ch} is a great Hardship, as it was mony we advanced for Him, when Exch^e was But abo^t 800 p. c^{ts}. However, if He has effects enough Here, He shall pay the difference & Interest too; Its a satisfaction to me, that I can inform you, that when Mr. Colman & I shall part, that we shall not have a Shilling to remit any of our Friends, & that we shall have, for Young men, something handsome to divide. I am now writing Several of my Friends for a supply of Goods on my Own Acc^t and if I should determine to embark for London in the Spring, Mr. Cutt, who is a very sober man & very capable & Honest, will have the care of my warehouse in my absence, in w^{ch} I shall think myself safe & happy.

The death of Mrs. Balston much lamented, has had an ill effect on Mother Pepperrells health & spiritts, together with yo^r absence, & I could wish, if only on Her Acc^t tho^h I have many other motives, that we could once be so happy as to Hear of your safe arrivall, & your Escape of or recovery from the small pox, and that there was a prospect of your speedy return to us. In the mean time I beleive you may depend that nothing in the power of any of us, will be wanting to alleviate her Grief, and promote Her comfort & Happiness. I Have the pleasure now to acquaint you that she is with us on a Kind visit. Mrs. Sparhawk did herself the Honour of writing you from Boston & is about to pay Her duty to you again in another letter. She promises a further addition to yo^r family in May next, & is, with Her sons, in good Health.

P. S. Pay my Best Compliments to Brig^r Waldo to whom I intend now to write. I have heard that Millakin has made a large Contract with Mr. Wentworth for Masts, & I expect the same will finish him. I am advised by a Friend from Boston that the Gen^l Court are abo^t to Choose an Agent in order to get the paper mony of N. Hamp^{re} & Rhode Island suppressed, & to Transact at Home other Affairs of consequence. But that neither you nor the Brig^r were in nomination, But Adm^l Warren and Mr. Bollom only; so farr yⁿ and the Brig^r are oblidged to 'em.

Under date of March 8, 1750, Mr. Sparhawk writes to Sir William, who was still in London: —

The New Hampshire address to you I hope will prevail on you to relieve that distressed people. I did not hint to you that you will not be safe in trusting Mr. Thomlinson with any of your schemes, as whatever may be pretended, he is certainly in an opposite interest. It is reported here that the late province of Maine is likely to be a separate government, and that you are to have a commission for it, but this is credited but by few. It is generally hoped and wished that you may have New Hampshire, by some, Massachusetts. But all things considered, especially how much more difficult the administration would be at Boston than at New Hampshire, the situation of your family and estate, I should think the latter much more eligible. The surveyor's post will be to be purchased, and I should think it well worth your notice. If you decline it, I should be glad of it at twelve thousand pounds sterling, one-half to be paid upon advice of the purchase, and the rest in six months after. I mean the surveyorship of the woods.

Our parish have passed a vote for a division, which is to be made equally as to quantity and quality of soil. Mr. Stevens¹ will be settled with us. You may remember you have proposed that Tate and Brady's version² should be used in our church, and in order to it that you would give a number of them to the congregation. This I thought I would hint to you, and that if you would bring

¹ Rev. Benjamin Stevens was graduated at Harvard College in 1740, and ordained May 1, 1751, as colleague pastor with Rev. John Newmarch. His ancestors were among the early settlers of Andover, Massachusetts, and his father, Rev. Joseph Stevens of Charlestown, Massachusetts, was a distinguished scholar and a fellow of the university. He died in 1732, leaving his son, Benjamin, a child two years old. Benjamin Stevens died May 18, 1791, in the seventy-first year of his age. He bequeathed his large and valuable library to the Congregational ministers of Kittery and York. See Maine Historical Society Collections, 2d Series, Vol. VI, page 85.

² Tate and Brady's version of the Psalms was first published in its complete form in 1696. It was entitled "A New Version of the Psalms of David, Fitted to the Tunes Used in Churches. By N. Tate and N. Brady." This edition was subjected to criticism and revised, and in its settled form it was "allowed" by the king and council, and "permitted to be used in all churches, &c., as shall think fit to receive them." This second revised edition was published in 1698, and a supplement was authorized in 1703. How the work was divided between Tate and Brady is not known. Nahum Tate was the son of Faithful Tate, an Irish clergyman, author of some religious verses. He was born in Dublin in 1652, and was educated at Trinity College. He succeeded Shadwell as poet laureate. He died in London in 1715. Nicholas Brady, also an Irishman, was born in 1659, studied at Christ Church, Oxford, and Trinity College, Dublin. He was chaplain to the king, and afterward, 1702-05, incumbent at Stratford-on-Avon. He died in 1726.

Mr. Stevens a handsome preaching Bible, it would be very acceptable to him. The cones of pine for Lord Edgewcomb are provided, and shall be sent.

The love affair between Andrew Pepperrell and Miss Waldo,¹ now of four years' duration, is still pending, much to the annoyance of both families as well as trying to the patience of the young lady.

In 1749, Mr. Sparhawk was made a special justice at York in causes where a quorum of the standing justices was not present. He still continued to represent Kittery in the General Court, and while in Boston he left his business interests largely in the hands of his clerk, Thomas Cutts,² who is mentioned in Mr. Sparhawk's letter of November 30, 1749, to Sir William Pepperrell as "very capable." A few of

¹ Miss Hannah Waldo was a daughter of Gen. Samuel Waldo. She was betrothed to Andrew Pepperrell in 1746, and both families approved of the match. Early in the autumn of 1748, Mr. Pepperrell and Miss Waldo were published, but the marriage was deferred on account of his illness. In March, 1749, Sir William wrote to Gen. Waldo, "Mrs. Pepperrell joins with me in your wish that the alliance between our son and your daughter were completed. . . . As I have often urged him to finish the affair, and he has declined to let me know the time designated, I have no thought of mentioning it to him again." Mr. Sparhawk, when in Boston, September 11, 1750, wrote a letter to his brother-in-law, in which he said:—"Let me take the liberty to inform you that the country, especially the more worthy and better part of it, are very much alarmed at, and appear quite exasperated with your conduct relating to your amour, and your friends and those that are much attached to your father and family, are greatly concerned about you, being fully of opinion that if the matter drops through and you lie justly under the imputation of it, that your character is irretrievably lost." The wedding day was finally appointed, and all possible preparations were made for it by the Waldo family. A few days before the appointed time, however, Andrew Pepperrell wrote to Miss Waldo that circumstances made it necessary to defer the wedding to another day, which he named. Miss Waldo made no reply, but when the day arrived and the guests had assembled, she announced that the engagement was broken, that she would not marry one who had occasioned her so much mortification. The affair brought great disappointment to the Pepperrell and Waldo families. Miss Waldo in less than six weeks married Thomas Fluker, Esq., secretary of the province. When the Revolution broke out, twenty-four years later, Mr. Fluker espoused the Royalist cause and went to England. His daughter, it will be remembered, became the wife of Gen. Henry Knox. Andrew Pepperrell died at Kittery of typhoid fever, March 1, 1761, in the twenty-sixth year of his age.

² See Collections Maine Historical Society, 2d Series, Vol. VIII, pages 2-5. A daughter of Thomas Cutts married Hon. Thomas G. Thornton, United States marshal for Maine from 1806 to 1824. J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., of Boston, was their grandson.

Mr. Sparhawk's letters to Mr. Cutts at this time have been preserved, and for their use here I am indebted to Mr. Benjamin N. Goodale of Saco. These letters give an interesting glimpse of Mr. Sparhawk's various business interests at Kittery.

BOSTON 29 Nov^r 1754

Herewith I send Sundrys as p Mem^o Inclosed to M^{rs} Sparhawk w^{ch} when she has perused you'l take from her. & receive the things by; youl weigh the Cordage & every thing else that ought to be weighed, & except the Bread pork duck & Cord^a get every thing up to the House as soon as may be, & what is not for y^o use of the Family. put into my room. & charge Mother Waldo with what she has, y^o may deliver the Oyl & Collours to M^r Walker. But don't deliver the duck & Boltrope to Holbrook 'till y^o hear further from me. & as to the Cordage I have desired Cap^t Tuckerman to see what of the old will do. & to give out as much of the new as will be sufficient, He has promised to get up the Cable & Anchor, & to go to the Eastward for a load Wood to go to Salem. for w^{ch} y^o must deliver him Rum & Sugar sufficient make a mem^o of it & He has promised me to go immediately, what of the Beef & Mutton he dont want to carry to the Eastward, weigh & send to the Family, put the Bread in the Shop or the rats will eat it; I Have Shipped M^r Dering to go either Mate or Master in the Brig^t till I come home I can't determine w^{ch} But he will see her loaded & rigged. I am content M^r McGross tarrys aboard on the Terms I agreed with him; But I believe she will be left in England, in w^{ch} case he must be discharged & receive 2 months pay. But I shall be at Home to adjust this matters. You may pay his order in fav^r of Bradass (?) for—One pound two shillings sterling or desire your Brother Sam^l to pay it perhaps he'll take some Hampshire money for it; I am obliged to send back all the Negro Girls—I Hope youl be able to get some body to take them for their Victualls w^{ch} I shall like much they must have Cloaths & shoes sufficient, & more shirts & Shifts. — what y^o cant get put out in such Familys as M^{rs} Sparhawk likes, y^o must get M^{rs} Green^o to take care of,

But see that they have a good fire & good room & an Old Sail to lay upon, & the ruggs to cover them, Their Victualls must be dressed at the H^o by Juba, as usual. Be sure they dont suffer, for w^{ch} end see them 2 or 3 times a day¹; let John Art [or Ast] have a pair or two of your Stockings out of the Desk. Your Stockings — & He may have Cloth to make him a Jacket Blue or red. — & desire M^{rs} Sparhawk to choose w^{ch} to make Scipio a large double breasted Jack^t of — M^{rs}. Allen or M^{rs}. Rackley will make them. But mind you don't deliver more than a pattern; It wont do to keep the Schooner 'till they are done, for Tuckerman must hurry after the Wood, & tell him not to forget to enquire how he can 'buy long & Short layers at the Eastward p the hundred. I shall want to send Capt Keating to the Eastward for them & for a load wood for my Family & neighbours get the Brig^t ready as Soon as possible & take y^o best care of my Interest. Y^r Friend N. S.

(Marginal notes) The Combs are in the ream of paper — There may be other things aboard Tuckerman, w^{ch} I have forgot, you'll see every thing out, & keep a mem^o of all y^o receive

If Mother Waldo had not the $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Sow from the farm she may have all the hog —

(On a separate sheet, endorsed "To M^r Thomas Cutt")

Acc ^t Sundrys on board Cap ^t Tuckerman for N Sparhawk	
	1 b Tarr
	a qtyy Cordage
2 Bb ^s Pork	$\frac{1}{2}$ Beef
5 Teirces Bread	10q ^{rs} Mutton
4 Cheeses	100 ^{lb} beef in peices

¹ These were negro slaves, as the letter of December 16 and following shows. Sir William Pepperrell in his will bequeaths to his wife "any four of my negroes which of them She Shall choose." In 1767 there were in Portsmouth one hundred and twenty-four male and sixty-three female slaves. Concerning slavery in Portsmouth at that time see "Rambles about Portsmouth," pages 208-211. It is told of Rev. Joseph Stevens of Kittery, that seeing his negro slave picking some bones for dinner one day, he remarked, "The nearer the bone, the sweeter the meat, Sambo." Not long after the negro was sent to the pasture with the horse of a visiting clergyman. He tied the horse to a pile of rocks, and being reproved for the act, Sambo replied, "Nearer the bone, the sweeter the meat — nearer the rock, the sweeter the grass, Massa." In Vol. VII, 1st Series of the Maine Historical Society's Collections, there is a paper by Hon. Joseph Williamson, entitled "Slavery in Maine."

6 ^l Choco — for Mad Waldo	a neats Tongue
12 Coffee 6 ^l for Mad ^m Waldo	6 Negros Girls
2 S Sugar — 1 for Mad ^m Waldo	Oyl & Collours .
10 Bus. Oysters	as p Walkers Mem ^o
1 Rm paper	1 p ^e Course red Broad Cloth
$\frac{1}{2}$ Sealing Wax	1 p ^e Blue ditto
1 Ivory Comb	1 p ^e Tichlenburg
2 ^l Salt Petre	3 p ^s Chex — 2 p ^a narrow duck
1 Horn Comb	10 p ^a Russia duck
$\frac{1}{2}$ Green Tea	A Number of ruggs
2 papers Inkwowder	for y ^e new Negro's
$\frac{1}{2}$ y ^d dark Taffitty — Lady Pepperrell	
2 Cannisters Tea q ^t 4 ^{lb} —	
a hog — $\frac{1}{2}$ of it for Mad ^m Waldo	167 ^{lb}

BOSTON, Dec^r 2^d 1754

I have yours of the 29th and am very Sorry to find M^r Gunnison was disappointed of the Boards he expected to be brought him; am glad to find y^o had sold a hhd. Rum, & given the mony wth what y^o rec^d of M^r Stevens to M^r Gunnison to purchase Gn^a to compleat the Brig^{ts} Cargo at Berwick hope he will be able to get them for $\frac{1}{2}$ mony. But we must not be disappointed if he engages all mony, w^{ch} I hope he wont have occasion to do. The Rivers will soon be Shut up, that He must not delay getting them down a moment, hope in your next to find they are safe down. and y^t y^o go on briskly in loading the Brig^t you dont tell me who stows her, nor whether you have got the rest of the Staves from Exeter. take care when y^o send that the Gundolo is not frose up at Exeter. if Capt. Keating is come from Luisbourg & has any Mollasses Enquire his lowest price for a hh^d & advise me. for if I can buy as cheap of him as here, Ile' take a hh^d & give him the Gold & Silver for it, when I take it. I hope we are now likely to have good weather that so the Caulker & Carpenter — may finish the Brig^t — by Tuckerman I sent the rigging & many other things all w^{ch} y^o will see good care taken of. — Don't let My Mother want wood, & gett the Oxen if possible. If the Cow at the farm is fitt to kill, let Stocker have her. The pork I sent pr Tuckerman, & the Bread is for the Brig^t I would have

y^o move the wine in both the Green Chamber Closetts into the Arch under the keeping Room, & make a Mem^o of the Number of bottles y^o put in, & desire M^r Sparhawk to put that Arch Key in some of her draws — let me know when y^o think the Brig^t will be ready to sail. Be sure to charge every thing you deliver & don't trust any body. — But supply the workmen, so that they don't get in debt. I have desired y^{or} Brother Sam^l to write me, & send me some papers pray him not to fail. I hope Tuckerman will be gone before this reaches y^o tell him if he is not that I hear wood is plenty Enough at Sheepsgutt. See if you can recover any fish of Tho^s Gowdy, — & be sure the Negro's have Shoes & suitable Cloathing, & that they are kept warm, I hope y^o may get the three biggest Girls good places, I mean on these Terms their Victualls for their work. take care of the fire, & don't let any Lumber or Spars go adrift. I shall send you p Vessell Some Bays to line Scipio's cloaths & Jn^o Arts. — & to make the New Negro's more petticoats, if M^r Sparhawk thinks it necessary. I can't add but am —

Y^r Affecⁿ friend

N Sparhawk

If the Rev^d M^r Stevens wants
any Sugar, shall be glad he
will take it of me.

BOSTON 16th Dec^r 1754

I have yours of the 13th and Observe the Contents. I shall be glad to Know whether Keating will on Tuckermans return go for a load of Wood On the Terms M^r Chauncy used to send w^{ch} was on a share ; It will hardly do to pay wages I suppose he wants wood, as well as I, & so does Brag—— Scipio ; & Art may go also — I am glad the Brig^t. is loaded, But am surprised that you should talk of her not being ready in a fortnight, what can detain her, so long, The Carpenter & Caulker y^o say, wont hinder her from sailing — what can then? when she was new she was Rigged by only a man & a boy in the Month of Octo^r in 14 days. pray get her away as soon as possible, I Have wrote your Brother herewith, w^{ch} you'l deliver him very fully about the dispatch of this Vessell, which he will Comūnicate to you, I desired Cap^t R^d Keating as he went thro'

this Town, to advice you abo^t the Sails & Rigging w^{ch} he promised he would do — He is a good judge — I have wrote to yo^r Brother to Supply you with small stores, But then dont take any thing but what is absolutely necessary, there is no vessell here bound to Piscataway, But if any sh^d offer will send y^o 2 bb^s beef, in case I dont y^o have 2 bb^s pork w^{ch} with $\frac{1}{2}$ beef, y^o may buy. 1 q^l Jam^a fish, & 1 Jarr Oyl & some roots will be Enough, you dont tell me whether M^cGross will go mate or not, on the Terms I mentioned, if he dont Its time to look out for another, or we shall be delayed on that Acc^t I fear I Hope M^r Walker paints the Brig^t. handsomely — if you want advice relating to her looks, as well as the Sails & Rigging what she will safely carry on deck &c. R^d Keating I say is a good judge I shall send the orders &c for the dispatch of the Brig^t p next Opp^o & I beg she may be got ready immediately — let me Know if I left the Sailors shipping papers with you. & How C^t Dering behaves Jn^o Parker bo^t Candles for the Polly at 4 / or 4 / 6 wth Dollars. at Portsm^o at that rate 2 Dollars will buy enough. I have sold the 2 Negro Women & the biggest negro Girl, So I hope you have not parted wth them. a Vessell will call for them speedily with my order for them. pray see that they have good care taken of them, & let me Know if they are well. — I sold the negro fellow for £300 this mony — & the 3 Girls for £240 ap^c — & the least Negro boy but one for £200 all But the last I sold to One person. This is better than selling them at Piscata^a I shall send some Bays by the 1st Opp^o for lining Negro & sailors Cloaths — But take care not to advance so much to the sailors as to tempt them to run away — Keating can tell y^o How much was due to M^cgross, He has had rum & I paid him ap^s Gold as p rec^t Book — so you can settle wth him wth W^m Keatings & your Brothers help. he was at 20£ Old Ten^r Hamp^r from the time the Vessell was unloaded of her salt. — I observe y^o have got the Cow^w from the farm, & 6 q^{ts} beef & the Staves from Exeter, & my Mothers wood, w^{ch} I am glad of; I cant add a word more But as I shall send all papers necessary for dispatch of the Brig^t the next opp^o pray get her ready & take care of my Interest in all respects

I am y^r Assurred Friend

N Sparhawk

Boston Dec^r 26th 1754

By Cap^t Darling I sent you 4 hind Quarters beef 2 of Mutton 1 firkin of Butter 1 bb Bread, & 1 Bundle Books all w^{ch} are for the family excepting the beef, w^{ch} you are to fill 2 bb^a with for the Brig — & the Sewett, & the rest of the Beef is for the House — w^{ch} I would have weighed, & charged, & also weigh what you pack into Barrells, take care none of the Beef is stole when its Cutting & packing I cent you by the post every thing necessary (I mean the papers,) for dispatch of the Brig^t if you meet with any difficulty from the Capt. or people, go to Sir William, and follow his directions, I cend Lady Pepperrells Cinnamon by Cato w^{ch} inform her with my duty I am

Y^r affec ffriend

Be sure y^o take care
of my Intrest

N Sparhawk

Boston 31^aDecem^r 1754

I have yours of the 27th Ins^t I am very Sorry to find you giving so very poor an Account of the Brigantine & her people, Sir W^m being now at home you must take his directions, How to manage, & yo^r Brother will assist y^o about the papers &c Cap^t Rich^d Keating told me he would be so kind as to see her properly rigged & sailed, dont let her take the Schooners Cable that Tuckerman left aboard of her, the Cable & Anchor that belonged to her, & that w^{ch} Cap^t Parker left is enough; I hope she is fully loaden; if any Spars can go on deck safely; let them & take Cap^t R^d Keatings advice in this respect — I would not have her made top heavy or Crank. — Let Staves be Stowed where ever there is any room; I am Sorry Dering behaves so ill, I hope Sir W^m will make him behave better, & that you & your Brother will get her away directly. She will be eat up laying so long, & I am quite Surprised, that she is not gone. I hope y^r Brother will be able to get another Mate in the room of M^cgross if Sir W^m thinks it best to dismiss him; you must inform Sir W^m that my Agreem^t with him was 20[£] old Ten^r Hamps^r p month, for the time he was aboard; & so if he dont go

the Voyage he must be paid off, that is from the time the Salt & Grindstones was discharged, to the time he leaves the Vessel. But if y^o cant get a Mate cheaper I will give him y^e 20 £ a month from the time Above 'till the Brig^t began to load with Boards, & then put him in pay at 40/ Sterlg p month, & give him 2 months pay extraordinary, in England when he takes his discharge. I say if you cant do better, y^o may do this; or you must do as well as you can but dont act in any thing without Sir W^{ms} advice; & he will instruct you how to get her away; & if your Brother cant furnish the Old Tenour y^o want you must pray Sir William to let y^o have it till I come home, But I wonder your Brother cant furnish so small a q^{ty} of paper mony from the rum & Sugar I sent him so long ago — y^o may show him this letter for I cant write him but a line or two, You must mind that M^cgross allows for all the rum & mony & other things if any, that He has had, He had some Gold of me on Acco^t of his Voyage from Bristoll to England w^{ch} he gave a rec^t for, W^m Keating can give y^o the Acc^t of that Voyage. I am afraid the Boards y^o got at Exeter are not good. I wonder when y^o could have bought them at Berwick at 10^s & had the Cash to pay for them y^o should go to Exeter, & give what I hear you did — Send me an acc^t what Cargo she has got aboard, and How many Staves y^o think there is left. & acquaint M^r Chauncy he may bring up my fish with him, if he pleases, But He must keep each fair separte, & weigh it before he puts it aboard. he may Bring, the Merch^{ble} Jam^a & refuse; tell Will Keating that when I come home w^{ch} will be shortly that what is due to him On Acc^t of his fair fish, I will give him the mony for it — I wont have the fish shared, or any taken out of it — Take the weight from M^r Chauncy of Each fair the Merch^{ble} Jam^a & refuse, & make a Mem^o of it, & send me what Oacum y^o can by him & make a Mem^o of that, and if he will take what staves are in the Wareh^o at three pounds hamps^a Old Ten^r p m^d freight y^o may let him have them; if Tuckerman is returned if Keating & the people wont go on shares for a load of Wood for the family — let her be stript of Sails & rigging & all the stores & Cask landed & every thing that can be stole, & let her be moored at the wharf till I can come home. when if I can contrive a Voyage

for W^m Keating I will tell him, I can only add that I hope you get the Brig^t away directly

I am y^r friend &c. N Sparhawk

Although busily employed in his various business enterprises, Mr. Sparhawk took a deep interest in public affairs. In 1755, Sir William Pepperrell was called into active military service in the French war, receiving first the appointment of colonel of a regiment of foot, and later, in June, a commission as major-general. Mr. Sparhawk, while in Boston in attendance upon the General Court, wrote to Sir William, June 14, the following letter: —

I am greatly obliged to you for your kind favour of the 9th instant. We see in our Country Journall of this date, an Extract of News from the New York paper, which assures us of yo^r Comm^r as Major Gen^l being got to your hands, & as it mentions you with respect, I shall send it to CK, with some remarks upon your present destination, w^{ch} I hope will be attended with good consequences. Doct^r Chauncy tells me that Doct^r Clarke, who you know has a very great intimacy with the G——r, says that now y^o are a General, you can't be obliged to go under Him to Niagara, & since that, Doct^r Gardner, another y^t has his Ear much, told me that you were not obliged to go, now y^o had this promotion; and asked me if I could tell yo^r determination. I told him I didn't know that y^o could be excused if you desired it, and that from your advices to your family, you fully intended to go, w^{ch} I thought was the safest answer I could make. However, I hope you'll fully weigh the matter, & if you can, consistent wth yo^r Honour excuse yourself, that y^o will. Y^o know that when you went to Luisb^a tha^t Mr. S——y tarried in Boston the whole time, His Friends endeavour'd to Ascribe a great deal to Him, & as he will now be at the head of this Exped^o, distinguish yourself as much as you will, He will have the Honour and Applause. On the other hand, if you refuse to go, I can't tell

what construction your Enemys will give it. Your Friends will justify you & all that impartially considers it. I earnestly pray God to direct you in this & every other important point; that your resolutions may have His approbation, your own & that of all good men. If y^o should write to C. K. as many people think y^e fatigue of the intended Campaigne will prove fatal to your Superiour Of——r, wont it be adviseable for you to push yo^r Intrest y^t you may succeed him. I have given him a hint to this purpose. Doct^r Chauncy thinks there is no danger of my not succeeding in y^e affair that has been mentioned for me; if you will give C. K. directions to use yo^r Interest & to ask the thing in yo^r name, a Major Gen^l Intrest, at such a time as this, when you are so much wanted in the present state of things, in North America, is looked upon as equal to that of a Noble-mans; and the thing requested is of little importance to the Crown, & the person enjoying it, as Mr. Walker writes me, despised at some Boards. That upon the whole, if y^o are in earnest, he thinks we shall succeed, & if not, that its a pity it has been mentioned. You'l excuse my taking so much freedom, & let me only add on this subject, that it will not only be a great service & releif to me, But a great advantage also to my Children. You have doubtless heard that Mr. Jn^o Sharp is chosen Agent for y^e province & How much a certain Gen^l used his Intrest & influence against C. K. I have wrote the Gov^r two letters on my demand for the freight of the Brig^t & I am told by Mr. Gridley, who is in the House, that He will give me a letter or certificate, to countenance y^e demand on y^e other side of the Water. Your Lady was well on Thursday last, as farr as Hampton in her way home. Mrs. Sparhawk is with me and in better health. She gratefully acknowledges your so tenderly mentioning of her, & kind acceptance of her letter, & we Joyn in our Earnest prayers that your health may be perfectly restored & confirmed, & heartily rejoyce in y^e prospect there is of the same. I shall attend to every circumstance & occurrence that in any wise relates to you & keep y^o advised of the same, 'till your return, if you can advise me, with whom my letters to you will be safe in y^r absence from New York & Albany. Tho^b I dont yet realize, as I hinted some time since, that y^o will go any farther.

I wish y^o the Constant Smiles of Divine Providence, & with the greatest truth & Respect, assure y^o I am

Hon^d Sir

y^r Obed^t Son &

Most affect^s & Devoted Serv^t

N. Sparhawk.

P. S. Please to make my Complim^{ts} to Cap^t Bradstreet & assure him of my Intrest being used for his success in our Gen^l Court, wherein I Have had the pleasure of Serving him already.

Hon^{ble} Sir William Pepperrell

Bar^t

To

The Hon^{ble}

Sir William Pepperrell, Baronet

& Major General of His

Majestys Forces

Now at

New York

June 24, Mr. Sparhawk wrote to Sir William again as follows: —

I wrote you two letters since the date of your favour, the week before last. The Governor is yet Here; & some Endeavours have been used to bring the Court into an address, to prevent His proceeding, w^{ch} was treated with the utmost Sneer, & But one hand in the whole H——e for it. The C——ts sitting is the only reason, tis said, for his tarry; we desired a recess last Saturday; But still we are kept, to consider things over again w^{ch} have been rejected by a large Majority. The above affair was attempted last Saturday for a 2d time, but ended only in an address to prompt, rather yⁿ prevent his going. I suppose you'l see it in print. There is a great deal of talk in Town upon the Subject; & many conjectures. I am greatly concerned to have you fairly excused from the Expedition; w^{ch} its said here y^o may be If you please, and that its inconsistent, as you are a general Officer, to proceed under one of only

the same rank. I Hope you'l be furnished with the safest & best advice; & act with all possible caution. for upon any Slip or Blunder, of—or upon his loosing His popularity—w^{ch} seems to be going fast, or in Case of Sickness or Death,—Its easy to Judge, who will succeed.

I would greatly enlarge but I fear to Venture too much in a letter. Yo^r Lady was well at Home on friday last, & all the Children. Mrs. Sparhawk is well with me here. Its Rumoured that Admiral Boscawen was seen off of Nffland abo^t 18 days since, & about the same time that a Squadron of Men of Warr and Transports from France was met. I Have a late letter from Mr. French. He says the King will not go to Hanover this year, and that Warr is agreed on all hands to be necessary & will be declared as soon as they hear from America: that this is expected, at least, & that this is the Voice of the Nation.

I have wrote Mr. K——y a great deal by these Ships w^{ch} may be of Service to you But I cant possibly add. My very Soul is engaged for your Intrest, Honour & happiness, & I am most truly, with the greatest Respect

Hon^{ble} Sir

Y^r Obed^t Son & Servant

N. Sparhawk.

P. S. I have had several Close conferences with the Gov^r & have obtained Certificates of the agreem^t &c. for the p^{tt} of the Squirrel, w^{ch} I attribute more to some other principle then his desire of Serving me.—I never was in more hast Hope you'l excuse what is amiss.

The fact that Gov. Shirley was unfriendly to Sir William Pepperrell, as Sparhawk indicates in these letters, was made evident by subsequent events.

To meet the needs of the colonies in the various military enterprises that were undertaken heavy taxes were levied. The tax on real estate is said to have amounted to two-thirds of the income. Business suf-

ferred and numerous bankruptcies followed. In 1758, Nathaniel Sparhawk became financially embarrassed, and in February commissioners were appointed to receive his property and divide the proceeds among his creditors. One of these commissioners was Maj. John Hill, to whom Sir William Pepperrell, not a little troubled by his son-in-law's misfortunes, wrote June 8, 1758: "My son Sparhawk is under great concern lest something should prevent your being here next Monday, and if you fail of coming, all that is done relating to the surrender of his effects would end as if nothing had been done, and then he must begin anew." Maj. Hill acted as one of the commissioners in settling Mr. Sparhawk's affairs, and the property was advertised for sale at auction, September 15, 1758.

Sir William Pepperrell's death occurred July 6, 1759. As one of the four justices in the Inferior Court of Common Pleas for York County, Nathaniel Sparhawk was appointed to fill the vacancy made by Sir William's death, and he was continued in office until 1772. In 1760, he was made a member of the council of Massachusetts, and with the exception of the year 1766, he was continued in office until 1772. In 1766, Nathaniel Sparhawk, with five others, Joseph Gerrish, Thomas Saunders, James Otis, Jerathmeel Bowers and Samuel Dexter, were "negatived"¹ by the governor, Sir Francis Bernard. John Hancock

¹ In 1708, when Joseph Dudley was governor, after the election of the councillors, 'His Excellency sent a message, saying 'that there were several gentlemen left out that were of the Council last year, who were of good ability for estate and otherwise to serve her Majesty, and well disposed thereto, and that some others who were anew elected were not so well disposed, some of them being of little or mean estate; and withal signified that he should expunge five of the names of the list.' "

and other patriots, were later in like manner "negatived."

I find no public mention of Col. Sparhawk after this action of Gov. Bernard until mention is made of his death. It is altogether probable that about this time his health began to fail, and his last years were spent in enforced retirement from the busy scenes in which he had moved. He died at Kittery, December 21, 1776. The following notice of Col. Sparhawk's death appeared in the Boston Gazette and County Journal of Monday, January 6, 1777:—

On the 21st December departed this Life at his Seat in Kittery the Honorable Nathaniel Sparhawk, Esq., in the 62d Year of his Age—Son-in-Law to the late Sir William Pepperrell, Baronet. He early represented the Town of Kittery at the General Court; his Abilities recommending him to the further Notice of his Country, he was elected a Member of the Council, and continued at the Board till his Health prevented his Attendance. He was also Chief Judge of the Inferior Court and Colonel of the Militia for the County of York. In all which Offices he distinguished himself as the Friend of his Country and frequently lamented his weak state of health which would not permit him to take a more active Part in the present Troubles. His remains were decently interred the Friday following.

Col. Sparhawk died intestate, and February 1, 1777, "his son, Nathaniel Sparhawk of Salem, in the county of Essex, merchant," was made administrator of the estate. "With two suretys, viz. Charles Chauncy, Esq., and Capt. William Moore, he gave a bond in the sum of ten thousand pounds for the faithful discharge of the trust."¹

¹ There is no record of Col. Sparhawk's death on the Pepperrell tomb at Kittery in which he was buried. James E. Hewey, Esq., Clerk of Courts at Alfred, obtained for me this record of the appointment of an administrator, and with the

In his will Sir William Pepperrell made the following bequest to his son-in-law : —

I give unto my Son in Law Nathaniel Sparhawk Esq^r all the Debt he oweth me that is the Dividend which Shall be allowed me for my Demand on him & his late Partner Benjamin Colman.

If my Executors hereafter named Shall think there is Occasion for my dear Daughter Elizabeth Sparhawks Support and for the bringing up of her Children as they Shall think proper. It is my Will that they Shall pay into her own Hands any part or all of the other Half [one-half he bequeathed to his wife] of ye Income of my real Estate & Cattle and the Interest of a Thousand pound Sterling, and I will & ordain that her Receipt Shall be a Sufficient Discharge to them of so much as they Shall order to her out of the said half of my real Estate and Interest of the Said Thousand pounds Sterling Notwithstanding her Coverture. But it is to be observed that so much of the Income of Said Estate is to be laid out on the Buildings & Fences &c. as to keep the whole in good Repair. and I give my Said Daughter full Power by her last Will & Testament or in Case of her Coverture by any Writing to be made by her as her last Will to dispose of the said Thousand pounds Sterl^s as likewise my Houses & Farm in the upper Parish of York call'd Scotland and all the other Lands I have in Said Parish and all my Lands in Berwick with full Power thereof and the Remainder thereof to any one or all or any Number of her Children as She Shall think fit, and in Case She Shall not so dispose of the Same in Fee I will & order that y^e Same after y^e Death of my Said Wife & Daughter Shall be equally divided amongst the Children that Shall be lawfully begotten on the Body of my Said Daughter." *Maine Wills*, pages 845, 846.

The children of Col. Nathaniel and Elizabeth Sparhawk were as follows : —

- 1 William Pepperrell, baptized July 10, 1743 ; died young.
- 2 Nathaniel, born August 1, 1744.

date which it furnished Mr. Edmund M. Barton, Librarian of the Americus Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, was able to find the above newspaper notice of Col. Sparhawk's death, thus making us again acquainted with a date that had been lost more than a century.

- 3 William Pepperrell, baptized November 30, 1746.
- 4 John, baptized November 27, 1748; died young.
- 5 Andrew Pepperrell, born June 3, 1750.
- 6 Samuel Hirst, born 1752.
- 7 Mary Pepperrell, born 1754.

In the will of their grandfather, Sir William Pepperrell, Nathaniel, William, Andrew, Samuel and Mary were remembered as follows : —

I give & bequeath unto my Grandson Nathaniel Sparhawk jun^r all the Lands & Houses which I purchased of my Son in Law Nathaniel Sparhawk Esq^r lying and being in this County of York to hold to my Said Grandson to him & his Heirs & assigns forever after the Death of my Wife & Daughter provided he lives to the age of twenty-one years, but if he Should die before he come to said age of twenty-one years then to be equally divided amongst the Surviving Children of my Said Daughter Eliz^a Sparhawk lawfully begotten of her Body that Shall live to the Said age of twenty-one years and that is after my Wife and Daughters Decease. I likewise give & bequeath unto him if he should live to the age of twenty-one years a Thousand pounds Sterling out of money in London under the Care of William Baker Esquire.

I give & bequeath unto my Grandson Samuel Hirst Sparhawk after my Wife & Daughters Decease my House and Land at Portsmouth and my Farm in Newington both being in the Province of New Hampshire and my Farm lying near the lower Ferry in York which Daniel Crosby now hires of me with my House & about two acres of Land lying on Kittery Point which I purchased of Thomas Allen and where he now lives, and the Pasture on Said Point which lies next to the Land I bought of my Son in Law Sparhawk and the Pasture lying next to the Harbour over against between the Battery & the House black Richard lives in to Hold to my Said Grandson to him & his Heirs & Assigns forever, provided he lives to the age of twenty-one years but if he should die before he should come to the age of twenty-one years then to be equally divided amongst the Surviving Children of my said Daughter Elizabeth Sparhawk lawfully begotten of her Body that is to Say after the

Decease of my Said Wife & Daughter And if he Should live to the Age of twenty-one years then I give & bequeath unto him a Thousand pounds Sterling out of my money in London under the Care of William Baker Esq^r.

I give & bequeath unto my Grandson Andrew Pepperrell Sparhawk after my Wife & Daughters Decease my new House built for my dear Dec^d Son Andrew Pepperrell Esq^r in said Kittery with the Land fenced in with a Board Fence round Said House with the Garden fenced in next The Harbour over against s^d House with the three Fields now fenced in lying on the North side the High Way next to the Pasture before given to his Brother Samuel with the Field next to the Harbour call'd the Battery Field adjoining on y^e East Side by Edmund Moody's Garden and on ye West by the Pasture before given to his Brother Samuel, with all the Land I bought of Charles Frost lying at a place called Sturgeon Creek in said Kittery to Hold to my Said Grandson & the Heirs lawfully begotten of his Body forever. But if my S^d Grandson Andrew Should die without Issue lawfully begotten of his Body Male or Female then all that I have before given to ye s^d Andrew after my Wife & Daughters Decease, I give and bequeath to my Grandson William Pepperrell Sparhawk & the Heirs lawfully begotten of his Body forever. I give & bequeath unto my Said Grandson Andrew if he Should live to the age of twenty-one years a Thousand pounds Sterling out of my Money in London under the care of William Baker Esq^r as likewise all the Household Furniture which I Shall leave in the Said House built for my aforesaid deceased Son.

I give & bequeath unto my Grand Daughter who I call Mary Pepperrell Sparhawk after my Wife and Daughter's Decease if She lives to the Age of twenty-one years my House & Land containing about Forty acres lying & being in Said Kittery which I purchased of William & Henry Barter and all my Lands in Boston and in Rutland in the County of Worster to Hold to my Said Grand daughter & her Heirs & assigns forever if but She Should die before She come to Said Age then to be equally divided amongst the Surviving Children that Shall be lawfully begotten of the Body of my said Daughter. I likewise give to my Said Grand Daughter my Diamond Ring in my Chest in Boston. I likewise give & bequeath

unto my said Grand Daughter if She Should live to the age of twenty-one Years One thousand pounds Ster^l out of the money I have in London und^r y^e Care of W^m Baker Esq^r.

I give all my Cloathing & armour & Gold Rings, except what is before & hereafter given, to the Sons lawfully begotten on the Body of my Said Daughter Eliz^a Sparhawk to be equally divided amongst them.

I give & bequeath to my Grandson William Pepperrell Sparhawk if he Should live to the age of twenty-one years one Thousand pounds Sterling out of my Money in London under the Care of William Baker Esq^r and after my Wife and Daughter's Decease provided & on Condition that after he arrives to the age of twenty-one years he Shall procure an Act of the Great & General Court of this Province of the Massachusetts Bay that his Name Shall from thenceforward be call'd William Pepperrell and to leave the Name of Sparhawk all my Set of Plate which I received of Sir Peter Warren, and all my Relation & Friends Pictures which I may have in my dwelling House at the time of my Decease my Sword & Gold Watch, and all my real Estate lying & being in the Town of Kittery and in the Town of Biddeford & in the Town of Scarborough in this Said County of York except what I have heretofore given, To Hold for the Term of his natural Life and if he Should leave a Son lawful Issue of his Body then the Same Estate to be to him the said Son of said Grandson William & to his Heirs of his Body lawfully begotten from Generation to Generation Successively forever in Fee Tail, so long as there Shall be any of the Name in his Line forever. But in Case he shall leave no Son but a Daughter then the said Estate shall be & remain in his eldest Daughter lawfully begotten of his Body upon Conditions that if She Shall marry that the man to whom She Shall Marry Shall procure an Act as afores^d to change his Name to the Name of Pepperrell And after her Decease to go to the Male Issue of her Body lawfully begotten and to the Heirs of such Issue & Heir Male of her Body in Fee Tail Successively forever But if She Shall have no Son then the Said Estate Shall be to her eldest Daughter and her Male Heirs in Manner as afores^d

Successively forever Provided & upon Condition that her Husband Shall get his name altered to Pepperrell as aforesaid. But if my said Grandson William Shall not leave any lawful Issue Male or Female to take & inherit my Said Estate in Manner aforesaid Then all that I have mention'd to be given as afores^d to my Said Grandson William I hereby give & bequeath unto my Grandson Andrew Pepperrell Sparhawk & to his Heirs Male and for want of Heirs Male to his Female Heirs and to their Heirs successively forever, Upon Condition that they & each of them claiming the Same by Force of this my Will Shall procure their Names to be changed to Pepperrell in Manner as is before in this my Will is expressed and directed. But if my Said Grandson Andrew Shall die & leave no Issue Male or Female lawfully begotten of his Body to inherit as afores^d that the said Estate shall come to my Grandson Nathaniel Sparhawk jun^r and to his Heirs Male or to his Heirs Female as it may happen in the Same Manner & upon the Same Conditions as my said Grandson William should have had the Same in every Respect to be observed. But if my Said Grandson Nathaniel Should die & leave no lawful Issue to inherit as afores^d then the Said Estate Shall in y^e Same Manner descend to the next Brother my Grandson Samuel Hirst Sparhawk & to his Heirs Male or to his Heirs Female as it may happen in the Same Manner & upon the Same Conditions as my Said Grandson William should have had the Same in every respect to be observed. But if my said Grandson should die & leave no lawful Issue to inherit as afores^d then the Said Estate Shall in the same Manner descend to his next Brother which my Said Daughter may have lawfully begotten of her Body But if my said Daughter Shall have no Son lawfully begotten of her Body to Inherit then the said Estate Shall and remain in her Daughter whom I call Mary Pepperrell Sparhawk upon Condition that if She Shall marry that the man to whom She Shall marry shall procure an Act as afores^d to change his Name to the Name of Pepperrell and after her Decease to go to the Male Issue of her Body lawfully egotten and to the Heirs of Such Issue and Heir Male of her Body in Fee Tail Successively forever. But if She shall have no Son to inherit then this Estate shall be to her eldest Daughter and her Male

Heirs in Manner as is afores^d Successively forever Provided & upon Condition that her Husband Shall get his Name altered to Pepperrell as afores^d But if my said Grand Daughter Should die & leave no lawful Issue to inherit as afores^d then the Said Estate Shall in the Same Manner descend to the next Daughter which my said Daughter may have lawfully have begotten of her Body or other Issue lawfully begotten of my said Daughter Elizabeth Sparhawk & their Issue in Manner containing the Name of Pepperrell upon ye same Conditions in Manner as before expressed And in Case all the Issue of my said Daughter Elizabeth Sparhawk shall fail of lawful Issue Then the Said Estate after the Death of my Wife & Daughter Shall & remain to the Eldest Son of my Kinswoman Joanna Frost of Falmouth Widow and to his Issue Male or Female and in Failure of such to the next Eldest Son or Daughter of the said Joanna succeeding as afores^d in the same Manner & upon Condition of their Names being altered as afores^d so as to bear up the Name of Pepperrell upon the Same forever.

I give & bequeath unto my Grandson Andrew Pepperrell Sparhawk all the Lands & Real Estate which I have in New Hampshire except what I have before given and bequeathed To Hold to him & His Heirs & Assigns forever after my Wife & Daughter's Decease if he Should live to the age of twenty-one years but if he should not live to that age then I give the Same to my Grandson William To Hold to him & his Heirs and assigns forever but if the said William & Andrew neither of them should live to the age of twenty-one years then the real Estate which I have in New Hampshire mentioned to be given to said Andrew shall be equally divided amongst all the Surviving Children lawfully begotten of the Body of my said Daughter that Shall live to the Said age of twenty-one years, that is to say, after my Wife & Daughter's Decease.

As to all other of my Real Estate whatsoever or wheresoever that I have not before mentioned in this my Will after my Wife & Daughter's Decease I give & bequeath to my Grandson William

Pepperrell Sparhawk To Hold to him & his Heirs & Assigns forever if he Should live to the age of twenty-one years but if he should die before he comes to Said age then I give & bequeath the same to my Grandson Andrew Pepperrell Sparhawk To Hold to him & his Heirs and Assigns forever if he should live to the Age of twenty-one years after my said Wife & Daughter's Decease ; but if the Andrew should die before he arrives to S^d Age then to be equally divided amongst all the Children that Shall be lawfully begotten of the Body of my s^d Daughter that Shall live to the age of twenty-one years after my Wife & Daughters Decease.¹

The above are the main provisions of Sir William Pepperrell's will, so far as the Sparhawk children were concerned. The purpose of Sir William to hand down his name and title to some member of the Sparhawk family was not to be realized.

William Pepperrell Sparhawk, on coming of age, assumed the name of Pepperrell, in accordance with the desire of his grandfather, and in October, 1774, by the General Court of Massachusetts, he was allowed to take the title of Sir William Pepperrell, Baronet. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1766. Subsequently he visited England, and was most kindly received by the friends of his grandfather. He married, October 24, 1767, Elizabeth, daughter of Hon. Isaac and Mary McIntosh Royall of Medford, Massachusetts. His public life he commenced as a member of the Council of Massachusetts. In 1774, when the Council of Massachusetts was organized under a mandamus of the king, he was continued in office, and by accepting the position he

¹ Maine Wills, pages 850-855.

greatly offended the patriots of York County, who stood with their brethren of Massachusetts Bay in their opposition to royal encroachments upon charter rights. In a convention held in November, 1774, they took the following action : —

Whereas the late Sir William Pepperrell, Baronet, deceased, well-known, honored, and respected in Great Britain and America for his eminent services in his lifetime, did honestly acquire a large and extensive real estate in this country, and gave the highest evidence not only of his being a sincere friend to the rights of man in general, but of having a paternal love to this country in particular ; and whereas the said Sir William, by his last will and testament, made his grandson, the present William Pepperrell, Esq., residuary legatee and possessor of the greatest part of said estate ; and the said William Pepperrell, Esq., hath with purpose to carry into force Acts of the British Parliament, made with apparent design to enslave the free and loyal people of this continent, accepted and now holds a seat in the pretended Board of Councillors in this Province, as well as in direct repeal of the charter thereof, as against the solemn compact of kings and the inherent rights of the people. It is therefore

Resolved, That said William Pepperrell, Esq., hath thereby justly forfeited the confidence and friendship of all true friends to American liberty, and, with other pretended councillors now holding their seats in like manner, ought to be detested by all good men ; and it is hereby recommended to the good people of this county, that as soon as the present leases made to any of them by said Pepperrell are expired, they immediately withdraw all connection, commerce and dealings from him ; and that they take no further lease or conveyance of his farms, mills, or appurtenances thereunto belonging (where the said Pepperrell is the sole receiver and appropriator of the rents and profits) until he shall resign his seat pretendedly occupied by mandamus. And if any persons shall remain or become his tenants after the expiration of their present leases, we recommend to the good people of this county not only to with-

draw all connection and commercial intercourse with them, but to treat them in the manner provided by the third resolve of this Congress.

This action, so creditable to the patriots of York County, caused the young Sir William to seek a more congenial place of residence than Kittery, and he removed to Boston. In 1775, finding Boston an uncomfortable place of abode for a Royalist, he sailed for England. His wife died on the passage and was buried at Halifax. On his arrival in England he was most kindly received, not only by the English people, but by his fellow exiles, to whom he became a recognized leader. He was allowed five hundred pounds sterling a year by the British government, and this annuity, with the property he saved from the wreck of his fortune, enabled him to live comfortably and also to assist his less fortunate countrymen, whether Royalists or American prisoners in England. He is described as irreproachable in his private life, and mention is made of the fact that he was one of the founders of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Among his countrymen at home he was held in growing disfavor. In 1778, he was formally proscribed and banished. In the following year he was included in the Conspiracy Act. The struggle with the colonies did not end as Sir William and his fellow exiles expected, and after the war he continued to make England his home. He died in London in December, 1816, aged seventy years, and with him the baronetcy became extinct. William, his son, died in the Isle of

Wight, unmarried, in 1809. Of his three daughters, Elizabeth married Rev. Henry Hutton of London, Mary became the wife of Sir William Congreve, and Harriet the wife of Sir Charles Thomas Palmer, Baronet.

Nathaniel Sparhawk, the oldest son of Col. Nathaniel Sparhawk, was graduated at Harvard College in 1765, married his cousin, Catherine Sparhawk of Salem, Massachusetts, and had five children, Nathaniel, William, Eliza, Susan and Catherine. Mrs. Sparhawk died in Kittery in 1778. His second wife was Elizabeth Bartlett of Haverhill, Massachusetts, and a great-great-granddaughter of Pres. John Cutts of Portsmouth. They were married April 26, 1780, and had one child, Mary Pepperrell Sparhawk, born in Kittery, June 27, 1781. She married Hon. William Jarvis, March 14, 1808, and died February 21, 1811. Mrs. Sparhawk, her mother, died June 29, 1782. His third wife was Deborah Adams of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. They separated, and she remained in this country, when he went to England. He resided there until 1809, when he returned to Maine, where he died in 1815.¹

Andrew Sparhawk, the third son, dropped the name Sparhawk, and assumed that of Pepperrell. He married, September 5, 1775, Miss Turner, and with his wife went to England, where he died in 1783, leaving no children.

¹ Historical Collections, Essex Institute, Vol. XXV, page 281. In the New England Historic and Genealogical Register, Vol. XX, page 2, it is stated that he died in 1817, but this is evidently an error.

Samuel Hirst Sparhawk, the fourth son, was graduated at Harvard College in 1771, and at the opening of the Revolutionary War, like his brothers, he made his way to England. After the close of the war he returned to Kittery, where he died August 29, 1789, in his thirty-eighth year.

Mary Pepperrell Sparhawk married Dr. Charles Jarvis of Boston, and after his death she made Kittery her home, residing near the village church, and nearly opposite the house which was built for Lady Pepperrell, after the baronet's death. She died in 1815.

In the *New England Historic and Genealogical Register*, Volume XX, pages 2-6, there is an account of the descendants of Col. Nathaniel Sparhawk. The prominence of the descendants of the second Sir William, Col. Sparhawk's second son, as here shown, is especially noteworthy. Indeed, this account closes with these significant words: "The foregoing sketch of the descendants of the second Sir William Pepperrell presents a striking contrast, compared with the descendants of his brothers and sisters. They all number less than a dozen of highly respectable individuals, whilst those that descended from the single loyalist who was driven from America at the commencement of the Revolution comprise probably a hundred, holding the highest social position, including dignitaries in church and state, baronets, presidents of colleges, D. D's, and bishops, and others of exalted rank, perhaps more numerous than can be found in any one family in the British realms." Sir William,

however, in point of loyalty to the British cause, had nothing evidently of which he could boast over his brothers. When the first Sir William made the second son of Col. Sparhawk his namesake and heir, he exhibited his usual good judgment, and in the descendants of the second Sir William we unquestionably have another illustration of the survival of the fittest.

THE CUMBERLAND AND OXFORD CANAL.

BY SAMUEL T. DOLE.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, May 10, 1895.

WILLIS, in his history of Portland, tells us that soon after the national constitution was adopted, and the political affairs of the country had become settled on a firm and stable basis, "the inhabitants of that town began to look around them to increase the facilities of trade and to make improvements in their local condition." Among other things, some better communication with the outlying towns than was afforded by the public roads was earnestly desired by the business men, who knew that the swift current of the Presumpscot, with its numerous falls, rendered it unfit for navigation. So we find that, as early as the year 1791, a committee was chosen to ascertain the practicability of a canal from Sebago Pond, as it was then called, to the Presumpscot River. A report

was made by this committee, in September of that year, very favorable to the design, in which it was stated that the general produce of the country could be brought sixty or seventy miles to the falls at Saccarappa. The plan was prosecuted with considerable zeal by the late Woodbury Storer and several others of Portland, who, in 1795, obtained an act of incorporation under the name of the "Cumberland Canal Company," the object being to open a canal from the lake to the Presumpscot River at Saccarappa. Another company was incorporated at the same time, called "The Proprietors of the Falmouth Canal," for the purpose of uniting the waters of the Presumpscot with those of Fore River, at Portland. But it seems that the capital of these projectors was not equal to their enterprising spirit, and the ten years fixed by the charter had nearly passed away, when it was found that the necessary funds for the undertaking could not be raised. Nothing daunted, however, these gentlemen obtained an extension of five years additional, but these, too, passed away without witnessing even a commencement of the work, and it became painfully evident that the undertaking would be vastly more expensive than its most sanguine admirers had even dreamed of. In fact, they had underestimated the whole thing, from beginning to end, and the whole amount they were allowed to hold by the conditions of their first charter was only twenty thousand dollars, which, in 1804, was increased to one hundred and twenty thousand, and so matters rested for some years. During the war of 1812-14, and the

resulting commercial depression, all plans of improvement were of course suspended; but immediately after the separation of Maine from the parent state, when new life was sent into all the channels of industry and enterprise, the idea was again revived, and, in 1821, a charter was procured to construct a canal from Waterford in Oxford County to the navigable waters of Fore River, under the name of the "Cumberland and Oxford Canal." To aid the company in this more extensive scheme a lottery was granted them in 1823, by which they were authorized to raise the sum of fifty thousand dollars, and, in 1825, the Canal Bank was chartered, with a capital of three hundred thousand dollars, of which it was one of the conditions that one-fourth part of this capital should be invested in the stock of the newly-chartered canal. Under these advantages, and by the aid of individual subscriptions, the work was begun in 1828, and finally completed in 1830, at an expense of two hundred and six thousand dollars.

I have been informed by several aged gentlemen of Standish and Gorham that the first route surveyed was by the company chartered in 1795, and that it began at a point a little east of the present Maine Central Railroad Station, at the lake, and so through the two Otter Ponds to the North-Branch Brook valley, down that to Little River, and thence to the Presumpscot, but, as we have seen, nothing was done beyond this preliminary survey; and when, in 1828, the work was commenced in earnest, the route was made to conform to the windings of the river from

the Basin Pond to Saccarappa, when it took a direct course to Portland. The success of the enterprise was confirmed by the fact that in less than one year after it was opened to traffic one hundred boats were plying between Portland and various points on Lake Sebago, Long Pond, and their numerous tributaries. These boats were sixty-five feet long, ten feet wide, and were exceedingly clumsy in their general make-up, having flat bottoms, square sterns, heavy centerboards, so adjusted as to be raised or lowered at will, two stumpy masts to which were fitted nondescript sails for use on the lake. Not being needed while traversing the canal the masts were hinged at the bottom, and when not in use were laid lengthwise of the boat. I am informed that the boats were capable of carrying about thirty tons of freight. It is said the first boat to make the passage from Portland to Lake Sebago was the George Washington, built and fitted up as a passenger boat by the late William A. Rice, who afterward lived many years at Great Falls, and I think died there. Mr. Rice, with his usual enterprising spirit, fitted up his boat in the highest style of art, including a bar where all kinds of spirituous liquors were dispensed to those who desired such refreshments. But Mr. Rice failed to make a financial success of the undertaking, and after a short time the boat was used to carry freight, and finally sunk about twenty rods below the lower Kemp lock, where a very few of its timbers are still to be seen. Each season an immense amount of freight passed up and down this waterway, consisting of staves, shooks,

hoops, boards, cord wood, timber, and all kinds of farmers' produce transported to the numerous landings from the surrounding towns, and the return trips bringing the thousand and one articles sold by the country merchants. The principal boat owners were Benjamin Walker, Christopher Sampson, James Potter, Elliott Libby, Luther Fitch, William and Henry Chadbourn, Otis Knight, Chase Brothers, Roger and Joel Mason, Hugh and Jesse Plummer, Benjamin Davis and Elijah Fulton, besides many others who owned each a single boat.

The elevation of the lake being about two hundred and eighty feet above tide-water, necessitated the construction of twenty-seven locks, with a fall of ten feet to each, and also a fall of one foot to the mile in the levels. The locks were eighty feet long from outside to outside, and ten feet wide, the sides of heavy stone work, with huge wooden gates at either end, moved by long, heavy timbers called "balance beams"; at the bottom of the wooden gates were smaller ones of iron, which were opened and shut by the means of long iron spindles, and attached wrenches. The method of passing through a lock was in this wise: Let us suppose a boat to be making its way from Portland to some point on the lake, and in due time arriving at a lock. If the lock-tender had been duly notified the lock would be found empty, and the lower gates wide open; the boat is then steered into its yawning mouth, and the gates closed behind it, the upper pad gates opened, allowing the water to enter at the bottom, and the boat would

slowly rise to the upper level. When all was ready the big wooden gates would be opened, a choice assortment of soul-stirring adjectives, most frequently accompanied by a volley of stones hurled at the unfortunate motive power on the tow line, and the queer craft went on its way rejoicing. On the way down this order of things was reversed. The boat entered a full lock, the lower pad gates were opened, allowing the water to escape, and the boat settled to the lower level. The profanity and its accompaniment, however, remained the same either way. The location of these locks was as follows, one at tide-water called the Guard Lock, seven near Stroudwater, two at Horse Beef, two at Little Falls, one at Gambo, two at Kemp's, one at Dundy Falls, one called the Sandbank, two at Whitney's Falls, two at Great Falls, one about one-half mile above, two at Middle Jam, one at Steep Falls, one near the road leading from Standish to North Windham, and one at the head called the Upper-guard Lock. At Stroudwater were located the repair shops which for thirty consecutive years were presided over by the late Joseph C. Larry, an oldtime blacksmith of Little Falls, much of the time aided by Captain Edmund Dorset of the same place. The company also ran a boat called the corporation boat, to attend to what repairs might be needed along the line. At the commencement of each boating season a number of men would be engaged as lock tenders, to assist the boatmen in passing through, and also to see that the water in the levels was kept at a fixed height. Sometimes these

men would get careless and neglect their duty, and then some level would overflow the banks, and a "break out" would be the result. That would of course suspend all traffic until the breach was repaired. When such an occurrence took place the red-shirted boatmen would congregate at the nearest village, and spend the time in dancing, telling stories, wrestling, boxing, and the like recreations.

Sometime in the early fifties an eruption of this kind took place a few rods below where the little steamer Sokokis now lands her passengers at Plummer's Landing, the marks of which are still plainly visible, by which about twenty boats were compelled to remain for several days, and I well remember the uproarious mirth indulged in by their crews on that occasion.

The company agents have been Joshua Richardson, James Hall, Levi Hall, Lothrop Libby, and others. Benjamin C. Gay was, I believe, the last to occupy that position. From its beginning, until the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railroad was put in operation, may be regarded as the palmy days of the old canal, and the foundation of many an ample fortune was laid during this period; but that road, passing as it did through several towns in Oxford County whose products had heretofore been freighted to market by the way of the lakes and canal, offered a more rapid transit, which the people were quick to avail themselves of, and the old methods suffered a rapid decline; so we find that in a short space the number of boats, which at one time was one hundred and twenty, con-

sisted of but fifty ; nevertheless, a considerable business was done by those who lived near the lakes, until the Portland and Ogdensburg Railroad was built, whose first train of cars passed from Portland to Lake Sebago, September 12, 1870, since which time the glory of the old canal has been a thing of the past. Its channel, where once floated a queer navy, is dried up, and in most places overgrown with trees and bushes ; its locks, and the shanties built to accommodate the lock tenders, are crumbling in the dust. The sturdy, red-shirted boatmen, except here and there a gray-haired survivor, have long since joined the "silent majority," and their ringing voices are heard no more along the old towpath. The mellow notes of Ned Kendall's¹ bugle no longer wake the echoes of the summer air as his boat slowly disappears around the curve between my native village and ancient Gambo. A Sunday silence broods over the scene, broken only by the occasional tinkle of a cowbell, or the notes of the wild birds nestling among the overarching treetops, and nature is fast resuming its wonted sway along the track of this oldtime commercial highway.

¹ Afterward celebrated as a musician in his own and foreign countries.

FAMILY OF BEATH.

COMPILED BY KATE GRAUPNER STONE,

Great-great-granddaughter of Walter Beath, and presented at a meeting of the Maine Historical Society, Dec. 3, 1897.

THE family of Beath, in Scotland, has a crest, and the motto: "Fortuna virtute." The name is spelled Beath, Beith, Bieth. It is a Gallic word meaning "birch tree." There is a town of Beith on the border of the counties of Renfrew and Ayr. In the county of Fife, five and a half miles from Aberdour, is the parish and village of Beath, with coal and iron mines. In the same county is Cowdenbeath, Halbeath (colliery centers), and Dalbeath, meaning Birch Dell. The Hill of Beath is near Halbeath.

There is a tradition in the Beath family of Boothbay, Maine, that three brothers, Walter, Jeremiah, and Robert Beath came to America in their own vessel. Robert went South, and the other two remained in the North. Gen. Robert B. Beath, G. A. R., says: "My grandfather, Robert Beath, died in Philadelphia during the Rebellion, aged eighty-six years. He came from Fifeshire, in Scotland, but his children were born and raised at Lanark, near Glasgow. I have made two trips to Scotland, but could find none of our name in either of the places." He thinks the family name is from Macbeth (originally Macbeathad), a Celtic tribe, who before the days of Macbeth as king,

flourished in Ireland, when the name Caledonia applied to both the west coast of Scotland, and north of Ireland.

From "Charlestown Genealogies and Estates" is the following: "Adam Beath, Charlestown; Boston; needlemaker; married Mary ——. He died January 15, 1716, aged 47 years; gravestone in Granary-ground, Boston. Issue: Peter, born August 28, baptized 30, 1704; John, baptized June 24, 1705; Mary, July 15 (21) 1706; all in Charlestown. Estate: admin. to widow Mary, February 11, 1716-17. Wm. Rouse of Charlestown, Roger Patterson of Boston, on bond. (Suff. Rec)." Adam Beath's gravestone in Granary burying-ground, Boston, is, at this date (December, 1897), in an excellent state of preservation. It is larger than the average stone.¹

Walter Beath,¹ the first of the name of Beath to settle at Boothbay, Maine (in June, 1731), was of Scotch-Covenanter ancestry; his forefathers fled from religious persecution in Scotland, to the county of Derry, in the province of Ulster, North-of-Ireland. They were of Scotch lineage, pure and simple, and while in Ireland kept themselves almost clannishly distinct and aloof from the native inhabitants. In Ireland they had to encounter the fanatical hostility

¹In same book is: "Adam Beath, Boston, married Huldah Welch, July 28, 1731, at Boston. — Margaret Beath, m. Anthony Bracket, 1752." In Trinity church records, among the baptisms, is: "June 8, 1827, Ellen daughter of John and Lydia Beath;" among the funerals, is: "August 11, 1832, Sarah Beath, 87 years. — August 28, 1833, John Beath, 68 years." This John Beath manufactured trusses and sold surgical instruments at Boston. He probably was a descendant of Adam Beath, the needlemaker of 1719, both being skilled workman. While there is no *prima facie* evidence that the Boston family of Beath is related to the family of Maine, still it is not improbable, and this record is inserted here to supply the clew if needed in future.

of the Roman Catholics, which after a long series of years brought on a war between the two races. The Irish Catholics rebelled against the government of England, and joined the cause of the exiled Catholic king, James the Second. All Roman Catholic Ireland was called under arms. The property of the Protestant farmers and gentlemen was generally seized; cows and sheep were driven off; the corn was cleared from the farms; in three months property of the value of a million of money was destroyed. The Roman Catholics said publicly that they designed to starve half the Protestants in Ireland, and hang the other half. The Irish were as unrestrained as savages, and they were determined that, by fair means or foul, Ireland should be swept clean of heretics, as they termed the Protestants. The latter fled to the fortified city of Londonderry, and closed its gates in the face of the troops of James the Second.¹

Then followed the memorable siege of that place, in the year 1689.

Walter Beath was among the besieged, as also was she who afterward became his wife. Famine bore hard upon the stout-hearted beleaguered ones. The garrison and the inhabitants were driven to extremities. Those who were too small to hold a gun employed their time in searching for food. Walter Beath was eight years of age at the time of the siege of Londonderry, and was with his father's family. Mrs. Beath used to relate that Walter, her future

¹ The names of the thirteen young men who closed the gates against the advancing army, have been handed down to posterity; one of them was James Stewart.

husband, had sat all day long watching at a rat-hole, hoping to kill one of those animals for food. His family kept secreted some meal which they dared not attempt to cook (not feeling in duty bound to take from their children to divide with others), and they mixed it with water, and consumed it in that state. Over the scenes of the siege the pious Walter Beath wept, in his old age, as he rehearsed the thrilling story to the rising generation of Townsend (now Boothbay), of the perils, fortitude, and zeal of their ancestors, who afterward sought a home in the wilds of America. Fever, cholera and famine came to the aid of the besiegers. Rats came to be dainties, and hides and shoe-leather the ordinary fare. They saw their children pine away and die. They were wasted themselves till they could scarcely handle their firelocks on the ramparts. And yet Protestant Calvinism, faith, hope and endurance held out till relief tardily came, and ended their sufferings and the siege, on July 30, 1689, after a three months' contest against thirty thousand armed men with artillery.

Adhering with conscientious fidelity to the Presbyterian tenets, they continued to endure the persecution which pressed on the Protestants during successive reigns. During the time of William and Mary, although their burdens were lightened, they were not relieved from galling exactions imposed by dissenting Christians. Allowed to retain their form of worship, they were compelled to contribute from their resources to the support of another church. The offspring of marriages by ministers of the Presbyterian faith were

declared illegitimate. The rent of the land they cultivated was exorbitant. When the raising of cattle became a source of income and wealth to them, a hasty bill was passed absolutely prohibiting the importation into England of Irish cattle, sheep, swine, salt meat or bacon. In 1698, the exportation and manufacture of Irish woolens was discouraged. They were subjected to the boldest robberies, and no redress given. After coming to Boothbay, Mrs. Walter Beath related that before she left Ireland, the Roman Catholics, being the stronger party, made raids upon the homes and property of the well-to-do Protestants. The latter termed them Romans. She was fourteen years of age when a party of "Romans" attacked the premises of her father. She quickly mounted a little horse, and taking a dog on the horse's back with her, dropped it right down in midst of a flock of sheep, saying, "Stir boy" to him; the sheep, thoroughly frightened, ran away, and were saved from the Romans. After some years, the Beath family with those of Stewart, Fullerton, Blair, and many others, sought quiet and peace, and "freedom to worship God," by coming to America, where religious freedom was united with civil liberty, and neither tithingman nor taxgatherer had oppressive jurisdiction.

The great exodus of the Covenanters from Ireland was from 1700 to 1775. Thousands went to Philadelphia and southern seaports, and from there found their way into Western North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky. On the Mississippi River, in Desha

County, Arkansas, is a post-office called Beath's Landing. Their persecutions by the English crown were of too late a date to be forgotten, and when they saw the attempt being made to force unjust laws upon them, they left their cause "to Heaven and our rifles." The consequence was the first battle of the Revolution, at Alamance Creek, North Carolina, May 16, 1771, where two thousand "Regulators" faced the royal governor, Tryon, with his regulars, in protest against the right of the crown to tax the colonies. Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, was settled entirely by these determined Covenanters, and they made the first Declaration of Independence in May, 1775, over thirteen months before the decisive action of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia in 1776. At this time the Covenanters amounted to one-third of the entire population of the country, of which the larger part were in the South.

On page 240, volume 63, of the Massachusetts Archives, at the State House, Boston, is the report: "Ship Anne Frigat from Ireland, came into harbor of Boston, Oct. 1716." Many other ships arrived about this time. An address, dated March 26, 1718, was despatched from Ireland, through Rev. William Boyd, to Governor Shute of Massachusetts, expressing a strong desire to remove to New England should he afford them suitable encouragement. The address was signed by three hundred and twenty of these so-called Scotch-Irish people.¹

¹ Years afterward, the original manuscript was presented to Mr. Daniel MacGregor of New York City, by Alden Bradford, many years secretary of the state of Massachusetts.

The term Scotch-Irish is a misnomer, and misleading, when applied to the Scotch Covenanters who sojourned in Ireland before coming to America. They did not intermarry with the native Irish. As well might the Pilgrims be called English-Dutch. Judge Oliver Perry Temple writes as follows: "The term Scotch-Irish is restricted in its application, and not altogether clear in its signification. By the term Covenanters is meant all Scotch Presbyterians and their descendants, without reference to the place of their birth, or of their sojourning." The names of Alexander Blair, James Stewart, and Jeatter Fulltone (could this be Fullerton?) were among those signed to this address. They received the desired encouragement, and on August 4, 1718, five ships arrived in Boston Harbor, Massachusetts, filled with these Covenanters from Ulster Province, Ireland. When the British troops evacuated Boston, in 1775, they took the books and papers from the Custom-House, and carried them to Halifax, Nova Scotia, where they are now stored. The passenger-lists of the five ships that arrived at Boston in 1718, were, without doubt, among them. If they could be returned and published they would be invaluable.

Many of these immigrants scattered through the country, and settled in various Massachusetts towns; in Worcester, Palmer, Pelham, Billerica, Dracut and Andover. A portion of them remained in Boston, founding there, under Rev. John Morehead, the Presbyterian church in Long Lane, afterward Dr. William Ellery Channing's, and later, Dr. Ezra Stiles Gannett's

in Federal Street, now the Unitarian Church in Arlington Street.

Sixteen families were sent in their ship, by Governor Shute, toward Casco Bay, on the eastern coast in search of a suitable place to settle. It was late in the season, and they became frozen in at Falmouth (now Portland, Maine), and were obliged to pass the winter on shipboard under great hardships and sufferings. When the spring of 1719 opened, not finding land to suit them, they retraced their course, and found their way up Merrimac River to Haverhill, and, striking out from there, discovered the tract on which they decided to locate under the grant they had received from the government of Massachusetts. The place was called Nutfield, from the abundance of its forests fruit, or nut trees, and on the eleventh day of April, 1719, they assembled beneath a venerable oak, to unite in devotional exercises. In June, 1722, three years after the settlement, the town was called Londonderry, in commemoration of the city, in and near to which most of them had resided while sojourning in Ireland. They had brought with them their spinning and weaving implements, and here by them was made the first linen manufactured in New England. Some of the descendants of the Londonderry settlers afterward went to Boothbay, Maine, and made their homes.¹

¹ William Adams was born in the north of Ireland. His son, Deacon Samuel Adams, was born in Londonderry, New Hampshire, April 2, 1733, and settled in Boothbay at an early date. On December 30, 1763, he married Sarah Reed, of Boothbay, and their granddaughter, Mary Sales Adams, born in Boothbay, March 10, 1813, married for her first husband, Joel Beath (son of Jeremiah, Jr., and Sarah [Stewart] Beath). They had one son, George Albion Beath. Joel Beath was lost at sea, October 4, 1841, and his widow married for her second husband Augustus Whittaker.

A company of these Scots early settled in Worcester, Massachusetts, and here suffered from illiberal opposition, and even active hostility. Having formed a religious society, they commenced the erection of a meeting-house on the west side of the Boston road. The timbers had been raised, and the building was in progress of construction, when the inhabitants gathered tumultuously by night and demolished the structure. Puritan tolerance! Persons of consideration and respectability aided in the riotous work of violence, and the defenseless foreigners were compelled to submit to the wrong. Was this the "freedom to worship God" that they had fondly anticipated! Many, unable to endure the insults and bitter prejudices they encountered, joined their brethren of the same denomination who, under the charge of Rev. Mr. Abercrombie, commenced the settlement of Pelham, in the county of Hampshire.

They were industrious, frugal and peaceful, contributing to the prosperity of the province, by the example of diligence, and by the introduction of useful arts. They brought with them the necessary materials for the manufacture of linen; and their spinning-wheels, turned by the foot, were a novelty in the country. They also introduced the culture of potatoes, which they first planted in a garden at Andover. The strangers were not treated with common decency by their English neighbors. Their settlements in other places were approached by bodies of armed men, and their property in some instances wantonly destroyed. They were everywhere

abused and misrepresented as Irish, a people then generally very obnoxious; a reproach peculiarly grievous to the immigrants. In a letter to Governor Shute, bearing date in 1720, the Rev. Mr. McGregor, pastor at the newly-settled Londonderry, writes: "We are surprised to hear ourselves termed Irish people, when we so frequently ventured our all for the British crown and liberties, against the Irish Papists." The jealousy with which they were first regarded, finally yielded to the influence of their simple virtues and sterling worth. Rev. Mr. McGregor, in a sermon which he preached on the eve of his departure from Ireland, assigned the following reasons for their removal to America: "1st. To avoid oppressive and cruel bondage. 2d. To shun persecution. 3d. To withdraw from the communion of idolaters. 4th. To have an opportunity of worshipping God according to the dictates of conscience and His inspired word."

To which of these several settlements Walter Beath went immediately upon his arrival in America has not been ascertained. It was hoped that knowledge of the exact time of his departure from Ireland could be obtained from seaport records; but a letter, dated twenty-fourth of May, 1897, from P. T. Rodger, consular agent Londonderry, Ireland, says:—

I called at the Custom House in regard to the lists of passengers leaving this port, but I find that these lists are only kept for fifteen years, and then they are destroyed, so that there are no records further back. The records or registry in churches here only go back to 1846, so of course they are of no use in an enquiry of this sort.

The only hope of obtaining positive knowledge would seem to be through the recovery of Boston Custom House Records (carried away by the British soldiers in 1775), which are stored at Halifax, Nova Scotia.

PART SECOND.

The first distinct account we have of Walter Beath in America is from the early records of Lunenburg, then in the county of Middlesex, province of Massachusetts Bay. Among the grantees at the allotment of land in the new town of Lunenburg (Turkey Hills), May 11, 1720, is the name of Walter Beath, of Lancaster, for house-lot No. 49, containing two hundred and twenty-seven acres and fifty-two rods. In the Proprietors' Records is the item of the payment "in full," by Walter Beath, for this land. Then in 1772, John Beath, a son of Walter Beath, makes the following affidavit:—

DEPOSITION OF JOHN BEATH, OF BOOTHBAY, SWORN TO
OCTOBER 23, 1772.

John Beath, aged sixty-two years testifyeth that he lived with his father who dwelt at Lunenburgh in the western part of said Province, (of Mass. Bay), when the news was published over New England that His Most Excellent Majesty, King George the second had commissioned and sent to Pemaquid in the eastern parts of said Province a certain Col. David Dunbar, as his agent to take possession and begin the settlement of the land eastward of Kennebec River in His Majesty's name & behalf, & that said Dunbar was arrived and had published large encouragements to any of his Majesty's Protestant liege subjects who should settle on said lands. In pursuance of which this deponent, together with his father & family, in June 1731, left their plantation and at no small expense

transplanted themselves, their stock and effects to said Pemaquid, when after treating with said Dunbar this deponent, with his father & as he supposes, above sixty others, were by the said Dunbar settled (on a piece of land at Boothbay Harbour where he proposed to build a city.) That on the 19th of August in the year 1749, this deponent with seventeen others was taken captive by the Indians, that they were detained till November, that said Indians took from him a sloop of sixty tons burthen with the cargo (which they took to St. Peters and sold.)

Thus it will be seen that after living at Lunenburg eleven years, Walter Beath, because of "large encouragements" published over New England, moved his family and all their belongings to the neck of land bounded by the sea, lying between the Sheepscot and Damariscotta Rivers, where Col. Dunbar laid out the "city" of Townsend, afterward called Boothbay. Lots were cast, and Walter Beath became possessed of a lot of land on the east of Boothbay Harbor; he built a house on the northeast side of the hill, nearly opposite the spot where the meeting-house was afterward put. His house stood more than one hundred years, and then was burned. A descendent of his son, Jeremiah Beath, built a house nearly opposite the old homestead. While Walter Beath owned the land on the east side of the harbor and the woodland back, Col. Andrew Reed, Sr., who afterward became connected with the family of Beath (his son, Paul Reed, marrying Marjory Beath, a granddaughter of Walter Beath) owned the west side. It must be remembered that the old Boothbay Harbor was a beautiful cove west of the present town harbor, looking up which you can see the church at Boothbay Center.

Col. Andrew Reed came from Antrim County, Ireland, and settled at Boothbay about 1731. He was of English descent, although his family had lived in the north of Ireland some years previous to his emigration to this country. He was a man of marked character, resolute in the performance of every duty, and a devoted and strict Presbyterian. During the raids of hostile Indians upon Boothbay, when Col. Reed was an old man, the inhabitants at the Harbor withdrew to the westward for safety. Col. Reed sent his family to Boston, but in defiance of all persuasion, remained alone all winter in the simple shelter of a log cabin. Contrary to expectation the returning fugitives found him alive and unharmed in the spring, and to their excited enquiries, he calmly replied that he had felt neither solitude nor alarm, "Why should I?" cried the old man, "I was not alone. I had my Bible, and my God." His wife was Jane Murray, whom he married in Ireland, and whose nephew was Rev. John Murray, first minister to the Presbyterian church at Boothbay. Col. Andrew and Jane (Murray) Reed had sons, John, Henry, William, Andrew, Jr., Joseph, David, and the Paul who married Marjory Beath. He died in 1763.

Col. Dunbar was a man of energy and good capacity for business, but a scheming politician, and ready for any intrigue to promote his own selfish ends. He promised the settlers good titles to their lands, but the deeds were not forthcoming. He became exceedingly unpopular, and his removal was demanded. The complaints preferred against him in England

became so loud and earnest that the government was obliged to notice them, and his dismissal took place. The following is on page 400, of Vol. 9, of the Council Records, in the archives at Massachusetts State House, Boston:—

Fryday, Febr. 16th, 1732. The Secretary laid before the Board a Letter he had received from Coll. David Dunbar dated at Fredericks Fort the 29th, of December last, importing that he had receiving His Majesty's Order in Council referring to the Eastern Lands, and that he should remove from there as soon as may be with convenience.

On page 419, same volume is:—

July 17th 1733, In Council Chamber. His Excellency communicated to the Board a letter he had received from the Hon^{ble} David Dunbar Esq., dated at Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, the 2nd, of July Instant, importing that pursuant to His Majesty's order he had quitted Fort Frederick in Pemaquid, and that the Garrison posted there was returned to Annapolis Royal so that the Said Fort was entirely evacuated, and that he apprehended that unless this Government do speedily send an officer and some few men to keep possession of the said Fort there is danger of its being destroyed by the Indians.

It was considered and debated whether it was judged expedient to send officers and six men. Resolved in the negative. Eighteen months was the time Dunbar took to remove himself from Pemaquid "as soon as may be with convenience"! He went to New Hampshire, but subsequently returned to the lands east of the Kennebec River, took up his abode, married, and spent the rest of his life there without his old-time authority.

The settlers now had trouble with the Indians. But their trials and tribulations were courageously endured when they could not be overcome, and life was more pleasant than formerly, because of the companionship of men and women, many of whom were Covenanters, with whose religious tenets they were in sympathy. An idea of the hardship suffered by the families that were settled in Boothbay and vicinity at this time can be formed by the following deposition of Samuel McCobb, a connection, by marriage, of the Beath family. It was sworn to, October 23, 1772.

Samuel McCobb, aged 64 years, testifieth and saith, that in the year 1729, Col. Dunbar came with a commission from his most excellent Majesty George the second, with instructions to take possession and settle with the inhabitants, in behalf of the crown, the lands lying to the eastward of the Kennebec River in said province, that with a number of men and necessaries he arrived at Pemaquid in the same year, and forthwith proceeded to survey and settle several towns around, publicly inviting His Majesty's liege subjects to come and settle thereon, promising them ample encouragement in the name of the king, his master. In consequent of which encouragement the Deponent with more than 40 others, applied to the said Dunbar and by him were brought to and settled on a certain neck of land bounded on the sea, and lying between the Sheepscot and Damariscotta Rivers, the which lands the said Dunbar had laid out in parallel lots, twelve rods broad, containing two acres apiece, and ordered the settlers to cast lots for their respective places, which being done, the said Dunbar did, in the King's name and behalf, put them in possession of lots they had respectfully drawn, and promised that on condition of their building one house eighteen feet long and clearing two acres within the space of three years he could give them an addition of forty acres in one, and one-hundred in another division, as contiguous to the first two acres as possible, in

fee simple forever, and likewise to add thereto another division devising to each settler any number of acres besides, less than 1000, which they should request. A number having complied with these terms, and said Dunbar offered to give them deeds of said lands, but the execution thereof was delayed, and in the year 1733 he was removed to New Hampshire. The lands being naturally broken and poor, and more especially then, in their wild uncultivated state, and the settlers coming there generally in low circumstances, and most of them (as being from Britain and Ireland) utterly unacquainted with the mode of managing lands in that state, little of the necessaries of life was raised from the soil, their whole living depended on cutting fire wood and carrying it to Boston and other towns more than one hundred and fifty miles from them; hence the settlers lived, from the first, exposed to the utmost extremities of indigence and distress, and at the same time in almost continual alarms from the savages all around, till the year 1745, when the murders and depredations in their borders forced them from their habitations to seek shelter in the westward, where they were scattered in a strange country, at nearly 200 miles distance from their homes, for five years. In October, 1749, as soon as the news of peace reached them, this deponent with many of his former neighbors ventured back to their said settlements where they had scarce finished the repairs of their wasted cottages and improvements, when in a year or thereabouts, the Indians tho' in a time of peace fell on their neighborhood, burnt barns, killed many cattle, attacked the little garrison kept by the people, and carried away a number of men, women and children into captivity. By this the deponent and his neighbors were obliged to flee to the little fortress they had raised for themselves where they lived and defended themselves as they might, not daring to look after their plantations, by which means the little provisions then growing for their support the next winter, were chiefly destroyed whereby, when they returned to their places, little better than the horrors of famine were in prospect; many were obliged to live by clams only, which they dug out of the mud when the tides were down; thus they subsisted in general till the late war with France broke out, when tho' their cries were sent up to the government for some protection on this settlement, which they still

held in King's behalf, and from which should they again be driven they knew not where to seek a place of abode, yet no defence or assistance went to or a morsel of bread was allowed them, but such as they found for themselves, by garrisons and guards of their own where their families lived in continual terror and alarm from the savages who ranged the wilderness all around, till the late peace was concluded, when their settlements increased much by new comers from the western parts. Thus happily rid of French and Indians they were not long suffered to rest for three or four opposite sets of claimers, part claiming by Indian deeds never approved according to law, and part by pretended ancient occupation and other pretexts never justified in law, at divers times came among them demanding the possession of these said lands, or requiring a purchase for them. These imposing upon the credulous simplicity of some of the inhabitants by fair promises, and terrifying others with threats of lawsuits for which the poor settlers were ill provided, so far prevailed that the generality were fain to contract with and buy their lands from one or another of them, and some of them all successfully, and such as have not done so are still harrassed by the said claimers and threatened by each, in his turn, with lawsuits, ejections, if not imprisonments and ruin, whilst those of whom they bought have never done anything to defend them from competing claimers, and all have left them to become a prey to whom comes next. However, by the help of God, they continued on their said possession till the year 1764, when desirous of obtaining the benefit of order and the enjoyment of the gospel, they applied to the General Court of the Province and were legally incorporated into a town by the name of Boothbay in the year 1765, without any help from the public (from abroad) erected a church, and in the year 1766 settled a gospel minister. These things the deponent testifyeth as facts within his own proper knowledge having had occasion to be personally and intimately interested therein, and he declareth this deposition is not given with any injurious intent toward any person whatever."

This affidavit certainly gives a very vivid picture of the early settlement of Townsend (afterward, named

Boothbay), with the trials and tribulations of the inhabitants. What a pitiable record!

In the old graveyard at Boothbay Harbor, is a small slate stone, in an excellent state of preservation, ornamented at the top with the usual death's head, or skull with wings; it has the following inscription:—

IN MEMORY OF
M^r. WALTER BEATH
WHO DIED JUNE 11th, 1759
IN THE 79 YEAR
OF HIS AGE.

According to this stone, Walter Beath must have been born in the year 1681; consequently, at the siege of Londonderry, Ireland, he was eight years of age. This accords exactly with the narrative of Mrs. Walter Beath of his being too young to handle a fire-lock. He had two sons, John and Jeremiah.

John Beath,² was born in 1710; married, at Boston in 1739, Margaret Fullerton, who was born in 1714, in the country of Tyone, north of Ireland; she was the daughter of William Fullerton. They had ten children:—

Marjory,³ born October 9, 1739, married Paul Reed, and had eleven children: Paul,⁴ John,⁴ Andrew,⁴ William Maxwell,⁴ Jane,⁴ Margaret,⁴ Elizabeth,⁴ Mary,⁴ Marjory,⁴ Sarah,⁴ Rosanna.⁴

Joseph,³ born December 29th, 1740, married Mary Pelham in 1784, and had twelve children: Margaret,⁴ Hannah Pelham,⁴ Elizabeth Pelham,⁴ Marjory Reed,⁴ Penelope Pelham,⁴ Mary McCobb,⁴ Jennet Gilmore,⁴ John,⁴ Lydia Pelham,⁴ Sarah Auld,⁴ Rachel McCobb,⁴ Eunice Fullerton.

Elizabeth,³ born June 12, 1742, married John Parker, and had no children.

Mary,⁸ born October 28, 1743, married John M^cCobb, and had eight children.

Margaret,⁸ born April 3, 1745, married Samuel Wylie, and had one daughter, and two sons. The sons and their father were lost at sea, and the widow married Hugh Rogers. The daughter married her step-brother, Samuel H. Rogers.

Sarah,⁸ born March 24, 1747; nothing known of her.

John,⁸ born March 18, 1749; died in childhood, of canker rash.

James,⁸ born June 17, 1751; died in childhood, of canker rash.

Jeremiah,⁸ born December 29, 1752; died in childhood, of canker rash.

Walter,⁸ born March 19, 1754; died in childhood of canker rash.

John Beath died December 9, 1798, aged eighty-eight years, and his wife Margaret (Fullerton) Beath, died October 13, 1813, aged ninety-nine years. They were both buried in the graveyard at Boothbay Harbor.

Jeremiah Beath,² Senior, the other son of Walter Beath was born June, 1772, probably in Lancaster, or Lunenburg, Mass. He was on the list of jurors, in Worcester, Mass., January 24, 1757, and May 20, 1760. He is also on record in Sutton. He married Elizabeth Cowden, daughter of James and Janet (Craige) Cowden, of North Worcester, now Holden; she was born October 31, 1730. Three of her brothers, David, Robert, and Thomas, were officers from Worcester County, Mass., in the war of the American Revolution. After the death of his father, Jeremiah Beath, Sr., returned to Boothbay Center, and settled at the homestead, (the Valley Farm). Jeremiah Beath, Sr., died February 17, 1803, aged eighty-one years, and his wife Elizabeth (Cowden) Beath died December 7, 1814, aged eighty-four years.

They were buried at Boothbay Center. Their children were : —

Priscilla,³ married John Holton; he was born December 13, 1747, and was commissioned First Lieut., September 7, 1784, in Sixth Company, Third Regiment, County of Lincoln division, Col. Edward Emerson's Regiment; he died October 2, 1822; his wife Priscilla (Beath) Holton died of consumption. Their eleven children were: Elizabeth,⁴ Sibel,⁴ Israel,⁴ Jeremiah,⁴ Priscilla,⁴ Sarah,⁴ Mehitabel,⁴ Susanna,⁴ Margaret,⁴ Phebe,⁴ John.⁴

Eunice,³ born in 1764, married April, 1784, Ebenezer Fullerton, son of William Fullerton, and she died September 5, 1823, aged fifty-nine years. Ebenezer Fullerton died July 1, 1819, aged sixty-nine years. Their seven children were: Jennett G.,⁴ Elizabeth,⁴ William,⁴ James,⁴ John,⁴ Elizabeth Cowden,⁴ Margaret.⁴

Mary,³ married Mr. Thomson (probably of Worcester County, Mass.), and had seven sons, only one living to maturity. She died about 1832.

Sarah,³ born June 20, 1767, married David Kenniston, born 1759. She died of lockjaw, December 12, 1796, when her son Thomas Beath Kenniston was ten days old: her sister Eunice (Beath) Kenniston adopted the babe. Her children were: John,⁴ Asa,⁴ Sarah,⁴ Thomas Beath.⁴

Margaret,³ married Mr. Thomson, and was thrown from a carriage and instantly killed, at Royalston, Worcester County, Mass., May 23, 1823.

Jeremiah,³ Junior, born January 1, 1770, at Boothbay, married November 2, 1796, Sarah Stewart of Bristol, Maine, who was born November 11, 1779. He died November 15, 1835, aged sixty-five years, of inflammation of the bowels, and his wife Sarah (Stewart) Beath died of consumption, February 4, 1839, aged sixty years. They were buried at Boothbay Center. Their fourteen children were: Sarah,⁴ Thomas Stewart,⁴ Elizabeth Cowden,⁴ Martha E.,⁴ Nathaniel Stewart,⁴ Mary Maria,⁴ Anna Matilda,⁴ James Thomson,⁴ Joel Thomson,⁴ Margaret Jane,⁴ Eunice Fullerton,⁴ Nancy Calista,⁴ Jonas Thomson,⁴ Sophia Louisa.⁴ They lived at the homestead Valley Farm), at Boothbay Center.

HISTORY OF THE CUMBERLAND COUNTY BUILDINGS IN PORTLAND.

BY WILLIAM GOOLD.

*Read at the Dedication of the Maine Historical Library Rooms in the
Portland City Building, February 2, 1881.*

ON taking possession of these pleasant rooms, which by the kindness and liberality of the City Government of Portland we are to occupy and make the base of our historical investigations and a place of social converse, it has been thought proper, and perhaps might be entertaining, to learn the history of this spot and of the several buildings which have occupied it. At the request of the local committee of the Historical Society I have undertaken to present what could be gathered from records, from written history, tradition, recollections of aged men, and of my own, relating to these premises. The history of this elegant and spacious building involves the history of early county buildings, occupied under the old county of York before the separation in 1760, when the whole state comprised but one county. As at the building of every court-house and jail the committee having charge had been directed to use the materials of the old in the construction of the new, it is very probable that in the basement of the county wing of this building there is some of the iron work, or doors of the jail erected at the junction of Middle and India Streets in 1752; so we will begin there.

There was something here that bore the name of the prison at Falmouth as early as 1661. At the commissioners court held at York that year the record says John Phillips of Falmouth "accused for the suspicion of felony, by the unfitness of the prison to receive him is confined to his own house as a prisoner, and engageth to appear at the next court." The county records mention the building of a jail at York in 1651, and one at Wells in 1654. In the record of a court of the commissioners which was held at Falmouth in 1669, a jail is mentioned as having been built at that place, and delinquent towns were ordered to pay their share of the expenses. The location of the jail is now unknown. It must have disappeared prior to 1685, as in that year the general assembly ordered that Fort Loyal shall be appointed as a prison or jail for the four associated towns. These were Saco, Scarborough, Falmouth and North Yarmouth. In 1690, this fort was taken by the French and Indians after a five days' siege, and every house in the village destroyed. The town laid waste until about 1718, when some of the old settlers returned and many new ones came in. The first town meeting after the settlement was held in 1719. Soon after a meeting-house was built on India Street, and was occupied for worship until 1746, when a new one was built where the stone church of the First Parish now stands. The town in its associate capacity had erected the old meeting-house, and after its abandonment as a place of worship its second story was fitted up, at the town's expense, for a court-house.

The history of Portland says "there was no court-house nor regular place for holding the court here before the Revolution." This is a mistake. In the recorded vote of the town for fitting the old meeting-house for the purpose it is called a "court-house." A court held at York in 1752, ordered a jail to be built at Falmouth on the north side of the "court-house." The next year after the fitting up of this court-house in 1747, Parson Smith records "I prayed with the Court in the afternoon. Justice came drunk."

In 1753, in answer to a petition of the selectmen of Falmouth, the court of quarter sessions of the county of York appointed a committee of five, all of Falmouth, to let out the building of a new jail in Falmouth, and directed them "that if they can purchase the blockhouse and land thereunto belonging, near Benjamin Larrabee's, for a sum not exceeding £45-6 shillings and 8d, lawful money, at the county charge for a prison house, a deed for the same is to be transmitted to the county treasurer." In case this blockhouse was purchased the committee was desired to remove the jail already begun and join the same to said blockhouse and finish the same according to a former order. This order is as follows: To be joined to the court-house on King Street "linter fashion." That is a corruption of the phrase "lean-to," or with the court-house for one side wall with a one-sided roof. The same kind of an addition to a barn at the present time is called a linter, from the two words lean to. The order says it is to be thirty-five feet long, fifteen feet wide and seven feet stud with one stack of

chimneys of four smokers. The building is to be of good, square, sound, hewed or sawed timber, well boarded, clapboarded and shingled outside with a lining outside of good, sound oak plank, spiked on, and eighty pounds were allowed for building it. The blockhouse was purchased and the "lean-to" was removed and joined to it. The Larrabee house stood where would now be in front of the Soldiers' Monument and the blockhouse which was built for defense against the Indians, stood a little north of the monument in Monument Square. Parson Smith records June 13, 1746, "This neighborhood are building a block-house near Mr. Larrabee's for the common defense." The treaty of Aix La Chapelle, concluded in 1747, put an end to the war of 1744 with the French and Indians. This blockhouse had been garrisoned with provincial troops who were now discharged and it was of no further use, hence it was sold to the county. There was a jail keeper's house built on Middle Street in front of the jail, at the expense of the county, in which the jailer kept a public house, as the county paid only fifteen pounds as jailer. Thomas Motley, the grandfather of Motley, the historian, kept this blockhouse jail from 1781 to 1793. His tavern was called the "Freemasons Arms," and had a swinging sign in front, inscribed with a representation of the square and compass. Mr. Motley's sons, for many years the distinguished Boston merchants, were born in the old jail tavern, and also the youngest son Charles, who was a sailor, was born there 1785, and was twelve years old when the blockhouse jail was removed. He

now lives near Pride's Bridge in Deering, at the great age of ninety-six years, with a clear memory; within two weeks he has described to me intelligently the old wooden jail and the tavern in which he was born and lived until he was eight years old. The jail is also described by a letter from Nathaniel Gardiner, a sea captain and a Loyalist of Pownalboro. He was taken prisoner in 1780, while loading his vessel (the armed schooner Golden Pippin) with iron from the wreck of Commodore Saltonstall's fleet at Penobscot. He writes, "I was thrust into Falmouth jail where I had neither bed, blanket, or anything to lay on but the oak plank floor, with the heads of spikes an inch high and so thick together that I could not lay down clear of them." After remaining a prisoner four months he broke jail and escaped.

The old meeting-house on King Street served for a court-house from 1746 until 1774, when the town presented the lot to the county of Cumberland, which had been established in 1760, on which to erect a new court-house, on the condition that the town should use it for town purposes when the courts were not in session. This new court-house was a handsome building, not quite finished when the town was bombarded by Mowat in 1775, when both the old and new court-houses were burned. The old one had been removed to Hampshire Street for a town-house. During the Revolution the courts were held at Mrs. Greele's tavern on Congress Street. In 1777, she was paid two pounds, eight shillings "for a room for the use of the Court." In 1787, Samuel Freeman was paid nine

pounds "for his great chamber for the use of the Courts."

After the happy termination of the Revolutionary struggle the county officers looked forward to better accommodations. The blockhouse jail had escaped the burning, and a lot was sought for a court-house in that vicinity. A committee of the Court of General Sessions reported in 1785 "that the land between the jail and the haymarket appears to belong to the county; that the land on the north side of the street, opposite the haymarket, is not to be procured. Mr. Larrabee's land near the jail is not to be purchased. Voted to take Mr. Plummer's lot on Back Street, $4\frac{1}{2}$ rods in front and $4\frac{1}{2}$ rods back." On the eighteenth of July, 1785, Moses Plummer, of Falmouth, cordwainer, executed a deed to the county of this lot of $4\frac{1}{2}$ rods on Back Street for eighteen pounds lawful moneys paid by Joseph McLellan, treasurer of Cumberland County. It is described as the "south corner of the three-acre lot I lately bought of Rev. Thomas Smith." The lot was granted in 1720 to the first settled minister, and extended to Back Cove. The lot then conveyed to the county is the central part of the site of the Portland City Hall building. Moses Plummer, who sold this land, kept a store, and obtained the nickname "Old Way," from his rigid adherence to the barter system of dealing when all others were abandoning it. On this small lot of about four rods square a wooden court-house of forty-eight by thirty-four feet in size, with twenty-four-foot posts, was commenced. Parson Smith records the raising, October

3, 1785. The Court of General Sessions of the Peace, composed of all the justices of the peace in the county, then exercised the same functions as our present board of county commissioners. They ordered the "roof to be so framed that a belfry may be built upon it at some future time." The second story, containing the court-room and offices, was finished in 1788. The belfry or cupola was soon added. It was surmounted by a carved weather-cock. St. Peter's testimony in denying his Master may have suggested to the county fathers the propriety of surmounting the new temple of justice with a representation of the historic bird as a caution to the witness, when he entered the portal, not to deny the truth, whatever might be the provocation from contending council.

The first floor of this court-house was an open hall, in which were kept in sight the gallows, the stocks and the pillory, ready to be erected for use. Near the front of the house stood the whipping-post, with cross-bars for securing the arms and legs of the culprits. A gentleman was living in this city, within two years, who had witnessed the whipping of a man at this post. It was removed to the parade ground about 1800.

In this court-house, in 1790, Thomas Bird, a foreigner, was sentenced to be hung for piracy and murder, although his trial had been in the meeting-house near by. He had been confined in the old block-house jail more than a year, waiting for the organization of the District Court of the United States, and for a session to be held here. The aged Mr. Motley,

before mentioned, described to me Bird's demeanor and habits while in prison. He (Motley) was five years old at the time, and with his older brother, Edward, at the request of Bird, was often admitted by their father to the cell, and spent much time there. The prisoner made them toy ships and boats. The execution took place at the junction of Congress and Grove Streets, June 25, 1790. At the time of the execution, Mrs. Motley, the mother of the boys, took them over back of the Neck to be out of the sight of the gallows, as the whole family had become interested in the fate of Bird. The captain of the vessel, whom he killed, was noted for cruelty to his men. Bird admitted that he had fired the gun which killed the captain, and justified himself on the ground of cruelty.

Bird's counsel, Syms & Frothingham, made application for a pardon on the ground of its being the first capital conviction in the United States courts, after the adoption of the Federal constitution. The petition was immediately forwarded to President Washington, who then resided in New York, but he declined pardoning or suspending the time of execution. The jailer, Motley, and his family thought the prisoner should be pardoned, and it was with sadness that he was surrendered to Sheriff John Waite to be executed. Gen. Henry Dearborn, of Revolutionary memory, was United States marshal, and superintended the execution. It is a rare circumstance in historical investigation to find a man with clear intellect and memory, who is able to describe a prison, and the life led by a

prisoner, ninety-one years after his execution. It is the minute description which I obtained from the very aged Mr. Motley, the last of a distinguished family, which leads me to dwell so long on the blockhouse jail. Although it was the county jail twelve years after the court-house was erected on this spot, the History of Portland makes it a one-story building, and does not mention the purchasing of the blockhouse by the county for a prison, although the one-story part was joined to it.

This was the first capital trial in a United States court. Prisoners frequently escaped from the wooden jail, and it needed frequent repairs. In 1792, a committee of the court reported that it would be more expensive to repair the old jail than would be the erection of a new one, and thereupon it was decided to build a stone jail for the use of the county. A committee reported that the town wanted the land on which the old jail stood for a market place, and would purchase a piece of land adjoining the court-house lot for the jail in exchange. In 1795, the county treasurer took a deed of another piece of the Plummer lot in the rear of the court-house, five rods wide and ten rods deep. The consideration was twenty pounds, which was paid by the town, who received a deed of the old jail, restricting its use for market purposes.

The county treasurer reserved the buildings and the right to occupy until the new prison was completed. The building committee were directed to use

the iron work and other material in the old jail in the construction of the new one.

On the new lot in the rear of the court-house, after several postponements for the lack of money, was built in 1797 a cut stone jail. The building was fifty feet by thirty-four feet in size and two stories high, with gambrel roof and rooms in the attic. Granite was not then the manageable material that it now is, which made the erection of such a building then a formidable job. This was the first dressed stone building erected in the county, and, I think, in the state. The building committee was Samuel Freeman and William Gorham, both members of the Court of Sessions. The superintendent of the building was John Park of Groton, Massachusetts, who had recently erected a similar prison at Concord in that state. The jail had dormer windows in the front roof. A gentleman now dead, who built these windows, related to me the conversation which he had with the building committee. He inquired if he should finish the back roof in the same style, when they replied, "No, make it entirely plain; there never will be any settlement on that side." The cost of the building was about eight thousand dollars. From this prison, in 1808, Joseph Drew of Saccarappa walked to the gallows, near the Observatory, a full half-mile, with the sheriff on one side and Parson Bradley of Stroudwater on the other. He was executed for the murder of Ebenezer Parker, a deputy sheriff of Westbrook. The row of elms planted in front of the court-house and

jail lot were the work of Joseph M. Gerrish, who was jailkeeper under Sheriff Hunnewell, whose term expired in 1821. Only two now remain, and a proposition has been made to remove one of them. This jail of 1797 was taken down in 1859, after the erection of the present county jail. Over the principal door was an inscription cut into the lintel, giving the date of its erection. At the conclusion is an odd character, of which the meaning in late years has not been known. That it is a part of the inscription is shown by its being separated from the date by a semicolon only, and is followed by a period. This lintel is built into the partition wall of the basement of the county wing of this building, and has the original iron door swinging beneath it. In a communication to the Portland Transcript a few years ago I called attention to the unknown character. The publishers procured an engraving of it for the paper, but no one answered the inquiry.

The next building erected on this lot was a jailkeeper's house. It was called the county house, and was built in 1799. It was of brick and two stories in height. It stood between the court-house and jail. With my grandfather I dined in it at the invitation of Mr. Gerrish, the jailer, when I was about nine years of age. After dinner we were shown through the jail. The old-fashioned dungeon, with its chains, shackles and ringbolts, impressed me deeply. The debtors' rooms in the attic were not so repulsive, yet those who were then confined in them, for no

crime but poverty, did not appear as if they were happy. Imprisonment for debt was then common.

In 1816, for two hundred dollars, the county purchased the right to lay a drain from the jail through the Plummer lot to Back Cove. Seven years later I recollect that there was the same complaint of this single sewer, which had its outlet on the flats, as there has been of late years of the Back Bay nuisance. During the embargo, and the endless lawsuits which were its results, the old wooden court-house proved too small for the county business. After the peace of 1815, commercial business wore a brighter aspect, and the county ventured to erect a more spacious and elegant court-house. The old one was sold to the Free-will Baptist society for a house of worship, and in 1816 it was hauled with oxen to the south side of Court, now Exchange Street, between Congress and Federal Streets. The center of the second-story floor was removed and railed around, leaving a gallery on each of the four sides. In 1827, the society vacated it for the then new Casco Street church, and the next year it was sold for a soap factory, and was moved to Green Street, where it was taken down in 1875.

In 1815, an additional piece of land on the north-east side and adjoining the court-house lot, twenty feet in width and one hundred and fifty-five in length, was purchased of Henry Titcomb for four hundred dollars.

In 1816, under the direction of the committee, consisting of Sheriff Hunnewell, Barrett Potter and

Albert Newhall, was erected on the county lot a brick county house, sixty by fifty feet of pleasing architecture, and with a cupola which was surmounted by the scales of justice. It was opposite the head of Exchange, then called Court Street, making a fine appearance from all parts of that street. In 1831, two projecting wings were added to the ends, of about twenty feet each, and containing fireproof rooms for the county offices. The additions gave it an improved appearance.

When the vote of 1819 was found to favor the separation of the district of Maine from Massachusetts there was a warm feeling in nearly the whole state to make Portland the capital. To do this the county of Cumberland tendered to the new state the free use of the court-house, whereupon a company of leading citizens of Portland proposed to erect on the county's lot, adjoining the court-house, a separate building, to be gratuitously occupied by the state government, with apartments for the state officers. This land was purchased by the county at a vendue sale in 1817, it being the remaining part of the front of the Plummer lot, fifty-seven feet on Back Street and one hundred and fifty feet on Myrtle. On this lot was a stable occupied by the owner, John Plummer, deceased. On this part of the county lot, in the spring of 1820, was erected by those gentlemen a two-story wooden building, with a hip roof and high stories. The front when finished was a pediment supported by pilasters, sheathed and painted white, and at the time it was considered an elegant building. The state officers had

their apartments in the lower story, and the upper story was occupied by the Senate chamber and the rooms for the governor and council. This building was dignified by the name of the State House, which it bore while it was occupied as such. The court-room of the court-house was occupied as the Representatives' Hall. Thus equipped the Legislature held its sessions here until 1831. It seems odd to us, but it is true, that as late as 1822 spirituous liquors were sold in the court-house. In that year the Court of Sessions ordered the sheriff to forbid it "during the sitting of the court or Legislature."

At the time of the visit to Maine of Gen. Lafayette, in June, 1825, an awning was spread from the front coving of the State House to the elm trees in front, and a platform at the entrance was built of two steps in height, and on this, after a brief rest inside, the General held his reception. After the removal of the seat of the state government to Augusta the city became owner of the old State House, but did not occupy it for municipal purposes for several years. The city offices were in the old City Hall, where they remained until the Portland Exchange was built (1839) when they were removed there. The old State House was partly rented until the sale of the Exchange to the United States government in 1849, when it was occupied for city offices until its destruction, but the city was obliged to build on Myrtle Street a two-story wooden building for the use of the municipal court and the county treasurer. That building was moved to Vaughan Street and used for a schoolhouse until

the present brick one was built, when it was removed to Clark Street, where it stands now as a dwelling-house.

After the chaste old brick court-house had served the county forty-one years, the courts and county officers began to feel straitened for room, and to think of increasing accommodations; at the same time the city government were in a like condition, the city offices being in detached buildings. In 1857, under Mayor William Willis, a new city and county building was decided upon, at a cost of about eighty thousand dollars, which was really an enlargement of the court-house.

The next year Mayor Jedediah Jewett and the city council became convinced that a still more spacious building was needed, and of course a finer one, when an arrangement was made with the county to take a long lease of the lot, and build thereon a building that would furnish accommodations for all and to accommodate the State Legislature and executive government on the same spot that they first organized in 1820, if they should please to return to Portland.

The county lot was at that time occupied by the brick court-house of 1816, the old State House of 1820, the stone jail of 1797, and the jail-keeper's house of 1799. In March, 1858, the county authorities leased to the city their lot at a nominal rental, for a term of nine hundred and ninety-nine years, with all the buildings thereon. As a consideration, the city was to provide suitable accommodation for the county courts and officers during the construction of

the building and during the term of lease, free of charge. Previous to the commencement of the erection of the new city building the old State House was moved across the street to the lot on the east corner of Market and Congress Streets, which the city had purchased of John M. Wood, where it was used for city offices. It was destroyed in the fire of 1866. To widen Myrtle Street and extend the new building westerly the Judge Nicholas Emery lot was purchased for seven thousand dollars.

The new city and county building was designed to be built of Albert sandstone, from Nova Scotia, and the architect was James H. Rand from Boston. The corner-stone was laid on July 4, 1858, and the building was completed in 1862, at a cost of about two hundred and sixty-five thousand dollars. The building was commenced under the administration of Mayor Jedediah Jewett and completed by Mayor Joseph Howard.

I now come to the sad story of the destruction of the spacious and beautiful city building, only four years after its completion. It is an unpleasant theme to dwell upon. During that dreadful night of the fourth and fifth of July, 1866, the ruin was accomplished. It was hoped that the force of the fire had passed by and that the structure was safe. It was this hope and belief that was its destruction. There was no one on the roof to report the danger — if any one had been there they had left too soon. The burning cinders from the Natural History and other buildings above and on the opposite side of the street

were blown by the strong wind against the dome, and slid down on the copper sheathing, until a sufficient mass had collected at the base to melt the copper and fire the wood underneath. The devouring element had contrived to seek a vulnerable spot, and found it here. The dome was first destroyed and then the roof, and finally the whole interior. The only public records lost were those of the probate office, which were carried into the street and then burned. This was a very great misfortune in itself.

The reerection or restoration of the building was so recent that it has not ripened into history. It is perhaps sufficient to say that the rebuilding was completed in 1869, with F. H. Fassett as architect, at a cost of three hundred and fifty-seven thousand dollars, and in the words of the prophet, "the glory of this latter house shall be greater than the former."

THE BURIAL PLACE OF CAPTAIN HENRY MOWAT.

BY DR. CHARLES E. BANKS.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, February 24, 1898.

I HAVE the pleasure of submitting to the Society for its inspection, and presenting to its cabinet, a photograph of the gravestone of Capt. Henry Mowat, R. N., in the churchyard of the Episcopal church at

Hampton, Virginia. This photograph was taken for me by an officer of the United States Army at Fort Monroe, Virginia, but owing to its fallen state an accurate representation of its inscription could not be made with the camera. In order, however, that the legend on the stone might be preserved, I had made a facsimile of it, which is also herewith submitted to accompany the photograph.

SACRED

To the Memory of

HENRY MOWAT, Esq.

late Captain

of His Britannick Majestys

Ship the Assistance

who having served his Country

with Zeal and Fidelity

Forty Four Years

died on the 14th day of April

1798

Aged 63 Years

Universally lamented.

At the time of his death Capt. Mowat was in command of His Majesty's ship Assistance, and was probably cruising in the vicinity of Chesapeake Bay, when he was suddenly stricken with apoplexy, and died on the fourteenth day of April, 1798. It is probable that the stone which was erected to his memory

was provided by the officers of the ship, as in absence of other information it does not seem probable that it was erected by the residents of Hampton. The stone is situated within about twenty feet of the front door of St. John's Church, which was built in 1737 by Henry Cary, master carpenter, father of Col. Archibald Cary of Revolutionary fame. It is built out of brick made from the old free school property in Elizabeth City.

The official information of the death of Capt. Mowat is contained in the following letter: —

Asia, Halifax Harbour,
23d June, 1798.

Sir:

On the morning of the 14th of April when being 5 or 6 miles from Cape Henry I was inform'd that Captain Mowat had died suddenly in an Apoplectic Fit, in consequence of which I thought proper to return to Lynn Haven Bay for the purpose of sending the Body to Hampton for Interment, which was done the morning following.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient,

Humble Servant,

Geo. Vandeput.¹

The members will note that the closing words on the inscription of the gravestone state that he was "universally lamented," but I assume that the members will agree with me that the words "except by the people of Falmouth, Maine," were inadvertently

¹ Admiralty Dispatches, "North America," 1797-99, Vol. XV., pages 1-32.

omitted, for I believe it will be generally agreed that they had no special reason to grieve over the news of his death. In fact, I believe that many of the members to-day approve of the obsequies which took place in Hampton, Virginia, in April, 1798.

In addition to the satisfaction which it gives me to exhibit this view of the last resting-place of Capt. Mowat, I presume that it will also be a satisfaction to some to be assured that this gentleman is safely underground, with a heavy stone on top of him.

ANNUAL FIELD DAY, 1897.

BY MOSES A. SAFFORD, ESQ.

SEPTEMBER 8 and 9 were selected for Field Day diversions for 1897. The unpropitious appearance of the weather just before the time for departure from points east of Portland doubtless kept many at home who otherwise would have joined in the excursion. About twenty arrived at Portsmouth station from the east. The number at this point was increased to thirty-four persons by members of the New Hampshire Historical Society and their friends who chanced to be in town for a similar purpose, among whom was Lyman D. Stevens, Esq., its president. This number

proceeded at once to York Village by the railroad, which presents such picturesque and attractive features as it winds among the historic localities of Kittery and the object of our first itinerary—York.

Soon after leaving the station at Kittery Junction this road severs in twain the tract of four hundred acres conveyed by Thomas Gorges, deputy governor of the Province of Maine, to Thomas Withers, in consideration of his "faithful services and long abroad," the farm of Capt. William Whipple, father of Gen. Whipple of Revolutionary renown, crosses Spruce Creek, in rear of the Sparhawk mansion and "Barter's Creek" diagonally to the Kittery Point station at the rear of the "Great Orchard" of Sir William Pepperrell. It crosses the large tract of marsh land at the head of the celebrated "Brave Boat Harbor," in full view of this ancient haven of refuge and bait supply for the fishing fleet of colonial days, entering York in that section where was once the residence of Gov. Godfrey, and crossing York River near its harbor, giving a fine view seaward, and of the river with its attractive scenery above.

By previous arrangement carriages were waiting at the York Harbor station to take the party to the Marshall House, where dinner was provided to the entire satisfaction of all. This house occupies an historic site upon a peninsula, which forms the southern side of the harbor on the east and near its entrance. The extreme western point once having had gallows erected thereon is known as "Gallows Point." As the party had to leave in time to take the boat for the

Isles of Shoals our "field" in York was confined to the site of the ancient city of Gorgeana. Dinner being concluded the party was taken in carriages to the village, where stood in close proximity in early days, as they now stand, the church, the town- and court-house, and jail. The jail was the first object of attention. This building, made of stone, with an extension of wood sufficient for quarters for the keeper, is the same as originally used in this county.

In this age of steel cages, with light and air, this relic of the past, with its dark dungeon, oaken doors bolted and riveted, and immense padlocks, covered with the wooden mask of comparatively modern civilization, seems almost a surprise when inspected internally, even to those who have passed it for many years. The interior is preserved intact by the present occupants, who admit visitors for a consideration. Our party was courteously exempted from paying the customary fee.

From the jail the party visited the site of the first meeting-house, which was also used as a town-house, and where was the scene of those stirring times when the Massachusetts Bay Company sent officials here to enforce obedience to its jurisdiction. All is quiet now, and from its ample covering of luxuriant green we look a short distance to the northeast and see the village church with its stately spire, the venerable successor of the most ancient sanctuary and town-house combined of Gorgeana — the first incorporated English city on this continent. Between these two points, in an angle formed by diverging roads, lies the

ancient cemetery, where sleep within the shadow of the church spire many of York's distinguished dead. This hallowed ground was inspected on the way to the church. Here lie the remains of Rev. Samuel Moody, the "Father Moody" of historic renown, who was for forty-nine years the religious guide of the people, closing his ministry by death, November 13, 1847; Hon. David Sewall, who officiated as judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, and of the United States District Court for Maine a period of about forty-one years, without being absent from the bench in all that time when duty required his presence; and other men whose names are identified with the early days of this ancient county seat. The village church, with its tall steeple, has changed its front, and has been internally modernized, but still occupies the ancient site selected by the God-fearing men of the year 1710, and like a tall sentinel, with the dial of time on its breast, overlooks "God's acre" as in protest against modern encroachments upon the sacred precinct, every rod of which was long since preempted and occupied. The interior, like the old court-house a few rods to the south, contains nothing to remind one of its original design. Both were kindly opened for our inspection. The latter building, now used as a town-house, was built in 1810 to replace the building which stood a short distance to the south, built jointly by the town and county and used both as a town-house and court-house. The first building was erected in 1733. These two buildings, which represent so much of the historic renown of York, contribute much

to its present appearance, occupying a commanding site in a central part of the village, which is beautified by stately elms. The visitor, as he approaches from the west, is made conscious to-day, as he was two centuries ago, of the dignity, the quiet grandeur and natural beauty with which the place is invested. It seems to impart to one a feeling of ecclesiastical circumspection and judicial authority.

If any of our party possessed such feelings they must have been heightened as we entered the most conspicuous mansion in town, the former home of Judge Sewall, to whom reference has been made. Its doors were kindly opened for us by Rev. Frank Sewall of Washington, D. C., the present proprietor, who, with his amiable wife and daughters, rendered its inspection one of great interest as well as pleasure. It was a fit residence for the distinguished judge who so long served the people of this state and whose influence was felt in this town for a large portion of two centuries. His life embraced a period of ninety years, covering the first quarter of the present century.

This mansion was built in 1793, and was known as Coventry Hall in earlier days by those familiar with the history of the family whose ancestors had served as mayors of Coventry, England. The location of this house, its position with relation to the street, as well as its architectural pretensions, render it the most conspicuous and imposing building in York, even in modern times. Interiorly its square, ample rooms and high ceiling finished in colonial style, impart a feeling of judicial antiquity as well as

modern comfort. The library, adjoining the reception room, remains unchanged, the shelves of which contain many volumes and interesting documents which belonged to the original proprietor.

Other historic places of interest we were obliged to omit, our time in York being limited by the departure of the train for Portsmouth, New Hampshire, connecting with the steamer Viking at 5.40 P. M., for the Isles of Shoals, this being the objective point of our visit for the evening and following day. Our leave taking of the genial occupants of Coventry Hall ended our brief but entertaining visit to ancient Gorgeana.

The time appointed found our party on board the Viking, augmented by other members of the Society and representative citizens of the towns of Kittery, Eliot, Berwick and Portsmouth. The haze which had prevailed in the early morning was now dispersed by the rays of a delightful autumn sun which gladdened every heart and gave certain promise of what all had desired, fine weather for the excursion to the Shoals. Our boat lay at one of the ancient piers of the "Old Town by the Sea," within that part of it owned in the earliest days by John and Richard Cutts.

General Whipple, from the upper windows of his residence on Market Street, looked down upon the decks of the ships lying at this wharf. Here the Sheafs, the Vaughans and the Ladds of later days made the river side resound with the bustle of their commerce.

While we are thinking of men and stirring times of colonial days on the Piscataqua, a few revolutions of

the propeller clears the Viking from the shadow of ancient brick warehouses, and we find ourselves in mid-stream, rapidly approaching Church Point, on the summit of which stands St. John's Church, famous for its antiquity, its organ, its bell, its service of silver, presented by Queen Caroline, its porphyry baptismal font, its weekly donation of bread to the poor of the parish, and its Vinegar Bible. Before the contemplation of the ecclesiastical history of Strawberry Bank is ended, the mind is suddenly turned in an opposite direction by the approach toward the navy yard, where Old Ironsides presents itself to view on our left, with its immense windowed superstructure, reminding one of the juvenile Noah's ark. As we enter the Narrows new objects arrest the attention. The outlines of Forts Washington and Sullivan appear on either hand. Although these earthworks, constructed during the Revolution, are smoothed and rounded by the kindly effort of nature, their outlines are clearly distinguishable. Among the parapets come the sweet-breathed cattle to ruminant and face the cool breeze from the ocean beyond, thus aiding nature seemingly in obliterating all present traces of man's hostile purpose. In the stranger there is not excited a suspicion of warfare.

The town which we are nearing on our right is Newcastle, the Great Island of colonial times and the chief seat of all that was commercial and authoritative in New Hampshire during its early settlement. Here the elder Pepperrell had a branch of his extensive business superintended by his eldest son, Andrew,

who resided here. It was the residence of many active and influential men at this period. The eastern extremity is called Fort Point, where has been maintained from the earliest times a fortification of some kind. Here was Fort William and Mary, commanded for a long time by Walter Barefoot, who was a judge, justice of the peace, and a deputy governor, as well as enjoying the distinction of being called a colonel. This fort was abandoned during the Revolution for the earthworks at the Narrows, near Portsmouth, previously referred to as Forts Washington and Sullivan.

At Jaffrey Point beyond is the site of another fortification of modern date constructed upon ruins of three or four periods, near which is the Jaffrey cottage, in the parlor of which it is said Capt. Marshall drilled his men, the Capt. Marshall whose company Col. Walbach, in command of Fort Constitution (formerly Fort William and Mary), summoned to assist his own men in constructing the Martello (Walbach) Tower. This small redoubt is the only fortification on the island left undisturbed, except by the hand of time. It is round, constructed of brick, contains a small magazine, and has three embrasures for canon. Before arriving at this point, not far to the west, is pointed out the house of Commodore Paul Jones' Boatswain Allen. It is a quaint hip-roofed house, perched on the very brink of the river, and although its age can be traced for one hundred and sixty-five years it bids fair to be occupied, as it is now, for another century.

As we approach the harbor's mouth Odiorne's Point, the site of New Hampshire's first settlement, appears on the right, while opposite, on the left, in Maine, is the ancient Champernowne, now called Gerrish Island, near the western extremity of which, upon a ledge called "Whale's Back," stands the lighthouse bearing that name. As we pass this point we have a clear view to the left along the coast of Maine, with its rocky headlands and indenting harbors and inlets, while to the west stretches a long line of sandy coast into Ipswich Bay, known as Rye, Hampton, and Salisbury beaches, studded with hotels and cottages. But we now naturally take a temporary leave of the attractions of the continent, as the ocean, and what lies before us in dim outline, must henceforth claim our attention. To the southwest the horizon is mellow with the slanting rays of a setting sun just assuming the tinge of autumn, while the ocean, placid as a pond, spread out before us like a vast mirror, awakens in the mind contemplations of its quiet grandeur, and betokens a delightful day for our eagerly anticipated opportunities of the morrow.

Before we are quite done with ocean, the sky and passing crafts, so suddenly forced upon our attention, the Isles of Shoals spring into bold relief directly ahead of our swiftly speeding Viking, becoming darker as the sun disappears below the western landscape. Our boat is heading for the roadstead between Star Island and Appledore (Hog Island); the latter is on our left and farthest north. It contains the hotel of that name, which is to be our home during our visit.

Before we have been able to observe all of the seven islands of this group and define their outlines we are up with Appledore, and already rounding the point for the landing in Smith's Cove, at the head of which stands the hotel, also called Appledore. The comforts of its long and enjoyable piazza we are yet to learn. We notice as we approach the solitary elm tree enclosed in its center, which seems to say, "None but me on guard." At any rate, one feels that it is sufficient by the time his name is signed on the register and he has learned what part of this island abode is to be his particular home. The release from all civil and municipal restraint seems to be felt when one touches the soil. The conventionalities of life seem to have no place here. One immediately feels that he has a sort of "go-as-you-please" commission. In obedience to this feeling the members of our party proceeded to execute the spirit of such a commission.

From the accounts given by the spiritual guides of the people who inhabited these isles in the days of their prosperity one may infer that this spirit is inspired by the situation, or so to speak indigenous to the—not soil—"heap of bare and splintering crags."

Soon after the place for Field Day was agreed upon, the Hon. Rufus K. Sewall promised the committee an address enriched by the diary of an ancestor who was located here as a minister of the gospel. His condition of health at the time of our visit did not warrant the journey, consequently we were deprived of what would have been a very entertaining and instructive lecture.

During the evening the Society and its friends assembled in the gentlemen's reading-room of the hotel, and in the absence of its President, Rev. Dr. H. S. Burrage called the meeting to order, and made appropriate and entertaining remarks. He was followed by the writer, who gave some account of the history and vicissitudes of the early settlement here, and by Rev. Lucius Waterman, of Laconia, New Hampshire, A. C. Stilphen, Esq., and Hon. George F. Emery, of the Society. The meeting was of that character which enlivened and awakened a larger interest in the observations of the following day.

After the meeting ended, following the spirit of the locality, the visitors proceeded to enjoy the most delightful night of the year. The moon, near its full, shone with resplendent beauty. The scene was a novel one to most of us. We sat in the "lookout" on the hill watching the sky above, the water spread all around us like a vast mirror over whose surface beamed the silvery light of night, while the ceaseless waves of ocean gently kissed the rockbound coast so faintly as to be scarcely audible. One seemed enchanted and spellbound to the place. Who that enjoyed it from the vantage ground on the hill will ever forget it?

Who would not make the visit often if he knew the scene would be repeated? But this was a pleasure not anticipated, and added just so much more to the ordinary Field Day. It was a Field Night, for which the moon seemed timed without the design of the committee selected for the occasion. The other conditions were equally fortuitous.

The morning of the second day came with the brightest of suns and the clearest of skies. The column of invaders was in motion at an early hour, as it had marching to do on three islands, Appledore, Smutty Nose, and Star. They were taken in the order named. The time the column made under the unusually hot sun in its detour of Appledore certainly attested, not only its fidelity to the principle to which it is devoted, but confidence in its leader, for the time being. There was just so much to be done, the time was limited, and every one inferred that the leader knew the pace to set and good naturedly acquiesced. We examined the evidences of the early settlement of the first-named island, of which seventy or eighty are distinguishable, consisting of foundations of dwellings and garden walls, many of which are fallen and covered by vines and weeds, but still marking the existence of a once thriving hamlet. Special attention was given to the foundation of the house occupied by William Pepperrell, Sr., who first came to this place as a fisherman, and subsequently commenced a business here in company with a Mr. Gibbons of Topham, England, which was in later years transferred to the mouth of the Piscataqua, and became the most extensive of any in New England. Tradition has preserved the site of this house and lot, still walled, beyond question.

We inspected the shore bordering on the roadstead, where the fishing stages were constructed for landing and dressing fish, which Capt. Levett speaks of in his voyage of 1823. Some remnants of a modern one

erected by a Norwegian within the past thirty years served to illustrate the construction of these once important appliances. They consisted of large floats or platforms secured to the rocks in such a manner as to enable them to rise and fall with the tide. On the shore, at the end, was erected an open shed, where fish were split and salted. They were dried upon flakes built upon the more elevated parts of the islands.

The principal burial place on this island is not at present indicated by any monuments of record, and even the rude stones which may have been used are overgrown with vegetation and lost to view. This island is the highest of the northern division, and from its several eminences the outlook is very commanding. At first it was the most important of the group. It contained a spring of water, which commended it especially to the early settlers. Here was probably built the first meeting-house in the province. As early as 1640 the islanders attended upon the ministry of Rev. Mr. Hull, so says Mr. Williamson. A brewery, bowling alley, and alehouses, were among the early evidences of English colonization.

Our party took the steam launch Pinafore for Smutty Nose, which although lower and smaller contains more arable land than any one of the northern islands. Here are present evidences of what was done to make a more secure retreat for fishing crafts. The breakwater on the east, connecting this island with Malaga, a small rock or island, forms what is called Haley's Dock. Here also is a wharf of stone of con-

siderable dimensions. Both of these improvements were made by Samuel Haley, an enterprising and humane man, who dwelt here most of his life, which ended in 1811, at the age of eighty-four years. He received from his contemporaries here the sobriquet "King of the Shoals." He was the son of Thomas Haley of Exeter, New Hampshire, from which town he went to the Shoals. He erected saltworks to produce the salt with which to cure fish, a ropewalk two hundred feet long to make cordage, windmills for grinding grain. He represented more of energy and enterprise than any person of whom we have any account, who dwelt here. With the termination of his life and that of his son Samuel, Jr., who inherited much of his father's enterprise, dates the modern decadence of the fishing business at this point.

Around the shores of this island, on the west, existed the same appliances, in the early days, for receiving and curing fish, as were at the other islands. After the building of the wharf and breakwater modern methods were adopted here for that purpose.

These islands were the scenes of numerous shipwrecks before the erection of a lighthouse on White Island, and the Haleys were in the habit, on retiring, of leaving a light burning in a window over the broad balcony of their house to attract the attention of approaching mariners. A light was left burning in its accustomed place on the night of January 14, 1813, when a Spanish ship came crashing on the rocky shore of this island in a blinding snowstorm, not far from where the light was burning. The ship was crushed

to atoms, and its valuable cargo, with the specie it contained, scattered among the rocks. Some of the crew were cast ashore alive, two of whom reached the stone wall near the Haley house, over which they extended their arms and perished in sight of the succour they sought. The fourteen graves of those men who were cast upon the shore are still pointed out near the Haley family burial place.

The writer obtained a graphic account, a few years since, of this shipwreck from a granddaughter of the elder Haley, then ninety-four years of age, who chanced to be visiting as a young miss the home of her grandparents, then occupied by her uncle, Samuel Haley. Every circumstance was impressed upon her childish memory. She said the person supposed to be the supercargo was dressed in broadcloth, and in the pockets of his coat, buttoned closely around him, were the ship's manifests of the cargo, the letters of credit and ship's papers, all frozen in a solid mass. The cargo, consisting of nuts, dried fruit, bales of cloth, coffee, etc., was scattered along the shore. The elder Haley was not then living, as one excellent authority has supposed. Samuel Haley, Jr., his son, made the report of the wreck to the customs' authority at Portsmouth, and buried the corpses. The entry made on the Gosport records, "Jan. 14, 1813," is undoubtedly correct except the name of the ship, which seems to be disputed by good authority.

We leave this island with its four houses of a former population, and embarking on the waiting launch steam across the roadstead, passing Cedar Island to

Star. This island, in the division made between Mason and Gorges in 1633, became Mason's. For some reason the population stuck to those islands belonging to the northern half until New Hampshire was made a royal province (1769). Soon after there was an exodus from Hog Island and Smutty Nose to Star Island. The most potent reason for this change undoubtedly was to escape from the taxation of Massachusetts.

In 1715, this island was created a township by the name of Gosport, and by men of the present time is remembered as the representative portion of these islands. Its decay commenced little less than a century later. At the time of the Revolution the inhabitants of all the islands were ordered to quit. They scattered to the mainland along the shores of Maine, New Hampshire and Massachusetts. At its close but few returned to their former homes. To-day here stands the stone church erected on the site of one burned by the natives in 1790, the scene of the labors of many faithful missionaries who labored here for many years in the capacity of clergyman, physician, undertaker, sexton and schoolmaster. Some of them sleep with their flock in the scanty soil which has nearly spent itself in giving sepulchre to its departed population. Others returned to the mainland to sleep with their fathers, satisfied with their devotion, for the time being, to a class of people whose isolation and habits of life appealed to their sympathetic natures, but whose ideas of religious devotion did not always accord with those of their clergymen.

Most of their habitations have disappeared, and in their places stand the modern summer hotel and its accompanying cottages. "Betty Moody's cave," the trap dike, on the southeast point of the island, save the gradual erosion by the sea, remains as it was two hundred years ago, to be visited by the summer tourist, while the monument erected to the memory of Capt. John Smith by some public-spirited citizens of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, has been partially carried away by the curious relic hunter. With these exceptions, and the stones which mark the graves of families once prominent in this township, little remains of the Gosport of forty years ago.

Our rambles being ended we return to the hotel in season for dinner, and find that the considerate and generous proprietors of the Appledore have prepared an embossed menu, appropriately inscribed, as a souvenir of the visit of our Society. Both the menu and the dinner which it represented found appreciative guests at table.

Thus far our time has been occupied by inspection, in learning by natural conditions and the external evidences of a commercial prosperity the result of peculiar conditions, whose decadence is complete. The external evidences of the valuable business once carried on at these islands are very meager. We have to resort to the record, which is very deficient in many respects; but enough is recorded to excite the wonder of the casual visitor of to-day.

Let us now briefly consider what evidences we have gleaned from inspection and otherwise, and see if we

cannot account for this colonial fish emporium, and understand why

A heap of bare and splintering crags,
Tumbled about by lightning and frost,
With rifts, and chasms, and storm-bleached jags,
That wait and growl for a ship to be lost.
No islands; but rather the skeleton
Of a wrecked vengeance-smitten one,

so graphically described by Lowell, became a trade-center of such magnitude. It was not a phantom of the sea, a figment of the brain of the romancer, but verity. The principal reasons for it existed in the immense number and variety of the fish which surrounded them, as well as their superior quality when prepared for market.

During the colonizing of New England the chief inducement held out to adventurers by the king was the discovery of mines of gold and silver. These not being found here, the most prolific trade at first was that in peltry, which in time was exhausted by the wholesale destruction of fur-bearing animals. The principal resources left were the fish and lumber trade, which for many years kept hand in hand. The islands on the coast of Maine were resorted to for fishing purposes long before the settlement of the mainland by the English.

In 1623, when Capt. Levett visited the Piscataqua, he found six ships at the Shoals. These ships carried at least fifty men, he informs us. The shores were then inconveniently crowded with fishing stages. Three hundred men belonged to these ships. They were there for the sole purpose of fishing. Monhegan,

Damariscove, and other islands farther east of the Piscataqua, were fishing resorts long before this date. It was not a new business here when Levett came. Phinehas Pratt preceded him in 1622, previously touching at Damariscove on his way. There was evidently, very early in that century, a communication between all the principal islands where fish were taken on the coast of Maine. Fishermen came here because the fish were large and numerous. They were compared to the hairs upon their heads by the natives. It was said that "he is a very bad fisher that cannot kill in one day with his hook and line one, two, or three hundred cods." It is stated upon the authority of old William Wood that six or seven of the cod taken here made a quintal, whereas it required fifteen of those brought from the Banks of Newfoundland to make the same weight. Beside the cod, Wood enumerates in verse many other varieties of fish, not omitting "Lamperies eeles." Other accounts given of the piscatory abundance in this region made them so numerous on the surface of the water that it seemed one could walk on them. At the schooling season doubtless this did not require a great stretch of the imagination. It seems that we have made out a case, so far as the fish are concerned.

There is one thing more that need be said as to their quality when cured here, they were superior to any other. This is reported to be in a large degree owing to the favorable condition of the atmosphere.

Here was produced the celebrated dun-fish, which could not be equaled elsewhere. Within recent times

these fish brought eight dollars per quintal, when ordinary cod would sell for about one-fourth as much. Such fish to-day would sell for one-half more than they did seventy-five years ago. The process of curing them seems to be one of the lost arts, in this vicinity at least. From twelve thousand to twenty thousand quintals of cod were cured here in one season.

Another reason why this business was confined to these islands was because their locality was the most convenient place for massing the catch. The water was always of sufficient depth to approach the shores, while in the harbors of the mainland there was the inconvenience of low tide to contend with in landing, and the tedious labor of entering and departing therefrom when the current was opposing. Here they were in the midst of their merchandise.

If ships brought hither articles for use on the mainland they left them here to be lightered, then loaded with fish and departed for England, Spain, France, or elsewhere. This practise made these islands the chief emporium of foreign news. As an evidence of it Gorges writes to Winthrop in 1640, from Gorgeana: "I cannot send you news from England because the contrariety of winds hath hindered it from coming from the Isles of Shoals." The news of the English rebellion, as well as the news of the execution of Charles I. in 1649, did not reach New England until it was brought by a Shoals' vessel. (Winthrop.)

The importance of this place is shown by the tax levied by Massachusetts from 1644 to 1657 in comparison with the towns of York and Wells, for the same

period. Kittery, with that part of the Shoals belonging to it, £45, 15s.; York, £17, 17s.; Wells, £13, 10s.

It must be borne in mind that at this date the business of Kittery was far less than that of the Shoals. John Bray, the ship-builder, did not arrive here until 1660. The golden age of these islands was about the time above mentioned. At this time their population, during the summer months, was about eight hundred people. Here was a peculiar condition of civilization. The records of York County abound with numerous instances of the law's dealings with them. The people seemed to rebel at police interference, and those who were commissioned with such authority found it difficult to execute their function as officers of the law.

These people have passed away as well as their enterprises. Their patois is nearly extinct, and only lives in the memory of a few who were familiar with it long ago. There is much in the history of this place to interest the philanthropist and the student of political economy. The best that has been issued is the *Historical Sketch*, by J. S. Jenness.

To those who wish to learn the social characteristics of the people of comparatively modern times there is nothing that compares with "Among the Isles of Shoals," by Celia Thaxter. Mrs. Thaxter spent much of her life upon these islands, and has given a charm to them as a writer whose whole soul was in her work, which has found responses in many hearts who love to linger upon

These precious isles set in a silver sea.

The breeze of commerce has fled, but the gentle zephyr of poetry is fanned by the muse who dwells in the caverns of Appledore. Like its English prototype on the banks of the Taw, it has shed its robes of industry and waits on the pleasure of the tourist and valetudinarian. A visit to the study of the poetess of the Isles, in the cottage so lately her home, rewards us with the higher appreciation of talent which art always confers. As we stand by her grave, where also sleep her fond parents, we miss the cheerful greeting always ready for any one who felt pleased to visit her abode.

A delightful passage returns us again to the old port which we left the evening before, thus ending a most agreeable excursion without any occurrence to mar the pleasures of the occasion.

PROCEEDINGS.

MARCH 30, 1898.

A MEETING of the Society was held in the Library Hall, Portland, and was called to order by Rev. Dr. Burrage at 2.30 P. M.

The Librarian and Curator, Mr. Bryant, read a report of the accessions to the library and cabinet.

Rev. Mr. Thayer read a paper on Hiram Stevens Maxim, the Inventor, a native of Maine, contributed by Mr. John F. Sprague of Monson, Maine. The

paper elicited remarks from Dr. Burrage and Mr. Talbot concerning the many prominent men who had gone out of the state of Maine.

A memorial of William Goold, a former and a prominent member of the Society, was read by his son, Nathan Goold. It gave the history of his ancestry and the story of his life, and was warmly commended in the remarks that followed the reading of the paper.

A tribute to the memory of the late Rev. Ephraim C. Cummings was read by Mr. George F. Talbot.

Extracts from the diaries of Parson Caleb Bradley of Stroudwater, concerning the Madawaska trouble, were read by Mr. Leonard B. Chapman, and the Secretary presented a paper contributed by Mr. Parker M. Reed of Bath, entitled Bath in the American Revolution.

Votes of thanks were passed for the papers read, and copies requested for the archives.

Adjourned.

ANNUAL MEETING, 1898.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held in the Cleveland Lecture Room, at Brunswick, Wednesday, June 22, 1898, and was called to order at 2 P. M., the President in the chair.

Mr. M. A. Safford was appointed the Secretary of the meeting.

Members present:—

Messrs. Baxter, S. C. Belcher, C. E. Allen, J. W. Bradbury, H. W. Bryant, H. H. Burbank, E. P. Burnham, Henry S. Burrage, H. L. Chapman, J. L. Douglass, E. S. Drake, J. G.

Elder, Chas. J. Gilman, Nathan Goold, H. Harris, F. H. Jordan, M. F. King, J. M. Larrabee, G. T. Little, Ira S. Locke, H. M. Maling, H. K. Morrell, G. D. Rand, M. A. Safford, A. C. Stillphen, W. H. Sturtevant, Joseph Williamson, Joseph Wood.

The record of the last Annual Meeting was read by the Recording Secretary, Mr. Bryant, and it was accepted.

The annual report of the Librarian and Curator was also read by Mr. Bryant, and it was accepted and ordered to be placed on file.

The annual report of the Corresponding Secretary and Biographer, Mr. Williamson, was read by him, and it was accepted, to be placed on file.

The annual report of the Treasurer, Mr. Jordan, was read by him in detail, and it was accepted, to be placed on file.

The President read a report of the doings of the Standing Committee for the past year, and it was accepted, to be placed on file.

The Recording Secretary read the brief reports which he had received from the secretaries of several county historical societies, York Village; Kennebec Society of Augusta; Sagadahoc Society of Bath; Knox Society of Rockland; Lincoln Society of Wiscasset; Eliot Historical Society.

On motion of Mr. Burnham the question of a Field Day excursion for the present year was left with the President and Secretary, also the appointment of a Committee of Arrangements.

The question of marking the site of Fort George of the Popham Colony was brought up by Rev. Dr.

Burrage, and was discussed by Messrs. Gilman, Drake, Stilphen and others.

Mr. Jordan moved the amendment of the By-Laws, Section 7, requiring the contribution of two dollars by each member to the funds of the Society.

On motion of Rev. Dr. Burrage the whole matter was laid on the table.

On motion the President appointed a committee to nominate a board of officers for the ensuing year, consisting of Messrs. A. C. Stilphen and Charles E. Allen, who retired, and shortly after reported that they had agreed upon the following as a board of officers: —

President — James P. Baxter.

Vice-President — Rufus K. Sewall.

Corresponding Secretary and Biographer — Joseph Williamson.

Treasurer — Fritz H. Jordan.

Recording Secretary, Librarian and Curator — Hubbard W. Bryant.

Standing Committee — Rev. Henry S. Burrage, Portland; Prof. Henry L. Chapman, Brunswick; Gen. John Marshall Brown, Portland; Hon. Edward P. Burnham, Saco; Hon. Samuel C. Belcher, Farmington; Capt. Charles E. Nash, Augusta; Col. John M. Glidden, Newcastle.

They were elected.

Voted to proceed with the election of resident and corresponding members, according to the ballot which had already been sent by mail to each member.

Twenty-three ballots were cast, and the following were declared to be elected: —

George E. Hammond, Eliot; Oliver P. Remick, Kittery; George F. Evans, Portland; James Gray Garland, Biddeford; Edmund J.

Young, Portland; Prof. William MacDonald, Brunswick; Rev. George Lewis, South Berwick. For Corresponding Members:— Rev. Augustine Caldwell, Ipswich, Mass.; Hon. L. D. Stevens, Concord, N. H.

Messrs. F. R. Barrett and Henry Deering were appointed by the President auditors of the Treasurer's accounts.

The matter of the Field Day excursion for this year was again taken up, and Swan's Island in the Kennebec River, Saco and Biddeford, were named as places of historic interest that should be visited by the Society.

On motion of Dr. Burrage the vote to leave the appointment of the Field Day with the President and Secretary was reconsidered, and it was voted that the excursion be made to Portland and vicinity, and that the committee of arrangements be appointed by the President, who accordingly appointed Messrs. Goold, Burrage and Maling as the committee.

Mr. M. A. Safford, on behalf of the Pepperrell Monument Committee, read a report advising that the site of the residence of the elder Pepperrell on Appledore Island be marked by a granite block or boulder, with an inscription in the stone, or on a bronze tablet, and on motion of Mr. Bryant the whole matter was left with Mr. Safford to carry out.

Adjourned.





Wm. Gould.

WILLIAM GOOLD.

BY NATHAN GOOLD.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, March 30, 1898.

WILLIAM GOOLD died at Windham, Maine, May 22, 1890, in the house where he first saw the light of day, over eighty-one years before. He met death with the same resolute courage that he had lived, saying, when aware of the final result of his last illness, with a spirit that was to his honor, that he was not afraid to die, but his wish was to live to complete his unfinished work. The end of earth was under circumstances as of his own choosing. He simply laid aside the pen because of the feebleness of the body. His life, which was without reproach, had gained for him the respect and confidence of those among whom he had always lived. The funeral services were held on a bright and beautiful day in May, and on his farm his body was placed in a tomb, that was designed by himself and which was almost the dream of his life.

Mr. Goold gave expression to his thoughts and ideas of burial in his Portland in the Past with these words:—

Dickens said of an old woman whom he met on the dock in New York, whose two sons were sending her to Ireland to end her days, and to have her bones laid among her people in the old graveyard at home, "God bless her and them, and every simple heart and all who turn to the Jerusalem of their younger days, and to have an altar-fire upon the cold hearth of their fathers." A similar sentiment was expressed by

Jacob, the patriarch of old, when he found his end approaching. He said to his son Joseph, "Bury me not, I pray thee, in Egypt; bury me with my fathers," and he required of him an oath. Joseph, under similar circumstances, required an oath of his children, and said, "Ye shall carry up my bones from hence," and from that time to the present, human nature has been the same. When we come to contemplate our end of earth we wish, if possible, to be buried with our own people amid the scenes of our earliest recollections.

William Goold was the oldest child of Nathan and Betsey (Gowen) Goold of Windham, and was born April 13, 1809. His mother was a second wife, the first having been Miriam Swett who had one living son, Benjamin. His father was a prominent man in the affairs of the town and was much respected. He was the chairman of the selectmen eight years, representative to the General Court in 1815, delegate to the Brunswick Convention in 1816, justice of the peace, and was captain of the town military company from 1810 through the war of 1812, and died in 1823 at the early age of forty-four years.

Betsey Gowen was the daughter of James Gowen of Westbrook who represented the town of Falmouth in the General Court in 1810. He was the son of William Gowen Jr., of Kittery, Maine, who died in the Provincial army in 1760, when James was but six years of age. William Gowen Jr., was the son of William, the grandson of Nicholas, and great grandson of William Gowen who married Elizabeth Frost, daughter of Nicholas, at Kittery, in 1667. From his mother, Mr. Goold inherited his stature and his nervous temperament. His father was tall and slight, with a mild disposition and tradition says he was a just man.

Mr. Goold's paternal grandparents were Benjamin and Phebe (Noble) Goold of Windham. They were members of the Friends Society and his grandfather was the first of the family name in that town, having gone there in 1774.

Benjamin Goold was of the third generation bearing that name and his grandfather, Benjamin Goold, went from Taunton, Massachusetts, to Kittery about 1713, and he was the son of John and Mary (Crosman) Gold of that town. Here the spelling of the name changed, John Gold was the son of Jarvice Gold, the emigrant, who came from Lydd, county of Kent, England in 1635, and first settled at Hingham, Massachusetts, that year, with Parson Hobart's company, but afterwards removed to Boston where he died in 1656, aged fifty-one years.

Phebe Noble was the daughter of Nathan Noble¹ of New Boston, now Gray, Maine. Nathan Noble came from New Miford, Connecticut, and was a veteran of the Louisburg expeditions of 1745 and 1757, Fort Ticonderoga in 1758, Crown Point in 1759, Siege of Boston 1776, Ticonderoga in 1777, the battles of Hubbardton and Stillwater, and was killed on the British earthwork, in the battle of Saratoga, October 7, 1777, at the age of fifty-four years and eight months. He was a descendant of Thomas Noble the emigrant, before 1653.

William Goold married September 9, 1834, Nabby Tukey Clark, the daughter of his employer, Seth Clark, and in whose family he had lived as his apprentice,

¹ See Maine Historical Collection. Vol. IX, p. 172. (1898).

She was born in Portland, May 27, 1816, and died at Windham September 27, 1897, aged eighty-one years. Seth Clark was a soldier in 1814, and of him the Hon. Neal Dow wrote, at the time of his death, in 1871, he "was not merely a man of wit and fun, but was a solid, sensible man, holding an honorable place in society. fairly won by his integrity, his industry and honest endeavor in the various duties of life." Her mother was Nabby Tukey a daughter of Stephen and Hannah (Cushing) Tukey of Portland and was a granddaughter of John Tukey, the emigrant, and his wife Abigail Sweetser, who was the daughter of Benjamin Sweetser of Falmouth Neck, a veteran of Louisburg, in 1745. Mrs. Goold was a descendant of Col. Ezekiel Cushing, John Robinson Jr., Rev. Robert Jordan and John Winter of Cape Elizabeth.

Nabby T. Goold's paternal grandparents were Ezra Jr., and Sarah (How) Clark of Northampton, Massachusetts. He was a soldier at the battle of Bennington and a descendant of Lieut. William Clarke of Dorchester, 1633, and Northampton, 1660. Sarah How was the daughter of Col. Samuel How of Belchertown, Massachusetts, who was a private at Louisburg, in 1745, and captain at Lake George and Crown Point in 1755, 1756 and 1757. He was a member of the first and second Provincial congress, a lieutenant-colonel in the Lexington alarm, and became colonel of the Fourth Hampshire County regiment in the Revolution.

Mrs. Goold was a woman who was prepossessing in her appearance, of strong character, charitable, public spirited, and interested in the welfare of others. She

was unselfish, amiable and kind in her disposition, and was beloved by all who had the pleasure of her acquaintance. In her death she exhibited the characteristics of her life, and passed from earth as calmly as she had lived, and as naturally as the sun sinks in the west.

William and Nabby T. Goold's children were as follows :—

1. Mary Elizabeth, born in Portland, Sept. 20, 1836 and married at Windham, Nov. 11, 1869, George H. Harding. She died in Portland, June 12, 1881, aged 44 years.
2. Abba Louisa, born at Windham, April 30, 1838, and married there, Aug. 14, 1856, Moses Woolson, then of Portland. He was born in Concord, N. H., Dec. 31, 1821, and died in Boston, Jan. 17, 1896. She is known as Abba Goold Woolson, an authoress and lecturer on history and literature.
3. Francis Clark, born at Windham, March 10, 1840 and married at Boston, June 17, 1880, Carrie E. Willard of Boston. He served over a year on the U. S. S. Housatonic in the blockade and bombardment of Charleston, S. C., in 1862-63 and was a volunteer, after the expiration of his term of service in the night boat attack on Fort Sumpter in September, 1863. He escaped unharmed and now lives in Massachusetts.
4. William Willis, born in Biddeford, Jan. 30, 1842, and married June 15, 1870, Louise T. Hitchings of Portland.
5. Nathan, born in Windham, Jan. 8, 1844 and died Sept. 25, 1846.
6. Nathan, born in Portland, July 8, 1846, and married Nov. 22, 1871, Elizabeth V. Giddings of Portland.
7. Ellen, born in Portland, April 7, 1850.
8. George Mather, born Portland, May 15, 1856 and married May 11, 1881, Lizzie Sarah Sargent of Portland.

At the age of fourteen, William Goold's father died, leaving his mother with three children, he being the oldest, with Miriam aged three years, and Nathan Jr., aged fifteen months. He was apprenticed to Seth Clark, the first merchant tailor in Portland, for seven years, to learn the business. His mother remained at

Windham and carried on the farm, rearing her family without infringing on the property of her children. When William was to leave home for the city, in the heaviness of his heart, he cut on a large, smooth, irregular shaped stone in the rear of his mother's house the date, 1823. The stone and date are there yet, and the figures are a credit to the untrained skill of the boy.

In 1830, Mr. Goold became a partner of his employer, and soon after Mr. Clark retired from business, when he was the sole proprietor. In 1837, he was obliged to abandon his business, because of bleeding from his lungs, and retired to his father's farm. It was not expected that he would recover his health, but he did so, and in 1841 removed to Biddeford to again engage in business, but not finding the situation there as satisfactory as expected, he returned to Windham the next year. About a year later he moved back to Portland and engaged in business, where he remained until 1861, when he returned to his farm spending the balance of his life near the scenes of his childhood.

The prominent traits of William Goold's character were his self reliance, independence and moral courage. He was impulsive, hated shams, was always hopeful, rarely despondent, and did right because it was right. He was never a schemer, but was a man of resources who met with courage the emergencies of life. He had little policy and no guile, was generous in his impulses and commanded respect from the character of his life.

In religion, he was an Episcopalian, and while in Portland attended St. Stephen's church. At Windham,

he was a constant attendant at the Congregational church. In politics, at first, he was an antislavery Whig, but joined the Republican party at its formation. He was always a consistent advocate of temperance. In speech he was pure, frank and sincere, and his sentences were concise. He was public spirited and interested in everything pertaining to his native town and Portland, and his attachment for the latter was very marked.

Mr. Goold was small in stature, and his weight was rarely over one hundred and twenty pounds. He was not a robust man, but through the last fifty years of his life had little sickness. He had blue eyes, which were very expressive of his feelings, and his hair was black and bushy, which turned to an iron-gray color in the later years of his life. He had little taste for public life, but represented his native town in the Legislature in 1867 and was a state senator in 1874 and 1875, but those were the incidents, not the object of his life. He held no town offices because he would not accept the honor, on account of the peculiar responsibilities.

To his widowed mother, William Goold was a constant and a dutiful son, and he was her reliance through the later years of her life. His children respected and honored him with a reverence that he was worthy of, because they knew him to have been a just and kind father and one for whose life they will always feel grateful.

To have seen a father and mother pack off their oldest son to the war has been a satisfaction of my life.

It is the story of many others in these trying times. To them to make the sacrifice was simply their duty to their country. With tearful eyes they bade him God-speed, and gave him the simple instruction that he was expected to do his duty. On his return he told them the story of his service and none could have been more gratified than they, that he had exceeded his instructions and honored them and had shown himself worthy of his fathers.

William Goold's school education was very limited. It consisted of but a few weeks' schooling each year before he was fourteen. He often said that he never had had a school lesson in grammar or geography. By reading and observation he acquired the necessary knowledge for a business life. In his early manhood the providing for a large family and his mother, engaged his attention, and he had little time for literary pursuits. It was not until after he was threescore, that he attempted any historical work, which is an age when most men commence to lay aside the active duties of life.

In 1870, his friend William Willis died. The next year Mr. Goold wrote his first historical article for the press, which was received with considerable favor, and ever afterwards, whenever he had anything to communicate to the public, he continued the work, and the signature of "W. G." became a familiar one. In 1873 he was elected a member of the Maine Historical Society, became its corresponding secretary, and was a member of the standing committee several years. With experience, his field broadened and his work

became more general in character, covering the entire state. The fourteen papers read before the Society show the range of his knowledge and must remain valuable additions to their published collections. The subjects of those papers and the dates when they were read before the Society were as follows:—

1. The Burning of Falmouth by Capt. Henry Mowat in 1775.
Read Feb. 19, 1873. N. E. Reg. 27: 236, (1873).
2. The Early Paper Mills of New England.
Read Feb. 19, 1874. N. E. Reg. 29: 153, (1875).
3. Fort Halifax, its Projectors, Builders and Garrisons.
Read March 30, 1876. Me. Hist. Soc. Coll. 8: 199, (1881).
4. Col. Arthur Noble of Georgetown, Me.
Read March 22, 1877. Me. Hist. Soc. Coll. 8: 109, (1881).
5. Col. William Vaughan of Matinicus and Damariscotta.
Read March 14, 1878. Me. Hist. Soc. Coll. 8: 293, (1881).
6. John Taber and Son and their Paper Money.
Read March 14, 1878. Me. Hist. Soc. Coll. 9: 128, (1898).
7. Sir William Phips, Governor of Massachusetts 1692 to 1694.
Read May 15, 1879. Me. Hist. Soc. Coll. 9: 1, (1887).
8. History of Cumberland County Buildings.
Read Feb. 2, 1881. Me. Hist. Soc. Coll. 9: 292 (1898).
9. Gen. Lafayette and an Account of his Visit to Maine.
Read Nov. 16, 1881. Me. Hist. Soc. Coll. 3: 57: (1892).
10. Memoir of Gen Peleg Wadsworth.
Read Feb. 27, 1882. Me. Hist. Soc., Longfellow's Birthday.
11. Thomas Chute, the First Settler of Windham, Me.
Read Dec. 23, 1882. Me. Hist. Soc. Coll. 7: 412 (1896).
12. The French Treaty of 1778 Recognizing the Independence of the United States. How the Good News Came to Falmouth.
Read June 10, 1887. Me. Hist. Soc. Coll. 1: 29 (1890).
13. Gov. Christopher Gore and His Visit to Maine.
Read Feb. 9, 1888. Me. Hist. Soc. Coll. 5: 71, (1894).
14. Madame Wood, the First Maine Writer of Fiction.
Read Feb. 22, 1889. Me. Hist. Soc. Coll. 1: 401, (1890).

In his newspaper work the most valuable and extensive articles were as follows:—

- The History of the Steam Navigation of Maine. 1872.
The History of the Portland Rifle Corps. 1872.

The History of the Casco Engine Co., No. 1. 1872.

The History of the Privateers of the War of 1812. 1881.

The History of the Old Houses and Architects of Portland.

Parson Bradley's Journal and Old Stroudwater.

Old Business and Business Men of Portland, published in the Successful Business Houses of Portland. 1875.

There were many other valuable newspaper articles, published from time to time, of a historical nature, which are preserved in the files of the paper.

Mr. Goold's most pretentious work, and the one with which his name will always be associated, is *Portland in the Past*, published in 1886, when he was seventy-six years of age. It contains much valuable and interesting information in relation to Portland's history. 8vo. pp. 543. A most valuable contribution for the preservation of Portland's history is the plan of Falmouth Neck, before its burning by Captain Henry Mowat in 1775, drawn from the original sketch by Lemuel Moody, to scale, under the direction of Mr. Goold, which now hangs in the library.

The estimation in which William Goold was held, in his generation, is best reflected by the press at his decease. The *Portland Press* said:—

He had a great store of knowledge relating to the early history of the town and his narrations were always spirited and entertaining. No matter in these columns has been more appreciated or more sought after, especially by our older citizens, than that furnished by Mr. Goold.

A long term of years was vouchsafed him in which to prosecute his useful labors, and he had the rare good fortune to pass the term of fourscore years with his mental faculties unclouded and physical force scarcely abated.

Mr. Goold was a modest, quiet, retiring dispositioned, but an exceedingly observant man, with a wonderfully tenacious memory which fitted him for historical work, in which he delighted. He will be

greatly missed, especially by the Historical Society from whose meetings he was rarely absent and by the readers of the Press who will miss the interesting articles and familiar signature of "W. G."

The Eastern Argus said:—

He was one of the most laborious searchers into the past for crumbs of antiquarian lore this state ever produced. With him this musty work was a labor of love. To dig up new facts connected with some event that took place a hundred or more years ago gave him pure delight. He was also gifted with the power of setting forth with the pen the results of his researches in a readable manner and was always a pleasing writer. He well knew the art of relieving the tedium of a long historical paper by the introduction of minor incidents of a lighter character.

Edward H. Elwell,¹ Esq., after attending and speaking at Mr. Goold's funeral, wrote the following for the Portland Transcript:—

William Goold "lived a long and useful life and died of natural decay."

Mr. Goold's bent was more towards historical research than political life. In the former field he did much and good work. Possessing great power of observation and research, retentive memory and a ready pen he became a recognized authority on all matters relating to the history of this city. As a boy he listened with attentive ear to tales of men who had served in the Revolution, and as a youth in the city he eagerly caught all that fell from the lips of the frequenters of his employer's store, many of whom had seen service in the war of 1812. At the same time he treasured in his memory all passing events and these stores of information served him well when William Willis, the historian of our city died. He at once stepped into his place and began that series of articles in the press of the city which has so long entertained and instructed the town. He added to his own stores by interviewing the aged from whom he had a peculiar faculty of drawing information, he ransacked historical works and documents and pieced fragmentary facts together with rare insight and acuteness. He had a ready wit and lively style and so seasoned his articles with anecdotes as to relieve them of all dryness. He understood the art of entertaining as well as instructing his readers. The familiar "W. G." papers will be missed by many readers.

¹ Mr. Elwell himself died suddenly at Bar Harbor the sixteenth of July, less than two months after.

Mr. Goold was a companionable man, a ready talker, full of information, tenacious of his opinions and outspoken in the expression of them. He made many life-long friends who greatly lament his departure.

The life of William Goold was one of duty and constancy. None knew better than he the value of his work, and he must have felt that time would bring the approval of his fellow men, although he himself made little effort to preserve the articles published in the newspapers of the day. He was an indefatigable worker and regretted, at the last, that he could not live ten years longer to give us the full results of his gathered information.

His taste for mercantile life was not marked and it is not thought that with careful training he would have made a great merchant, but judging from what he accomplished with limited opportunities we cannot help speculating what he might have done had he been educated to a profession to his tastes, when his natural talents might have been brought to their greatest perfection. As it was, the talents given him he returned to his Master increased fourfold and succeeded in placing his name among the foremost historians of our state.

To such as William Goold the following words of Carlyle on men of genius well apply:—

Among these men are to be found the brightest specimens and chief benefactors of mankind. It is they that keep awake the finer parts of our souls; that give us better aims than power and pleasure, and withstand the total sovereignty of Mammon in this earth. They are vanguards in the midst of mind; the intellectual backwoodsmen reclaiming from the idle wilderness new territories for the thought and the activity of their happier brethren. Pity that, from all their conquests, so rich in benefit to others, themselves should reap so little!

But it is in vain to murmur. They are volunteers in the cause; they weighed the charms of it against the perils; and they must abide the results of their decision, as all must. The hardships of the course they follow are formidable, but not inevitable; and to such as pursue it rightly, it is not without its great rewards.

This laurel-leaf I cast upon their bier;
Let worthier hands than these thy wreath entwine
Upon thy hearse I shed no useless tear,—
For us to weep rather than thou in calm divine !

JOSEPH GOLDTHWAIT, THE BARRACK MASTER OF BOSTON.

BY CAPTAIN ROBERT GOLDTHWAITE CARTER, U. S. ARMY.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, February 4, 1897.

MAJOR JOSEPH GOLDTHWAIT, the barrack master and commissary of the King's troops in Boston during the siege, was the son of Joseph and Martha (Lewis) Goldthwait of Boston, and was born at the North End, October 5, 1730. He was in the class of 1739, Boston Latin School, and all his early life was spent in his native city. He married Hannah Bridgham, probably of Weston or Barre, Massachusetts, and at an early age entered the British service. Of his early life and earlier service in the army little can be learned. He may have been, and probably was, in one or more of the later Canada expeditions. Of this, however, it is not quite certain.

In the British army list of 1758 (p. 157), Lieut. Joseph Goldthwait appears on an allowance (half-pay), at Fort St. Philip, Minorca, Lieut.-Gov. Mordaunt,

Cracherode, and in the late Fiftieth Regiment of Foot, Maj.-Gen. William Shirley as colonel, with the following officers:—

Lieut. Colonel John Littlehales. Major James Kinneer.

Captains David Patton, John Vickers, Benjamin Barber, Richard Hutchinson, Robert Armstrong.

Captain-Lieutenant John Carden.

Lieutenants Thomas Irwin, George Gahan, Joseph Goldthwaite.

Ensigns Malbourne West, William Coker.

Chaplain Philip Francis.

Surgeon Joshua Gee.

Both Sir William Pepperrell's and Gen. William Shirley's regiments had been disbanded in 1748, after the fall of Louisburg, but in October (29), 1754, in a letter addressed by Secretary Robinson to the Governors of North America, he states that the King has authorized both Pepperrell and Shirley to raise new regiments of provincials of a thousand men each, and the governors will sign commissions for a number of officers to serve in these regiments. In Shirley's letter of June 20, 1755 to Sec. Robinson, written from Boston after his return from the council of governors to meet Gen. Braddock at Alexandria, Virginia, referring to his projected campaign for the reduction of Fort Niagara, he mentions these regiments, and many little details concerning their organization, commissions, pay, etc.

The enlistments for both were very slow; Pepperrells only reached six hundred before it commenced its march, and Shirley found it impossible to raise his to the maximum number. The Fiftieth Regiment of Foot, which had been in the battle of Fontenoy, and

known "by the populace as the 'Dirty Half-Hundred,'" had but recently arrived in America (probably came over with Gen. Braddock), and was sent from Halifax to New York, thence to Albany. As it was afterwards known as Shirley's regiment, it is more than probable that the provincials which he had already recruited, were consolidated with this regiment and it was afterwards known as the Fiftieth Foot, or, First American. Joseph Goldthwait, as has been shown, is known to have been in that regiment, and it is quite probable that he was, at the age of twenty-four, one of the newly commissioned officers in October, 1754. It left Boston, according to Shirley's letters, June 7, 1755, in divisions, to march to Providence, Rhode Island, where they were all embarked on the fifteenth for New York and Albany. Shirley soon follows, but writes from Boston before starting: "I shall proceed in twenty-four hours after my arrival, for Albany up Hudsons River with the remainder of Pepperrell's regiment now at New York (two companies having proceeded to Oswego) and some levys (recruits) of my own regiment which are to join me there." Upon its arrival at Albany it was ordered to proceed with its baggage to Schenectady, and thence in the batteaux, which had been constructed at that point and were then awaiting the arrival of the command. The regiment was in the campaign for the reduction of Niagara, which resulted so disastrously, and afterwards upon Shirley's return was left with Pepperrell's and Col. Peter Schuyler's New Jersey regiment, under Col. Mercer, appointed

lieutenant-colonel of Sir William Pepperrell's or Second American regiment October 7, 1754, to garrison Oswego on Lake Ontario. It was surrendered there to the French under Montcalm, by Lieut.-Col. John Littlehales, August 14, 1756, and it was then disbanded.

Lieut.-Col. Littlehales was appointed major of Shirley's (or the First American) regiment, October 7, 1754. He had been previously on half-pay. He appears at Minorca with Joseph Goldthwait in 1758. As Minorca was captured by the French in June, 1756, and it still had a French governor in 1758, it is possible that the officers of "the Old Fiftieth" were sent there as unexchanged prisoners of war. This probability is further strengthened by the fact that Col. Peter Schuyler of the New Jersey militia, who was surrendered by Col. Littlehales at Oswego, after Col. Mercer's death, was not exchanged without great effort on his part, and then not until October, 1758 (Colonial Documents Relating to History of New York, Vol. 6, pp. 917, 959, 990 and Vol. 10, p. 282. Documentary History of New York, Vol. 1, pp. 487, 507.)

There appears to be no complete list of the prisoners surrendered at Oswego, and neither Col. John Littlehales nor Lieut. Joseph Goldthwait appear among the prisoners afterwards exchanged at Quebec, but the following brief account compiled from the journals of the siege and from various other sources may be of interest in connection with the service of the subject of our sketch at that place.

Fort Oswego (Chouaguën) or Pepperrell, as it was afterwards called by the soldiers, built in 1727, was on the west or left bank of the Onondaga River at its mouth, while Forts Ontario and George, the latter about six hundred yards from the former, built by Shirley after his return from the Niagara campaign, were on the east or right bank. Fort Ontario was on high ground and controlled Fort Oswego. The garrison of these forts numbered seventeen hundred men, composed of the force already given. Montcalm left Frontenac August 4, 1756, with a force of about three thousand men composed of the battalions of De la Sarre, Guyenne and Bearn, thirteen hundred men (the latter made up of a part of the celebrated Irish Brigade, uniformed in red faced with green), the balance soldiers of the colony, militia and Indians. He arrived the same evening with the advance at what is now Sacketts Harbor (French accounts say at the Bay of Niaouré on the sixth, which the Marquis de Vaudreuil had designated as a rendezvous for all the troops). The second division, composed of Bearn's battalion, the militia, and eighty batteaux of artillery and provisions arrived on the eighth. The column marched all night of the ninth and tenth, the advance, De Rigaud's corps, arriving at Wigwam Cove at two o'clock A. M., where it was joined by the entire division. At six A. M. the advance proceeded to within about one and one-half miles of Oswego, the first division arriving about midnight. On the eleventh at break of day, the Canadians and Indians advanced to within a short distance of Fort Ontario, now

garrisoned by about three hundred men under Capt. Barford of Pepperrell's regiment. The fort was completely invested. At daybreak on the twelfth, Bearn having arrived with the artillery and provisions (the batteaux having been sent back for him), by a wood road cut through the woods and swamps by Montcalm's engineer, Desandrouius, the trenches were commenced at midnight, Bourlamaque superintending them, and Capt. Pouchot of Bearn's battalion, was directed to act as engineer during the siege, Decomble, Montcalm's chief engineer having been accidentally killed at three o'clock on the morning of the eleventh by a friendly Indian. Three hundred men threw up the works, supported by two companies of grenadiers and three pickets. The trenches were two hundred feet long, the front being about one hundred and fifty yards from the ditch of Fort Ontario, and extending through ground obstructed by stumps of trees and other obstacles.

It was finished at three A. M. on the thirteenth, and batteries were at once planted. The English had opened fire at daybreak and the fire was kept up until eleven o'clock at night. Between one and two P. M. the garrison of Fort Ontario having run out of ammunition and spiked their guns, two six-pounders and six four-pounders, and throwing the powder in the well, abandoned this fort, and embarking on whale boats, crossed the river to Fort Oswego. Soon after reaching the latter, Col. Mercer marched Pepperrell's regiment, with one hundred of Shirley's, to reinforce Col. Schuyler, who was posted in an unfinished

redoubt (Fort George), already referred to, six hundred yards to the west on rising ground. This work, on account of its having no defensive value, had been christened by the soldiers "Fort Rascal." They were immediately set to work cutting down bushes and making fascines, while a breastwork of pork barrels had been piled three tiers deep, and three high, one upon the other, with embrasures.

As soon as the evacuation of Fort Ontario was discovered by the French, it was occupied by the grenadiers from the trench, but the workmen still continued the trench to the river side, where by night a breaching battery of nine guns had been planted so as to batter Fort Oswego, the road from the fort to Fort George and also to take the entire camp in the rear. Twenty guns were moved by hand during the night, a labor shared by the entire French force, with the exception of the pickets and camp guards.

At daylight on the fourteenth, Montcalm ordered De Rigaud to cross the river with the Indians, and to occupy the woods and to harass the communication with Fort George. This was done by fording at a ford above the position of the English, but under a galling fire, through a rapid current, some swimming, others up to their waists and necks, and without loss.

At six o'clock the breaching battery was opened at point-blank range, and a plunging fire obtained on Fort Oswego, and although the fire of the English had, up to this time, been more brisk than their own, it now began to slack up. Col. Mercer had been killed at eight o'clock by a cannon ball, while directing the

guns at the batteries, whereupon Col. Littlehales, the next in rank, sent for Col. Schuyler and the detachments at the redoubt to come inside the fort. Upon his arrival a council of war was held, consisting of field officers and captains; soon after which orders were given to cease firing.

At ten o'clock two officers, Lieut. Moncrieffe of Shirley's regiment, with Lieut. Cook of Pepperrell's, and a sergeant and a drummer, went out of the works with a white flag, asking for terms of capitulation. There were four considerations that induced this action on the part of the garrison: 1. The quickness with which the batteries had been erected in a swampy soil, considered by the English impracticable for approach in that direction, and their complete investment. 2. The celerity of the French in crossing the river, thus gaining the rear, and threatening their communications. 3. The sudden death of Col. Mercer. 4. Dread of the Indians.

De Bourgainville, one of Montcalm's aids, was sent to offer terms, which were that the English should at once unconditionally surrender as prisoners of war, the officers retaining their personal property and side arms, and that the French should immediately occupy the forts. Col. Littlehales accepted the terms, and after they had been sent to Montcalm and revised by De la Paur, aide-major of Guyenne's regiment, the surrender went into effect, and De Bourgainville, who had been designated as commander of Forts Oswego and George, commenced the work of their destruction and the removal of the prisoners, artillery, etc. The

French lost thirty men killed and wounded, and the English about one hundred and fifty, including some twenty or thirty French deserters who, rather than surrender, attempted to escape through the woods, but were caught, killed and scalped by the Indians. The capture included Shirley's, Pepperrell's, and Col. Peter Schuyler's regiments, in all about seventeen hundred men and about eighty officers, among whom were two engineers, two artillery and twelve navy officers, seven vessels of war, two hundred bateaux, about one hundred and twenty guns of various calibers, a large amount of ammunition and provisions which the gallant Capt. Bradstreet, with a force of raw Irish recruits (bateaux men) had convoyed into the forts only a few weeks previous, having had a desperate fight with the Indians upon his return toward Albany on July 3, 1756, in which, by the most skilful management and cool bravery he not only defeated, but inflicted a heavy loss upon them. There were captured, besides, a chest of silver and eighteen thousand pounds in coin.

By the twenty-first the forts had been destroyed, and the French commenced their return march, a part going to Lake George to assist Dieskau in his attack upon Fort William Henry. The English prisoners, including one hundred and twenty women, were sent across the river from Fort Oswego to Fort Ontario, and were then marched, under a guard of five hundred Indians, to Frontenac, and from thence down the St. Lawrence River to Quebec. The five standards, captured from the three regiments of the garrison,

were deposited by the Marquis de Vaudreuil with much ceremony in the churches of Montreal, Quebec and Three Rivers, where they remained some years.

There is the strongest proof that Montcalm permitted the Indians to plunder and murder more than one hundred of the surrendered prisoners, and among them Lieut. De La Tour, who was wounded, and said to have been killed in the hospital, and scalped by the Indians. It is also said that shortly after the arrival of the prisoners at Quebec, provisions being too scarce to subsist them, many were sent on their parole, to be exchanged later, to Plymouth, England. The writer finds a long and exceedingly interesting account of how Col. Peter Schuyler effected his own exchange in October, 1758.

(Documentary History of New York, Vol. 1, pp. 480-506. History of Canada, McMullan, pp. 128-130. Collection Documents Relating to History of New York, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11: 47, 199, 430, 443, 776, 822, 917, 959, 990.)

It appears that Joseph Goldthwait was in the second siege of Louisburg by the following:—

A List of soldiers left at Louisburg March 26, 1760, acknowledge receipt of Major Joseph Goldthwait of 4 pounds lawful money for service, a Reward Granted by the Great and General Court for our being detained the winter past.

(Here follows list.) They belonged to Col. Bagley's regiment, and were mostly from Essex County, Massachusetts.

(American Historical Magazine, Vol. 4, Ser. 2, p. 279.)

Sep. 24, 1762. £1067-7-5 to Lieut.-Col. Joseph Goldthwait for their service, being 5 months pay advance wages, they being in the pay of the Province, and are, by Gen. Amhers's order, recruiting his Majestys regular regiments. Dec. 23, 1762. £228-8-0 advance to the Provincial officer and stopt out of their 5 months pay. (Massachusetts Archives.)

This would indicate that Col. Goldthwait was in the Crown Point expedition of 1759-62, under Sir Jeffrey Amherst.

In a letter addressed by Col. Joseph Goldthwait of Boston in 1766 to Dr. Stiles, he encloses a list of the different nations of Indians that met Sir William Johnson at Niagara, July, 1764, and says:—

Enclosed, is a pair of Indian moccasins made by a squaw of the Fox tribe, also a pair of garters. I also send you a French bowl of a pipe which was presented to the Huron tribe by a French priest. The decorations are lost, but it may serve to hang up in your study, as it is made out of some ore spewd out of a rock near Lake St. Clair. Also, the cover is a deerskin I saw drest by an Indian girl of the Oneida tribe of 11 years old.

This was the congress at Niagara. The expedition was commanded by Col. John Bradstreet, who was lieutenant-colonel of Sir William Pepperrell's regiment at the siege of Louisburg in 1745; was a captain in 1757 in the Royal American regiment; and in 1758 was under Abercrombie in his unsuccessful attack upon Fort Ticonderoga. August 27, 1758, he captured Fort Frontenac. He became major-general, May 25, 1772, and died in New York, September 25, 1774.

It is possible that Col. Joseph Goldthwait was brigade major. The peace was concluded on the south side of Lake Erie at what was known as the "Cove of

Peace," August 12, 1764. There were about seventeen hundred and twenty-five Indians present belonging to the Delawares, Six Nations and Hurons, and twenty-two hundred and eighty-nine troops belonging to the following commands: Royal Artillery, Major Daly's and Major LeHunter's detachments, seventeenth and eightieth regiments, Canadian Battalion, New York, New Jersey and Connecticut Battalions, bateaux men, rangers, carpenters, staff, Royal Highlanders and Americans, Indians (friendly). A very interesting account of this expedition will be found in Capt. John Montrésor's Journals, New York Historical Society, 1881, pp. 252, 322.

It is possible that some of the references which have been credited to Major Joseph Goldthwait, the barrack master, are intended for the father; but the probabilities strongly indicate that those referring to the second siege of Louisburg, Crown Point and the peace of Niagara, are intended for the son, the subject of this sketch. In the Boston Gazette of April 29, 1771, appears the following advertisement:—

TWENTY DOLLARS REWARD.

To any person or persons who shall discover and bring to justice the Thief or Thieves, who broke open on Tuesday night last, a small tenement in Joliff's Lane, occupied as an office by the subscriber, and took from thence out of a Chest and Desk, a Leather Bag containing sixty English and about twenty French Guineas, with some milled Pistoles. A Ozenbrigs Bag with ten Guineas and five half Guineas, a paper with sundry pieces of papered Gold, under weight; five pieces of red and white Furniture Chince, containing four yards in each piece, tied up in a silk handkerchief; a

handsome silver-hilted sword, open work belled (shelled), with a white Parchment scabbard, and a new Moroco Belt; a small Bundle, containing about two dozen Women's French unglazed Mitts, with worked Backs and Coloured Flaps; two new Bandanna silk handkerchiefs, and one red and white spotted do.

(signed) Joseph Goldthwait.

It is quite evident that he was in the service several years before the Revolutionary war, and was probably on duty then with the British troops in Boston. He was an "Addresser and Protestor," and signed his name "Joseph Goldthwait Crown Officer." The first evidence of his being on duty with the troops in Boston, is found in the John Andrews' letters (Massachusetts Historical Society Collection, Volume 8, p. 350).

These letters were found in some old barrels among many other ancient papers in an attic of the Schuylkill Arsenal, Pennsylvania, by Captain George Gibson, Fourteenth Infantry, United States Army. In 1865, through him, or a friend, they were transferred to the Massachusetts Historical Society.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1774

Yesterday, in the afternoon, 280 men were draughted from the several regiments in the Common, furnished with a days provisions each, to be in readiness to march in the morning. Various were the conjectures respecting their destination, but this morning the mystery is unravelled for a sufficient number of boats from the Men-of-War and transports took em on board between 4 and 5 o'clock this morning, and proceeded up Mystick river, landed them at the back of Bob Temple's house from whence they proceeded to the magazine (situated between that town and Cambridge), conducted by Judge Oliver, Sherif Phips and Joseph Goldthwait, and are now, at this time, (8 o'clock), taking away the powder

from thence, being near 300 barrels, belonging to the Province, which they lodged in Temple's barn, for convenience to be transported to the Castle, I suppose.

The following memorandum, written by Colonel Loammi Baldwin of the provincial army, evidently to somebody at the headquarters of the commander-in-chief, followed by a letter from Gen. Washington to the Great and General Court, probably enclosing Col. Baldwin's, with a statement of the perplexing problem with which he is confronted by having the barrack master's wife sent as a prisoner to his headquarters; the order of Col. Baldwin for the escort of the ladies to Watertown, together with the appointment by the Court of a committee; its report, remarks, etc., and final disposition of the case; all afford much of interest as well as amusing reflection upon the events covering that period of the siege.

Mrs. Hannah Goldthwait, wife of Mr. Joseph Goldthwait, Mrs. Sarah Goldthwait, wife of Mr. Benjamin Goldthwait, one Mrs. Chamberlain, came over Winnisimmet Ferry yesterday, being Friday, about 5 o'clock P. M., with a horse and chaise, no such instance having happened before, and Mrs. Hannah G. wife to the Barrack Master for the King's Troops in Boston.

Knowing it to be my duty to be very cautious at this critical day, thought proper to acquaint the General with the affair, who directed me to conduct them to the Great and General Court of the Province.

I have not Discovered anything Enemical or exceptionable in their conversation or conduct, but on the contrary have behaved themselves with all complaisance and resignation to my requisitions, and appear to be engaged in the cause of liberty.

Malding Aug. 5, 1775.

(signed) Loammi Baldwin.

Headquarters, Aug. 5, 1775.

Sirs :— Col. Baldwin has this morning reported that among others out of Boston, the Barrack Master's wife came yesterday, and is now detained at Malden.

As there may be inconvenience from persons being suffered indiscriminately to go thro' the country, many of whom are, no doubt disaffected to the Publick Interest, I have caused a Court of Inquiry to set upon several, but the business multiplies so fast, and we are so much strangers to the characters and conduct of many, that I would wish to put it on a more proper footing, especially as it takes several Field Officers every day from their duty.

You will please, sir, to lay this matter before the General Court that they may either appoint some proper persons more competent for this business, or take such other steps as shall appear to them likely to remedy this mischief.

Col^o Baldwin is ref^d to the General Court for directions respecting Mrs. Goldthwait.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obt. Humble sert.

(signed) G^o Washington.

Since writing the above, Col. Baldwin being impatient to return to his post, Gen. Gates will be the bearer of this.

Colonel Loammi Baldwin orders "Lieut. Gallushee with two Sergeants to conduct and guard Mrs. Hannah and Mrs. Sarah Goldthwait & Mrs. Chamberlain, ladies from Boston, and safely conduct them to Medford and deliver them to Captain John Wood" who is hereby ordered, with two Sergeants to proceed with them to the Great & General Court now sitting at Watertown, by way of the Powder House at Quarry Hill, and you are not to suffer s^d ladies to have any private conference or communication with any pers on except the Guards, nor suffer any person to offer any insult to them.

If the ladies should have any occasion to stop for any refreshment you will weight upon them.

(signed) Loammi Baldwin.

Malding, Aug. 5, 1775.

(Vol. 206, p. 146, Mass. Archives.)

In the House of Reps., Aug. 5, 1775.

Resolved that the Ladys above mentioned be delivered to Captain Crafts in this Town, he is hereby directed to receive them into custody & to place them in some suitable House for entertainment at their own expense, with a suitable guard until Monday next, & the further order of the Court.

Sent up for concurrence.

J. Warren, Speaker,
P. Morton,
Sec. Pro. Tem.

Aug. 5, 1775,

In Council — Read and Concurred.

In the House of Representatives,

Aug. 7, 1775.

Ordered that Col^o Freeman and Capt. Carpenter, with such of the Hon. Board shall join, be a Committee to examine the three women brought to this Court on Saturday last, & report what is proper to be done with them.

Sent up for concurrence.

J. Warren, Speaker.
P. Morton,
Sec. Pro. Tem.

Aug. 7, 1775.

In Council, read & concurred. Mr. Chauncey is joined. The Committee appointed by both Houses to examine the three women lately come out of Boston and brought to this Court, Beg leave to report as our opinion that Mrs. Goldthwait, wife of Major Joseph Goldthwait, may be permitted to go to Stafford to endeavour the recovery of her health by the use of the waters there, and to be under the care of the Selectmen of Stafford during her stay in that place, and afterwards to remove to Rehoboth to reside with her brother, Mr. Joseph Bridgham, there to be under the care of the Committee of Correspondence of s^d town (without any expence to the publick), until the further order of the Court.

The others — Mrs. Goldthwait, wife of Mr. Benjamin Goldthwait, and Mrs. Chamberlain, they have given such an open, full account

of matters, and appear to be friendly to the Country, Your Com. think they may without danger thereto, be freed from confinement.

(signed) Chas. Chauncey. Pr. Order.

In Council, read & accepted.

Sent down for concurrence.

Attest. P. Morton,

Sec. Pro. Tem.

In the House of Reps, Aug. 7, 1775.

Read and concurred.

J. Warren, Speaker.

Consented to.

James Otis.

B. Greenleaf.

Caleb Cushing.

Joseph Gerrish & others

A true copy,

Perez Morton,

Sec'y. Pro. Tem.

(Vol. 206, pp. 146-152, Mass. Archives.)

There is much more of interest concerning Hannah Goldthwait, the wife of the barrack master, where she petitions the Court that owing to her feeble health and inability to travel so far as Stafford she may be permitted to use the waters at Newton. She encloses the certificate of one Dr. Marshall Spring, who states that she is suffering from a "paralytick disorder," and "is too much indisposed" to travel so far.

The petition was granted.

She also states in another petition that her husband had sent £60 out of Boston to her by one Mr. White of Marblehead; that it was seized by the Court; that she is suffering for the want of it, and prays the Court to restore it to her. She states that her husband "by his publick office he is obliged to remain in Boston." A

report was made with reference to this money by one Mr. Brown, who states that the £60 now in the hands of Thomas Crafts, Jr., Edward Proctor, Winthrop Gray, and Daniel Sigourney, was the property of Joseph Goldthwait, "a noted enemy to the rights of America, and now actually employed in the Ministerial Army in Boston."

The money was directed to be turned in to the hands of Henry Gardner, Esq., Treasurer and Receiver General, but upon her petition it was ordered to be turned over to her.

(Force's Am. Arch. 3 : 355; 7: 1306 and 4 : 1425.)

In the diary of John Leach (N. E. His. Gen. Reg. 19: 313), who was arrested in Boston, June 29, 1775, "on suspicion of taking plans," when brought before the British authorities in Boston, he says :—

Monday Dec. 25, 1775 — I told him . . . that I kept a school at the North End. O! said he "you are the man that was in a Goal a great while." "Yes!" said I. "And pray, sir, how came my wharfe to be broke up?" He answered that Major Goldthwait had marked it as a suitable and proper wharfe to be broke up for the Light Dragoons. "It is very well," said I, "as I wanted to know from whom my damages originated."

Coming up Milk street, I met Major Joseph Goldthwait. I accosted him, by telling him Captain Handfield informed me that he (Goldthwait) was the person that pitched upon my wharfe, as suitable for the Light Dragoons. The empty-skull wretch answered with a horse laugh, Ha! ha! ! ha! ! ! "It is very well!" said I, "Mr. Goldthwait, I hope I shall know where to look for satisfaction another day." He then replied — "You shall be paid for it by and by; you shall all be paid for these sort of damages by and by, etc. etc." I suppose I must sit down with my Loss, with the Con-

solution that it was done by the *Ministerial Army*, and their associates, under the auspicious Reign of His *Most Sacred Majesty*, King George the Third, of *Blessed Memorye*. My Dear Sons of America, *Put not your trust in Princes*.

John Leach kept a school for navigation, and died on Bennett Street, Boston, June 10, 1799, aged seventy-five. He was confined with Peter Edes, who was the oldest printer in America, and published with Mr. Gill, the *Boston Gazette and Country Journal*. His diary was also published. Both are very bitter, but disclaim any undue warmth in what they write. John Leach was imprisoned ninety-seven days, the first sixty-two on bread and water.

Major Goldthwait is mentioned in Ezekiel Price's¹ diary as follows:—

Tuesday, Jan. 2, 1776. Mr. Richardson, (brother to Capt. Scot's wife, who came out of Boston a short time since), says that his sister informed him that she saw cart load of goods go from my house, and believes the whole were removed before the soldiers took possession of it. His sister Soren [Sorena] also acquainted him that our family now live at the North End. I believe they are at the house Uncle Goldthwait formerly lived in. [Probably John Goldthwait.]

Monday, Jan. 22, 1776. — Went down to Roxbury; waited on Gen. Ward and gave to him for perusal several letters, which I had prepared to send in to Boston; two to Caleb Blanchard one to Col. Goldthwait, and one to Mr. Timmins. The General promised me they should go in by flag to-morrow.

¹ Ezekiel Price was probably the son of Thomas and Elizabeth (Goldthwait) Price. She was a daughter of Samuel and Elizabeth (Cheever) Goldthwait, the latter the daughter of Ezekiel Cheever, the celebrated schoolmaster of Boston. Ezekiel Price was therefore, the nephew of Capt. John Goldthwait (who was then dead, but whose house on Charter Street he refers to), and cousin to Col. Joseph Goldthwait who may have been in Boston during the siege, but the writer thinks he referred in his diary to the barrack master Major Joseph Goldthwait, Jr., who was his second cousin.

Teusday, Jan. 30. Went down to Roxbury : delived my letters to Mr. Ward, Aide-de-Camp, who was just going to despatch the flag to the lines.

Miss Patty Goldthwait, Mrs. Forbes and two other ladies, besides a number of gentleman, went with the flag. At the lines were Capt. Job. Prince, Mr. Laughton, Mr. Timmins, Lewis Gray and a number of others. When the flag returned, I received two letters from Boston, one from Caleb Blanchard, the other from my sister. Goldthwait nor Timmins sent any letters.

(Mass. His. Soc'y Coll., 1863-4, p. 225.)

The latter part of February and the first of March, it became evident to the British that Boston would have to be evacuated, and there was a rush and a skurry, especially among the inhabitants who had been identified in any way with the King's troops, to get away.

The barrack master probably realizing that his life would be insecure should he remain, now writes the following pathetic letter to his uncle, Ezekiel Goldthwait, the venerable register of deeds for Suffolk Co., and for so many years the town clerk of Boston.

Boston, March 8, 1776.

Dr. Sir : — As I must leave you, I acquaint you I have left belonging to Mrs. Bacon [Elizabeth, daughter of Ezekiel, who m. Rev. John Bacon of the old South Church], a easy chair, two tables at my house, & a looking glass. Of my own in the house : 2 large mahogany tables, 1 four feet ditto, 1 oval ditto, 2 card tables, 12 Mahogany Chairs, a mahogany desk, a mahogany chest of drawers, two large Scotch carpets, six Windsor chairs, Potts, Kettles, &c. &c., which you let my wife know of.

Mrs. Mitchell has promis'd to take care of the things, & you'l hear of her at her sons, Mr. Clement the carpenter.

I also leave Ten Hogsheads of Molasses at Jesse Green's distil-house, which will be very serviceable if it can be save to her ;

besides a great number of articles, all of which I cant carry, in short I leave behind me at least Three thousand pounds sterling.

You'l give the enclosed to my wife if you can meet her. When I shall see her God only knows. Dont let her want for anything.

I am wishing you, my aunt, & all the family great health, & hope you'l pass through this day of Tryal & meet with Joy above.

Yr Sincere nephew,
(signed) Jos. Goldthwait.

To Ezekiel Goldthwait, Esq.

In the British service, during the period of our War of the Revolution, there was a quartermaster general, commissary general and barrack master general. The former had charge of the clothing and general supplies of the army; the second had charge of the food supplies, and the last, with the billeting or quarters, of their fuel, lights, stoves, and all supplies for the barracks.

That the reader may have some idea of the duties of a barrack master and commissary in a busy garrison town during a protracted siege, a brief summary is here given of the orders of Gen. Sir William Howe, then commanding the British troops in North America, taken from the Order Books of Lieut.-Colonel Stephen Kemble, Adjutant General, and Deputy Adjutant General, and to the British Forces in Boston, from November 15, 1775, to March 17, 1776, and later at Halifax.

Headquarters, Boston, 19th Nov. 1775.

The quartermasters of Corps will call at the Barrack Office tomorrow, when they will receive a proportion of bedding for each regiment.

The Commanding officers of regiments will take care to have the chimneys swept before their men make fires in them, and will report

when they are all cleaned, when their Quartermasters will receive payment by applying at the Barrack Office.

The Quartermasters of Regiments to attend at the Ferryways to-morrow at 11 o'Clock to receive a proportion of Sheep for the use of the Officers.

Nov. 26 The Commissary General will Deliver to the Troops seven pounds of Flour, four pounds, ten ounces Pork, and six ounces of Butter, for one man per week, until further orders, instead of seven pounds of Flour and five and a quarter pounds of Pork.

Nov. 30 A Return to be sent to the Barrack Office by each Corps, of the names of every officer present, except those going to Europe that they may Receive their furniture money. The Quarter Master will likewise give returns to the Barrack Master of the non commissioned and Private men in their respective Corps, Exclusive of those in General Hospital that he may proportion the fuel at the Rate of 12 men to a Room.

Dec. 4 Two Carts from the Royal Artillery to attend the Barrack Master to-morrow morning at 8 o'Clock; they are to be Employed in unloading the Vessels with Coals and Wood till that Business is Completed.

Dec. 9 The Quarter Masters to call at the Barrack Office to receive a Proportion of Bedding for their respective Corps.

Dec. 13 The Barrack Master General or his Deputy will point such Wharfs, Houses, old Ships and Trees as each Regiment may use for its share. The wood is to be placed where the Commanding Officers of the Regiments may direct; when regularly piled, it is to be measured, and the soldiers will be allowed 5 shillings sterling for each Cord they so provide and pile. This will be delivered to each Regiment as a fund for their supply of fuel . . . Proportion of Tools for each party to be furnished by the Artillery; 2 Iron Bars, 3 Cross-Cut Saws, and Handspike 10 Axes, 6 Wedges, 3 Malls; 2 fathom Rope by the Barrack Master.

Proposals for furnishing wood to the Garrison. Every Corps to furnish an Officer and 20 men . . . they are to be continued at work until a difference of Fuel can be provided. The Officer who acts as an Overseer will be allowed 5 shilling per day, and then the men will be allowed a Gill of Rum, and do no other duty.

Dec. 14 The Officers ordered to Command the working Parties are to receive their Tools and Instructions this Afternoon at the Barrack Office and are to begin work to-morrow. All the Corps are to begin work to-morrow. All the Corps are to Receive four days fuel, and are to expect no further supply but from the Labor of their several working parties. The working Parties with the Engineer and Deputy Quarter Master General's Department, are not to receive Rum from their Corps, as they receive an allowance daily from those Officers.

Dec. 18 The Different Corps to send Returns Immediately to the Barrack Master General of such Officers as are entitled to furniture money, and the Quartermasters to call on Wed. morning to receive it.

Dec. 19 All working Parties to be allowed a half pint (Rum) per day, and the men on Guard a gill. The sick and those off Duty are not to receive any until further orders.

Dec. 21 The Troops to be served Weekly with fuel . . . the Quarter Master to send Returns to the Barrack Office each Day they are to be Served. . . . As Hand carts are provided for the Troops to Carry their fuel the Regiments are to return them to the Wood Guard . . . the Quarter Master Sergeants to attend at the Wood yard and see they have their proper Allowance. . . . The General and Staff Officers having no men to draw their Allowance, it will be sent them when applied for at the Barrack Office.

Dec. 25 The Commanding Officers of Corps to order their Quarter Masters to attend Long Wharf to receive a Butt of Porter for each Corps, which will be sent to their Quarters for Christmas.

Dec. 28 The Quarter masters of Corps to attend to-morrow morning at 10 o'Clock at the Market place, when they will receive a proportion of Hogs for the Officers of their Respective Corps.

Jan. 5, 1776. The Troops to be served with provisions next Issuing Day at the following Rates: A man per week 7 lb. of Flour, for which the Baker gives 9 oz. Bread; 1 lb. Dried Codfish in lieu of 1 lb. Salt Beef, or 9 oz. Salt Pork; 3 lb. Salt Pork; 3 Pints Oatmeal or Peas; 1 oz. of Oil; 5 oz. Butter; 1 lb. 14 oz. flour more in lieu of 7 oz. Pork; 8 oz. of Rice.

Jan. 7 The Troops to be served with 2 Quarts of Porter per man per week Evening Orders. The troops to receive one weeks Coals, the Coals to be served, and the Quarter Masters to send Returns to the Barrack Office, agreeable to the orders of 21st Dec. last.

Jan. 14 The Barrack Master will make a Distribution of Bedding Amongst the Different Corps. The Quarter Masters to apply to him and give Receipts for what they Receive.

Jan. 19 The arrival of some Coals, making it no longer necessary to supply the troops with fuel from old Houses, and Wharfs, the Officers Commanding the parties employed in making this supply, are to see that the Tools be Returned to the Barrack Office by Sat. evening next. . . . The Barrack Master will pay for those agreeable to orders, two cords of the light wood being reckoned to one of the hard . . . The troops on the Days Appointed next week will Receive a Weeks Fuel, half in Coals and half in Turf. Necessary money may be had at the Barrack Office for the Effectives present in each corps at 9 1-2 per man.

Jan. 25 The Quarter Masters of Corps to attend at 10 o'Clock to-morrow morning to receive a proportion of Hogs for the Officers of their Respective Corps.

Feb. 2 The Troops may Receive Spermaceti Candles from the Barrack Master at the rate of one pound of Spermaceti for two of Tallow.

Feb. 12 The Barrack Master to complete the Bedding of each Regiment, so that what has been already Delivered, each Double berth may have 3 Blankets, or 2 Blankets and a Rug. The Quarter Masters are to Indent for the Bedding they formerly Received, as well as for what they now get. The sheets delivered are to be returned to Sergeant Foster at the Wash house, Long Lane, and the money paid for washing them. . . . No furniture to be removed from the Barracks without an order from the Barrack Master General, . . . and whereas it is reported that soldiers have used their sheets and blankets for carrying Meat, Bread, and Coals, and who shall be found Guilty of such a shameful practice are to be Confined and punished for disobedience of orders. The sets of Ship Bedding to be Delivered to the Quarter Master General; each

Quarter Master will take Receipts for what they give in, so as to Cancel their Receipts given to the Barrack Master . . . the names of the Officers who have been wounded and paid for Lodging, during their Illness without receiving any Allowance to be sent by the Commanding Officer of each Corps to the Barrack Master, fixing the number of Days each Officer was so circumstanced.

Mar. 4. The Troops to have one days Provisions ready Dressed, to carry with them in Case of their being called out on Short Notice.

Mar. 6. . The Corps are immediately to return all Sheets in their possession to the Barrack Store on King Street, likewise any other Barrack furniture not immediately in use; for which the Barrack Master will give Receipts on the back of the Indent.

Mar. 7. . Same orders . . All Barrack furniture, but such as judged necessary for the Voyage, &c. . . . It is recommended . . to keep as little as is merely Necessary. . As many Grates as can be spared should be brought to the same Store; only what is necessary for Cooking to be held.

Mar. 9. 9 o'Clock at night. The several Corps to put their Convalescents and Women on board Ships as early as Possible to-morrow morning.

Mar. 11. The Commanding Officers of Corps to go on Board their Respective Transports immediately, and to see that there is no Baggage put on board Contrary to Orders. . . all Household furniture and other useless Luggage to be thrown over Board. . . To Report a state of their Transports to the Commander in Chief as soon as possible, and whether, after the Troops are Embarked, the Vessel is like to be as much Crowded as to Obstruct the navigating her.

Mar. 13. Order for embarkation of regiments . . The Quarter Masters of Corps to Subsist their Women and Children on Board Ship with Flour and Rice only till further Orders, and that to be Issued to them with Economy. A small quantity of Fish may be given to them with it. . . . Each Corps to apply at No. 16 on the Long Wharf for a barrel of Salt Fish to be divided among the Men and Women.

Mar. 16. Aboard Transports. . The Troops to receive two days Provisions immediately, which will be to the Quarter Masters of

Corps from their respective Transports. . The troops will receive Rum at 12 o'Clock in the same proportion and at the same time they received it on the 14th.

King Road, Sunday, 18th Mar. 1776. A State of the Provision and Water on Board each Transport to be given immediately. Each corps to send immediately on board the Pacific Indiaman when they will receive a Hog and a Piece for their Officers.

Mar. 26. Those Regiments that have not got their Provisions, to apply for what is wanting immediately.

Mar. 27 Sailed from King Road.

(N. Y. His. Soc'y, 1883, Kemble Papers, 1 : 251-373.)

The barrack master went in the fleet to Halifax, as it sailed a few days after his letter of March 8 was written, and from thence to Canada, or direct with the fleet to New York.

There is but one reference to him after the troops reach Halifax, and before Sir William Howe's departure for New York, but that is sufficiently definite to locate Joseph Goldthwait there after the fleet left Boston, and probably after it left Halifax. It is as follows :—

Halifax, 28th May, 1776. The Regiments that Embark are to return to Mr. Goldthwaite all the Barrack Bedding, except a Blanket for each Man who Embarks, and Bed Case and Bolster for every two Men ; this, with Camp Blankets, being sufficient for the Troops at this Season of the Year.

(N. Y. His. Soc'y, Kemble Papers, 1 : 373.)

Halifax, 17 Dec. 1776. The Barrack Masters exactness amounts to a hardship in point of Lodging and firing. If one of us goes out of the Garrison or out of the Province on only a furlough, he is immediately Struck off the List for firing & Lodging untill he returns, notwithstanding he must lock up his room in the Garrison & pay for Same while Absent, or else he will never get it Again, as some Other Person will take it. Thus Ensign Ronald Macdonald Sent

from this Garrison to Boston to fetch Recruits on the 25th November 1775 applied to the Barrack Master at Boston for lodging money & firing but he was refused as belonging to the Garrison at Halifax. When he returned here in february, he were likewise refused by Mr. Morden as being absent from this Garrison. I am not able to Support myself with fire and Lodging with Duple my allowance as Cap^t having command of the Regiment, and the Management of their Subsistence. I am obliged to keep a larger House and more fires in Placeses. I think as Commanding Officer I might be allowed the Emolliments of the Garrison Major.

(N. Y. His. Soc'y, 1882, Captain Alex. McDonald's Letter-Book, 1775-1779, p. 305.)

Joseph Goldthwait had no children; was a man of wealth, and he had virtually adopted his brother Benjamin's eldest daughter, Sarah, born August, 1761, who was reputed to be a great beauty. Tradition has it that when he fled he took her with him and eventually to Quebec. Here she fell in love with one of the young officers of the garrison, Lieut. Apdaile,¹ and, against the wishes of her uncle, married him.

Major Goldthwait disinherited her. After Lieut. Apdaile's death, she married Dr. Daniel Adams of Keene, N. H., where a descendant, Miss Eliza Adams, has a fine portrait of the barrack master, said to have been painted by Copley.

In 1779, or probably earlier, he went to New York, possibly on duty, or to be under the protection of the British troops, and here, on October 3, 1779, he died in the suburbs, about three miles from the city, at the house of Mrs. Love Oliver, wife of Dr. Peter Oliver,

¹A careful search of the British army list from 1753 to 1788 fails to show any officer by the name of Apdalle or Abdell, as having served in the British army during that period 1776-1779, when Sarah Goldthwait is said to have married an officer of that name.

and there in his desk, after his death, was found the following memorandum, concerning the disposal of his estate, Mrs. Oliver having delivered the keys of the box or desk to Richard and Sarah Williams about one hour after his decease.

Richard and Sarah Williams, together with William Taylor, Francis Greene, Fred Gayer, all merchants of New York city, testified to the handwriting being that of the deceased. Sarah Williams was Major Goldthwait's sister.

This memorandum, with all its erasures, is copied in folio 518, Collin's, of the wills registered at Somerset House, London, and in substance is as follows:—

Memorandum of the disposal of my estate Feb. 11, 1778.

To Joseph Goldthwait, my nephew, son of my brother Philip, my farm at Woolwich in Sheepscoot River, Province of Mass. Bay, on which his father lives, he to take possession of it at 21, unless his father chooses to remain on it, then his father to pay him L. 100. sterling, & keep the farm for himself & heirs; but if my nephew has been a Rebel & borne arms against his King, then this to be void, & the estate to go to his father to do as he pleases.

I give a piece of land at Biddford, in the mouth of the Samo (Saco) river in the Province of Mass. Bay, & Co. of York to my brother Philip to give to his daughter Hannah.

My farm in Weston, in Essex, Province of Mass. Bay, whereon my honored parents now live, I leave for them to enjoy as long as it shall please God to let them live. Also my executors to pay them L.150. for their support and comfort, & whichsoever survives the other, then only pay as much as he or she may require, as this sum may be sufficient, with the produce of the farm to support them.

It is hoped that some of my brothers, who are living, will see the money properly laid out, so that they may enjoy all the comfort this world can . . . (give) them while they remain alive, & after their decease the House, farm & appurtenances to revert to Joseph,

the son of my sister Martha, married to Dr. Gowen (if he be living), if not, then to be given among the rest of her children, unless she chooses to keep it, then for her to live on it, & after to be divided among her children.

The one-half of the Still-House, Store-House, & wharf in Auchmoody's (Auchmuty) Lane, which I bought in company with . . . to be sold. My estate in Boston, called Hubbard Wharf & Hubbard's Pasture on the South east side of Fort Hill, if, after this Rebellion I should not be able to live in Boston, & should not otherwise dispose of it, before my decease, to my brother Samuel to enjoy until his son Joseph comes of age, who is to take possession of it, improve & enjoy it as long as he lives, & after his decease to be entailed on the male heirs of his body if he calls him Joseph as my intention is that this estate shall always be a family estate, & belong to one of my own name, with this proviso, that none of them are Rebels, & have borne arms against their King, otherwise to go to the eldest son of the same family who is loyal & true to his King & Country to be entailed upon his next heir, & upon his next heir, & so on forever.

I do further order that if my brother Philip should not keep possession of the farm at Woolwich then he to receive the sum of L.500. to purchase a farm where he pleases to enable him to live comfortably, & bring up his children: this farm to be divided after his deceases among his children (except Joseph, who is already provided for), they taking care to provide for the widow of my said brother, if she be living.

I give to my brother Benjamin L.100., & to each of his children living at my decease L.50., except Sarah, who is married to John Appadail [Apdaile] of New Castle in England to be L.100.

To sister, Sarah Williams, wife of Richard Williams, L.200.,

Then follow certain bequests to friends named Winslow, one of whom, Joshua Loring Winslow, he sent to London to be educated.

To Mrs. Love Oliver, wife of Dr. Peter Oliver, the use of L.100. as a token of my very great regard.

Nov. 18, 1780. Administration on above will granted to Samuel Goldthwait, one of the executors of the will of Joseph Goldthwait, father of above testator.

His name appears on a list of three hundred and ten persons in the Banishment and Proscription Act, whose property was all confiscated. They were termed "Absentees."

Should they return without Liberty first obtained from the General Court, they shall on conviction thereof before the Superior Court of Judicature, Court of Assize and General Jail Delivery, suffer the Pain of Death without Benefit of Clergy. Any Master of a Vessel knowingly bringing any of them to Port, to be fined L. 500.

Sep. 4, 1781, Jabez Hatch, deputy quartermaster, petitioned for the use of the distil-house of Joseph Goldthwait to stable horses.

The writer found many surprisingly long accounts which had been filed against the estates of these so-called "absentees," running, in some cases, into thousands of pounds. Some of them were highly instructive, and most amusing as to some of the methods of bookkeeping and accounts of those days. It is quite certain that most of these unfortunates found little remaining when they did return.

In the Boston Gazette of June 4, 1782, appears the following advertisement concerning some of them, including the subject of our sketch.

The Committee appointed by the Hon. Oliver Wendell, Esq., Judge of Probate for the County of Suffolk, &c. &c. will sit at the House of John Woorts, called the Green Dragon Tavern, the last Teusday of this and the two following months, from 6 to 9 P. M. to examine such Accounts and Demands as may have been and may

be exhibited against the Estates of the following Persons who are Absentees.

Nathaniel Hatch.
Joseph Goldthwait.
Dr. Sylvester Gardiner.
Henry Barnes, &c. &c.

With what undisguised pleasure must Edes & Gill have inserted this ad. in the Boston Gazette, as they pictured their old-time enemy, the barrack master of Boston, when he strode up Milk Street, and his "horse laugh" Ha! ha! ha!!! rang out, as he announced that "You shall all be paid for these sort of damages by and by!" And they were all well paid.

The following letters, petitions, certificates, etc., from the brother and brother-in-law of the barrack master, whom Col. Joseph Goldthwait petitioned the General Court might be permitted to proceed to New York and settle up the estate of his son, will fully describe the hard conditions under which they labored, and the almost insurmountable obstacles they had to overcome, while contending for the rights of the dead "absentee," in time of dread war.

Martha's Vinyard, Aug. 14, 1782.

This may certify to all whom it may concern, that Samuel Goldthwait the Bearer thereof, having arrived here on this Island in a small boat from New York agreeable to a pass from General Birch, with only himself and a small trunk consisting of wearing apparel, and two people that he brought with him, immediately applied to me as one of the Justices of the Peace to suffer him to get a small vessell to proceed to Boston the one he was in not safe, agreeable to a permit he has received from Gov. Hancock for that purpose, to settle some affairs there, and accordingly I granted him his request,

and he now proceed accordingly in the schooner Nonsuch, John Ferguson, Master, & Timothy Coffin, Seaman.

In testimony hereof, I do acknowledge this from under my hand & seal.

James Ahearn.

Boston Harbour, 22nd Augt. 82.

Sirs. — I arrived at theis Harbour last evening, & am now on the s^d vessell. I would beg the favour of your Excellency to grant Permission for me to be at Mr. Gowings, or any other place your Excellency may think proper as my business respecting my Fathers and Brothers affairs cant be examined into without most of the family being present.

Also some necessary papers are necessary from the Judge of Probates office, & they properly attested before your Excellency.

Also the advanced age of my mother, who is very anguish [anxious] for my being with her, & many other circumstances requiring it, respecting the estates affairs.

Wherefore I most earnestly entreat your Excellency to Grant the request, & your Excellency may be assured of my particularly observing every direction your Excellency may please to order.

I am, your Excelleceys most Devoted and most obedient servant,
Samuel Goldthwait.

To

His Excellency, J^{no} Hancock Esq.
Governor & Commander in Chief.
at Boston.

Col. Birbank :—

Inclosed is a letter for His Excellency Gov^r Hancock, which I beg the fav^r of you to put a wafer on it.

If you shou'd see Doct^r Gowing I shall take it a fav^r you^l desire him to get permission of the Gov^{nr} for my being in Boston, & that he comes down as soon as possible.

I am, with great respect, Sir,
Your most obed^t servt.
Samuel Goldthwait.

P. S.

Pray excuse the liberty I have taken.

Excuse my not sealing in it, hav^g neither wafer nor wax aboard.

Commonwealth of

Mass^{ts}

To His Excellency, John Hancock, Esq.

Governor, & the Hon^l Council of said Commonwealth.

Joseph Gowen of Boston humbly shews :—That your Pet^r in Right of his wife is an Heir to the estate of Joseph Goldthwait Junior, late of the City of New York, Esq., deceased; that his brother Samuel Goldthwait is now at Noddles Island under your Excellencys & Honours permission for the purpose of settling with the Heirs here, but tho' a large and valuable sum of money is acknowledged to be in his hands, he thinks it unsafe to make a Dividend thereof among the other Heirs until the Debts exhibited against said Joseph Goldthwait in this Commonwealth as an absentee, and which he finds to be unexpectedly & surprisingly large, are finally settled and adjusted.

He is confident that many of said debts do not exist; others wholly, & some of them partially discharged, all which facts will appear clear and incontestible by the Books of said Joseph Goldthwait, with his receipts and other papers which are in the City of New York.

Your Petitioner therefore prays your Honours, as he is interested in the proving of said Books & Papers and can receive nothing until they are examined, to grant him leave to go to New York in company with said Goldthwait, and there to receive his dividends of said Estates, & bring the same with him on his return in Monies or Bills of Exchange, together with all such Books, Receipts, & Papers of the said Joseph Goldthwait, deceased, as shall be necessary to adjust and elucidate the amounts of said estate within this Comonwealth.

And, as in duty bound, &c.

Joseph Gowen.

In Council—Advised that the prayer of, &c. be granted, and he, Joseph Gowen, be permitted to take passage on the first Cartel that shall sail from the Ports of Boston, Newport or New London bound for New York.

To His Excellency, &c.

Humbly Sheweth : — Sam^l Goldthwait, your Petitioner, that he has accomplished his business as far as it can be at present : therefore he prays your Excellency & Honours would grant him leave to return to New York to his family in such way as your Excellency & Honours think proper.

And, as in duty bound, &c.

Samuel Goldthwait.

May it please your Excellency & Honours ;

Some days since I sent to request your leave to Return to New York in any way you should think proper ; since w^{ch} have not heard. If agreeable, I would wish to go via Newport or New London, under the care of any power y^r Honours think proper at my own expence.

I am your Honours,

Most Devoted & most ob^d servant,

Samuel Goldthwait.

Noddle Island, 17 Sep^t /82.

(Mass. Arch. 176, 178 : 15-17, 488, 526, 528, 529.)

For the genealogical and other valuable data, the writer is indebted to Miss Charlotte Goldthwaite of Hartford, Conn., who, it is understood, will at some future time, publish a genealogy of the Goldthwait family.

THE BAPTIST CHURCH IN KITTERY.

BY REV. HENRY S. BURRAGE, D. D.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, April 10, 1897.

In an article on Rev. William Screven (Collections and Proceedings of the Maine Historical Society, Second Series, Vol. I. pp. 45-56) and in a subsequent

article giving "Some Added Facts Concerning Rev. William Screven" (Vol. V, pp. 275-284) I have stated the principal items of interest concerning the organization of the Baptist church in Kittery, in 1682. In the first of these articles mention was made of the fact that before the organization of the Kittery church William Screven, who became pastor of the church, and Humphry Churchwood, also of Kittery, were received as members of the Baptist church in Boston, but at what time, and whether by letter, experience or on profession of faith, I was unable to ascertain, as I was informed that the early records of the church, though still in its possession, were in such a dilapidated condition that they could not be consulted. Recently, however, I learned from the present pastor of the church, Rev. N. E. Wood, D. D., that I had been misinformed, and by his courtesy I had the privilege of examining these ancient records, which although somewhat time-worn are by no means ready to vanish away. Indeed they are in an excellent state of preservation considering their age.

From these records I learned that on the twenty-first day of the fourth month in 1681, William Screven, his wife and Humphry Churchwood, were received as members of the Baptist church in Boston by baptism. The supposition hitherto entertained, that Mr. Screven was a member of a Baptist church when he came to this country from England, is thus shown to be erroneous. Mrs. Screven was the third child of Robert Cutts of Kittery, and was married to Mr. Screven, July 23, 1674. Of Humphry Churchwood, I only learn that he

was a resident of Kittery, and was of such prominence among his associates that he was made deacon of the Kittery church at its organization.

On the seventeenth day of the tenth month, 1681, a little more than six months after the reception of these three Kittery residents as members of the Baptist church in Boston, two other residents of Kittery, Leonard Drowne and Mary Cutts, united with the Boston church by baptism. Mary Cutts was the widow of Robert Cutts, who died the last of June, 1674. In the second of the two articles,¹ mentioned above, I said that "sometime subsequent to 1675, Robert Cutts' widow married Capt. Francis Champernowne," of Kittery. As is well known Capt. Champernowne was one of the most prominent of the Kittery colonists and a descendant of many of the most prominent families in the west of England, his father, Arthur Champernowne, being a first cousin of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh. The above record, from the record book of the First Baptist church in Boston, shows that Mary Cutts, the widow of Robert Cutts, was not married to Capt. Champernowne until after 1681. The fact of her church membership furnishes an additional reason why Mrs. Champernowne, after the death of her husband in the spring of 1687, made her way to South Carolina and joined the Screvens in their new home. William Screven, in a letter written at Kittery to the Baptist church in Boston, mentions the fact that his mother-in-law had become a Baptist, but it was not known that she united with the Boston

¹ See Coll. and Proceedings, Second Series, Vol. V, p. 277.

church until this extract from the early records of the church disclosed the fact.

Leonard Drowne, who united with the church in Boston on the same day as Mary Cutts, became one of the constituent members of the Kittery Baptist church.

Five additional residents of Kittery, viz., George Letten, Timothy Davis, Wm. Addams, Humphry Axall, and John Morgradg, were received as members of the Baptist church in Boston, on the twentieth of the twelfth month, 1681. All of these became constituent members of the Kittery church.

In July, 1682, four others, — Landall, Richard Cutts, Sarah Morgandy and Robert Williams, all of Kittery, were baptized and received to membership in the Boston church. With the exception of Landall, all of these became constituent members of the church at Kittery. Richard Cutts was the oldest son of Robert and Mary Cutts, and a brother of Mrs. Screven. Sarah Morgandy — so the name seems to be written — was probably the wife of John Morgradg, as the same spelling, Morgandy, occurs in Backus' list of the constituent members of the church, while in the Boston records his name is plainly recorded as John Morgradg.

The early records of the First Baptist church in Boston, accordingly, reveal the fact that twelve residents of Kittery united with that church at different times within about a year previous to the organization of the Kittery church.

The Baptist church in Boston was organized in Charlestown, May 28, 1665. For a number of years the church met for worship in private houses in

Charlestown, or Noddle's Island (East Boston) and in Boston. February 15, 1679, it occupied for the first time its newly erected meeting-house. In the following May the General Court enacted a law, directing "that no persons whatever, without the consent of the freemen of the town where they live. . . . or, in defect of such consent, a license by the special order of the General Court, shall erect or make use of any houses as above said; and in case any person or persons shall be convicted of transgressing this law, every such house or houses wherein such persons shall so meet more than three, with the land whereon that house or houses stand, and all private ways leading thereto, will be forfeited to the use of the county." For a time, accordingly, the Boston Baptists refrained from using their new meeting-house. But in July following, Charles II., in the interests of his Episcopal subjects, wrote to the authorities of the Bay Colony, requiring them to allow religious liberty to all Protestants, and insisting that no good subjects of his, for not agreeing in the Congregational way, should "be subjected to fines or forfeitures or other incapacities for the same; which is a severity to be the more wondered at, whereas liberty of conscience was made a principal motive for your first transportation into those parts." The Court of Assistants, however, paid little heed to the letter of the king, and March 5, 1680, a warrant was issued "in his Majesty's name, forthwith to summon Philip Squire, Thomas Skinner and Mr. Drinker, to make their appearance before the Court of Assistants now sitting . . . to give an account of their breach of

the law in erecting a meeting-house." As the law to which they referred was enacted after the erection of the meeting-house, this part of the order of the Court was as severe a strain of the facts as was that part of the order which stated that the action of the Court was "in his Majesty's name." The church, however, made a dignified response, but March 8, 1680, the Court responded by forbidding the holding of meetings and nailing up the doors of the church.

In May, in answer to a petition for relief, the Court maintained its attitude of opposition, prohibiting the Baptists, "as a society by themselves, or joined with others, to meet in that public place they have built, or any public house except such as are allowed by lawful authority." On the following Sunday the members of the church held a meeting for worship in the porch of the church. When they assembled on the following Sunday, they found the doors open, and considering, says the record, "that the Court had not done it legally, and that we were denied a copy of the constable's order and marshal's warrant, we concluded to go into our house, it being our own, having a civil right to it."

From that time the Baptist meeting-house was open to its members and the public. Unquestionably it was the well-known attitude of the king which secured to the Baptists of Boston at this time the use of their house of worship. There were sufficient sources of irritation affecting the crown and the Massachusetts colonists, and it was not deemed the part of prudence on the part of the Bay authorities to multiply these needlessly.

This was in 1680, only a year before the Kittery residents I have mentioned united with the Boston church. Concerning the interest which was taken in the organization of the Kittery church by the Boston church, I have given an account in my paper on Rev. William Screven.¹ In the records of the Boston church I find the following report of the representatives of that church, who visited Kittery at the time of the organization of the Kittery church. So far as I am aware this report has never before been printed.

Upon serious and solemn consideration of the Church About a motion or request made by severall members that lived att Kittery that they might become a church & proceed therein provided they were such as should be Approved for such A Foundation work. The church gave their grant and att y^e time Appointed did send severall messengers to make y^t strict Inquiry & Examination as they ought in such A case who att their Desire broughte Y^e Coppys here inserted 26th of 7th Month 1682.

The Church of Christ att Boston y^t is baptized upon profession of faith, having taken into serious consideration y^e. Request of our Brethren at Kittery, relating to their being a church by themselves y^t soe they might enjoy the precious ordinances of Christ which by reason of distance of habitation they butt seldom could enjoy have therefore thought meet to make choise of us whose names are underwritten as messengers to Assist them in y^e same and comeing up to them we have found them A Competent Number and in y^e same faith with us, for upon Careful Examination of them in matters of doctrine & practise & soe finding one with us by their (we hope) Conshienacious Acknowlment of y^e Confession of faith putt forth by y^e Elders and Brethren of y^e Churches in London and y^e Country in England dated in y^e year 1682. And they having given themselves up to y^e Lord & too one Another in A Solemn Covenant to walk as said Covenant may Express & alsoe having Chosen

¹ Collections and Proceedings of the Maine Historical Society, Second Series, Vol. I, pp. 50, 51.

their officers whom they have appointed & ordained we doe therefore in y^e name of y^e Lord Jesus and by the Appointment of his church deliver them to be A Church of Christ in y^e faith and order of y^e Gospel. Signed by us in y^e name of y^e Church the 25 of 7 mo. 1682.

Isaac Hull,
Thomas Skinner,
Phillipp Squire.

Isaac Hull was the pastor of the Boston church; Thomas Skinner was an elder of the church; and Philip Squire was the lay member of the church, who, with Ellis Callender, erected the Baptist meeting-house in Boston. The articles of faith adopted by the Kittery church were the same evidently as were published anonymously in England in 1667 "by the elders and brethren of many congregations of Christians (baptized upon profession of faith) in London and the Country." They were doubtless issued from time to time subsequently — an adaptation for Baptist churches of the Westminster Confession — and were adopted formally in 1689 as the recognized expression of the doctrinal views of the Baptists of England.

A copy of the Covenant adopted by the Kittery church at its organization was spread upon the records of the Boston church in connection with the above report. I was at first inclined to think that this Covenant is the same as that of the Boston church. The members of that church who took with them to Kittery articles of faith would be likely, it would seem, to carry with them also a suitable church covenant, and such a covenant they would have at hand in the covenant of their own church. If, however, they

had taken with them their own church covenant, on their return, in referring to the covenant adopted by the Kittery church, there would be no need of spreading it on the records. It would have been more natural to make the simple statement that the Kittery church adopted as its covenant that of the Boston church. Furthermore, not only was the Kittery covenant spread upon the records of the Boston church, but there was added the attestation of William Screven, pastor of the church, vouching for the accuracy of the copy. If the Kittery covenant was the same as that of the Boston church such a formality would have been superfluous.

So far as I am aware this Kittery church covenant is the second oldest Baptist church covenant in the United States, that of Swansea, Massachusetts, being the first, evidently bearing date 1663, the year of the organization of the church.

The early records of the First Baptist church in Boston do not contain its first covenant. The present church manual of the church, it is true, contains a covenant which is said to have been adopted by the church at its organization, but plainly it is not older than the present century.

The following is a copy of the Kittery Covenant:—

A Copy of these said Covenant.

Wee whose names are here unde written doe solemnly & on good consideration, God assisting us by his grace give up ourselves to y^e Lord & to one another in Solemn Covenant, wherein we doe Covenant & promise to walk with god & one with another In A dew and faithfull observance of all his most holy and blessed Commandm^{ts}, ordinances, Institutions or Appointments, Revealed to us in his

Sacred word of y^e ould & new Testament and according to y^e grace of god & light att present through his grace given us, or hereafter he shall please to discover & make known to us by [may be *through*] his holy spirit according to y^e same blessed word all y^e dayes of our lives and this will we doe, If y^e lord graciously please to Assist us by his grace & spiritt & to give us divine wisdome, strengthe, knowledg & understanding from Above to perform y^e same without which we can doe nothing. John 15. 4. 2. Corinthians 3. 5.

Signed by W^m Screven, Elder,
 Humphrey Churchwood, Deacon,
 Robert Williams, Timothy Davis,
 John Morgradge, Leonard Drowne,
 Richard Cutt, W^m Addams,
 Humphry Axill,
 George Litten.

This is a true copy compared with y^e originall & owned by all our brethren & seven sisters as attest W^m Screven in behalf of y^e rest.

EARLY SCHOOLS IN NEW MARBLEHEAD, NOW WINDHAM.

BY SAMUEL T. DOLE.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, Dec. 3, 1897.

WHEN in that far-off year, 1735, the "Great and General Court" of Massachusetts granted to sixty inhabitants of Old Marblehead the township now known as Windham, they ordained that the home lots should be sixty-three in number, of which one should be for the support of schools in the township. These home lots were laid out one hundred and sixty rods long, ten rods wide, and extended from the main road

to the Presumpscot River, and were then covered with a dense growth of pine and hemlock timber. Their location was in the south part of the town and they were numbered from one to sixty-three inclusive. In a short time after the grant was made several settlers moved their families here and commenced to clear their land, and the school lot appears to have been entirely disregarded. However, as the lumber became scarce, this lot excited the cupidity of some who regarded it as public property, and so took quiet possession of the territory and before any action was taken had cleared and sold many thousand feet of its most valuable timber. At length, however, the citizens awoke to the importance of preserving what was left and brought the matter before the town at the annual meeting held on May 7, 1774, when it "Voted that William Elder, Richard Dole and David Barker be a committee to sue William Maxfield off the school lot, if he refuses to give it up, and likewise to draw so much money out of the treasury as is needful to carry on" the same.

Just what resulted from this somewhat peremptory action the records nowhere state; but tradition asserts that Mr. Maxfield for some time refused to vacate the premises, but was finally compelled to surrender to the majority. He appears to have been the original "squatter sovereign," as while he owned home lot No. 2, he built his house so that one-half stood on No. 1, or the school lot, and now — 1897 — the remains of his old cellar confirm the above statement. A few years after the first settlement the proprietors

laid out a second division of ten-acre lots directly opposite, and in every way corresponding to the first division, and as the town became populous other divisions were made, and the total amount of land that finally fell to each original lot was three hundred and ninety-three acres. But for many years no care was taken to preserve the noble growth of wood and timber then on the property, and it was allowed to depreciate in value to a great extent. At length, however, the town made an arrangement so that now there is a small fund, the interest of which is used for the benefit of the common schools in town.

At what time a school was established in Windham cannot be determined definitely, the old proprietors' records make no mention of any action on their part in regard to the matter, thinking perhaps that in setting apart one sixty-third part of the township for this purpose they had done their whole duty. A tradition in the Webb family is that Samuel Webb taught the first school here in 1743, and Thomas L. Smith in his history of Windham, accepting that tradition, asserts positively that such was the case, all of which may be true, but certain it is that no record can be found on the town books to confirm the statement. He doubtless did teach school here at an early period, but when or where he marshaled his little flock is shrouded in the dim mists of long-gone ages. Mr. Webb was an Englishman who had received a good education and is described as a man of fine natural abilities and was a useful man in the new township. He was ancestor of all bearing the name in Windham and vicinity. In 1766,

he removed to Deer Isle, Maine, and died there February 15, 1785, full of years, having been born on Christmas Day, 1696. Another tradition which is, I think, deserving of confidence, is that Mrs. Mary Chute, wife of Capt. Thomas Chute, our reputed first settler, gathered around her the few children then in the settlement, and amid the multiplicity of her household cares found time to teach them the rudiments of an English education. Her descendants claim that this was before the inhabitants made any attempt to employ a teacher, and if the tradition is true, Mrs. Chute must be regarded as the founder of our common schools in Windham. In 1762, the town was incorporated, and on October 7, 1765, at a meeting held in the meeting-house "it was voted that a school be kept in said town of Windham till the next annual meeting," also "voted that twenty pounds be allowed to pay a school master till March meeting, next." This is the first record I find of money raised for school purposes. No record tells who was employed as teacher or where the school was kept; tradition, however, asserts that one flanker of the old fort was used for that purpose. It would be a matter of great interest if we were able to give the name of the man or woman who taught that early school, but it is impossible so to do, although some say that it was Mr. Webb. This is by no means improbable from the fact that he was here at that time and removed, as before stated, to Deer Isle in 1766. At a meeting held in the blockhouse or fort, on March 26, 1766, "Voted that twenty pounds be allowed to pay a schoolmaster this

year." The next year, on March 26, 1767, the town "Voted to raise thirty pounds for the support of a school or schools the coming year," and as several families had previously settled on the first division of hundred-acre lots, from one to three miles from the fort, it was voted that these should have their "Proper Portion" of said money raised for school purposes, also it was voted to hire a schoolhouse, doubtless to accommodate the pupils in that locality. March 30, 1768, thirty pounds was raised for school purposes, and it was voted to build a schoolhouse *in the road* on the hill, between Thomas Mayberry's and Thomas Trott's, but this locality seems to have been unsatisfactory and the house was built *in the road*, a few rods south of the old fort, but does not appear to have been finished until 1772. In 1770, two hundred pounds was raised to build the above-named schoolhouse. On May 23, 1771, it was "Voted that there shall be money enough assessed to support a school the whole of this present year at fifteen pounds, old tenor, per month, and four dollars per month for board." On December 25, 1772, "Voted that the schoolhouse roof shall be finished and collars round the chimney and the sides and ends be battened," also "Voted that Mr. Richard Dole shall finish shingling and put collars round the chimney and clapboard the whole of the schoolhouse, and that the said Dole shall provide stuff to do said work with and do said work within three weeks from the twenty-fifth day of December, 1772, and that said Dole shall be paid twenty pounds, old tenor, for the above-mentioned labor." It is presumable that Mr.

Dole performed his part faithfully, as the building was in existence many years afterwards, but how much the town clerk received for recording this verbose and apparently peremptory vote, history saith not. In 1774, it was "Voted that thirty pounds, lawful money, be raised to pay Mr. Benjamin Moody for keeping a school in this town in the year 1772, and Mr. John Patterson for keeping a school in this town in the year 1773." These are the first recorded teachers I have been able to find on the town books. Mr. Moody, we learn from the church records, was a native of Newbury, Massachusetts, and was doubtless a descendant of William Moody, a sadler, who came from Ipswich, England, to Ipswich, Massachusetts, in 1634, from thence to Newbury in 1635, and was the ancestor of a numerous posterity. Just what time Benjamin Moody came to this town I am not able to say. Rev. Mr. Smith makes the following entry among the admissions to the church, June 23, 1771: "Mr. Benjamin Moody of Newbury, now residing here as a school-master;" neither do I know where he went after his term of service ended here. Tradition asserts that he was a fine scholar and a faithful and efficient teacher. Mr. Patterson was described to me many years ago by one of his pupils as "a red-headed Irishman," somewhat peppery in disposition and severe in discipline, moreover he was fond of a drop of ardent spirits now and then, but still a teacher of considerable merit. March 30, 1775, voted forty pounds for the support of a school. On March 23, 1779, voted three hundred pounds for the support of the women whose

husbands are in the Continental service, and for the support of a school. What proportion of this money was used for the latter purpose the records fail to state, but it shows that while doing their part unflinchingly in the war for national independence, our fathers could still give out of their scanty means something for the education of their children. March 22, 1781, during the darkest period of the war, it was "Voted sixty pounds in silver or its value in paper, for a school this year." This was at the time when the currency had reached an extremely low point in value, as we find that at the same meeting it was "Voted to pay fifty dollars per day for men and fifty dollars per day for oxen, and twenty-five dollars per day for a plough to work on the highways." About this time there came here Thomas Kennard, known as "Master Kennard." He was a native of Ireland, where he had received a good education, came to this country and was employed by the people of Windham as a teacher for many years. Forty years ago there were living several of his pupils with whom I was acquainted, and from their description "Master Kennard" must have been the teacher, "*par excellence*" of that elder day. He is described as a tall, portly man, with a light complexion, clear blue eyes and prominent, but handsome features. As a teacher he was dignified, though kind and sympathetic with all. Faithful in the discharge of his duties, he sought to impress upon the minds of his pupils the real value of the time spent in the schoolroom and kept alive their enthusiasm by precept and example. Mr. Kennard died unmarried according

to an entry in the town records, September 7, 1819. He was succeeded by Nicholas Anthoine, of whom but little is known at this time. It is said, however, that he was an efficient teacher and died here, leaving a family. From 1781 to 1789 nothing of importance is found on the records in regard to schools save the annual raising of money for that purpose. On February 23, 1789, "It was voted to move the old schoolhouse to Mr. Little's hill, near his dwelling-house." This would have been about one mile and a half from the original location and is significant in showing the rapid growth of the town; but it does not appear that the vote was carried into effect for the next year, 1790, "it was voted to give the old schoolhouse to the Widow Young." Tradition says that this was done and the ancient seat of learning finished its course as a dwelling-house. For the next two or three years there appears to have been no schoolhouse in the town, but rooms were hired for that purpose in dwelling-houses. Tradition asserts that a school was kept for a while in a dwelling known as the "Hardy house," and the teacher was a Miss Molly Legarde, known to the pupils as "Marm Garde." Where she came from I have been unable to ascertain, as the only mention of the name I find in the town records is as follows:—

Mr. Reubin Hill, of Gray, and Miss Molly Legarde, of Windham,
Intends marriage.

Windham Dec. 4, 1790

Abram Osgood Town Clerk.

No record of the marriage can be found, but doubtless this was the ultimate end of "Marm Garde."

Until the year 1793, the whole township composed one school district, but on April 1 of that year it was "voted that Abraham Anderson, Mr. Paul Little, Lemuel Jones, Winslow Hall, Thomas Crague, Elijah Kennard and David Purinton be a School committee to District the Town and to take charge of the school and Regulate it." The above committee apparently did nothing whatever in regard to the matter, and the next year the town raised seventy pounds for a school. In 1796 they raised one hundred pounds for the same purpose. In 1798, April 2, "voted that Abraham Anderson, Paul Little, Esq., Joshua Roberts, Winslow Hall, Benjamin Morrill, Stephen Robertson and David Purinton be a committee to district the town into Proper Districts according to the 19th article in the warning." "Voted to raise one hundred pounds for a school this year." "Voted to build a schoolhouse in each District." The above committee at once proceeded to business and at the next annual meeting reported that they had laid out eight school districts according to the town's vote, and their report defining the limits of each was accepted. No record gives positive information as to whether these schoolhouses were built according to the vote or not, but it is presumable that they were. No change was made in these districts until 1808, when a committee appointed by the town added four more, making twelve in number. With a few changes these districts remained as first laid out until May 4, 1818, when the limits of each was revised and defined, as was deemed best by the committee appointed for that purpose, in which

condition they remained with the addition of several new ones, added at different times as the town grew in population, until the recent state law abolished the old district system.

The schoolhouses built during this period were architectural monstrosities, being rude and comfortless in the extreme, with low ceilings, small windows, and furnished with huge open fireplaces and rough plank benches and desks. In their sanitary arrangement, however, they could easily discount the wildest theory of the most approved ventilation crank of the present age, as the winds of heaven had free access through numberless cracks and knot-holes in the dilapidated walls. In fact, most of these buildings would to-day be thought totally unfit for the purpose of stabling domestic animals; but somehow both teachers and pupils suffered and, perhaps, grew strong.

Sometime during the latter years of the last century, the Friends' Society in Windham, with a desire to give their children a better education than was then afforded by the public schools, erected a two-storied building near the site of their present meeting-house and fitted it up for an "academy." Unfortunately no records can be found in regard to this institution or who were its teachers. The late John Neal of Portland, tells us in his *Wandering Recollections of a Somewhat Busy Life*, published in 1869, that he was at one time a pupil here, but gives no date of when it was; and a well-known historian of Portland, informs us that he has seen a record in which it is stated that the school was discontinued about 1802

for lack of patronage. Tradition asserts that one of its principals was the celebrated Robert Blair, well-known fifty years ago as "Master Blair." He was born in Armagh, Ireland, February 24, 1774; died in Falmouth, April 10, 1845; of him it was said "that he knew enough to build a ship and navigate across the Atlantic Ocean." He was a member of the Friends' Society and is said to have been a most worthy man. Another tradition tells us that Chase Stevens, another old-time Friend, about the year 1800, erected a building near the mouth of the "Horse Beef" road, in the south part of Windham, and for a few years taught the higher branches, but failed for want of patronage. Just what time his school closed I am unable to state positively, but in his journal, now in the possession of a descendant, he speaks of keeping school in Brunswick in 1802; at Windham, in 1805; and at Gorham in 1806; so it is presumable that the school ceased to exist about 1805. And it may be said that here ends the history of our early schools.

The next thirty or forty years appears to be a sort of transition period. The town rapidly increased in wealth and population. The young men and women began to feel the need of better school privileges than could be found at home and many went to the old-time academies then to be found in the neighboring towns, where, under the influence of these institutions, they soon became the foremost teachers of the times in which they lived, and there came upon the stage of action a class of teachers whose earnest and persistent

efforts in a few years materially changed the aspect of our common schools and rendered them more efficient in every respect. Among the teachers of this transition period may be mentioned Stephen and John Webb, Timothy Kennard, Oliver Dole, William E. Brown, John W. Goodell, Thomas L. Smith, Daniel W. Dole, Edwin Mayberry, Huldah R. Hawkes, Abba Little, Mary A. Smith, Sarah F. Dole, and many others, whose names alone would fill a page, all good and true men and women, who were faithful and efficient teachers, and who have left behind them the record of duties well-performed.

During the year 1839, Reverend, afterwards Rev. Dr. William Warren, pastor of the church, came here and established a "High School" of which he was principal. The first term was taught at "Windham Hill," but finding that many of his pupils lived at South Windham and vicinity, the next year the term was held in District No. 2, or Brown's, near Little Falls, and as long as the school lasted it was arranged so that a term was held at this place alternately with the "Hill." Dr. Warren's school was an unqualified success from first to last. He was a man of rare intellectual abilities, with a decided love for teaching, while his methods were far in advance of the times and were really the forerunner of the present enlightened system of education.

Of the present conditions of our schools in Windham, I have no need to speak. Their progress and efficiency are apparent to all our citizens, and every one who loves his kind or has a desire for the good of

the community will rejoice in this fact and give to our faithful teachers the praise and encouragement justly due their earnest labors. Our fathers laid the foundation of our common school system on a firm basis, and we, their descendants, are to-day reaping the benefits of their forethought and their sacrifices, let us then see to it that we, out of our abundance, adorn and beautify the superstructure of which they laid the foundation in their poverty, so that our children may inherit a building fully perfected and fitly joined together.

EPHRAIM CHAMBERLAIN CUMMINGS.

A MEMORIAL.

BY GEORGE FOSTER TALBOT.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, March 30, 1898.

PERHAPS it is because interest in historical studies is like that in horticulture, the special taste of old age, that this little body of ours is called so frequently to lament the loss and commemorate the virtues of the associates, who, one after the other, disappear finally from our sessions. The Maine Historical Society has had, perhaps, among its members, more indefatigable investigators, and more prolific producers, but never a more accomplished scholar, a more elegant and graceful writer and talker, a more competent and judicious critic, or a more pure, blameless

and amiable man, than he, whose recent demise we are met here to deplore.

I think it is a mistake to hold that every lost man's place is filled ; that, as in war, for every soldier fallen, another steps forward to fill up the ranks and bear the brunt of battle. New places are made. There is an infinite variety to life. With the same juxtaposition of features, every one of the myriad faces of a people is an original and type of its own. Just so our intellectual, our spiritual faculties are not copies of those of our ancestors or predecessors, but are drafted on new lines and adjusted to work that never was done before.

So, however assiduous may be the labor of those who in the future shall prosecute the studies and create the historical memorials which it is the office of this Society to collect and publish, the rare ability, the combination of critical acumen, felicity of style, and catholicity and liberality of judgment, which characterized Mr. Cummings will not be likely to appear in any successor.

What strikes the reader in looking over Mr. Cummings' contributions to the published Proceedings of our Society, from his admirable tribute to the memory of his venerable associate in the ministry, Rev. Dr. Carruthers, to his sketches of Father Rasle and the Jesuit missionaries, whose work in Christianizing the aborigines in Maine was so self-sacrificing and so effective, is the charm, the rhythmical flow of his written style, the soundness of his historic judgment, the comprehensiveness of his learning, and his ability

always to see the characters he depicts from their best and largest side. He was no partizan. He handled historic personages with the same candor, the same utter good-breeding that he did living antagonists in a discussion. A super-Calvinistic divine of the old New England type, insisting that his dogmas were the essentials of saving faith, a French Jesuit missionary toting from one Indian camp to another in the wilderness, his altar-cloths, chasubles, capes and consecrated vessels for the service of the holy ceremonies of his church, were alike Christians to him, in whose fidelity and devotion he recognized the spirit of their common Master.

The story of the Catholic missions at Pentagoët and Norridgewock, with the glimpses afforded by the amiable and domestic, as well as the warlike and heroic, type of the savages, whose lands we have inherited, is so poetic, the translation of the original letters and documents is so admirable, that it is to be regretted that Mr. Cummings was not able to complete it, and from the materials to which he had access to produce a volume of recognized authority and value concerning the aboriginal natives of Maine, who, perhaps, as our former associate, Mr. Elwell, used to maintain, were the foremost among the races, who once held the North American continent, not only in bravery and military prowess, but in intellect and culture.

It is true that history for the most part values men by what they do rather than by what they are, but that is because for historical personages actual achievement is the only measure we have of character

and capacity. We, who knew him so well, in whose companionship he poured out the wealth of his choicest thought, who were stimulated to all large and liberal thinking, to all worthy and noble living, by the habitual elevation and serenity of his spirit, are well aware that whatever the literary records of his life may be to others, what he achieved in the building of a faultless and noble character, to be remembered with veneration and affection, will be for us his worthiest monument.

Perhaps I may be allowed on this occasion to repeat a part of what I have already said, in a memorial service held by the Portland Fraternity Club, in honor of its vice-president and esteemed associate, which no publicity is likely to follow, in further exposition of what will be likely to distinguish our lost member among the men who have done honor to this Society and this State.

We all fail of our ideals. Death surprises us, not only in our early life, but midway and even at the end, with the great work we meant to do—we thought we might be able to do—not done, often not seriously attempted. Our lately lost friend did make a brave and hopeful attempt to accomplish the great work, which seemed to his enthusiastic soul to be assigned to him to do. Carefully and thoroughly educated, master of a style both for written and oral speech, that was lucidity itself, fairly conversant with the trend and the general results of modern scientific investigation and criticism, as well as with the history of philosophy and metaphysical discussion from Plato

and his forerunners, to Kant and his successors; capable of large generalizations, and endowed with that creative imagination, the progeny of which were speculations not always intelligible to minds that had been trained on other lines than his, he seemed well equipped to be a guide and a teacher, not only for a local parish, but for his age and the world.

The fortunes of his life, on the whole, favored this noble ambition. His apprenticeship in drudging toil, required by the narrow circumstances to which he had been born, was long enough to discipline him in industry, not long enough to beget the sordid appetite for material wealth, which tarnishes and vulgarizes the lives of so many of our contemporaries. Before middle life opportunities to instruct, a rostrum from which to proclaim his message, if he had one to deliver, were offered to him.

With a profusion of copious thoughts, with an ease, an elegance of expression, that made his tongue as eloquent as his pen, his professional routine, during the brief period that he occupied the professor's chair and the parish pulpit, must have set very lightly on him. After his work was well done, one may even say too well done, he had a paradise of leisure for lofty thinking and favorite studies. Exceptionally good health favored him till he had passed his seventieth milestone, and his last sickness, so patiently borne, was his only serious sickness. When we remember what intellectual labor John Addington Symonds and our own Prescott accomplished, in spite of terrible and chronic invalidism, our friend's lot

seems a specially happy one. He fell into domestic relations, which, with the simplicity and inexpensiveness of his tastes, habits and economies, virtually exempted him from the nearly universal solicitude of earning a livelihood.

With this equipment, and these helpful surroundings, he was nevertheless unable to put himself in relation either with the general intelligent public, or with the choice circle of foremost thinkers, as an author and competent instructor. Cheerful and enthusiastic as he was, he complained that the world seemed to have no need of his counsels, and that all the satisfaction the publication of what was his *magnum opus* had given him, was the satisfaction of having borne his testimony, whether men hear or forbear to hear.

This work, the condensation and embodiment of his parochial teaching, the completion and orderly statement of what in fragments, often in real pearls of speech, he had uttered in the sessions of this club, to whose intellectual fund he had contributed so largely and so richly, was *Nature in Scripture*, a volume of three hundred and fifty pages, published in this city in 1885. This book is the best monument a cherished and gifted man has left of himself, and the world, or if not the world, then the church, the school to which in proper classification Mr. Cummings belonged, will yet rise to the level of its large and liberal spirit.

Nearly simultaneously, Prof. Drummond, now too deceased, attempted the same task, that is to reconcile the implications of modern science as to the mind and character of the Being, predicated as the

designer and the administrator of the cosmos, with certain metaphysical conceptions, which form the dogmatic basis of our conventional religion. The Professor's work was an immediate and brilliant success, so far as the vogue it at once obtained, the extent of discussion it excited, and the measure of reputation and compensation it brought to its author. Perhaps it was because he had a more comprehensive and expert knowledge of the domain of science, and because he approached the parallelism attempted to be shown between nature and grace from the scientific side. On the other hand, treating the question much in the same way and pushing it to the same conclusions, Mr. Cummings assumed the Pauline Calvinistic theses as his axiomatic data, and tried to find in the laws and principles of nature, assumed to have the same ultimate origin, a similar and cognate suggestion. The evangelical world welcomed Prof. Drummond as they did Prof. Dawson and Prof. Dana, as acquisitions from the hostile camp of science, and while they recognized Mr. Cummings as competent to interpret the mysteries of the faith, may have doubted his ability to make much impression upon the hard heads of the followers of Spencer, Huxley and Darwin.

It may be that, notwithstanding the transient popularity of the twin progeny of the Professor, the problem both these authors attempted was insoluble. The Millennial promise to the church is really larger, more revolutionary than has been interpreted in its scriptures. It is the promise of a new heavens as well as a new earth. The God whom the enlarged cosmos

and its grander order will ultimately reveal to the coming great soul, is a God who will find the old heavens unclean and charge its very angels with folly. The new wine of truth, which has put new life into nature, cannot be kept in the old bottles of an outgrown theology. The man has not yet come, but his coming will not be long delayed, who will be able to correlate the metaphysics that shall harmonize and confirm the physics, that have so vastly changed the aspects of the narrow skies that roofed the infancy of our race.

But let me check myself. This is no place for debate and controversy. It were mean to take advantage of his enforced silence, who, were he here, would, with his loftier thought and wider generalization, confound and confute my presumption.

Of one reward our absent brother cannot be defrauded. He embraced, expounding it to the proportions of his own liberal ideas, a system of faith—a tabernacle wherein to dwell—that reacted upon his own character and life to make them sweet, serene and noble. His good record, the tender sympathy he had ready to give the suffering and the afflicted, the inaustrere and winning charm of his manners, gave notice to all that knew him, that he had wrought out a theory of life, a method of contemplating the aspects and meanings of the visible creation, under which all generous, upright and pure living and thinking were attainable.

Let me complete the historic picture of our lamented associate by mentioning the leading incidents and the principal activities of his uneventful, but, on the

whole, rarely fortunate life. Son of Francis and Lois (Chamberlain) Cummings, he was born at Albany, Oxford County, Maine. Oxford County, with its mountainous surface, its rigorous but invigorating climate, has contributed more perhaps than any other precinct to that native sagacity, that capacity for sustained intellectual as well as physical labor, that clearness of insight which is the requisite of all valuable philosophic speculation and study, which have distinguished Maine-born people in industrial invention, in political leadership, and in initiating and guiding the currents of modern thought. Rev. Asa Cummings, so long the editor of the *Christian Mirror*, the influential organ of evangelical religion in Maine, was his father's brother. Young Cummings passed several years of his youth as a member of his uncle's household and a helper in his work.

He was fitted for college at North Yarmouth Academy, a preparatory school long famous for the high character of its teachers and the thoroughness of its instruction. Beforehand with the usual preparatory studies, he passed his examination for admission to the Sophomore class at Bowdoin in 1841, when he was sixteen years old; but owing to ill health, he relinquished the prosecution of his collegiate studies and did not commence them till 1849. After graduation he was employed in teaching, being one year tutor in his college. He chose the clerical profession; and, completing his theological studies at Bangor, he was ordained for the ministry in 1857, as pastor of the Congregational church in Brewer. His next pastorate

was in St. Johnsbury, Vermont, and continued from 1860 to 1870, during which term he served one year as chaplain of the Fifteenth Vermont regiment, engaged in the War of the Rebellion. He also at this period was greatly delighted and instructed by his first visit to the Old World.

Upon leaving St. Johnsbury he came to Portland, which he made his home for the rest of his life. He had no official connection after coming to Portland, employing his time in study, historical research and authorship, though he supplied the pulpit of the Park Street Unitarian church for a year, and was during parts of the years 1872, 1873, provisional professor of mental and moral philosophy at Bowdoin College. Mr. Cummings became a member of the Phi Beta Kappa at his graduation in September, 1853. Served as the vice-president of the Alpha of Maine from 1883-87, and as its president from 1887 to 1889, both inclusive.

He was among the early members of the Portland Fraternity Club, a literary and social association, holding weekly sessions at the houses of its members, which society has just entered upon the twenty-fifth year of its successful existence. His comprehensive learning, his unsurpassed conversational talents, and his genial and charitable spirit, made him a general favorite in the fellowship, though the absolute non-publicity which the Club always maintained, has made no reputation or fame for those gems of colloquial wit and wisdom he so largely contributed to its conversations. At the time of his death he was its vice-president.

His last year but one brought him both the means and the leisure to make another journey to Europe. He was absent more than a year, his wife accompanying him, and a delightful resurvey of the treasures of art, science and literature, which the countries of the Old World offer to persons with the necessary training and taste to appreciate them, was perhaps the pleasantest of his earthly experiences. It was a fitting incident to complete the good fortunes of a life, as lives go, specially favored and happy. He died of valvular disease of the heart, December 14, 1897.

Mr. Cummings married, October 18, 1866, Annie Louise, daughter of Rev. Dr. Swan L., and Annie (Quincy) Pomeroy. His wife survives him.

Mr. Cummings was elected a member of the Maine Historical Society, June 22, 1890.

The following papers were read by Mr. Cummings before the Society:—

- Nov. 20, 1890. Life of Rev. Dr. John J. Carruthers.
- June 10, 1892. Historic Hints for a Maine University.
- Dec. 9, 1892. The Mission of Father Sebastian Râle as Depicted by Himself.
- Dec. 7, 1893. The Mission at St. Sauveur.
- Jan. 25, 1894. The Capuchin Fathers and Jesuits at Pentagoët.
- Dec. 13, 1894. Concerning the Indian Dictionary of the Rev. Father Sebastian Râle.
- Feb. 4, 1897. Captain Daniel Tucker, of Falmouth.

RECORDS OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS IN HARTLAND, MAINE.

COMPILED BY JAMES O. BRADBURY, SACO.

Amos Tucker formerly of New Gloucester, b. March 12, 1780.

Sally Tucker, his wife, b. April 22, 1785.

Sally Tucker, daughter as above, October 21, 1807.

Louisa Tucker, daughter as above, b. August 7, 1809.

Amos Tucker Jr., son as above, b. May 20, 1811.

Betsy Tucker, daughter, as above, b. July 16, 1813.

Levicy Tucker, daughter, as above, b. August 11, 1818.

William Tucker, son as above, b. March 6, 1821.

Thomas Maxwell Tucker, b. May 22, 1824.

Stafford Tucker, son as above, b. October 10, 1826.

Richard Cook, b. May 12, 1785.

Mary Cook, his wife, b. May 1, 1792.

Sally Water Cook, daughter as above, b. May 3, 1812.

Emma Harlem Cook, daughter as above, b. February 15, 1814.

Luther W. Cook, son as above, b. March 17, 1816.

Richard H. Cook, son as above, b. March 24, 1820.

John Nevens, b. July 19, 1781, formerly of Danville.

Polly Nevens, his wife, b. December 3, 1783.

Charles Nevens, son as above, b. February 6, 1817.

David Nevens, son as above, b. November 7, 1818.

Thomas Maxwell, nephew as above, b. July 21, 1802.

William Nevens, nephew as above, b. September 24, 1808.

John Nevens Jr., son as above, b. September 30, 1821. Hung himself
November 26, 1870.

Mary Jane Nevens, daughter as above, b. September 3, 1825. Mary
Nevens d. June 11, 1827.

Julian Nevens, daughter as above, b. October 29, 1826.

Ebenezer Odlin, b. July 29, 1777, formerly of Gillmanton, New Hamp-
shire.

Eliza Odlin, his wife, b. June 17, 1775.

John Lumber, servant, as above, b. March 6, 1805.

Mary Odlin, mother as above, b. September 6, 1747.

RECORD OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS IN HARTLAND. 415

Joshua Burges, b. August 28, 1787, formerly of Hallowell.
Hannah Burges, his wife, b. May 16, 1793.
Henry Burges, son by a former wife, b. March 28, 1810.
Louisa Burges, daughter by a former wife, b. April 5, 1812.
Elezer Burges, son as above, b. January 6, 1816.
Elizabeth Burges, daughter as above, b. Sept. 11, 1817.
Abby Ann Burges, daughter as above, b. December 25, 1819.

James Huff, b. March 29, 1784.
Mary Huff, his wife, b. August 22, 1786.

Nathaniel Cook, b. September 20, 1790, formerly of Fairfield.
Nancy Cook, his wife, b. July 22, 1801.
Delilah Cook, daughter, as above, b. July 6, 1818.
William Odlin Cook, son as above, b. December 17, 1819.
Adeline Cook, daughter as above, b.

Levi Flagg, b. June 6, 1778.
Sarah Flagg, his wife, b. January 10, 1780.
Ebenezer Flagg, son as above, b. May 22, 1806.
Elisha Flagg, son as above, b. Nov. 27, 1811.
Mary S. Flagg, daughter as above, b. December 18, 1813.

Ezekiel Dunlap, b. July 31, 1797.
Susan Dunlap, his wife, b. September 27, 1795.
Lucinda Dunlap, daughter as above, b. February 9, 1818. Lucinda
Dunlap, d. August 30, 1836.
Eliza Ann Dunlap, daughter as above, b. July 17, 1819.
Hepziel W. Dunlap, b. April 14, 1823.
Andrew P. Dunlap, b. Oct. 9, 1825.
William Henry Dunlap, b. January 6, 1828.
Susan M. Dunlap, b. July 17, 1830.
George W. Dunlap, b. July 18, 1833.

Jabez Dyer, b. Formerly of Cape Elizabeth.
Lydia Dyer, his wife, b.
Jordan Dyer, son as above, b.
Hannah Dyer, daughter as above, b.
Jabez Dyer jr., son as above, b.
Jabez Dyer, d.

Samuel Jewett, b. August 16, 1777, formerly of Bloomfield.
Betsey Jewett, his wife, b. September 22, 1787.
Eliza Jewett, daughter as above, b. October 4, 1804.
Amanda Jewett, daughter as above, b. December 21, 1806.

Henry Jewett, son as above, b. February 13, 1809.
 Joseph Jewett, son as above, b. August 3, 1811.
 Fyfield Jewett, son as above, b. December 18, 1818.
 Isaac Jewett, son as above, b. February 9, 1816.
 Samuel Jewett, Jr., son as above, b. July 3, 1818.
 Silphia Jewett, b. October 22, 1823.
 Solomon S. Jewett, son as above, b. June 14, 1826.
 William B. Jewett, b. May 5, 1828.

David Mitchel, b. February 28, 1798, formerly of Danville.
 Eliza Mitchel, his wife, b. October 4, 1804.
 Mary Jane Mitchel, daughter as above, b. April 15, 1821.
 James S. Mitchel, son as above, b. July 26, 1823.
 Lutia Ann Mitchel, daughter as above, b. August 16, 1825.
 Francis Mitchel, son as above, b. March 3, 1828.
 Henry J. Mitchel, son as above, b. December 6, 1831.
 Sarah Eliza Mitchel, daughter as above, b. May 22, 1833.
 Fiffeld David Mitchel, son as above, b. August 20, 1839.
 Henry J. Mitchel, d. November 2, 1840.

Andrew Phelps, b. August 27, 1774.
 Susanna Phelps, his wife, b. May 27, 1775.
 Polly Phelps, daughter as above, b. August 28, 1798.
 Joseph Phelps, son as above, b. August 27, 1800.
 Eliza Phelps, daughter as above, b. August 27, 1800.
 John Phelps, son as above, b. July 2, 1803.
 Sally Phelps, daughter as above, b. February 18, 1806.
 Mary Ann Phelps, daughter as above, b. November 25, 1807.
 Lydia Phelps, daughter as above, b. July 23, 1809.
 Marshal Warren Phelps, son as above, b. November 25, 1810.
 George Washington Phelps, son as above, b. April 20, 1812.
 Hannah Phelps, daughter as above, b. June 18, 1813.

John W. Jordan, b. January 11, 1788, formerly of Danville, Cumberland County.

Betsy Jordan, his wife, b. November 21, 1796.
 Charles McKenney Jordan, son as above, b. January 13, 1817.
 Lemuel Moody Jordan, son as above, b. April 5, 1819.
 John Jordan, son as above, b. February 10, 1822.
 Stephen Rowe Jordan, son as above, b. July 30, 1824.
 James Jordan, son as above, b. July 19, 1828.
 Lurane Jordan, daughter as above, b. June 18, 1831.
 Rush Jordan, son as above, b. October 27, 1833.
 William Jordan, son as above, b. November 2, 1839.
 True W. Jordan, son of Charles Jordan, b. April 21, 1845.

James Fuller, b. February 1, 1786, formerly of Exeter, N. H.
 Rebecker Fuller, his wife, b. November 17, 1793.
 John Warren Fuller, son as above, b. January 16, 1815.
 Thomas Fuller, son as above, b. Nov. 17, 1816.
 James Fuller, Jr., son as above, b. January 10, 1819.
 Elizabeth Ann Fuller, daughter as above, b. April 8, 1821.
 George Fuller, son of the above, b. April 28, 1826.
 George L. Fuller, b. April 11, 1831.
 Samuel L. Fuller, b. January 15, 1833.
 Josiah L. Fuller, b. May 12, 1835.
 Edward K. Fuller, b. August 23, 1837.
 Rebecca Fuller, his (James Fuller) wife, d. April 12, 1829.
 George Fuller, father of James Fuller, Esq., d. October 10, 1825.
 George Fuller, son of James Fuller, Esq., d. October 10, 1828.

Kendall Pollard, b. September 2, 1774, at Notinghamware, N. H.
 Rhoda Pollard, his wife, b. January 5, 1776.
 Sally Pollard, daughter as above, b. February 27, 1798.
 Isaac Pollard, son as above, b. December 22, 1799.
 Stilman Pollard, son as above, b. January 29, 1802.
 Mary Pollard, daughter as above, b. August 10, 1804.
 Lydia Pollard, daughter as above, b. July 4, 1806.
 Jacob Pollard, son as above, b. June 25, 1807.
 John Pollard, son as above, b. August 22, 1810.
 Thomas Pollard, son as above, b. October 4, 1813.
 Benjamin K. Pollard, son as above, b. April 5, 1818.
 Ales Pollard, daughter as above, b. January 18, 1822.
 Lorantha Pollard, b. September 19, 1824.

John Whiting, b. January 25, 1759.
 Margret Whiting, his wife, b. March 16, 1782.
 Leonard Whiting, son as above, b. March 11, 1808.
 Nancy Whiting, daughter as above, b. October 5, 1806, d. April 20, 1809.
 Lucky Whiting, daughter as above, b. February 22, 1810.
 Brice McLellan Whiting, son as above, b. April 2, 1812.
 Sarah B. Whiting, daughter as above, b. February 15, 1815.
 Betsey Whiting, daughter as above, b. April 26, 1818.
 John Whiting, son as above, b. March 5, 1820.
 Benjamin French Whiting, son as above, b. June 8, 1822.

Rishworth Jordan, b. January 20, 1792.
 Charlott Jordan, his wife, b. March 28, 1793.
 Hannah Jordan, daughter as above, b. November 17, 1816.
 Ebenezer Jordan, son as above, b. October 7, 1818.

- Loann Jordan, daughter as above, b. July 28, 1820.
Moses Chase Jordan, son as above, b. April 30, 1822.
Jonathan C. Jordan, b. January 1, 1825.
Sumner Jordan, b. September 28, 1825.
Nancy Jordan, b. July 4, 1827.
Sumner Jordan, d. October 16, 1828.
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REV. CALEB BRADLEY ON THE MADA-
WASKA WAR.

BY LEONARD B. CHAPMAN.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, March 30, 1898.

IN the month of June, 1880, the old Broad Tavern, situated a half-mile on a southerly course from Stroudwater village, Deering, upon the easterly side of the way from the ancient hamlet to the Reform School in Cape Elizabeth, the part now known as South Portland, was opened to public inspection a few days and an admittance fee taken at the door, to aid the work of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. The house had been closed as an inn for a period of nearly fifty years. Among the quaint old articles put on exhibition was a military banner artistically painted upon silk (the same you now behold) which bore the words: "Presented by the Ladies of Stroudwater, to the Stroudwater Light Infantry Company — 1805," and other words. A column article appeared in the Portland Press of that month relative to the affair, giving a full description of the banner, concerning which the oldest inhabitants of the place had nothing of a personal or traditional knowledge to relate.

From a report made in the Portland Argus of January 22, 1892, it is found the banner was presented at that time to this Society by Miss Almira A. Broad, a granddaughter of Thaddeus Broad, the original proprietor of the old tavern house erected some over a hundred years ago, now standing in excellent repair, where the banner was kept from 1815, when the company was disbanded till the time of presentment to this Society as above noticed.

January 1, of this year I published in The Deering News an historical article which ended with a notice of Capt. John Waterhouse, who was captain of the company in the year 1805, when the banner was presented to the company. Since this time I have followed the first presentment with ten other articles in the same journal with reference to the company, incidents and notices of persons connected therewith, giving the speech made by Miss Eunice Quinby at the presentation and response by one Enoch Richards, and two more articles will be required to complete the undertaking, the last relating to early titles to the Broad farm, known in ye olden times as the "Salt Box Farm," Salt Box and present houses, with a genealogy of the Broad family. These several articles have been preserved in scrap-book form, and are now presented to our Society with photos, made by myself, of the old Broad house, the residence of Capt. John Quinby (the wooden structure now standing at the junction of Pine and Congress Streets) Portland, then at Stroudwater, in which Miss Quinby resided, and before which house the presentation was made, as well as the house at

Bradley's Corner, Deering, of Rev. Caleb Bradley, who delivered an oration at the meeting-house on the same day the banner was presented.

To the demonstration when the banner was originally presented there was a counter demonstration at the old Broad resort, when Rev. Joab Young delivered an oration which was printed and sold at twelve and one-half cents each per copy, and though one copy at least is still in existence, I have never seen it nor have I any knowledge of the orator on the occasion.

In the year 1807, Charles Peirce of Stroudwater was ensign of the company, and I now present our Society with his well preserved commission.

In the year 1812, during the month of June, the company held a meeting northwesterly of Morrills Corner, this city, to which I here allude because I have recently received from Thomas Ferguson, of Dayton, York County, the original notice issued to Charles Ferguson, his father, which I now present with the Peirce commission.

Charles Ferguson was born in the part of the town of Kittery known as Eliot, January 20, 1777. He came to Stroudwater, purchased land in 1806, started in company with a brother a small tannery, and November 30, 1814, united in marriage with Mary Slemons of that place, and came into possession of the fresh water mill privilege and other property. In 1836, he removed to that part of the town of Hollis which is now the town of Dayton, and from Charles' son Thomas I obtained at a recent visit this reminder of the war of 1812-15, which shows how the news of peace was

received in Portland and vicinity. This I now present to our Society as coming from the Ferguson family, where it has been all the intervening years.¹

I now come to the extracts relative to the Madawaska war which I have made from the diary of Rev. Caleb Bradley, who resided for a period of sixty years at Bradley's Corner, Deering, in one of the very few dwellings standing hereabouts at this time as originally constructed a century ago.

September 10, 1838. This is an important day in this state for officers of the state are to be chosen. Great anxiety is felt, great exertions have been made. My consolation: "The Lord reigns, let the earth rejoice." I attended the meeting at noon and put in my ballot. Everybody being brought to the polls — those who could not walk were carried — fools and madmen all voted. The Whigs cast 274 votes [Westbrook] for the Kent ticket and the Tories [Democrats] 488 for Fairfield. The greatest excitement ever known in the town or state. The Whigs in the city [Portland] gave 1,536 votes and the Tories 1,065. Each party at present claim the election.

February 25, 1839. This has been a rainy and snowy day. Not much done, but going from house to house enquiring: "What news, any thing from Augusta — any thing from Washington?" Drafting men at Brewer's to go to the seat of the war [Brewer's was a public house kept by one Capt. Dexter Brewer, where the cellar hole of the large building may be seen on the southerly side of Congress Street, opposite Stroudwater, and on the easterly bank of Fore River.] William C. Bradley [the parson's son] drafted to fight for what? A few pine logs? The British say they belong to them — we say they belong to us. The British lion may snarl and growl and snap his teeth, but a few leaden pills directed by our Yankee warriors will stop his snarling — so some of our wise Tories say. Oh, foolish men to a high degree.

¹ A facsimile of the original appeared in the Portland Daily Advertiser at the time the meeting was held, with editorial comments.

February 26. The war-whoops sound, and many of those drafted to go to the battlefield act crazily. Went into the city to inquire for news. It is said 1,500 troops left Augusta, this morning for the boundary line. Poor fellows will have a hard time with snow and mud up to their knees.

February 27. The friends of the boundary war don't talk quite so loud; they begin to be a little cool. What an awful calamity it is to a country to have headstrong, ignorant, wicked men for rulers. They do they care not what to plunge the country into trouble, and then those who have opposed them must stand in the front and help settle the difficulty and pay the bills.

March 2. This is a day of water, snow and mud, noise, excitement and engendering of bad feelings of the human heart. Have received orders to appear next Monday in Portland, and be ready to march whenever the authorities may order. O, what madness! Can it be that we are to be involved in the horrors of war with a foreign nation? Has God thus left us to madness? The light troops are ordered to be in Portland next Monday morning and prepared to march to the boundary. This looks like something serious. Has it come to this—must our sons be sacrificed to gratify the wicked ambition of unfeeling demagogues who happen to be in authority? I protest against the doings of our State government. Both the political parties are mad—and worse. It seems as though they had combined to ruin our country. I detest them! I abhor their doings in this respect! O, contemptible, contemptible, disgraceful, horrible, abominable! Let their names be handed down with infamy to the latest posterity.

March 4. An extremely cold day. I spent it in the city. The troops destined for the boundary quarrel collecting—all bustle and noise in the city. The soldiers are expecting to march to-morrow. I hope, however, it will not be so, and there will be counter orders.

March 5. The weather as yesterday. I went into the city in the morning; all bustle and noise, preparing to march. At three o'clock P. M. the troops, between two and three hundred, left for Augusta, principally in carriages. About this time General Scott;

arrived on his way to the front as pacificator, and my prayer is he will succeed, and the troops receive orders to return to their respective homes. I have been in the city two days and they have been days of confusion. If a few detached soldiers can make so much confusion, what must be the noise where hundreds of thousands are collected?

March 6. Nothing talked about but the boundary line confusion. O, the horrors of war! To think of being involved in war with England is too much; it must not be; it can't be! The God of heaven avert the judgment, though we are deserving of as great a calamity.

March 9. The war seems to be all the talk. The cloud looks black and hangs heavily, and if its fiery contents should be discharged upon the two nations contending, there must be a tremendous shock. Can it be that a brother Christian is ready to shed the blood of a brother Christian, for the sake of worldly honor or profit? No, it cannot be. A war spirit is the spirit of Satan, yes, the spirit of the Devil, and none but his subjects are willing to wash their hands in the blood of another. "Peace on earth and good will to man," says the Messenger of Peace. This does not look much like the millennium when the horrors of war stare us all in the face, fifes playing, drums beating and soldiers marching. O, the depravity of man, total depravity, no soundness in him.

March 11. Walked into the city this morning; made a number of calls—the subject of conversation, "War, war." Will there be an open war with England? Different opinions prevail among different people. The news from the east rather gloomy, nothing decisive, nothing to be depended upon; nothing is to be more dreaded than open hostility with a foreign power like England. We have nothing to gain and everything to fear. Dined to-day by invitation of Andrew T. Dole [born at Stroudwater, a trader, or clerk in Portland, and first Republican postmaster of Portland] at Morehead's Temperance House; but he says he must open his bar again, for he can't be supported, as temperance people rather give their custom to rum taverns than to temperance houses. It is a strange inconsistency that members of temperance societies should

support grogeries and rum taverns in preference to non-rumselling groceries and non-rumselling taverns, but as inconsistent as it is we see it is so with many.

March 12. After breakfast went to Back Cove calling. Visited fourteen families, or called at this number of houses. News to-day from the east is rather more cheering. It is now generally thought there will be no war, that each party will withdraw their troops and they will soon return home. The war spirit has cooled off very much since people began to think a little. The steps taken by the General Court and the Governor were made in a hurry and without much reflection, but there is no way of getting clear of this unfortunate affair but to tread back a little.

March 13. Every thing relating to the boundary question begins to wear a more favorable aspect. 'Tis expected the troops will be disbanded soon. Oh, how much trouble and distress has been produced by a few hot-headed demagogues.

March 15. Nothing from the seat of war; what the end will be of this bustle and disturbance remains to be seen. Both of the political parties seem to be united in the boundary line business for both voted for the Governor to send a force to drive off the trespassers, both voted to raise \$800,000 to defray expenses — a shameful business. What can the Whigs say? They have thus far agreed with the Tories. How can they now find fault? How can they oppose the Tory ticket the next annual election. They have agreed with them in their madness; can they retreat with honor? No, the Whigs must come over to the side of the Tories and unite with them and have but one ticket at the next election. I can see no other way for them to do to be consistent.

March 28. The troops which left the city for Augusta the fifth instant returned to-day, and were escorted into the city by those who remained at home. One o'clock P. M. they marched into the city, and a great concourse of people were assembled on the occasion. A band of music attended and every one seemed to be alive and rejoicing to have the soldiers return. This ends the foolish quarrel for the present. We began it and we are very glad to end it, having come off the second best. I spent the day chiefly in the city to see

and hear. A more foolish and ridiculous quarrel never, never before took place between two such great nations as England and the United States, and in some future day all who took an active part in the unhappy affair will feel ashamed and mortified when they reflect on the subject, and the millions unborn when they shall read the history of the transaction will be ashamed at the folly and madness of those in power.

Thus closes what the Rev. Caleb Bradley recorded relative to the event in our history known as the Madawaska war. And with one more extract from his diary here presented I will close, as follows :

September 2, 1840. Muster at Saccarappa village. At ten o'clock I went up there. The regiment met in the cellar, so called. Mr. Thompson, the Universalist minister, officiated as chaplain, I having attended to the service nearly thirty years, but now discharged. Good order seemed to be preserved throughout the day, excepting some little noise caused by that bothersome old fellow who always makes a noise whenever he can—I mean Old Rum.

MUSTER-ROLL OF CAPTAIN OLIVER HUNT'S COMPANY.

GORHAM, MAINE, MAY 5, 1795.

From the original document in the Archives of the Maine Historical Society, presented to the Society by the late Henry H. Hunt, M. D., of Portland.

OFFICERS' NAMES.

Oliver Hunt, Capt.
Benj'n Adams, Lieut.
Prince Hamblen, Ens'n.

SERGEANTS.

Serg't Daniel Whitmore.
 Serg't Edmund Phinney.
 Serg't Daniel Watson.
 Serg't Stephen Irish.

ENLISTED MEN.

William Armstrong.	James Emory.
Nathaniel Bacon.	Enoch Edwards.
Edmund Brown.	Samuel Frost.
Joseph Brown.	Eben'r File.
John Butler Bion.	Jonathan Freeman, Jr.
Abiel Briggs.	Benj'a Frost, Jr.
James Chadbourn.	Daniel Fogg.
Benjamin Chamberlain.	Jonathan Gammon.
William Cobb, Jr.	John Gammon.
Ebenezer Cobb.	Elihu Gullison.
Elisha Cobb.	Nathaniel Gould.
Eben'r Cobb, Jr.	William Gammon.
Samuel Clark.	Josiah Green.
Peter Crockit.	Jacob Hamblen.
Edmund Cloutman.	Nicholas Harding.
Nathan Cloutman.	Barnabas Harding.
Jesse Cloutman.	John Harding, Jr.
John Crockit.	Jacob Haskell.
Isaac Chadbourn.	Joseph Hanscome.
Daniel Cressy.	Francis Hunt.
Reuben Cobb.	Daniel Hunt.
Prince Davis, Jr.	James Irish, Jr.
William Davis.	Ephraim Jones.
James Davis.	Joseph Jones.
Jesse Davis.	James Lewis.
Samuel Davis.	Stephen Lary.
Joseph Davis.	John Lombard, Jr.
Christopher Dunn.	Solomon Lombard, Jr.
John Dyer, Jr.	James Lombard.
William Dyer.	George Lewis, Jun'r
John Darling.	James Lamb.
Jonah Dunn.	Ephraim Lombard.
Richard Dresser.	John McQuillian.
Thomas Decker.	John Marriner.
Samuel Edwards.	John Merrill.

Simon D. McDonald.	John Roberts.
David McDugle.	Abiel Rounds.
James McIntosh.	Will'm Tyng Riggs.
William McLellen, Jun'r	Walter Ross.
Benjamin Mosher.	John Richardson.
Ebenezer Murch, Jr.	Hezekiah Smith.
Zebulon Murch.	James Sturges.
John Murch, Jr.	Nathaniel Sturges.
George Murch.	Josiah Shaw.
William McLellan, 3d.	Mark Smith.
Reuben Morton.	Jeremiah Tole.
Moses Murch.	Peter Thacher.
John Morton.	Nathaniel Warren.
William Paine, Jr.	Edmund Watson.
Benj'a Patrick.	Joseph Weston.
Joseph Phinney.	Jotham Whitney.
Nathaniel Phinney.	Coleman Watson.
Nathan Cook Penfield.	Samuel Warren, Jr.
Thomas Paine, Jr.	Joseph Watson.
Caleb Prentiss.	Samuel Watson.
Samuel Paine.	Moses Whitney, Jr.
David Patrick.	Nathaniel Westcot.
Joseph Parker.	Joseph Waterhouse.
Amos Rich.	Joseph Young, 3d.
Benj'a Roberts.	Solomon Young.

HALLOWELL RECORDS.

COMMUNICATED BY THE LATE DR. W. B. LAPHAM.

[Continued from Page 223, Vol. IX.]

Jeremiah Walker Ames, son of John Ames and Sarah Walker, his wife, was born in Chatham, New Hampshire, October 14, 1794 ; Married Mary E., daughter of Robert Sager. Their children were :

Hannah Sarah, b. Sept. 6, 1818.
 Mary Elizabeth, b. Oct. 25, 1820.
 Caroline Sager, b. Jan. 7, 1824.

Benjamin Page, son of Benjamin Page, was educated at Phillips Exeter Academy and admitted a student in that Seminary directly after it went into operation. At the close of his preparatory education in October, 1786, he commenced and continued the study of medicine and surgery under the direction of his father and Dr. Thomas Kitteredge of Andover (Massachusetts) till the autumn of 1790, when he commenced the practise of his profession in Chester, New Hampshire, continued there till the following year, and came to Hallowell to reside as a practising physician in November, 1791. Married Abigail, daughter of David Cutler and Abigail Atkins his wife, of Newburyport, November 26, 1796. Dr. Benjamin Page died January 25, 1844. Their children are:—

Frederick Benjamin, b. July 5, 1798.
 Julia Ann, b. April 6, 1800.
 Harriet, b. Sept. 20, 1802.
 Fraziette, b. Oct. 8, 1804.
 William Cutler, b. Nov. 16, 1806.

Daniel Norcross, son of Samuel Norcross and Hannah Faern his wife, was born June 22, 1782. Married Eunice, a descendant of Benjamin White, Sr. Their children are:—

Eliza Ann, b. Feb. 1, 1804.
 Harriet, b. April 20, 1806.
 Mary, b. April 10, 1808.
 Catharine, b. Oct. 8, 1810.
 Sarah, b. Dec. 4, 1812.
 Hiram Franklin, b. Nov. 8, 1815.
 Joseph, b. July 26, 1818.
 Abigail, b. Aug. 28, 1820.
 Esther Ann, b. Sept. 29, 1826.

Ephraim Mayo, son of Ebenezer Mayo. Married Sally, daughter of Thomas Laughton and Polly Adams his wife, of this town. Their children are:—

Caroline, b. Dec. 5, 1815.
 Sally Ann, b. March 19, 1817.
 Susan, b. Aug. 23, 1818; died.
 Alvan W., b. May 31, 1820.
 Alphonsa A., b. March 23, 1822.

Susan Emma, b. Feb. 8, 1824; died.

Julius, b. Nov. 18, 1825.

Franklin Madison, b. Jan. 4, 1828.

Horatio Monroe, b. Nov. 6, 1830.

Augustus Nuton, b. Oct. 28, 1832.

Francis Ephraim, b. Sept. 8, 1834; died.

James Clark Moore, son of William Moore, married Mary, daughter of Jethro Sanborn of Lisbon, Maine. Their children are as follows :—

Aldin, b. Apr. 9, 1815.

William, b. Feb. 23, 1817.

Susanna, b. Nov. 15, 1818.

James Coleman married Sophia, daughter of William Moore. Their children :—

Joseph Justin, b. July 9, 1825.

Delia Jane, b. March 11, 1830, d. Jan. 2, 1831.

Mrs. Coleman died Apr. 30, 1844.

Emeline, natural daughter of the above named James, born November 25, 1814.

James Gardiner, son of John Gardiner and Mary Hunt, his wife was born at Newburyport, October 9, 1788. Married Mary, daughter of Robert Gardiner and Lydia Burley his wife. Came to this town July, 1814. Their children are as follows, viz. :—

Mary Jane, b. Jan. 28, 1812, in Newburyport.

Caroline Burley, b. Feb. 15, 1815.

Laura Whipple, b. Sept. 17, 1816.

John Sewall, b. May 18, 1818.

Ellinor, b. Dec. 28, 1820.

Samuel Spring, b. Dec. 12, 1822.

John Rice, son of John Rice, was born in Great Britain, June, 1760. Came to this town 1774. Married Mehitable, daughter of Joshua Packard of Readfield, who was born September 6, 1768. Mrs. Rice died in February, 1839. Mr. Rice died May 29, 1835. Their children are as follows, viz. :—

John, born Nov. 8, 1791.

Reuel, born Sept. 1, 1793.

Betsey, born June 17, 1796.

Rufus, born Feb. 19, 1799; died June 8, 1848.

Alden, born July 18, 1804.

Julianne, born Jan. 16, 1807; died Apr. 26, 1843.

Mary, born Oct. 23, 1809; died Nov., 1847.

Thomas Metcalf, son of Joseph Metcalf and Deborah Searle, his wife, was born in Ipswich, June 16, 1768. Came to this town April, 1788. Married Sarah, daughter of Joseph Smith. Their children are as follows, viz. :—

Gorham, born Oct. 15, 1794; died May 20, 1820.

Joseph, born June 28, 1796.

Deborah, born March 15, 1798; died Aug. 11, 1802.

Eliza, born 1800; died Aug. 7, 1802.

Sally, born 1802; died 1804.

Betsy, born 1804; died 1806.

Gorham Metcalf, son of Thomas Metcalf, married Margaretta, daughter of Gershom Cocks. Their children are as follows, viz. :—

Sarah Hussey, born July 5, 1818; died Sept. 5, 1848.

Gorham, born Nov. 17, 1820.

Ebenezer Underwood married Mrs. Mary Butman, widow relict of James Butman, and daughter of Robert Francis, having one child named Mary Ann, born Jan. 3, 1819. Their children are :—

Martha Ann, born July 29, 1825.

James Collins, brother of Samuel Collins came to this town May, 1800. Married Betsy, daughter of Samuel Tyler of Edgecomb. Their children are as follows, viz. :—

Jason, born Feb. 22, 1817.

William Collins, brother to the above named James, married Hannah, daughter of John Blanchard of Pittston. Their children are as follows, viz. :—

Wm. Henry, born Aug. 30, 1818.

George, born June 24, 1820.

John, born Nov. 24, 1827.

Ann Matilda, died Nov. 1, 1829.

Mr. Collins above named died at sea of the cholera, June, 1833.

Henry Young Butler, son of Sarson Butler, married Naomi, daughter of David Luce of Industry. Their children are as follows, viz. :—

Henry Young, born Feb. 3, 1807, in New Vineyard.

Israel Young, born Nov. 11, 1809.

Susan Young, born June 1, 1812.

Stephen Caldwell, son of — Caldwell, was born February 28, 1783. Married Catharine Goldthwait Powell, who was born in Boston, December 12, 1785. Came to this town December, 1816. Their children are as follows, viz. :—

Elizabeth Jane, born Nov. 12, 1806.

William Powell, born Sept. 10, 1806.

Humphrey Pumatt, born Jan. 31, 1813.

Rehard Bright, born Feb. 23, 1814.

John Alexander, born July 2, 1815.

Thomas Goldthwait, born Oct. 26, 1816.

Asa Davis, brother of John Davis, was born November 12, 1787. Married Susanna, daughter of William Wingate. Came to this town March 13, 1817. Their children are as follows, viz. :—

William Bradley, born May 31, 1814; died Sept. 20, 1834.

Susan, born Apr. 6, 1816.

John Wingate, born Dec. 26, 1818.

Moses Moody, born Jan. 23, 1823.

Mehitable Wingate, born May 5, 1825.

Emily Augusta, Oct. 2, 1827.

Julia Maria, born Aug. 17, 1830.

William French Brown, son of Sewall Brown and Anna French, his wife, was born in Saybrook, April 23, 1794. Married Abigail S., daughter of John Libbey of Durham, New Hampshire. Came to this town Jan. 2, 1816. Their children are as follows, viz. :—

Anna, born March 31, 1816.

John Libbey, born March 25, 1818.

Sewall, born April 8, 1820.

William Lawrence, born Sept. 10, 1822.

George Henry, born Apr. 10, 1825.

John Edwin, born March 13, 1828.

Joseph Brown, son of Joseph Brown and Charlotte Tinges, his wife, was born in Dresden, September 26, 1777, O. S. Came to this town with his father's family. Married Jane, daughter of Alexander Troop, and Lucy Hadlock his wife, who was born March 21, 1784. Their children are as follows, viz. :—

Alexander Troop, born Sept. 23, 1805.

Lucinda, born Jan. 20, 1808.

Hannah Troop, Sept. 12, 1810.

Mary Jane, born March 19, 1813.

William Henry Troop, born July 2, 1816.

Margaret, born Oct. 5, 1818.

Jacob Hixon, son of John Hixon and Lavina Davis, his wife, was born in Bennington, state of Vermont, Nov. 12, 1735. Married Ruthy, daughter of John and Ruth Hewins. Came to this town with his family, November, 1815. Their children are as follows, viz. :—

Elbridge Porter, born Apr. 29, 1808, in Sharon.

Charles Elmer, born Nov. 27, 1809, in Sharon.

Francis Reynolds, born Jan. 27, 1811, in Sharon.

Rebecca Hewins, born May 5, 1812, in Sharon.

William Bowdoin, born July 2, 1814, in Sharon.

Albert Warren, born Aug. 24, 1816, in Hallowell.

Emily Davis, born Nov. 12, 1818.

Isaac Pilsbury, son of Caleb Pilsbury and Mehitabel Boswell, his wife, was born in Amesbury, 1762. Came to this town with his family May, 1792. Their children are as follow, viz. :—

Stephen, born Sept. 3, 1788, in London, N. H.

Amos, born Dec. 6, 1789, in London, N. H.

Sally, born Dec. 9, 1791, in London, N. H.

Abigail, born Feb. 8, 1794, in Hallowell.

Isaac, born Apr. 6, 1796.

Polly, born May 5, 1798.

Levi, born June 7, 1800.

Olive, born July 29, 1802.

Betsey, born June 7, 1808.

Aaron Hassam Davis, brother of John Davis, was born in Lee, state of New Hampshire, August 5, 1790. Came to reside in this town. Married Abigail Pilsbury of this town, Their children are as follows, viz. :—

Isaac Pilsbury, born April 16, 1818.

Elizabeth, born Jan. 5, 1820.

Lucretia, born Apr. 19, 1823.

Martha Jane, born July 17, 1825.

Aaron, born Aug. 19, 1827.

Abigail, born Sept. 17, 1829.

George Albert, born Feb. 12, 1882.

Mary Ellen, born July 10, 1884.

Capt. Aaron H. Davis died in Richmond, Maine, May 29, 1885.

Ancil Atkins, son of James Atkins and Content Lander, his wife, was born in Sandwich, December 22, 1775. Came to this town April 4, 1799. Married Betsey, daughter of Zelotus Lovell of Norrigewock, but formerly of Sandwich. Their children are:—

Russell Freeman, born Feb. 19, 1804.

William Cottrell, born Aug. 19, 1805; died Aug. 3, 1816.

Merabah, born Jan. 30, 1807.

Jane Troop, born May 10, 1809.

Cynthia, born July 27, 1811.

Alonzo, born Apr. 6, 1814; died Mar. 15, 1815.

Margaret Cox, born Dec. 18, 1816.

John Odlin, Apr. 3, 1818.

James, born Jan. 14, 1820.

Ichabod Nutter, son of Richard Nutter and Dorothy Place, his wife, was born in Rochester, New Hampshire, December 22, 1789. Came to this town November 25, 1805. Married Sarah, daughter of Nathaniel Copeland and Mary Page, his wife, of Boston. Their children are:—

Charles Copeland, born Jan. 12, 1820.

Thomas Franklin, born March 6, 1823.

Samuel Norcross, son of Samuel Norcross and Mary Wiswall, his wife, was born in Newtown, county of Middlesex, December 23, 1753. Married Hannah, daughter of Daniel Fairn of Dorchester. Came to this town November, 1780. Hannah Fairn born March 9, 1757. Their children are:—

Mary and Hannah, born Dec. 23, 1778, in Gardiner.

Samuel, born May 3, 1781, in Hallowell.

Daniel, born June 21, 1783.

Esther, born Sept. 6, 1785.

William, born Feb. 27, 1788.

Thomas, born Aug. 26, 1790.

Nancy, born June 7, 1793.

Eliza, born Nov. 11, 1798.

Nathaniel Norcross, son of Jonathan Norcross and Martha Springer, his wife, was born in Bath, June 12, 1769. Married

Lydia, daughter of Daniel Lane of Leeds, who was born April 3, 1774. Married January 17, 1791. Their children are:—

- Polly, born July 5, 1795.
- David, born July 8, 1797; died 1807.
- Adua, born March 4, 1799.
- Philip, born Dec. 13, 1800; died Dec. 7, 1831.
- Giddens, born June 26, 1804.
- Fanny, born March 8, 1807.
- Livonia, born Aug. 22, 1809.
- Oliver D., born Apr. 7, 1811.
- Martha, born Nov. 11, 1812.

William Pool, son of Stephen Pool and Judith Grover, his wife, was born in Gloucester, county of Essex, March, 19, 1770. Married Phebe, daughter of Joseph and Sarah Grover of Atkinson, state of New Hampshire. Their children are:—

- William, born Sept. 22, 1797; died Apr. 30, 1804.
- Winthrop, born July 28, 1799; died
- Amelia Grover, born Dec. 14, 1801.
- William, born Apr. 28, 1805.

ANNUAL FIELD DAY, 1898.

PORTLAND was selected as the place for field day of 1898, and accordingly, on September first, about the usual number of members of the Society and invited guests assembled at the Library Room at nine o'clock, for the purpose of visiting the historic localities of the city. It was a pleasant and warm day, and the party represented several states of the Union, from Maine to California.

Carriages were taken, and the Deering Farm was first visited, where occurred Col. Church's battle with the

Indians and French, September 21, 1689, old style. The engagement lasted six hours and Col. Church had four companies against three or four hundred Indians. Our loss was twenty-one killed and wounded. This was an important battle in our history. On this same field Nathaniel Mitton was killed and Anthony Brackett and his family were captured in 1676, but escaped at New Meadows River from their captors.

A ride was then taken through State Street, attention being called to the home of Hon. William Pitt Fessenden, which was built by Prentiss Mellen, the first chief justice of Maine, in 1807. John Neal's house was pointed out, and others of the early built ones. On this street now stands the Marston Tavern, famous in the history of Thompson's war, in 1775. The oldest house in town was then visited, Brice McLellan's on York Street, built about 1731, also the next oldest, John Cox's, built about 1735, standing near on High Street. On High Street, attention was called to several of the old and spacious houses of the town, the dates of their erection being given.

On Free Street, the first theater building was noticed, now the Free Street Baptist church, old Union Hall, the house where Lafayette lodged in 1825, the site of a blockhouse before 1690, afterwards the Upper Battery of 1776, the home of Hon. William Willis, and several houses nearly a century old.

In Monument Square, near which is the Longfellow Home, and the Preble House, built by Commodore Preble, the location of the blockhouse of 1744, and the jail of 1769, was pointed out, also where

Marston's Tavern stood in 1775. Here was a battery of five guns during the Revolutionary War, and in the old jail was the magazine. Then was shown the site of the old First Parish church, Dr. Deane's house and its former location. On Middle Street, where the Casco Bank block now is, Gen. Jedediah Preble lived and died, also his son, Commodore Edward Preble, the father of the American navy. On the corner of Church Street stood St. Paul's church, destroyed by Capt. Mowat, in 1775, and below was the house of Judge Samuel Freeman and Gen. Samuel Waldo. On the south corner of Franklin Street was the site of the Ross and Tyng house, and on the same corner of India stood the Custom House from which the hated stamps were taken and burned in 1766. On the opposite corner of Middle and India Streets, stood the Court House, where the inhabitants met on the seventeenth of October, 1775, and the next morning, where they decided to sacrifice the town rather than to surrender their arms, which resulted in Capt. Henry Mowat burning the town that day. These and many other places were pointed out as the party passed along.

From the foot of Hancock Street was shown where the Hon. Thomas B. Reed and Henry W. Longfellow were born, and where George Cleeve and Richard Tucker commenced the settlement of Portland, in 1633. Near this spot stood Fort Loyal, erected in 1678, and destroyed in 1690, after a siege of five days and four nights, and on that ground where the party stood, laid nearly two hundred bodies unburied for two years, until Sir William Phipps and Col. Church came into

the harbor and buried them in 1692, while on their way to Pemaquid. During the Revolutionary War this same locality was the site of the Lower Battery.

On Fore Street was pointed out the site of Munjoy's Garrison, built in 1660, and destroyed about 1676, also the site of the first church on Jordan's Point, where in the war of 1812, stood Fort Burroughs. Then Fort Allen was visited and the location of Fort Lawrence, of the war of 1812, was pointed out at Fish Point. The monument on the Eastern Promenade to the first settlers, Cleeve and Tucker, was next visited, after which the carriages proceeded to Fort Sumner Park on North Street, where the members enjoyed the finest view of the city they had seen. This was the site of Fort Sumner built in 1794, and later, to hold about two hundred men which was manned before and during part of the war of 1812.

Then the party proceeded to the old Eastern Cemetery, passing over the site, near the east gate, of the eight gun battery erected when Fort Sumner was built, which was fully manned at times during the war of 1812. In the cemetery the party left the carriages and inspected this historic God's acre. The graves of Commodore Preble, Captains Burrows and Blythe of the *Enterprise* and *Boxer*, Lieut. Henry Wadsworth killed at Tripoli, and Admiral Alden, together with Parsons Smith's and Deane's, attracted the most attention. Here those who desired were permitted to inspect the interior of Parson Deane's tomb, built nearly a century ago, which happened to be then open for repairs. The time being noon the party adjourned

for dinner, preparatory for the afternoon trip in the harbor.

In the afternoon at two o'clock, the members of the Society, with a few invited guests, met at Portland Pier, where the steamer *Mary W. Libby* was in waiting, and the company, as the guests of President Baxter, proceeded to Waite's Landing, Falmouth Foreside. At the summer residence of Mr. Alexander W. Longfellow, not far from the landing, the company was most hospitably entertained by Mr. Longfellow and family, and his sister, Mrs. Greenleaf, of Cambridge, Massachusetts. Here President Baxter read the following instructive paper on the fort at New Casco :—

NEW CASCO FORT.

This spot, overlooking the bright waters of Casco Bay, full of life and motion; this spot, with its quiet summer cottages, nestling in shadowy nooks and clustering upon breezy slopes, is an historic spot, though such it may not appear to-day. Here have memorable scenes been enacted; here have gathered prominent actors in the early history of New England, European and savage, and played their transitory parts. The curtain of Time has fallen upon them, as it falls upon all human activities and events, hiding them from view; but imagination may reproduce them, though in less glowing colors than they once possessed. Let us then, standing here this afternoon, go back two hundred years into the past, and as far as we are able, mingle in the scenes of that far-off day.

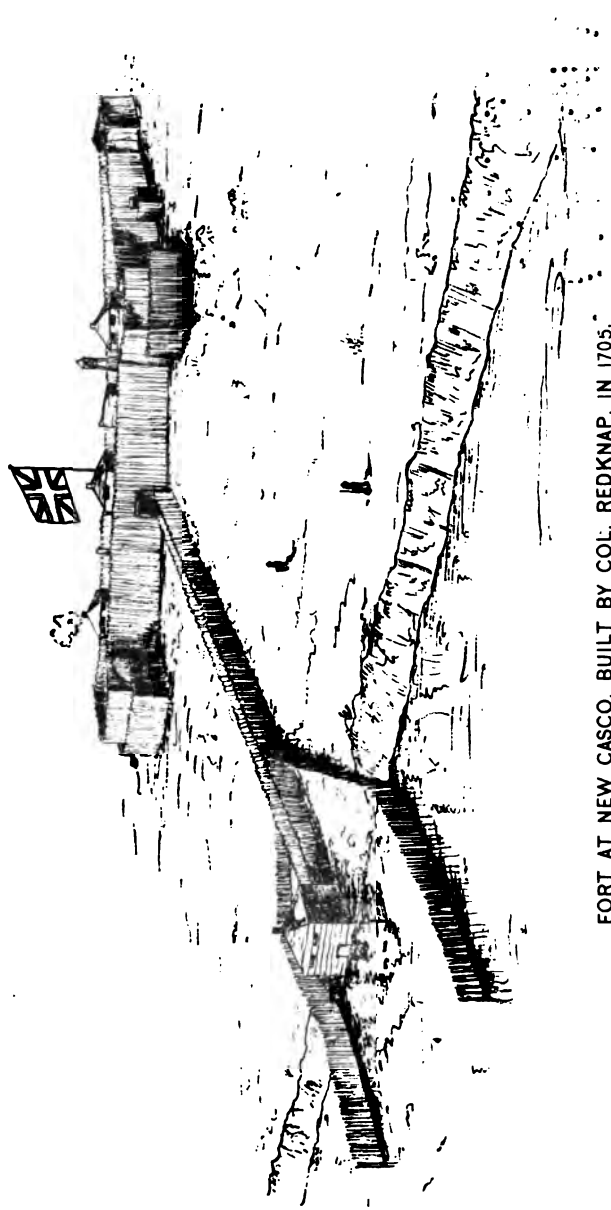
As you know, our forefathers had before them the ever present danger of attack from savage enemies

and, at times, from their more formidable neighbors. This compelled them to erect fortifications in the vicinity of their settlements; in fact, protection against human foes was regarded by the pioneer settler as of vital importance to the well-being of himself and family, hardly second to protection against the elements. The first house erected in the vicinity of Portland was a fortified one, strong enough to resist the crude methods of savage warfare; but later, when the savages were instructed and were led by Europeans, more elaborate structures became necessary. Such was the fort erected upon the spot called then New Casco, to distinguish it from Old Casco, the present Portland, which had been destroyed, with its protecting fortification known as Fort Loyal, with many of its inhabitants, in the spring of 1690 by the French and Indians, led by Portneuf, Hertel and Castine. Nine years after the destruction of Old Casco, a handful of those who had escaped slaughter returned to the vicinity of their desolated homes. Instead, however, of beginning a settlement upon the ruins of the old town, perhaps on account of painful associations connected therewith, or the desolation which must have been unpleasantly evident at every turn, they selected a spot not far from the mouth of the Presumpscot, near where we now stand, for the site of their new settlement, and in the year 1700 a military engineer, Colonel Romer, was employed by the government to erect here for the protection of the settlers, a fortification, which was called New Casco Fort, which subsequently gave to this headland the name of Fort

Point. Previous to this it had been called Andros Field.

The New Casco Fort was a quadrilateral structure, and for its time one of considerable strength. It occupied nearly a half-acre of land and in the north-west and southeast angles were bastions, the faces of which were thirty feet in length, while in the opposite angles were lofty outlooks, from which a watch could be kept upon the surrounding country. Around it was a *palisado*, as it was then called, which extended by a wing to a well about six rods southeast of the fort, thus protecting it from an enemy. Three years after its erection began another war, and this fort naturally attracted the attention of the foe. In August, 1703, the inhabitants of New Casco were alarmed by the approach of five hundred French and Indians, under the command of Sieur de Beaubassin, and sought refuge within the walls of the fort, which was under the command of Major March. Repelled by the vigorous defense of the garrison, a regular siege was begun, but was raised by the sudden appearance upon the scene of Captain Cyprian Southack, who attacked the besieging force and compelled its withdrawal, with considerable loss.

In the June following this event Governor Dudley, who had succeeded to the government the previous year, came with his council and an imposing retinue of soldiers to hold here a council with the savages headed by their chief sagamores, namely, Moxus and Hopegood, from Norridgewock; Wanungunt and Wanadugunbuent from the Penobscot; Bomazeen and Capt. Samuel from the Kennebec, and Mesambomett and



FORT AT NEW CASCO, BUILT BY COL. REDKNAP, IN 1705.

NOTE.—The ground plan of this fort was found in the office of the Public Records, London, by James P. Baxter, in 1886.

3030

Wexar from the Androscoggin, with a flotilla of sixty-five canoes, containing two hundred and fifty savages painted and armed after their rude fashion, and bearing in their bosoms nothing but ill-will to their English foes. Here, under a broad pavilion, Governor Dudley, in the gorgeous uniform belonging to his rank, surrounded by his staff and the officers and gentlemen who had accompanied him from Boston, stood and welcomed the savage chiefs, who with their followers had encamped on an island near by, probably Mackworth, or the Brothers. After exchanging with them the courtesies proper upon such occasions, the governor gravely informed them, that being "commissioned by the great and victorious Queen of England, he came to visit them as his friends and brethren, and to reconcile whatever differences had happened since the last treaty." To this one of the savage orators replied, "We thank you, good brother, for coming so far to talk with us. The clouds fly and darken, but we still sing with love the songs of peace. Believe my words; so far as the sun is above the earth are our thoughts from war, or the least rupture between us." To prove the sincerity of his words he bestowed upon the governor a belt of wampum and invited him to two heaps of stones which had on a former occasion been erected as pillars of witness between the savages and English. Here the formal pledge of amity was formally renewed by each party adding more stones to the "Two Brothers." as the stone heaps were called. A salvo of guns was then discharged by both parties, the savages uttering wild acclamations of joy, and dancing and singing after their barbarous fashion. After this the council

settled down to business, and discussed the establishment of trading-houses, the prices of commodities, and what was of much importance to the savages, the employment of a gunsmith to repair their guns when injured. Presents were exchanged, and, says Penhallow, "everything looked with a promising aspect of a settled peace and that which afterward seemed to confirm it was the coming in of Capt. Bomazeen and Capt. Samuel, who informed that several missionaries from the Friars were lately come among them, who endeavored to break the union and seduce them from their allegiance to the crown of England, but had made no impression upon them, for that they were as firm as the mountains, and should continue so long as the sun and moon endured." This story, however, of Bomazeen and Samuel about the French missionaries and their rejection of their advice, was delusive, either intended to blind the English to the real intention of the savages, or the result of an exuberance of good feeling, promoted perhaps by a too free indulgence in the Englishman's "fire-water." Anyhow, in spite of the strong assertions that they would maintain peace, they immediately renewed the war; besides they then had with them Ralé, who played so important a part in the history of these troublous times. We have Ralé's own account of his meeting with the governor on this occasion. He says that owing to the precipitate landing of the savages, he found himself, to his chagrin, in the presence of the governor, who perceiving him, came forward and saluted him after which he drew him apart and prayed him not to lead the sav-

ages to make war against the English. To which he replied that his religion and character engaged him to give them only counsels of peace.

This noted council between Governor Dudley and the eastern tribes was futile. The savages were wholly insincere, and hostilities were begun by them within a few weeks. Penhallow tells us that during the meeting they were meditating treachery. He says, "I should have taken notice of two instances in the late treaty wherein the matchless perfidy of these bloody infidels did notoriously appear. First, as the treaty was concluded with volleys on both sides, as I said before, the Indians desired the English to fire first, which they readily did, concluding it no other than a compliment; but so soon as the Indians fired, it was observed that their guns were charged with bullets having contrived (as was afterwards confirmed) to make the English the victims of that day. But Providence so ordered it, as to place their chief councilors and sachems in the tent where ours were seated, by which means they could not destroy one without endangering the other. Second, as the English waited some days for Watanummon (the Pigwacket sachem) to complete their council, it was afterward discovered that they only tarried for a reenforcement of two hundred French and Indians, who in three days after we returned, came among them; having resolved to seize the governor, council and gentlemen and then to sacrifice the inhabitants at pleasure, which probably they might have done, had they not been prevented by an overruling power.

“But notwithstanding this disappointment, they were still resolved on their bloody design ; for within six weeks after, the whole eastern country was in a conflagration, no house standing, no garrison unattacked. August 10, at nine in the morning, they began their bloody tragedy, being about five hundred Indians of all sorts, with a number of French ; who divided themselves into several companies, and made a descent on the several inhabitants from Casco to Wells, at one and the same time, sparing none of every age and sex. As the milk-white brows of the grave and ancient had no respect shown, so neither had the mournful cries of tender infants the least pity ; for they triumphed at their misery, and applauded such as the skillfulest artists, who were most dexterous in contriving the greatest tortures ; which was enough to turn the most stoical apathy into streams of mournful sympathy and compassion.”

Dudley’s visit to the fort at New Casco impressed upon him the necessity of a stronger structure at this important outpost, and under the superintendence of Col. Redknap, a military engineer of reputation, a much larger fortification was erected. When completed, in 1705, it was an oblong quadrilateral with bastions at its several angles, and was two hundred and fifty-eight feet wide, by three hundred and forty-six feet long, measured outside its bastions. It included within its walls something over an acre. On two sides were sally ports, the eastern one being sheltered by a redan of stockades. In the southwest angle was a large cistern to supply the garrison with

water during a siege, and it included within its walls, storehouses, shops, barracks and quarters for officers. To make it more effective, there was a protected passageway to the shore on the south, so arranged as to afford a shelter for the boats belonging to the garrison. From an old French copy of an English map of this period it would appear that there was a greater depth of water on the south shore of the point than there is now. During the fierce war which continued for several years, the people abandoned their settlements hereabouts, but the New Casco Fort was kept garrisoned, and was under command of Major March until 1707, when he was succeeded by Major Samuel Moody, who held command until the close of the war, in 1713.

After the close of the war, the subject of abandoning the forts on the eastern frontier was considerably agitated. We can hardly understand the position assumed by those opposed to maintaining forts for the protection of our eastern frontiers, but there was a strong party in the House of Representatives of Massachusetts in favor of abandoning and even of demolishing these necessary adjuncts of its sovereignty in Maine. Governor Dudley was, however, wisely in favor of preserving them, but when he went out of office in 1715, the opportunity was seized upon by those opposed to his policy, and an order was hurried through the House to demolish Casco Fort, which was at once carried into execution.

I have spoken of Capt. Cyprian Southack, that most energetic officer, who took a conspicuous part in the

war which raged around Fort Casco. In one of his letters dated Casco Bay, May 17, 1703, he writes as follows to Governor Dudley :—

Sir, on the eleventh of May, at two o'clock afternoon, we got off the dead man from Cousin's Island, and no sign of any French or Indians about the Bay. At seven o'clock afternoon, came down to the fort (New Casco) and the next morning we buried the man at our heap of stones.

I well remember how on a pleasant morning, while at breakfast, I was called upon by Captain Waite, now proprietor of a part of Fort Point, who desired me to go with him to the Point and see a relic which had just been unearthed by some workmen who had been digging near a summer cottage recently erected. It was the skeleton of a tall man, probably not over thirty years of age when he died, judging from the teeth. Across it lay a long rapier, or officer's sword, almost destroyed by rust, telling the tale of a hasty burial, and of the occupation of him across whose breast it had been laid by friends, for such they must have been who placed it there. The burial had been made on a little point in an ancient kitchen midden, or shell heap, probably because a place of burial could be more easily prepared here than in the land adjacent. It was a dry spot which would preserve such relics for a long time, and there can be little doubt that we saw before us a victim of one of those early wars between the English and their savage enemies.

The two heaps of stones, the pillars of witness, could not have been far away; indeed, near them was a fitting place for the burial of a victim of those who had

disregarded a treaty which these pillars were reared to commemorate. Who was this silent guest whom we had been summoned to behold? He had been a child beloved by a mother. He had had friends who wept for his loss. Was he a young officer, buried on this little point so easily designated, that his body might, if desired be found and removed home at some favorable time, or were these the remains of the man buried by Capt. Southack? The world is full of mysteries which will never be revealed. Who can unravel this mystery of the skeleton at Fort Point?

After the reading of the paper plans of the fort were exhibited, but the examination of the locality with reference to the situation of the fort was deferred until more time could be devoted to it.

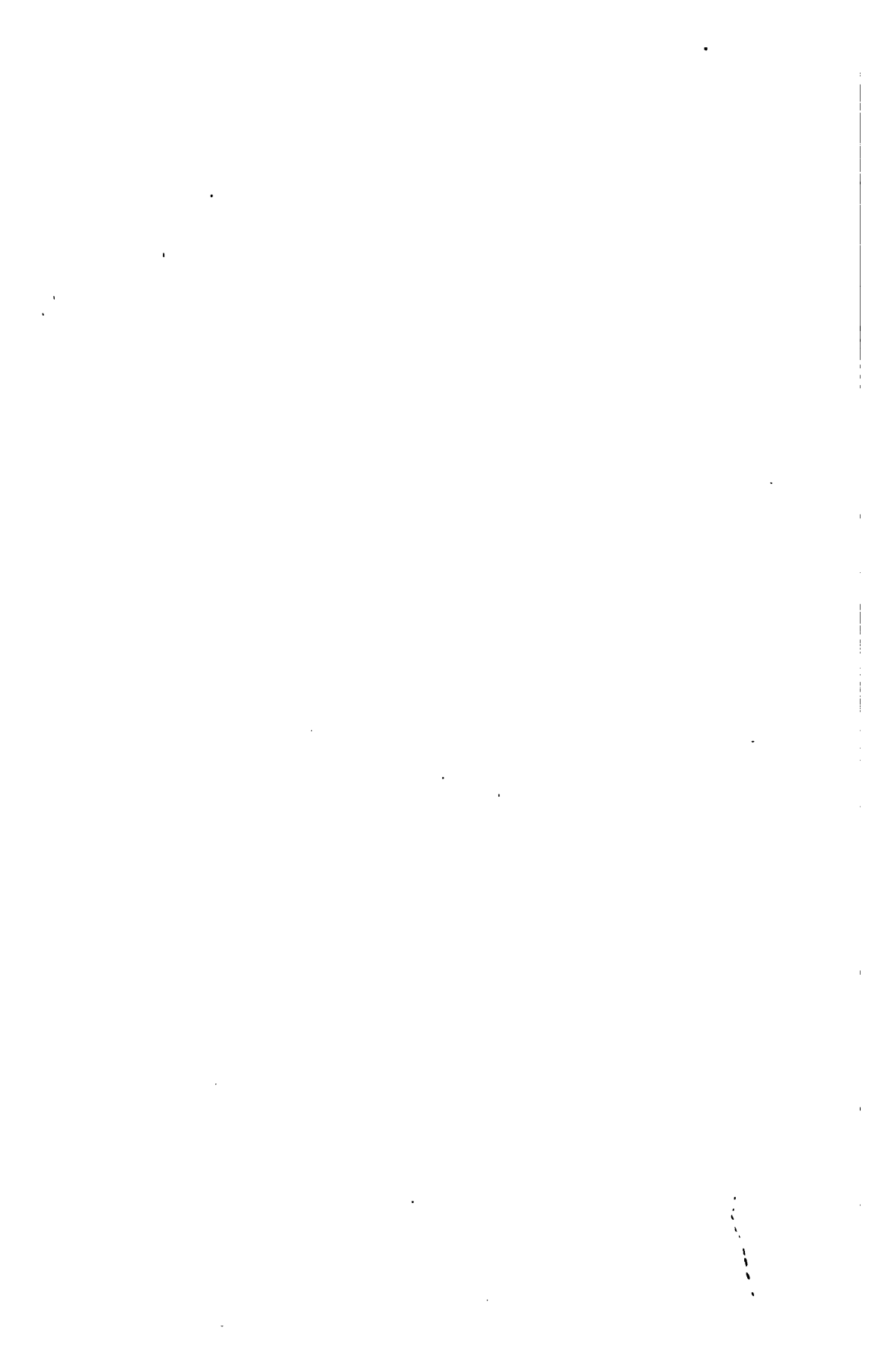
The party then returned to the steamer and had a delightful sail to Mackworth's Island, the summer home of Mr. Baxter, where lunch was served and the company was most delightfully entertained by Mr. Baxter and his family. Late in the afternoon the steamer returned to Portland, the party reaching the city about 6.30 o'clock, delighted with the excursion.

In the evening there was an informal meeting at the Library Room of the Society, Baxter Building, President Baxter in the chair. There were remarks by Rev. Dr. Asa Dalton, Gen. J. L. Chamberlain, of Brunswick, James McKeen, Esq., of New York, Mr. Fritz H. Jordan, Rev. H. O. Thayer and Edwin S. Drake.

During the evening there was an opportunity also for social greetings and the field day of the Society for

1898 closed with pleasant memories of a most delightful day. Those present during the day were Hon. James P. Baxter, Edwin Standish Drake, Mrs. E. A. De Garmo, Maj. C. H. Boyd, Rev. Dr. H. S. Burrage, Mrs. H. S. Burrage, H. M. Maling, H. W. Bryant, Mrs. H. W. Bryant, Nathan Goold, Rev. H. O. Thayer, Dr. D. W. Fellows, W. W. Brown, G. F. Emery, Charles F. Libby, George D. Rand, Rev. Dr. A. Dalton, Gen. John Marshall Brown, Eben Corey, Stephen Berry, Edward J. Young, Portland; Gen. Joshua L. Chamberlain, Brunswick; Isaac M. Emery, Kennebunkport, J. L. Douglass, Miss A. M. Douglass, Bath; Geo. A. Emery, Saco; Chas. E. Allen, Dresden; H. K. Bradbury, Hollis; Edmund M. Barton, Worcester, Mass.; J. W. Penney, Mechanic Falls; M. A. Safford and daughter, Kittery; O. P. Remick, Kittery; Geo. W. Hammond, Yarmouthville; Marshall Pierce, Oakland, Cal; Col. William S. Brackett, Peoria, Ill.; Miss Titcomb, Yarmouthville; Joseph Wood, Bar Harbor; Rev. Dr. George Lewis, South Berwick; J. G. Elder, Lewiston; James McKeen, New York; Frank C. Deering, Saco; Mrs. B. F. Hamilton, Saco; Samuel A. Drake, Kennebunkport; Frederic P. Vinton, Boston; Samuel T. Dole, South Windham; H. K. Morrell, Mrs. H. K. Morrell, Gardiner; Parker M. Reed, Bath; Prof. H. L. Chapman, Brunswick; Col. R. G. Carter, U. S. A., Washington.

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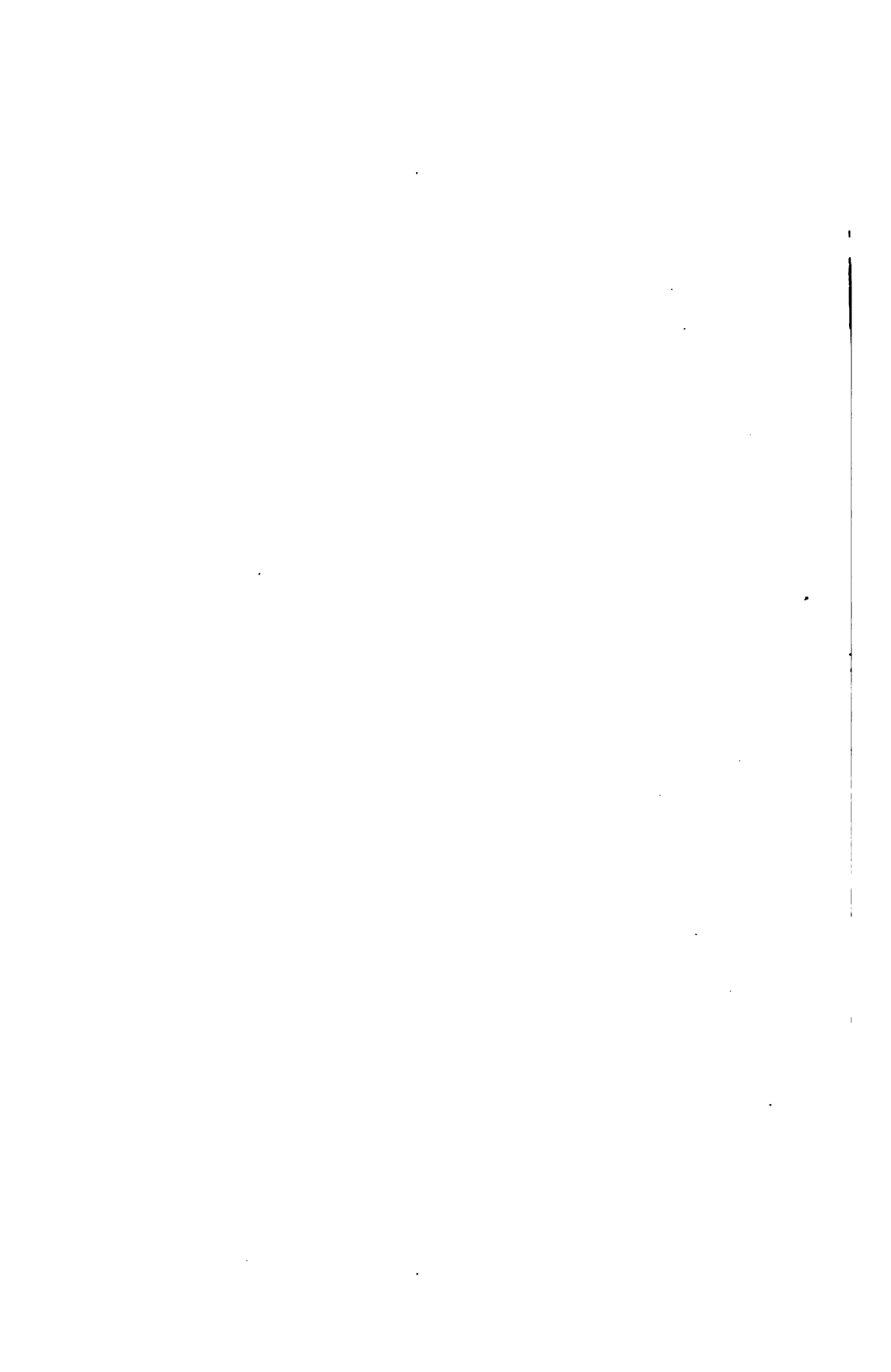
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