

*Thos. Goldthwait*



COLLECTIONS

AND

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

SECOND SERIES, VOL. VII

PORTLAND  
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY  
1896

PRESS OF  
THE THURSTON PRINT  
PORTLAND, MAINE



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# ANCIENT DEFENSES OF PORTLAND





# MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS.

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## THE ANCIENT DEFENSES OF PORTLAND.

BY LIEUT. PETER LEARY JR., U. S. A.

*Read before the Maine Historical Society, April 26, 1889.*

THE first defensive work erected in Portland Harbor was the fortified house of Captain Christopher Levett, an English gentleman of Somersetshire. He was one of those adventurous mariners who in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries carried the standard of England wherever ships could sail. He received his patent of six thousand acres from the Council of Plymouth on the fifth of May, 1623. He was himself a member of the council, which, in 1620, when the charter was conferred by James I., consisted of the Duke of Lenox, the Marquis of Rockingham, the Marquis of Hamilton, the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Warwick, Sir Ferdinand Gorges and a number of other gentlemen.

After sailing along the New England coast in the summer of 1623, on a voyage of search for a good location, he fixed his habitation on one of the islands of Casco Bay, one of four he speaks of, "which make one good harbor." His relation of the voyage to the council runs: —

And thus, after many dangers much labor and great charge, I have obtained a place of habitation in New England where I have built a house and fortified it in a reasonable good fashion, strong enough against such enemies as are these savage people.

That Levett was a humorist as well as an explorer is evident from his succeeding observation to the council:—

“I will not do,” he writes, “therein as some have done to my knowledge, speak more than is true: I will not tell you that you may smell the cornfields before you see the land; neither must men think that corn doth grow naturally (or on trees); nor will the deer come when they are called and stand still and look on a man until he shoot him, not knowing a man from a beast; nor the fish leap into the kettle nor on the dry land; neither are they so plentiful that you may dip them up in baskets,” etc.

The identity of his island is an open question among the historians of Maine. Mr. James Phinney Baxter in the valuable “Trelawny Papers” makes it Hoose Island on which Fort Scammel now stands. Mr. William Gould in “Portland in the Past” makes it Hog Island, now euphemistically known as Great Diamond Island, and Mr. William M. Sargent in “An Historical Sketch, Guidebook and Prospectus of Cushing’s Island,” fixes it upon that beautiful place. The latter is probably the more exact surmise. That Levett had no confidence in any permanently peaceful relations with the Indians is evident from his prompt action in putting the new house in defensive condition. He writes of them:—

They are very bloody-minded and full of treachery among themselves . . . therefore I would wish no man to trust them,

whatever they may say or do, but always to keep a strict hand over them and yet to use them kindly and deal uprightly with them.

At the time of his settlement, plantations had already been established at Portsmouth and Dover, New Hampshire, and further eastward on Monhegan Island. It is not likely that he would build his fortified house on an interior island, and so, in the event of hostilities which he manifestly looked for, cut himself off either from giving aid by sea to, or receiving it from either flank of the line of settlements. As all three were holdings under the Gorges and Mason patent, it is reasonable to assume that they were under instructions to help one another in the event of war. From the standpoint of strategy, the principles of which endure from age to age almost unchanging, either House Island or Great Diamond Island would have placed him at a disadvantage with the enemy on Cushing's Island; but holding the latter he would have had a certain strategic advantage which is obvious. This island has been known at different times as Portland Island, Andrews' Island and Bangs' Island. As Andrews' Island it was the refuge of the settlers in King Philip's war in 1676, who fled from Munjoy's garrison on the "Neck," and constructed some sort of a defense on the inner slope of the picturesque rock of White Head. It is probable that not only was this island chosen as an asylum for facility of relief by sea from other settlements to the westward, but because some part, if not the whole, of Levett's fortified house still stood where his trained hand had built it and gave them safe refuge; and

relief accordingly came during the summer from Black Point and Boston.

The first fortification constructed in Portland was Fort Loyal. It was a bastioned fort, built of stockades and stood on a rocky bluff at an elevation of about thirty feet above high-water mark near the foot of India Street and the ground now occupied by the roundhouse of the Grand Trunk Railroad Company. It became the center and rallying point of the settlement. Its construction was begun by order of the General Court of Massachusetts, by English soldiers, under command of Capt. Hawthorn in September, 1676. The site had a gradual slope towards the water front and contained about one-half acre. It consisted of a number of log buildings used as barracks, guard-house and shops, all surrounded by palisades. Wooden towers on the interior served as stations for observation and defense. The whole was loopholed and had emplacements for eight pieces of ordnance, which composed its armament. In 1690 a small work of semicircular front stood about one mile west of the fort on an elevation in rear of a swamp which extended to the water-front.

Ingersoll's blockhouse stood a half-mile southwest of the fort and Lawrence's blockhouse, built of stone and timber, stood about three-quarters of a mile north on Munjoy's Hill. The first notable use of Fort Loyal was as a prison for some twenty Indians, who were treacherously seized at Saco and sent there for safe keeping. They were subsequently released by Gov. Andross and afterwards attained greater or less

celebrity as relentless foes of the colonists. Among them was Hopegood, a chief of the Norridgewocks. It served its first legitimate use in 1689 when Maj. Church of Massachusetts saved the town and fort from destruction by his timely arrival by sea from Boston with several companies of troops, consisting of whites and negroes and friendly Indians from Cape Cod. He found the French and Indians four hundred strong about to attack the town, and to conceal his presence landed his troops at the fort after dark. The action was begun early on Saturday morning, the twenty-first of September, 1689. Church was embarrassed by finding that the musket balls he had brought in his supplies of ammunition were generally too large for his guns. With the aid of the people of the town, he had them hammered into slugs, and so, after a hard fight drove off the invaders. This engagement was fought near Deering Park about two miles from Fort Loyal.

A glance at the state of Europe at this time will show what relation its men and events bore to the obscure little outpost in the Province of Maine. The English revolution of 1688 had deprived James II. of his crown and put his son-in-law, William Prince of Orange, and Stadtholder of the Netherlands, and his eldest daughter, Mary, upon the English throne. It was the age of Louis XIV. and the brilliant soldiers, scholars and politicians who, in that era, made France glorious. Vendome, Catinat and Turenne were leading the troops of the great monarch in the campaigns which made their names dear to Frenchmen, but hateful to the people of the Netherlands and the Palatinate.

Bossuet was preaching those wonderful sermons which marked him as one of the foremost pulpit orators of the Christian church. Louvois was at the head of affairs, the greatest war minister of his time.

James II. had left his minnie court at Saint Germain and was getting what force together he could in Ireland for the recovery of his throne.

Schomberg was collecting an army of thirty thousand men in the north of Ireland, who were destined to beat the French and Irish at the battle of the Boyne on the first day of July.

Macaulay tells us that the cause of James was the cause of France and under this pretense, Count Frontenac, the able governor of New France, quick to second his sovereign in his ambition for the glory of his reign, planned a campaign in America to force the English boundaries to retreat as far southward as possible. Frontenac had returned as governor and lieutenant-general of New France in October, 1689, charged with instructions to initiate a campaign against New York and Boston, operating with his land forces from Montreal and with his fleet from Quebec. Looking at the map of America of 1655, the territory of England embraced at that time only the present states of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Maryland and Virginia.

A colony of Swedes held Delaware; the Dutch held the valley of the Hudson and New Jersey as far south as Cape May; Spain held Florida, and France the immense territory now comprised within the states

of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, West Virginia, Tennessee, the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan. In 1690 the English boundaries included Pennsylvania, Delaware, New York and the Carolinas. LaSalle had made his immortal journey through the Mississippi Valley to the waters of the Gulf of Mexico, and had taken possession of the country in the name of his Most Christian Majesty.

The people of Massachusetts and Maine had recognized the title of William and Mary and with more zeal than discretion had driven Sir Edmond Andross from power and were active in overthrowing all the good effects of his measures for their defense against the French and Indians. In his report to the committee for trade and plantation, which was received in London in April, 1690, he writes : —

That the new council in Massachusetts under Governor Bradstreet gave orders for the withdrawal of the forces from Pemaquid and other garrisons and places in the eastern parts ; that the Indians were encouraged and enabled to renew and pursue the war and by the assistance of the French who have been seen among them . . . . increased their number ; that in a short time several hundred of their Majesties' subjects were killed or carried away captive ; the fort at Pemaquid taken, the whole county of Cornwall, the greater part of the Province of Maine, and that part of the Province of New Hampshire destroyed and deserted.

The military state of the provinces of Maine and New Hampshire was about as bad at it could have been. Indifference on the part of the Massachusetts Governor and Council to the Military necessities of

the frontier, involving criminal neglect in providing rations, clothing, camp equipage, ordnance arms and ammunition for the garrisons: inefficiency in the commissioned officers, insubordination and ignorance in the soldiery all made the success of Frontenac a foregone conclusion. It is hardly to be doubted that his plans were materially changed on his arrival, for he found it necessary to drive the Iroquois from Montreal and secure the safety of his own people against them.

In the spring of 1690 three expeditions were sent out to strike at the English settlements. The right column, consisting of one hundred and ten French troops under command of Manet, with St. Helene and Iberville, two sons of Charles LeMoyne, in charge of the Indian contingent, marched from Montreal through the snow and attacked Schenectady on the third of February, killing sixty people and ravaging the country. The center column, consisting of twenty-four French soldiers and twenty-five Indians, led by Hopegood, all under command of Francois Hertel, left Three Rivers on the twenty-eighth of January and arrived at Salmon Falls, New Hampshire, on the twenty-seventh of March. The town was attacked at daybreak, partially destroyed and many of the inhabitants murdered and carried into captivity. Hertel withdrew on learning that help to Salmon Falls was coming from Portsmouth, and made his way to the Kennebec to join his force to that of the Count de Portneuf, who commanded the left column, then on its way to attack Fort Loyal. This command consisted of fifty French soldiers and fifty Abnaki Indians from



the Mission of St. Francis in the Province of Quebec. They left Quebec in January arriving in Casco Bay on the eleventh or twelfth of May. On the twelfth of May two Englishmen were caught on the Bay, one of whom was killed and the other carried off. On the same day, Capt. Sylvanus Davis reported to the governor and council of Massachusetts the defection of Capt. Simon Willard and some of his men, who in the face of the enemy and in the most cowardly manner fled from Casco to Boston on a wretched pretense. In the meantime the Count de Portneuf had concentrated his forces on the islands in the harbor and on the night of the fifteenth of May landed on the north end of the peninsula in Indian Cove at the foot of Munjoy's Hill. Their lines were deployed in the timber north of Queen, now Congress Street, facing to the southeast. Their forces amounted to about four hundred men in all, Portneuf in command, with his fifty Frenchmen and fifty Abnakis, Hertel with his twenty-four Frenchmen and twenty-five Abnakis and Baron de Castine with the Abnakis headed by Madockawando and Hopegood. The fighting strength of the garrison consisted of about seventy men. At noon on the sixteenth, thirty men under command of Lieut. Clark made a sortie in the direction of the Lawrence garrison-house on Munjoy's Hill and were attacked and all killed but five, who made their way, all of them wounded, back to the fort. On the night of the sixteenth all the people who were in the four outer garrison-houses retreated to the fort, which was soon completely invested. The enemy set fire to the build-

ings in the town, and ran a trench towards the walls for the purpose of setting fire to the stockades. When the trench was completed they filled a cart with combustibles, ran it close to the walls and set fire to it. This danger led to a parley which resulted in the surrender of the garrison on the twentieth of May, on condition of safe conduct to the nearest English town. The terms were made with Portneuf and were ignored as soon as made. The Indians slaughtered all without regard to age or sex. About five of the garrison, including Capt. Davis and two daughters of Lieut. Clark were spared and taken to Quebec and ultimately exchanged. The story of the siege taken from the French archives relates that "the fort was fired, the guns spiked, the stores burned and all the inmates made prisoners. The Indians retained a majority of them." One of the singular features of this engagement is that the casualties up to the day of the surrender seem to have been unusually small. On the side of the French and Indians, the French report says that "One Frenchman had his arm broken by a cannon ball and an Indian received a wound in the thigh." On the part of the English there were apparently no casualties except the killing of Lieut. Clark and his party, and the wounding of the five who got back to the fort on the sixteenth. It is estimated that nearly two hundred people were massacred or carried into captivity. Those of the other settlements fled for the safety to the more secure towns of New Hampshire.

The garrison which at this time held Purpooduc or

Spring Point, retreated with those of Spurwink and Scarborough to Saco. In the autumn of 1690, while on an expedition against the Ameriscoggins, Maj. Church landed five companies of English soldiers and friendly Indians at Spring Point, the present site of Fort Preble. He was attacked at daylight on Sunday, September 21, and after a sharp fight repulsed them with a loss to his force of seven killed and twenty-four wounded. It is supposed that this fight took place on the swampy ground lying between Fort Preble and Cushing's Point.

The armament of Fort Loyal was left in the ruins of the work when the French and Indians quit the place. In August, 1692, Sir William Phipps with a force of four hundred and fifty soldiers under command of Maj. Church, sailed from Boston for Pemaquid, where he began the construction of Fort William Henry. On his way up he stopped at Falmouth, buried the whitened bones of the victims of the massacre and took the guns with him to form part of the armament of the new fort at Pemaquid.

After the people of Maine had become reasonably assured of safety on the negotiation of the treaty of Mares Point, in January, 1699, they returned to Casco Bay and began a new settlement near the mouth of the Presumpscot River.

At a point about three miles northeast of the old location of Fort Loyal and four miles nearly due north of Spring Point a fort was constructed in 1700 under direction of Colonel Romer, a military engineer of the provincial government. It was known as New Casco Fort.

This work was built on four sides of a square, each side being fifty feet in length. Small bastions were placed in the northeast and southwest corners, and high sentry-boxes overlooking the surrounding country on the northwest and southeast corners. The whole was surrounded by a stockade. About one hundred feet southeast of the fort was the well on which the garrison depended for water, the avenue to which was also secured by a line of stockades on each side. The area enclosed by the work exclusive of that of the bastions and sentry-boxes was twenty-five hundred feet. The faces of the bastions were thirty feet long.

The little fort justified the propriety of its construction when Queen Anne's war was begun in 1703. It was then the utmost frontier of the English on the east. The French and Indians five hundred strong under command of the Sieur de Beaubassin laid siege to it for several days in August of that year. The settlers had found safety within its walls. The post was commanded by Major March, who had an effective force of thirty-six men, which he divided into three reliefs of twelve each. Their defense was so bravely conducted that the French commander was forced to begin regular approaches, which were interrupted by the timely arrival from Boston of Captain Southack in an English man-of-war in the service of the Massachusetts authorities.

He attacked the enemy, destroyed many of their canoes, and raised the siege. It was only in June of this year that Governor Dudley of Massachusetts,

whose administration was begun in 1702, had held at this fort an imposing council with the Indians, which ended in protestations of the most peaceful intentions on both sides. After this visit and the attack of the French and Indians, he directed a new fortification to be constructed, which was finished in 1705, under the superintendence of Col. Redknap, an engineer officer in the service of Massachusetts, who was afterwards sent with March's command to conduct the siege operations in the unsuccessful expedition against Port Royal despatched by Dudley in June, 1707. The stockades of the new fort entirely circumscribed those of the old. The new fort was an oblong quadrilateral having regular bastions at all its corners. Exclusive of the bastions it was two hundred and fifty feet long and one hundred and ninety wide. In each side a sally-port was provided, the one on the east having a small stockaded redan in its front. The length of the bastioned front on the north and south sides was two hundred and fifty-eight feet and on the east and west three hundred forty-six feet respectively. Its interior area, not counting that of the bastions was about forty-seven thousand five hundred square feet, or a little more than one acre.

Within the walls, barracks, storehouses, officers' quarters and shops were erected and in the southwest corner a large tank was put up for the storage of water in time of siege. From the south sally-port, a sheltered way to the shore of the bay was built of stockades, the water ends of which flared outwardly and extended into tide water to give a protected

mooring for the boats of the garrison. No details of the armament are known. New Casco Fort continued to be the defense of Falmouth until 1716, when its garrison was withdrawn, its armament and stores removed and the work demolished by its commander, Maj. Moody, under orders from the colonial government. Most of the people moved their habitations to the old site of the town on the "Neck," where Portland now stands. The officers and soldiers who composed the garrison moved to the new town with the people, took up land and were among those who were called the new proprietors, as distinguished from the heirs of the former occupants, who were called the old proprietors. Queen Anne's war continued to rage until 1713 when it ceased under the treaty made at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, July 11, of that year. In 1731 the town applied to the General Court of Massachusetts for the construction of a fort for the public defense and a work was accordingly begun on the old site of Fort Loyal, but apparently not completed.

The provincial government was not unmindful, however, of the defense of the town, for on the eighteenth of August, 1738, Col. Pepperell, with officers of the regular troops and militia, arrived from Boston and made an inspection of its military condition. This work was repaired and an additional breastwork built during Gov. Shirley's administration in 1742, and in the war of the Spanish Succession and the French war, which resulted in the fall of Quebec and the Treaty of Paris, in 1762, was partially relied on

for the defense of the town against the French. The armament of the new breastworks consisted of ten twelve pounders. After the capture of Louisburg by Sir William Pepperell in 1745, the French government dispatched the Duc D'Anville to America with a fleet of eleven ships of the line, twenty frigates, five ships and brigs, thirty-four fire ships, tenders and transports and three thousand one hundred and fifty men to recapture the fortress and restore the prestige of French power. The expedition was abandoned and the remnant of the fleet returned to France. The people of Falmouth, however, apprehensive of a visit from it, made preparations for defense by placing two old eighteen or forty-two pounders in a battery on Spring Point—a measure in which the means were hardly adequate to the ends expected. During this period the people wasted labor, money and materials by expending their efforts in building and strengthening the private garrisons or blockhouses, instead of concentrating all on the development of the powers of the fort; and we find that in 1744 eighty-five soldiers were posted in the town and billeted in the garrison houses, which were designed for security in case of Indian attacks. When the war of the Revolution was begun the town was practically defenseless, and Mowatt with a fleet of four small English armed vessels shelled and destroyed Portland with absolute impunity. The only guns in the town were four old pieces and for these not a round of ammunition was on hand.

On the second of May, 1776, a local committee was

appointed to look after the defense of the town. One fort was constructed on Munjoy's Hill and another on the hill on Free Street, where the Anderson mansion stands. The fort on Munjoy's Hill was named **Fort Allen** in honor of the captor of Ticonderoga, and that on Free Street was known as the Upper Battery. A battery and magazine also stood on or near the ground selected for the monument to be erected to the memory of the soldiers and sailors of Maine who fell in the war of the Rebellion, and another on the old site of Fort Loyal. Breastworks were constructed on Spring Point and garrisoned by a company of artillery; and a small battery was thrown up on Portland Head, in which a detachment was placed with orders to report the appearance of strange vessels by firing signal guns. This was the condition of the defense of Portland during the war of the Revolution.

After the Revolution the fortifications of the country were permitted to fall into decay, but when hostilities with France became imminent about 1794, Congress appropriated large sums of money for putting the coast defenses in good condition. Pursuant to this determination a fort was constructed on Munjoy's Hill which subsequently became known as **Fort Sumner**, in honor of the memory of Gov. Sumner of Massachusetts. It is thus described by the Duc de la Rochefoucauld who about this time made a tour of the United States with Talleyrand: —

They are at present constructing on the site of an old earthen breastwork a fortification which they expect to command the town and to render it at least secure from the invasions of an



enemy. This new fortification stands at the extreme point of the peninsula on which Portland is established and consists of a battery of fifteen or twenty heavy cannon of large caliber commanding that wide entrance of the bay which was above mentioned. This battery is to have by means of a covered way a communication with a small fort a distance of four or five hundred toises (about eight hundred or a thousand yards) which it has been thought necessary to erect on the highest part of the isthmus. The fort is sufficient to hold two hundred men."

In his history of Portland Willis thus describes it:—

The barracks were erected on the summit of Munjoy's Hill surrounded by an earthen embankment beneath which was a deep ditch. It was connected by a covered way with a battery erected on the southerly brow of the hill near where Adams street now [1865] passes. Guns were mounted at both places, but the barracks for the accommodation of the men and the parade ground were within the enclosure on the hill. It was garrisoned until after the war of 1812, when the command was withdrawn and the work suffered to go to decay.

In anticipation of war with England in 1808, Congress again made generous provision for coast defense, and as part of the general plan Forts Preble and Scammel were begun in that year and completed before 1812.

The state of Massachusetts on the twelfth of March, 1808, passed an act ceding to the United States the jurisdiction of a part of House Island and the extreme end of Spring Point, opposite thereto, near the entrance of Portland Harbor, reserving to itself concurrent jurisdiction on and over said lands, so far as that all civil and criminal processes may be duly executed on the lands so ceded. Subsequently in section 8,

chapter 2, of the revised statutes of Maine, the state passed a general act confirming the authority of the United States over any lands transferred to the government for public uses under the constitution and laws of the United States. This act has been construed by the courts of Maine as applying as well to military reservations as to lighthouses and other public buildings.

The first Fort Preble was built of brick and granite. Its front, on the channel, was semicircular in plan, and on its flanks and rear it had the lines of a star fort.

This part of the work is still standing. The length of the superior slope from the interior to the exterior crest was ten feet, six inches, and on the land side, near the sally-port, four feet and two inches. The command or height of the interior crest above the site was eighteen feet and four inches. Inside the enclosure were two double buildings for officers' quarters, a shot furnace, magazine, barracks, and a well. Its armament consisted of seven thirty-two pounders, five eight-inch howitzers and one twelve pounder, all mounted in barbette.

In reply to a request for information addressed to an officer of the adjutant-general's department, on duty in the War Office, as to the personage after whom Fort Preble was named, the following was received:—

WAR DEPARTMENT.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE, }  
DIVISION MILITARY INFORMATION. }

MEMORANDUM:—

In the matter of Fort Preble, Maine. Fort Preble was constructed some time during the summer of 1808. The question of fortifying the Atlantic seacoast towns was a matter of much

concern from 1794 for the following ten years. A battery and blockhouse were erected for the defense of the town in 1795 and 1796, but these soon fell into decay. A small work which had been authorized by the act of March, 1794, was completed in 1806, and received the name of Fort Sumner, but the site of this work was injudiciously selected, and the engineers reported that new works were necessary. Under date of January 6, 1809, President Jefferson, in a message to Congress on the subject of seacoast defense reports: "Portland Harbor, Fort Preble, a new enclosed work of stone and brick masonry with a brick barrack quarters and magazine, is completed. This work is erected on Spring Point, and commands the entrance of the harbor through the main channel."

This is the record we have of the existence of Fort Preble. The records of the War Department in 1820 are very meager. A fire in the War Department in 1800 consumed most of the records prior to that date, and on the approach of the British in 1814, the records which had accumulated up to that date were either destroyed or distributed in such a manner that few of them have been recovered. It may have been that the designation of this work originated in the War Department, but of this there is no certainty. The names of most of the early works were conferred upon them by the constructing engineers, and not always with the approval of the department.

It has always been considered by this office that Fort Preble was named in honor of the memory of Edward Preble, commodore in the United States navy. He was perhaps the most prominent naval officer of his day, and his operations along the Barbary coast, which resulted in the peace of the third of June, 1805, by which the tribute which European nations had paid for centuries to the Barbaric pirates was abolished, and his efforts were renowned throughout the world. He returned to this country in 1805, where he received an enthusiastic welcome as well as a vote of thanks from Congress (the first to receive them after the adoption of the constitution), and a gold medal.

In 1806 President Jefferson offered him the portfolio of naval affairs, which he declined on account of his feeble health. He returned to Portland, his native town, where he died in August, 1807.

It was at this time that the new work in Portland Harbor was under construction and about being completed, and it is therefore reasonable to suppose that the compliment of bestowing his name upon the work would have naturally suggested itself to those in authority. In fact, the preponderance of opinion is shown from a consultation of numerous authorities to incline to that view.

On the other hand, beyond the fact that the father of Commodore Preble (Jedediah) was a brigadier-general in the Revolutionary army, his services during the war of the Revolution were not of so distinguished a character as to have entitled him to the honor in question, twenty-five years after his death, in contradistinction to his son, who was unquestionably the most eminent citizen of Portland at the time of his death, which was contemporaneous with the naming of the work.

The first Fort Scammel is thus described by Mr. William Gould in "Portland in the Past."

On the highest point of this purchase (the military reservation of Fort Scammel) Dearborn erected an octogonal blockhouse of timber with a pointed roof of eight sides. On the low upright center timber of the roof was placed a carved wooden eagle with extended wings; on each of the eight sides of the blockhouse was an embrasure or porthole and a gun. The upper story contained the battery, and projected over the lower story two or three feet. All the buildings, including the blockhouse and barracks, were clapboarded and painted white. The works were enclosed in an earthen rampart, and presented a picturesque appearance.

Fort Scammel was so named in honor of Col. Alexander Scammel of the army of the Revolution, who was aid-de-camp to Gen. Washington and adjutant-general of the army. He was mortally wounded by Hessians while engaged in a reconnaissance near Yorktown, Virginia, September, 1781.

Both posts were named by direction of Maj.-Gen. Henry Dearborn, United States army, who was sec-

retary of war from 1801 to 1809, and whose son, Alexander Scammel Dearborn was the agent of the War Department in the construction of Forts Preble and Scammel.

During the war of 1812, temporary batteries were constructed on Fish Point and Jordan's Point. The latter was named Fort Burrows in honor of the gallant commander of the United States brig Enterprise, who fell in the action with the English brig Boxer, on the fifth of September, 1813, off Portland Harbor.

The defenses of Portland like those of other cities on the coast, have been affected by the development of modern artillery.

In 1857 it was found necessary to make radical changes in Forts Preble and Scammel and to construct Fort Gorges. These works were all to be large masonry forts with two tiers of casemate batteries and one barbette each, mounting in all, for the defense of the harbor, two hundred and ninety pieces of artillery. Before their completion the system of heavy smooth-bore guns was superseded by the modern heavy built-up breech and muzzle-loading rifles, and the costly and elaborate fortifications of granite were found to be useless against such artillery.

The corps of engineers spent no more money on masonry works, but in 1871 they strengthened Forts Preble and Scammel by the construction of heavy earthen parapets, traverses and magazines, and emplacements for modern artillery. Fort Preble has platforms for seventeen fifteen-inch Rodman guns or twelve-inch rifles, and for three eight-inch rifles.

There are now (1889) two fifteen-inch S. B. guns and two eight-inch rifles mounted in the works. Fort Scammel has six fifteen-inch and four ten-inch S. B. guns mounted and emplacements for several others.

It is understood that the new project of the engineer corps for the defense of Portland Harbor embraces the construction of modern works with the necessary electrical and steam plant on Portland Head and Cow Island.

The compiler of these notes is especially indebted to Mr. James Phinney Baxter of Portland, Maine, for access to and free use of valuable maps of the coast made by early explorers and plans of the early fortifications of the New England coast, copies of which Mr. Baxter secured at private expense from the Public Records office, the Rolls Office and the Library of the British Museum in London; also for giving him access to the valuable collection of the Maine Historical Society. He is also indebted for courtesies to Mr. William Goold, author of "Portland in the Past," and to Messrs. S. W. and Charles Pickard, editors of the "Portland Transcript." In preparing these notes the following authorities have been consulted: —

Palfrey's History of New England.

Willis' History of Portland.

Williamson's History of Maine.

Mather's Magnalia.

Sullivan's History of Maine.

Goold's Portland in the Past.

Hull's Capture of Fort Loyal.

Smith and Deane's Journals.

An Historical Sketch, etc., of Cushings Island, by Wm. M. Sargent, A. M.

The Trelawney Papers, by Mr. James Phinney Baxter.

## COL. THOMAS GOLDTHWAIT—WAS HE A TORY?

BY R. GOLDTHWAITE CARTER, U. S. ARMY.

*Read before the Maine Historical Society, December 19, 1895.*

ON Fort Point, a bold, rocky promontory of Cape Jellison, at the mouth of the Penobscot River, overlooking the beautiful waters of Penobscot Bay, thickly studded with the greenest of emerald isles, are the crumbling ruins of an old colonial fort.

The local historians have from time to time given some very interesting accounts of the inception and completion of this ancient work by Gov. Thomas Pownall of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in July, 1759, and of its destruction by Col. James Cargill in July, 1775; but of its garrison, those hardy men who occupied it during this period of sixteen years, little has been said, presumably because little has been known.

We are told that Brig.-Gen. Jedediah Preble was the first commandant of Fort Pownall after its completion, and that Col. Thomas Goldthwait, with the exception of one year, was its commanding officer from 1763 to 1775; the longest and most important period of its existence.

In Maine, most historical readers are very familiar with the main incidents of the life of the former, so closely identified is it with the history of old Falmouth, now Portland; but of the latter little is

known, and it is the purpose of the writer, in this paper, to give some knowledge of his early life and history.

Before me are copies of the first and last muster rolls of Fort Pownall, with the names of the garrison upon them, together with the petition of the same to the Provincial Assembly at Watertown, Massachusetts, for pay after the destruction of the fort, and the garrison had been scattered by the loud tocsin of the war for independence.

Thomas Goldthwait's name here appears as captain; Thomas Goldthwait, junior, as lieutenant; his son Henry, a lad of about seventeen, as private; as also that of Francis Archbald, junior, the clerk of the fort, who afterwards married Mary, the daughter of Col. Goldthwait, and who is referred to in the trial of Capt. Preston of the Twenty-ninth British Foot, as one of the lads who, on the night of March 5, 1770, near old "Cornhill," was one of the controlling causes of the "Boston Massacre." He was a witness before the court, and his affidavit is given, containing a very graphic, as well as a most amusing account of that stirring event, which led up to, and was so closely identified with, what followed.

But, who was Col. Thomas Goldthwait? Some rather incomplete statements concerning him have been written by the local historians of Maine, who, with but limited opportunities for access to the official archives of that time — prior to and during the period of the Revolutionary War — have allowed themselves to be guided largely by tradition, or the prejudiced



statements and writings of those days, and have handed down in cold type, thus far unchallenged, a character which, without a cool and dispassionate judgment, as afforded by the valuable contributions of to-day, would pass down to future generations as a man whose very name and memory should be shunned, even by his own descendants.

These statements, however, have been published in such a fragmentary and disconnected way, that the writer much doubts if to-day there are many of the inhabitants of the state of Maine interested in such matters, especially those living about the mouth of the Penobscot River, who have any adequate conception of the true or inner life of the man who had so much to do in shaping the early settlement and development of that region.

Were it not for a pressing duty which the writer, a descendant, feels incumbent upon himself to rescue a name once honored and respected throughout the entire Province of Massachusetts Bay, from the cloud of reproach and obloquy which has hung over it for more than a century of time, Thomas Goldthwait's memory, with his deeds, would still remain buried with his ashes in the little kirkyard at the village of Walthamstow, England, where he died an exile from his native land, August 31, 1799. Let us turn the search-light of truth upon that record which, during this long period of silence, has remained shrouded in darkest doubt.

Lorenzo Sabine, in his very valuable work on the American Loyalists, says:—

Goldthwaite, Thomas, of Maine, born in Chelsea, Massachusetts, Grantee with Francis Bernard, son of the Governor, of a large tract of land in Prospect on the Penobscot, on condition of settling thirty families, of building an Episcopal church and employing a minister. The enterprise was interrupted by the Revolution. Both adhered to the Crown and forfeited their property. . . . The account of him is that he was an extortioner, arbitrary and cruel. Early in the war he embarked for Nova Scotia, was shipwrecked on the passage and perished. (Volume 1: 478.)

It is but fair to say, however, that in his introduction, Sabine states that but little could be learned concerning the Loyalists, and that he met with so many serious obstacles, he nearly decided at one time to abandon the work.

Lossing, in his *Field-Book of the War of 1812*, says: —

It [Fort Pownall], was garrisoned until the Revolution, when it was betrayed into the hands of the British by a Tory commander.

The Rev. Richard Pike of Dorchester, Massachusetts, in a paper read before the New England Historic Genealogical Society of Boston, as far back as October 5, 1859, frequently alludes to the subject of this sketch, and states that: —

Col. Goldthwait has left behind him in the valley of the Penobscot a bad reputation. The Indians complained loudly of his unfair treatment of them in his dealings with them. He was very unkind to the early settlers. He was cruel, arbitrary, and an extortioner. He further declares that he was a tyrant and a coward (New England Historical and Genealogical Register 14: 7-10.)

There could be no worse character to be handed down to history and his descendants than this.

The historians of that region add many traditions and neighborhood anecdotes to substantiate this record, and to prove further that Thomas Goldthwait was an exceedingly bad, unscrupulous man, and that his memory is odious, and held in execration by those familiar with the story of old Fort Pownall at the mouth of the Penobscot.

The writer can trace, with but little effort, the foregoing statements to the same source, viz:— the unpublished narrative manuscript of one John Davidson (to whom he will refer later on); and all recent sketches of, or concerning Thomas Goldthwait, are merely changes rung upon a well-worn theme, with no new material added.

Thus far the statements made by these writers have been mere assertions, but accepted as historical facts, and they have, so far as the writer has any knowledge, never been denied.

Should ancient history remain forever uncontradicted and unchallenged? The writer thinks not. Living as we do in this remarkable age of discovery and progress, with the world of knowledge spread at our feet, whatever is inaccurate and false, whatever is based upon uncertainty, or obtained from traditionary or unreliable sources, and given as true history — to stand for all time — especially where it vitally concerns the life and character of a man, should be sifted and probed: the search-light of the student's investigations should be turned on, until truth and history righted is the ultimate result.

Nevertheless the writer has approached this subject with much hesitation. History had already been recorded and accepted; should he one hundred years after the ashes of his ancestor had been laid to rest, struggle with an uncertainty?

Meager indeed were the results of many months of patient search and investigation, and at every turn he met with nothing but cold proof that what he had seen and read concerning Thomas Goldthwait was confirmed and verified by the strongest evidence, and with no extenuating circumstances. Far better would it be that the mantle of charity should be wrapped about his memory, than that such an unenviable reputation should be dragged forth to the light of day.

In preparing this paper, the writer has, at intervals, during the past five years, made a very careful and exhaustive search through the Congressional and departmental (war, state and navy), libraries of Washington, D. C., those of the New England Historic Genealogical and Massachusetts Historical Societies of Boston, together with all their publications, and the files of colonial newspapers of that period: besides many volumes bearing more or less upon the relations between Tory and Whig, and the numerous bitter factions of those times and localities.

But it was to a free and unrestricted access to the Massachusetts Archives at Boston, that he is most indebted for material, and to which the incubation of this paper is largely due.

Thomas Goldthwait was not, perhaps, from our modern standpoint, a remarkably brilliant, or a very

wonderful man ; he was not even a man of national distinction, for this great nation had not then been born. There were then no men of cheap, political, or sky-rocket, clap-trap reputation. Judge Mellen Chamberlain of Chelsea, Massachusetts, ex-librarian of the Boston Public Library — who is about to publish a history of the city of Chelsea — in which he will incorporate a sketch of our subject says, however : —

Goldthwait must have been an extraordinary man, if one may judge of the confidence reposed in him by his fellow citizens of Chelsea, as well as by the Crown officials of the province. I confess that the condition and fate of the Loyalists have always seemed very pitiful ; and I have no patience with what seems to me the unjust estimate of Hutchinson by Bancroft, and even of Palfrey, from whom I should expect a more candid judgment.

Speaking of Col. Goldthwait's portrait, painted by the great artist — John Singleton Copley — he, says : —

The tradition is that Copley painted it. However that may have been, the face and head were those of no common man.

He was, at all events, in the then feeble, struggling colony, a man of note and distinction. The historians of Maine admit this ; and had he lived in these times, with the present opportunities, he would have made his mark.

He lived, however, at a period, and in a region, where brilliant efforts and extraordinary parts were not called for, but rather that power which, like Abraham Lincoln's, rough hews and shapes men's lives to higher and greater possibilities. And he so shaped his own life as to make that power felt in the eastern part of the Province of Massachusetts Bay.

The writer will endeavor to show and prove — First. That Thomas Goldthwait was not born in Chelsea, Massachusetts. Second. That he was not shipwrecked and lost when en route to Nova Scotia, in 1775. Third. That he was not a Tory or a Loyalist, in the sense that he took any active part against his countrymen, and then only so far as he was forced, after the dismantlement of Fort Pownall, by the rancorous spirit engendered by this event, increased by the intense excitement which so soon followed the announcement of the battle of Lexington, and the treatment he received at the hands of the turbulent characters about him, and by the Provincial Congress, through garbled and malicious statements. He was then forced to assume, in a passive and dignified manner, the role of a harmless spectator of the strife then on between the colonies and the mother country, instead of taking an active part with his neighbors, the patriotic Whigs of that region. Fourth. That Thomas Goldthwait was not a cruel, arbitrary, or an unjust man: an extortioner, a coward, or a tyrant: but, on the contrary, was a kind, just, and a humane man, and bravely performed his duty as he saw it.

Col. Thomas Goldthwait was the son of Capt. John Goldthwait and Jane (Taley or Tawley) Halsey of Boston. His father was born in Salem, but removed to Boston in 1701, where certain sales of lands, &c., locate him on Charter Street, about January 15, 1717, when the subject of our sketch was born. (Boston Records.)

John Goldthwait was a master mason and contractor, and was a man much respected, holding the office of collector of taxes of Boston several times from 1739 to 1758. He was an assessor in 1746 — perhaps oftener. He was active in all the affairs of the town. He was one of the founders of the new North church, and was a subscriber with John Hancock and others to the bells of Christ church, which have become so celebrated in history.

His father was Samuel of Salem, who married Elizabeth Cheever, daughter of the celebrated Ezekiel Cheever, sixth master of the Boston Latin School, the oldest and best known schoolmaster of America. He was for seventy years a teacher, and died at ninety-four years of age, with a crown of well-earned glory. (Salem Records.)

Col. Thomas Goldthwait's brothers were:— Ezekiel, for twenty years — 1741–61 — just preceding William Cooper, the town clerk of Boston, and from November 6, 1740, to January 17, 1776, register of deeds for Suffolk County, Massachusetts, and clerk of the inferior court; and Col. Joseph and Maj. Benjamin Goldthwait, who were splendid soldiers in the Louisburg, Cape Breton (Acadian), and Crown Point expeditions, the latter commanding the English forces at the battle of Minas, Nova Scotia, January 31, 1747. His nephews, Maj. Joseph Goldthwait, Capt. Philip Goldthwait, and Dr. Michael Burrill Goldthwait, were in one or more of the French and Indian campaigns. The former was the commissary and barrack-

master of the British forces during the siege of Boston. So much for a brief allusion to his immediate family relations. They were a family of soldiers.

Of the early life and childhood of Thomas Goldthwait nothing is known. That he attended the public schools of Boston — probably on Salem Street — there can be but little doubt, for all his letters, papers, accounts, etc., show the result of a careful education. But the history of the Boston Latin School and of Harvard College fail to show his name upon their rolls.

In 1740 he is recorded as a constable of Boston, and the same year, January 28, he gave surety for his father, John Goldthwait, as collector of taxes. In 1742 he appears on a petition with others for the acceptance of that part of Atkinson Street "bounded northerly by Milk Street and southerly by Cow Lane." Early in life he became a successful merchant, for his accounts have been found, showing that before he removed from Boston, he was engaged in general merchandise and on a large scale.

August 26, 1742, (published July 7, 1742), he married Esther Sargent, daughter of Col. Epes Sargent of Gloucester, Massachusetts. February 19, 1746, he was married by the Rev. Roger Pryor of Hopkinton, Massachusetts, to Catharine Barnes, sister of Henry Barnes, a wealthy merchant of Boston and Marlboro, Massachusetts. He had nine children. (Boston Records).

The children of Thomas and Esther (Sargent) Goldthwait were : —



1. Thomas, born April 27, 1743; died March 25, 1749.
2. Catharine, born January 5, 1744; married at Poole, England, October 26, 1784, Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, the celebrated surgeon of Boston. (2). September 2, 1789, William Powell, a wealthy merchant of Boston. Dr. Gardiner died August 8, 1786. William Powell died March 5, 1805, aged seventy-eight. His mother was Anna Dummer, the sister of Gov. William Dummer. Through William Powell's first marriage with Mary Bromfield, sprang many of the first families of Boston, the Masons, Scars, Perkins, Rogers, Lorings, etc.
3. Esther, born January 14, 1745; married (1) July 4, 1765, Capt. Timothy Rogers of Gloucester, Massachusetts. (2). Capt. Peter Dolliver of Marblehead. By the first marriage there was one son, Timothy, born 1766. He was a captain in the merchant service and commanded a packet ship plying between England and America about 1787. About 1792-93 he entered the Royal navy, and as "a gallant officer of the Earl St. Vincent's Fleet, died at Lisbon, Portugal, in 1797."

The children of Thomas and Catharine (Barnes) Goldthwait were:—

1. John, born July 9, 1748; died September 5, 1749.
2. Thomas, born June 4, 1750; married (1) Sarah (Wood) Primatt, widow of Rev. Humphrey Primatt of Kingston-on-Thames, England. (2.) Anne Wilson, 1791, daughter of Rev. Thomas Wilson of Woodbridge, Suffolk, England. He died about 1810.
3. Elizabeth, born August 23, 1751; married Richard Bright of Walthamstow, England; died February 12, 1840, small pox.
4. Mary, born March 1, 1753; married about 1777, Francis Archbald, junior; he died about October, 1785; she died about 1825; two children, Thomas, died young, and Catharine, born 1786; died May, 1868.

5. Jane, born February 16, 1755; died at Walthamstow, England, February 13, 1804, unmarried.
6. Henry, born in Chelsea, March 29, 1759; died about 1801. He entered the British army November 13, 1793, died at some unknown place in the Mediterranean Sea. One descendant, Oliver C., is now living in London, England.

Thomas, the eldest son, born June 4, 1750, was a lieutenant at Fort Pownall in 1774. He is referred to by the historians of Maine as a trader at the mouth of the Kenduskeag in 1772-73. He went to England before his father, but returned after his marriage to Anne Wilson, and lived for several years in Boston, where a number of his children were born and educated. There were six. He returned to England, however, and the tradition is that he died there, or was lost by shipwreck on his return again to this country. His widow migrated to the vicinity of Montgomery, Alabama, and all the southern Goldthwaits are sprung from this branch.

A son, George, born in Boston, December 10, 1810, was educated at the Boston Latin School; was two years at West Point; became chief justice of Alabama in 1856; adjutant-general of the state during the War of the Rebellion; United States senator from 1870-77; died March 18, 1879.

A daughter, Esther Anne, married Judge John A. Campbell of Alabama. He was associate justice of the United States Supreme Court, and during the War of the Rebellion was assistant secretary of war for the Confederate States. He was at West Point two years.

Henry, another son, born in Boston, 1798, died in Mobile, Alabama, 1847. He was educated in Boston; studied law; removed to Montgomery, Alabama, where he became the partner of Gov. Benjamin J. Fitzgerald. He edited a paper, served in the state Legislature several times, and afterwards returned to Mobile, where he was a successful lawyer. From 1839 until his death he was a judge of the Supreme Court of Alabama. His son, Alfred, born 1847, was a state senator of Alabama; studied law with his uncle, Judge John A. Campbell, with whom he practiced for twelve years. He was a great-grandnephew of Gen. William A. Graham of the Revolution. He represented the litigants in the famous Mrs. Myra Clark Gaines case, and finally won a decision in the United States Supreme Court in June, 1891. He died February 27, 1892. Such is a very brief and rather imperfect sketch of some of Col. Thomas Goldthwait's immediate descendants.

Through this marriage with Esther Sargent of Gloucester, he (Col. Goldthwait) became connected with Col. Epes Sargent; his son Col. Epes Sargent jr., Gov. Winthrop Sargent, Col. Paul Dudley Sargent, of Revolutionary fame; Lucius Manlius Sargent, the celebrated writer; Col. Henry Sargent, the great painter; Rev. Dr. John Murray, the eminent Universalist divine, and founder of his faith in America; besides many other noted men of that day.

By his marriage (second) with Catharine Barnes, he became also connected with some of the first families of America. Her sister Elizabeth married Nathan-

iel Coffin, cashier of customs under the crown. His sons were Sir Isaac Coffin, Baronet, first American admiral of the British navy, and Sir John Coffin, Baronet, lieutenant general in the British army.

Through them he (Col. Goldthwait), was connected with the Amorys, Ochterlonys, Arbuthnots, Auchmutys, and a host of well-known men of that period in Boston.

His eldest daughter, Catharine, married first the celebrated surgeon, Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, after whom Gardiner, Maine, is named, who was the largest landed proprietor in America, owning in the Kennebec purchase, five hundred thousand acres of land, mostly on the Kennebec River. She also married, second, William Powell, a wealthy merchant of Boston. Through the first marriage he (Col. Goldthwait), became connected with the Hallowells, Dumaresques, Mascarenes, McSparrans and others.

Through the second, he was connected with the Masons, Perkins, Sears, Dummer, and Powells. Madam Powell died February 27, 1830, at No. 14 Beacon Street, Boston, corner of Walnut. With such connections and associations by marriage, and contact with the aristocracy of old colonial Boston, Col. Goldthwait's life was cast in a mold, which, in after years, among the struggling colonists of the eastern part of the province, may have led many of them to regard him as a man somewhat apart from their lives and methods; and made it easier, perhaps, when the lines began to be drawn so closely between Whig and Tory, to stigmatize him as a proud, haughty aristocrat, a

Loyalist and traitor, and condemn him unheard in the most severe and unmeasured terms, to be branded and handed down by the historians of that time and place to the present period and generation.

The only record of his home is in Drake's "History of Boston." In a memorial to the town of Boston, Dr. Douglass, in a note to the assessors August 14, 1747, complaining of his taxes, etc., says: "I have sold my garden in Atkinson Street, to Mr. Thomas Goldthwait." It is now Congress Street.

About 1750 he removed from Boston to Chelsea, and from that time he became fully identified with the interests of that city. We find him, connected with his brother Ezekiel and others, about 1754-55 at Pullen or (Pulling) Point, (now Point Shirley), extensively engaged in the fishery trade. Deer Island was leased to them for this purpose, for a term of seven years.

They were under a certain contract with the Province, and were required to make extensive improvements on the island, which were inspected from time to time by committees, appointed by the General Court, and everything being found satisfactory, were duly approved.

He was active in fitting out and supplying troops for the Louisburg expeditions, although it is not known that he went on either.

In 1755 he was an assessor of Chelsea. April 28, 1756, he was moderator of a town meeting. June 27, 1757, he was one of five selectmen of Chelsea. June 9, 1757, or earlier, he was duly elected a representa-

tive from Chelsea to the Great and General Court of the Province of Massachusetts Bay.

The writer finds many references to his work here, in the provincial laws of Massachusetts, and in the Council records and House journal. He was on many important committees. But the most important service he rendered Chelsea was the reopening of the celebrated Bellingham will case, which, commencing in 1673, continued until 1787. In Judge Mellen Chamberlain's forthcoming history of Chelsea, he will refer to this famous case and Col. Goldthwait's connection with it. He was a member of the Assembly some seven or eight years.

In June, 1760, while yet a member of the House, he was appointed by Gov. Hutchinson paymaster general and agent for all the Massachusetts troops in the Crown Point expedition. (Council Records 1759-61: 258, 261.)

There is also a "Return of men enlisted for His Majesty's service within the Province of Massachusetts Bay in Independent Company, whereof Thomas Goldthwait of Chelsea, Esq., is Captain, to be put under the immediate command of His Excellency Jeffrey Amherst, Esq., General & Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty Forces in North America for the Invasion of Canada."

The diary of Captain Samuel Jenks of Chelsea, (Massachusetts Historical Society, 5: 353, 387), the youngest captain in the Provincial Army, records the arrival of his "friend Esq. Goldthwait" at Crown Point, his relations with, and much of interest concerning him.

He was entrusted with all the funds, several thousand pounds, for the payment of over four thousand soldiers, besides their billeting and supplying.

He was under heavy bonds for the faithful execution of this trust. His letters or reports concerning his duties, written to Lieut. Gov. Thomas Hutchinson, which the writer has found, show that he performed this duty in a highly conscientious and creditable manner.

There are many accounts with quaint vouchers attached, which detail all the expenditures of the money entrusted to his care for this purpose. His negotiations with Sir Jeffrey Amherst; his solicitude for the sick and suffering soldiers; his sagacious insight into all their wants and comforts; protecting them from the greedy rapacity of the numerous sutlers who were hovering on the flanks of the camps; his frequent journeys from Boston to Albany, and thence to the camps at No. 4 (Charlestown on the Connecticut River), and at Crown Point; in fact, his general management of the multitudinous cares and duties imposed upon him, by this position — all set forth by these letters — show rare executive ability, indomitable energy and industry, most excellent judgment, and a humane regard for those under him, and rarely to be found in these days of spoils-gathering. During this period, he was also untiring in recruiting and forwarding troops to the field, particularly the Chelsea contingent.

A few only of these letters will be introduced, as they are too numerous to be included in a paper of this character.

Col. Goldthwait goes to Albany on his way to Crown Point, and from there writes the following letter:—

SIR:—My journey has been so much retarded by heavy rains, that I did not get here until yesterday. I send this letter after Coulson to Kinderhook to advise your honour of it.

I left Col<sup>o</sup> Whitecombe at Sheffield but I heard he got to Kinderhook yesterday & is expected here to-day: he stops to hasten his men along, and they are coming in fast.

I find our forces are posted at different places from hence to Crown Point, so I conceive it will be necessary for me to go on, & as there is occasion shall distribute the money which I bro't. I learn by some people lately from Crown Point, that it will be very acceptable to the men, as their money is all gone, tho' what I have will go but a little way.

It wont pay above 78 of one months pay. It's pretty difficult & expensive getting the money up, especially if it be in dollars; but I am convinced that if the soldiers be at the charge of it themselves, they'l be great gainers.

Mr. Sanders tells me that some quantity of money may be procured here upon loan, or for Bills of Exchange & upon London, without loss by the exchange; but, upon my asking him whether dollars or gold could be had, he told me it would take time to procure specie; that bills might be sold without loss, but the payment must be in proper bills of the Province, gold or silver, as it happened: that either of em could not be refused, & intimated that it must be principally paper, wch he said was as good as dollars.

I own I have my opinion of carrying paper bills of another Gov't to pay our forces. It appears to me from all the information I can get, that it will be best for the Gov't to furnish me with 12,000 dollars, that is to make it up to 12000, for I have already 3333.

I apprehend that by circulating that number, one half of the soldiers wages may be paid, & the act and intention of the Gov't wholly carried into execution.



The Sutlers tell me that a less sum than that will not be sufficient to pay what they are obliged to pay in money for transportation, &c., & which must be paid toward the close of the campaign. Some of the principal sutlers who are here tell me that three dollars p. man by circulation will pay any sum during the campaign which the Gov't incline to pay, as they may come into the Paymasters hands once a month, & so the men will always have their money to pay for what they want.

If they have not money they will run in debt to those sutlers who will trust them. Whatever orders I receive from your Honour, shall be punctually complied with, but I own it would give me pleasure to prevent the men being abused by those mercenary sutlers.

Last Sat. there was an excessive rain here which continued about three hours; it caused such a flood in the streets that several barns & other buildings were removed several rods; some quite overturned, & in many houses the water was almost up the ceiling.

I am just told that Col<sup>o</sup> Whitcombe is come in. I intend to apply to him for a guard & go on immediately.

I am with great esteem & regard, your Honours  
Most obedient & most humble servant,

Tho. Goldthwait.

Albany, July 29, 1760.

To Lt. Governor Hutchinson.

The next letter was written after he had reached Crown Point. It is as follows:—

SIR:—I did myself the honour to write you a letter from Albany of the 29th July. I got here yesterday morning, & finding the bearer hereof going to Boston I have detained him a little to get some further account of the state of our forces y<sup>t</sup> I might give your Honour the fullest information I could.

I find the men generally healthy & in good spirits: a very few have been taken down with the small-pox, & as they are taken they are removed to a hospital at some distance from the

camp, & there dont appear to be any danger of its spreading. A few also are down with a fever & flux.

The officers tell me that the men have already taken up a pretty deal of their wages in necessaries supplied by the officers & sutlers, & as I've reason to think they pay pretty dearly for what they are supplied in this manner, I hope it will be in my power to put a stop to it.

I am convinced they pay at least 25 p. ct more than if they purchased with their money. The money w<sup>ch</sup> I bro't, I began to distribute on my way to Albany as I found it wanted at the several posts, & shall go on to do the same, & render an account when finished agreeable to my instructions.

The bearer, I understand, intends to return here, & the carrier I suppose will be returning likewise. These may be good opportunities to furnish more money, tho' the bearer is a stranger to me.

Your Honour is sensible that y<sup>r</sup> money w<sup>ch</sup> I bro't, will in no measure put it in my power to comply with the act of the Gov't, tho' you may be assured I'll do the best I can with it. I bro't it here with much difficulty, all in dollars, & found, as I had been before informed, that it will be much more serviceable to the men than if I'd bro't it in gold.

In my letter from Albany, I advised your Honour that 12,000 dollars in my opinion, might, by a circulation, pay one half the mens wages & enable them to purchase what they wanted with money, which money would not only be a great saving & comfort to the men, but it carrys the act of the Gov't into execution.

I am confirmed in my opinion, & I apprehend that short of that sum wont be sufficient. If the money could be got to Mr. Sanders, & I advised of it, I could send a suitable person from here to fetch it. I think by all appearances the forces will move from hence in a few days.

I am w<sup>th</sup> great esteem & regard,

your Honours most obed. & most humble servant,

Tho. Goldthwait.

Camp at Crown Point, August 7, 1760.

To Lt. Gov. Hutchinson.

Then follows another letter from Albany after his return from Crown Point :—

SIR :—I did myself the honour to write to your Excellency of the 29th Sep. [letter not found among Mass. Arch.], since which I have had transferred to me by the Honourable Committee of Council, two thousand dollars, which I received & did expect they would be sufficient to have wound up with, but the sick have been so many, & their necessities so great, that they have required more money than I was aware of, & in spite of all I could do, I fear that some who were posted out of my reach have suffered.

There have been 600 or 700 dismissed as invalids, & upon their going off I furnished them with two or three dollars each as there was occasion, & I came this way from Crown Point in order to take care of these posts upon this road.

I expected to have had a thousand dollars left which I intended to have taken around to No. 4, to have distributed among them who go home that way, but your Excellency will please to observe by the incl'd account that my money is almost exhausted, & will be quite before I leave this place, so that tho' I continue my design of going to No. 4, I can be of no service there without a further supply of money, & without which the men must suffer, as what they've had from me will probably be exhausted by the time they return.

Therefore if your Excellency will be pleased to order to me 1000 or 1500 dollars to be at Winchester by the 16th instant, by which time I expect to be there, I hope it will prevent the soldiers suffering on their way home.

Notwithstanding the great number of invalids that have already been dismissed, there was 600 returned unfit for duty when I left the Camp on the 1st instant, & all that are able to walk at all I suppose will be ordered by way of No. 4: those that are unable to walk will come this way under the care of Major Burt whom I furnished with money to supply him before I came away.

I am uncertain when the Camp will break up, tho' I judge it

wont exceed the 12 or 13th, notwithstanding what Col. Haviland says in his orders, an extract of which I enclose.

If the men are detained until the barracks are finished, its probable they'd be kept all this month: however, I dont lay so much stress upon Col<sup>d</sup> Haviland's order as I do upon what the general told me himself.

I waited on him about a fortnight ago to know if I should have time to send for to Boston for money for the troops: it was before I heard of the 2000. The General told me that I would not have time, but that I might meet the troops at No. 4.

I have the honour to be with great esteem & regard  
y<sup>r</sup> Excellency's Most obed<sup>t</sup> & most humble servant,

Tho. Goldthwait.

Albany, Nov. 7, 1760.

The general referred to was Sir Jeffrey Amherst. No. 4, was a Post at Charlestown on the Connecticut River.

Council records, 1760, Mass. Arch. p. 288, have the following relating to the subject of the preceding letter:

“Representing his want for money to forward the troops home: Advised and consented that a warrant be made out to the Treasurer to pay his Excellency Francis Bernard, Esq., the sum of 600 pounds, and that his Excellency despatch a messenger forthwith to Winchester with the same, to be delivered to Mr. Thomas Goldthwait, to furnish such of the troops as shall need it: he to keep an account of the sum he shall pay, and to what particular men or companies.”

To be continued.

## SKETCHES OF THE LIVES OF EARLY MAINE MINISTERS.

BY WILLIAM D. WILLIAMSON.

*Presented to the Maine Historical Society, with an Introduction by Joseph  
Williamson, December 10, 1881.*

[CONTINUED.]

REV. TRISTRAM GILMAN.

REV. TRISTRAM GILMAN, Harvard College 1757, was ordained December 8, 1769, the fourth settled minister of North Yarmouth, the successor of Rev. Mr. Brooks. He was a descendant of the sixth generation from Edward Gilman, the first of the name in Exeter, New Hampshire. The grandfather of Rev. Tristram was the eminent Nicholas Gilman, who died in 1783. His father, of the same Christian name, died the minister of Durham, New Hampshire, in April, 1748. John Taylor Gilman was Tristram's uncle, and Joseph was his brother, a judge in Ohio.

But Mr. Gilman not only belonged to a talented ancestral family, but he was, himself, a man of first-rate talents. He wrote with freedom and force and spoke with power. He was one of the best ministers in his day; quite a different man from his predecessor in respect to his pastoral energies and qualifications. His ministry was continued the lengthened period of nearly forty years. He always preached the word faithfully, without artful efforts "to make the doctrines of the gospel palatable to the depraved tastes of men," yet without any remarkable success till he

had preached there more than twenty years. But, during the ever memorable year, 1791, there was truly a wonderful revival of religion in North Yarmouth; a revival, which, with all its circumstances, had not then, and probably has not since been equaled in the state of Maine. The whole town felt that God indeed was present: opposition dared not show itself; and all seemed to make the anxious inquiry, What shall we do to be saved? The house of God was filled even to overflowing on the Sabbath; and the lectures during the week in different parts of the town were much crowded. Multitudes were added to the Lord daily.

The fruits of the Spirit were the hopeful conversion of one hundred and forty-five persons within two years and four months prior to September, 1793, and the whole number admitted to the church by Mr. Gilman was three hundred. Rev. Mr. Greenleaf in his Sketches says, Mr. Gilman's ministry, taking every circumstance into view, may be considered as the most successful of any minister ever settled in this state." He died April 1, 1809, and according to the promise his spirit will shine forever in glory, as a star of the first magnitude, having turned many from sin to righteousness.

#### REV. JAMES LYON.

REV. JAMES LYON, Nassau Hall, 1759, was settled at Machias in the spring of 1772, having arrived there in December preceding. He was the first settled minis-

ter in that town, or at any place in Maine eastward of the Penobscot waters.

Though this place, originally called "Mechisses," was very early and often visited for the purposes of trade, and though there were some French families at the Falls on Eastern River about 1744, the earliest effectual settlement was accomplished, in 1763, by fifteen families from Scarborough about the Falls in West River and, on the twenty-third of June, 1784, it was incorporated into a town, being ten miles square.

Mr. Lyon was born at Princeton, N. J., where he had his education. He had, previously to his visiting Machias, received a Presbyterian ordination and then settled at Onslow, Nova Scotia. But the people there being unable to support him and his family, consisting of a wife and two children, he removed to Boston, from which, Hon. Stephen Jones gave him a passage in his vessel to Machias. On his settlement a church was gathered, and his remuneration was to be £100 settlement, and the same in an annual salary. He was also "entitled to a right through the township as the first settled minister." "Mr. Lyon was a gentleman of respectable abilities and a good scholar and, though not much of an orator, he could deliver a written discourse very well, and his compositions were good." In his sentiments he was orthodox, though not rigid, and in his manners, mild and prepossessing. Usefulness, not display, was his aim, and his ministry, which was continued upwards of twenty-two years, was closed by his death, which occurred in October, 1794.

Machias passed through great vicissitudes and suffered many privations, while Mr. Lyon dwelt there, and during most of the war there was a public garrison in it. But at all times, he shone like a morning star.

#### REV. FRANCIS WINTER.

REV. FRANCIS WINTER, Harvard College, 1765, was ordained June 1, 1768, the first settled minister in Bath. Though this place was made a parish on the seventh of September, 1753, denominated the northerly or second parish of Georgetown, the people were for fifteen years without a settled minister. Within that period, some eight or ten candidates were employed to preach there, but church-members were few and the state of religion low, until the revival which extended to this place from Georgetown, during the first years of Mr. Emerson's ministry in that town.

Mr. Winter received his call six months before he was settled, being quite acceptable to the people as they became more and more acquainted with his abilities and his ministerial qualifications. But in the age immediately before and after he had his theological education, the Congregational ministers stood almost stock still when delivering their sermons, without gesture or emotion. Their utterance, also, was quite too destitute of emphasis, and of appropriate inflections of the voice, and their compositions were too much directed to discussion, argument, and Scripture quotations, without figures, flowers or fancy. To raise doctrine upon a text, prove their work, and give an exhortation, was deemed the great work of the



pulpit orator. But while such discourses and such speakers were heard with instructive profit by their assemblies, the more enthusiastic and heart-flowing preachers, such as George Whitefield and John Murray drew together crowded audiences, and bore off the palm in unwonted triumph. Mr. Winter was a man of piety, faith and prayer, still, he was more of a patriot than a preacher. He loved his country and heartily espoused her liberties. As Maine, during the war of the Revolution, suffered great privations and salaries were paid with difficulty, Mr. Winter joined the army for a period as one of its chaplains. After the war, he was chosen, in 1784, the first representative of Bath in the General Court, and subsequently received five or six other elections to that body. But, at length, he found there was dissatisfaction arising, and "he made a proposal to the town for a dissolution of the relation between them," which was accepted in 1787, and he never afterwards settled in the ministry. He continued to reside in Bath till his death, which occurred in 1826, when he was in the eighty-second year of his age. Samuel, a son of his, succeeded him and was, in 1830, sheriff of Lincoln County.

#### REV. ALPHEUS SPRING.

REV. ALPHEUS SPRING, Nassau Hall, 1766, and A. M., Dartmouth College 1785, was ordained, June 29, 1768, the second settled minister of Eliot, colleague pastor with Rev. Mr. Rogers. This was a happy connection, for "Mr. Spring was much beloved by his people and highly respected by his brethren in the

ministry." Taken sick of a fever, he died suddenly, June 14, 1791, thus closing an endeared pastorate of twenty-three years.

REV. ALEXANDER McLEAN.

REV. ALEXANDER McLEAN, a native of Scotland, and probably educated at the University of Glasgow, was ordained June, 1773, and was the first settled minister in Bristol. The inhabitants in this region were mostly Scotch and Irish Presbyterians, and they were desirous of having a preacher of the same sentiments. Bristol is the ancient Pemaquid, settled between 1626 and 1633, depopulated on the taking of Fort William Henry in 1696, and subsequently lay waste more than twenty years. After it was effectually revived in 1729-30, under Col. Dunbar, the Rev. Robert Rutherford was the first minister who preached in that place, which Dunbar named Harrington. He also named the present Boothbay, Townshend, and Nobleborough he called Walpole. On the eighteenth of June, 1765, Bristol was incorporated as a town, and soon afterwards, voted to build their meeting-houses; one at "Broad Cove" on the easterly side of the town, a league below the present Waldoboro village; another near the fort on the Pemaquid River in the Harrington parish, and the third on the easterly side of Damariscotta River, and northeasterly part of the town, in the Walpole parish, the residue of this old parish being in the present Nobleboro. In the summer of 1766, the meeting-house near the fort was revived and a church the next June was organized by

Rev. Mr. Murray, of Boothbay, "on the Westminster Confession and Presbyterian Rules." As this town was separated from Bristol only by the waters of Damariscotta River, and the people of both towns mostly Presbyterians, they partook largely in each others spiritual interests and affairs.

Always captivated, as the people of Bristol were, with Mr. Murray and his preaching, whenever they had opportunity to hear him, they became remarkably intent upon his discourses and lectures during the revival in 1767 at Boothbay, and numbers of the former town, as well as many in the latter, were the religious converts of that refreshing season, and became members of the new church.

In this happy state of affairs, the people of Bristol became anxious to have the ordinances regularly administered, and to settle a minister, if possible another Murray. Therefore in May, 1770, they wrote to Rev. Dr. Witherspoon, president of New Jersey College (Nassau Hall), for a suitable candidate, and he sent them Rev. Mr. McLean. He was a very serious and acceptable preacher, a devoted Christian and a truly faithful undershepherd. His labors were incessant and anxious, for he was a physician of soul and body. But he undertook too much: a man cannot labor in two fields at the same time. The several settlements in the town, moreover, rendered his parochial duties exceedingly arduous, and in a few years he found his health failing and his spirits depressed. Nor did the occasional aid generously furnished him by his people afford the needed relief, and in the

autumn of 1791, he took passage to Scotland, leaving many tearful eyes. He returned the next year much benefited by his journey. In a few years his ill-health returned, and in 1795, he would have taken dismissal but for the great attachment felt towards him, and the willingness manifested to procure him a colleague. For that purpose, Rev. William Riddel was procured, and being found acceptable, both to Mr. McLean and the people, was ordained in August, 1760, and the church in its polity became Congregational, in unison with the sentiments of the colleague pastor. In these peace-making arrangements, Mr. McLean gave up his salary, and engaged to preach, when able, in a parish at "Broad Cove," where he resided without compensation. In this and every engagement he was true and faithful, for he had not only preached in that place, but ministered as a missionary to the people in the waste places around him. While on a visit at New Castle he was suddenly taken sick and died. This was in 1802, after a ministry of twenty-nine years. His body, however, was removed and interred at Bristol. Mr. McLean was a very sedate, industrious, disinterested and excellent man, greatly beloved and respected. He had intellect and learning equal to the ministerial office he was consecrated to fill, and he wrote and spake with considerable force. But he lacked the fervent spirit, the fanciful thoughts, and the flowing words, indispensable to captivate a mixed audience. Solid doctrine was his forte, and faithful exhortation his gift.

## THE STORY OF NEW SWEDEN.

BY HON. WILLIAM WIDGERY THOMAS, JR.

*Read before the Maine Historical Society, December 19, 1895.*

TWENTY-FIVE years ago there sailed away from the shores of Sweden a little colony of fifty-one Swedes. This adventurous band then left home and country, and faced the perils of a voyage of four thousand miles, and the hardships and toils of making a new home in the wilderness of a strange land without so much as the scratch of a pen by way of contract or obligation, but with simple faith in the honor and hospitality of Maine.

The colony was composed of twenty-two men, eleven women, and eighteen children. All the men were farmers; in addition, some were skilled in trades and professions; there being among them a lay pastor, a civil engineer, a blacksmith, two carpenters, a basket-maker, a wheelwright, a baker, a tailor, and a wooden-shoemaker. The women were neat and industrious, tidy housewives, and diligent workers at the spinning-wheel and loom. All were tall and stalwart, with blue eyes, blonde hair and cheerful, honest faces; there was not a physical defect or blemish among them, and it was not without strong feelings of state pride that I looked upon them as they were mustered on the deck of the steamship *Orlando*, and anticipated what great results might flow from this little beginning for the good of our beloved commonwealth.

Seven years prior to this time, early in 1863, I had first set foot in Sweden, sent there by President Lincoln as one of the thirty "war consuls" of the United States. During a three years' residence in Sweden I had acquired the Swedish language; had become familiar with the history, manners and customs of the people, and had learned to know, respect and admire the manner of men and women they were. I had beheld also the thousands of sturdy Swedish emigrants that every year sailed away from Swedish ports for America, to help subdue the forests and open up the prairies of our own broad land. I had done whatever lay in my power to augment this emigration, and had seen with gratification the number of Swedish emigrants increase by thousands during my sojourn in the Northland.

But there was one fact connected with this emigration that to me — a son of the Pine Tree state — was anything but satisfactory. None of all these emigrants settled in Maine; all passed by our state and went to build up and make strong and great the states of the West and Northwest. Yet no state or territory in the Union is better adapted by nature to become the home of Swedes than the northern, wooded state of Maine. Here and in the Northland the same mountains rear their altars to heaven; the same woodland lakes reflect the twinkling stars; the same forests clothe the hillsides; the same swift, clear rivers rush leaping to the sea; the same deep harbors notch the coast, and the same islands by the thousand, guard the shores.

It is an interesting fact also, that with few exceptions, as the French in Canada, immigrants from Europe take up the same relative position in America they occupied in the continent of their birth. In fact there seem to be certain fixed isothermal lines between whose parallels the immigrants from the Old World are guided to their homes in the New. Thus the Germans from the center of Europe settle in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and our other middle states; the French and Spanish from Southern Europe and the shores of the Mediterranean, make their homes in Louisiana, Florida, and all along the Gulf of Mexico; while the Swedes from the wooded north, fell the forests and build their log-cabins in Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota, Washington, Oregon — in our northern range of states — the Pine Tree state forms one of this northern, wooded range — Swedish immigration flows naturally to us.

And no better immigrants than the Swedes ever landed on American shores. Honest and industrious, law-abiding and God-fearing, polite and brave, hospitable and generous, of the same old northern stock as ourselves, no foreign-speaking immigrants learn our language more quickly, and none become more speedily Americanized or make better citizens of our great Republic.

Did Maine need immigration? Yes; surely.

Maine is a state of great, but largely undeveloped, resources. Our seacoast, indented all over with harbors, invites the commerce of the globe; our rivers offer sufficient power to run the factories of the nation, while our quarries can supply the world with building

material. In the northwestern portion of our state also, there was and still is a wilderness domain, whereon is scarce a settler, larger in area than the state of Massachusetts, covered with a stately forest of valuable trees, possessing a soil of unusual depth and fertility, and watered by plentiful streams. Yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, the census of 1870 revealed the startling fact that while the United States as a whole had increased over seven and a half millions in population, in the previous decade, our own state of Maine had paused and gone backward. In 1870, Maine numbered one thousand three hundred and sixty-four less inhabitants than she did ten years before. With the single exception of our neighboring state of New Hampshire, Maine was the only state in the Union that had retrograded in population from 1860 to 1870.

Was this a momentary halt in our advance, or was it the beginning of our decline? This was a momentous question: for states, like men, cannot stand still, they must grow or decay.

That immigration of some sort was a necessity, and that Scandinavian immigration would be the best for us, I think was quite generally admitted. Indeed the general subject of Scandinavian immigration had been briefly presented to the attention of the Legislature as early as 1861, by Gov. Washburn in his annual message. But how could Scandinavian immigrants be procured? And how could they be retained within our borders, if once we succeed in inducing them to come among us? These were unsolved problems, and the doubters were many.



Our own sons and daughters, to the manner born, were deserting Maine for the West. Would not our Scandinavians, provided we succeeded in getting them, do the same, and settle among the great masses of their countrymen already established in the western states ?

Again one attempt to procure Swedish immigrants for Maine had already been tried, and had ended in complete failure. A company of Maine men, incorporated as the " Foreign Emigrant Association of Maine," had recruited, in 1864, some three hundred Swedish laborers and servants in Sweden and paid their passage across the Atlantic. These immigrants landed at Quebec, where they all, with one accord, disappeared. Not one of them ever arrived in Maine ; and the association dissolved with a loss of many thousand dollars.

With the exception of a few scattered Swedes that had from time to time drifted into our seaboard cities and towns — less than one hundred in all — there were no Swedes in Maine.

Such was the condition of Maine, and such was the condition of the immigration problem on my return from Sweden to my native state at the close of 1865.

The conviction had gradually forced itself upon me, that it would be impossible to attract or retain any considerable number of individual Swedes within the limits of our state, until we first procured and firmly established somewhere upon the soil of Maine a colony of picked Swedish immigrants.

Such a colony with its churches and schools, its Swedish pastors and its Swedish homes, its Swedish

customs and holidays and festivities, it seemed to me, would constitute a nucleus around which the Swedish immigration of the future would gather, a central point whose attractive force would ever hold the scattered Swedes, who went out to service, or settled elsewhere in Maine, within the borders of our state.

But how could such a colony be procured, and how could it be established?

This problem I had gradually worked out in my own mind, and had arrived at a definite, practical plan. My plan was this:—

1. Send a commissioner of the state of Maine to Sweden.

2. Let him there recruit a colony of young Swedish farmers—picked men—with their wives and children. No one, however, was to be taken unless he could pay his own passage and that of his family to Maine.

3. A Swedish pastor should accompany the colony, that religion might lend her powerful aid in binding the colonists together.

4. Let the commissioner lead the colony in a body, all together, at one time, and aboard one ship, from Sweden to America. Thus would they be made acquainted with one another. Thus, also, would they have a leader to follow and be prevented from going astray.

5. Let the commissioner take the Swedes into our northern forests, locate them on Township Number 15, Range 3, west of the east line of the state, give every head of a family one hundred acres of woodland for a farm, and do whatever else might be necessary

to root this Swedish colony firmly in the soil of Maine.

Then all state aid was to cease, for it was confidently expected when once the colony was fast rooted in our soil it would thrive and grow of itself, and throughout the future draw to Maine our fair portion of the Swedish immigration to the United States.

Such was my plan. I had a strong and abiding faith that it could be accomplished. Immediately on my return from Sweden I began, and for four years I continued, to preach the faith that was in me, both in our legislative halls and among our people. At last my colleagues, Hon. Parker P. Burleigh and Hon. William Small, commissioners on the settlement of the public lands of Maine, united with me in recommending my plan of immigration in our official report to the Legislature of 1870. Gov. Chamberlain, one of the earliest and most constant friends of Scandinavian immigration, warmly advocated the measure. Col. James M. Stone, chairman of the committee on immigration, placed the merits of the plan before the House of Representatives in an eloquent speech. The friends of the enterprise throughout the state rallied to its support, and on March 23, 1870, an act was passed authorizing my plan of Swedish immigration to be tried.

The act established a Board of Immigration, consisting of the governor, land agent and secretary of state. On March 25, two days after the passage of the act, the Board appointed me commissioner of immigration. The fate of my plan was thus placed in my own hands.

Having successfully arranged all preliminaries, I sailed from America, April 30, and landed at Gothenburg, Sweden, on the sixteenth of May. It was a bright spring morning when I set foot once more on Swedish soil, but brighter than the dawn was the opportunity now open to me to accomplish an undertaking, which for years had been the dream of my life, for the good of my native state.

A head office was at once established at Gothenburg. Notices, advertisements and circulars describing our state and the proposed immigration, were scattered broadcast over the country. Agents were employed to canvas the northern provinces, and as soon as the ball was fairly in motion, I left the office at Gothenburg in charge of a trusty agent, Capt. G. W. Schröder, and traveled extensively in the interior of Sweden, distributing documents and talking with the people in the villages, at their homes, by the roadside, and wherever or whenever I met them. Familiar with the Swedish language and people I was enabled to preach a crusade to Maine. But the crusade was a peaceful one, its weapons were those of husbandry, and its object to recover the fertile lands of our state from the dominion of the forest.

To induce the right class of people to pay their way to settle among us seemed indeed the most difficult part of the whole immigration enterprise. I therefore deemed it expedient to take this point for granted; and in all advertisements, conversations and addresses, to dwell rather on the fact that, as only a limited number of families could be taken, none would

be accepted unless they brought with them the highest testimonials as to character and proficiency in their callings.

The problem which was thus taken for granted soon began to solve itself. Recruits for Maine began to appear. All bore certificates of character under the hand and seal of the pastor of their district, and all who had worked for others brought recommendations from their employers. These credentials, however, were not considered infallible, some applicants were refused in spite of them, and no one was accepted unless it appeared clear that he would make a thrifty citizen of our good state of Maine. In this way a little colony of picked men with their wives and children, was quickly gathered together. The details of the movement, the arguments used, the objections met, the multitude of questions about our state asked and answered, would fill a volume. I was repeatedly asked if Maine were one of the United States. One inquirer wished to know if Maine lay alongside Texas, while another seeker after truth wrote, asking if there were to be found in Maine any wild horses or crocodiles. This ignorance is not to be wondered at, for what had Maine ever done prior to 1870 to make herself known in Sweden.

Neither was the colony recruited without opposition. Capital and privilege always strive to prevent the exodus of labor, and sometimes are reckless as to the means they use. It is sufficient, however, to state that all opposition was silenced or avoided.

On June 23, the colonists, who had been recruited

from nearly every province of Sweden, were assembled at Gothenburg; and on the evening of that day — midsummer's eve, a Swedish festival — I invited them and their friends to a collation at the Baptist Hall in that city. Over two hundred persons were present, and after coffee and cake had been served, according to Swedish custom, addresses were made by S. A. Hedlund, Esq., member of the Swedish parliament, our agent, Capt. Schröder, one of the leaders of the Baptist movement in Sweden, and myself. The exercises were concluded by a prayer from Pastor Trouvé. At this meeting the colonists were brought together and made acquainted, their purpose quickened and invigorated, and from that hour the bonds of common interest and destiny have bound all the individuals into a community. Such a knowledge of Maine and its resources was also imparted by the speakers, that the very friends who before had sought to persuade the colonists not to desert their fatherland, exclaimed, "Ah, if I could only go too!"

In August, 1637, the Swedish ship of war *Kalmar Nyckel*, accompanied by a smaller vessel, the *Fogel Grip*, set sail from Gothenburg for America, with a Swedish colony on board, which founded the first New Sweden in the New World, on the banks of the Delaware. Two hundred and thirty-three years later, at noon of Saturday, June 25, and just forty days after my landing in Sweden, I sailed from the same Gothenburg in the steamship *Orlando*, with the first Swedish colonists of Maine.

A heavy northwest gale, during the prevalence of

which the immigrants were compelled to keep below while the hatches were battened down over their heads, rendered our passage over the North Sea very disagreeable, and so retarded our progress that we did not reach the port of Hull till Monday evening, June 27. The next day we crossed England by rail to Liverpool. Here was an unavoidable delay of three days. On Saturday, July 2, we sailed in the good steamship *City of Antwerp* of the Inman line, for America.

The passage over the ocean was a pleasant one, and on Wednesday, July 13, we landed at Halifax. The good people of this city fought shy of us. Swedish immigration was as novel in Nova Scotia as in Maine. No hotel or boarding-house would receive us, and our colony was forced to pass its first night on this continent in a large vacant warehouse kindly placed at our disposal by the Messrs. Seaton, the agents of the Inman steamships. Next day we continued our journey across the peninsula of Nova Scotia and over the Bay of Fundy to the city of St. John.

July 15, we ascended the St. John River to Fredericton by steamer. Here steam navigation ceased on account of low water; but two river flatboats were chartered, the colony and their baggage placed on board, and at five o'clock next morning, our colony was *en route* again. Each boat was towed up river by two horses. The boats frequently grounded and the progress up stream was slow and toilsome, but the weather was fine and the colonists caught fish from the river and picked berries along the banks.

Near Florenceville the first misfortune befell us. Here, on Tuesday, July 19, died Hilma C. Clasé, infant daughter of Capt. Nicholas P. Clasé, aged nine months. Her little body was properly embalmed, placed in a quickly constructed coffin, and brought on with the colony. "We cannot leave our little one by the way," said the sorrow-stricken parents, "we will carry her through to our new home."

On the afternoon of Thursday, July 21, the flat-boats reached Tobique Landing. Six days had been spent in towing up from Fredericton. The journey is now accomplished by railroad in as many hours. All along our route from Halifax to Tobique the inhabitants came out very generally to see the new comers, and there was an universal expression of regret, that so fine a body of immigrants should pass through the Provinces instead of settling there. At Tobique the colonists debarked and were met by Hon. Parker P. Burleigh, land agent and member of the Board of Immigration. We obtained lodgings for the colony on the hay in Mr. Tibbit's barn, and Mr. Burleigh and I driving round from house to house, buying a loaf of bread here, a loaf there, a cheese in another place, and milk wherever it could be procured, got together supplies sufficient for supper and breakfast.

Friday morning, July 22, teams were provided for the Swedes and their baggage, and at eight o'clock the Swedish immigrant train started for Maine and the United States. The teams were furnished by and under the charge of Mr. Joseph Fisher of Fort Fairfield. Mr. Burleigh and I drove ahead in a wagon.



then came a covered carriage, drawn by four horses. This contained the women and children. Next were two three-horse teams with the men, followed by a couple of two-horse teams containing the baggage. So we wound over the hills and at ten o'clock reached the iron post that marks the boundary between the dominions of the queen and the United States.

Beneath us lay the broad valley of the Aroostook. The river glistened in the sun and the white houses of Fort Fairfield shone brightly among the green fields along the river bank. As we crossed the line and entered the United States, the American flag was unfurled from the foremost carriage, and we were greeted with a salute of cannon from the village of Fort Fairfield. Mr. Burleigh stepped from the wagon and in an appropriate speech welcomed the colony to Aroostook County, Maine, and the United States. I translated the speech and the train moved on. Cheers, waving of handkerchiefs, and every demonstration of enthusiasm greeted us on our way.

Shortly after crossing the line an incident occurred which showed of what stuff the Swedes are made. In ascending a hill the horses attached to one of the immigrant wagons became balky, backed the wagon into the ditch and upset it, tipping out the load of baggage. The Swedes instantly sprang from the carriages in which they were riding, unhitched the horses, righted the wagon, and in scarcely more time than it takes to tell it, reloaded their ton and a half of baggage and then ran the wagon by hand to the top of the hill. This was the first act of the Swedes in Maine.

At noon we reached the Town Hall at Fort Fairfield. A gun announced our arrival. Here a halt was made. A multitude of people received us. The Swedes got out of the wagons and clustered together by themselves, a little shy in the presence of so many strangers. The assembly was called to order by A. C. Cary, Esq., and a meeting organized by the choice of Hon. Isaac Hacker as chairman. Mr. Hacker after some pertinent remarks introduced Judge William Small, who welcomed the Swedish immigrants in a judicious, elaborate and eloquent address. He was followed by the Rev. Daniel Stickney of Presque Isle in a stirring and telling speech. The remarks of these gentlemen were then given to the Swedes in their own tongue by myself, after which at the request of the Swedes I expressed their gratitude at the unexpected and generous hospitality of the citizens of Aroostook. The Swedes were then invited to a sumptuous collation in the Town Hall. The tables groaned with good things. There were salmon, green peas, baked beans, pies, pudding, cake, raspberries, coffee, and all in profusion.

At two o'clock the Swedes resumed their journey, gladdened by the welcome and strengthened by the repast so generously given them by the good people of Fort Fairfield. The procession passed up the fertile valley of the Aroostook — the stars and stripes still waved "at the fore." Many citizens followed in wagons. Along the route every one turned out to get a good look at the new comers. A Swedish youth of twenty struck up an acquaintance with an American young man of about the same age. It mattered

not that the Yankee did not speak a word of Swedish, nor the Swede a word of English, they chattered away at each other, made signs, nodded and laughed as heartily as though they understood it all. Then they picked leaves, decorated each other with leafy garlands, and putting their arms around one another marched along at the head of the procession, singing away in the greatest good fellowship, as good friends as though they had known each other for a lifetime, and perfectly regardless of the little fact that neither of them could speak a word the other could understand. Youth and fraternity were to them a common language and overleaped the confusion of tongues.

As the immigrant train halted on a hilltop, I pointed out the distant ridges of Township No. 15 rising against the sky. "*Det utlofvade Landet*" — "The promised land" — shout the Swedes, and a cheer goes along the line. Late in the afternoon we reached the bridge over the Aroostook River. A salute of cannon announced our approach. Here we were met by a concourse of five hundred people with a fine brass band of sixteen pieces, and escorted into the picturesque village of Caribou. Hon. John S. Arnold delivered an address of welcome, and the citizens invited us to a bountiful supper in Arnold's hall, where also the settlers passed the night. At this supper one of the good ladies of Caribou happened to wait upon our worthy land agent, and getting from him a reply in a language she understood, was overjoyed and exclaimed, "Why, you speak very good English for a Swede!"

Next morning the Swedish immigrant train was early in motion accompanied by some hundred and fifty citizens of the vicinity. One farmer along the route put out tubs of cold water for our refreshment. I thanked him for this. "Oh, never mind," he replied, "all I wanted was to stop the Swedes long enough to get a good look at them." We soon passed beyond the last clearing of the American pioneer and entered the deep woods. Our long line of wagons slowly wound its way among the stumps of the newly-cut wood road, and penetrated a forest which now for the first time was opened for the abode of man.

At twelve o'clock, noon, of Saturday, July 23, 1870, just four months from the passage of the act authorizing this enterprise, and four weeks from the departure of the immigrants from Sweden, the first Swedish colony of our state arrived at its new home in the wilds of Maine. We called the spot New Sweden, a name at once commemorative of the past and auspicious of the future. Here in behalf of the State of Maine I bade a welcome and Godspeed to these far travelers, our future citizens, and here at the southwest corner of the cross roads, under a camp of bark and by the side of a rill of pure spring water, Swedes and Americans broke bread together, and the colonists ate their first meal on the township in the shadow of the forest primeval.

One thousand years ago the great Scandinavian sea-king Rollo sailed out from the Northland with a fleet of viking ships. Landing on the coast of France, he subjugated one of her fairest provinces. Here the

Northmen settled, and from them the province is called to this day Normandy.

Eight hundred years later the descendants of these Northmen, speaking French, sailed from Normandy to this continent and settled Acadia. When driven from their homes by the British fleet, a detachment of Acadians came up the St. John River and settled on the interval where now stands the city of Fredericton.

Expelled from their homes a second time by the English, they followed up the St. John to Grand Falls.


British ships cannot sail up these falls, said they, so a hundred years ago they built their cottages above the falls, along the fertile valley of the upper St. John, some twenty miles north of New Sweden. There to-day dwell thousands of Acadian French.

Twenty-five years ago, a little company of Swedes sailed forth from the same Scandinavia, whence issued Rollo and his vikings, and settled New Sweden.

So these two branches of Scandinavian stock, separated in the ninth century, are now brought together again after the lapse of a thousand years, and dwell side by side in the woods of Maine.

There are few better towns in Maine for agricultural purposes than New Sweden. On every hand the land rolls up into gentle hard-wood ridges, covered with a stately growth of maple, birch, beech, and ash. In every valley between these ridges flows a brook, and along its banks grow the spruce, fir, and cedar. The soil is a rich, light loam, overlying a hard layer of clay, which in turn rests upon a ledge of rotten

slate, with perpendicular rift. The ledge seldom crops out, and the land is remarkably free from stones.

New Sweden lies in latitude  $47^{\circ}$  north, about the same latitude as the city of Quebec. The boundaries of this township were run by J. Norris, Esq., in 1859. It was then designated as Township No. 15, Range 3, west of the east line of the state, which name it bore for eleven years, until the advent of the Swedes. Subsequently the township was set apart by the State for settlement, and in 1861 the best part of the town was run out into lots for settlers. These lots contained about one hundred and sixty acres each. The State surveying party consisted of Hon. B. F. Cutter, of Standish, surveyor; A. P. Files, Esq., of Gorham, chainman; Hon. L. C. Flint, of Abbot, explorer, and three assistants. The work was commenced the last of August, 1861, and finished October 22, of the same year. This surveying party found a cedar tree marked by J. Norris in 1859 as the southeast corner of the town, and the lotting of the town was begun at a cedar post standing two links southwest of this cedar tree, which post was marked "T. No. 15, R. 3, Lot 144, B. F. Cutter, 1861, 

(the latter character being Cutter's private mark).

And so this township stood for nine years — set apart for settlement, largely run out into lots, but without a settler.

The Board of Immigration very prudently refrained from making any preparation for the proposed colony until it knew the result of my mission to Sweden. When, however, it appeared from my letters that this

mission was a success, and that a Swedish colony would surely come to Maine, the Board at once set about making suitable preparations for the reception of the Swedes. This duty devolved upon Hon. Parker P. Burleigh of the Board, and it is fortunate the work fell to such tried and able hands. In the latter part of June, 1870, Mr. Burleigh proceeded to Aroostook County. Here he instituted a relotting of this township, reducing the size of the lots from one hundred and sixty acres, which for nine years had been offered to Americans, with no takers, to lots of one hundred acres for the Swedes. The surveying party was under the charge of that old and experienced state surveyor, the Hon. Noah Barker. Mr. Burleigh contracted with Hon. L. R. King and Hon. John S. Arnold, of Caribou, to fell five acres of forest on each of the twenty-five lots. He also bushed out a road into the township and commenced building twenty-five log-houses. In addition, Mr. Burleigh bought and forwarded to the township necessary supplies and tools for the colony, and in many ways rendered services indispensable to the success of the enterprise.

The Swedes had arrived much earlier than Mr. Burleigh anticipated. Only six of the log-houses had been built, and these were but partly finished, only two of them having glass in the windows. On our arrival, the supplies and the commissioner of immigration were stowed in one house, and the Swedes and their baggage packed in the other five. So the colony passed its first night in New Sweden.

The next day was the Sabbath. The first religious service on the township was a sad one — the funeral of Hilma C. Clasé. The services were held at the bark camp at the corner, and were conducted by Rev. James Withee, of Caribou, an American Methodist. All the Swedes, and many families from Caribou attend the funeral of this little Swedish girl. We buried her on the public lot, in a spot we were forced to mark out as a cemetery on the very first day of the occupancy of this town. So peacefully slept in the wild green wood the only one who had perished by the way.

I had anticipated some difficulty in assigning homes to the settlers. Some farms were undoubtedly better than others. To draw lots for them seemed to be the only fair way of distribution; yet in so doing, friends from the same province, who had arranged to help each other in their work, might be separated by several miles. Every difficulty was finally avoided by dividing the settlers into little groups of four friends each, and the farms into clusters of four, and letting each group draw a cluster, which was afterward distributed by lot among the members of the group. The division of farms was thus left entirely to chance, and yet friends and neighbors were kept together.

The drawing took place Monday afternoon, July 25. With but two exceptions, every one was satisfied, and these two were immediately made happy by exchanging with each other. When this exchange was effected every Swede was convinced that just the right lot had fallen to him and was enabled to find some-



thing or other about his possessions which in his eye made it superior to all others. So surely does ownership beget contentment.

After the homesteads were thus distributed, Mr. Burleigh, Mr. Barker, and myself, took the Swedes to a hillside chopping, northeast of the cross roads, and showed them the vast woodland wilderness of Maine, stretching away unbroken to the horizon, and awaiting the ax and plow of the settler. "Here is room enough for all our friends in old Sweden," said the Swedes.

Tuesday morning, July 26, the Swedes commenced the great work of converting a forest into a home, and that work has gone happily on, without haste and without rest, to this day.

Much remained to be done by the State. The Swedes, too, must be supplied with food till they could harvest their first crop. To put them in the way of earning their living by their labor was a natural suggestion. I therefore at once set the Swedes at work felling trees, cutting out roads, and building houses, allowing them one dollar a day for their labor, payable in provisions, tools, etc. The prices of these necessaries were determined by adding to the first cost the expense of transportation, plus ten per cent. for breakage and leakage.

Capt. N. P. Clasé, a Swede who spoke our language, and could keep accounts in single entry in English was then placed in charge of the storehouse. He opened an account with every settler, charging each with all goods received from the store. Every

Swedish working-party was placed under a foreman, who kept in a book furnished him the time of each man. These time-books were handed in once a week to Capt. Clasé, the storekeeper, and the men credited with their work at the rate of one dollar a day. The Swedes thus did the work which the State would otherwise have been compelled to hire other laborers to do, and were paid in the very provisions which otherwise the State would have been compelled to give them. By this arrangement, also, all jealousy was avoided with regard to the distribution of rations; and in their consumption the rigid Swedish economy was always exercised, which could hardly have been the case if food had fallen to them like manna, without measure or price.

All through summer and fall there was busy work in our wilderness. The primeval American forest rang from morn till eve with the blows of the Swedish ax. The prattle of Swedish children and the song of Swedish mothers made unwonted music in the wilds of Maine. One cloudless day succeeded another. The heats of summer were tempered by the woodland shade in which we labored. New clearings opened out, and new log-houses were rolled up on every hand. Odd bits of board and the happily twisted branches of trees were quickly converted into needed articles of furniture. Rustic bedsteads, tables, chairs, and the omnipresent cradle, made their appearance in every house; and Swedish industry and ingenuity soon transformed every log-cabin into a home. For myself it was a pleasure to share the toils and priva-

tions of our new settlers. Every day I was among them from morn till eve. On foot or on horseback I visited them all, even the most remote, and cheered all at their labors; and every night I lay down in my log-house tired but happy, for every day I had beheld something done, something tangible accomplished on the soil of Maine.

One hundred acres of forest were granted each settler; a chopping of five acres had been made on each lot. In nearly every instance, the trees were felled on the contiguous corners of four lots, and a square chopping of twenty acres made around the point where four lots met, five acres of which belonged to each of the four farms. The largest possible amount of light and air was thus let into each lot, and the settlers were better enabled to help one another in clearing. As the choppings had not yet been burnt over, the houses were built outside them, and being placed in couples on the opposite sides of the road, every household had a near neighbor. Nearly every habitation was also within easy distance of a spring of living water.

The houses built by the State in New Sweden were all of uniform pattern. They were designed by our able and efficient land agent, Hon. P. P. Burleigh, and erected under the immediate superintendence of Jacob Hardison and Judah D. Teague, Esqs., of Caribou. They were built of peeled logs; were eighteen by twenty-six feet on the ground, one and a half stories high, seven feet between floors, and had two logs above the second floor beams, which, with a

square pitch roof, gave ample room for chambers. The roofs were covered with long shaved shingles of cedar, made by hand on the township. The space on the ground floor was divided off by partitions of unplaned boards, into one general front room sixteen by eighteen feet, one bedroom ten feet square, and pantry adjoining, eight by ten feet. On this floor were four windows; one was also placed in the front gable end above. In the general room of each house was a second-size Hampden cooking-stove, with a funnel running out through an iron plate in the roof. On the whole, these log-cabins in the woods were convenient and comfortable structures; they presented a pleasing appearance from without, and within were full of contentment and industry.

It was of course too late for a crop. Yet I wished to give the Swedes an ocular demonstration that something eatable would grow on the land. There was a four-acre chopping on the public lot; this had been partially burnt over by an accidental spark from the camp-fire at the corner. On this chopping seven Swedes were set at work on July 26, "junking" and hand-piling the prostrate trees. Mr. Burleigh with axe and hands assisted in rolling up the first pile. Good progress was made, and the next day, Wednesday, July 27, we set fire to the piles and sent a young lad, Master Haines Hardison, on horseback out to the American settlements in quest of English turnip seed and teeth for a harrow.

On July 28, we explored with the surveying party an old tote road running from the Turner place (one

of the abandoned American farms in Woodland) out to Philbrick's Corner, on the road to Caribou. We found the tote road cut off three-quarters of a mile of the distance to the village, saved a hard hill and a long pole bridge, and gave a good level route. We at once put the tote road in repair and used it exclusively. The present turnpike to Caribou follows substantially the route of this road from the Turner place, now occupied by Jonas Bodin, a Swede, across Caribou Stream to Philbrick's.

Friday, July 29, we sowed two acres on the public lot to English turnips. This was the first land cleared and the first crop sowed in New Sweden. The land was hand-piled, burnt, cleared and sowed within six days after the arrival of the colony. The turnips were soon up and grew luxuriantly, and in November we secured a large crop of fair-sized turnips, many of them being fifteen inches in circumference. I am well aware that the turnip is regarded as a very cheap vegetable, but to us who were obliged to haul in everything eaten by man or beast, eight miles over rough roads, this crop was of great assistance. Furthermore it gave the Swedes a tangible proof of the fertility of the soil.

On this day the first letters were received; two from old Sweden, directed to Oscar Lindberg. Four basket bottomed chairs for headquarters were hauled in on top of a load of goods — the first chairs in New Sweden — and Harvey Collins, the teamster, brought in word that a Swedish immigrant was at Caribou on his way in.

July 30, Saturday, Anders Westergren, a Swede thirty-nine years of age, came in and joined the colony. He sailed as seaman in a vessel from Philadelphia to Bangor, there he took up a paper containing notice of New Sweden, and immediately came through to us. He was the first immigrant after the founding of the colony. A stalwart man and skilled in the use of the broad-ax, he rendered valuable aid in building hewed timber houses.

On this day Mr. Burleigh left us, after a week's efficient help. The fame of the colony was spreading. I received a letter of inquiry from seven Swedes in Bloomington, Illinois.

On July 31, the second Sabbath, Nils Olsson, the Swedish lay preacher, held public religious services in the Swedish language at the corner camp.

Tuesday, August 2, the immigrants wrote a joint letter to Sweden, declaring that the State of Maine had kept its faith with them in every particular; that the land was fertile, the climate pleasant, the people friendly, and advising their countrymen emigrating to America to come to the New Sweden in Maine. This letter was published in full in all the leading journals throughout Sweden.

The only animals taken into the woods by the colony were two kittens, picked up by Swedish children on our drive in from Tobique. On Wednesday, August 3, a cock and three hens were brought in to Capt. Clasé. These were the first domestic fowl on the township. They soon picked up an acquaintance with two wild squirrels, who became so tame that they ate meal out of the same dish with the fowl.

Friday, August 12, the second immigrant arrived in the colony. He was a native American, a good-sized boy baby, born to Korno, wife of Nils Persson, the first child born in New Sweden. He is alive and well to-day, a young man and a voter. He rejoices in the name of William Widgery Thomas Persson, and is happy in contemplation of the constitutional fact that he is eligible to the office of president of the United States.

On Friday, August 19, Anders Malmqvist arrived from Sweden, via Quebec and Portland. He was a farmer and student, twenty-two years of age, and the first immigrant to us direct from the old country.

Sunday afternoon, August 21, occurred the first wedding. I then united in marriage Jöns Persson to Hannah Persdotter. The marriage ceremony was conducted in the Swedish language, but according to American forms. In the evening was a wedding dinner at the Perssons. All the spoons were of solid silver; heirlooms from old Sweden.

Thus within the first month of the colony's existence, it experienced the three great events in the life of man — birth, marriage, death.

Between August 10 and 20 nearly all the choppings were fired. On some, good burns were obtained, and nothing but the trunks and larger branches of the trees left unconsumed on the ground; the fire merely flashed over others, leaving behind the whole tangled mass of branches, trunks, and twigs to fret the settler. From this time forward till snow fell, every Swede that could be spared from the public works was busily engaged from sunrise to sunset with ax and brand on his clear-

ing, "junking," piling, and burning the logs — clearing the land for a crop. New Sweden became a landmark for twenty miles around. From her hills arose "a pillar of cloud by day" and "a pillar of fire by night."

By September 15, large patches of land were successfully burnt off and cleared, and the Swedes commenced sowing an acre or half-acre each with winter wheat or rye. Sixteen acres in all were sowed with rye and four with wheat. Meanwhile the colony steadily increased. Now and then a Swedish immigrant dropped in, took up a lot, received an ax and went to work. September 14 a detachment of twelve arrived, and October 31 twenty more followed, direct from Sweden. There were two more births, and on November 5, I saddled my horse, rode through the woods and stumps to the West Chopping, and officiated at the second marriage, uniting in the bonds of matrimony Herr Anders Frederick Johansson to Jungfru Ofelia Albertina Leonora Amelia Ericsson.

The spirit of colonization possessed even the fowl. Although at an untimely season of the year, one of Capt. Clasé's hens stole a nest under a fallen tree in the woods, and on September 24, came back proudly leading eleven chickens. Game was plenty. I caught hundreds of trout in the lakes beyond the northwest corner of the township and shot scores of partridges while riding through the woods from clearing to clearing. This game was divided among the Swedes and made an agreeable diversion from the salt-pork diet of our camp life.

Every Sabbath divine service was held by Nils



Olsson, the Swedish lay minister and a Sunday-school was soon started, which is still in successful operation.

The log-houses made comfortable homes for each Swedish family, but I soon became convinced that a large, central building was absolutely necessary for the public and social life of the colony. By the wise forethought of Hon. Noah Barker, the surveyor of the township, a lot of fifty acres had been reserved for public uses at the cross roads in the center of the settlement. Here, on the twentieth of September, we commenced digging the cellar for a public building on a commanding slope of land at the cross roads. We began hewing out the frame and shaving shingles for the roof the same day. On Friday, October 7, we raised the frame. Work was pushed rapidly forward, and on Friday, November 4, four weeks from the raising, the house was finished with the exception of lathing and plastering, and the vane was placed in position on top the tower, sixty-five feet from the ground. This building is thirty by forty-five feet on the ground; has a cellar walled up with hewed cedar seven and one-half feet in the clear, is twenty feet stud, and divided into two stories each ten feet high. The first floor contains a storeroom thirty feet square, and two offices fifteen feet square each. The second story is a hall thirty by forty-five feet on the floor, ten feet stud on the sides, arching up to fifteen feet in the clear in the center. In the large room below were stowed provisions and tools for the colony. The offices became the headquarters of the commissioner of immigration, and the hall was

used for many years as a church, schoolhouse, town-house, and general rallying place for the colony. In the spring, too, when the immigrants flocked in, it served as a "Castle Garden," where the Swedish families slept, cooked and ate under a roof while they were selecting their lots and erecting a shelter of their own.

From the first this structure has been called by the Swedes the "Capitol." It has been the heart of the colony. It at once gave character and stability to the settlement, encouraged every Swede in his labors, and has been of daily need and use. The Swedish Capitol is till standing to-day, and though shorn of its ornamental tower is otherwise in a good state of preservation.

The dwelling-houses erected by the state were built of round logs piled one on the other, with the spaces between open to wind and weather. On the eighteenth of October there raged a fierce storm of wind, sleet and rain. The wind whistled through the open log-houses, and all night long we could hear the crash of falling trees blown down by the gale. In the morning I found myself barricaded by a tall spruce that had fallen across my doorway, and my nearest neighbor arrived to tell me there were eight trees down across the road between his house and mine. Two good choppers soon cut out the fallen trees from the roads; but the storm warned us that winter was coming. So the Swedes ceased for a time clearing their land, and went to work fitting up their houses for winter. They first split out plank from the near-

est spruce trees, and taking up the floor nailed a tight plank under-floor to the lower side of the beams. The spaces between the beams were then compactly filled with dry earth and the upper floor-boards planed and replaced. A ceiling of matched boards was now put on overhead, and the room made perfectly tight above and below. The walls of round logs were then hewed down inside and out, the interstices having been first "chinked up" with moss and then filled in with matched strips of cedar. The walls were thus made as even and perpendicular as those of a timber house, and every building completely defended against the cold and blasts of winter.

Early in November, I secured places for the winter, among the farmers and lumbermen of the vicinity, for all the Swedes who wished to work out; thirty were thus supplied with labor at from ten to twenty dollars a month, including board and lodging. Supplies were hauled in for those families who were to pass the winter in the woods, and they were made as comfortable as possible.

On November 13 was held the first meeting at the Capitol, and here I distributed to the colonists the certificates of their lots. They received them with eager eyes and greedy hands.

The State of Maine extended a helping hand to this infant colony and guarded it with fostering care. But in so doing the State only helped those who helped themselves. The Swedes did not come among us as paupers. The passage of the colony of the first year from Sweden to Maine cost over four thousand dol-

lars, every dollar of which was paid by the immigrants themselves. They also carried into New Sweden over three thousand dollars in cash, and six tons of baggage.

Let this one fact be distinctly understood. The Swedish immigrants to Maine from first to last, from 1870 till to-day, have all paid their own passage to Maine. *The State has never paid a dollar directly or indirectly, for the passage of any Swede to Maine.*

At the close of 1870, in reviewing the work already accomplished, it was found that every Swede that started from Scandinavia with me, or was engaged by me to follow after, had arrived in Maine and was settled in New Sweden. No settler had left to make him a home elsewhere, but on the other hand our immigrants had already bought, paid for, and sent home to their friends across the water, five tickets from Sweden to Maine.

So healthy was the climate of our northern woods, that for the first year—for 1870—there was not a day's sickness of man, woman, or child, in New Sweden.

The results of this enterprise to our State, which were thus achieved in 1870, the year of its inception, were briefly summed up in my official report for that year as follows :

#### RESULTS IN 1870.

A colony of one hundred and fourteen Swedes—fifty-eight men, twenty women, and thirty-six children—have paid their own passage from Sweden and settled on the wild lands of Maine.

Seven miles of road have been cut through the forest; one hundred and eighty acres of woods felled, one hundred acres

hand-piled, burnt off and cleared for a crop, and twenty acres sowed to winter wheat and rye. Twenty-six dwelling-houses and one public building have been built.

A knowledge of Maine, its resources and advantages, has been scattered broadcast over Sweden; a portion of the tide of Swedish immigration turned upon our state, and a practical beginning made toward settling our wild lands and peopling our domain with the most hardy, honest and industrious of immigrants.

[To be continued.]

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## HISTORY OF COL. EDMUND PHINNEY'S 31ST REGIMENT OF FOOT.

THE FIRST REGIMENT RAISED IN THE COUNTY OF CUMBERLAND  
IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

BY NATHAN GOOLD.

*Read before the Maine Historical Society, November 22, 1895.*

LONGFELLOW wrote — “ War is a terrible trade; but in the cause that is righteous sweet is the smell of powder. ”

The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, February 4, 1775, resolved to purchase munitions of war for fifteen thousand men, and April 23, 1775, it was unanimously resolved to raise thirteen thousand, six hundred men, and other New England colonies were invited to raise their proportionate quota to make the aggregate of thirty thousand, and in a few days that number was enrolled. So many came that the generals were obliged to send many back to their homes. On May 20, 1775, Artemas Ward was commissioned general and commander-in-chief of the colony.

militia of the Neck to rescue the prisoners from Thompson's men.

Col. Phinney was in town and the soldiers of his regiment assembled before the next morning, and were "highly enraged" at finding that Mowat had been released. This whole affair evidently was planned by Col. Thompson, and probably his company arrived on the Neck before they were expected by Phinney's men, who were to assist in capturing Mowat's vessel.

The Gorham and Windham soldiers in their indignation sacked Capt. Coulson's house, as he was the most prominent Tory, and used it for a barrack. In the cellar they found a barrel of New England rum, which he had put in for his own use, and it is stated that "they made so free with it that some of them were quite and others *almost* drunken." Calvin Lombard of Gorham, who, "raised" with some of this liquor, went to the foot of the street and fired a brace of balls into the side of Mowat's vessel, probably is entitled to the credit of firing the first gun at Falmouth in the Revolution. He did not belong to the regiment but probably came with them from Gorham. He was the youngest son of Rev. Solomon Lombard, the first minister of Gorham, a graduate of Harvard College, member of the Provincial Congress and justice of the Court of Common Pleas. Calvin inherited his father's home-place and his mother lived with him. He was the father of eight children and was a good citizen. He was of light complexion, sandy hair, of an impulsive nature and a man of courage, which accounts for his zealous patriotism. The tradition is that he afterwards served in the army.

The officers of the regiment and companies resolved themselves into a committee of war and after some hesitation admitted the officers of the "Neck" companies. They voted by a considerable majority, that Capt. Mowat's vessel ought to be destroyed, and appointed a committee of their number to consider in what manner it should be done, but no report has been found. This all caused so much consternation and alarm among the people of Falmouth Neck, that Col. Phinney induced his men to abandon the attempt, but they would not return home until they were given some barrels of bread, several cheeses and two barrels of rum to each company then in town. They hauled Coulson's boats almost over to Back Cove and left them, and also seized Sheriff Tyng's bishop, a piece of plate valued at five hundred pounds old tenor, and his laced hat. The soldiers carried the bishop and hat to Lieut. Cary McLellan's house, near Gorham village where they secreted them in the cellar wall by removing stones and excavating the earth, then depositing the articles, they replaced the stones, so that the hiding-place would not be discovered. The tradition is that the men were tried for this offense but were not convicted. The articles were restored to Sheriff Tyng and Coulson was reimbursed by the General Court for his loss.

There was much hard feeling between the people of the Neck and the soldiers and it was stated that "the soldiers thought nothing too bad to say of the Falmouth gentry," and that some of the soldiers on the street were heard to say that, "this town ought to be

Col. James Scammon's York County Regiment marched soon after the beginning of the war, and joined the army at Cambridge, but Cumberland County sent no regiment until July, for reasons which will hereafter be fully explained.

Col. Edmund Phinney's 31st Regiment of Foot, was the first regiment raised in the County of Cumberland for service in the field, in the Revolutionary war. Most of the men equipped themselves, but those who were not able were supplied by the towns where they enlisted. A large part of the men enlisted soon after the receipt of the news of the commencement of the war, and were in the service in and about Falmouth until July.

When Capt. John Parker formed his minute men on Lexington Common in the early morning of April 19, 1775, he may have realized the responsibility that rested on his company. They represented the forbearance of the colonists, and they, by not firing the first gun, established in the minds of the American people, the character of the men who first resisted British oppression. A boulder now marks the line of this company, on that eventful morning, inscribed with Capt. Parker's order to his men: —

Stand your ground.  
Don't fire unless fired upon.  
But if they mean to have war  
let it begin here.

The war then had actually begun. The news reached the town of York on the evening of April 19, and Capt. Johnson Moulton collected his company of over



sixty men, from that old town, and marched on the morning of the next day towards Boston, making fifteen miles and crossing the ferry over Piscataqua River before night. This was the first company that marched from the Province of Maine in war of the Revolution.

The first information of the battles of Lexington and Concord reached Falmouth Neck before daylight of April 21, and created much consternation and alarm. That day Capt. John Brackett's company marched towards Boston, followed by companies under command of captains Hart Williams, Wentworth Stuart, Abraham Tyler, and probably others from Cumberland County. These were the militia then organized for any immediate service. They proceeded as far as Wells, about thirty miles, when they were ordered to return home to guard the exposed towns on their own seacoast. They arrived at Falmouth, April 24, and were allowed five days' service.

Arrangements were immediately made to form a regiment for active service and the business of enlisting the men was commenced. About two weeks later, before the men were all enlisted in this regiment, occurred what was called "Thompson's war," which lasted several days. Capt. Mowat and his surgeon were captured (May 9) at Falmouth Neck by Col. Samuel Thompson's "Spruce" company of about fifty men, from Brunswick. Mowat was released on parole, to return the next morning, by the timid and Tory influence of the Neck, but did not keep his promise. Before the release it is stated the Tories were for the

burned." The people of Falmouth Neck had not then risen to the spirit of the times as they did about five months later, when they refused to sacrifice their principles to save their town.

Col. Phinney's regiment were ready and anxious to begin their service in an attempt to rid the colonies of Capt. Mowat, one of their most troublesome enemies. Patriots of later generations, with confidence in their ancestors, have regretted that they were prevented from carrying out their purpose.

It was Capt. Samuel Noyes of this regiment and his company, who captured one of Capt. Coulson's boats, which was sent up the Presumpscot River in search of masts, June 22. Capt. Wentworth Stuart and his men went to New Casco and brought the men into Marston's tavern, but they were released in two or three days. Maj. Jacob Brown was also there. This all led up to the cowardly burning of Falmouth the next October by Capt. Mowat.

Gen. Jedediah Preble of Falmouth, who had served at Louisburg in 1745, commissioned a brigadier-general in 1758, was appointed a general in September, 1774, by the Congress, but was obliged to decline on account of his age and ill health. He and Enoch Freeman were the most influential men at Falmouth, with the Provincial Government at Cambridge, and were consulted by the committees and the Congress in relation to the operations about Falmouth and vicinity, the raising of soldiers and the appointment of officers for the army.

As early as April 26, 1775, Gen. Jedediah Preble

was requested to appear at Cambridge, by the Provincial Congress, "as a general or a private citizen," and it was probably at this time he was authorized to raise a regiment in Cumberland County to join the army at Cambridge. He seems to have had authority given him to select the officers for the regiment. Edmund Phinney of Gorham, was appointed colonel and the enlisting of men had commenced when it was discovered that Samuel March of Scarborough had also been authorized to raise a regiment in the county with authority to appoint his officers. The county could not at that time spare two regiments to go to Cambridge and this difficulty had to be arranged, so Col. Phinney went to Cambridge to appear before the committee and with him took the following letter from Gen. Preble.

FALMOUTH, May 15, 1775.

*Honored Gentlemen:*—These wait on you by Col. Phinney who brought me all the papers necessary for enlisting a Regiment in the County of Cumberland. I advised with the Committee of Correspondence who was of the opinion it would be difficult for our County to spare a Regiment to be moved out of the Province of Maine, as we lay much exposed to the Navy by sea, and the Indians and French on our back settlements, if they should be employed against us: but we would be glad to do everything in our power for the defence of our just rights and dearer liberties. Our men are zealous in the Cause of our Country, and ready to venture everything for the defence of it. Colonel March informs me your Honors have appointed him a colonel and gave him orders to raise a Regiment in this County, and to appoint all his officers: this he acquainted me with after I had delivered Colonel Phinney the papers back again which he brought me. It is impossible we can spare two Regiments out of this County, and they both made considerable progress: am much

afraid there will be some difficulty in settling the affair. I am persuaded the men in general would prefer Colonel Phinney, and so should I for that reason as I look on Colonel Phinney to be equal to Colonel March in every respect.

Should have done myself the honor to have waited on you in person but am in a poor state of health and so exercised with the gout that I cannot bear my shoes. I purpose to visit the Camp whenever I am able to undergo the fatigue of so long a journey. I wish courage and conduct in our officers, resolution and spirit of obedience in our soldiers, and a speedy end of our troubles.

I am your Honors' most obedient servant,

JEDEDIAH PREBLE.

The committee of safety sent an answer dated May 20, 1775, from Cambridge, in which they request him to stop enlistments in both regiments until it is found whether it would be necessary to take any men from this county. Soon after, there was probably an arrangement made to raise but one regiment with Edmund Phinney for its colonel, and Samuel March as lieutenant colonel.

The county convention of May 29, 1775, petitioned the Provincial Congress that Col. Phinney's regiment might be stationed at Falmouth, for the defense of the town and county.

In June, 1775, Col. Phinney again went to Cambridge with the following letter:—

FALMOUTH, JUNE 14, 1775.

*Hon. Sirs:*—These wait on you by Col. Phinney who informs us he has ordered the men lately enlisted in this County to secure the cattle and sheep from the ravages of the cruisers from the navy but as no provision is made for their subsistence it cannot to do duty without. We refer you to Col. Phinney for particulars &c.

JEDEDIAH PREBLE,  
ENOCH FREEMAN.

Col. Phinney presented himself to the Congress and the following appears on the records : —

June 21, 1775. Ordered that Col. Phinney be admitted into the house to inform the Congress of the state of the regiment inlisted in the County of Cumberland.

The next day the following order was passed : —

June 22, 1775. Ordered that Col. Phinney be directed to bring up to camp 400 men with effective fire-arms and that a time be limited to bring up 100 men, with effective fire arms, he in that case to be entitled to a Colonel's commission and not otherwise.

This order indicates that the Provincial Congress was impatient at the delay in the formation of this regiment, but in two days more. June 24, 1775, the Congress ordered that four hundred of this regiment, be marched to Cambridge and the balance to be stationed in Cumberland and Lincoln Counties, "as Jedediah Preble, Col. Enoch Freeman, and Maj. Mason Wheaton of St. George may think best," but the towns were ordered to supply the ammunition.

Col. Phinney returned to Falmouth and soon after the first of July, the companies commenced their march to Cambridge, and probably all the companies joined the regiment during July or August. While the arrangements were being made for the formation of the regiment, the battle of Bunker Hill was fought; and when they finally entered active service it must have been at a period of the greatest anxiety and excitement.

The army assembled at Cambridge was an unorganized and undisciplined body of men, brought together in a time of great excitement and alarm, but was com-

posed of men animated with the noblest spirit, ready and willing to do their duty.

Of the uniforms of these men we know very little, but at that time probably had none. The Provincial Congress, July 5, 1775, resolved that thirty thousand coats be provided to be apportioned to the towns in the colony. This would indicate that the regiment had at least ununiformed coats some later. When Gen. Burgoyne surrendered to the American army, Oct. 17, 1777, very few of the soldiers of this colony had uniforms. The following is the description of the coats that were to be provided:—

That each coat be faced with the same kind of cloth which it was made; that the coats be made in the common plain way without lappels, short, and with small folds of good plain cloth, preference given to manufactories of this country. That all the coats be buttoned with pewter buttons: that the buttons of each regiment have the number stamped on the face of them.

At this time there was no uniformity in the color of the cloth for the infantry, and it was not until October, 1779, that blue was adopted as the national color for the army uniforms, and not until 1782 that the Continental army was fully ununiformed, on account of the poverty of the colonies.

The marching of a regiment to Boston in those days, before the time of the railroad and steamboat, cannot but be an interesting part of their service to their descendants. The roads were rough and hard to travel, but there was no other way but to march the entire distance. Men often, later in the war, started from these "eastern parts" and marched to the Hud-

son River to join the army; those that wintered at Valley Forge, and those that later in the war served in the South all marched both ways.

From the journal of a soldier, we are enabled to follow Capt. David Bradish's company in their march from Falmouth Neck to Cambridge Common to join their regiment in the army, showing that they subsisted at the taverns along their route, also the number of miles traveled each day. One company was probably marched at a time, as that was no doubt all the taverns could accommodate, and of course all the people along the way welcomed them, wished them Godspeed and a happy termination of their troubles.

Capt. David Bradish's company was preached to July 6, by Dr. Deane, and July 8. they started on their march towards Boston.

All the companies probably marched over the same rough roads, occupied about the same time in getting to Cambridge, and arrived in about the same condition.

Capt. Bradish's men started on their long march to Cambridge July 8, 1775, at eleven-thirty A. M. and arrived at Stroudwater at one o'clock, where they dined. At three o'clock they resumed their march, arrived at Milliken's tavern at Dunstan Corner, at sunset and staid all night.

Sunday, 9, they started at four o'clock and arrived at Patten's tavern, Arundel, at nine for breakfast. Set out at eleven got to Littlefield's tavern, where they dined at one o'clock. Started again at four, arrived at Morrell's tavern, Berwick, at sunset, where they staid that night.

Monday, 10, marched to Lord's tavern, Quampegan (Berwick), arriving at eight o'clock, and there had breakfast: resumed their march at ten o'clock, and dined at Hanson's tavern, Dover, N. H.: started again at five and arrived at Durham Falls at eight o'clock, lodging at Adam's tavern.

Tuesday, 11, they started at daylight, arrived at New Market at eight, and had breakfast at Doe's tavern. Then set out at eleven, got to Exeter at twelve-thirty o'clock, dining at Gidding's tavern, resumed their march at five arriving at Kingston, N. H., at sunset, lodging at Parson's tavern.

Wednesday, 12, marched about sunrise and arrived at Plaistow, N. H., at seven where they had breakfast at Sawyer's tavern: set out at nine and got to Greenleaf's tavern, Haverhill, where they dined, and staid until the next morning, on account of a heavy shower in the afternoon.

Thursday, 13, at four o'clock they again started on their march, arrived at Stevens' tavern, Andover, at eight o'clock and had breakfast; resumed their march at nine-thirty o'clock, getting to "Deacon Bullard's" at twelve where they dined. Started at three-thirty o'clock going through Wilmington to Wyman's tavern, in Woburn, where they staid that night.

Friday, 14, the company resumed their march at four and arrived at Wetherby's tavern, Menotomy (probably Arlington now), at seven o'clock where they had breakfast and dinner. At four they again started, arriving at Cambridge at five o'clock where they built their tents for the night.



Saturday, 15, was spent in putting their camp into proper condition and as one of the company wrote in his journal, "Built our tents properly."

These tired and footsore men had been almost seven days from Falmouth, and were allowed one hundred and thirty miles travel, at one penny per mile, making an average march of about twenty miles per day.

On the arrival of Col. Phinney's regiment at Cambridge, they were at once in the presence of the enemy, being in sight of the British camps at Charlestown and Boston. The American camp about Boston, contained about seventeen thousand troops and was composed of habitations of every description, from the mud and log huts to the regulation canvas tents of the Rhode Islanders. Cambridge at that time had about fifteen hundred inhabitants.

Drake says that Col. Phinney and one hundred and sixty-eight men were at Cambridge, July 10, which indicate that probably three companies were there before the arrival of Capt. Bradish's, one being Capt. John Brackett's.

Col. Phinney's regiment was assigned to Gen. William Heath's brigade, who with Gen. Israel Putnam's brigade, comprised the center of the army, all under command of Gen. Putnam. This regiment was encamped near Fort Number 2, which was on the easterly side of Putnam Avenue, at its intersection with Franklin Street, in Cambridge.

Gen. Heath was a Roxbury man, and one of the earliest patriots. He was a friend of Gen. Warren, having been very active with him on the nineteenth

of April, and had been selected as a competent officer to command a brigade in the new army. He became a distinguished soldier, serving as a major-general in the militia, April 19, 1775, colonel of a Massachusetts regiment, May, 1775, brigadier-general June 22, 1775, major-general, August 9, 1776, and continued in the service until the close of the war. He died January 24, 1814, aged seventy-six years.

Gen. Israel Putnam, "Old Put" the soldiers called him, the farmer soldier who left his plow in the furrow at the first news of the beginning of the war, must have led a charmed life to have escaped death so many times. His services to his country are well known. His energy, courage and patriotism make him the almost ideal patriot of those times. The inscription on his tomb describes well the man — "He dared to lead where any dared to follow." It must have been a severe trial to him, when in 1779 he was stricken with paralysis and prevented from participating in the final campaigns of the war. He lived until 1790.

John Adams proposed, in the Continental Congress, the adoption of the troops of the different colonies, then about Boston, as a "Continental Army," and George Washington of Virginia, was elected commander-in-chief, June 15, 1775, receiving his commission four days later. Gen. Washington arrived at Cambridge, in time to take command of the army July 3. His headquarters were at the house now known as the "Poet Longfellow's Home" in Cambridge, which was not far from the camp of this regiment. Under the "Washington Elm," on Cambridge Common, he first

drew his sword in defense of the liberties of America. When Washington arrived at Cambridge he wore his famous blue and buff uniform, and generally wore rich epaulettes, an elegant small sword, and carried habitually a pair of screw-barreled, silver-mounted pistols, with a dog's head carved on the handles. He sometimes wore a light blue ribbon across his breast to indicate his rank in the army.

Washington was six feet two inches in height, muscular, had a Roman nose, large hands and feet, and large blue eyes. One of the generals thus described his general appearance: —

His stature is noble and lofty, he is well made and exactly proportioned; his physiognomy mild and agreeable, but such as to render it impossible to speak particularly of any of his features, so that in quitting him you have only the recollection of a fine face. He has neither a grave nor a familiar air, his brow is sometimes marked with thought, but never with inquietude; in inspiring respect he inspires confidence, and his smile is always a smile of benevolence.

This was the man that this regiment loved and honored as their commander, and next to him they loved "Old Put," who was brusque, hearty, and honest, and at this time was fifty-seven years of age. His summer costume was a waistcoat without sleeves and across his brawny shoulders was thrown a broad leathern belt from which depended a hanger. It is said that he sometimes "swore big oaths," but he was a man of action and purpose.

A return made in July, 1775, gives the regiments composing Gen. Heath's Brigade and the number of

men fit for duty; but it was before all the companies had joined Col. Phinney's Regiment, which consisted of over five hundred men.

GEN. WILLIAM HEATH'S BRIGADE, JULY, 1775.

Gen. Heath's	Regt.	483	men.
Col. Patterson's	"	409	"
" Scamman's	"	456	"
" Phinney's	"	319	"
" Gerrish's	"	498	"
" Prescott's	"	430	"
Total		<u>2595</u>	"

Col. James Scamman's regiment was the 30th regiment of foot, from York County, and was at Cambridge before the battle of Bunker Hill, but took no active part in the battle because of a misunderstanding of orders.

Col. Edmund Phinney's regiment had enrolled five hundred and forty-nine men and the following was the roster of the regiment at Cambridge.

ROSTER OF THE 31ST REGIMENT OF FOOT, 1775.

Colonel, Edmund Phinney, Gorham.  
 Lieut.-Col., Samuel March, Scarborough.  
 Major, Jacob Brown, North Yarmouth.  
 Adjt., George Smith, Scarborough.  
 Quartermaster, Moses Banks, Scarborough.  
 Surgeon, Stephen Swett, Gorham.  
 Total 6 men.

CAPT. BRADISH CO., OF FALMOUTH.

Captain, David Bradish, Falmouth.  
 1st Lieut., Bartholomew York, Falmouth.  
 2d Lieut., Paul Ellis, Falmouth.  
 Total 60 men.

CAPT. JOHN BRACKETT'S CO., OF FALMOUTH.

Captain, John Brackett, Falmouth.  
1st Lieut., James Johnson, Falmouth.  
2d Lieut., Jesse Partridge, Falmouth.  
Total 61 men.

CAPT. SAMUEL NOYES' CO., OF FALMOUTH.

Captain, Samuel Noyes, Falmouth.  
1st Lieut., Josiah Baker, Falmouth.  
2d Lieut., Joshua Merrill, Falmouth.  
Total 47 men.

CAPT. HART WILLIAMS' CO., OF GORHAM.

Captain, Hart Williams, Gorham.  
1st Lieut., William McLellan, Gorham.  
2d Lieut., Carey McLellan, Gorham.  
Total 53 men.

CAPT. WENTWORTH STUART'S CO., OF GORHAM, STANDISH,  
AND WINDHAM.

Captain, Wentworth Stuart, Gorham.  
1st Lieut., Jonathan Sawyer, Gorham.  
2d Lieut., Caleb Rowe, Standish.  
Total 51 men.

CAPT. MOSES MERRILL'S CO., OF NEW GLOUCESTER, AND GRAY.

Captain, Moses Merrill, New Gloucester.  
1st Lieut., Noah Walker, New Gloucester.  
2d Lieut., Nathaniel Haskell, New Gloucester.  
Total 55 men.

CAPT. JOHN WORTHLEY'S CO., OF NORTH YARMOUTH, &c.

Captain, John Worthley, North Yarmouth.  
1st Lieut., Bradbury True, North Yarmouth.  
2d Lieut., Crispus Graves, North Yarmouth.  
Total 49 men.

## CAPT. ABRAHAM TYLER'S CO., OF SCARBOROUGH.

Captain, Abraham Tyler, Scarborough.

1st Lieut., Elisha Meserve, Scarborough.

2d Lieut., Moses McKenney, Scarborough.

Total 56 men.

## CAPT. JOHN RICE'S CO., OF SCARBOROUGH.

Captain, John Rice, Scarboro.

1st Lieut., Silas Burbank, Scarboro.

2d Lieut., Edward Milliken, Scarboro.

Total 49 men.

## CAPT. SAMUEL DUNN'S CO., OF CAPE ELIZABETH.

Captain, Samuel Dunn, Cape Elizabeth.

1st Lieut., Ebenezer Newell, Cape Elizabeth.

2d Lieut., Samuel Thomes, Stroudwater.

Total 62 men.

The regiment had commissioned officers, 36

Non-commissioned officers and privates, 513

Total 549 men

Col. Phinney's regiment at once, on their arrival in camp, assumed the dangers and responsibilities of soldiers. They participated in the skirmishes and picket firing and saw many killed and wounded about them, but during their entire service they saw no great or decisive battle.

The history of a regiment, written at so late a period after its war-service, must of necessity be deficient in many details, and the facts of the principle events have been gathered from so many sources, principally manuscripts, that it is hardly possible to give references.

[To be continued.]

## HALLOWELL RECORDS.

COMMUNICATED BY DR. W. B. LAPHAM.

[Continued from Page 448, VOL. VI.]

Seth Sweatland, son of Nathan, married Sarah, daughter of John and Dorcas ———. Their children are : —

- Nathan, b. Aug. 6, 1808.
- Matthew, b. June 9, 1813.
- Sarah Ann, b. Apr. 15, 1816.
- Jane Wilkins, b. Oct. 27, 1819.
- Dorcas Johnson, b. Sept. 11, 1821.

Mr. Sweatland married Mary Ann Shaw, December 26, 1824. Their children are : —

- Edward, b. Sept. 19, 1825.
- Arabella, b. Jan. 15, 1827.
- Charles, b. Nov. 23, 1828.
- Perley, b. Apr. 21, 1831.
- Alonzo, b. Feb. 10, 1834.
- Elizabeth, b. Nov. 16, 1835.

James Sherburne, son of Isaac Sherburne and Lydia Crocket, his wife, was born in Barrington, state of New Hampshire, December 27, 1776. Married Zurnah, daughter of Nathan and Rebecca Sweatland of that town. Their children are : —

- Phineas, b. May 28, 1804; d. June 26, 1804.
- Caroline, b. Sept. 8, 1805.
- Rebecca, b. July 13, 1808.
- Lydia, b. Mar. 24, 1811.
- Jephthah, b. Apr. 26, 1813.
- Naomi, b. Oct. 13, 1815.

Joseph Smith, son of Isaac Smith and Mehitable Buswell, his wife, was born in Brintwood, New Hampshire, August 13, 1746. Married Mariam, daughter of Daniel Jones and Sarah Pilsbury, his wife, of Amesbury, who was born July, 1750. Came with his family to this town, February, 1793. Joseph Smith, Esq. died.

- Elizabeth, b. July 12, 1771; d. Mar. 1791.
- Sarah, b. Oct. 12, 1773.

Ason, b. Oct. 21, 1775; d. in infancy.  
 Daniel, b. Oct. 21, 1776.  
 Joseph, b. Dec. 11, 1778; d. 1802.  
 Stephen, b. Sep. 9, 1780; d. July 1790.  
 Isaac, b. Sept. 4, 1782.  
 Olive, b. June 16, 1787.  
 John, b. Oct. 28, 1791.

Henry Kimball, son of Nathan and Hannah Smith, his wife, was born in Hallowell, 1790. Married Anne, daughter of James and Anne Dugan of the city of Dublin in Ireland. Their children are :—

Mary Anne, b. Oct. 4, 1813.  
 Sally, b. June 20, 1816.

Henry Mellus, son of John Mellus, was born in Boston. Married Mary, daughter of ——— Stevens of Georgetown. Their children are :—

Henry, b. Sept., 1793.  
 Charity, b. Sept., 1795.  
 Rhoda, b. Feb., 1798.  
 William, b. Oct., 1804.  
 Joseph, b. June, 1806.  
 Mary, b. Nov., 1807.  
 Daniel, b. Mar. 25, 1812, in Hallowell.

William Drew, son of William Drew, was born in Kingston, Massachusetts May, 1767. Came with his family to this town 1817. Married Charity, daughter of Micah Allen, of Halifax, county of Plymouth. Their children are :—

Lucia, b. May, 1794.  
 William Alden, b. Dec. 11, 1798.  
 Allen, b. Jan. 11, 1808.

Daniel Simmons, son of Noah Simmons and Sylva Southward, his wife, was born in Duxbury, county of Plymouth, December 13, 1780. Came to this town, ———. Married Sally, daughter of Ebenezer and Sarah Mayo of Hallowell. Their children are :—

Charles, b. Dec. 12, 1811; d. 1863.  
 Gorham, b. Mar. 23, 1813.  
 Sarah Jane, b. June 27, 1814.  
 Hannibal, b. Aug. 13, 1815; d. 1858.



Arthur Somersby, b. Aug., 1818; d. Jan. 21, 1820.

Amelia, b.

Daniel, b. June 5, 1825.

Ephraim Stevens, son of Jonathan Stevens and Patience Austin, his wife, was born in Berwick, County of York, November 30, 1774. Married Betsey, daughter of ——— Champney, of Belgrade. Their children are : —

Samuel, b. Sept. 10, 1798, in Belgrade.

Jonathan, b. Nov. 15, 1801, in Belgrade.

Mary, b. Nov. 51, 1805, in Belgrade.

Benjamin, b. Dec. 10, 1807, in Belgrade.

Henry, b. Mar. 17, 1809, in Hallowell.

Isaiah, b. Mar. 5, 1811, in Hallowell.

Hiram, b. Nov. 15, 1813, in Hallowell.

Patience, b. Nov. 16, 1815, in Hallowell.

George, b. June 17, 1818, in Hallowell.

Phineas Yeaton, son of Philip Yeaton and Dorcas Smith, his wife, was born in Berwick, county of York, August 10, 1770. Married Phebe, daughter of Timothy Wentworth and Amey Hodgdon, his wife. Came with his family to this town January 8, 1798. Their children are : —

Dorcas, b. Dec. 29, 1795; d. Aug. 28, 1799.

John, b. Jan. 6, 1797, in Berwick, d. Jan. 11, 1884.

Mary, b. Apr. 10, 1799, in Hallowell, d. Aug. 26, 1883.

TimothyWentworth, b. Oct. 6, 1801; d. Nov. 1841.

Thomas, b. Feb. 26, 1803; d. April 4, 1834.

Sarah, b. Sept. 6, 1806; d. May 26, 1884.

Phineas, b. Oct. 26, 1809.

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## PROCEEDINGS.

### FEBRUARY 6, 1895.

A meeting of the Society was held in their Library Hall, Portland, and was called to order at 2.30 P. M., by the President.

A paper on ancient Nagwamqueeg on the Presumpscot River was read by Mr. Samuel T. Dole of South Windham.

A paper on the sea fight between the *Boxer* and *Enterprise*, contributed by Mr. Parker M. Reed of Bath, was read by the Secretary, Mr. Bryant.

A paper on the St. Croix Boundary Commission, was read by Rev. Dr. Henry S. Burrage. It gave an account of the documents recently given to the Society by Hon. George Lockhart Rives of New York, called the Barclay papers, also the Ward Chipman papers given by Mr. William H. Kilby, of Boston.

At the close of the reading some of the maps and papers were exhibited and on motion of Dr. Burrage the following votes were passed: —

*Voted*, that the thanks of the Maine Historical Society be and are hereby extended to the Hon. George L. Rives of New York, late Assistant Secretary of State, for the United States, for the gift of the large and valuable collection of letters, arguments, journals, awards, etc., appertaining to the settlement of the northeastern boundary question and once in the possession of his great-grand father, Col. Thomas Barclay, British commissioner under Jay's Treaty and also under the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th articles of the Treaty of Ghent. As the documents so largely relate to matters in which the State of Maine has an abiding interest, these Barclay papers find an appropriate place in our archives and make the thoughtful donor one of the most generous benefactors of the Society; it was also voted that the thanks of this Society be and are hereby rendered to William Henry Kilby, Esq., of Boston, author of Eastport and Passamaquoddy, for the valuable gift of the papers of Judge Ward Chipman, British agent during the settlement of the northeastern boundary question under Jay's Treaty and also the Treaty of Ghent. The rescue of these papers from the junk shop lends to them a somewhat romantic interest, while the various letters and documents in themselves are especially valuable because of their relation to an important chapter in the history of the State of Maine.

It being suggested that a compilation of these papers might form a volume in the Society's documentary series of publication the following were appointed a committee to examine the documents and report thereon, Messrs. Burrage, Banks and Talbot.

Adjourned until evening.

The evening session was called to order at 8 P. M., by the Secretary Mr. Bryant, who stated that as Mr. George F. Emery was prevented from attending the meeting by reason of a severe cold, Mr. H. H. Emery would read the paper contributed by his father entitled some Reminiscences of the Bench and Bar. Votes of thanks for the papers read at both sessions were passed and the meeting adjourned.

MAY 10, 1895.

A meeting of the Society was held in the Library, Portland, at 2.30 P. M.,

In the absence of the President, Mr. George F. Emery was called to the chair.

The Librarian and Curator, Mr. Bryant, read his report of accessions to the Library and Cabinet.

A paper on the Cumberland and Oxford Canal was read by Mr. Samuel T. Dole of South Windham.

At the conclusion of the paper some reminiscences were given by the chairman and others concerning this memorable enterprise.

A paper on the Charter Rights of Massachusetts in Maine in the Early Part of the 18th Century was read by Rev. Dr. Burrage.

The paper was based upon a legal document found among the Chipman papers bearing upon Col. Dunbar

and his conflict with the settlers of the Pemaquid country.

A biographical sketch of Gen. William Whipple, signer of the Declaration of Independence, was read by Mr. Moses A. Safford of Kittery.

Mr. Leonard B. Chapman was appointed editor of the Volumes XI and XII of the York Deeds, about to be published.

Adjourned until evening.

The evening session was called to order at 8 P. M., by the Secretary and in the absence of the President, Rev. Dr. Asa Dalton was appointed Chairman.

A paper on the early history of Scarborough, was read by Augustus F. Moulton. Esq.

Rev. Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, of Lexington, Massachusetts, read a paper giving some personal reminiscences of the Rev. Dr. Edward Payson.

Remarks on the distinguished author and subject were made by the chairman, Rev. E. C. Cummings and others.

Adjourned.

#### ANNUAL MEETING, BRUNSWICK, JUNE 26, 1895.

The Annual Meeting was held in the Cleveland Lecture Room at Brunswick, and was called to order at nine o'clock A. M., President Baxter in the chair. Members present : —

Messrs. C. E. Allen, J. P. Baxter, H. S. Burrage, John Marshall Brown, H. W. Bryant, F. R. Barrett, G. P. Barrett, S. C. Belcher, J. H. Drummond, H. L. Chapman, H. Deering, D. W. Fellows, C. J. Gilman, S. F. Humphrey, H. Ingalls, J. M. Glidden, G. T. Little, J. M. Larrabee, H. K. Morrell, E. B. Neal-

ley, F. A. Wilson, J. A. Locke, I. S. Locke, L. Pierce, J. A. Peters, P. M. Reed, J. S. Sewall, J. W. Symonds, C. D. Smith, M. A. Safford, J. W. Penney, G. D. Rand, A. C. Stilphen, H. O Thayer, S. J. Young.

Mr. M. A. Safford was appointed Secretary of the meeting.

The records of the last Annual Meeting were read and approved.

The annual report of the Librarian and Curator, H. W. Bryant, was read by him and it was accepted.

The annual report of the Corresponding Secretary and Biographer, Mr. Williamson, was read by Professor Little and it it was accepted.

The annual report of the Standing Committee was read by the Recording Secretary and was accepted.

The annual report of the Treasurer, Professor Young, was read in detail by the President, and was accepted.

A verbal report on the field-day excursion to Pemquid, in company with the Lincoln County Historical Society, was made by Dr. Burrage.

A vote was then taken on the proposed amendment to the By-Laws, Section 2, to insert after resident members "who may be of either sex" and it was rejected.

The board of officers for last year were re-elected.

It was voted to go to Castine on the field-day excursion, the next choice being Fryeburg.

Committee of arrangements appointed.

Professor A. F. Richardson.

Doctor G. A. Wheeler.

Rev. H. S. Burrage.

The following were elected resident members.

Professor James W. Black, Waterville.

Hon. Daniel F. Davis, Bangor.

Hon. E. Dudley Freeman, Yarmouth.

Luther Ray Moore, Esq., Saco.

Frank L. Staples, Esq., Augusta.

Benjamin B. Thatcher, Esq., Bangor.

Charles E. Waterman, Esq., Mechanic Falls.

Rev. Abiel H. Wright, Portland.

Corresponding members

Hon. George Lockhart Rives, New York.

Rev. Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, Lexington, Mass.

Reports from the County Historical Societies being called for, the Recording Secretary read communications which had been received from the Lincoln County Society, the Knox County Society, and the Washington County Society, and on motion of the Secretary it was voted that the Standing Committee be authorized to revise the list of committees appointed to organize the county societies.

NOVEMBER 22. 1895.

The Society held its first meeting of the season in their Library Hall with a large attendance.

The President, Mr. Baxter, in the chair, called to order at 2.30 P. M., and Mr. Bryant, the Librarian and Curator, read his report of accessions to the Library and Cabinet since the meeting in June last.

Mr. Charles E. Allen of Dresden, Maine, read a paper on the Character and Work of the Rev. Jacob Bailey, the first Missionary of the Church of England, on the Kennebec.

Mr. Allen's paper was founded chiefly on original documents recently placed in his hands by the descendants of the frontier missionary.

A spirited discussion followed Mr. Allen's paper, participated in by the President, Mr. G. F. Talbot, Mr. Samuel A. Drake, Rev. Dr. H. S. Burrage, Mr. J. H. Drummond and Rev. Dr. Dalton.

Rev. Henry O. Thayer, of Gray, Maine, then followed with an exhaustive paper on the Rev. Robert Gutch, the pioneer minister on the Kennebec River, 1660.

Mr. John W. Penny, of Mechanic Falls, read a paper on the Settlement of New Gloucester, Maine, based on the records of the proprietors of New Gloucester, a handsome type-written copy of the grant and records of the meetings of the proprietors being presented by Mr. Penney for the library of the Society. The first meeting was held April 27, 1736, and the last meeting recorded by Isaac Parsons, Sept. 23, 1802.

Among the recent valuable gifts received by the Society, is a type-written copy of the church records of the first and second parishes of Scarborough, Maine, which were organized in 1728 and 1744, prepared at the cost of Augustus F. Moulton, Esq., bound and thoroughly indexed for the use of the library. Also a fine ambrotype portrait of Seba Smith, Jr., his diploma of graduation from Bowdoin College, September, 1818, his diploma of membership from Ancient Landmark Lodge, Portland, November, 1819, and sundry autograph letters from distinguished writers addressed to Mr. Smith, all being the gift of

his granddaughter Mrs. Thomas Hall now of Victoria, B. C., received through Deacon Brown Thurston.

Through the kind efforts of Mr. C. S. Carnig of Boston, the Society has received a replica of the life-like bust of the Rev. Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, the distinguished educator and missionary. The bust was modeled by Mrs. Harriet Hyde Parsons.

The contributors are Mr. Robert Anderson, of Boston, Rev. George W. Wood, D. D., of Mt. Morris, New York, Rev. Benjamin Tappan, D. D., of Norridgewock, Rev. D. L. Furber, D. D., of Newton, Massachusetts, Mrs. C. E. Billings, of Newton, Massachusetts, Hon. Neal Dow, of Portland, Hon. W. W. Thomas, of Portland.

Adjourned until evening.

Meeting called to order at 7.30, Rev. Dr. Burrage in the chair.

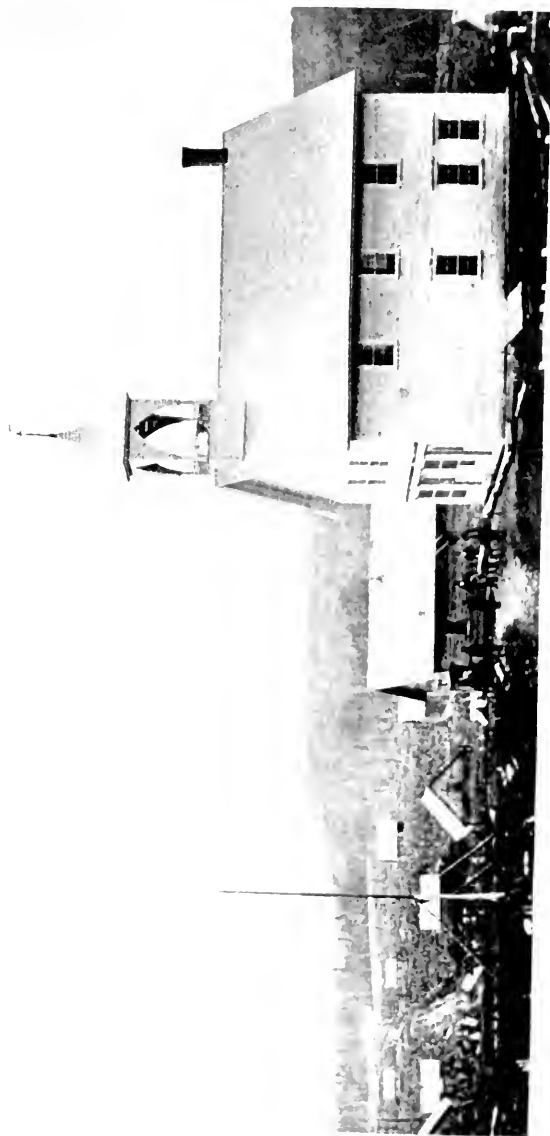
Mr. Nathan Goold, of Portland, gave a full account of Colonel Edmund Phinney's regiment which was the 31st regiment of foot, and the first regiment sent out of Cumberland County, Maine, in the war of the Revolution. Brief biographical sketches were given of the staff officers and the captains and officers of the eight companies.

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

Adjourned to December 19th, 1895.







THE CAPITOL AT NEW SWEDEN, WITH LOG HOUSES, 1871

## THE STORY OF NEW SWEDEN.

BY HON. WILLIAM WIDGERY THOMAS, JR.

*Read before the Maine Historical Society, December 19, 1895.*

[CONCLUDED.]

As illustrating how favorably the New Sweden of Maine already began to be regarded by the old country from which it sprung, I call attention to the following admirable letter, written to the Governor of Maine, by Dr. S. A. Hedlund of Gothenburg, Sweden. Dr. Hedlund is editor of a prominent Swedish newspaper, a member of the Swedish parliament, and one of the first writers and thinkers of Sweden.

*To the Honorable Governor of the State of Maine :*

SIR,— You must not wonder, sir, that a Swedish patriot cannot regard without feelings of sadness the exodus of emigrants, that are going to seek a better existence in the great republic of North America, leaving the homes of their ancestors, and giving their fatherland only a smiling farewell. It will not surprise you, sir, that this must be a very melancholy sight to the mind of the Swedes, and that it must become yet more so on the thought that many of these emigrants are meeting destinies far different from the glowing prospects that were held forth to their hopeful eyes. Not only Sweden will lose her children, but they will be lost to themselves in the distant new field.

The sons and daughters of old Sweden, will they maintain, among your great nation their national character? Will they retain, at least, some remembrance of their native land?

We know well, sir, that every nationality, strong as it may be, will be gradually amalgamated in the new, common, all-absorbing

nationality of the new world, and it would certainly not be of any advantage, either to America or to civilization, if the different nationalities of Europe were to continue their individual life, with their peculiarities and enmities, on the soil of their adopted country. We regard it, on the contrary, as a special mission of America to absorb and amalgamate all these different European elements.

But, sir; will they lose also, these American immigrants, the remembrance of their fatherland? Must the Swedish inhabitants of your country necessarily forget the language and customs of their ancestors? Will they forget the struggles and victories of their native land, its good times and hard times? Will they forget the mother who has born her children with heavy and self-denying sacrifices, and will they have no feelings left for her love and regret?

No, sir; they will not do so, and the great people of America will not require it. You have not received the children of Sweden as outcasts, who will be adopted into the new family only at the price of denying their father and mother. On the contrary, sir, you have given a special impulse to the Swedes, whom you have invited to colonize your state, to hold their native land in honor and remembrance, by giving the new colony, founded in the northern part of your state, the name of "New Sweden;" you have given them also, in Swedish books, opportunity for recalling their fatherland.

Your commissioner, Mr. W. W. Thomas, Jr., one evening last summer, assembled his little colony of immigrants to partake of a collation, where good wishes and kind words were exchanged. We, the remaining friends, left with confidence our brethren and sisters in his care; his last and firm assurance was, "All that has been promised will be kept."

Yes, sir; these promises have been kept; but not only that, they have been far surpassed by your generosity. The poor immigrants, landing on your shores, have been received and greeted with the most friendly welcome. Their homes established, their future secured, they have not been disappointed in their hopes by the difficulties and grievances of the real state of things

The young colony will probably be the nucleus of an extended colonization, and you will not, sir, I feel sure, find the hardy Swedes ungrateful and unworthy of your kindness; they would then, surely, be unworthy of their origin.

The colony of New Sweden has requested and authorized the writer of this letter to convey to you, Honorable Governor of the State of Maine, the expression of their sentiments of deep gratitude, and you will kindly allow me, sir, to add thereto, the expression of the same sentiments of many other Swedes, who have followed the immigrants with sympathies.

Allow me, at the same time to express to the people of Maine, who have received their new brethren with so much cordialty, the thanks of the colonists, who have mentioned more especially two gentlemen, Mr. W. W. Thomas Jr., and Mr. P. P. Burleigh, land agent, as objects of their gratitude and high esteem.

May the young colony of New Sweden grow and flourish, not only in material strength, but even in developing their moral and intellectual faculties. And may the new population thus add to your State and to your great Republic a good and healthy element of moral power from the old world, and becoming imbued with the spirit of your free institutions, reflect that spirit on their native land!

What we have lost, at present, in the old fatherland, will then not have been lost to humanity; on the contrary, the trees have only been transplanted on a fresher soil, where they will thrive better and give richer and more abundant fruits. God bless the harvest! God bless your land!

I am, sir, with the highest esteem,

Your obedient servant,

S. A. HEDLUND,

*Chief Editor of Gothenburg Shipping and Mercantile Gazette.*

Gothenberg, March 25, 1871.

The winter of 1870-71 was safely and comfortably passed by the Swedes in the woods. They were accustomed to cold weather and deep snow. Their fires crackled brightly and the festivities of Christmas time

were observed as joyously in the Maine forest as in Old Sweden.

In the meantime, active and efficient measures were taken to increase the stream of immigration thus happily started. A circular was printed in Old Sweden describing the voyage of the first colonists, their generous and honorable welcome at the American border, the attractions, healthfulness and fertility of their new homes, the location, extent and productiveness of the settling lands of Maine, the advantages our State offered to settlers, interesting letters from the Swedish colonists already on our soil, and every other fact and suggestion which seemed appropriate or advantageous. This circular was issued early in December, 1870: a month in advance of the circulars of any other state or association. Five thousand copies were distributed, and the information they contained read and discussed at thousands of Swedish firesides during the most opportune time of all the year—the Christmas holidays.

Capt. G. W. Schröder was appointed agent in Old, and Capt. N. P. Clasé in New Sweden. Large editions of circulars were struck off and distributed in the old country in quick succession; two columns of the "Amerika," a weekly emigrant's paper, were bought for six months and filled every week with new matter relating to Maine and her Swedish colony; advertisements were also inserted in all the principal newspapers taken by the agricultural and other working classes, and a brisk correspondence carried on with hundreds intending to emigrate to Maine.

A special agent was employed to travel and distribute information in the most northern provinces of Sweden, their population being deemed best fitted for our northern state ; and another agent, Mr. Carl Johan Ek, one of our first colonists, was sent back from New Sweden to the Old, well equipped with maps, plans, specimens of Aroostook wheat, rye, corn and potatoes, also maple sugar made by the Swedes in New Sweden; for many in the old country had written "if one could only return to us, and with his own lips tell us what you narrate on paper, we would believe." This last agent was sent out without expense to the State, he charging nothing for his services, and the Inman Steamship Line generously furnishing him with a free passage out and back. A condensed circular was printed in Swedish at Portland, placed in the hands of the pilots of that harbor, and by them distributed on board the transatlantic steamers, while yet miles away from land.

Seed thus well and widely sown was soon followed by a harvest. With the first opening of navigation in the spring of 1871, Swedish immigrants began to arrive in New Sweden ; first, in little squads, then in companies of twenty, thirty and forty, till the immigration of the year culminated in the last week of May, when one hundred Swedes arrived via Houlton and Presque Isle, followed within five days by two hundred and sixty more by the St. John River.

Provisions and tools for the colony and its expected accessions were shipped in March direct to Fredericton, and thence with the opening of navigation up the

River St. John to Tobique landing. From this latter place the goods were hauled into New Sweden, a distance of but twenty-five miles. Seed, consisting chiefly of wheat, rye, barley, oats, corn, beans and potatoes, was early purchased in the neighborhood of the colony and hauled in on the snow. A span of young, powerful draft horses was bought in the early spring to help on the work. They were employed in harrowing in the crops, grubbing out and plowing the roads, hauling logs and timber, until November, when they were sold for four hundred and twenty-five dollars, the exact sum paid for them in the spring.

A stable, thirty by forty feet, was erected on the public lot, one hundred feet in the rear of the Capitol; the Capitol itself painted, the first floor, comprising the storehouse and offices, lathed, plastered, finished and furnished, and the hall above lathed and provided with benches and a pulpit. The stable was erected and the Capitol completed before the snow was off. This work was almost exclusively done by Swedes, at the rate of one dollar a day, in payment of supplies already furnished them by the State.

The snow lingered late. Weeks after it had disappeared in the nearest villages, it still covered our new clearings in the woods. As soon as the black burnt ground showed itself in considerable patches, we commenced putting in wheat, sowing it partly on the melting snow. The first wheat was sowed May 12: rye followed, then came oats and barley. The State horses harrowed in the grain. Then men, women



and children were busy from morning till night hacking in potatoes among the stumps; and last of all, each Swede cleared still a little piece more of land, and put in turnips.

Saturday, May 14, Jacob Hardison and I rode into New Sweden on horseback, through a storm of sleet and rain, with nineteen young apple trees lashed on our backs. With these trees we set out the first orchard in the town on the public lot, just west of the Capitol. The trees flourished, and in a few years bore fruit.

In the spring of 1871, one hundred and sixty-five acres of land were cleared and put into a crop, including the one hundred and twenty-five acres on which the trees were felled the year before by the State.

The song birds found us out. The year before the forest was voiceless. This spring, robins, sparrows and chickadees flew into our clearings, built their nests among us, and enlivened the woods with their songs. The birds evidently approved of colonization.

All the while the immigrants with their ponderous chests of baggage were pouring in. They filled the hall of the Capitol, the stable, and one squad of fifty from Jemmland, camped under a shelter of boards at the corner. Hon. Albert A. Burleigh took the place of Mr. Barker as surveyor. Mr. Burleigh, with an able corps of assistants arrived at New Sweden as soon as practicable to commence surveying in the woods, and pushed on his part of the work with vigor and ability throughout the season. Roads were first laid out in all directions from the Capitol, then lots

laid off to face them. Straight lines were not deemed essential to these ways, an easy grade was everywhere maintained, and hills and swamps avoided. Working parties of newly arrived immigrants, each in command of an English-speaking Swede, were detailed to follow the surveyors and cut out the roads. Thus avenues were opened up in all directions into the wilderness. Bands of immigrants eagerly seeking their farms followed the choppers, and lots were taken up as fast as they were made accessible. Some enterprising Swedes did not wait for the working parties, but secured choice lots by ranging the woods in advance; the principle of "first come first served" having been adopted in the distribution of these prizes of land.

Thus the stream of immigration that poured into the Capitol, was continually disappearing in small rills throughout the forest. A party of one hundred, crowding our accommodations on Monday, would vanish before Saturday night. A walk along any wood road soon revealed them; the blows of the ax and the crash of falling trees led to the men, and the smoke curling from a shelter of poles and bark near by, to the women and children.

A flash of Swedish humor occasionally enlivened our labors. An immigrant, whose Christian name was *Noah*, settled on the side of a steep conical hill. Instantly the Swedes called the hill "*Mount Ararat*," and as Mount Ararat it is known to this day.

Our main road to the outside world for three miles from the Capitol was simply a passage way cut

through the woods the year before to let in the first colony. The heavy immigrant wagons and supply teams had since then rapidly worn away the earth; and protruding stumps and deepening ruts rendered the road almost impassable, yet not a day's labor could be spared to it, till the crops were all in. June 26, however, a force of fifteen men and four horses was put upon this important highway. We commenced work at the edge of the center chopping, about a stone's throw south of the Capitol; and until October, whatever hands could be spared from their own clearings were kept at work on this road. The entire three miles were grubbed out full width of thirty feet through a heavy growth of standing trees; two miles of this turnpiked in as thorough a manner as any county road in the state, and a substantial bridge of hewn cedar thrown across the east branch of Caribou Stream. The road is three-quarters of a mile shorter than the old one, by which the first colony entered New Sweden, curves around, instead of over the hills, and maintains an easy grade throughout. It was built under the immediate supervision of Jacob Hardison, Esq., than whom no man in Aroostook was better acquainted with everything that pertains to frontier life in the woods of Maine, and who in one capacity or another assisted the Swedish colony from its foundation. In settling New Sweden, my right-hand man was always "Jake" Hardison.

Meanwhile, branch roads were being cut through the woods by smaller parties of workmen. One road was made west four miles through Woodland into Per-

ham, another east toward Lyndon, a third northeast four and one-quarter miles to the Little Madawaska River, a fourth, seven and one-half miles to the northwest corner of New Sweden, beside still other shorter connecting roads.

Every working party, whether on branch roads, main road, public buildings, or other public works, was in charge of its own special foreman. Each foreman called the roll of his crew every evening, and entered the time of each man in a book provided for the purpose. These time-books were handed in once a week to the State store-keeper, and each workman credited with one dollar for every day's work, payable in the provisions and tools he was receiving from the State.

Thus the money appropriated by our State, in aid of the Swedish colony, accomplished a twofold good. It first supplied the Swedes with food and tools, enabling them to live until they harvested their first crop. Second, it was worked out to its full value by the Swedes, on the roads and other public works, which are a permanent public benefit and worth to the State all they cost. State aid to the Swedes was thus a temporary loan, which they repaid in full, the State gaining hundreds of new citizens by the transaction.

June 6, 1871, Anders Herlin died, the first death in New Sweden. June 20, Jacob Larsson, a newly-arrived immigrant, was killed in his chopping by a falling tree.

Friday evening, June 23, the young people observed *Midsommars afton* — Midsummer's eve, a joyous, Swedish festival. They erected a May-pole at the

center, decorated it with garlands, festoons of flowers, and green leaves. From the top of the pole floated the American and Swedish flags. They sang ring songs, played ring games, and danced around the May-pole to Swedish music, till far into the night.

In June, arrived an important addition to the colony, the Rev. Andrew Wiren, a regularly ordained minister of the Lutheran church. His ministrations continued for many years. He was ever, not only a pastor, but the "guide, counselor and friend" of his little flock, whose love and confidence he always possessed.

On Sunday, June 25, 1871, Pastor Wiren held the first Lutheran service in the hall of the Capitol. This was the first anniversary of our sailing from Old Sweden, and I availed myself of the opportunity to speak words of praise and encouragement to the colonists.

All summer and fall new choppings opened out on every hand; the old clearings were rapidly enlarged; shelters of poles and bark gave way to comfortable timber houses; barns were built near the growing grain, and everywhere trees were falling and buildings rising throughout the settlement.

So many people flocking into the woods soon created a demand for various trades and crafts. A variety store was opened in August by a Swede, in a commodious timber building near the center. A blacksmith, a shoemaker, a tinman, and a tailor, set up shops near by, and were overrun with business. A sawmill was built at a good water power on Beardsley brook, four miles from the Capitol. The foundations for a grist-mill were also laid.

Quite a speculation in real estate arose. Several farms changed hands at high figures, and one lot of only one acre was sold for fifty dollars cash. It was the corner lot next west of the Capitol, and was sold to build a store on. This store was afterwards altered into a dwelling-house for Pastor Wiren.

The crops grew rapidly. Wheat averaged five and rye over six feet in height. One stalk of rye, which I measured myself, was seven feet and five inches tall. A man stepping into any of our winter rye fields in August, disappeared as completely from view as though he were lost in the depths of the forest. Many heads of wheat and rye were over eight inches in length. Harvest time came early. Winter rye was ripe and cut by the middle of August; wheat, barley and oats early in September.

Crops were raised by thirty families. These arrived the year before. The new-comers could only clear the land of its trees this first season. Of the thirty families, seventeen had built barns in which they stored their grain. The crops of the others were securely stacked in the field, and though the autumn was rainy, the harvest was uninjured.

As soon as the grain was dry a machine was obtained to thresh it. Three thousand bushels of grain were threshed out, of which twelve hundred were wheat, one thousand barley, and the remainder principally rye and oats. Wheat averaged twenty, and yielded up to twenty-five, and rye averaged thirty-five and yielded up to forty-two bushels to the acre. The season was late and wet, and much of the wheat

was nipped by the rust. In an ordinary year a maximum yield of forty bushels of wheat to the acre has been attained.

An unusually heavy frost the middle of September, which prevailed throughout New England, killed the potato tops and stopped all further growth of the potatoes, diminishing the yield one-third. Three hundred bushels to the acre of those earliest planted was nevertheless obtained, and five thousand bushels of potatoes secured, besides several hundred bushels of beets, turnips and other roots.

On September 30, 1871, all those who had harvested a crop were cut off from further receipt of state supplies. These colonists became not only self-supporting, but delivered to the State, in part payment of their indebtedness, five hundred bushels of potatoes, which were sold to the later-arrived immigrants.

On November 15, 1871, state aid was also cut off from every immigrant of that year who had not wife or children with him. For all such, work for the winter was provided among the American farmers, in the lumber woods, at the tanneries, quarries, or railroads.

A free public school was opened in the hall of the Capitol, November 13. Pastor Wiren was teacher. He had acquired our language during a four years' residence in the west. There were seventy-seven scholars. The chief study was the English language. To learn to read, write, and speak English was deemed of more importance than all else. Pastor Wiren also opened an evening English school for adults.

Divine service continued to be held in the public hall both forenoon and afternoon, every Sunday throughout the year; and the Swedish Sunday-school kept up its weekly meetings without the omission of a single Sunday. The attendance on these religious exercises was almost universal.

As soon as the earth could be made to produce grass or fodder, the Swedes began to provide themselves with cattle, horses, sheep and swine.

They bought, however, no faster than they could pay. If a Swede could not afford a span of horses, he bought only one; if he could not afford a horse, he provided himself with an ox; if an ox was beyond his purse, he got a steer, and if a steer was more than he could afford, he placed a rope harness on his only cow, and worked around with her till he could do better.

Americans, driving in, laughed at these nondescript teams, but all the while the Swedes were teaching us a lesson — to live within our means.

On Thursday, September 5, Bishop Neely visited New Sweden and conducted Episcopal religious services in the public hall.

On Tuesday, September 26, 1871, Hon. Sidney Perham, governor of Maine, and Hon. P. P. Burleigh, land agent, accompanied by friends, made an official visit to the colony. The Swedes, to the number of four hundred, met at the Capitol and gave the official party a warm reception. In behalf of the colony I delivered an address of welcome, to which Governor Perham eloquently replied. Swedish songs were



sung, speeches made, and every Swede shook hands with the governor. A collation was then served in the storeroom of the Capitol, and in the afternoon, the roads, buildings and farms of the Swedes were inspected by the governor and land agent, who expressed themselves highly gratified with the progress of the colony.

One great cause of the rapid success of this colony has been the active help the Swedish women have rendered their husbands. Every Swedish wife was indeed a helpmate. She not only did all the housework, but helped her husband in the clearings amid the blackened stumps and logs. Many of the Swedes cut their logs into lengths for piling with cross-cut saws. Whenever this was the case, you would see that the Swedish wife had hold of one end of the saw; and she did her half of the work too.

Once, riding out of the woods, I met one of our Swedish women walking in with a heavy sack on her back. As she passed, I noticed a commotion inside the sack.

“What have you in there?” said I.

“Four nice pigs,” she replied.

“Where did you get them?”

“Down river, two miles beyond Caribou.”

Two miles beyond Caribou was ten miles from New Sweden. So this good wife had walked twenty miles; ten miles out, and ten miles home with four pigs on her back, smiling all the way, to think what nice pigs they were.

Another wife, Mrs. Kjersti Carlson, when her husband

was sick and her children cried for bread, with her own hands, felled some cedar trees, sawed them up into butts, and rifted out and shaved these butts into shingles, one bunch of which she carried five miles through the woods on her back, to barter at the corner store for medicine and food for her husband and children.

By such toil was this wilderness settled. But that bunch of shingles has become a part of the history of Maine. It occupies to-day an honored place in the Capitol at Augusta, and a Maine poetess has rendered it immortal in her verse.

In January, 1872, a weekly newspaper, *The North Star*, was started at Caribou. Every issue of this paper contained one column printed in the Swedish language. This column was edited by Mr. E. Winberg, one of our Swedish immigrants, and was extensively read in New Sweden.

This was the first paper, or portion of a paper ever published in a Scandinavian language in New England, although the Scandinavians sailed along our coast, and built temporary settlements on our shores, five hundred years before Columbus discovered the islands of our continent.

The examination of the first public school, took place March 15, 1872, after a session of four months. The scholars had made wonderful progress in learning our language. Many could speak and read English well, and some had made considerable advance in writing. These school privileges were highly prized. Some of the scholars came to school five miles through the woods, slipping over the snow on *skidor* — Swedish snow-shoes.

Two steam mills were erected and put in operation in the spring of 1872, and a large quantity of shingles and some boards were sawed.

The Swedes early became experts in manufacturing shaved shingles by hand. It was soon admitted by Aroostook traders that the Swedish shingles were the best made in the county. Shopping in New Sweden was almost exclusively barter. Bunches of shaved shingles were the currency which the Swedes carried to the stores of the American traders, and with which they bought their goods.

The last mile of our main road was turnpiked in 1872, giving the colony a good turnpike to Caribou. Branch roads were improved.

In the matter of government, New Sweden presented an anomaly. It was an unorganized township, occupied by foreigners, furthermore, no legal organization could be effected for years, for there was not an American citizen resident in the township, through whom the first step toward organization could be taken. The first two years of the colony I found time to personally settle all disputes between the colonists, organize the labor on roads and buildings, and arrange all matters of general concern.

As the colony increased, it became impossible for one man to attend to all the details of this work. A committee of ten was therefore instituted to assist me. Nine of this committee were elected by the colonists, the pastor was the tenth, *ex officio*. Three went out of office every six months, and their places were filled at a general election. New Sweden was

also divided into nine highway districts, and each one of this committee had charge of the roads in his own district. This decemvirate satisfactorily managed all the municipal affairs of the colony until New Sweden was legally organized into a plantation.

Many and strange were the experiences of life in the Swedish woods in the early days.

One evening Svensson came running up to my office in the Capitol, crying out. "My daughter is lost."

His daughter Christine was a little girl, twelve years old, well known and loved in the colony. He had taken her with him in the morning to a new chopping where he was at work, three miles into the woods toward the Madawaska River. At noon he had sent her to a woodland spring to draw water for their dinner, but she did not return. Becoming alarmed, he hurried to the spring. There were the tracks of her feet in the moist earth, but the girl was nowhere to be seen. He hallooed and received no answer, and then searched the woods in vain till nightfall.

I at once sent out a messenger on each road in the township, warning the men to meet at the Capitol next morning at sunrise. Over fifty came, bringing with them all the dogs and all the guns in the colony. We followed Svensson to his clearing, formed a line north and south along the Madawaska road, and at a signal, advanced into the woods, moving west. Each man was to keep in line with and in sight of his next neighbor. Thus the men advanced through the forest for hours, shouting and firing guns. But there came no answer.

At noon two guns were fired in quick succession. This was the preconcerted signal. The girl was found. She was standing in the bottom of a dense cedar swamp, on all sides the trunks of fallen trees were piled up in inextricable confusion. How the child ever got in there was a mystery. She still held the pail, half full of water, in her hand. But she had clasped the bail so tightly in her terror, that her finger nails had cut into the palm of her hand, and blood was dripping from her fingers into the water in the pail.

"Why where have you been?" joyfully asked the Swedes.

"I don't know," she murmured in a broken voice.

"What have you been doing?"

"I don't know."

"Where did you pass the night?"

"There hasn't been any night," she cried with a wild glare. She was mad. The terrors of that long night alone in the woods had taken away her reason. She was taken home, tenderly nursed, and after a period of sickness, was fully restored to health of mind and body. She then said, that she went to the spring, filled her pail with water, and was just starting back through the woods, when suddenly she saw in the path before her, a bear and a cub. She turned and ran for life. When she dared to look around, she found the bear was not following her. She then tried to walk around to the clearing, where her father was. She kept on and on, crying for her father, till it grew dark, then she recollected no more.

The government of the United States recognized the colony at an early day, by establishing a post-office there, and appointing Capt. N. P. Clasé postmaster. The road to Caribou was subsequently made a post route, and weekly paid postal service commenced July 1, 1873. Sven S. Landin, one of the colonists, was mail carrier, although, when pressed with work on his farm, his wife not unfrequently walked with the mail to Caribou and back again, a distance of sixteen and a half miles.

On October 14, 1873, Ransom Norton Esq., clerk of courts for Aroostook County, visited the colony for the purpose of affording the Swedes an opportunity of taking the first step toward naturalization. On that day one hundred and thirty-three men came forward and publicly renounced all allegiance to the "King of Sweden and Norway, the Goths and the Vandals," and declared their intention of becoming American citizens.

In the fall of 1873, the condition of the colony was excellent. The little settlement of fifty had increased to six hundred, and outside of New Sweden there were as many more Swedes located in our state, drawn to us by our Swedish colony. The settlement of New Sweden had outgrown the township of that name and spread over the adjoining sections of Woodland, Caribou and Perham. The trees on 2200 acres had been felled. 1500 acres of this were cleared in a thorough and superior manner, of which 400 acres were laid down to grass.

The crops had promised abundance, but an untimely frost that followed the great gale of August 27,

pinched the late grain and nipped the potatoes. Still a fair crop was harvested. 130 houses, and nearly as many barns and hovels had been built. The colonists owned 22 horses, 14 oxen, 100 cows, 40 calves, 33 sheep and 125 swine.

The schools were in a flourishing condition. Such an advance had been made in English, that most of the children above ten years of age, could read and write our language tolerably, and speak it well. An American visiting the colony had no need of an interpreter, for every child that talked at all, could speak English.

I then felt that all the conditions of the plan on which this experiment was made, had been fulfilled. The colony had been recruited in Sweden, transplanted to Maine. fast rooted in our soil, and made self-sustaining. The experiment was an experiment no longer. New Sweden was successfully founded, the stream of Swedish immigration was successfully started. The infant colony was now strong enough to go alone.

On Sunday forenoon, October 19, 1873, I met the Swedes at the Capitol. Nearly all the settlers, men, women and children were there. I recounted the history of the colony, since the first adventurous little band had met together in old Sweden, spoke such words of friendly counsel as the occasion suggested and justified, and then took leave of the colony I had recruited in the Old World and founded in the New.

In my annual report, at the close of 1873, I recommended that all special State aid to New Sweden

should cease. I further took pleasure in recommending that the office of commissioner of immigration, which I held, be abolished, since the accomplishment of the undertaking rendered the office no longer necessary; and thus laid down the work, which for four years had occupied the better portion of my life and endeavor.

But though my official connection with New Sweden ceased with 1873, this colony has never ceased, and never will cease so long as life remains, to occupy a large portion of my heart, my thoughts and my prayers.

And New Sweden has ever continued to meet the fondest anticipations of her friends. Her career from the beginning to this day has been one of constant and unbroken growth, development and progress. She has never taken a step backward, she has never made a halt in her onward march. Her story forms an unique chapter in the history of Maine. That story I would love to fully recount to you this evening, step by step.

I would fain speak to you of the organization of the township into a plantation in 1876, and of its municipal and political life; of our grand decennial celebration here in 1880, in which three thousand persons, Swedes and Americans, took part; of the dedication of the first Swedish Evangelical Lutheran church of Maine on the same day; of the rise and progress of the Baptist, the Mission and the Advent societies and the building and dedication of their houses of worship; of the deep religious life of the colony; of our schools



and the thorough work they have accomplished, of the building of our roads and bridges; the establishment of mills and factories; how year after year the forest has been felled, and choppings full of blackened stumps transformed into smooth fields of waving grain; how the log cabins have been replaced with substantial two-story frame houses, great barns built, fruitful orchards and gardens set out, and bountiful crops raised; how the Swedes have come to possess excellent breeds of horses and cattle; how the steer teams with rope harness have disappeared, and how the Swedes drive to-day as good horses as can be found in Aroostook County; how the good repute of our Swedish fellow citizens has risen and risen, until the only question now asked by an American shop keeper is "Are you a Swede? If so you may buy on credit anything and everything you want."

All this and much more I would love to recite in detail to you, but the night would be spent and tomorrow's sun arisen before the half could be told. I must, however, crave your indulgence to make brief mention of two marked characteristics of our Swedish brethren.

New Sweden is a colony of churchgoers. Nearly every adult Swede is a church-member and nearly all the colonists, old and young, attend public religious services every Sunday the whole year round. And while praising the Lord within their comfortable churches, they do not allow their horses to freeze outside. The Swedes do not forget that "a merciful man is merciful to his beast." In the rear of every Swed-

ish church you will see a long, low log hovel or stable. The openings between the logs are all tightly chinked up, and here, even in the coldest days of winter, the horses stand in the long double rows of stalls, blanketed, comfortable and steaming with warmth, while their owners worship God with clear consciences in His temple hard by.

I rejoice also to state that New Sweden is and always has been a temperance colony. There was never a rum shop in the settlement, and strong drink has ever been as good as unknown throughout this community. The Swedes have devoted the fruits of their labors to improving their farms, increasing their stock, and rendering their homes more comfortable and beautiful. They have never squandered their health or wealth in rum.

Time will now only permit me to speak briefly of the status of New Sweden to-day, and of some of the results which this Swedish colony has achieved on American soil.

New Sweden has already celebrated this twenty-fifth year of her existence by becoming incorporated as a town, on the twenty-ninth day of January last, and taking her place as a full fledged municipality among her sister towns in Maine.

The town of New Sweden numbers to-day seven hundred and seventeen inhabitants, but these figures represent less than one half of our Swedish settlement. The colony soon outgrew the boundaries of this township and spread over the adjacent portions of Woodland, Caribou and Perham, lying to the southward.

Later our Swedish pioneers penetrated into the forest to the west and north, and have there made permanent settlements.

On June 1, 1892, the Swedes organized Township No. 15, Range 4, lying west of New Sweden, into a plantation, and named it "Westmanland" from one of the provinces of the old country; and on March 23, of this year, Township No. 16, Range 3, adjoining New Sweden on the north, was legally organized as "Stockholm," thus perpetuating the name of the beautiful capital of Sweden in our own state.

New Sweden therefore, came not solitary and alone to her quarter-centennial jubilee. She came leading by the hand two fair daughters, Westmanland and Stockholm. Aye! more. She came leading her sons and daughters by hundreds from the adjoining American towns of Woodland, Caribou and Perham.

And there is one son New Sweden led with peculiar pride to her feast. John Hedman, a Swedish lad, reared in our Swedish woods, graduated this year with high honors at Colby University, Waterville, Maine, and is now instructor in modern languages at that university. Surely our Swedes have not forgotten that they are the countrymen of Linnæus and Swedenborg, of Geijer and Tegnér and Victor Rydberg. Surely among the blackened stumps of their forest clearings, our Swedish pioneers have looked up to something higher and nobler than mere material prosperity.

#### MAINE'S SWEDISH COLONY

is situated to-day on seven different but adjoining towns, forming thus one compact settlement, which

numbers no less than one thousand four hundred and fifty-two Swedes, divided as follows :

New Sweden, (town)	717
Woodland,	279
Caribou,	103
Perham,	79
Westmanland,	109
Stockholm,	157
No. 16, Range 4,	8
Total	<hr/> 1452

Nearly thirty times the little band of pilgrims that entered those woods twenty-five years ago. An increase of over 2,800 per cent.

The following statistics embrace the entire Swedish settlement — the Greater New Sweden :

#### MARRIAGES, BIRTHS AND DEATHS.

From the date of the settlement to June, 1895, there have been celebrated 102 marriages, 481 babies have been born, and 140 individuals have died. In the last number are included many who died in Portland, Augusta, Boston and other places, but are interred in the New Sweden cemetery. Yet even with these deaths included, the births out-number the deaths in the ratio 3.43 to 1. Is anything further wanted to prove the vigor of the Swedish race, and the healthfulness of the climate of Maine ?

#### CLEARINGS.

The area of land cleared on each lot in the colony varies with the strength, skill and circumstances of the settlers, and the length of time since their arrival. The earlier colonists have of course, larger "felled

pieces" on their lots than the later comers; and the few, who were fortunate enough to bring with them the means of hiring help, have made more rapid progress in clearing their farms of the forest, than the great majority who have been compelled to rely exclusively on the labor of their own hands. Scarcely any of the Swedes, however, have cleared less than twenty-five acres, most have cleared from thirty to fifty acres, some from fifty to seventy-five, while a few, who have acquired more than one lot, are the happy owners of broad clearings of more than one hundred acres in extent.

The Swedes have cleared their land in a superior manner, all the old soggy logs being unearthed, smaller stumps uprooted, and the larger knolls leveled. In most of the earlier clearings, the stumps have been entirely removed, and the fields plowed as smoothly as in our oldest settlements.

In the aggregate, these Swedes have cleared and put into grass or crops 7,630 acres of land, that twenty-five years ago was covered with a gigantic forest.

#### BUILDINGS.

The colonists have erected :

- 1 Capitol
  - 4 Churches.
  - 3 Parsonages.
  - 7 Schoolhouses.
  - 2 Starch factories.
  - 5 Shingle mills (these mills are also furnished with rotary saws, planers, sticking and clapboard machines.)
  - 305 Dwelling houses.
  - 362 Barns and hovels.
- 
- 689 Buildings in all.

## ROADS.

Seventy-one miles of road have been built of which forty-six miles are turnpiked and in excellent condition.

## LIVE STOCK.

Our Swedish settlers now own :

468 horses worth		\$42,950
287 colts under 3 years old worth,		5,810
27 oxen	"	810
479 cows	"	14,250
313 other neat cattle	"	2,504
497 sheep	"	1,485
150 lambs	"	300
117 swine	"	936
6000 poultry	"	3,000
	Total value	<u>\$72,045</u>

## CROPS.

In 1894 the Swedish colonists harvested:

Hay, 1500 tons,	worth,	\$ 15,000
Wheat, 3616 bushels,	"	2,905
Rye, 4,215 bushels,	"	3,086
Oats, 60,000 bushels,	"	23,920
Buckwheat, 3,445 bushels,	"	1,469
Potatoes, 117,950 barrels,	"	117,950
	Total value,	<u>\$164,330</u>

## DAIRY.

In 1894 the dairy product of the colony amounted to		
30,000 pounds of butter	worth,	\$6,000
5,000 pounds of cheese	"	500
	Total value	<u>\$6,500</u>

## WOOL.

In 1894 the colonists clipped 2,500 pounds of wool,		
worth,		\$500

## EGGS.

The egg product of 1894 amounted to 24,000 dozen,		
worth		\$2,400

## TOTAL VALUE OF FARM PRODUCTS FOR 1894.

Crops,	\$164,330
Dairy,	6,500
Wool,	500
Eggs,	2,400
Total,	<u>\$173,730</u>

## FACTORIES AND MILLS.

## Product of factories and mills for 1894 :

190 tons starch,	worth,	\$11,720
21,500,000 feet, shingles,	“	39,750
2,200,000 feet, long lumber,	“	17,600
Total value,		<u>\$69,070</u>

## VALUE OF SWEDISH BUILDINGS, CLEARINGS, TOOLS AND STOCK.

Churches, parsonages and schools,	\$ 12,500
Factories and mills,	25,500
Farm buildings,	200,450
7,630 acres of cleared land, at \$20 per acre, (the cost of clearing),	152,600
Farming implements and machinery,	65,800
Live stock,	72,045
Total,	<u>\$528,895</u>

Value of farm products for 1894,	173,730
Value of factory and mill products for 1894,	69,070
Grand total,	<u>\$771,695</u>

And all this has been created where not the worth of a dollar was produced twenty-five years ago.

These figures alone are eloquent. They need no eulogy. They speak for themselves. They tell the story of difficulties surmounted, of results accomplished, of work well done. But, my countrymen, those of you who have never lived in the backwoods, can have no adequate conception of the vast labor and toil under-

gone in the wilderness to create the results I have enumerated. A settler's first years in the woods are a continual fight, hand to hand with savage nature, for existence. It is pleasant to look out upon the broad fields of New Sweden, green with the growing crops, but do we know, can we calculate, how many blows of the ax, how many drops of sweat have been expended in turning each one of these seven thousand six hundred acres of cleared land, from forest to farm?

The story of New Sweden has no parallel in New England since the United States became a nation. This Swedish settlement is the only successful agricultural colony founded with foreigners from over the ocean in New England since the Revolutionary war, and surely in all America there is no agricultural settlement, so young as ours, that surpasses our model colony in progress and prosperity.

And the good effects of the founding of New Sweden are not confined to the colony or its vicinity. As early as 1871 Swedish artisans and skilled workmen, drawn to Maine by New Sweden, began to find work in the slate quarries of Piscataquis county, in the great tanneries and saw-mills of Penobscot, and in the stores and workshops of Portland, Bangor, Augusta, Pittsfield, Monson, Houlton, Presque Isle, Fort Fairfield, Caribou, and other cities and towns. Since the founding of the colony the Swedish girls have ever furnished needed and valuable help in our families in all sections of the state. Some Swedish immigrants, who came to us in independent circumstances, purchased improved farms in Presque Isle, Fort Fairfield,



Limestone, and other towns; while many Swedes with less means settled on abandoned farms in Cumberland, York and our other older counties. These deserted homesteads have been placed by the Swedes in a high state of cultivation; indeed Swedish immigration is proving to be the happy solution of the "abandoned farms" question in Maine.

The United States census of 1890, returned a Swedish population in every county in Maine except Franklin, and gave the total number of Swedes in our state, including children born in this country of Swedish parents, at 2,546.

*To-day there are in Maine more than 3,000 Swedes as the direct result of the Swedish immigration enterprise.*

Furthermore the good accomplished by New Sweden is not limited by the boundaries of our state. Skilled workmen from New Sweden early obtained employment in the mills, factories and workshops of Boston, Worcester, Lowell, Fall River, Springfield and Brockton in Massachusetts; Manchester and Concord in New Hampshire; Rutland and Bennington in Vermont; Providence and Pawtucket in Rhode Island; New Haven, Hartford, Bridgeport and Waterbury in Connecticut, and in other manufacturing centers all over New England. And each little band as it settled down, formed a fresh nucleus, around which have continually gathered new throngs of Swedish immigrants.

Thus the overflow from New Sweden has reached and benefited all our sister states. In fact the estab-

lishment of this little colony of Swedes in the woods of Maine twenty-five years ago turned a rill from the stream of Swedish immigration, which before all flowed west, upon New England, and added a fresh element of good, northern blood to every New England state.

And Swedish immigration has benefited Maine in other ways besides the direct addition of several thousand Swedes to our population.

The best part of the fertile town, of New Sweden, was run out into lots in 1861. For nine years Maine offered these lots to settlers. The offer was made under our settling laws, which did not require the payment of a dollar, only the performance of a certain amount of road labor and other settling duties, which made the lot virtually a gift from the State to the settler. Yet not a lot was taken up. Until the advent of the Swedes no one was found willing to accept his choice of the lots in this town as a gift, provided he was required to make his home upon it.

The opinion of many in the vicinity upon the wisdom of the Swedes in settling here was pointedly expressed by a good citizen of Caribou. Walking out of the woods with him, in July, 1870, a few days after the arrival of the first colony, I expatiated, no doubt with enthusiasm, upon the magnificent results which to my mind must flow from the enterprise. The gentleman listened to me patiently till I had finished, then turning squarely upon me in the road, he said:

“Mr. Thomas, you may say what you like, but I don't suppose there are bottles enough in that colony

to hold the tears those poor, deluded creatures will shed before their first year is out."

And not only was New Sweden without a settler on the morning of July 23, 1870, but several of the lots in the northern portion of Woodland plantation, which had years before been taken up by settlers, and on which clearings had been made, houses built, and crops raised, were now deserted by their owners, the houses with windows and doors boarded up, and the clearings commencing to grow up again to forest. Such was the condition of the last clearings the Swedish colony passed through on its way into the woods. These clearings are now settled by Swedes and smile with abundant harvests.

The American pioneer who abandoned the clearing nearest New Sweden was happily with us at our decennial celebration in 1880, and joined in the festivities with wondering eyes. Mr. George F. Turner then told me of his attempt to settle in the Maine woods. He came from Augusta in the spring of 1861, and took up lot No. 7, in Woodland. Here he built a house and barn, and cleared thirty-five acres of land. But there were no roads. If his wife wished to visit the village, he was forced to haul her through the woods on a sled even in summer. No new settlers came in. His nearest neighbors, Dominicus Harmon and Frank Record, left their places and moved out to Caribou. Still he held on for two more years, alone in the woods. At last in the fall of 1868, he abandoned the clearing where he had toiled for seven long years, and moved out to civilization.

“I left,” said Mr. Turner, “because in the judgment of everyone, there was no prospect for the settlement of this region. The settlers around me were abandoning their clearings. Everyone said I was a fool to stay, and I at last thought so myself, and left. Little did I expect to see this day.”

The tide of settlement was ebbing away from our northern woods, when a wave from across the Atlantic turned the ebb to flood. It has been flood tide ever since.

With the founding of New Sweden, our state recovered from the check in her career and again took up her onward march. From 1870 to 1880 Maine increased 22,021 in population ; from 1880 to 1890, 12,150.

And it is worthy of note that more than one-half of the increase of the entire state in both these decades has been in the county where lies our Swedish settlement. Not only this, but the towns of Aroostook County that exhibit the most marked progress, are those lying nearest New Sweden.

Woodland, the adjoining town to the south, in 1870, numbered 174 inhabitants, in 1890, 885 — an increase of over 400 per cent.

Perham to the southwest, in 1870, numbered 79 citizens, in 1890, 438 — an increase of more than 450 per cent.

Caribou to the southeast, the town which has ever been the center for the trade of our Swedish settlers, and which perhaps has reaped the greatest advantages from their settlement — Caribou in 1870 numbered

1,410 inhabitants. In 1890, it had grown to 4,087, — an increase of no less than 2,677 in population. And with this increase Caribou became the largest town in Aroostook County.

The founding of New Sweden in the back woods of Maine called the attention of our own country, as well as Sweden, to our state, its resources and advantages. The files of the land office show that in addition to the Swedish immigration, American settlers upon our wild lands increased in 1871, the first year after the arrival of the Swedes, more than 300 per cent

When the Swedes first entered our woods there was not a mile of railroad in Aroostook County. The nearest point reached by a railroad was some seventy miles distant in the Province of New Brunswick. The journey from Portland to Caribou then took three days. It can now be accomplished by rail in ten hours. Two railroads now run into Caribou, but I seriously doubt if there would be a foot of railroad in northern Aroostook to-day had it not been for the impetus given to that region by New Sweden.

One special instance among many may be given of the influence exerted by our Swedish settlement. Mr. Albe Holmes, a potato starch manufacturer of New Hampshire, was induced to visit Aroostook County in 1870, by reading a newspaper notice of New Sweden. He put in operation the first potato starch factory in Aroostook at Caribou in 1872. These factories quickly increased. There are to-day in Aroostook County no less than 41 starch factories, with a yearly output of

8,000 tons of starch, worth \$560,000 ; while the raising of potatoes and their manufacture into starch have grown to be among the chief industries of the county.

On the twenty-fifth day of last June — the twenty-fifth anniversary of the sailing the first little colony from the mother country — New Sweden celebrated her Quarter-Centennial jubilee. The exercises were held in one of “Gods first temples,” a grove of gigantic rock maples. Some four thousand people took part in the festivities. The American and Swedish flags hung in the great open air auditorium. There was music by the Swedish band, and singing by the Swedish choir, an address of welcome by Pastor Norberg, an oration by the founder of the colony, and many speeches by both Americans and Swedes. The whole concluding with a sumptuous banquet in the grove.

On that summer day, New Sweden paused a moment to rejoice over the work already done. On that day also New Sweden gave an account of her stewardship, and showed the results of twenty-five years’ hard work — results achieved by the never-flagging industry, the rigid economy, the virtue, faith and hope of our Swedish brethren.

To their American visitors — to the State of Maine, the Swedes may proudly say, “*Si monumentum quaeris, circumspice.*” New Sweden stands to-day a monument of what can be accomplished in the wilderness of Maine by strong arms and brave hearts in the short space of quarter of a hundred years.

And the good accomplished by New Sweden will not stop with its twenty-fifth anniversary, nor cease with this year of grace 1895. This successful Swedish colony will go on and fully accomplish its mission. It will continue to push out into the great Maine forests to the north and west, and convert township after township into well-tilled farms and thriving villages. It will continue to attract to all sections of our state the best of immigrants — the countrymen of John Ericsson, and the descendants of the soldiers of Gustavus Adolphus, and the “boys in blue” of Charles XII.— and throughout the future it will confer upon Maine those numerous and important advantages which a steadily growing agricultural and industrial population is sure to bestow upon a commonwealth.

## APPENDIX.

## THE FIRST SETTLERS.

List of the twenty-two men of the first Swedish colony, who sailed from Sweden with Hon. W. W. Thomas, Jr., June 25, 1870, together with the lots upon which they settled, in the township of New Sweden, and the adjoining Plantation of Woodland.

NICHOLAS P. CLASÉ,	Lot No. 135,	New Sweden.
NILS OLSSON,	“ “ 115,	“ “
CARL VOSS,	“ “ 111½,	“ “
GOTTLIEB T. PILTS,	“ “ 114,	“ “
OSCAR G. W. LINDBERG,	“ “ 114½,	“ “
JÖNS PERSSON,	“ “ 116,	“ “
SVEN SVENSSON,	“ “ 117,	“ “
KARL G. HARLEMAN,	“ “ 118,	“ “

JANNE L. LAURELL,	Lot No. 121½,	New Sweden.
TRULS PERSSON,	“ “ 133,	“ “
NILS PERSSON,	“ “ 134,	“ “
OLOF G. MORELL,	“ “ 135½,	“ “
JOHAN PETTER JOHANSSON,	“ “ 136,	“ “
ANDERS JOHANSSON,	“ “ 137,	“ “
ANDERS SVENSSON,	“ “ 138,	“ “
OLOF OLSSON,	“ “ 138½,	“ “
PEHR PETTERSSON,	Lot Letter A,	Woodland.
SOLOMON JOHANSSON,	“ “ B,	“
JONAS BODIN,	“ “ C,	“
JONAS BODIN JR.,	“ “ D,	“
FRANS R. W. PLANK,	“ “ E,	“
JACOB JOHANSSON,	“ “ F,	“

## THE PLANTATION OF NEW SWEDEN.

Early in March, 1876, some thirty of the first comers in the colony were naturalized by the Supreme Court sitting in Houlton, and on April 6, 1876, New Sweden was legally organized into a plantation. An election was held, and officers chosen the same day. The following were the first officers of the Plantation of New Sweden :

NILS OLSSON,  
 GABRIEL GABRIELSON, } *Assessors.*  
 PEHR O. JUHLEN, }

CARL J. TORNQVIST, *Clerk.*

TRULS PERSSON, *Treasurer, Collector and Constable.*

JOHN BORGESON,  
 JOHN P. JACOBSSON, } *School Committee.*  
 PETTER PETTERSON, }

## THE TOWN OF NEW SWEDEN.

New Sweden was incorporated as a town on January 29, 1895. The first town election was held on March



6, 1895, and the following persons were elected the first officers of the Town of New Sweden :

LARS P. LARSON, }  
 OLA H. NELSON, } *Selectmen.*  
 CARL G. EKMAN, }

AXEL H. TORNQUIST, *Town Clerk.*

PEHR O. JUHLIN, *Treasurer.*

ANDERS NELSON, *Collector and Constable.*

ERIK RINGDAHL, *Constable.*

MICHAEL U. NORBERG, *Sup't,* }  
 FRANK O. LANDGRANE, *Clerk,* }  
 OLA H. NELSON, } *School Committee.*  
 LARS LUNDVALL, }  
 CARL J. JOHANSON, }  
 ALFRED A. ANDERSON, }

CARL G. EKMAN, } *Trauant Officers.*  
 OLA H. NELSON, }

## HISTORY OF COL. EDMUND PHINNEY'S 31ST REGIMENT OF FOOT.

THE FIRST REGIMENT RAISED IN THE COUNTY OF CUMBERLAND  
 IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

BY NATHAN GOOLD.

*Read beofre the Maine Historical Society, November 22, 1895.*

[CONCLUDED.]

THE first important event after the arrival of the regiment at Cambridge was the burning of Boston lighthouse by our troops to prevent British warships from coming into the harbor. At that time the har-

bor was full of the enemy's vessels which annoyed our army with their guns, but to the relief of our soldiers eleven sailed away July 24. Of course in an undisciplined army like this, there was a great deal of anxiety and excitement ; consequently they were often alarmed, called to quarters, and sometimes slept on their arms for fear of a sudden attack.

About one o'clock July 31, there was an alarm, all the drums beat to arms and this regiment turned out and manned Fort No 2. The British marched out to Roxbury, burned a house and barn, but our soldiers drove them back into Boston. A lad, about sixteen, who belonged to the Marblehead regiment, was killed. The enemy kept up a continual firing with cannon and small arms until morning. The British having rebuilt Boston light, our soldiers destroyed it the second time. The same day Gen. Gage sent out a flag of truce for a cessation of hostilities for six days, which was not granted and the rambling battle went on, our army strengthening their works in the meantime.

About the first of August Morgan's riflemen commenced to arrive in camp from the South and attracted considerable attention. They came in detachments and were very expert marksmen. Their uniform consisted of white or drab linen or cotton hunting-shirts with pants of the same material, trimmed with the same cloth raveled out, making a kind of fringe. They wore skull caps trimmed with the same fringe, and altogether their appearance was very striking. They had marched, it has been stated, six hundred miles in twenty-one days (which was on an average

about twenty-eight and one-half miles per day), to aid our forefathers, proved themselves brave and fearless patriots, and became the sharpshooters of the army.

Our regiment, in August, was under fire almost every day.

Sundays the regiment attended religious worship and generally had a sermon preached. Parson Ephraim Clark, of Cape Elizabeth, went to Cambridge and remained "a spell" in the latter part of August and the early part of September, encouraging the soldiers and conducting their meetings.

Many citizens of Falmouth visited the army at Cambridge, bringing letters and messages to the soldiers. Some of these visitors served as substitutes for their friends, allowing them to visit their homes for a few days.

Among those who visited the regiment from Falmouth were Peter Warren, Enoch Ilsley, Richard Codman, Joseph H. Ingraham, Brackett Marston, Enoch Moody, John Archer, Benjamin Titcomb, Jacob Adams, Zebulon Bishop, Paul Cammett, Stephen Tukey, Aaron Chamberlain, Benjamin Mussy, Mr. Randall, William Owen, Nicholas Hodges, John Thrasher, John Frothingham, Amos Lunt, Joseph Berry, Dr. Lowther, John Rolfe, Cutting Noyes and Thomas Saunders.

August twenty-second was probably remembered for a long time by the men of the regiment because they were that day mustered and Enoch Ilsley of Falmouth "treated" the entire regiment. This was not a treat of champagne, but probably good old New England rum.

Lieut. York, of Capt. Bradish's company, with thirty-seven men mounted guard at Gen. Washington's headquarters, now the Longfellow house at Cambridge, September 16. This was probably a proud day for these soldiers from Falmouth Neck. The next day Messrs. Owen and Burns came from Falmouth with clothing for the soldiers, which was much needed to make them comfortable.

During September some of the men of the regiment enlisted to man the floating batteries, and some of Capt. Bradish's company guarded Dr. Church; and November 15, the record says, that this regiment "took Dr. Church to guard." Dr. Benjamin Church, Jr., was an accomplished physician, poet and scholar and was appointed director general of the medical staff after the arrival of Washington. He was a member of the committee of correspondence and the Provincial Congress, and was convicted of holding secret correspondence with the British, informing them of the movements of our army. He was exiled and the vessel that bore him towards the West Indies was never heard from. This was a famous case and created great excitement at the time, as Dr. Church had been a trusted officer and an intimate friend of the leading patriots.

From the journal of William Moody, a soldier in Capt. Bradish's company, we make the following extracts in regard to some of the service of the regiment. Mr. Moody served several years in the army and belongs on the list of Falmouth patriots. He must have been a thoughtful man to have recorded

his observations for the use of those that were to come after him. These extracts give additional information not given in the general movements of the regiment.

July 16th, Sunday. Heard a large firing in Boston by the troops.

“ 17th, Making cartridges. This afternoon was fired in Boston by the shipping eleven cannon.

“ 18th, A declaration from the Continental Congress was read on Prospect Hill.

From the journal of Lieut. Paul Lunt of Newburyport we have a fuller account of the above. He wrote :—

A manifesto from the Grand Continental Congress was read by the Rev. Mr. Leonard, Chaplain of the Connecticut forces on Prospect Hill, in Charlestown, to those troops encamped upon and near said Hill. Our standard was presented in the midst of the regiments with this inscription upon it, “Appeal to Heaven,” after which Mr. Leonard made a short prayer, and then we were dismissed by a discharge of a cannon, three cheers and a warhoop by the Indians.

July 19th, A sergeant of the Regulars' guard spoke with our sentry with a message. Gen. Putnam went down to the lines to meet Burgoyne.

“ 20th, This P. M., was fired in Boston 18 cannon.

“ 21st, 20 of our company and 200 of our regiment went over to Winter Hill to entrench.

“ 22d, Our regiment marched to Cambridge Common in order to pass muster. The money not being ready adjourned to next week.

“ 23d, Last night about 12 o'clock, there was an alarm and our regiment mustered and turned out, doubled our guard and laid upon our arms all night.

“ 24th, Our regiment went upon Winter Hill to work entrenching and from there to Mystic to make gab-buns (gabions) this afternoon.

- July 25th, They were mustered and paid off. Last night a man was killed on Prospect Hill by snapping a gun carelessly.
- “ 28th, Yesterday a ship fired a cannon and killed an indian at Roxbury.
- “ 30th, Some riflemen went down to keep sentry last night. They killed 5 or 6 Regulars and the Captain. The Regulars firing all the forenoon by divisions.
- “ 31st, Our people took 25 Regulars and 12 Tories and carried them to Worcester.
- Aug. 1st, Our people hoisted a liberty pole<sup>1</sup> on Prospect Hill and a flag upon it. Fired a 24 pounder at the ship but did no damage.
- “ 3d, Firing cannon from a floating battery.
- “ 4th, Last night 700 men went from Roxbury to entrench on the Neck. Four of our men enlisted to man a whaleboat.
- “ 7th, Last night the regulars landed at Chelsea, 150 in in number, and burnt a house and stack of hay. Our people fired 13 cannon at them and drove them back.
- “ 9th, The Riflemen took 8 Regulars on Roxbury Neck this P. M.
- “ 12th, Twenty-one cannon fired at Castle William.
- “ 13th, Last night 3 regulars ran away from Boston.
- “ 16th, Last night a man swam out of Boston to our sentry at Lechmere Point. Short allowance.
- “ 25th, We heard Gage was coming out to-day. Firing in Boston by Divisions. We heard firing by the sentry on Ploughed Hill. A ship arrived and they fired 24 cannon.
- “ 26th, Four men belonging to Gage's floating battery swam to Chelsea. They fired cannon and small arms at them but did not hurt them.

<sup>1</sup>This liberty pole was a mast that came out of a schooner that was burned at Chelsea, and was seventy-six feet high.

- Aug. 27th, The Regulars began to fire on Ploughed Hill from Bunker Hill and the floating batteries with their cannon. Killed one Adjt. one private and one indian. Wounded a Rifleman in the leg.
- “ 30th, Several bombs thrown onto Ploughed Hill.
- “ 31st, Last night and this morning the Regulars threw bombs into the breast-works on Ploughed Hill. Sixty-three of our regiment went over to Ploughed Hill to keep sentry.
- Sept. 1st, Bombs thrown on Ploughed Hill. Cannonaded Roxbury. Killed of the enemy 5. 2 of ours.
- “ 2nd, Killed one of our men on Ploughed Hill.
- “ 4th, The enemy bombarding Ploughed Hill. No damage.
- “ 11th, Took 6 regulars and brought them to headquarters.
- “ 21st, The enemy bombarded all day.
- “ 23d, 25 men drummed out of service from Marblehead.
- “ 29th, Lieut. York, with 8 men out of our company to go in the floating battery.
- Oct. 2nd, We put up a liberty pole, hoisted a flag and fired a gun.
- “ 3d, Yesterday 60 men drafted to try the boats, overloaded one boat, came near sinking her.
- “ 4th, A sergt. from the Regulars ran away and brought his halbert and £30, with him.
- “ 31st, Digging well for the barracks.
- Nov. 5th, They sent from Falmouth for the regiment to come there. (This was on account of the alarm of November 1.)
- “ 9th, About 1500 Gageites landed at Lechmere Point to steal cattle. Our people resisted and had an engagement which lasted an hour.<sup>1</sup>
- “ 23d, This morning we hoisted a large new flag on Prospect Hill.

<sup>1</sup> On account of the high tide at that time, our soldiers were obliged to resist the British standing in the water up to their waists.

The author of this diary when writing "Regulars" meant the British soldiers, "Gage" was the British general and the "Riflemen" must have been the Morgan Riflemen.

When the British ship Cerberus, that had participated in the battle of Bunker Hill, came and threatened Falmouth Neck, November 1, 1775, Enoch Moody, chairman of the town committee, wrote Gen. Washington under date of November 2, informing him of the arrival of that man-of-war, with four hundred men on board, and asked for "a person of martial spirit" to take command of the defense of the town. Probably on receipt of the letter Col. Phinney was ordered to Falmouth Neck, and arrived before November 6, and took command until the arrival of Gen. Joseph Frye, November 25, who had been assigned to this station. The committee requested that Col. Phinney's regiment be ordered to Falmouth, but that request was not granted.

Col. Phinney, while in command at Falmouth, received the following letter from Gen. Washington, which manifests the anxiety he felt for the safety of the town. Falmouth Neck, now Portland, was indebted to Col. Phinney for his services during this alarm, and his presence probably allayed the fears of the inhabitants.

CAMBRIDGE, Nov. 6, 1775.

SIR: Having received a letter from Mr. Enoch Moody chairman of the committee of Falmouth that the inhabitants of that town are greatly alarmed by the arrival of the Cerberus man of war and are under great apprehensions that some of the King's troops will be landed there, it is my desire that you raise



all the force you can and give the Town any assistance in your power. The difficulty of removing troops after they have made a lodgement or got possession of a place is too obvious to be mentioned. You will therefore use every possible method to prevent their effecting that or penetrating into the country, until you have further orders.

I am sir your very humble servant

GEO. WASHINGTON.

To Col. Edmund Phinney at Falmouth.

Probably after the arrival of Gen. Frye, November 25, Col. Phinney joined his regiment at Cambridge, informed the anxious soldiers what the situation was on Falmouth Neck, how the town had narrowly escaped another attack, and but for the brave yeomanry of Falmouth and vicinity, who decided to defend the ruins of the town to the bitter end, the entire settlement might have been destroyed.

The question "Will the Yankies fight?" was settled at Bunker Hill, and ever afterwards the British respected their presence; so the commander of the Cerberus, with the lesson he learned there, decided it was safest to sail away. Falmouth people had also learned a lesson; the experience was the most bitter for them; but the patriots then and there decided that they never would again stand idly by and let a British ship burn their town without some resistance.

In the latter part of November, Capt. Manley captured the British ship London, bound for Boston, having on board twenty-five hundred stands of arms a number of cannon and some mortars, including the thirteen-inch brass mortar "Congress." This was a fortunate capture for our cause. It is related that

when the brass mortar arrived in camp that there was great rejoicing. It was placed on its bed on Cambridge Common, and "Old Put mounted astride with a bottle of rum in his hand, stood parson, while Godfather Mifflin gave it the name Congress." Mifflin was quartermaster-general of the army. The mortar was eventually placed at Lechmere's Point and burst at the second or third firing, in the bombardment of Boston in March, 1776. About a week after the above capture, another vessel was taken loaded with clothing for the king's troops which was another help to the Americans.

In this campaign, Gen. Washington had done all he could to organize and discipline the army and cause the British to evacuate Boston, but was afraid to bring on a decisive battle with his army in such a destitute condition, and seeing the season passing with no progress he was much disturbed in his mind. He wrote a letter to Congress under date of September 20, 1775, from which the following extract is taken:—

It gives me great distress to oblige me to solicit the attention of the honorable Congress to the state of this army, in terms which imply the slightest apprehension of being neglected. But my situation is inexpressably distressing, to see winter fast approaching upon a naked army; the time of their service within a few weeks of expiring; and no provision yet made for such important events. Added to these, the military chest is totally exhausted: the Paymaster has not a single dollar in hand. The Commissary General assures me he has strained his credit for the subsistence of the army to the utmost. The Quartermaster General is in precisely the same situation; and the greater part of the troops are in a state not far from mutiny upon a deduction from their stated allowance.

Gen. Washington, in this letter, described the exact situation, but many in the colonies were dissatisfied because so little had been accomplished, which was perfectly natural, but they were not familiar with the embarrassments that surrounded Washington, or they would not have expressed themselves in the manner they did. John Adams, then in Philadelphia, getting uneasy at the apparent inaction of the army, wrote Mercy Warren in November, that Mrs. Washington was going to Cambridge, and he hoped she might prove to have ambition enough for her husband's glory to give occasion to the Lord to have mercy on the souls of Howe and Burgoyne. Martha Washington arrived in Cambridge December 11, 1775.

The Continental Congress, in November 1775, authorized the raising of a regular army of Continentals for one year's service from January 1, 1776, although urged to make their term longer. This army consisted of one regiment of artillery and twenty-six regiments of foot or infantry. This was the beginning of the Continental army, the birthday being January 1, 1776, and their time to expire December 31, of the same year. These regiments were numbered from one to twenty-seven, but are known better by their colonel's name.

Gen. Washington, in organizing the Continental army, recommended Col. Edmund Phinney as a suitable man to be colonel of one of the new regiments, and he received his commission as the colonel of the 18th Continental regiment. He enlisted the same field and staff officers that had served with him

in the 31st regiment, but there were many changes in the company officers and men. The new regiment consisted of but eight companies, while the old regiment had ten, which was the organization decided upon probably by Washington, and they were mustered into service January 1, 1776, on which date was raised the Federal flag, the first over the American camp, which consisted of thirteen stripes and a British union.

About December 31, 1775, the men of the 31st regiment were discharged from the service and those that had not re-enlisted returned to their homes. Many of the soldiers who had re-enlisted were given furloughs to visit their homes to arrange their affairs before the opening of another campaign. This regiment retired from the service with credit to itself and to the District of Maine which it represented.

These early regiments represented the pure patriotism of the people, they had no bounties, furnished their arms and equipments and were anxious to strike the first blow for their country's liberty. They were used to hardship, and fear was unknown to them. The older men were used to warfare, as they had been accustomed from their earliest boyhood to defend their homes against a savage foe, and many had been at Louisburg with Sir William Pepperell, or had heard their fathers tell of the wonderful success of that expedition. These brave men had resolved when they entered the army that they would have liberty if it had to be purchased by their own blood, and it must have been with feelings of

regret that this regiment should leave the service with so little accomplished.

When this regiment retired there were but nine thousand troops in the service. They were confronted by a powerful enemy, and Lossing says in summing up the situation at this time, "The disastrous campaign at the north deepened the gloom that brooded over the colonists and the year 1775 closed without much hope for the success of the Americans."

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"A Muster Roll of the Field and Staff Officers in ye Regiment of Foot (31st) in ye Colony service to the first of August, 1775."

		ENTERED SERVICE.
Edmund Phinney,	Colonel,	April 24, 1775.
Samuel March,	Lient. Col.,	" 24, "
Jacob Brown,	Major,	" 24, "
George Smith,	Adjt.,	May 7, "
Moses Banks,	Qr. Master,	" 7, "
Stephen Swett,	Surgeon,	" 7, "

Mass. Archives, Vol. 26, page 272.

#### COL. EDMUND PHINNEY.

Col. Phinney was of good Pilgrim and fighting stock. His father, grandfather, great-grandfather, and great-great grandfather were all named John Phinney. The earliest John Phinney was at Plymouth, Mass., before 1638. Col. Phinney's grandfather was a soldier in the Swamp Fight in the King Philip war in 1675. His father, Capt. John Phinney, came from Barnstable, Mass., to Falmouth, and was the first settler of Gorham, Me., May 26, 1736. He was a captain in the French and Indian war, and was "a man of sagacity, steadiness, courage and integrity."

Col. Phinney's mother was Martha Coleman. He was born at Barnstable, July 27, 1723; came with his father to Gorham and felled the first tree in the township, which was a large bass tree on the site of his father's house. When Col. Phinney was a young man he was one evening at a distance from the fort in pursuit of the cows when a party of Indians in ambush fired upon him, and four balls struck him, breaking his arm and otherwise severely wounding him. He saved his gun and reached the fort. He went to Falmouth accompanied by Hugh McLellan and Eliphalet Watson when Dr. Coffin set his arm and attended to his wounds and they returned home the next day.

Col. Phinney was a sergeant in Capt. George Berry's company, May 19, 1746 to Jan. 19, 1747, also in Capt. Daniel Hill's company from March to December, 1748. He joined the Windham church Feb. 14, 1748, but was dismissed to join the Gorham church Dec. 23, 1750. He was a captain in Col. Samuel Waldo Jr.'s regiment about 1764, in the militia in 1772, and colonel of the 31st regiment April 24, 1775. He was commissioned colonel of the 18th Continental regiment Jan. 1, 1776, taking part in the siege of Boston and the Ticonderoga campaign of 1776, retiring from the service Dec. 31, 1776.

Col. Phinney enjoyed the confidence of his fellow citizens and served them as selectman, justice, committee of safety, member of Provincial Congress, representative to the General Court and ruling elder of the Congregational church. He was a zealous patriot, and to him every man was for our liberties or against them, and he wished every Tory banished from the land.

Col. Phinney married first, about 1751, Elizabeth ———, who had eight children, and died Aug. 6, 1795, aged sixty-five years. He married second, Nov. 21, 1796, Sarah Stevens, and died at Gorham, Dec. 18, 1808, aged eighty-five years, a respected citizen. He was a man of integrity, unsullied character and generous hospitality, and an honor to the town he served so long and well.

#### LIEUT.-COL. SAMUEL MARCH.

Lieut.-Col. March was the son of Benjamin and Elizabeth (Small) March of Kittery; married Jan. 27, 1752, Anna Libby, born Nov. 17, 1734, a daughter of John and Keziah (Hubbard) Libby of Scarborough, and they had fourteen children. He entered the service in this regiment April 24, 1775, and was also lieutenant-colonel of the 18th Continental regiment in 1776. He was a prominent man in Scarborough, and a member of the Provincial Congress. He was a cordwainer and later an innkeeper near Oak Hill. His three sons served in the war, and four of his daughters married Revolutionary soldiers. He died in 1804.

#### MAJ. JACOB BROWN.

Maj. Brown belonged in North Yarmouth and had been a lieutenant in Col. Samuel Waldo Jr.'s regiment in 1764. He entered the service in this regiment April 24, 1775, served as major in the 18th Continental regiment in 1776, and also in Col. Jonathan Mitchell's regiment in the Bagaduce expedition in 1779. He married, July 13, 1743, Lydia Weare, daughter of Capt. Peter and Sarah (Felt) Weare.

#### ADJT. GEORGE SMITH.

Adj. Smith entered the service in this regiment May 7, 1775, and served in the same capacity in Col. Phinney's 18th Continental regiment in 1776. He was a captain in Col. Joseph Vose's 1st Massachusetts regiment Jan. 1, 1777, and resigned May 3, 1779.

## QUARTERMASTER MOSES BANKS.

Quartermaster Banks was from Scarborough, and was a surveyor. He entered the service in this regiment May 7, 1775, and served in the same capacity in Col. Phinney's 18th Continental regiment until July 24, 1776. He married Nov., 1754, Phebe Curtis, and came to Scarborough about 1760. He died at Saco, Oct. 9, 1823, aged ninety-one years. She died April 4, 1814. They had nine children.

## SURGEON STEPHEN SWETT.

Surgeon Swett came from Exeter, N. H., and was the first physician in Gorham, Me. He married before he came to Gorham, Sarah, who was said to have been a sister to Lieut.-Col. Winborn Adams of Durham, N. H., who was killed in the battle of Stillwater, Sept. 19, 1777. They had six children at Gorham and probably lived also in Otisfield, Buckfield and Windham. He entered the service May 7, 1775.

## CAPT. DAVID BRADISH'S COMPANY.

This was a Falmouth company and many of these soldiers became prominent citizens of the town in after years. Most of the men served in other regiments and several became commissioned officers.

Capt. David Bradish entered the service April 24, 1775, as captain, and served in this regiment until Dec. 31, 1775. He was commissioned major Jan. 1, 1777, in Col. Timothy Bigelow's 15th Massachusetts regiment, and resigned July 21, 1777. He married July 19, 1767, Abigail Merrill, and died in 1818.

First Lieut. Bartholomew York entered the service April 24, 1775, joined the 18th Continental regiment, Jan. 1, 1776, and was made captain May 18, 1776.

Second Lieut. Paul Ellis entered the service April 24, 1775, and served in this company until Dec. 31, 1775; then was captain in Col. Jacob French's regiment, marched from Falmouth, Feb. 13, 1776, and took part in the siege of Boston, then was captain, Jan. 1, 1777, in Col. Timothy Bigelow's 15th Massachusetts regiment, took part in the Saratoga campaign, spent the winter of 1777-78 at Valley Forge, and was killed in the battle of Monmouth, June 28, 1778. His leg was struck by a cannon ball and he bled to death before assistance arrived. He married Mary Noyes, May 19, 1766, and she married May 3, 1787, Capt. Isaac Parsons of New Gloucester, Me.

Henry Sewall was born in York, Me., Oct. 24, 1752, and was a mason by trade. He was made ensign in September, and served until Dec. 31, then became ensign in Capt. Tobias Fernald's Company, in the 18th Continental regiment, Jan. 1, 1776, made second lieutenant Nov. 6, promoted first lieutenant Nov. 13, and served until Dec. 31. He was appointed first lieutenant in the 12th Massachusetts regiment, Jan. 1,

1777, and was made, Feb. 9, 1778, muster master of De Kalb's division: appointed captain April 1, 1779, transferred to the 2nd Massachusetts regiment May 3, 1782, and major and aid-de-camp to Gen. Heath Feb. 5, 1781, and served to June 1783. He settled at Hallowell, Me., and served as town clerk thirty-five years, clerk of the District Court of Maine 1789-1818, register of deeds 1799-1816, and was brigadier-general and major-general of the militia. He died at Augusta, Me., Sept. 11, 1845, aged ninety-two years, a much respected citizen.

Isaac Child became second lieutenant, in Col. Francis' 11th Massachusetts regiment, in 1777, took part in the Saratoga campaign, and was at Valley Forge. He resigned March 28, 1779.

Zachariah Newell became a sergeant in Capt. Benjamin Hooper's company in 1776, lieutenant in Capt. John Wentworth's Seacoast company, 1777, in the 11th Massachusetts regiment 1780, and was transferred to the 10th Massachusetts regiment Jan. 1st, 1781.

"Muster Roll of the Company under the command of Capt. David Bradish in Col. Phinney's 31st Regt. of Foot to the first of August 1775."

## ALL FROM FALMOUTH.

		ENLISTED.
David Bradish,	Capt.,	April 24, 1775.
Bartholomew York,	1st Lieut.,	" 24, "
Paul Ellis,	2nd "	" 24, "
William Farrington,	1st Sergt.,	May 12, "
Caleb Carter,	2 "	" 12, "
Levi Merrill,	3 "	" 12, "
Abner Dow,	1 "	" 12, "
Henry Sewall,	1 Corp.,	" 12, "
Isaac Childs,	2 "	" 12, "
Daniel Mussey,	3 "	" 12, "
Richard Gooding,	4 "	" 12, "
Jonathan Rand,	Drum Major,	" 12, "
Joseph Harsey,	Fifer,	" 23, "

## PRIVATEES.

Benjamin Tukey,	" 12, "
Benjamin Scolly,	" 12, "
Daniel Gookin,	" 12, "
Cornelius Bramhall,	" 12, "
Abijah Parker,	" 12, "
Abijah Pool,	" 12, "
Zachariah Nowell,	" 12, "
William Hutchinson,	" 12, "
Jacob Amey,	" 12, "
Moses Grant,	" 12, "



Charles Knight,	May 12, 1775.
Matthias Haynes,	" 12, "
Enoch Moody,	" 12, "
William Moody,	" 12, "
Lemuel Gooding,	" 12, "
Moses Burdick,	" 12, "
Ebenezer Clough,	" 12, "
John Pettengill,	" 12, "
James McManners,	" 12, "
Jonathan Gardner,	" 12, "
John Clough,	" 12, "
Thomas Paine,	" 12, "
Ebenezer Newman,	" 12, "
Daniel Green,	" 12, "
Joshua Robinson,	" 12, "
Joseph Barbour,	" 12, "
Josiah Shaw,	" 12, "
Joshua Berry,	" 13, "
Samuel Dow,	" 13, "
Tobias Pillsbury,	" 13, "
Thomas Cavanak,	" 13, "
Loring Cushing,	" 13, "
Zachariah Baker,	" 16, "
Daniel Marston,	" 16, "
Henry Flood,	" 16, "
James Flood,	" 17, "
Joseph Thomes,	" 17, "
Samuel Cates,	" 17, "
John McIntosh,	" 20, "
John Bailey,	" 23, "
Philip Fowler,	" 23, "
Joseph Cox,	" 23, "
George Bell,	" 23, "
John Pennyman,	" 23, "
John Scott,	" 23, "
Benjamin Randall,	" 23, "
<sup>1</sup> Richard Conden,	" 23, "

<sup>1</sup> Enlisted in Arnold's Canada expedition September 8.

From this muster-roll we find every man including the officers, but not including the drummer and fifer, had a cartridge box, all had bayonets to their guns, excepting four and all allowed one hundred and thirty miles travel from Falmouth Neck to Cambridge. The captain and lieutenants carried guns, which was the common practice in the army. The men mostly furnished themselves with guns, bayonets and cartridge boxes, but a number were furnished by the selectmen. An October return of this company is in Mass. Archives Vol. 56, p 209.

## CAPT. JOHN BRACKETT'S COMPANY.

Capt. Brackett entered active service the day of the receipt of the news of the battle of Lexington, and April 24, 1775, commenced to raise a company for this regiment, which he marched to Cambridge, July 3. He was son of Anthony Brackett and lived at Saccarappa, but died at Ipswich, Mass., Sept. 24, 1775. He married (1) Sarah Knight, daughter of Nathan Knight, Feb. 14, 1733; married (2) Widow Mary (Proctor) Hicks; she married (3) in 1776, Peltiah March of Saccarappa, and died at Otisfield, Maine, Nov. 21, 1817, aged seventy-three years.

Lieut. James Johnson lived at Stroudwater and became captain after the death of Capt. Brackett. He was a major in 1st Cumberland County regiment 1778, and in Col. Nathaniel Jordan's regiment in 1779, also in Col. Joseph Prime's regiment in 1780. He was the son of James and Jane Johnson, and was born March 22, 1735; married Elizabeth Portertield, born in 1738, and died Sept. 14, 1812, and he died in Poland, June 16th, 1831, aged ninety-six years.

Lieut. Jesse Partridge first lived in Saccarappa, and then moved to Stroudwater, where his house is still standing. He also served as captain six months in Col. Greaton's regiment in Washington's army on the Hudson River in 1778. He died Dec. 31, 1795, aged fifty-three years.

Sergt. Daniel Lunt became captain in the 11th Massachusetts regiment and served until June 3, 1783.

Sergt. Archelaus Lewis, served also in the 18th Continental regiment in 1776, and was lieutenant and adjutant in Col. Vose's regiment 1777-1779.

Corp. James Means served also as ensign in the 18th Continental regiment, lieutenant in Col. Brewer's regiment, captain in Col. Sprout's 12th Massachusetts regiment, was transferred to the 2nd Massachusetts regiment Jan. 1, 1781, and served until Nov. 3, 1783.

Stephen Manchester, a private in Capt. Brackett's Co., was one of the best known men in the regiment. He was then fifty-eight years of age, and it was he who killed the Indian chief Polin, at Windham, in 1756, which gave peace and happiness to the settlers of the border towns in Cumberland County.

Stephen Manchester served in Capt. George Berry's and Capt. Daniel Hill's companies of Indian scouts in 1747 and 1748, and probably as a scout at other times. Besides his service in this regiment he served in Col. Phinney's 18th Continental regiment through the siege of Boston, and was discharged in August. He enlisted for three years, Jan. 1, 1777, in Col. Joseph Vose's 1st Massachusetts regiment and served the entire time of service. He died at Windham, June 24, 1807, aged ninety years.

"Muster Roll of Capt. John Brackett's Company in the 31st Regt. of Foot in the Continental Army at Cambridge. Fort No. 2"

ENLISTED.			
John Brackett,	Capt.,	Falmouth,	April 24
James Johnson,	1st Lieut.	"	" 24
Jesse Partridge,	2d "	"	" 24
Daniel Lunt,	Sergt.,	"	May 10
Morris Clark,	"	"	" 10
Joshua Stevens,	"	"	" 18
Archelaus Lewis,	"	"	" 10
Charles Frost,	Corp.,	"	" 21
James Doughty,	"	"	" 21
James Means,	"	"	" 12
Enoch Knight,	"	"	" 12
Zebulon Knight,	Drummer,	"	" 21
Joseph Knight,	Fifer,	"	" 18

PRIVATES.

John Blair,	Falmouth,	" 16
Jeremiah Brackett,	"	" 16
George Crockett,	"	" 12
Moses Gammon,	"	" 10
George Hammond,	"	" 12
Pearson Huntress,	"	" 21
George Johnson Jr.,	"	" 10
John Knight,	"	" 21
Stephen Marriner,	"	" 10
Uriah Nason,	"	" 10
David Partridge,	"	" 18
Jeremiah Pennell,	"	" 10
John Porterfield,	"	" 10
Joseph Quimby,	"	" 10
Enoch Riggs,	"	" 12
Elias Starbird,	"	" 10
Samuel Starbird,	"	" 12
Elijah Ward,	"	" 14
Henry Webb,	"	" 12
Jonn Webb,	"	" 10
Mark Wilson,	"	" 18
Stephen Manchester,	Windham,	" 12
Josiah Peabody,	Gorham,	" 16
James Brackett,	Falmouth,	" 12
William Brackett,	"	" 12
George Douty,	"	" 17
Daniel Gould,	"	" 10
Samuel Hicks,	"	" 16
John Huston,	"	" 17

Joseph Johnson,	Falmouth,	May 12
John Lunt,	"	" 10
John McDonald,	"	" 12
Amos Noyes,	"	" 10
Nathan Partridge,	"	" 12
Joseph Pennell,	"	" 14
John Priest,	"	" 10
John Robinson,	"	" 21
John Sawyer,	"	" 17
John Starbird,	"	" 10
John Thomes Jr ,	"	" 10
Adrial Warren,	"	" 10
James Webb,	"	" 10
Joseph Wilson,	"	" 17
Daniel Crockett,	Windham,	" 12
John Loring,	"	" 16
James Westmore	Gorham,	" 13
John Warren Jr.,	Falmouth,	" 10
1 John Hammond,	"	" 12

<sup>1</sup> Entered the Artillery July 25.

Mass. Archives, Vol. 56, page 215.

#### CAPT. SAMUEL NOYES' COMPANY.

This was a Falmouth company and was probably from that part of the town now Deering, Westbrook and Falmouth.

Capt. Samuel Noyes entered the service April 24, 1775. He married Mary Merrill in 1750. He was a member of the committee of safety and a prominent man.

First Lieut. Josiah Baker entered the service May 15, 1775. He married Nov. 13, 1790, Susannah Gibbs.

Second Lieut. Joshua Merrill entered the service May 15, 1775. He married in 1775 Mary Winslow.

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A Muster Roll of Capt. Samuel Noyes' Company in the 31st Regiment of Foot in the Continental Army. Encamped at Cambridge Fort No. 2.

			ENLISTED.
Samuel Noyes,	Capt.,	Falmouth,	April 24, 1775
Josiah Baker,	1st Lieut.,	"	May 15, "
Joshua Merrill,	2nd Lieut.,	"	" 15, "
Humphrey Merrill,	Sergt.,	"	" 15, "
Daniel Merrill,	"	"	" 15, "
William Cobb,	"	"	" 15, "

Stephen Merrill,	Sergt.,	Falmouth,	May 15, 1775
Moses Adams,	Corp.,	"	" 15, "
Enoch Merrill,	"	"	June 20, "
Amos Merrill,	"	"	May 15, "
Daniel Hunt,	"	Brunswick,	June 20, "
Samuel Pool,	Drummer,	Falmouth,	July 11, "
Joseph Dearing,	Fifer,	"	" 8, "

## PRIVATES.

Moses Blanchard,	Falmouth,	May 15, "
Anthony Mors,	"	" 15, "
(enlisted in Arnold's Canada Expedition Sept. 6th)		
Jonathan Sharp,	Falmouth,	" 15, "
Jacob Knight,	"	" 15, "
Moses Merrill,	"	" 15, "
Mark Mors,	"	" 15, "
Samuel Noyes, Jr.,	"	" 15, "
William Buxton,	"	" 15, "
Moses Sweet,	"	" 15, "
John Colley,	" died Sept. 21st,	" 15, "
William Colley,	"	" 15, "
Rowland Davis,	"	" 15, "
Silas Merrill,	"	" 15, "
Israel Colley,	"	" 15, "
Richard Sweetser,	North Yarmouth,	June 10, "
Nathan Merrill,	Falmouth,	" 20, "
Nathaniel Merrill,	" discharged Sept. 21st	" 20, "
John Whitney,	"	" 20, "
Josiah Clark,	"	" 20, "
John York, Jr.,	"	" 20, "
Peater Stewart,	"	" 22, "
Caleb Woodsum,	"	" 22, "
David McIntire,	"	" 23, "
Joseph Green,	"	" 23, "
James Frank,	"	" 23, "
Moses Twitchell,	New Boston, (Gray),	July 8, "
John Daey,	North Yarmouth,	" 8, "
Benjamin Field,	Falmouth,	" 10, "
John York,	"	" 11, "
Able Bathorick,	Andover,	" 13, "
Benja. Hardison,	Berwick,	" 15, "
James Bredean,	"	" 15, "
Eben Jones,	"	" 15, "
Stewart Porter,	Falmouth,	Aug. 9, "

"He enlisted under Wescot and was turned over to me October 4th."

This is probably an October return.

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## CAPT. HART WILLIAMS' COMPANY.

Capt. Williams' company was raised at Gorham, and an early company roll was published in Pierce's history of that town. They entered the service April 24, 1775.

Capt. Hart Williams married Martha Phinney, a daughter of Capt. John Phinney of Gorham, in 1750. He marched his militia company in the Lexington alarm, and took part in the "Thompson war" in May 17, 1775. Capt. Williams entered the service April 24, in this regiment and Jan. 1, 1776, entered as captain in the 18th Continental regiment, serving through the siege of Boston and the campaign at Fort Ticonderoga in the fall of 1776. He served as first lieutenant in Capt. Abraham Tyler's company, in Col. Thomas Poor's militia regiment at North River, N. Y., from May 15, 1778, to Feb. 17, 1779, and was a prominent citizen of Gorham. He died in 1797.

First Lieut. William McLellan was the son of Hugh and Elizabeth McLellan of Gorham; married in 1763 Rebecca Huston of Falmouth, who died Oct. 13, 1823, aged eighty-one years. He died in Nov., 1812, aged eighty-three years. He was a soldier in Capt. George Berry's company May 19, 1746, to Jan. 19, 1747, in Capt. Daniel Hill's company March to Dec., 1748, and in Capt. Joseph Woodman's company in 1757, seven months. He entered the service April 24, 1775, in this regiment, served in 1776 in Col. Phinney's 18th Continental regiment, and was first lieutenant in Capt. Abner Lowell's company at Falmouth, in 1777.

Second Lieut., Cary McLellan, a brother of the above, married (1) Jan. 3, 1767, Eunice Elder, and (2) Jan. 25, 1785, Mary Parker of Cape Elizabeth. He entered this regiment with his brother, and served in the 18th Continental regiment in 1776, at the siege of Boston and Fort Ticonderoga. He later fitted out a privateer at Falmouth, but after making one capture was chased once and escaped, but finally was captured by Capt. Mowat, carried to New York and confined on the prison ship. He with some of his crew, escaped by overpowering the guard, after they had succeeded in getting them under the influence of liquor and returned home. He was a zealous patriot, a man of energy and courage who had the confidence of his fellow citizens. He served on important committees, and as selectman of Gorham. He kept a public house and died at Gorham in 1805, aged sixty years.

Corp. Silas Chadbourne served also as a sergeant in Capt. Briant Morton's company in 1776, as first lieutenant in the Eleventh Massachusetts regiment in 1777, and resigned March 18, 1780.

"A Return of Capt. Hart Williams' company in the Continental Army at Cambridge, ye Oct. 8th, 1775."

ALL ENLISTED APRIL 24th.	
Hart Williams	Capt., Gorham
William McLellan,	1st Lieut., "

Cary McLellan,	2d Lieut.,	Gorham	
John Perkins,	Sergt.,	"	
John Phinney Jr.,	"	"	
James Perkins,	"	"	
David Watts,	"	"	
Silas Chadbourne,	Corp.,	"	on furlough
Enoch Frost,	"	"	
William Irish,	"	"	
Samuel Gammon,	"	"	
Thomas Bangs,	Drummer,	"	
Jeremiah Jones,	Fifer,	"	

PRIVATES.

Barnabas Bangs,	Gorham	Ichabod Hunt,	Gorham
Joseph Weymouth,	"	Ebenezer Mitchell,	" entered
Bickford Dyer,	"	the floating battery	
Thomas Guston,	"	Abijah Lewis,	Buxton
Jeremiah Hodgdon,	"	James Irish,	Gorham
Daniel Maxwell,	"	Nathaniel Lombard,	"
Thomas Poat,	"	Butler Lombard,	"
John Parker,	"	Owen Runnells	"
Ezekiel Hatch,	"	Theodore Rounds,	Buxton
Paul Whitney,	"	Elisha Cobb,	Gorham
George Robinson,	"	James Jourden,	Falmouth
Joseph McDonell	"	Naphtalim Whitney,	Gorham
Peletiah McDonell,	"	Jonathan Sturgis,	"
George Hunt,	"	Prince Hamlin,	"
George Waterhouse,	"discharged	John Whitney,	"
Sept. 30, 1775		Amos Whitney,	"
Daniel Whitney,	"	Joseph McLellan,	"
Thomas Irish,	"	Joseph Creeesy,	Gorham, r. n. b.
John Mellvin,	"	Sylvanus Brown,	Gorham
James Morton,	"	Solomon Green,	"
Philip Gammon,	"	Joshua Hanscom,	Barwick

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CAPT. WENTWORTH STUART'S COMPANY.

This company was raised principally from the towns of Gorham, Standish and Windham.

Capt. Wentworth Stuart served as a lieutenant in Capt. Joseph Woodman's company, in 1757, and was an officer in the militia and marched his company in the Lexington alarm. He entered the service April 24, 1775, and took an active part in the "Thompson war," serving as captain in this regiment until Jan. 1, 1776, when he became a captain in the 18th Continental regiment and died in the service, with the

small pox, at Sewall's Point, April 16, 1776, after participating in the siege of Boston. He married Feb. 4, 1753, Susannah Lombard, daughter of Rev. Solomon Lombard of Gorham. They had ten children. He was born Oct. 20, 1731 and his wife Aug. 14, 1734.

First Lieut. Jonathan Sawyer entered the service April 24, 1775, served also in the 18th Continental regiment, in 1776, and was promoted to be captain. He was first lieutenant in the 14th Massachusetts regiment Jan. 1, 1777, and died July 19, 1777. He is said to have married Martha Rich in 1764, and had eleven children.

Second Lieut. Caleb Rowe of Pearsonstown (Standish), enlisted April 24, 1775, was first lieutenant in the 18th Continental regiment, in 1776, and was discharged Feb. 1, 1776. He also served in Col. Joseph Vose's 1st Massachusetts regiment, from May 15, 1777, to Dec. 31, 1779. He came from Kensington, N. H., and died at Belgrade, Me., in 1819, aged eighty-four years.

"Return of Capt. Wentworth Stuart's Company in the 31st Regt. of Foot, Commanded by Col. Edmund Phinney, Sept. 29, 1775, with an abstract of pay due from the last of July inclusive."

			ENLISTED.
Wentworth Stuart, Capt.,	Gorham,		April 24, 1775
Jonathan Sawyer, 1st Lieut.,	"		" 24, "
Caleb Rowe,	2d " Pearsonstown (Standish)		" 24, "
Josiah Jenkins, Sergt.,	Gorham,		May 15, "
John Watson,	"		" 15, "
John York,	" Pearsonstown,		" 16, "
Ebenezer Morton,	" Gorham,		" 15, "
Nathaniel Stevens, Corp.,	"		" 15, "
Joel Sawyer,	"		" 15, "
Peter Moulton,	" Pearsonstown,		" 16, "
John Crocket,	" Gorham,		" 24, "
Benja. Green,	Drummer, "		" 24, "
Joseph Stuart,	Fifer, "		" 15, "
PRIVATES.			
Austin Alden,	Gorham,		" 16, "
John Greeley,	"		" 15, "
John Foy,	"		" 15, "
John Irish,	"		" 17, "
James Irish,	"		" 17, "
Richard Preston,	Windham,		" 15, "
Amos Brown,	"		" 15, "
Job Hall,	"		" 15, "
William Whitmore,	Gorham,		" 15, "
Nathan Hanscom,	"		" 15, "



Joseph Jennings,	Rye,	May 24, 1775
Sargant Shaw,	Pearsontown,	" 16, "
Reuben Cookson,	"	" 16, "
Abraham York,	"	" 16, "
Ephriam Bachelor,	"	" 16, "
Thomas Shaw,	"	" 16, "
Daniel Bean,	"	" 16, "
Israel Smith,	Norton,	" 16, "
Joab Libby,	Gorham,	" 16, "
David Whitney,	"	" 17, "
George Tesharey,	Windham,	" 23, "
Daniel Toward,	Kittery,	" 24, "
Joseph Libby,	Gorham,	" 24, "
Joel Rich,	"	" 24, "
Thomas Skillings,	"	" 24, "
John Workman,	Barnerdstown,	" 24, "
Jonathan Sanborn,	Pearsontown,	" 16, "
Desper West,	Gorham,	" 24, "
Arthur Pottenger,	Falmouth,	" 16, "
Caleb Graffum,	Windham,	" 24, "
John Thurlo,	Gorham,	" 24, "
Ephriam Russell,	Penobscot,	" 14, "
Nathaniel Nason,	Berwick,	" 14, "
Charles Grant,	" discharged Sept. 15th,	" 14, "
Elisha Libby,	"	" 14, "
Elijah Davis,	Gorham,	" 15, "
Barnabas Rich,	"	" 24, "
John Skillings.	"	" 24, "

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#### CAPT. MOSES MERRILL'S COMPANY.

This company was raised principally from the towns of New Gloucester and New Boston (Gray).

Capt. Moses Merrill entered the service from New Gloucester, May 15, 1775, and was a selectman of that town. He was lieutenant-colonel in Col. Timothy Pike's 4th Cumberland County militia regiment in 1776, and served as first lieutenant in Capt. Wm. Cobb's company in Col. Jonathan Mitchell's regiment in the Bagaduce expedition in 1779.

First Lieut. Noah Walker entered the service from New Gloucester, May 15, 1775

Second Lieut. Nathaniel Haskell entered the service from the same town, May 15, 1775. He married at Falmouth, Aug. 30, 1763, Deborah Bailey, and probably moved to New Gloucester before the war.

“Return of Capt. Moses Merrill’s company in the 31st Regiment of Foot commanded by Col. Edmund Phinney.”

			ENLISTED.
Moses Merrill,	Capt.	New Gloucester,	May 15, 1775
Noah Walker,	1st Lieut.	“	“ 15, “
Nathaniel Haskell,	2d Lieut.	“	“ 15, “
Nathan Merrill,	Sergt.	“	“ 15, “
Nathaniel Bennet,	“	“	“ 15, “
Samuel Blake,	“	Taunton,	“ 24, “
Robert Baley,	“	New Gloucester,	“ 15, “
William Goff,	Corp.	“	“ 15, “
William West,	“	“	“ 15, “
Zebulon Row,	“	“	“ 25, “
Joseph Stevens,	“	New Boston (Gray),	“ 15, “
George Knight,	Drummer,	“	“ 15, “
William Haskell,	Fifer,	New Gloucester,	“ 15, “

PRIVATES.

James Cabel,	New Gloucester,	“ 15, “
Benja. Clifford,	“	“ 24, “
Jonathan Doughty,	New Boston (Gray),	“ 31, “
David Donnel,	New Gloucester,	“ 15, “
Seth Dutton,	New Boston,	“ 19, “
John Gloyger,	New Gloucester,	“ 15, “
Samuel Hammond,	“	“ 15, “
Jacob Hammond,	“	“ 24, “
Dannel Haney,	New Boston,	“ 15, “
Nathaniel Ingersol,	New Gloucester,	June 30, “
Eliphalet Lane,	“	May 15, “
Joseph Leavet,	“	“ 24, “
Nathaniel Lane,	“	“ 15, “
Zepheniah Lane,	“	“ 15, “
James Lesley,	New Boston,	“ 29, “
Benja. Merrill,	New Gloucester,	“ 15, “
John Mors,	New Boston,	“ 15, “
James McFarland,	New Gloucester,	“ 15, “
Levi Merrill,	“	“ 15, “
Richard Mors,	“	“ 22, “
Solomon Millet,	“	“ 15, “
John Millet,	“	June 30, “
Mark Merrill,	New Boston,	May 15, “
Renben Noble,	“	“ 15, “
Richard Phillips,	New Gloucester,	“ 24, “
Dier Pratt,	Taunton,	“ 24, “
Abel Proctor,	Littleton,	“ 31, “
Ambros Rines,	New Gloucester,	“ 15, “
Elijah Royel,	“	“ 15, “

Ebenezer Stevens,	Taunton,	May 24, 1775
Jonas Stevens,	New Boston,	" 15, "
Joel Simmons,	New Gloucester,	" 15, "
Joshua Staples,	Taunton,	" 24, "
Noah Stevens,	Littleton,	" 15, "
William Stinchfield,	New Gloucester,	" 15, "
Jacob Stevens,	"	" 24, "
Nathaniel Stevens,	"	" 15, "
Jonathan Tyler,	"	" 15, "
William Tucker,	"	" 15, "
Joseph Woodbury,	"	" 15, "
Joseph Woodman,	"	" 15, "
Benja. Youlen,	"	" 24, "

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#### CAPT. JOHN WORTHLEY'S COMPANY.

This company was enlisted at North Yarmouth and but nine of the men were from other towns.

Capt. John Worthley enlisted in this regiment from North Yarmouth, April 24, 1775. He came there from "Haletown" and the name was originally Wortley; married Nov. 9, 1758, Martha Bailey, daughter of Robert and Martha Bailey, of Ware, Mass., she was born Feb. 8, 1740 and died June 14, 1817, aged seventy-seven years. They had five sons and five daughters. Capt. Worthley died June 7, 1810, aged seventy-five years. His family record is published in "Old Times North Yarmouth," page 786.

First Lieut. Bradbury True was the son of Capt. William and Anna (Bradbury) True, and came from Salisbury to North Yarmouth, about 1760. He married Sarah Pettingill, and enlisted in this regiment, April 24, 1775.

Second Lieut. Crispus Graves enlisted in this regiment, April 24, 1775, and served also as second and first lieutenant in Capt. John Rice's company in the 18th Continental regiment in 1776. He married in 1765, Susannah Merrill, and Feb. 26, 1796 Martha Whittam.

"Muster Roll of Capt. John Worthley's Company in the 31st Regiment of Foot in the Continental Army encamped at Cambridge, Fort No. 2."

#### ENLISTED.

John Worthley,	Capt.,	North Yarmouth,	April 24, 1775
Bradbury True,	1st Lieut.,	"	" 24, "
Crispus Graves,	2d Lieut.,	"	" 24, "
Samuel Stubbs,	Sergt.,	"	May 8, "
Stephen Curtis,	"	"	" 12, "
Moses Merrill,	"	"	" 12, "
John Webster,	"	"	" 12, "

Jonathan Mitchell, Corp.	North Yarmouth,	May 8, 1775
Jeremiah Stubbs,	"	" 8, "
Joseph Field,	"	" 12, "
Stephen Prince,	"	" 8, "
Moses Bradbury, Drummer,	"	" 8, "
Bela Mitchell, Fifer,	"	" 8, "

## PRIVATES.

Trueworthy Dudley,	North Yarmouth,	" 8, "
Joseph Videtor,	"	" 6, "
Nathaniel Gerrish,	Royalsborough (Durham),	" 8, "
Daniel Morrison,	North Yarmouth,	" 8, "
Jonathan Byram,	"	" 8, "
David Byram,	"	" 8, "
Paul Sauburn,	"	" 8, "
Stephen Blasdel,	"	" 8, "
Abraham Reed,	"	" 8, "
Peater Brown,	"	" 8, "
Joseph Weare,	"	" 8, "
John Cole,	"	" 8, "
Page Tobey,	Falmouth,	" 8, "
John Sturdavant,	North Yarmouth,	" 8, "
Thomas Riggs,	Kennebec,	" 10, "
Mathias Stover,	North Yarmouth,	" 10, "
William Lawrence,	"	" 10, "
Seth Rogers,	"	" 12, "
John Marow,	"	" 12, "

(Gone to Canada with Arnold.)

Joseph Hunter,	North Yarmouth,	" 12, "
Jacob Anderson,	"	" 12, "
Francis Davis,	"	" 12, "
James Rogers,	"	" 14, "
Jonathan Ferrin,	"	" 14, "
John Dill,	"	" 14, "
Carl McManners,	Royalsborough (Durham),	" 14, "
Michael Ferin,	North Yarmouth,	" 14, "
Ceaser Jackson, Negro,	"	" 14, "
Adams Ryal,	"	" 14, "

(Gone to Canada with Arnold.)

Ely Stiles,	Hollis,	" 14, "
Peleg Smith,	Kennebec,	" 14, "
Aaron Harris,	North Yarmouth,	" 14, "
James McLellan,	Sheepscot,	" 14, "
Daniel Plummer,	"	" 14, "
Elkenah Elms,	"	" 14, "
Beniah Baker,	North Yarmouth,	" 14, "

This roll was probably made in October, 1775.

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## CAPT. ABRAHAM TYLER'S COMPANY.

Capt. Tyler's company was raised at Scarborough, and entered the service in the early part of May.

Capt. Abraham Tyler was a son of James Tyler, of Arundel, and was the last ferryman at Blue Point. He married, Aug. 11, 1743, Mrs. Elizabeth Brown, of Biddeford. Capt. Tyler was in the militia and marched his company at the Lexington Alarm. He entered the service April 24, 1775, in this regiment; was captain in the 18th Continental regiment in 1776, serving through the siege of Boston and the Ticonderoga campaign of the fall of 1776, and was captain in Col. Thomas Poor's militia regiment, at North River, N. Y., from May 15, 1778 to Feb. 17, 1779.

First Lieut. Elisha Meserve was born Jan. 19, 1741; married Jan. 16, 1765, Hannah Fogg, and was the son of Daniel and Mehitable Meserve. He entered the service in this regiment April 24, 1775, and served in the 18th Continental regiment in 1776.

Second Lieut. Moses McKenney was the son of Isaac and Elizabeth McKenney, baptized at Scarborough May 5, 1742, and married, Oct. 20, 1762, Eunice Larrabee. He entered the service April 24, 1775 in this regiment.

“Return of Capt. Abraham Tyler's Company in the 31st Regt. of Foot. commanded by Col. Edmund Phinney, Sept. 29, 1775, with an abstract of pay due from the last of July inclusive.”

This company all enlisted from Scarborough.

		ENLISTED
Abraham Tyler,	Capt.	April 24, 1775
Elisha Meserve,	1st Lieut.	“ 24, “
Moses McKenney,	2d Lieut.	“ 24, “
Solomon Meserve,	Sergt.	May 9, “
Ichabod Libbey,	“	“ 9, “
Thomas Libbey,	“	“ 9, “
Samuel Plummer,	“	“ 9, “
Samuel Goold,	Corp.	“ 6, “
Isaac Merrick,	“	“ 9, “
John Fogg,	“	“ 9, “
James Tyler,	“	“ 9, “
John Martin,	Drummer,	“ 8, “
Daniel Libby,	Fifer,	“ 8, “
PRIVATES.		
Jonathan Berry,		“ 8, “
John Waterhouse,		“ 8, “
Peter Kelley,		“ 8, “
William Chamberlain,		“ 8, “
Uriah Graffam,		“ 8, “

Thomas McKenney,	May 9, 1775
John Crocksford,	" 9, "
Samuel Larrabee,	" 9, "
Bartholomew Jackson,	" 9, "
James McKenney,	" 9, "
James Marr,	" 9, "
Job Mitchell,	" 9, "
George Vaughan,	" 9, "
Benja. Hoit,	" 9, "
Abner Harmon,	" 9, "
Zebulon Libby,	" 9, "
John Fly,	" 9, "
James Small,	" 9, "
Abner McKenney,	" 9, "
Nathan Berdeen,	" 9, "
Nathaniel Libby,	" 9, "
Reuben Libbey,	" 9, "
John Mathews,	" 9, "
Elisha Libby,	" 9, "
Simeon Libbey,	" 9, "
Robert Hartley,	" 9, "
Umphrey Hanseom,	" 9, "
Joseph McKenney,	" 9, "
Isaac McKenney,	" 9, "
Dominicus Libby,	" 9, "
Abraham Durgin,	" 12, "
Joseph Soverin,	" 12, "
Charles Bunalt,	" 12, "
Luke Libbey,	" 12, "
Umphrey Tyler,	" 12, "
Gideon Meserve,	" 1, "
Allison Libbey,	" 1, "
John Hobbs,	" 1, "
Joel Moody,	" 1, "
William Libbey,	" 1, "
Gideon Hanseome,	June 1, "
Benjamin March,	" 1, "
Timothy Gerrish,	" 1, "

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#### CAPT. JOHN RICE'S COMPANY.

Capt. John Rice was a retailer and inn-holder; lived at Dunstan and is said to have been at one time a sea captain. He enlisted April 24, 1775, and served at Cambridge until Jan. 1, 1776, when he commanded a company in the 18th Continental regiment through the siege of Boston and died, probably from disease contracted in the service, May 18, 1776.

Two letters of his, from the army, are published in the history of Scarborough, and from them it is very evident that he was one of those zealous patriots of that time, whom their descendants delight to honor.

First Lieut. Silas Burbank joined this regiment April 24, 1775 from Scarborough, served in 1776 in the 18th Continental regiment, joined Col. Brewer's regiment Jan. 1, 1777, promoted to captain July 1, and served until Jan. 1, 1781, having been in the service five years and eight months. His two sons also served in the army.

He married, first, Feb. 14, 1763, Hannah Beard and they joined the church June 19, 1763. He married, second, Feb. 14, 1805, Sally Fitts. He owned a large farm near Pine Point, was an innholder in 1791, and had several children.

He was convicted for participation in the "King Riot" at Scarborough during the excitement about the stamp act, and confined in the old timber jail which stood near where the soldiers' monument now stands in Portland, and from which he wrote a letter to Richard King, which was published in the history of Scarborough reflecting on his character and want of education. The King side of the case has been written, and Silas Burbank lies in a patriot's grave an acknowledged lover of liberty, who no doubt thought that there would be no liberty in Scarborough until the rule of Richard King was overthrown. For any mistakes Silas Burbank may have made he atoned for them all by his services to his country, and should have his proper place among the patriots of old Scarborough.

Silas Burbank served under Washington and Putnam at Cambridge in 1775, in the siege of Boston the next year, marched to reinforce Fort Ticonderoga in August, 1776, took part in the battles of the Saratoga campaign and the surrender of Burgoyne in 1777, spent the winter of 1777-78 at Valley Forge, fought in the battle of Monmouth and ended his services in the operations on the Hudson River, retiring from the service Jan. 1, 1781, with a most honorable record. Let us give honor to whom honor is due.

Second Lieut. Edward Milliken was the son of Edward and Abigail Milliken and was born March 5, 1733; married May 23, 1754, Elizabeth Harmon. He enlisted in this company April 24, 1775, and served also in the 18th Continental regiment through the year 1776, part of the time as quartermaster.

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"Return of Capt. John Rice's Company in the 31st Regt. of Foot commanded by Col. Edmund Phinney, Sept. 29, 1775 with an abstract of pay due from the last of July inclusive."

John Rice,	Capt.,	ENLISTED.
		April 24, 1775
Silas Burbank,	1st Lieut.,	" 24, "
Edward Milliken,	2d Lieut.,	" 24, "

Lemuel Milliken,	Sergt.,	May 8, 1775
William Maxwell,	"	" 8, "
John Nebegin,	"	" 8, "
Eliakim Libby,	"	" 8, "
James Milliken,	Corps,	" 18, "
Nathaniel Cairl,	"	" 15, "
John Hodgdon,	"	" 8, "
Joseph Richard,	"	" 15, "
Joseph Waterhouse,	Drummer,	" 18, "
John Peterson,	Fifer,	" 15, "

## PRIVATES.

Joseph Burnam,		" 12, "
Benja. Berry,		" 15, "
William Boobey,		" 8, "
Daniel Colebroth,		" 18, "
Silas Durgin,		" 18, "
David Durgin,		" 13, "
Seth Fogg,		" 15, "
Daniel Field,	Buxton,	July 3, "
Joseph Gold,		May 18, "
Solomon Hartford,		" 18, "
John Haines,		July 1, "
Nathaniel Jose,	discharged Sept. 16th,	May 18, "
James Larry,		" 18, "
Bezaleel Low,		" 8, "
Abner Lunt,		" 15, "
Daniel Marshall,		" 15, "
Benja. Milliken,		" 15, "
Daniel Moses,		" 15, "
Joshua Milliken,		" 15, "
Abner Milliken,		" 15, "
Jove Page,		" 18, "
Daniel Pareher,		July 3, "
Benjamin Rice,		May 8, "
Thomas Rice,		" 8, "
Lemuel Rice,		" 15, "
Ebenezer Rice,		" 18, "
Joseph Salt,		July 5, "
Thomas Burion,		May 18, "
George Thompson,		" 15, "
Samuel Tibbets,		" 15, "
John Wilson,		" 8, "
John Webster,		" 18, "
Thomas Whitten, Jr.,		July 3, "
Thomas Whitten,		May 18, "



John Whitten,  
John Durgin.

May 15, 1775  
" 18, "

All this company came from Scarborough, excepting Daniel Field, of Buxton.

Mass. Archives, Vol. 56, Part 2, Page 207.

CAPT. SAMUEL DUNN'S COMPANY.

This was a Cape Elizabeth company, that entered the service April 24, 1775, and probably served in that town until July 11, when they probably marched to Cambridge to join this regiment.

Capt. Samuel Dunn was a shipwright, and lived in the western part of Cape Elizabeth. He married, in 1757, Sarah Skillings, daughter of Samuel Skillings; was in Capt. Samuel Cobb's training company in 1756, delegate to the county convention of September, 1774, and was prominent in the town's affairs. He died about 1784.

First Lieut. Ebenezer Newell was from Cape Elizabeth and went to Durham, Me., about 1779.

Second Lieut. Samuel Thomes, of Stroudwater, married Betty Johnson, Sept. 12, 1765, and died March 31, 1798, aged fifty-one years. He entered the service April 24, 1775, was appointed first lieutenant in Capt. John Skillings' company in 11th Massachusetts regiment. Nov. 6, 1776, and promoted to captain April 3, 1777, took part in the Saratoga campaign, Valley Forge and battle of Monmouth, and retired Nov. 22, 1778.

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"Muster Roll of Captain Sam'l Dunn's Company in ye 31st Regiment of Foot— Commanded by Colo. Edmund Phinney. Belonging to the Army of the United Colonies of North America."

ALL ENLISTED, APRIL 24.

Samuel Dunn,	Capt.,	Cape Elizabeth,	on furlough.
Ebenezer Newell,	1st Lieut.,	"	
Samuel Thoms,	2d Lieut.,	Stroudwater,	sick on furlough.
Reuben Dyer,	Sergt.,	Cape Elizabeth.	
John Robinson,	"	"	
John Gilford,	"	"	on furlough.
Robert Clark,	"	"	
Daniel Sawyer,	Corp.,	"	
John Jordan,	"	"	
Levi Done,	"	"	
William Maxwell,	"	"	
Joshua Wescott,	Drummer,	"	
Henry Small,	Fifer,	"	

PRIVATES.

Moses Whitney, Gorham.

Jonathan Fairbanks,	Cape Elizabeth	
William McKinny,	"	
John Jordan,	"	
Ebenezer Jordan,	"	
Eliab King,	"	
Samuel Robinson,	"	
Robert Jimminson,	"	
Solomon Jordan,	"	
Peter Jordan,	"	
Joseph Maxwell,	"	
John Hans,	"	
John Skinner,	"	
Stephen Atwood,	"	
Peter Sawyer,	"	
James Jackson,	"	
Walter Simonton,	"	
John Fowler,	"	
Francis Cash,	"	
Ephriam Crocket,	"	
Samuel Clark,	"	on furlough.
Edward Avery,	"	
Daniel Dyer,	"	
Jonathan McKinny,	"	
Solomon Newell,	Newton	
William Johnson,	Cape Elizabeth,	
John Chase,	"	
Elezer Strout,	"	
Wright Allin,	"	
Timothy Johnson,	"	
Moses Hanscom,	"	discharged.
Robert Mitchell,	"	
Thomas Jordan,	"	
Thomas York,	"	
Joseph Robert,	"	
Thomas Cummins,	"	
Mark Leach,	"	
John Wimble,	"	
William Elder,	"	
Solomon Jackson,	"	discharged, Sept. ye 14th.
Micall Davis,	"	
Peleg Willard,	"	on furlough.
Stephen Hutchinson,	"	
John Bryant,	"	
Joshua Sawyer,	"	
John Miller,	"	
Samuel Groves,	Pownalborough,	

Jonathan Sawyer, Cape Elizabeth,  
William Maxwell, ..

EBENEZER NEWELL, *Lieut.*

Mass. Archives, Vol. 56, Page 214.

This was probably an October return although there is no date on the roll.

“They left the plowshare in the mold,—  
Their flocks and herds without a fold,  
The sickle in the unshorn grain.  
The corn, half garnered, on the plain.  
And mustered, in their simple dress,  
For wrongs to seek a stern redress,  
To right those wrongs, come weal, come woe,  
To perish, or overcome their foe.”

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## COL. THOMAS GOLDTHWAIT—WAS HE A TORY?

BY R. GOLDTHWAITE CARTER, U. S. ARMY.

*Read before the Maine Historical Society, December 19, 1895.*

### PART II.

IN the year 1761, or perhaps earlier, Col. Thomas Goldthwait was appointed by Sir Francis Bernard, then governor, secretary of war for the Province of Massachusetts Bay.

He was very active from this date until September, 1763, in settling up the accounts of both officers and men who had returned from the Crown Point expedition. In this, as well as in all of the other positions he had been appointed to, he showed unusual executive ability, and that he was a many-sided man.

That he was a warm personal friend of both Thomas Hutchinson and Sir Francis Bernard goes with-

out saying, and is shown by his correspondence with them during the period that he was thrown so closely with both of these noted men.

The following advertisements, or official notices, were found in the provincial newspapers of the date of his appointment as secretary at war: —

Province of Mass. Bay.

His Excellency the Captain-General is informed that some of the officers who have received orders have been very negligent in their Duty of Recruiting, which he apprehends is one cause of the Levies being so backward; it is therefore his Excellencys Positive Determination to suspend those officers if he finds any just cause for said complaint.

And he expects that those Troops which are already raised for Colonel Thwing's Regiment proceed without any loss of time to Castle William.

Tho. Goldthwait,

Sec'y at War.

Boston, June 9, 1761. (Boston News Letter.)

For the Compleating of the Provincial Regiments Notice is hereby given (with reference to recruiting them) to compleat the number to 3000 men. Make frequent returns of numbers, &c., and that recruiting shall cease as soon as the regiments are full.

By order of His Excellency,

Tho. Goldthwait

Sec. at War.

July 16, 1761.

Province of Mass. Bay.

The officers recruiting for Col. Holt's and Col. Saltonstall's Regiment are hereby notified to collect all the men they have enlisted and march them immediately to Springfield, where they will receive other orders.

Each officer upon his arrival there to make a return of his Deserters to the Commanding officer, giving as particular a

Description of them as may be, that the same may be transmitted to the Secretary at War.

By order of His Excellency,  
 Tho. Goldthwait,  
 Sec'y at War.

Aug. 12, 1761.

(Boston News Letter, August, 20, 1761.)

Province of the Massachusetts Bay.

The officers who were employed in the service of the Province the last year, that are concerned in making up the Pay Rolls, are directed to attend at Boston, as soon as may be, upon a Committee appointed by the General Court to examine the said Rolls: and the Suttlers who were employed in the Said Service are also directed to attend the said Committee with their accounts.

By order of His Excellency,  
 (signed) Tho. Goldthwait,  
 Sec'y at War.

Boston, Jan. 20, 1763.

(Boston Evening Post, Monday, Jan. 24, 1763.)

In 1763, Col. Goldthwait was appointed to command Fort Pownall on the Penobscot. A description of this old fort will not be necessary, as it has been fully described in a number of historical publications from plans now in possession of the Bangor Historical Society. (Vol. 14, N. E. His. Gen. Reg. pp. 7-10.) An engraved cut is shown in the History of Belfast, Me., pp. 55-57. It was the largest and most important post in the eastern part of the province, and a very large trade was carried on with the Tarratine or Penobscot Indians, and other tribes.

The office of truckmaster, or official trader with the Indians, was separate and distinct from that of

commander, and it appears that various persons held that office: among them Jedediah Preble, his son, John Preble, and Thomas Cushing: but during most of the period, between 1763 and 1775, it was held by Thomas Goldthwait.

His predecessor, Jedediah Preble, is described in the History of Maine as a man "whose administration of affairs at the fort gave general satisfaction, and secured the respect of all who came in contact with him."

As the acts of Thomas Goldthwait while in command of Fort Pownall have been frequently cited in comparison with those of Gen. Jedediah Preble, let us throw a searchlight upon this: not so much for the purpose of condemning Preble, but to set Col. Thomas Goldthwait right.

The writer finds that on August 24, 1763:—

A complaint having been made to the Great and General Court against Brig. Preble at Fort Pownall about treatment of garrison and carrying on the Truck Trade, a Committee was appointed to look into it.

And, on September 9, 1763:—

His Excellency, having communicated to the Board a letter from Brig. Preble wherein he desires to resign his command at Fort Pownall and the office of Truckmaster there, and his Excellency having nominated Thomas Goldthwait, Esq., to be Truckmaster at said Fort—Advised—That his Excellency appoint Thomas Goldthwait, Esq., accordingly.

(See Council Records of 1763, pp. 227, 277.)

He was, therefore, appointed truckmaster September 9, 1763, and the following commission was duly issued:—

(L. S.) Francis Bernard, Esq., Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief over His Majesty's Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England,

To Thomas Goldthwait, Esq., Greeting!!

Whereas in and by an act passed in the Fifth year of His Majestys Reign, entitled, "An act for allowing necessary supplies to the Eastern Indians, for regulating Trade with them, and preventing abuses therein:" Provision was made that a suitable person be appointed by the General Court as Truck-Master for the management of the Trade with the Indians for such place whence any supplies of Cloathing and Povisions was made in and by said Act, that in certain cases when a vacancy should happen in the office of Truck Master, another should be put in by the Commander-in-Chief, and thereby the office is to become vacant.

I have thought, therefore, fit to appoint, and do hereby, with the advice of his Majesty's Council, appoint you the said Thomas Goldthwait to be Truckmaster at Fort Pownall in the room of the said Jedediah Preble. And you are to govern yourself in the said office by such Rules and Instructions as you shall from time to time receive persuant thereto: and before you shall enter upon said office, you shall take an oath and give sufficient security to the Province for the faithful discharge of the same.

In Testimony whereof I have caused the Publick Seal of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay aforesaid to be hereunto affixed.

Dated at Boston the 9th day of September 1763, In the Third year of His Majestys Reign.

By His Excellencys Command,

Jno. Cotton,

D. Sec'y.

He was made captain of Fort Pownall, September 12, 1763, and the following commission was issued:—

(L. S.) Francis Bernard, Esq., Captain-General, &c. . . .

To Thomas Goldthwait, Esq., Greeting!!

By virtue of the Power and Authority unto me granted by his Majesty, I do hereby constitute and appoint you the said

Thomas Goldthwait to be Captain of his Majestys Fort Pownall at Penobscot, and of the Batteries, Fortifications & Platforms to the said Fort belonging, and of the soldiers, which are or shall from time to time be posted in garrison there.

You are therefore carefully and dilligently to discharge the duty of Captain in all things relating to that place, and duly exercise the inferior officers and soldiers in arms, and to use your best endeavours to keep them in good order and discipline who are ordered to acknowledge you as their Captain, and you are to observe and follow such Orders and Directions as you shall from time to time receive from me, or the Commander-in-Chief for the time being, or other of your superior officers, according to the Rules and Discipline of War.

Given under my hand and seal at arms at Boston, the 12th day of September 1763, in the Third year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France & Ireland, King Defender of the Faith,

By His Excellencys Command,

Jno. Cotton,

D. Sec'y.

(Book of Commissions, p. 173, Mass. Archives.)

It would seem from the fact that Thomas Goldthwait was appointed to succeed Jedediah Preble upon the eve of an investigation of the latter's conduct at Fort Preble, of which there seems to be undeniable proof, that Gen. Jedediah Preble resigned as the army term fitly implies: "under fire," or "under pressure," for the same acts which Thomas Goldthwait is alleged to have committed afterwards.

Can it be possible that these two truckmasters and captains of Fort Pownall may have been confounded by John Davidson and his subsequent historians? For I find in the Centennial Celebration of the Settlement of Bangor, Maine, September 10, 1869, p. 34, and foot note, the following:—



Jed. Preble was the first Truckmaster ; he was very unpopular with the Indians, and they made great efforts to have him removed, and to have Johnathan Lowder, a late gunner at Fort Pownall substituted. They accused him of lying in bed until 10 o'clock : of treating them with great indifference, going away and leaving them waiting a day at a time for their supplies, thus affording the young men an opportunity of getting drunk.

Are there any complaints filed against Thomas Goldthwait ? If so, they could be as easily found as those against his predecessor.

The writer, after a most careful and exhaustive search fails to find — from 1763 to 1775 — a single official complaint made against him, either by the Indians or soldiers of the garrison under his command. On the contrary, he was repeatedly appointed truckmaster — an office of high trust — while still holding the position, with the exception of one year, of captain of Fort Pownall.

All charges of cruelty, extortion, arbitrary conduct, tyranny and cowardice came after the dismantlement of Fort Pownall, in April, 1775, and were conceived in malice and hatred.

While commanding Fort Pownall, Col. Goldthwait was, of course, in frequent correspondence with Sir. Francis Bernard, then governor of the province. He continually advised with the governor with regard to "augmenting" the garrison, and pointed out to him the danger of not doing so ; at the same time when the acts of the Indians themselves became so flagrant and intolerable as to demand prompt action, his ready tact and good judgment repeatedly averted a bloody outbreak.

These letters are all official in their character, but they all indicate very clearly the confidence that the Indians reposed in him, his wise and judicious government of affairs there, and his kind and considerate treatment of the Indians and soldiers under his charge.

They are too numerous and lengthy to admit of their introduction entire within the limits of short historical papers, but a number of them give in full several quiet interviews with certain chiefs and members of the tribe, to ascertain their real relations and intentions toward the English, to locate the malcontents, if any, and ascertain the causes for disaffection of the latter.

They are in the nature of reports, in which are clearly defined, in a very intelligent and comprehensive manner, the actual condition of affairs at the post, and the surrounding region.

One the writer will briefly quote from, which, written some time after he had received his appointment, and after the complaints made against the first truckmaster, would indicate any feeling among the principal chiefs and Indians against him, if there were any.

March 26, 1764.

SIR:— I got here on the 23d instant in the morning. Just before I came from Boston Capt. Wasgat hinted to me that the Indians had grown very surly, and that the inhabitants of Magabagaduce were very uneasy about it: he said he owned he was himself.

I did not pay much regard to it as I had letters from the officers of the Fort by him which made no mention of it, but still it made me more anxious about getting down.

Upon my arrival here I enquired of the officers whether there was any foundation for the report: they told me there was. Mr

Treat told me that he had wrote a letter on purpose to acquaint me of it, but Wasgat was gone and he didn't know which way to convey it.

I found no Indians in but the old squaw, Oso. I immediately sent for her, and also for Mr. McFarland, and examined her about it. She seemed very frank and open to me, tho' Mr. Treat says she had before denied it to him. I enclose your Excellency the dialogue we had upon it.

*Mr. G.*— I have heard that some Penobscot Indians have proposed to the tribe to break their friendship with the English and commit hostilities, and, as I know you to be a friend to us I expect you'll tell mewhether there's any foundation for it or not.

*Oso.*— You may depend on it that I am your Friend, and will tell you the truth.

*Mr. G.*— Has such a thing been proposed?

*Oso.*— Yes!

*Mr. G.*— What started it?

*Oso.*— Toma.

*Mr. G.*— What did he say?

*Oso.*— He said to us, 'Why shall the English live upon our lands? Let us take them and drive them off.'

*Mr. G.*— Did he say it to a few or many?

*Oso.*— He mentioned it to all.

*Mr. G.*— What answer did they make him?

*Oso.*— They said his purpose wasn't good: the English treated them kindly, and held their lands by conquest.

*Mr. G.*— What answer did he make?

*Oso.*— Says he — 'The English have no right to command us: let us be our own masters, and not be slaves to them.'

*Mr. G.*— What answer did your people make?

*Oso.*— They said — 'What can we do? The English have got possession of our land, and its best for us now to live in friendship.'

*Mr. G.*— Did any Indians join with Toma in this proposal?

*Osa.*— Yes! some.

*Mr. G.*— Did Toma make this proposal to the St. Johns Indians also?

*Oso.*—I have heard he did, and believe he did, but I do not know it: I did not hear it with my own ears.

*Mr. G.*—Where is Toma now?

*Oso.*—I do not know. It is said he is a very great way in the country.

The next day came in French Meser, one of the Indians that was in Boston, and with him Anson, another very friendly Indian. They all agreed in the same story, separately examined. I found it was the old villian Toma, whom your Excellency had a conference with last year, and who, upon all occasions, has had so much respect shown him, together with Espequeunt, another deceitful fellow, were at the bottom of the affair.

Mr. Treat says he had observed several of them more snappish and sullen than usual, and couldn't account for it till some more friendly inclined gave him a hint of this. Meser says the better sort among them despised them who moved it. He says he plainly told them so: that they were going to ruin themselves and their nation: but he says they can make no head.

He says he thinks I shall not see Toma this year. He hopes I wont lay Toma's faults upon him. I told him if they followed Toma's plan they might disturb the neighborhood and ruin themselves, but they must know they couldn't hurt the fort.

He said he knew it very well, and if Toma was not a fool he might know it too. But Toma he say'd was a proud man, and wanted to be greater than they thought him to be. In a little time, says he, the children will despise him.

I am now at the 29th instant. Capt. Frost came in this morning: he tells me that the Indians have been surly his way so much that he had once concluded to move his goods. He desired me to advise him what to do respecting his Indian trade. I told him, etc., etc., etc.

This is a very long letter, and relates to unimportant matters, until the last portion which gives an interview with the Indian Toma as follows:—

*Capt. G.*—I have been informed that you have proposed to your nation not to renew with the English. Is it so or not?

*Toma.*—Who told you this?

*Capt. G.*—The Indians.

*Toma.*—The Indians and the English speak against Toma. All my young men that come to the Fort call themselves gentlemen. They talk against Toma. They want to be governors themselves.

*Capt. G.*—It is both your young men and your old men that have given this information: are they all liars?

*Toma.*—Brother, hear me! and understand me! You have two ears and you have a head. God now hears me, and God has power to tear me this moment in pieces. He knows all my thoughts. I say I have not had any such design.

*Capt. G.*—You certainly have no cause to be inimical to us. You know I have always treated you kindly. I have given you meat. . . .and when you had nothing to pay for it. You complained that the English hunters interfered and hurt your hunting. Gov. Bernard made a representation of it, and obtained an Act to prevent Englishmen from hunting only within their own towns. You see we do all we can for you.

*Toma.*—Brother, you are always kind to me. I am always a friend to the English. I myself was the cause of the English having peace with us, etc., etc.

*Capt.*—What is the reason that your own people and some of your own family report these things of you?

*Toma.*—Adduhando, Espequeunt, (these are their Chief Governors, as they are called) and I know nothing of this story.

*Capt.*—I have been told that you and Espequeunt first proposed it.

*Toma.*—Brother, hear me! The Indians have got two hearts: one is possessed by God, and one is possessed by the Devil. Sometimes they combat. If the Devil gets the better, then whatever he (the Indian) speaks of, or whatever he does is bad. The English have the hearts of women; they believe everything. What could I aim at? You see I am an old man: my eyes begin to lose their faculty of seeing: my ears fail me very fast: you see my head is growing very white: I cannot live but a little while. God hears me. I say again I had no such thoughts.

*Capt.*— I am glad to hear you declare in this solemn manner that you have had no such thoughts. I wish you would dispossess yourself of the notion that the French will ever retake Canada? It's a foolish notion. Drive it away! I fear this thought causes you to be wavering in your friendship for us: you are a man of sense: how can you think that the French can retake Canada? And, if they should, will you then have better friends than you have in us?

*Toma.*— Brother, we have got little eyes. We cannot see France or England. If I was to shoot at them (leveling a stick he had in his hands as if it were a gun, and taking sight) I should shoot at random, and I might hit them or I might miss them. The Indians on the back of Canada are very numerous.

*Capt.*— What have you to do with the Indians on the back of Canada? or what have they to do with me? Put away that notion! I have heard several of your people say that you are not friends to one another.

*Toma.*— Brother, would you say more upon this subject?

*Capt.*— I have heard that you shou'd say your young men have told stories about us.

*Toma.*— It is true they told me the English wou'd take me and poison me. I did not believe it. If I had believed it I shou'd not have come in. Brother, stop up both your ears! I stop up mine.

The balance of this dialogue is very interesting, but reveals nothing beyond the fact that Toma, in his most persuasive Indian diplomatic language, denied that he was in any plot for the overthrow of the English.

The representation and act referred to concerning the English hunters is as follows:—

On July 19, 1763, Gov. Bernard issued a proclamation forbidding all hostile acts towards the Eastern Indians, compelling restitution of furs, &c., taken from them by the hunters, and made the greatest exertions to soothe their fears.

This was followed by a legislative act to prevent the English from hunting in any part of the king's woods.

Col. Goldthwait further emphasized this act by the following calm and deliberate letters addressed to a party of these hunters: —

FORT POWNALL, Mar. 24, 1764.

Gentm:—The Indians complain heavily of the injury you do them in hunting on a stream which they had taken up. There is a law against English hunting at all, but it is hardly yet in force: still, I cannot but hope that you are so friendly to the Commonwealth that you won't give the Indians any just cause of complaint.

The little advantage you may make will be poor compensation to you if by this means you should be the cause of disturbing the peace and quiet of your Country.

Therefore I earnestly entreat you to quit the stream you are upon. But, if you will not, and any mischief ensues, I cannot see how you can acquit your dues if you are apprehended after the act taken against the Province by your not complying with my request.

I am, Gent<sup>m</sup>,  
Y<sup>r</sup> very good friend,  
THO. GOLDTHWAIT.

The answer of the hunters was received upon a piece of birch bark marked with a pin.

Capt. Goldthwait:—this come to let you know that I have seen the Indians you sent your letter with, and they have given it to us. and we haven't set any traps where they have any and we would be very glad you would tell the Indians that we would (perhaps could) hunt upon the pond, that we were upon it first and there were no signs of any Indians upon it when we came here, if there was any traps on it we would not have sat any there, and as we were here first we think it is our Right to hunt

here, but if you are not satisfied we will go home, so I am your humble servant

HANS ROBINSON.

FORT POWNALL, Mar. 28, 1764.

Gent<sup>m</sup> :—I received your note by Arexes, and am sorry to tell you that there is an absolute occasion for you to leave the Pond which you are upon, and which the Indians say & demonstrate they have y<sup>e</sup> best right to. I wish you could accomodate yourselves otherwise for the little time which you have a right to hunt: but if you are determined to continue where you are, I fear what will be the consequence.

It is as much as I can do to pacify the Indians, and I hope you<sup>d</sup> consider what injury may be done in this Province.

You are liable to a fine and to forfeit your fur, and I shall certainly use my best endeavours to have the act fully executed.

I am yours, &c.

THO. GOLDTHWAIT.

The English Hunters

Quantabagood Pond.

These hunters were law-breakers. Col. Goldthwait had the power vested in him to arrest and punish them. They are the early settlers whom he is accused of being unkind to.

“He was very unkind to the early settlers.” “He was cruel, arbitrary, and an extortioner.”

Had he been an arbitrary or a cruel man he could, because he had the power, and doubtless would have sent out, arrested them at once, and placed them in confinement inside the fort. Had he been an extortioner he might have sent a messenger to them and demanded a division of the valuable spoils or a summary arrest.

The writer asserts that these letters are models of calm, considerate judgment. They are couched in the



most careful, courteous and diplomatic language, show great tact, and indicate the very reverse of a cruel, arbitrary nature.

In order to offer a strong contrast with Col. Goldthwait's methods of governing not only these lawless hunters, but in his interviews with the Indians, his rare tact in pacifying them, and smoothing over their grievances, it is the writer's purpose to introduce a letter written about this date, by Col. William Lithgow, who commanded Fort Halifax, the next fort on the Kennebec River, to Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, the celebrated surgeon of Boston, who has been previously referred to as having married the eldest daughter of Col. Thomas Goldthwait.

FORT HALIFAX, Mar. 26, 1764.

SIR :—The Indians according to the best of my apprehensions do not at present rest satisfied with the late peace, as appears to me by some threatening words made use of to me by one Indian, as that he would in the Spring prevent me from going up or down this river, and would shut up the gates of this Fort, and as the fellow behaved with great insolence in other ways I *knocked him off the chair* where he sat, and as soon as he had recovered from the stroke of my fist, he immediately arose from the floor, stripped up his arms in order for Battle According to their custom, and at the same time yelling and claping his hand several times on his bare Britch and breast, in an insulting and braging manner, *which gave considerable flow to my spirits.*

I then immediately caught him fast by the throat and with my other arm around his neck I *fetch'd him down with his head against the chimney Jam with such force which made the Blood come plentifully out of nose and mouth*, and being determined to follow the advantage I had gained, gave him no time to rise, but *siezed him by the hair of the head and drag'd him outside the Door*, when I *gave him a kick on his Britch and told him if*

*I heard any more of his bad Talk I would make him unable to stand or go.*

Upon which the other Indian present lured him off to their Lodging, it being just night. *Thus the quarrel ended to my satisfaction.*

The italics are the writer's. There is no mention made of this act in any local histories the writer has been able to find, and the reason appears to be obvious.

Col. Lithgow was not compelled, under stress of circumstances, when the alarm of war sounded, to have Fort Halifax dismantled, and he adhered strongly to the Whigs, as also did Gen. Jed. Preble.

From a strictly military standpoint of speedy justice and good government however, the foregoing novel method of dealing with the poor Indian of that period, comes pretty close to being arbitrary and cruel, and stands out in sharp contrast with any act that the writer has yet found, connecting Col. Goldthwait with similar force, or with the present refined modes of treating with the wards of the nation.

## HALLOWELL RECORDS.

COMMUNICATED BY DR. W. B. LAPHAM.

[Continued from Page 105.]

Shubael West, son of Peter West and Hannah Cottle, his wife, was born at Martha's Vineyard, August 14, 1772. Married Mercy, daughter of Charles and Deliverance Edmondson, of the same town, who was born April 16, 1766. Their children are:—

Delia Edmondson, b. Sept. 2, 1794.

Charles Edmondson, b. Sept. 14, 1796.

Hannah, b. Feb. 5, 1799; d. Feb. 23, 1799.

Peter, b. Mar. 6, 1800.

George, b. June 26, 1802.

Joseph, b. July 17, 1804; d. Sept., 1805.

Joseph Merry, b. Oct. 14, 1805.

John, b. June 20, 1809.

Gustavus Oscar, b. Nov. 27, 1811.

Hannibal Alphonse, b. Dec. 26, 1813.

Harriet Emeline, b. June 21, 1816; d. Mar. 29, 1837.

Rebecca Edmondson, sister to the above Mrs. West living in the family, was born at Martha's Vineyard, April 14, 1774.

James Hinkley, son of Shubael and Mary Hinkley, was born in ———. Married Mary McKenny, daughter of Matthew McKenny, of ———. Came to this town, 1774.

James Hinkley, son of James Hinkley, above mentioned, was born in Topsham, county of Cumberland, August 14, 1769. Came with his father's family to this town, 1774. Married Joanna, daughter of Jonathan and Martha Norerose of Bath, who was born, June 3, 1773. Their children are:—

Owen, b. Mar. 27, 1794.

Mary McKenny, b. July 7, 1796.

Smith, b. Aug. 1, 1798.

Nicholas, b. Oct. 25, 1799.

Thomas, b. Dec. 15, 1802; d. Sept. 5, 1803.

Pamelia, b. May 25, 1805.

Henry Kendall, b. May 20, 1807.

Martha Ann, b. Aug. 11, 1814.

Dea. James Hinkley, died —, 1840.

Mrs. Joanna Hinkley, died June, 1842.

Oliver Osgood Hinkley, son of James and Mary Hinkley, was born in Hallowell, August 28, 1787. Married Sarah, daughter of Isaac and Mary Pillsbury of Hallowell, who was born in London, state of New Hampshire, December 6, 1791. Their children are: —

Sarah Elizabeth, b. on Thursday, Oct. 26, 1815.

Helen Louisa, b. on Thursday, Oct. 9, 1817.

Amos, b. July 21, 1823.

Thomas Brewster Corlidge, son of Benjamin Corlidge and Mary Carter, his wife, was born in Boston, December 4, 1786. Came to this town May 18, 1809. Married Clarissa, daughter of Loammi and Mary Baldwin, of Woburn, Massachusetts, January 23, 1812. Their children are: —

Benjamin, b. Nov. 11, 1812.

Thomas Brewster, b. May 3, 1815.

David Marshall, son of Benjamin and Sarah Marshall, was born in Ipswich, Mass. Married Anna Stevens Elwell. Mrs. Marshall with her two sons and daughter came to this town, June 22, 1800. Their children are: —

Benjamin, b. May 6, 1777 in Ipswich, now settled in Bangor.

William, b. Jan. 1, 1780 in Ipswich.

Enoch, b. July 18, 1784, in Ipswich.

Betsey, b. July 19, 1780 in Ipswich.

Moses H. Rollins, son of Moses and Anna Rollins, was born in London, state of New Hampshire, August 3, 1777. Married Lucy, daughter of Samuel and Lydia Potter, of Pittsfield, New Hampshire, who was born August 12, 1784, and married January 1, 1806, by elder Ebenezer Knowlton of said Pittsfield. Came to this town with his family, March 9, 1807. Their children are: —

Holman Potter, b. Apr. 14, 1809.

Ariel Mann, b. Apr. 26, 1814.

William Rollins, son of Moses Rollins, was born July 5, 1779. Came to this town, 1801. Married Betsey, daughter of Andrew

and Hannah Goodwin of this town, October 12, 1806. William Rollins died August 19, 1840. Their children are : —

- Sally Ann, b. Aug. 29, 1807.
- Eliza Ann, b. Oct. 12, 1809.
- Elzada, b. Aug. 18, 1811.
- Hannah Stackpole, b. Aug. 3, 1814.
- Alphonzo, b. Nov. 13, 1816.
- Lucy Ann, b. Aug. 19, 1819.
- Andrew Jordan, b. Mar. 6, 1822.
- William Henry, b. Dec. 31, 1826; d. Nov. 8, 1827.

Sewall Winslow, son of Jonathan and Abigail Winslow, was born in Epping, state of New Hampshire, October 17, 1774. Married Betsey, daughter of Jonathan and Sarah Whiting of Wintthrop, who was born June 9, 1781. Came with his family to this country 1810. Their children are : —

- Jonathan Whiting, b. Apr. 17, 1803.
- Hannah, b. May 24, 1805.
- Abigail Clifford, b. May 13, 1807.
- Sewell Sanford, b. Mar. 3, 1809.
- Sarah Whittier, b. Apr. 9, 1812, in Hallowell.
- Charles Henry, b. Nov. 10, 1813.
- George Albert, b. Sept. 8, 1815.
- Fraziette Elizabeth, b. Jan. 28, 1818.
- Betsey Flaville, b. Sept. 21, 1821.

Pelatih Morrill, son of Peasley and Peace Morrill, was born in Berwick, District of Maine, July 18, 1787. Came to this town Oct., 1810. Married Rhoda, daughter of Ebenezer and Sarah Mayo of Hallowell, January 1, 1815. Their children are : —

- Caroline, b. Nov. 6, 1815.
- Emeline, b. Sept. 21, 1817.
- Eliza, b. Dec. 11, 1819.
- Pelatih Warren, b. Apr. 2, 1823.
- George Mayo, b. Jan. 2, 1828, d. Dec. 29, 1830.
- Rhoda Helen, b. Aug. 30, 1830, d. Aug. 13, 1871.

Ebenezer Norton, son of Ebenezer Norton, was born in Martha's Vineyard, January 9, 1777. Married Clarissa, daughter of Elijah Butler of Farmington. Their children are : —

- Betsey, b. Sept. 25, 1803,
  - Mary, b. Nov. 4, 1806,
  - Winthrop, b. Dec. 8, 1811,
- } in Farmington.

Jeremiah, b. Apr. 17, 1813, }  
 Henry, b. Sept. 12, 1817, } in Hallowell.

The children of Stephen Brown and —— his wife : —

Ann, b. Apr. 9, 1794.

Judith, b.

Andrew, b. Apr. 11, 1798.

Stephen, b. Aug. 31, 1801.

Betsey, b. May 14, 1801.

David Coombs of —— married the above named Judith Brown, and dying left one child, viz. : —

Edward Coombs, b. June 9, 1816.

## SKETCHES OF THE LIVES OF EARLY MAINE MINISTERS.

BY WILLIAM D. WILLIAMSON.

*Presented to the Maine Historical Society, with an Introduction by Joseph  
 Williamson, December 19, 1881.*

[CONTINUED.]

REV. JOHN URQUHART.

REV. JOHN URQUHART,<sup>1</sup> a Scotch Presbyterian, established at Warren in 1775, was the first settled minister in that place. He was educated at one of the colleges in his native country, licensed to preach by the Allon Presbytery in North Britain, and emigrated to this state in the spring of 1774. Warren was at that time called the "upper town" because it was a settlement begun in 1736, on the westerly bank of St. George's River, a short distance above that called the "lower town" on the other side of the river. In the former was a meeting-house, at the

<sup>1</sup>Urquhart is quite a rare name, pronounced Urcutt: perhaps in England Urcutt, at the southward Usquhart.

lower part of the town, and in the latter a fort,<sup>1</sup> which were not far apart. Mr. Urquhart was first at New Castle, and on his arrival at the plantation, which was principally settled by Scotch and Irish Presbyterians, was employed to preach, and a twelve-month afterward, settled. He was the next preacher in the plantation after Mr. Rutherford, and probably gathered a church, though no record of its establishment is now extant. Warren was incorporated November 7, 1776, and Mr. Urquhart was accredited the minister of the town for eight years, yet he preached occasionally in Thomaston,<sup>2</sup> Cushing, and Stirlington settlement.

But though he was a man of considerable abilities, his piety was questionable, and his character suspicious; it was said he had married a second wife while the first one was living. At length, therefore, the Salem Presbytery, in September, 1783, on hearing the charges against him, removed him, also the town settled with him for his services, and wished him to leave them. Still he tarried, until a committee by letter desired the Presbytery to effect his departure. His next remove was in the autumn of 1784 to the town of Ellsworth, situated at the head of navigation on each side of Union River. The next spring we find him preaching at Topsham, where a committee from Ellsworth gave him a call and requested the Salem Presbytery to install him. Though a listening ear to the application could hardly be expected, yet such was the apparent humility of the candidate that on

<sup>1</sup> Incorrect; both were in the upper town.

<sup>2</sup> In 1768 the first minister settled in this vicinity was John Urquhart. He preached to the inhabitants of Thomaston seven years. Hon. Mr. Pierce's MS. letter.

the seventh of September, the same year, 1775, that body gave him installation. But Mr. Urquhart in no lengthened period found himself losing the favor, the confidence, and even the charity of his people. His preaching was powerless, and there were evident blemishes on his character. What could not be proved by witnesses could be effected by jealousy and prejudice; and early in the year 1790 he was dismissed, and perhaps ought to have been silenced. For how appears the mere worldling "in handling the word of life?" Alas! the unyielding evil such a minister entails upon a young community.

#### REV. THOMAS MOORE.

REV. THOMAS MOORE. Harvard College. 1769, was ordained June. 1773, the first settled minister of Wiscasset. His wife was Anna Kingsbury, of that place, the sister of Judge Thomas Rice's wife. This was the southerly, or first Parish in the old and extensive town of Pownalborough. A settlement at Wiscasset Point was effected in 1662-63, but all the inhabitants were driven off by the Indians early in the second Indian war, which commenced in 1688, and this part of the state lay waste upwards of forty years. The plantation was resettled about 1730, and the only preaching the people enjoyed for many years was that of missionaries. Mr. Moore was not a very powerful or popular preacher: he was an Arminian, in favor of the half way covenant, and after a ministry of eighteen years his pastoral relationship was dissolved. This was in the year 1791, and he never resettled in the



ministry. But within two years afterwards, while preaching in Pittston, he died in an apoplectic fit. His character was fair, though his piety was doubted. No one will deny that abstinence from evil and philosophical morality are doctrines of negative goodness, well worthy to be taught from any pulpit. They are the pure snows which clothe nature in the whitest robes. Still, positive holiness and divine grace are the light and warmth indispensable to give life and produce fruits in the heart. Ministers sometimes, but too late, find their preaching but as the frost of winter. Mr. Moore's height was of a middle size, of a square frame, darkish complexion, and good features: a lover of good food, of which he partook freely. He left one son, who died at New Providence.

#### REV. JACOB BAILEY.

REV. JACOB BAILEY, Harvard College, 1755, was a local Episcopal curate or rector, the first of that order at the present Dresden. That place was originally the plantation of Frankfort. After a fort was established in 1754, near the easterly bank of the Kennebec, opposite the head of Swan Island, perhaps three leagues below Gardiner village, the place was selected as a good site for the court house in Pownalborough, that town and the county of Lincoln being both incorporated in 1760. The Kennebec Proprietors, still further to promote their own interest and to accommodate such worshipers as attended Court, soon afterwards erected a church mostly at their own expense. Being themselves Episcopalians, they also

employed Mr. Bailey about the year 1770, to officiate as minister of the new establishment, and also endowed it with one hundred acres of land which were ultimately vested in trustees for the same purpose. But there were not many of the sect in that place, and Mr. Bailey in a few years found it was no soil nor atmosphere for Episcopacy. As the storm of the Revolution thickened and, lowering, threatened to burst upon him, with other loyalists, he retired to Annapolis-royal in Nova Scotia. He never returned; but was there in April, 1795, whence, from his pen, was published in the fourth volume of Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, a paper "on the antiquities of America." It is written in a good style and evinces considerable thought and research. In one of its paragraphs he says: "The Indians had formerly a method of conveying knowledge by hieroglyphics. I am assured from good authority that the Mickmacks of this peninsula had the same method (upon the rind of bark) of expressing their sentiments. There is in this town a gentleman of learning, curious in his reseaches, who has not only surrounded, but traveled through the interior length of this province. He informs me that he has seen those characters both upon bark and paper, and that some of the Romish missionaries perfectly understand them."

Mr. Bailey is supposed to be the son of Rev. Abner Bailey, of Salem, New Hampshire. Where the son was employed after his graduation, before 1770, is not known. He was the last on the catalogue of his class, consisting of twenty-four, when students were "placed"

or arranged "according to the rank of their parents;" though his classmates were Pres. John Adams, Gov. John Wentworth, Rev. Dr. Sam. Lock, President Harvard College, Judges William Brown, and David Sewall, Hon. Tristram Dalton, and Dr. Moses Hemmenway. Evidently, the talents of Mr. Bailey were more solid than flowing, and his piety more philosophical, than spiritual. As a minister, therefore, he could not so much excel.

REV. THOMAS LANCASTER.

REV. THOMAS LANCASTER, Harvard College, 1764, was ordained in November, 1775, the third settled minister in the first parish of Scarborough. He was the successor of the excellent Mr. Pierce. He was one of the patriarchal ministers so much beloved and revered in his time, for he was the engaged pastor and teacher of this church and people the protracted period of half a century. After the death of Rev. Mr. Pierce and before the settlement of Mr. Lancaster, the professors and parishioners with one consent renounced Presbyterianism, and again became Congregationalists. Few ministers have shown themselves more faithful to their vocation and more intent on doing good than the pious Mr. Lancaster. He sowed precious seed, and in return had the taste of a rich and pleasant harvest.

REV. WILLIAM FESSENDEN.

REV. WILLIAM FESSENDEN, Harvard College, 1768, was ordained October 11, 1775, the first settled minister of Fryeburg. This township was granted to

Gen. Frye in 1762, a settlement was soon commenced, a church of eleven members was formed, August 21st, before Mr. Fessenden was settled, and the town incorporated, January 11th. 1777. under very favorable auspices. For the people were blessed with a young minister of talents, piety, and education. zealous to do good, emulous to excel. He was the son of William Fessenden, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and a younger brother of Rev. Thomas Fessenden, Walpole, New Hampshire. The Congregational meeting-house is at the village in the southerly part of the town, "decently finished." A parish fund originating early, amounted during Mr. Fessenden's life to more than two thousand dollars. But though he preached the gospel with fidelity and considerable success, seeing the members of the church multiplied and the borders of Zion enlarged, he found himself the minister of a peculiar people. Unable to satisfy them he relinquished his salary in 1803. like the good shepherd that careth more for the flock than the fleece, and preached afterwards at times at other places. His pastoral labor and relation were continued till both were closed by his death, May 6. 1805, he being in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and thirtieth of his ministry. He left a family, Samuel Fessenden, Dartmouth College 1806, a counselor at law, Portland, senator and major-general, being his son.

REV. JOHN THOMSON.

REV. JOHN THOMSON, Harvard College. 1765. was ordained October 26, 1768, the first settled minister of

Standish. He was the son of Rev. William Thomson, of Scarborough, and a classmate with Rev. Samuel Willard, president of Harvard University.

This was originally a tract granted in 1750, settled in 1760, a plantation called "Pierson-town, and Hobbstown," and incorporated, November 30, 1785, into a town by its present name of Standish.

Mr. Thomson was ordained in Rev. Mr. Smith's meeting-house in Portland. At that time there was a church organized of seven male members, and there were in the town of Standish about thirty families. To the year 1776, he received his support principally from the proprietors of the township; but after that year they withheld it, believing the inhabitants were numerous and able enough to maintain their minister themselves. Mr. Thomson on this occasion acted, in imitation of his Lord, the part of true, disinterested benevolence, for he continued to preach there five years without compensation. In 1781, however, he suspended his ministrations in Standish, and sought other fields of labor, and in May, 1783, he was dismissed at his own request, and in the same month he was installed the fourth settled minister of South Berwick, the successor of Rev. Jacob Foster.

The prospects of Mr. Thomson in pecuniary affairs were now bright and promising, for the parish owned a tolerable parsonage and other property to the amount of two thousand dollars, to which must be added General Lord's donation of fifteen hundred dollars to the funds of the society. But the church was small, no general revival of relig-

ion having ever, till lately, distinguished its annals. Surely so good a minister as Mr. Thomson, might often feel his heart bleed, on perceiving lukewarmness so protracted among a people remarkable for sobriety and the best habits. Still he believed there would be fruits if he failed not. He was persevering, therefore, in his labors like a primitive apostle, and he possessed "like precious faith." His ministry was of uncommon length, it being in the whole sixty years; forty-five of which were at South Berwick. He died in 1828, aged about eighty-two years.

## FIELD DAY.

EXCURSION TO FRYEBURG, SEPTEMBER 12, 1895.

IN accordance with the notice sent out to the members of the Society and their friends an excursion was made to Fryeburg, and a small, but enthusiastic party, arrived at that lovely, historic village soon after 10 A. M., where they were met by Hon. George B. Barrows, who escorted them through the village pointing out the sites of especial historic interest.

The party were then entertained at Mr. Barrows' residence, and examined his library and a large collection of autograph documents and other interesting relics.

A visit was then made to the Registry of Deeds, and the volume containing the deeds in the handwriting of Daniel Webster was examined with interest.

By invitation of Dr. S. C. Gordon, owner of the Governor Dana homestead, the party visited the beautiful, rejuvenated mansion, and afterwards adjourned for dinner at the Hotel Oxford.

At 2 P. M., the party took carriages, furnished by the generous hospitality of Dr. Gordon, and drove to Jockey Cap and to Lovewell's Pond. Here Mr. Barrows and Mr. C. H. Walker pointed out the ravines where the savages hid in ambush, and the battle-ground on the border of the pond. Next were visited Mount Tom, the Frye Hill and the Fessenden homestead, concluding with a brief call upon Mrs. George F. Shepley at the Highlands.

In the evening a meeting was held in the Congregational church, President Baxter in the chair, who read the following paper on Captain John Lovewell and the Pequakets.

President Baxter's address was as follows:—

#### JOHN LOVEWELL AND THE PEQUAKETS.

On former occasions, I considered at length and with some particularity the campaign against the Pequakets, its causes and results, and were it not expected that I should have something to say on the subject on this occasion, I should hold my peace. As it is, I shall be brief. It doubtless occurred to many of us to-day that had we passed one hundred and seventy years ago over the ground which we were traversing, we should have beheld very different scenes from those upon which our eyes so agreeably rested this bright September day.

Instead of the evidences of civilized occupation, of peace and prosperity, we should have beheld what a few years later Walter Bryant of Bow describes as having seen. He says that he "discovered Indian camps large enough to hold thirty men; saw the spot where Lovewell was killed, and the trees full of bullet holes, having also imitations of men's faces cut out upon them." All this has changed, and the memory of the events which took place here seems distant and dim, and has but little influence upon the life of the present.

And yet, the struggle which took place here exerted an important influence upon our history. It followed in orderly sequence events which in the scheme of Providence were to shape the conditions which exist to-day. From the moment when the standards of France and England were planted upon the North American continent, conflict between them was inevitable, and it was inevitable too, that the savage tribes, within the influence of the contending parties, should be involved. Later, when emigration had made it possible for considerable communities to become organized, and New France and New England confronted each other, representing different phases of civilization and dominated by religious faiths irreconcilably hostile to each other, the conflict assumed a bitterness which could only end in the exhaustion of one or both parties.

The French affiliated with the savages, married their women, and adopted many of their modes of life. Their religion, with its eternal pomp and glitter, particularly appealed to the savage imagination, and their priests, under the pressure of what they regarded as an imperative duty, labored incessantly to impress upon them the necessity of rooting out their heretical neighbors.

On the other hand the English regarded the savages with ill-concealed contempt, almost with abhorrence. Mather denominated them wolves with men's brains, which was by no means a wholly wrong description of them.

It was difficult for a Puritan to believe that they possessed enough spirituality to enable them to become real Christians, and their belief was not groundless.

The influence of the French, then, over the savages was potent, and they exerted it with a zeal which was kept ever bright by what they regarded as a spirit of patriotism and piety.

In August, 1724, only three months before Lovewell's first expedition against the savages, Norridgewock had been destroyed by the English, and Père Rallé slain. He had been an unrelenting foe of the English, and had incited the savages against them whenever occasion offered. The English, therefore, believed that self-preservation demanded the subjugation of the savage community over which he presided, hence the strenuous and costly attempts which they made to subdue it.

The destruction of this stronghold of the savages and the loss of their priest, whose death, although he had persistently courted it, was not intended by the English commander, added new fury to the rage of the savages, which the French eagerly encouraged, and it became evident to the English settlers that war must be waged unrelentingly against a foe who spared neither age nor sex; who were inspired not only by revenge, but by self-interest, to destroy them, for the French had long before established a market for English scalps and English captives, for both of



which they liberally paid. The English did not retaliate by placing a bounty upon French scalps, but they did enlist men for the war then being waged, one of the inducements for enlistment being a bounty for Indian scalps.

Late in 1724 Capt. John Lovewell organized a force of thirty men, with the intention of penetrating the Indian country and making reprisals upon the Pequakets, whose principal settlement was within the limits of the present town of Fryeburg. The Pequakets were dangerous neighbors to the English, and it was believed that unless they could be severely punished they would, on the approach of spring, attack the frontier settlements and inflict serious injury upon them.

Undertaking a campaign in an enemy's country is always attended with extraordinary hazard, and Lovewell's first expedition, consisting of but thirty men, exposed to the storms of winter, and obliged to traverse an unbroken wilderness to encounter a foe superior in numbers and familiar with the ground, seems foolhardy in its inception. This expedition, however, resulted in no loss of life to the English. One savage was killed and a lad taken prisoner.

Lovewell and his men were welcomed home with enthusiasm; and he immediately organized another expedition, consisting of eighty-seven men, which set out in the latter part of the following January.

After several marches, rendered more painful by a scarcity of food, a camp of ten savages was surprised and the men killed. This ended Lovewell's second expedition. He had, however, determined to strike a blow at the stronghold of the tribe, and by the middle of the following April he had gathered a force of forty-six men, with whom he set out in the campaign which was to render his name immortal.

Lovewell's plan was well considered. Arriving in the enemy's country at a place within the limits of the present town of Ossipee, a fort was erected as a base of supplies and to afford protection in case of retreat. This fort seems to have been admirably located for defense and carefully constructed, as it was surrounded by a stockade and ditch, with a supply of water which could not be cut off. In the fort he left the surgeon with a small garrison of men and a portion of his supplies, and took up his march for the Pequaket settlement, about forty miles distant.

On the eighth of May, while at prayers, the party heard the report of a gun, and looking in the direction of the sound, a savage was discovered upon a point of land on the northeastly side of the pond which now bears Lovewell's name.

Thinking that the presence of his men had been discovered, and that the savage had exposed himself to draw them into an ambush, Lovewell prudently held a council to determine whether it were better to advance or to retreat. The reply of his men was heroic. "Having," they said,

“come out to meet the enemy, and continually prayed to God that they might do so, they would rather trust to Providence with their lives, yea, would indeed rather die for their country, than retreat and earn the title of cowards.” Unfortunately, Lovewell did not know that his enemy was in his rear, hence he ordered his men to leave their packs, and advance with caution. This enabled the savages, who were upon his trail, to calculate the weakness of his force. Unaware of the presence of the enemy in his rear, Lovewell advanced toward the point where the savage had been seen. Soon he was discovered approaching, and several guns were fired at him without apparent effect, as he returned the fire, wounding Lovewell and one of his men with beaver shot, when he was brought down by Lieut. Wyman.

Not finding the savages in their front, the English returned to obtain their packs, when the savages, who had followed them, rose from their ambush and fired upon them. The first fire of the savages was wild, and did not inflict serious damage.

Finding themselves in danger of being surrounded, the English fell back to the pond, where the fight was renewed, and continued all day, with considerable loss to both parties.

The savages, confident of success, at one time called upon their sadly weakened foes to surrender, which they scornfully refused to do, and kept up the fight so stoutly that at nightfall the savages withdrew.

When the survivors had time to look about them, they found their condition indeed pitiable. Lovewell was dead, Farrar just expiring, Robbins and Usher too severely wounded to walk, and eleven others more or less severely wounded. The brave Robbins, perhaps no braver than the rest—for they were all brave enough—made the dying request that his gun should be loaded and left by him, so that he might kill another savage if any came to scalp him before he died. It was necessary to leave behind those who could not walk, and those who could do so, set out on their terrible march towards the fort, forty miles away. They were worn out with fatigue and hunger, having eaten nothing through the day, and having no provisions with them. It was indeed a terrible march, for, in addition to physical suffering, was the constant fear of surprise by a pitiless foe. Four of the wounded, Farwell, Frye, Eleazer Davis and Jones soon gave out, and at their request they were left behind. When the fort was reached by the survivors it was, to their great disappointment, found abandoned. The men left to garrison it had heard that their leader had been killed and their friends defeated, and being so few in number resolved to abandon their fort rather than to risk a battle with a foe so greatly superior in numbers and elated with success. Of the four wounded men left on the march, Davis succeeded in dragging himself to the fort, where he found provisions which revived him, and he finally reached home; Jones also succeeded in reaching home;

the others were never heard from. Of the thirty-four men who were in the fight, but nineteen reached home alive, and these were received as heroes who had achieved a great victory. It is probable, indeed, that never were victors returning from war more honored than were these brave men. Lovewell was eulogized as one of the greatest heroes whose name had been recorded in history. Symmes, one of the most eloquent divines of the day, preached his funeral sermon from the text "How are the mighty fallen and the weapons of war perished."

In reflecting upon this subject upon a former occasion, I remarked that the emergency which called Lovewell and his men to leave their homes to enter upon so desperate an enterprise as the expedition against the Pequakets, involved consequences of vital importance to the people of New England. Their welfare, if not their existence, depended upon the destruction of the Indian power. Paugus, the Pequaket chief, had long been the terror of the frontier, and these patriotic and heroic men had overthrown him. The exploit was indeed a theme worthy not only of the people's gratitude, but of the best powers of the orator and poet. The patriotism of Lovewell and his men has been criticized by sentimentalists on account of the eagerness displayed by them in securing the scalps of their foes, but to suppose that these men were actuated by no higher motive than to derive gain from a traffic in scalplocks is to ignore abundant proofs to the contrary. They were not responsible for the methods devised by the government to secure proof of effective service rendered it; even if they were, we should consider the character of the enemy with whom they had to deal. European methods of warfare could not avail against savages who prowled about the settlements in the darkness of night, surprising and killing people in their beds. They could only be successfully reached by men adopting their own secret methods of attack, and to prevent them from destroying the growing settlements it was necessary to inflict upon them the sharpest punishment. No more lofty patriotism has been displayed by Englishmen than that displayed by Lovewell and his hardy comrades. In a season of supreme peril to their country, amid the fervent prayers of the best people of the land, with an unalterable resolution to conquer or perish in the attempt, they went forth to meet hardships and perils calculated to appal the stoutest hearts. Their reply when they found themselves in the vicinity of their pitiless enemy, without knowledge of the numbers they were to encounter, and knowing that defeat meant death, perhaps by the cruelest torture, should render their names immortal. They had prayed to meet the enemy, and would trust in Providence and if necessary die for their country, but would not turn back. What nobler spirit have heroes ever exhibited? Nor should we ignore the sentiments of the people for

whose welfare they suffered. They realized, better than we can realize, the exigencies of the occasion which prompted these men to go forth against their savage foes, and to the sacrifices which they made, and we should give due weight to their opinions. They extolled them as heroes, and the pulpits of New England, occupied by some of the purest men whom any age can produce, endorsed the public testimony.

The importance of a battle can be properly estimated neither by the numbers engaged in it, nor by the numbers left on the field. It can be correctly measured only by results. Adopting this standard, in doing which we are supported by an authority no less than Sir Edward Creasy, who has given the chief place in military history only to those battles which are acknowledged to have been decisive, and which he finds to be but fifteen in number, the battle of Pequaket at once assumes important proportions. It was decisive.

In this battle the Pequakets lost their great chief and many of their best warriors, and they realized for the first time that the English arm was long enough to reach them. An enemy who could send out men versed in their own methods of warfare, who could, with impunity, erect fortified camps in their country, and attack and destroy their homes, filled them with dread and made them anxious for peace. So great was the terror inspired by Lovewell's attack upon them that the savages abandoned their seat at Pequaket and took up their abode in Canada. In a short time overtures for peace were made. A treaty was agreed upon, and New England again enjoyed a season of prosperity, although the French still endeavored to foment trouble between them and the savages—over whom they exercised a malign influence—but with poor success, as the lesson taught them at Norridgewock and Pequaket convinced them that the English were dangerous enemies when aroused.

To Lovewell, then, we may accord the honor of having, by his brave fight at Pequaket, ended a war which might have been prolonged for years and caused much bloodshed and suffering.

Upon concluding the reading of his paper Mr. Baxter called upon Hon. George B. Barrows of Fryeburg, who spoke as follows:—

MR. PRESIDENT:— It is a matter of general regret that the rain of the morning prevented so many from leaving Portland to attend this meeting, and also that the return of several members after their afternoon excursion has diminished the attendance of the evening. As for myself, counting on an embarrassment of riches from abroad, I had not thought of speaking at all, and will only allude briefly to some topics suggested by the walks and drives of the day.

If the State has made it the duty of this Society to collect and preserve whatever may tend to explain and illustrate any department of its

history, we should not limit it to writings in books, or collections in museums, which may perhaps be far removed from the general public. No illustration of an important event can be so impressive and instructive as upon the very spot of its occurrence, where it can be known and read of all men. It may be the duty of the town, or state, or of some other state, to erect memorials in some particular place, but is it not the privilege, as well as duty, of this Society to suggest, if not supervise, the performance of all such neglected duties? Circulars sent to the citizens of towns of some historical importance, to be read in open town-meeting, reminding them of their hidden attractions, and proposing some methods of historical illustration, would be gratefully received; and should subsequent action follow, in which this Society might bear a part, a valuable object-lesson would be given.

The interesting paper to which we have just listened has clearly demonstrated the fine and noble patriotism of Capt. John Lovewell and his gallant comrades; and has shown that the peace which prevailed along our border towns was bought with a price — the lives of these brave men. Let us therefore consider the question of marking their last resting-place this day visited, of remembering them in granite, and devise hereafter some way of accomplishment.

But while it is a pleasant duty to recall the valor of our own fallen heroes and hold them in grateful remembrance, I venture to assert that I do not misrepresent our members, when I say that we also honor the memory of those other heroes, who died for their homes and native land, and were buried by the side of their foes on the soil where their fathers had lived for unknown generations. Let us not forget them; rather let us remember them by a new baptism of a part of their original territory, never sold or conveyed.

It would be a fitting memorial to this vanished race, to attach their names to Mt. Pleasant, the nearest and highest summit, which in the adjoining town looks down upon the spot where they lived, and the sheet of water on whose shores they bravely died. Its present name bears no marked or special significance, it is found here and there in almost every New England county. I propose that the Society take measures in some legitimate way, to effect an exchange of names. No doubt if legislative intervention should be required, it would follow the line of their recommendation. Several years ago I consulted the proprietors of the mountain territory on this point, and received their general assent. I mention a conclusive argument for this mountain revision, when I state, that a nomadic association has more than once attempted to transfer the name Pequaket from the territory now in this state, where it belongs, to another state, where it does not belong; and with the direct object of extinguishing an original and long-established name, and thereby falsifying an important historical event. The dis-

interested labors and addresses of Hon. Gustavus Vasa Fox, fortified by a number of private letters which I received from him, have proved forever that the symmetrical peak so near us, which we have seen to-day bright in the sunlight, and veiled in mist is

“THE KEARSARGE”

famous forever for its partnership with the man-of-war that sank the pirate Alabama. The daughter of a Portland family, familiar with the mountain visible from that city, had it in remembrance when she christened the Kearsarge.

Thus we find authority for demanding that historic truth shall receive no detriment, and that none of our kith and kin shall be defrauded of their historic rights.

While thus pursuing our monumental investigations, it should not be forgotten that one of the most important opportunities has thus far not been considered.

New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York and Washington have honored themselves by erecting statues to the memory of Daniel Webster. But one other spot remains, still unmarked, where a part of his life was spent.

In this town, before attaining his majority, as teacher, student-at-law and orator, he began his active life. Shall not the fame of this distinguished statesman be thus forever linked with the state of Maine, through the agency of this Society?

Allow me to call the attention of the young persons present to the fact that

FRYEBURG WAS THE FIRST WHITE MOUNTAIN TOWN.

Darby Field came up the Saco in 1642, leaving here his canoes at the Pequaket village which occupied the site of the present village. He took guides across the Kearsarge range directly to Mount Washington. The first white settlers came here in 1762, before any other town in Maine or New Hampshire within the White Mountain circle was settled; and here in 1804, the bell in the academy waked the echoes never before thus disturbed in this primeval wilderness.

VIEW OF LOVEWELL'S BATTLE-GROUND.

Yesterday I received a water color sketch of the battle-ground, from a Brooklyn amateur — although a native of Portland — which I exhibit this evening. It presents its well-known limits, the mouth of Fight Brook, and the point of rocks extending into the pond, showing also Chocorua in the distance, between whose base and Ossipee Mount, the weary march was made.

The Rev. Dr. Charles F. Allen, a former resident of Fryeburg, was next called upon and he spoke impressively of his great pleasure in the day, the importance of historic investigations, and gave some reminiscences of his early associations in Fryeburg, and the family ties that connected him therewith.

Dr. S. C. Gordon followed with an eloquent address referring to his boyhood days and the old Fryeburg Academy, and dwelling upon the importance of the study of local history in our schools.

A. F. Lewis Esq., of Fryeburg, then spoke as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT: You need offer no apology for having chosen for the theme of your address this evening the History of Lovewell's Fight. Frederick Kidder, who has written the best history of that fierce struggle that has ever appeared, says that the story of that fight will be read with interest so long as Bunker Hill and Thermopylae remain on the pages of history. Historians have written of it, orators have declaimed upon it, and poets have sung of it in martial strains, till it has become embalmed in the best beloved songs and stories of all New England.

Mr. Chairman, I am not a Fryeburger, "to the manner born," in "this land of delight," as Paul Coffin calls it; yet I claim to be a genuine son of Pequaket, having been born a mile away, just over the Jordan (the Saco) in Conway, a part of the original sachendom of Pequaket. However, I have been a dweller here forty years and intend at an early day to take out naturalization papers so that I may be a full-fledged citizen of this fair town, and where, of "my right there'll be none to dispute." Next to Boston there is no place to be born in like Fryeburg; and as it was not convenient to be born in Fryeburg I selected a place in full view of, and within a stone's throw of, this beautiful town. In the fascinating history of Fryeburg has figured the red man, the black man, the white man and the man somewhat off in color. The red man was the original proprietor. He had some rights which he thought "white men were bound to respect." There was where he and the white man differed. Whenever the red or the black man has encountered the white man in our country, the former have been driven to the wall.

The braves who inhabited here were couragous, and I may add, patriotic. In colonial days they fought against the English, and in Revolutionary days they fought against the English. The last trace of them as

a tribe is in a petition dated at Fryeburg in which they ask for guns, blankets and ammunition for thirteen men who are willing to enroll themselves on the patriot side. This document was endorsed by the proper authorities, and the request was granted. When the Pequakets are unkindly spoken of let us remember this last tableau in their drama.

Many an interesting tale is told of the lingering remnant of the tribe of the Pequakets.

From their ancient sepulchres,  
Where, amid the giant firs,  
Moaning loud the high wind stirs,  
Have the red men gone  
Towards the setting sun that makes  
Bright our western hills and lakes,  
Faint and few the remnant takes  
Its sad journey on.

Some of the Indians were loath to give up their favorite hunting-grounds and remained here after the town was settled. Sometimes a dozen were seen gathered about Rev. Mr. Fessenden's large fireplace cooking their meat for dinner. Mol Lockett, a famous squaw and doctress, is still remembered by some of our eldest people. She lingered about here till 1816, and then died in Andover. Many anecdotes are related of her. Molly was too fond of *occoby*, the Indian word for rum, and sometimes resorted to questionable methods to obtain it. One day, calling at one of her favorite haunts, she booted through the door in an unceremonious manner, and holding her jaws in both hands, gave utterance to most agonizing groans, accompanied by violent contortions of her countenance. "What's the matter, Molly?" inquired the landlady in sympathizing tones. "Me got toothache," replied Molly. "Gim me *occoby*! Gim me rum to lol in moof! Quick, quick or me die!" The required cordial was quickly furnished, and Molly as quickly filled her mouth. But strange to tell, her mouth refused to retain it and it slipped down her throat. Again extending her hand for the bottle she muttered, "Goly, dem rum good, but slips down easy. Gim me more; me make um stay if me try hunder times."

Among the early settlers of Fryeburg a black man was here at breakfast, and here to stay. Of the three men who alone passed the first winter in Fryeburg was the famous colored man, Limbo. He was the slave of the McLellans of Gorham. He had driven the cattle from Gorham to Fryeburg to winter on the hay cut here on the great meadows before the town was settled, and thus found his way to Pequaket. Limbo may be considered the first passenger on the underground railroad, and may be regarded as worthy of a monument for his successful race for freedom. I trust that this Society in locating its monuments will not forget this early settler of Fryeburg. Strange to



relate, Limbo lived in Fryeburg till the day of his death, nearly seventy years, and so completely did he burn his bridges behind him, and cover his tracks that his master, only forty miles away, never knew what became of him. His bones repose in the old village cemetery and his humble tombstone gives him the the proud title of "an honest man, the noblest work of God."

Eastman Johnson, an eminent portrait painter, in a recent visit to this village where his boyhood days were passed, though only four years old when Limbo died, assured me that he remembered him well.

Allow me to say that we are awaiting the completion of our town history, with great impatience, by the hand that has for years been gathering from the rich storehouse of its annals. We hope that hand will not be palsied ere the work is complete. We who have read the product of his pen, and listened to the magic of his voice, trust that he may live to put in enduring form a story that will delight the dwellers of this valley, their descendants and all who shall read its pages. There is a classic phrase: *Serus in eolum redeas*. May this be true of Fryeburg's historian.

Here, in 1815, Gov. Enoch Lincoln wrote "The Village," the first extended poem written in Maine, descriptive of the society and scenery of Fryeburg. Here Longfellow found the inspiration for his first poem, written at the age of thirteen, "The Battle of Lovewell's Pond," and again at the age of eighteen he was here, and contributed another poem on the same subject, the occasion being the centennial celebration of Lovewell's fight in 1825. It is a remarkable fact that the earliest efforts of America's most illustrious orator and her most distinguished poet are associated with Fryeburg. There are many other names well up in the galaxy of fame that I might mention did time permit. The professions have been represented by first-class men. Among the clergy were Rev. Mr. Fessenden, father of Gen. Samuel and grandfather of William Pitt Fessenden. Emerson and Prof. Andrew P. Peabody ministered a brief period here in their early life, and later Drs. Hurd, Mason, Sewall and Stone. Among the legal lights were Dana, McGaw, Col. Bradley, Gov. Enoch Lincoln, Barrows, Chase, A. R. Bradley and Hastings. Among physicians were Benton, Ramsay, Griswold, Barrows, Lamson, the Towles, and another, who in the prime of life is spending a part of each year in his native town, Dr. Gordon, whom we are glad to see and hear to-night. May he long live to enjoy his fine mansion at the head of the street, and to dispense his generous hospitality to our own citizens and to the stranger within our gates.

While speaking of physicians, there is one other of whom did I not speak I should deem myself quite disloyal to my native heath. Dr. Jerome Von Crowningshield Smith — that last name is quite common — nothing common about the handle to his name — in fact, there was

nothing common about the man. He was born in Conway, just over the line, a son of old Pequaket, as he called himself. He was an orator; I heard him when a boy on the lecture platform. He was for several years mayor of Boston, and where orators were as plenty as in old Greece and Rome, he has the distinction of being placed among "Boston's Hundred Orators." Dr. Smith was a poet as well as orator, and I will close by reciting the opening and closing lines of a poem read by him in Boston before the Sons of New Hampshire, November 7, 1849:—

## PEQUAKET.

Pequaket, once the wildest, roughest place,  
Where Indians, the hardest of their race,  
Tracked the tall moose, struck dead the wolf and deer  
With feathered tomahawk and spear,  
Tortured their enemies with burning coals,  
And feasted daintily from skulls for bowls,  
Is changed in a spot now—no savage yells  
Echo on mountain sides or through the dells,  
The peaceful fields are filled with waving grain  
And man's no longer by the savage slain.

But civilization, with its sanctified steps  
And all that belongs to domestic mishaps,  
Has made life here as love in a cottage,  
Since beef is preferred to bear-broth and pottage,  
And inches now walk where once squaws at their ease  
Hang up their pop-purses on tops of the trees.  
Pequaket, Pequaket, the land of my birth,  
There's but one Pequaket upon the whole earth  
While dying in cities is thought to be glory  
Shall the deeds of thy heroes be blazoned in story.

Remarks were also made by Rev. B. N. Stone and William Gordon Esq., of Fryeburg. On motion of Hon. George A. Emery, of Saco, it was voted that the thanks of the Society be extended to Dr. S. C. Gordon, and Messrs. G. B. Barrows, C. H. Walker and A. F. Lewis for their hospitality and courteous attentions paid to the members of the Society and their friends on the occasion of this Field Day Excursion.

## REV. JACOB BAILEY.

MISSIONARY OF CHURCH OF ENGLAND ON KENNEBEC RIVER, 1760-79;  
HIS CHARACTER AND WORK.

BY CHARLES E. ALLEN, DRESDEN, MAINE.

*Read before the Maine Historical Society, November 22, 1895.*

IF American history, in that process of rewriting which now seems to be taking place, is to be correctly written, many fallacies or fictions, as well as much prejudice in the mind of the average American, must be outgrown. History can never be correctly written while hatred for even a greatly mistaken political or religious enemy or opponent exists in the mind of the chronicler, or is cherished by his readers.

By no means least among our hatreds, as a people, is that which has been for so many years cherished against those who, at the time of the war for American independence, remained firm in their loyalty to their English sovereign, and who have long been known as Loyalists, sometimes derisively as Tories, or sympathetically as Refugees. At the outbreak of hostilities, all colonists were so loyal that they fought the battles of Lexington and Concord, and of Bunker Hill in the name of their sovereign, it being with them a legal fiction that they were only contending against the illegal acts of the Parliament and of the king's officers, and not against their lawful ruler. And so eminent an authority as John Adams affirmed

that at least one out of three of the people were firm in their loyalty to the king, a fact which demands for that class of Americans more considerate treatment than merely a sneer.

My present paper will deal with one such Loyalist, the Rev. Jacob Bailey, the first missionary of the Church of England, on Kennebec River; and I trust that I may not be thought disloyal to that government which I had the honor, in a humble way, to aid in defending in the civil war of 1861, if I affirm that an examination of what remains of the vast volume of papers which he left, has caused me to become very much his champion, and to sympathize with him most fully. When Rev. Mr. Bartlet wrote the *Frontier Missionary* some forty years ago, much material he could not use, had he wished to, because of prejudice. Some matters he was obliged arbitrarily to suppress for the same reason; but in his admirable and painstaking work he aimed at justice for his subject, and succeeded so far as circumstances would permit. But in his preface to that work, even the late Bishop Burgess, who seems by writing that preface to have indorsed Mr. Bartlet's book, naturally enough, perhaps, fails to fully comprehend the character of Mr. Bailey; while William Willis, writing for lawyers, knew so little about Bailey that he called him eccentric.

It is my wish in this paper to deal wholly with matters which have never appeared in print, and yet an introduction of the subject requires some reference to and quotation from the *Frontier Missionary*. Such

reference will be new to those who have never had the pleasure of reading that book, and may serve to refresh the memories of those who have. I shall emphasize the fact, hinted at in that work, that the bitter opposition to Mr. Bailey was, so far as it was religious, in reality the Puritan's narrow opposition to the Church of England, his loyalty to the English king being only a pretext.

Jacob Bailey was born in the town of Rowley, Massachusetts, in 1731. The boy, like the man of later years, although just a little tainted by some social corruption of the times, was greatly superior to his surroundings. He was very poor, of very poor parents, and hence socially he was very low, for society often grades its members by any standard other than that of moral worth or intellect. He entered Harvard College at the age of twenty, and graduated therefrom in 1755, at the foot of his class, because the Puritan commonwealth of Massachusetts was far from democratic, and his social position was at the foot. Among his classmates was John Adams, at one time his friend and correspondent, and whom he again met at Pownalboro, when Adams visited the section in 1765, as attorney for the proprietors of the Kennebec Purchase. He taught school in several Massachusetts towns, having among his pupils a class of young ladies some years before Puritan Boston thought it prudent to admit girls to her public schools. Educated a Congregationalist, he preached for a while as minister of that sect until he came to examine the tenets and discipline of the Church of England. His change to that

communion was certainly unselfish, for Episcopacy was then far from popular in Massachusetts. Nor was his field of labor such an one as would have been chosen by a self-seeker. His change of faith, too, was the occasion of bitterness on the part of some of his acquaintances, of which fact his letters of that period give evidence.

In religion, the motley company of humble settlers, such people as make a state possible everywhere, and who were, at the solicitation of the Plymouth Company, gathered at the old Kennebec plantation of Frankfort, was very much mixed. A list of their names, in Bailey's handwriting with his designations affixed thereto, gives us Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Calvinists, Lutherans, Independents, Quakers, Churchmen, and people without religious preferences. Among them were those who could not speak English, nor understand it very well when they heard it spoken; and when Mr. Bailey afterwards became their minister it was somewhat amusing to him to note the earnestness with which they looked at him as they tried to comprehend his words. These were the French refugees or Huguenots who, with their neighbors, asked in November, 1759, that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts would send this young man to them for their religious teacher, he taking the place of Mr. McClellahan, who was not fitted for the work. As Frankfort and the settlements along the westerly side of Sheepscot River were the following year, as the town of Pownalboro, made the shire town of the new county of

Lincoln, Mr. Bailey's position became not only prominent, but important. It was the first town in New England where the Episcopal church was established at the commencement of the town. It was a field unoccupied, uncultivated and unclaimed by any body of Christian worshipers, if we may except Catholics, for Massachusetts Puritans cared little about religion in the wilderness of Maine, except to oppose somebody who might interfere with that system of fraud which they dignified by the name of trade with the Indians.

Can we of to-day realize just what the Kennebec country was one hundred and thirty-five years ago? Mr. Bailey's picture is a vivid one, and as I hope to show part of that picture in the course of this paper, I will remark that it was a wilderness of wild animals, flies, fleas, mosquitoes, and of Indians who might have been friendly, but who had been made hostile by repeated acts of perfidy on the part of white sanctimonious long-faces, as Mr. Bailey sometimes designates them. There were no roads worth mentioning, and very little cleared land. The people were very poor, but not very ignorant. It is a mistake to suppose that poverty and ignorance always go together. Some of them were Irish, and others were French, two peoples which Puritans, with Englishmen, misrepresented and misunderstood. Indeed, Mr. Bailey himself at first shared the current prejudice against the French, which prejudice however, afterwards became with him very much modified. And he was earnest in defending the French who were of his little

flock from misrepresentation by people who knew too little about them to understand them, or regarded them as chattels. He took much pains to study their language.

But I am anticipating. In Mr. Bailey's manuscript "Journal of a Travel from Gloucester in New England to London in Great Britain; and from thence to Pownalborough on Kennebec River," we find that he commenced his pilgrimage on Thursday, December 13, 1759, and he walked from the fishing town to the metropolis of New England. Much of this part of his journal is quoted by Mr. Bartlet. He tarried in Boston and in Cambridge almost a month before he could complete arrangements for his journey and secure a passage across the Atlantic, which was finally obtained in a dirty, dingy little cabin in the British war-vessel called the Hind, Capt. Bond. While he tarried in Boston he seems to have been the favored guest of the celebrities of the Episcopal church, and of others. On shipboard he was surrounded by officers whom he called "pompous nobodies," and by squalid sailors, all officiously profane, and nearly all needlessly drunken even for Englishmen in those times. One wonders if the discipline on the Hind was a fair sample of British naval discipline in the eighteenth century.

Despite his dismal surroundings, his greasy hammock, his terrible seasickness, and the roughness of this winter voyage across the ocean, he kept a very minute journal, noting even the distance sailed by the ship on certain days. But that it would crowd out



matters which seem to be more important, I would be pleased to give some records omitted in the Frontier Missionary, for I am confident they would greatly interest. I reluctantly pass them by, although I cannot refrain from presenting an anecdote illustrating his style of story telling. All his writings are distinguished by a minuteness, a faithfulness to detail, dear to the true lover of history, although tiresome to those who mistake that delirium of fever, which we of to-day call progress, for real advancement. He is much amused at a certain Deacon W, who called upon him at his lodgings, and who was wealthy, and he relates that when traveling with a young man, the latter proposed tarrying for dinner at a certain inn which they passed. The thrifty deacon answered that he had a friend living a short distance along the road, and invited his young companion to dine with him there, assuring him that both would be welcome. Soon they arrived at a hovel occupied by an old cripple and his wife, who earned a subsistence by making brooms. The travelers were invited to a meal of porridge, that being the best the couple could furnish, and of which the hungry travelers partook and proceeded on their way. At the time for the next meal they found themselves at an inn, when the deacon claimed that as he had been the means of securing his companion a dinner, he should now return the favor by paying for both meals at the inn, which the young man did, and took care to travel no farther in the deacon's company. That young man was, no doubt, Mr. Bailey.

At twelve o'clock on Saturday, the sixteenth day of February, 1760, and twenty-eight days after leaving Nantasket, the *Hind* dropped anchor in Portsmouth harbor; and while our young candidate for Episcopal ordination stood upon deck gazing longingly at the shore, the lieutenant of marines said to him, "Now, Mr. Bailey, you have a view of a Christian country, which you had never an opportunity of seeing before," and he further intimated that he looked upon the people of New England as a barbarous and inhospitable generation. Mr Bailey was prevented from landing that day, and he wrote out a description of the Isle of Wight. The next day — Sunday — he took a joyful leave of his dirty prison ship, although he expresses regret at parting with the friends he had made among the ship's company. Arrived on shore, he met with sundry adventures which led him to think that many of the people of this Christian country were far worse than those of the Boston he had left. In fact his descriptions, both of scenes in England and of social customs and manners in New England, might be commended to those who bewail the degeneracy of the present times. Stripped of the more objectionable passages — for writers wrote more freely in those days — they would interest if I had space to present the details in the compass of an address like this. I hope that much of the detail may yet be printed.

On the way to London by "stage machine," he gave a minute description of the towns he passed through. In one place, Guilford, while the coach

changed horses, he went into a shop to make some purchases. Making some inquiry about English walnuts, the surprised shopkeeper asked him where he lived that he didn't know about them. When told New England, the astonished shopkeeper exclaimed, "Is it possible for a person educated in New England to speak such good English! Why, sir; you speak as plain English as we do." A crowd collecting, Mr. Bailey found himself the center of a group of wondering Britons.

Arrived in London, he was struck by the grandeur of the buildings, although he pronounced the road over which he had traveled to be worse than those in New England, and infested with highway robbers. This, however, was one hundred and thirty-five years ago. While in the metropolis, waiting for the very slow movement of church dignitaries, he visited Dr. Franklin and other celebrities, inspected Westminster Abbey, and wrote an elaborate description of that historic church. In company with John Gardiner, he went to see the celebrated David Garrick at Drury Lane theater. Finally, on the second of March, 1760, Zachary, Bishop of Rochester, affixed the seal of the dying Thomas Sherlock to the certificate of Mr. Bailey's ordination as deacon of the Church of England; and fourteen days later he was ordained priest by the Bishop of Peterborough, taking the ordination oath, that oath by which he felt himself bound during the troublesome years that followed.

On his return to his native land he made the following entry in his journal:—"Wednesday, May 28.

About ten to our inexpressible joy made the mountains of Adimenticus, on the coast of New England, having been out of sight of land from Cape Cornwall in Britian 32 days. These hills bore from us at noon W. N. W., about 9 leagues and made something like this appearance"—followed by a drawing of their outline. On the first of July following he became "Itinerant Missionary on the Eastern Frontier of Massachusetts Bay," living at first with Major Goodwin in the barracks of Fort Shirley, afterwards in Fort Richmond, in 1766 in a log house in Pownalboro, and finally in the parsonage built in 1770. He conducted services where he could find room, chiefly in the court house (which is still standing), until St. John's church was built in 1770, it being the first Episcopal church edifice completed east of Portland, unless we except the chapel of Fort St. George in 1607. Matters seem to have run quite smoothly with our young missionary until he succeeded in obtaining a grant of land for the proposed church. Certain it is that the missionary field was unoccupied when he undertook it. It is evident that he was ambitious, zealous, industrious and painstaking, often subordinating his own interests to the good of his parish. His scholarship was good, his reading extensive, his abilities of a high order. I regret that I find many of his sermons to be quite dull when compared with his miscellaneous writings, which are very entertaining, and often sparkle with wit and humor.

The first intimation he received that there was any opposition to him, he had in the conduct of Charles

Cushing, who from being a regular attendant at church got to absenting himself therefrom. In addition to this he found reports circulated reflecting upon himself as a man and as a minister. Among papers which he left is a copy of a manly letter addressed to Cushing asking for an interview, and hoping that the latter would tell him as a brother why he had taken offense. No notice was taken of his request. He afterwards found that Jonathan Bowman was the real leader in the opposition to him, which opposition grew so formidable that Mr. Bailey at one time seriously contemplated asking for removal to another station. These two gentlemen, Jonathan Bowman and Charles Cushing, were the "M" and "N" of Bartlet's Frontier Missionary. William Cushing, afterwards judge of the United States Supreme Court, seems to have been Mr. Bailey's friend.

What was the nature of this opposition, and why did these men become enemies to our missionary? The reasons were incidentally religious, but often less worthy motives actuated them. They were of that Massachusetts Puritan stock whose faces were sternly set against any church but their own — people who, when pious, were very pious, but seldom very good. Frankfort had been settled by poor immigrants eight years before the establishment of the courts at Pownalboro, and the arrival of lawyer adventurers in the section. The poor Calvinists, Lutherans and others, were evidently a religious people. They asked for Mr. Bailey to be sent them, but they had no conception of the means adopted by shrewd adventurers ac-

quainted with the many inconsistencies of English law, relative to land titles, to increase their estates at the expense of their unfortunate neighbors. When Mr. Bailey first came to these people, he was often amused at their efforts during divine service to comprehend the meaning of his words. They spoke French and German. Their pastor became interested in them, and they venerated him in return. Bowman and his party were jealous of his influence, especially when Mr. Bailey sought to follow the example of the Catholic missionary at Norridgewoek some forty years before, and tried to shield his people from these schemers. His writings speak of the low estimate in which his people were held, and he sought to correct that estimate. Englishman and Puritan alike hated a Frenchman and robbed him as mercilessly as they did an Indian.

One of the most pathetic stories which it has ever been my fortune to study is that of the Acadians, as shown in the volume of Massachusetts State papers, labeled "French Neutrals." It was Massachusetts' Puritan hatred of anything Catholic or French that led to the removal of the Acadians from their homes in 1755. I incline to the belief that the claim of several writers, all Protestants, that it was a crime without a parallel in history is hardly an exaggeration. At the time Frankfort was settled and Pownalboro incorporated, Massachusetts was engaged in placing these unfortunate exiles anywhere, to get the detested French out of her way. Some were sent to towns in Maine, but probably none to Pownal-

boro. This incident, no doubt, tended to embarrass Mr. Bailey. His parish in Pownalboro was largely composed of Frenchmen, and he was looked upon as the champion of an alien church and an alien people. What more was wanted? His opponents cared nothing for religion. His church was free for the poorest. After being defeated in their schemes, they became quiet until the troublous times of the Revolution came. That gave them an opportunity which they improved to the extent of driving off the missionary, and enriching themselves at the expense of confiscated estates. Dr. Johnson remarked that "Patriotism was the refuge of the scoundrel." Oftentimes none are so patriotic as those who are enabled to enrich themselves at the expense of political or religious opponents.

Mr. Bailey was a Loyalist; and it is commonly supposed that opposition to him was solely on that account. But Jonathan Bowman and Charles Cushing, also, as officers of Lincoln County, were solemnly sworn to bear true faith and allegiance to His Majesty, George III., and that they would give information of any conspiracies against his person, crown, or dignity; and indeed, in a letter dated February 6 1772, thanking Gov. Hutchinson for his commission, Cushing says, "It is not in my power to make your excellency better amends than by endeavoring at such a life as shall denominate me one of his majesty's faithful subjects." Can we wonder when we consider that only a few years later, while Cushing still held that commission, Mr. Bailey asked the question, "Will Col. Cushing, as sheriff of Lincoln county, dare im-

prison a man for refusing to take up arms against his sovereign?"

When our missionary's name was placed in a list to be considered by his townsmen, for transportation, the qualified voters of Pownalboro in town meeting voted to strike it from the list, along with those of Abiel Wood and others, thus practically expressing their sympathy with him: and Bailey sent the committee of safety a letter assuring them that if they would permit the Loyalists of Pownalboro to enjoy their homes and property in peace, they would pledge themselves to be quiet and refrain from giving either aid or information to the enemies of Congress; but they could not conscientiously renounce their allegiance to their sovereign. Before matters had gone thus far, however, his friend and patron, Dr. Gardiner, wrote him sharply for reading even a Thanksgiving proclamation issued by the Provincial Congress. And yet there are those who think that Bailey was stubborn. The reasons for his refusal to read the Declaration of Independence are best given in his words. Of that Mr. Bailey writes: "On the 22nd of September, immediately after divine service, instead of reading the Declaration of Independency, I said, 'Some of you perhaps expect that I should read a paper, but I cannot comply without offering the utmost violence to my conscience: and I solemnly declare in the presence of this assembly that my refusal does not proceed from any contempt of authority, but from a sacred regard to my former engagements, and from a dread



of offending that God who is infinitely superior to all earthly power.'”

Finally, every other means proving ineffectual, Cushing, Bowman, Hambleton and Carleton, the committee of safety, summoned him to trial at the court house on the twenty-eighth of October. The first count in the indictment charged him with preaching sedition, and they had one or more witnesses, whereupon Mr. Bailey, upon the principle of giving them the best evidence, read the sermon complained of. It seems that Samuel Goodwin Jr., was the chief witness, but when Bailey read the seditious discourse Goodwin's testimony was not needed. The refusal to read the Declaration of Independence was next considered; but after reading his ordination oath to them, the parson declared that this oath afforded little satisfaction to the committee, and Cushing asked him a number of ensnaring questions, among them whether if the king had broken his coronation oath that did not absolve his subjects? To this inquiry, Mr. Bailey replied that the falsehood and treachery of one party could never justify the baseness and perjury of another. “As for instance, no engagements are more solemn and binding than the marriage vows, and if the husband commit adultery the wife may not have liberty to commit the same crime.” This remark was intended for high sheriff Col. Cushing, and illustrates the parson's style of sarcasm. I conclude this allusion to the trial with an outline of his argument relative to not reading the Declaration of Inde-

pendence. Bailey's claim was that in refusing he was not guilty of contempt of authority, because it was simply a requisition from the council, and could not obtain the nature and force of a law. It was from one branch of the legislative body only. And farther, the council has not directly ordered ministers to read the Declaration, and gives no directions from whom this requisition is to proceed. He observed, too, that no penalty was annexed to the order, and by the English constitution no penalty could be inflicted. Disobedience to a royal proclamation, or even an act of Parliament, without a penalty, cannot subject an offender to any punishment, for in every law, before it can operate, the authority which enacts it must specify both the crime and its penalty. "It is true the offense alleged is contempt of authority, and that is a crime which deserves punishment. I answer that the authority offended ought either to take cognizance of the matter, or to delegate proper persons to determine the case, and where regard is had to the liberties of the people the punishment will undoubtedly be specified. No penalty can be annexed after the crime is committed."

The offense of praying for the king seems to have been lost sight of, and finally Mr. Bailey was discharged.

His writings during this period sparkle with both humor and irony. For instance, we are told in Mr. Bartlet's book that a liberty-pole was erected to offend him. But nothing is said about that pole being cut down. It was cut down, and Mr. Bailey

was looked upon as the instigator of the act, and he wrote a letter disclaiming his connection with the cutting. Among the reasons why he was sorry for the act, he says that if one pole would give his neighbors so much pleasure it were better to have a thousand than merely one. But he adds, "you are sensible that liberty may subsist without any pole at all; and if all the pines, spruces and firs were lying prone upon the ground it would not elevate tyranny a bit." And again, he will no longer wonder at the heathen adoring images of wood or stone, since he finds so many professed Christians paying homage to a pole. When the revolutionists made raids on tea to the extent of making a teapot of the Kennebec River, his sympathies were with poor innocent tea that never harmed anybody. And his letters during this period almost always contain appeals to his correspondents for tea. After Massachusetts government granted his request for permission to depart for Nova Scotia, the season was so far advanced that he was unable to get away in 1778, and during the winter at the request of the members of his parish he thought he might conduct divine service. Cushing forbade it, and in no very mild or gentlemanly terms, characterizing his congregation as a nest of d——d Tories. Mr. Bailey responded that he did not suppose the United States could possibly be in danger if he ministered to his people. Bowman and Cushing were determined to drive him to leave his church, and either imprison or force him to take the oath of allegiance to Congress. They attempted to prevent Massachusetts General

Court granting him permission to depart in peace, and even after that permission was granted they continued to annoy him. The contrast between his simple petition to the General Court and the mass of vituperation penned by Cushing to the same body is very marked.

Finally, in the summer of 1779 he succeeded in chartering a small schooner of two brothers named Light, and with part of his effects, his wife and infant son, and a heavy heart, he commenced his long and wearisome journey to Halifax. He could not, however, think of anything but a speedy return to the scene of his labors. His letters to friends left at Pownalboro constantly alluded to his hopes of a return. But the American cause prevailed and prevented the realization of his wishes, because being a priest of the Church of England he was a marked man on the part of local officials. Although John Silvester John Gardiner, afterwards rector of Trinity church, Boston, read prayers occasionally in the church at Pownalboro, and Mr. Bailey wrote him about being ordained for that parish, the church and parsonage, being stripped by vandal hands, soon went to decay. The missionary settled at Annapolis, Nova Scotia, and after a long pastorate, died in 1808, and was buried in the old cemetery adjoining the fort, about which for more than a hundred years the English and French contended for supremacy in North America. Last summer it was my privilege to stand upon the site of his church there, to visit the old cemetery, and to converse with and share the hospitality of his

grandchildren. During his life in Nova Scotia he was as industrious as he had been while on the Kennebec. He traveled much in the Annapolis valley and elsewhere, and left minute descriptions of the country, then sparsely settled. He made observations on the minerals of the province, especially in Cumberland County, long before the mines were worked. The story of the Acadians interested him very much.

His writings show him to be possessed of a most Catholic spirit. He shared the average Protestant's antipathy to what he called the Romish church, and yet he extended a generous hospitality to some French Jesuit priests, who called on him while in Pownalboro. Indeed, in his MS. History of the Eastern Country, after giving an account of the destruction of Father Rasle's mission at Norridgewock, he pays a warm tribute to the self-sacrificing zeal, the education and culture, of the Jesuit, and closes his narrative by affirming that "though mistaken in his religious and political principles, he honestly endeavored to support the welfare of his disciples, and to pursue the dictates of his conscience; but like other upright men, he perished in the cause he labored to maintain, and by the power he most heartily despised. To blacken the moral character of a person for no other reason than because his country, education, and interest are opposed to our own, is narrow, base and ungenerous." Of his account of the affair at Norridgewock he affirms that as he has read every printed description, and talked with those who were with the expedition, he believes his account to be as nearly correct as any.

I find him always a champion of the Indian, although he does not attempt to hide the fact of the Indians' wanton cruelty to captives, at times. But as he was himself witness to wanton acts of duplicity on the part of the whites, he affirms that although his own ancestors had suffered at the hands of the Indian, yet he must declare that his sympathies were with the savage, and he pays warm tribute to the character of Bomazeen and other chieftains. Of the Lovewell fight at Fryeburg, he affirms, as have others, that it was the outcome of a bounty offered by Massachusetts on Indian scalps, and the only heroism displayed was by the savages. Young men from Boston then included Indians in their list of game, just as to-day they regard Maine as only a game preserve kept for their pleasure and profit.

Mr. Bailey delighted to puncture the bubble of Puritanism, although he speaks highly of the character of many of the fathers of New England. He says that when the colonists who first settled Massachusetts Bay left England, they signed a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops, clergy, and brethren of the Church of England wherein "They earnestly request their petitions to heaven: allow them to be nearest to the throne of divine mercy, and entreat them not to regard any reports to their disadvantage which might arise from the disaffection and indiscretion of particular persons. They profess that the body of their company esteem it an honor to call the Church of England their dear mother, and that they cannot forsake their native country without

much sadness of heart and many tears. They acknowledge that the hope and interest they had obtained in the common salvation they had received in her bosom and sucked from her breasts. They bless God for their parentage and education in this church, and, as members of the same body, declare they shall always rejoice in her safety and unfeignedly grieve for any sorrow that shall ever betide her; and while they have any breath will sincerely desire and endeavor to continue her welfare with the enlargement of her bounds." Mr. Bailey thinks that does not look as if our forefathers fled into this howling wilderness to avoid persecution, as he affirms was believed by multitudes. In the second volume of Hutchinson's MS. History of Massachusetts Bay, which MS. forms Vol. 28 Mass. Archives, and still has the mud stains which it received when thrown into the street at the time Gov. Hutchinson's house was mobbed in 1765, occurs the same statements. The MS. was discovered by W. F. Poole, late librarian of Chicago Public Library, and I am informed that as a volume it has never been printed. I do not think Mr. Bailey could have seen that work from which to cull his statements. He affirms that the Puritans, so called, who settled Massachusetts, were naturally devout, ambitious, desirous of enjoying civil and religious liberty themselves, but unwilling to grant the privilege to others. But they were impatient of restraint, and could they have arrived at dignity and power in England we should not have heard them complain of the Hierarchy. He affirms that part of the consideration for

which they received their charter was that they were to work for the conversion of the natives to Christianity. And yet years elapsed before an attempt was made in this direction by anybody except the apostle Eliot, of whom Mr. Bailey writes with much veneration.

He notes the difference between the colony of Plymouth and that of Massachusetts Bay, calls Sir Henry Vane "that dark and gloomy hypocrite," thus showing that his estimate of the first titled governor of Massachusetts was quite as low as is that of Charles Francis Adams. Indeed, of the "Great Awakening" of 1742, he writes in much the same strain as does Mr. Adams, except that he dates it from the time of George Whitefield, or in 1740, and affirms that the religious frenzy had quite as demoralizing effect upon the colony as did the witchcraft delusion. He finds no fault with Whitefield, who he says was an actor, and who carried his acting into the pulpit at a time when "orthodox" parsons generally droned out commonplaces to a sleeping congregation. His description of such a sleeping congregation is very amusing. It seems that an evangelist from Pennsylvania, who immediately succeeded Whitefield, was the one who drove the people into religious insanity.

Mr. Bailey appears to have entertained a low estimate of the Quakers, but he vehemently denounces the Puritans' cruelty towards them.

He speaks still further of Puritan tyranny and intolerance; and after giving a vivid account of the trials at the time of the degrading witchcraft super-



stition, he says, "It is somewhat curious that 22 persons out of 28 were females. It must have been, I conceive, a prevailing article of faith in those times that women are more easily seduced into a correspondence with the malignant spirits of darkness than men." Mr. Bailey affirms that the examination of persons charged was too indecent for publication even then. And as for pathetic interest, I know nothing surpassing volume 135 Massachusetts State papers, unless it be the volumes relating to the French Neutrals, or Acadians. Mr. Bailey's detailed account is very minute. At times he quotes from Hutchinson. A single quotation from Bailey must suffice at present: "Mr. Samuel Wardwell, when first apprehended and accused, confessed himself guilty of witchcraft, and though he afterwards solemnly recanted his confession, yet he fell a sacrifice to the fury of his adversaries, and what was peculiarly severe and cruel in his affair, his own wife and daughter were admitted as evidences against him, by which means they were able to save their own lives. The daughter, indeed, upon a second inquiry denied the guilt of her parent, but the wife upon this circumstance in his favor, was never permitted another examination." He says that when Rev. George Burroughs was about to be "turned off" he repeated the Lord's Prayer, which was the "worst thing he could do. for the Prayer is so much a part of the then detested service of the Church of England that it increased the anger of the magistrates." Massachusetts did not fully recover from the effects of this delusion for

more than half a century, or until Mr. Bailey was entering college.

He was most industrious. His garden occupied much of his time, and he searched all New England for fruits, vegetables and flowers for it. He gave much attention to the fauna and flora of his section; and his MS. History of the Eastern Country, designed for publication, remained unprinted because both he and his proposed printer were Loyalists and were obliged to leave the country. His description of the soil, scenery, rivers, bays, harbors, islands, forests, animals, etc., of the section were very minute. His account of the destruction of Falmouth by Mowatt in 1775, which he witnessed, is printed in vol. 5, collections of the Maine Historical Society. In a letter to John Gardiner, then a barrister in London, in the year 1765, Mr. Bailey gives a very glowing account of the progress of the new settlement in Pownalboro, that new farms were being rapidly cleared, all the land was taken up, manufactures started, and vessels loaded direct for Europe. Land was worth more in what is now Dresden, about that time, than it is at present

He gives an account of the Indian raid on Swan Island in 1750, when the Whidden-Noble family was carried off, and tells a humorous story of the frightened soldier who reported to Capt. Lithgow at Fort Richmond that he got the news of the murder of Capt. Whidden and his whole family "from Capt. Whidden's own mouth."

Of the conference with the Indians by Sir William Pepperell, and others, commissioners appointed by

Gov. Shirley, in 1753, Mr. Bailey affirms that the Indians got the better of the commissioners in argument. The original parchment treaty negotiated at this time at Fort Richmond, is among the treaties preserved in the Massachusetts Archives.

In his very minute description of the flora of this eastern country, he calls our butternut tree the lemon walnut; and in speaking of the vegetable products affirms that eight hundred bushels of potatoes per acre had been raised. And he mentions Capt. Whidden's fifty bushels of wheat from a bushel of seed, on Swan Island.

Of natural phenomena, he affirms that the auroral light was first observed in New England in 1715. The Memorial History of Boston gives the year 1719. His description of the climate and weather in the Kennebec valley might have been written to-day. There has been no change. And his account of the Kennebec scenery is true to nature, and finely written. He speaks of islands and says Seguin was wooded, which was true, as it was not cleared of trees until 1795, when the first lighthouse was established there. In his account of rivers, he gives the lake Sebim as the source of the Kennebec. By whom was it called Moosehead? His chapter on bays and harbors on our coast is as short as is a certain chapter on snakes in Ireland, for he says the whole coast is a succession of bays and harbors, and then he stops.

Of the colony which Robert Temple and Edward Hutchinson attempted to settle about the shores of Merrymeeting Bay, Mr. Bailey affirms that there were some 1500 Irishmen who were Presbyterians and of

the Church of England, and that they removed from the Kennebec to Londonderry, New Hampshire, and to Pennsylvania, because they were neglected, insulted, and even prevented from defending themselves, by the Massachusetts government. Indeed when they touched at Boston, he affirms that they were driven from the Long Wharf by a volley of sticks, stones and other missiles, and that this treatment was on account of their religion. I note that those people usually called "Scotch-Irish," he designates as "Irishmen," and he had some warm friends among them, as for instance, Capt. Callahan, and the Drummonds. Is the term "Scotch-Irish" an old designation, or a modern one? Would Scotchmen generally give Irish names to places where they settled?

When we consider the wildness of his surroundings, the means of communication, and the privations incident to the situation, we wonder how he could write so much and oftentimes travel ten, twenty, or fifty miles by water or through a wilderness to conduct a service or marry a couple.

I am not Episcopalian; but I cannot see how any one could fail to acknowledge that so far as a church may own any section of country, the field was his. Massachusetts Puritans never occupied it; and after his departure twenty-two years elapsed before the zeal of men like Bowman and Cushing gave Dresden a church edifice, and the devoted Parker settled there. Bailey's people were certainly united until the gentry of Pownalboro sowed the seeds of discord. With most dissenting churches, the lack of

some form of service has no doubt tended to make churchgoing with many a mere fad or fashion, the fashionable music being at times supplemented by a sensational discourse by a popular minister. A lady in Nova Scotia, of the communion of the Church of England, told me that she esteemed it a duty and a pleasure to participate in the service of her church, even if she never listened to a sermon.

I have endeavored to give my impressions of the old-time missionary of Pownalboro, as gleaned from a careful study of the manuscripts which he left. My self-imposed task is far from complete. While I hope that much which he wrote may yet be printed, to give extended quotations from what I have as yet been able to decipher of the time-stained, faded, torn and mice-eaten papers would only weary. So far as I have been able to verify his statements by comparison with other documents in existence, I have found him to be accurate and conscientious. His influence over his people was great. I have so far looked in vain for the names of any among Massachusetts Revolutionary soldiers who were known to be indentified, actively, with his church. In the examination of documents, and in the work of recording, I have no theories to prove, and only feel bound to go where the records lead me. But I now know that old Pownalboro, and indeed all of Maine, has a grand history which I little suspected existed, and which partial and narrow Massachusetts historians have entirely ignored, while many Maine people, indifferent to their own records, confine their study of history to a worship of the

ancestors of Massachusetts men. Think, for instance, of a sketch of John Gardiner, which makes no mention whatever of the fact that when he made his famous speech in Massachusetts legislature in favor of removing restrictions on theaters he represented a Kennebec town in that body. I affirm that since studying the papers left by the Loyalist, Jacob Bailey, I am better fitted for an understanding of the true story of the great American republic. A real patriot will honor his own section, his state, his country, its people, its institutions, and he will not slander others. Jingoism is not true patriotism. I sometimes think when I see the veneration felt by English subjects for their queen, the reverence of the German for his emperor, even the faith of the Russian in his ruler, and contrast it with the ridicule, the falsehoods, and the abuse which our so-called chief magistrate receives, that the average American reveres nothing but plutocracy and pugilism. Is America really great, or merely overgrown — dropsical, as it were? Did those of us who fought in the late civil war contend for a nation in the true sense of the word, or for an unwieldy collection of peoples with diverse interests, bound together only by a slender thread of selfish gain? Mr. Bailey thanked his good fortune that when he landed in Halifax, penniless, he was at last in a land of freedom as contrasted with the realm of discord and tyranny which he had left. Are we quite sure that we know what the much used and abused word freedom really means? Do we use up the article in repeating the word? Certain it is that,

when we consider the treatment given the American Loyalists of a hundred years ago, we must admit that republics may be needlessly severe and tyrannical. Indeed, impartial writers have, with apparently good reason, compared our treatment of the Loyalists to the needless severity accorded the Huguenots in France under Louis XIV. Is any man un-American when he affirms this ?

Mr. Bailey has been called eccentric. Also unyielding. These terms are contradictory, and show that those who used them knew nothing about the subject of which they spoke. His opponents were, as he expressed it, "like the weather cock on yonder steeple." And they were the ones who would not yield. Even after he had obtained permission to leave the country they still pursued him. When he consented to leave out the objectionable passages from his church service, he still thought it no harm to pray for the King. He might have said that the King needed praying for. Taking the oath they insisted upon would have proved his ruin. I do not find that they insisted upon it with his friends Abiel Wood and Major Goodwin, both of whom spoke words of kindly sympathy to him, and who were as much Tory as he.

These events have long since passed, and it would seem that the time had come for Americans to view them dispassionately. And when the time is ripe, we may learn to revere the memory of the brave itinerant missionary of the Kennebec wilderness, as we study his character portrayed in the manuscripts which have come to us.

## COL. THOMAS GOLDTHWAIT—WAS HE A TORY?

BY R. GOLDTHWAITE CARTER, U. S. ARMY.

*Read before the Maine Historical Society, December 19, 1895.*

### PART III.

WHILE Thomas Goldthwait was in command of Fort Pownall he was appointed agent for the Waldo heirs, to survey, settle and develop the vast tract of land in the Waldo Patent, lying on the Penobscot River, and included within what is now known as the towns of Frankfort, Prospect, Stockton and Searsport. During this period he was in constant correspondence with Thomas Flucker, who married Hannah, the daughter of Gen. Samuel Waldo. He was the last provincial secretary of state. Gen. Henry Knox, Washington's favorite general and secretary of war, married Lucy, the youngest daughter of Thomas Flucker. This correspondence was found among the very valuable papers of the Knox collection, at the library of the New England Historic Genealogical Society at Boston, and it was due to the liberal courtesy of Mr. John Ward Dean of that society that the writer is now enabled to place before your readers the following:—

FORT POWNALL, Oct. 24, 1765.

SIR:— I thank you for your kind letter of the 10th inst., by Capt. Saunders & am extreme glad to hear you arrived safe & sound, & found your lady & family all well.

Almost ever since you went from hence Mr. Chadwick has been employed in surveying & exploring the land betwixt my bounds & the salt marshes, & he thinks there will not be near enough land



within these bounds to compleat the 24,000 acres, even if he should take in a ridge of mountains which lyes in the middle, which is by no means desirable to lay out for settlers, for, by Mr. Chadwicks & others account of it, 1000 acres assigned to one lott & given away with it, woud be no temptation to a settler to go on, & if they once got a notion that they are to have a part of their lot in such land, it woud probably strike such discouragement to the settlement that I could never accomplish it. Therefore I have been thinking that it will be best to exclude this ridge of mountains as waist land, as is usual in such cases, & to return no further West than to the foot of the other mountains, & then what land may be wanting of the 24,000 acres to be made up in land towards Passoggasawackkeeg & to have the lots in general laid out upon a road to run nearly through the middle as may be, beginning at the head of the salt marsh, along by the side of the meadow towards Sandy Point, & from there to ye road leading to P.

I woud avoid as much as I can giving out lotts upon the shore, tho' it will be necessary at first to give some there. In short, things of that sort must be done as they can be done. I think we shouldn't boggle at little matters in getting on a good settler. You'l please consider it y'our mutual interest to have it settled so as to make what land remains valuable.

This is a great undertaking for me who have had so little experience in such things: however, I dont despair of getting thro' it, especially if I have the assistance of so good a friend & so able a Counsellor as his Excellency the Governor, to whom I proposed being concerned in it, & if he consents to it I shall leave it wholly with him & you to settle the plan of the Town, which I must carry into execution as nearly as I can: but in laying out a road you are sensible it must go as land is found suitable for it.

It wont do to carry a road thro' a morass, or over a mountain if it can well be avoided. Indeed, I cannot see how we can determine absolutely upon a road until the land be sufficiently explored, which Mr. Chadwick is now employ'd about, & probably I can write you more fully of that by Capt. Saunders next trip.

Mr. Chadwick has given me a small sketch of it, which I send herewith that you may have some idea of it. You'll see by this

sketch that the head of the marsh dont lay above 4 miles from my bound, & the foot of the mountain is not 4 miles from the shore, which is very different from what I had conceived of it.

Mrs. G. says I must tell you that we had a dish of green peas yesterday in perfection. She joins me in our best regards to Mrs. Flucker & your family: to Mr. Winslow, his lady & family, & Mr. Bethune & his family. If Col<sup>d</sup> Waldo or his Bro<sup>r</sup> be in town please to pay my respects to y<sup>m</sup>.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Humble servant,

Tho. Goldthwait.

This foregoing letter was written upon the return to Boston of Thomas Flucker from a visit to Col. Goldthwait, at Fort Pownall. Mr. Winslow referred to was Isaac Winslow of Roxbury, Massachusetts, who married Lucy, another daughter of Gen. Samuel Waldo. Mr. Chadwick, the surveyor referred to, is the same who made the original survey for Sir Francis Bernard of Mount Desert, when it was granted to him by the Province. Capt. Saunders is referred to as follows in the Bernard Papers at Harvard College:—

By His Excellency Francis Bernard, Esq., Captain-General and Governor-in-chief of the Province of Mass. Bay, and Vice Admiral of the same.

To Captain Bradbury Saunders, Commander of His Majestys Sloop the "Massachusetts" of the said Province.

You are hereby commanded to take on board the said sloop such provisions, stores & goods as shall be delivered to you by the Commissary General at Boston, for the vittualling & supplying his Majestys Garrison at Fort Pownall, on Penobscot & the Indians which depend on the said Fort for their subsistance & carry the same to Fort Pownall, with all proper expedition.

And after you have delivered the same, you are to receive from the Commander of the said Fort such goods & things as he shall

have to return to the said Commissary General for his Majesty's service in keeping & maintaining the said Fort & Truckhouse of the Indians thereto belonging according to the Act of the Assembly made for that purpose, & take the same aboard the sloop & bring them unto the said Commissary General at Boston as aforesaid.

Given under my hand at Boston, the twelfth day of November, in the year of our Lord, 1765.

(Bernard Papers, Harvard College, Vol. 4, p. 87).

A recent visit to Fort Point and Stockton Springs, Maine, has enabled the writer to understand these letters better, and any of your readers who may be familiar with that locality will have little difficulty in recognizing the plans for the township referred to.

FORT POWNALL, Nov. 30, 1765.

SIR:—Capt. Saunders arrived here on the 23d, and bro't me your favour of the 11th & 19th instant.

Mr. Chadwick now returns and will wait on you with a plan of the Townships as he has taken it, & I think he'll give you a good information of everything about it, & when he has done that, I believe you'll think I could not have laid it out better.

He tells that between this and Passoggasawackkeeg, there may be another Township superior to this, & if no obstruction attends this settlement I dont see why that might not be put forward.

I understand by his Excellency that he is willing to be concerned in this Township provided the terms be agreeable, but I expect as soon as it's known it will be improved to his disadvantage tho' he does it entirely to save me.

It will be a very heavy affair. I must expect the first settlers will be a burthen upon me for some time, & I know not at present what assistance I shall want: however may be I may get such settlers as wont require a great deal.

I have received the six barrels of cider from Mr. Winslow, & I hope I shall find time to return him thanks for his trouble.

Tho' Saunders is uneasy to be gone, & I've a great deal on hand, I tho't it would be agreeable to you to have the Island above ye

Fort (Bethune's) explored, as well as survey'd, therefore I got Mr. Chadwick to do it, & he has made remarks upon his plan of the quality of the land. This will enable you to found better judgment of the value in case you've opportunity to sell it.

I shall enclose an account of the charge as you desired, & also an account of the charge of surveying the Townships, which I suppose must be divided up among us as may be settled hereafter.

I am sorry to see the confusions all over the Continent still prevail. God grant they may end in peace & good neighborhood. I often drink to it & am sure none wishes it more heartily than I.

I am rejoiced to find you speak so pleasingly of your tour to this country. I wish it may induce you & some more of my friends to come again. I am sure nothing could give me greater pleasure.

When youv' an opportunity and leisure I shall be very glad to hear from you & any interesting events that may happen. Mrs. G. joins me in our regards to you & Mrs. Flucker.

I am, with great esteem & regard, Sir,

Your most obedient & most humble serv't,

Tho. Goldthwait.

The hands which assisted Mr. Chadwick in survey'g the Township, amount to 22 days, which I believe I cant put at less than 2/s p. day & do em justice. Mr. C. himself is to have 4/ p. day. I found him. He hasn't quite finished the plan.

If Thomas Goldthwait never did any other act for the province, a glance at this correspondence would convince his worst critic, that he was, and is, entitled to the everlasting gratitude of his countrymen for this great labor of opening up and settling that magnificent tract of country at the mouth of the Penobscot. The surveys here and there; the laying out of roads; supplying the new settlers with necessities to save them from hardships, perhaps absolute starvation, and to prevent them from leaving their lands on account of disheartening drawbacks—all tell of the

tremendous labors devolving upon him in connection with his duties as commander and truckmaster of Fort Pownall. The entire correspondence is a model of moderate conservatism and calm judgment, yet showing untiring skill, energy and ability, which reflects nothing but credit upon his wisdom and sagacity, and which it would be well for some of the present generation to emulate.

In one of these letters he briefly refers to the coming struggle; the burdensome taxation, etc., and one could hardly call him else than a patriot with such loyal sentiments to the colony as it clearly expresses. He says:—

FORT POWNALL, Feb. 15, 1766.

SIR:—Though I havn't been favored with any letter from you since mine of the 30th. Nov., I have been preparing to go for'd with the Township as soon as the Spring opens, & I hope soon to hear that matters are so accomodated respecting the Stamp Act that business may go on in its proper channel & that I may proceed and finish ours.

I can form no opinion from the papers which I've seen how the Opposition to the Stamp Act is likely to issue. If it shou'd end in allowing the Colonies a representation in Parliament. I think it will be making bad worse, for, tho' those representatives serve without pay, & the Province be at no expense about em who can think they can influence the Parliament to excuse the Colonies from the burthens which they themselves bear, & as they will be then laid on us in effect by our own consent, we can have but little pretence even to remonstrate against it, & little do many of us know what burthens those are.

What shou'd we think if in the price of a mug of beer, seven eights of the cost of it was duties of one kind or another, that 3/4 of the cost of a gallon of rum was duties, &c. &c.? When those times come, woe unto us!! But this is a dangerous subject to handle.

I shall be glad to hear from you, and gladder to see you here, as I am with great regard.

Sir, y<sup>r</sup> most obedient serv<sup>t</sup>,

Tho. Goldthwait.

My compliments to Mr. Winslow & Messrs Waldo.

To the

Hon. Thomas Flucker, Esq.

FOUR POWSALL, April 24, 1766.

SIR:—I have been favoured with two letters from you since I have done ye pleasure of writing to you, but as you are sensible how my time is generally taken up, I know you'll excuse it.

I wish Mr. Chadwick had come down with Saunders, as it would have forwarded the settlement: for ye plan which he left with me is imperfect: & I cannot well judge of the bounds that are agreed upon. However, I am doing what in my opinion, is the first step in such an undertaking, that is making suitable provision & taking such measures as may convince the settlers that when they come on, they wont starve: for I cant expect to get many that are able to bring much stock of any kind with them.

Mr. Chadwick agreed with me to build a grist mill, which I have heard nothing about since he went from hence: this is an essential thing, to encourage settlers, & if I knew he had altered his mind I should treat with some other.

It will be too late to have an answer to this sent here, as I expect to go from hence so as to be at Boston by the end of May, & then I hope I shall have the opportunity of talking over and settling all matters relative to the Township: & I hope by that time things will be come to rights with you.

It seems to me that you cou'd have but little comfort for some time past. Mrs. G. joins me in our best regards to Mrs. Flucker & your family, Mr. & Mrs. Winslow, & your brothers Messrs Waldos.

I am, my dear Sir,

Your most obedient, humble serv

Tho. Goldthwait.

FORT POWNALL, July 25, 1766.

DEAR SIR:—We arrived here on the 19th instant, since which my hands have been so full that I did not think of writing to you by this opportunity, but one thing comes to my ears which I think proper to communicate to you.

It is whispered about here that there are several lead mines on your land on this side of the falls, & some ball has been run out of y<sup>e</sup> ore. The man who run it & bro't the ore y<sup>t</sup> it seemed to be pure lead. I deliver to Major Goldthwait a ball sealed up which was run from this ore. He knows not what it is nor anybody else. But I must tell you I have it from one or two soldiers, & how far such information can be depended upon you can judge as well as I.

I know common people are sometimes most egregiously mistaken in such matters. Still, I think this is a necessary hint, & if there be anything in it worth while, you'll probably hear from me more about it by the Elk which I expect will sail from hence, in 6 or 7 days.

Our best regards to y<sup>r</sup> lady & family, Mr. Winslow & his family & lady, & believe me very sincerely,

Dr Sr Y<sup>r</sup> Most ob't & faithful servant,

Tho. Goldthwait.

(Knox Papers, N. E. Hist. Gen. Society, Vol. 50: 148, 176, 177, 178, 180; Vol. 51: 11, 32.)

The establishment, *i. e.*, the number of the garrison, pay, etc., of the fort, was made annually. About 1766-67 it had been so much reduced that the Indians became very bold, and there was imminent danger of an outbreak. The settlers became alarmed on account of the weakness of the garrison. On June 20, 1767, the governor sent in a message upon the reduction of the garrison at Fort Pownall. June, 1768, he sent another message dissenting from the House resolve reducing the garrison. Several letters were written by Col. Goldthwait stating the

general condition of things, the uneasiness of the Indians, continued alarm of the settlers, etc., and the wish of the Indians to communicate with the governor.

The Board (council) took into consideration these letters, and "advised that it be increased by eight men." "Advised that his Excellency go to Fort Pownall and quiet the Indians." Later it was further advised that "Captain Goldthwait send three of their number to Boston accompanied by Capt. Fletcher, the interpreter."

About this time also, there came to Col. Goldthwait a petition from one, Dudley Carlton, "humbly requesting that Col. Goldthwait represent to his Excellency the Governor, the true state and circumstances of the Province to the East and Northward of Penobscot River, etc., and a plan of rooting out the savages, where it has always been a nursery for them."

This period, more than any other, was the turning point with the early settlers at Fort Pownall and the surrounding region; and, as its history is now, and ever will be of the most vital interest concerning the development of the Penobscot Valley, its people and their descendants, the writer adds the following valuable correspondence between Col. Thomas Goldthwait and Sir Francis Bernard, the governor of the province.

FORT POWNALL, 6th Sep. 1767

[Extract.]

At present we are in a little confusion, occasioned by some insolent and unjustifiable behaviour of the Indians, which has so frightened the inhabitants that they are so uneasy in their own



Houses they cannot be prevailed upon to stay in them, and desire me to give them protection in the Fort.

I cannot deny them, tho' I see at present no real danger. The insolence of the Indians, I believe, proceeds from there being a large body of them together, & their knowledge of the weakness of the garrison.

While I was gone to Mt. Desert a small number of Indians came in & without applying or giving any notice of their want of provisions, they drove up a flock of sheep in order to kill some, but before they could carry their design into execution, my people had notice of it & prevented it.

Afterwards some others took another method. They suffered their dogs to be loose, and they killed eight sheep, some of which they carried away with them. On my way from Mt. Desert I had many complaints from the inhabitants of their sheep being killed by the Indians, and many other complaints of mischief being done by them.

I took the first opportunity to demand in a peremptory manner satisfaction for it. They appeared concerned about it, and promised that satisfaction should be made; but, at present they could do no more than pawn their words, and assure me that I should have no further cause for complaint.

These very people in all probability, killed the peoples swine within 5 miles of the Fort next day. Another Indian soon after shot a hog in the Cove while the owner was almost in sight of him, and by the time that the hog was half roasted, (the owner got some assistance) the Indian got off; but the hog they bro't to me, which appeared to be full of shot. I have since heard that the Indians dont deny the fact. They have never been so open and daring in their insult before. Their wandering about after a priest the last year made them extreme poor, & perhaps they think they cant be more miserable let what will happen to them.

What serves to increase the peoples fears is what the Indians themselves give out, viz:—that there are great numbers of Indians of different tribes now assembled on Penobscot River: that they are determined to maintain their rights to 12 rivers which they claim, and that they intend soon to pay me a visit together.

What truth there may be in this I know not. All I know of certainly is, that there are a considerable number of Indians of different Nations, such as Cape Sable, St. Johns, Norridgewalks, Aresequeenticooks, with some other Indians, & some white men on Penobscot River, and they have had a Council with the Penobscots upon some occasion or other.

A Neutral Frenchman, who is known in Boston came with a party of Indians from Canada, & has been in here. He tells me that he came only to spend a little time with the Indians hunting for his diversion: behaved very civilly and went off.

But there is another thing which has greatly served to alarm the inhabitants. While I was gone to Mt. Desert, a St. Francois Indian came in and told the commanding officer that he came express from Sir. William Johnson to me: that he had a letter from him to me: but that he must not leave it unless I was here, and that he would soon be in again.

Last Thursday he came in to see if I had returned: told me he did not come from his camp, and had not got the letter. He said he came from Canada and brought 16 Indians in his party who were now hunting on this River, and that he would be in again on Monday and bring me the letter, & then open his mind to me. He then went off, and going up the River, met some of our people, & told them (he speaks English), that there were 300 men near Penobscot Falls who would be at the Fort in a few days.

His not telling me this occasioned my sending immediately after him, & also to get the letter. My people overtook him at Salmon Point & bro't him back, but without the letter. He denied what he had told the people and pressed me to let him fetch the Letter, but would not consent to my people going with him.

His name is Philip, & has been employed in the English and French service, and is now an inhabitant of St. Francois. I expect him in to-morrow, but, in the meantime I shall put the fort in the best position for defence I can. & my doing this will unavoidably increase the fear of the inhabitants, who are already too much agitated.

Thursday, the 8th—Yesterday there came in four canoes of Indians, among whom were Philip beforementioned, Espequeunt, &

Oso & 8 or 10 others. I met them at the shore and asked Philip for the letter. He said that Espequeunt met him & desired him to come with him, & that he had'nt the opportunity to go to his camp.

I then took Oso aside & told her I confided in her, and that she must tell me what she knew about Philip. She said she knew but little about him; that he was a Canada Indian & she believed he wasn't good.

I then had some talk with Espequeunt, but he said he wanted some refreshment and wou'd say more to me the next day. This morning he came early and desired to speak with me in private: nobody was present but Mr. Treat & him & me.

He says he was at Canada 15 days ago & was invited by a French Gentleman there (whom he took to be an officer, or a man of distinction by his being laced with gold), to stay in Canada and assist them in an enterprize against the English.

He says he told them he was far away from home & his family wou'd suffer, and that he cou'd not stay. He askt me if there was a war between France and England. I told him there was no appearance of any such thing, and that I believed there wasn't the slightest foundation for such a suspicion.

He said the Canada people told him it was so, but they hadn't determined what part to take. He said he spoke the truth: he pointed towards Heaven & said he spoke before God. I askt him if he had any request to make to Gov. Bernard. He said no. I then asked Oso by herself if she knew of any ill intention among the Indians: she said she knew of none; that Espequeunt was very secret about the news he brought from Canada: she said she wou'd always speak the truth to me.

She said she once told me of an intention to surprize the garrison, and says she — "I told you the truth!" That now, she thout there was no ill design among the Penobscot Indians. All the Indians she said, talk about the Englishmen hunting and settling upon the River, but that was all.

I have not exaggerated, but rather extenuated everything that may be the occasion of expence or agitation. Mr. Harrod & some other gentlemen from Boston have been eye witnesses of some of it, and I think it will be best for your Excellency to hear them upon it.

I shall be upon my guard, but with as little appearance of my apprehension of danger as may be to avoid alarming the inhabitants: for, in my opinion, one or two more frights would break up all the settlements.

The garrison is too weak, and the Indians know precisely the strength of it. It is not sufficient to keep them in awe. I ought to have men enough to send out a party to reconnoitre upon occasion, and upon occasion to demand satisfaction at their village for any injury done the English.

I am now at the 9th.—Nothing new has appeared, & I think it best not to detain Wescot any longer. I fear this matter will have a bad effect upon this settlement and all about here.

In the talk with Espequemt, he told me repeatedly that he thought there might be some news of importance from the Governor of Canada to your Excellency. I therefore thought to open it upon such an occasion, which I hope your Excellency will excuse. It was brought by some Indians who came from thence before Espequemt.

Sep. 10th.—Last night Oso came in again, and several other Indians have been in since. They accuse Philip of being the author of this disturbance. Whatever their intention might be, I believe there is a stop put to it for the present.

They all promise that satisfaction for the mischief shall be made that has been done, and that they mean to keep up Peace & friendship with us: but it is not in their power to settle peoples minds as they were before.

I can hardly persuade them to return to their Homes. Oso now tells me, that their former Priest at St. Johns was an impostor, and they have thrown away their Books, and Espequemt & the others told Mr. Crawford to-day that if he would go to their village, they would attend his prayers.

To any fair minded and impartial reader, the foregoing will appeal to his candor and good judgment as to the character of the man who could calmly write such a letter amid such scenes of confusion, doubt, and fateful rumor. In it there is no uncertain ring; no trace of cowardice; no tyranny; no hasty conclu-

sions; no desire, as he says, “to exaggerate, but rather to extenuate,” all the circumstances, which the inhabitants, in their terror felt were impending. On the contrary, he showed a quick perception, ready tact, a wise discretion, and great determination. He made a clear-headed, forcible report to the governor, so that he could readily grasp the situation with its causes, and apply the proper remedies: at the same time he quickly resolved (showing him to be a man of resourceful expedients) to place the fort in a proper state of defense, and, with his little garrison — then less than thirty men, make as bold stand as possible, quieting in the meanwhile a gathering of panic-stricken people who had moved in and were appealing to him for protection, counsel and advice.

So far there has not been found a particle of evidence, not a scrap of paper, or written complaint, which could, even by inference, connect his name with any cowardice, tyranny, cruelty or extortion toward either settler or Indian. These accusations took no shape until after the dismantlement of Fort Pownall.

The reply of the governor now follows:—

JAMAICA FARM, Sep. 28, 1767.

SIR:—I communicated your letter to the Council, and upon full deliberation they advised that I should order you to augment the garrison with 8 men, if you shall still think it necessary. I send you a copy of the minutes which must be your direction.

You have two objects in view, the repressing the insolence of the Indians, relieving the fears of the people, and if either of these shall require this reinforcement, you must raise it: for it is expedient to guard not only against real danger, but against the ill consequences of the apprehension of it; especially so detrimental as the

unsettling of that country would be: and as these 8 men make but a small addition I have thought of a method to double the service with the same pay.

Enlist 16 men at half pay & half duty, and let them relieve one another every week, the whole being paraded at the time of relieving; and let them engage to repair to the Castle upon a certain signal.

You will judge of the practicability of this: but, at all events, let the men enlisted be clothed as soldiers. It is in my opinion a very material circumstance.

I hope you will attend to it. We have very displeasing accounts of the frequent exposure of the Fort: it is said that it is always in the hands of the Indians when they come in to trade in any number. I am sensible that so small a garrison as you have now must occasion a great relaxation of discipline, as there are not enough men to exercise it upon.

But you must keep up the form of discipline as well as you can. Let the Drummers beat all the usual beats: the reveille, the relief of the guard, the retreat and the tattoo. After the beating of the latter, let the keyes of the gates be brought to you, and remain with you till reveille is beaten next morning.

As for the danger arising from the Trading: it will not be removed but by setting the Truckhouse out of the Fort, which, it seems to me must be done.

I must desire you would do your best to quiet peoples minds that they mayn't think of deserting their settlements: which would be a great disgrace as well as detrimental to the Province.

If the people are convinced that it is the smallness of the garrison which has encouraged the Indians to insult and plunder them (as, indeed, it has been fully proved before the Council that it is the chief or sole cause of it), they should petition the General Court and pray that they would allow for a larger garrison.

In such case they will have my opinion on their side, whether it will weigh more or less. I always expected that this reduction would have these effects.

I have sent you six barrels of powder for the use of the Fort, understanding that you have now but what belongs to the Truck Trade.

I will write upon the subject of the Indians in a separate letter that you may communicate it to them with more care.

I am, Sir, &c.

Fra. Bernard.

Thos Goldthwait, Esq.

P. S.—In regard to the Bridge, Platforms & Outworks of the Fort, you must do what is necessary for their repair, as you propose, in the most frugal manner.

(Mass. Arch. 38: 343,354.)

The letter of the governor with reference to Col. Goldthwait's report concerning the Indians and the alarm in the Penobscot Valley, now follows:—

Boston, Sep.—(28), 1767.

SIR:—I have received your letter informing me of the Indians insulting and plundering the English settlers. I know not whether my astonishment or resentment at these hostilities was the greater, and I should have immediately set about punishing the authors of them if you had not in the same letter informed me that the Chiefs of the Tribe had apologized for the acts of their people and promised to make satisfaction.

I am, on that account, willing to leave this to a Treaty, but expect that they will satisfy not only the people for what they have lost, but the King's Government also for what his dignity has suffered by this insult upon his subjects.

I had intended upon this occasion to have set out for Fort Pownall myself, but am obliged to wait here for particular orders which I expect every day to receive from the King. I must, therefore, leave this negociation to you, and if the Chiefs with whom you have talked are sincere, I hope there will be no great difficulty in it.

I must, therefore, desire that you will call them together as soon after you receive this as may be, and endeavour to reduce what we are to expect, and they to undertake, to as great a certainty as can be.

Tell them that the Reduction of the garrison which is supposed to have encouraged this insolence, was made by the confidence we had

in their profession of friendship, and they should not have rendered our considering them as friends, a reason for their treating us as their enemies.

You have now an order to augment the garrison if you think fit, & tell them if nothing but soldiers can keep them in order, they shall have soldiers enough, and higher up the River than they are at present.

There is now at Halifax a Regiment quite unemployed, and I can have from thence at an hours warning, 2 or 300 men to send up to Passaconaway if it shall be necessary.

If Philip is among them, tell them I insist upon their delivering him up as a Public disturber of the peace. For, whilst they harbour such a villian, their enemy as well as ours, they cannot expect that their professions can gain credit with us. For, if they are really our friends, they should show the same resentment against a man who endeavours to make a Breach between us, which we do.

If you can lay hold of that fellow, send him to me in Iron, and I will take care that he shant disturb Penobscot again. Tell them not to deceive themselves with idle stories about a War between England and France. There never was a more cordial intercourse between the two Kings than there is at present.

There is nothing for them to quarrel about. But, if there should be a variance, N. America will not be affected by it: for the French know well they can never get a footing in Canada again: so that if the Indians will fight on the side of France, they must do it by themselves.

As to the satisfaction to be made to the sufferers by these plunderers: if it is not made when this letter arrives, I desire you will immediately demand it, and if they cannot pay directly, let the damages be liquidated & allowed by the Indians, and let them give their note for the money payable as soon as can be: and dont be put off with a pretence that they dont know who did the mischief: they must know it, and if they wont discover & deliver up particulars, they must answer for it in the whole: but, if they are sincere, & are really poor (for I understand their pretended priest has plundered them unmercifully), I wou'd have them allowed all reasonable time for their payments, they giving security as aforesaid.



As for the satisfaction to be made the Gov't, you will consider what is due to its honour upon this occasion. Tell them in general that I am really & truly their friend, and I desire that they would not oblige me to appear as their enemy.

I am, Sir, &c.

Fra. Bernard.

Thos<sup>s</sup> Goldthwait, Esq.

There is nothing to show that the orders of Gov. Bernard to Col. Goldthwait were carried out. If Philip had been arrested, placed in irons, and carried to Boston to be delivered up to Gov. Bernard for imprisonment, thus affording ground for charges of cruelty to be made against Col. Goldthwait by the Indians, as also pretext for war, the archives would undoubtedly show the same. It does not appear that this plan was carried out; but had it been, the responsibility for the act would have rested with the governor and not with Col. Goldthwait.

While Col. Goldthwait was commanding Fort Pownall, he was commissioned, August 5, 1767, judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Lincoln County, succeeding Judge Denny of Georgetown. The writer has found his commission; but aside from its quaintness of language, and extreme formality, it would hardly have a place in this paper. (C. R. Mass. 1765-74: 584.) In October 1769, he was appointed colonel of the 2d regiment Lincoln County militia.

The writer has been unable to find his commission for the same, but for October, 1771, he has discovered the following:—

List of officers Commissioned for a Regiment of Militia to be armed of the inhabitants of all the lands in the County of Lincoln,

lying East of a River called Damariscotta, and to be called the Second Regiment of Militia in the County of Lincoln.

Thomas Goldthwait Esq.,	Colonel
Alexander Nickel,	1st Lt. Col.
Nathan Jones Esq.,	2d Lt. Col.
Mason Wheaton,	1st Major.
Arthur Noble,	2nd Major.
Jed. Preble,	Captain at a place called Majebag-waduce, &c., &c.

William Lithgow was colonel of the 1st regiment of the county of Lincoln.

Belfast, in 1765, when John Mitchell (who was the first founder of the town) went there to examine it, was a howling wilderness, and was merely designated as "a tract on the southerly side of a township granted to Col. Goldthwait" when the petition of John Mitchell and others was referred to the Provincial Assembly of Massachusetts asking for its incorporation.

In accordance with this petition, an act was passed, requesting "that Thomas Goldthwait be empowered, and he is directed to issue a warrant appointing some person to notify the inhabitants to hold a town-meeting for this purpose, etc., etc."

In the History of Belfast, by Hon. Joseph Williamson, will be found the warrant, dated at Frankfort, October, 1773, signed by Thomas Goldthwait, calling the meeting at the dwelling-house of John Mitchell, Thursday, November 11, in the forenoon. In the History of Belfast will also be found a very interesting bill which John Mitchell rendered to the new town for rowing Goldthwait to and from the place of meeting, etc.,

etc. Col. Goldthwait was chosen moderator and John Mitchell town clerk, and the town was duly incorporated.

In the Bangor Historical Magazine some time since, there was a very interesting article by William D. Patterson of Wiscasset, Maine, entitled "Some Transactions of Colonel Thomas Goldthwait at Fort Pownall, 1764 to 1786." These refer to deeds of land. The writer has found many more, all of which are valuable as showing the part which Col. Goldthwait took in opening up, settling and developing the Penobscot Valley. His descendants had always supposed that this immense tract of land, owned with Sir Francis Bernard, was a grant for services rendered either at Louisburg or Crown Point; but it seems that it was a direct purchase from Gen. Jediah Preble, and originally belonged to the Waldo Patent.

On January 14, 1769, it was:—

*Resolved*—That the garrison of Fort Pownall be augmented, and that it consist of one Captain, one Lieut., one Gunner, a Chaplain, an Interpreter, two Sergeants, and 32 privates, on the following establishment:—Captain, £4/10s per mo., Lieut., 3/10, Gunner 3/0, Armourer 2/10, Chaplain 4/0, Interpreter 3/0, Sergeant 1/10, Private 1/4. To continue in force one year.

A conference was had with the Penobscot Indians, July 26, 1769.

Lieut. Gov. Thomas Hutchinson says in a message of July 2, 1771:—

You have reduced the establishment for the garrison of Fort Pownall from 20 to 10 Privates. The Commanding officer there has formally represented to me that 20 Privates were scarcely suffi-

cient for the necessary service, especially when any considerable number of Indians came in to trade. This, it is probable, you were not informed of when you passed the last vote for an establishment. *I doubt not you will think with me that a Fortress that cost the Crown so considerable a sum, ought not to be left without a garrison sufficient for its preservation and defence. I must recommend to you to make the further necessary provision.*

T. Hutchinson.

Council Chamber, Cambridge,  
July 2, 1771.

Thus it will be seen that the garrison was annually increased or diminished by a few men, through the caprice of a Great and General Court, far removed from the locality, but not in entire ignorance of its necessities. As has been shown, they were repeatedly warned.

The writer finds that this practice was kept up until the opening of hostilities in 1775, when Col. Thomas Goldthwait was practically left without any garrison for offensive or defensive purposes. This criminal neglect on the part of the provincial officials will be referred to later in connection with the dismantlement of Fort Pownall.

THE JOHN ROGERS FAMILIES IN  
PLYMOUTH AND VICINITY.

BY JOSIAH H. DRUMMOND.

*Read before the Maine Historical Society, December 19, 1895.*

THERE were so many by the name of John Rogers in Plymouth, Duxbury, Marshfield, Weymouth and Scituate in their early history, that it is not wonderful that they have been confounded with each other. Savage thinks that Deane in his history of Scituate has "confused two, if not three, into one." Others have "confused two into one," but the publication of the colony records and the indexing of the wills and deeds, give us the means of identifying the different Johns, and distinguishing them from each other, even if we cannot trace their origin and early history.

I. THOMAS ROGERS and his son Joseph came over in the Mayflower in 1620; his other children came later; they all settled in what was then Plymouth. Bradford, p. 449.

Writing in 1650, Bradford says:—

Thomas Rogers died in the first sickness, but his son is still living and is married and hath six children, the rest of his children came over and are married and have many children. Ib. p. 453.

II. Lieut. JOSEPH ROGERS lived "on Duxburrow Side" before Duxbury was made a town, and after that in Duxbury, on Jones River, across which, by special authority, he maintained a public ferry "near his

house." About 1655, he moved with his family to Eastham, where he spent the remainder of his life, and died early in 1678.

His children, born in Plymouth and Duxbury were, Sarah, born in 1633, died in infancy; Joseph, born July 16, 1635; Thomas, born March 29, 1638; (this is the "Thomas, son of Goodman Rogers of Duxbury" the record of whose baptism, May 6, 1638, is found in the "Scituate and Barnstable" church records); Elizabeth, born September 29, 1639; John, born April 3, 1642; Mary, born September 22, 1644; James, born October 18, 1648, and Hannah, born August 8, 1652.

The will of "Joseph Rogers, senior, of Eastham, dated Jan'y 2, 1677, O. S., and proved Mar. 5, 1677, O. S.," mentions sons Thomas, John and James, and daughters Elizabeth Higgins and Hannah Rogers. Joseph, Jr., had died and his estate been settled in the early part of 1661; evidently Mary, also, had died; and Thomas and James died in 1678, soon after their father. In 1678, John Rogers was appointed administrator of the estate of Thomas, and administrator *de bonis non* of his father's estate in place of Thomas, deceased.

Freeman, in his History of Cape Cod, says that John died January 10, 1738, having spent his life in Eastham, as is also abundantly shown by the records. This John had a son John, born November 4, 1672, who was the only grandson of Lieut. Joseph named John. The latter John was born too late to have been one of the early Johns in Plymouth and vicinity.

We must, therefore, exclude the descendants of Lieut. Joseph, son of Thomas of the Mayflower, from the list of families whom I am seeking to identify.

### III. JOHN ROGERS OF MARSHFIELD.

Writers have assumed that John Rogers of Marshfield and John Rogers of Duxbury were the same man, and son of Thomas of the Mayflower; but Savage suggests that he was the brother of Thomas: apparently he was too old to be the son of Thomas, but Savage's suggestion, so far as I have been able to discover, is only a plausible conjecture.

Let it be remembered that Duxbury was made a town in 1640, but for quite a number of years previously the territory across the bay had been known as the "Duxborrow Side"; when made a town, it embraced the whole of what became Marshfield, which, however, was made a town later the same year, although its bounds were not established till 1642; after the latter date, the towns were entirely distinct.

"The last Will and Testament of John Rogers, Senior, made the first day of February, in the year of our Lord, 1660," proved June 5, 1661, gives to his wife, Frances, "all the land and housing on which I live," for life, with remainder over to his son, John Rogers, Jr., who, "when he or his heirs comes to enjoy the said lands" was to "pay to his sister, Ann Hudson, five pounds sterling and to Mary and Abigail Rogers, ten pounds sterling a year."

He gives to his sons Joseph Rogers and Timothy Rogers "all my land and meddow that lyeth on the upper side of the creek lying easterly" to be divided

equally, but "Joseph's land shall lye next to land of Nathaniel Bosworth."

Also.

I give to my son, John Rogers, all my right and interest in the land and housing that he now liveth on and to his heirs forever—the apple orchyard my wife shall have and enjoy the tearme of eight years.

He gives small legacies to his daughters, Ann, Mary and Abigail and to his grandchild Posy Russell; also all his "land at Wamappahesett [Namatakeesett?] which John Hudson now lives on," to his grandchildren, Posye Russell and John Russell, when they arrive at the age of twenty-one years.

In an agreement, dated July 2, 1673, between John and Ann Hudson on one part, and George Russell (the "Posy" of the will) on the other part, it is recited that Ann had been "the former wife of George Russell deceased" and George was their eldest son.

John and Ann Hudson, February 4, 1674, gave to John Rogers a receipt for the legacies to Ann in which it is recited, "Whereas John Rogers, *late of Marshfield* in the Collony aforesaid" etc. John had then "come to enjoy the lands, whereon he the said John Rogers then liveth." The agreement is witnessed by Joseph Rogers and George Russell.

Going back to the Plymouth colony records I find no mention of this John Rogers in connection with Marshfield till May 4, 1651, on which day John Rogers of Marshfield was put under bonds for good behavior, and on June 7, 1651, said John Rogers was fined five shillings "for vilifying the ministry."



On December 22, 1657, a court of Assistants, held at the house of John Alden in Duxborrow, issued a warrant to John Philips to arrest Edward Huchin a Quaker, stopping at the house of Arthur Howland, (who, according to Winsor, lived in Marshfield):

Accompanied with the said Arthur Howland, and Joseph Rogers, son of John Rogers, of Marshfield and another of his sons . . . there the said John Philips charged the said Arthur Howland and the two sons of John Rogers, above said . . . but one of the young men, viz., Joseph Rogers, above expressed, refused to assist him in bringing away the said Quaker.

At the June court in 1663, Joseph Rogers of Namassakeeset was fined five pounds, and at the court in October following, two pounds and ten shillings, which last had not been paid in 1664; in 1663 also, he was ordered to "remove his dwelling from Namassakeeset."

As the object of this paper is to identify the Johns, I have not attempted to trace the subsequent history of Joseph or Timothy, or of their sisters.

2. *John Rogers, Jr.*, of Marshfield took the oath of freeman in 1657; his father died early in 1661, and the son was then living in Marshfield. In 1667, John Rogers of Marshfield is named in the list of rates as owing ten shillings. June 7, 1670, John Rogers of Marshfield was ordered by the court to return to William Randall his oxen. In the 1670 list of freemen of Marshfield is the name of John Rogers and in the same list for Duxborrow are the names of John Rogers, Sr., and John Rogers, Jr. In 1674, John Rogers took from his sister a receipt for the legacy

left her in the will of their father John Rogers, of Marshfield, deceased.

William Wyburne, June 7, 1681, made a complaint against John Rogers of Marshfield, and in it speaks of him as said John Rogers, Sr.; the John, Jr., of 1660 had a son John, who had come to man's estate in 1681.

In 1682, John Rogers of Marshfield is mentioned; and in the list of freemen in 1689 for Marshfield, is the name of John Rogers, while in the same list for Duxburrow is the name of John Rogers, Sr.

John Rogers of Marshfield conveyed, April 23, 1705, several parcels of land at Namatakeeset, some of them in Marshfield and some in Duxborough, and some in Namatakeeset, not naming any town, and nearly all of them bounded on Namatakeeset brook.

And January 20, 1707 (O. S.), John Rogers of Marshfield conveyed land in Duxborough near Hobamock pond "and bounded toward the South by Namatakeeset brook."

Savage says that John Rogers of Marshfield died May 7, 1717, in the eighty-fifth year of his age — an erroneous date unless there is an error in the date of his will.

In his will dated May 9, 1718, proved June 24, 1718, John Rogers of Marshfield describes himself as aged; mentions his John, to whom he gives the three hundred pounds "which he hath already received of me in money; and three score pounds more," etc. Gives legacies to his daughter, Abigail Chamberling; his daughter, Joanna Butler; his grandson, Samuel

Dogged; his granddaughter, Mary White; and his granddaughter, Sarah Allyn: the residue he gives to his son Thomas:

That is to say, all my lands, housing and buildings, together with all my removables, goods, and personal estate of what nature or kind so ever, lying within ye towns of Marshfield, Scituate, Abington or elsewhere.

Thomas was probably the ancestor, but not the father, of Samuel who, according to Mitchell, went to East Bridgewater. Samuel was born in 1766, while this Thomas was born one hundred years or more, earlier.

#### IV. JOHN ROGERS OF WEYMOUTH.

Deane, in his history of Scituate, has John Rogers go to that town in 1644; makes him marry Ann Churchman at Weymouth in 1639; have a daughter, Lydia, born in Weymouth in 1642; occupy a farm (specifically described) in Scituate; return to Weymouth to die in 1661, and his son, John, occupy his Scituate farm after him. Deane has "confused" two Johns into one.

John Rogers was in Weymouth before 1643, and is probably the John Rogers who was admitted a freeman in 1637. In the Weymouth "record of lands," believed to have been made in 1643 by Rev. Samuel Newman, John Rogers is mentioned several times in such manner as to show that he must have lived there some years previously. Nicholas White's land is described as embracing two acres that had been "first granted to John Rogers"; land previously granted to him is described in this record; Richard Silvester's

land was "bounded on the East with Hingham line, on the West with land of John Rogers"; Thomas White had a certain parcel "pvided Deacon Rogers have liberty to come through with his hays, he setting vp the fence again."

He had then been in Weymouth long enough to become a deacon. He had at least five children. Lydia is recorded as born in Weymouth, March 27, 1642; according to his gravestone his son John, who was of age in 1660, was born in 1638; he had also one daughter, who was married in 1659, and another married in 1660; neither of these could have been younger than Lydia, and it is quite certain that Mary was older than John, and the approximate dates of the births of his children are 1636, 1638, 1640, 1642 and 1644. The date of John's birth makes it certain that his father did not marry Ann Churchman. While he is not mentioned in the list of landowners in 1636, he is mentioned in the record of 1643 and in the list in 1651.

He was townsman or selectman in 1645, 1646, 1652 (when, as such, he witnessed the addition to the Indian deed of Weymouth), 1654, 1655, 1657, 1659, and other years; and in 1651 was chosen "town recorder." He died in Weymouth, February 11, 1661 [new style].

"Deacon" John Rogers, in his will, dated "8-12-1660," proved April 13, 1661, mentions his wife Judith (who, I judge, was his second wife); his daughters, Mary Rane, wife of John Rane; "Liddia" White, wife of Joseph White; Hannah Pratt, wife of Samuel

Pratt; and Sarah Rogers, who was then under eighteen years of age. He gives his wife a (contingent) legacy, and adds that "she may give it to whom she pleases, provided she gives it to Dea. Rogers' children." He gives her one cow and the use of the other, "except son John marry then one cow to be his."

The will provides that if John die without wife or child, certain property shall go to his son-in-law Joseph White (subject to a payment to another son-in-law) and to his daughter Sarah. The will is utterly inconsistent with the existence of any other son than John, or any other daughter than those named.

The inventory was presented and sworn to by Judith Rogers and John Rogers.

2. JOHN ROGERS of Weymouth, son of the preceding, married Mary Bates, daughter of Edward, February 8, 1663, new style; and had Mary, born April 3, 1664; Lydia, born March 1, 1666, new style; Experience, born November 29, 1667; and Hannah, born July 23, 1670. His wife, Mary, had evidently died before October 22, 1683, the date of her father's will, for he does not mention her, but gives to "my son, John Rogers," six pounds, and makes his "beloved son, John Rogers," one of the overseers. He afterward married Judith —, who survived him; it is probable that she was the daughter of his stepmother.

In the 1663 list of landowners, John Rogers is given as owning lot 38 of 42 acres, in the second division bounding on the Braintree line.

In 1677, John Rogers of Weymouth, householder and churchman, petitioned the General Court to be made freeman.

John Rogers of Weymouth conveyed real estate by deed dated January 25, 1678, but not acknowledged till "Mart. ult. 1685": in 1678, land in Weymouth was conveyed, bounded northerly and westerly on Plymouth line, and on one of the other sides by land of John Rogers. In 1683, Edward Bates of Weymouth, by his will, confirms to John Rogers "my former gift of my town lot in ye first division, to him and his heirs forever." On March 18, 1685, new style, John Rogers of Weymouth, and others, convey land in Weymouth to Samuel Torrey.

According to his gravestone, John Rogers died February 28, 1709, old style, aged seventy-one. Administration on the estate of "Elder John Rogers, late of Weymouth, deceased," was granted to Judith, his widow, and Ephraim Burrill, who was his son-in-law. The inventory included dwelling-house with orchard and land adjacent. Micajah Torrey, John Shaw, and Edward Bates were appraisers.

Experience and Hannah seem to have died before 1726, leaving no issue; for in that year Mary and the children of Lydia, who had then deceased, were the only heirs.

By deed dated April 13, 1726, Mary Holbrook, widow of Thomas Holbrook of Shelburne, conveyed to John Burrill all right to land in Weymouth of the estate of her father, John Rogers, late of Weymouth, deceased, "being one half lately dividable

between the heirs of my sister Lydia Burrell and myself ”

By deed dated September 15, 1726, Samuel Burrill, Ephraim Burrill, Sarah Shaw and Lydia Burrill convey to their brother, John Burrill, land in Weymouth of which their grandfather, John Rogers, late of Weymouth, died seized.

By deed dated September 15, 1733, Mary Burrill conveys to her brother, John Burrill, land in Weymouth, of the estate of her grandfather, John Rogers, late of Weymouth, deceased, “one-sixth of one-half”; in the deed she mentions her father, Ephraim Burrill, and her mother, Lydia Burrill. Reg. of Deeds, B. 52, pp. 177 to 179.

Deane makes John Rogers and wife, Rhoda King, married in 1656, the parents of Mary, married in 1659, and of Elizabeth and Hannah, married in 1660! It would seem that these dates, which he gives, would have called his attention to his error.

The author of the history of Hanover, following Deane, “confuses” John of Weymouth and John of Scituate into one, and their children also.

#### V. JOHN ROGERS OF SCITUATE.

Deane says that John Rogers came to Scituate with Rev. Mr. Witherell in 1644, and then “confuses” him with John of Weymouth. Savage says John Rogers of Scituate, son of John, probably born in England, married, October 8, 1656, Rhoda King, and had John, and perhaps Abigail and others, but not Mary, Elizabeth or Hannah, ascribed to him by Deane, as they, and the one who married Joseph White, were the

daughters of "the Weymouth Deacon." The will of the "Weymouth Deacon" shows that he had Mary, Hannah, and Lydia, who married Joseph White.

In the first draft of this paper I contented myself with showing that this older Scituate John was not John of Weymouth. Upon further consideration I concluded to make an effort to identify him, and re-write this portion of the paper. After a careful examination of the colony records and other authorities I find that this John was *John Rogers of Marshfield*.

Scituate and Marshfield are adjoining towns, and were settled about the same time. John Rogers was a freeman of Scituate in 1643 (before Deane says he went there) and in 1644; but his name does not appear again in Scituate for fifty years, so far as the colony records show. As we have already seen his name is not found in connection with Marshfield till 1651, and then continuously thereafter. There is no record of his having been "freeman," unless he is the one named in the Scituate lists of 1643 and 1644. The tradition is that Thomas Rogers and others of Rogers Brook in Marshfield are the descendants of the Scituate man; while in fact they are certainly the descendants of John of Marshfield.

Deane says that persons from other towns brought their children to Mr. Witherell at Scituate to be baptized, "amongst whom were the families of Rogers of Marshfield," etc. Deane says that Mr. Witherell kept a record of these baptisms from 1645 to 1674, and had it kept by others till 1684, but I have been unable to get access to it. He also says that Joseph



White married Mary, daughter of John Rogers, in 1660; John Rogers Sr. had a daughter, Mary, who was apparently unmarried at the date of her father's will in 1660; in another place, Deane says that Elizabeth Rogers married Joseph White in 1660; the last is evidently erroneous, as there is no record of an Elizabeth; there may be another error, as Lydia, daughter of "the Weymouth Deacon," married Joseph White; the John Rogers, who married Rhoda King of Scituate, was John Rogers Jr., of Marshfield, but he did not live in Scituate at all.

Deane says that Timothy White married, in 1678, Abigail Rogers, daughter of John and Rhoda [King] Rogers; Timothy had died in 1707. John Rogers Jr., of Marshfield, had sons John and Thomas, daughter Abigail and granddaughter Mary White; when he made his will in 1718, Abigail's name was Abigail Chamberling; but I believe that it will be found that after the death of Timothy White, as early as 1707, his widow married a Chamberling, and that Mary White mentioned in the will, was her daughter by her first husband.

John Rogers of Scituate, whom I hold to be the son of John Jr. of Marshfield, and Rhoda King, in his will dated March 1, 1737, proved July 18, 1738, describes himself as of Scituate, a shipwright, "aged and under infirmity of body." He directs that his wife Hannah shall be supported out of his estate by his executor; gives his son John ten shillings, "having given him considerable formerly"; to his grandchildren, the children of his daughter "Else" [Alice], who

married Thomas Clark, "twenty pounds in bills of credit of ye old Tenor, or Silver equivalent thereto, one ounce of silver being reconed equal to twenty-seven shillings of said bills"; and legacies to his daughter, Hannah Thrift; to the children of his daughter, Elizabeth, deceased; to the son of his son Thomas, deceased; to his daughter, Mary Staples; to his son, Caleb Rogers; and to his son, Joshua Rogers, whom he appoints executor, and to whom he gives "the farm and land where I now dwell in said Scituate," and all his other property, but charging upon it the support of his wife, "his [Joshua's] mother," and the payment of the legacies, except Caleb's, which was real estate.

Thomas Clark married Alice Rogers, but she had died and he had married again in 1719.

#### VI. JOHN ROGERS OF DUXBURY.

I conclude that, beyond any room for doubt, he was the son of Thomas of the Mayflower, the brother of Lieut. Joseph, who died in Eastham, the father of the John who married Elizabeth Pabodie and the grandfather of the Hannah Rogers, who married Maj. Samuel Bradford. Recalling Bradford's statement that Thomas brought over his son Joseph, but "died in the early sickness," and his other children came over later, were married, and had many children, the records of Plymouth colony enable us to follow the history of John with accuracy.

Among those "rated" March 25, 1633, were Joseph Rogers and John Rogers — nine shillings each.

On October 20, 1634, "Edmun" Chanler came and had recorded that he had sold unto John Rogers a lot

of land adjoining the land of Robert Hicks, on Duxberry side, the lot which he had bought of John Barnes.

In the early part of 1636, Joseph Rogers was authorized to maintain a ferry across Jones' River, near his dwelling-house.

May 10, 1637, the committee to lay out a road from Plymouth to Jones River made their return May 10, in which they say "The highway from Stephen Tracy's grounds through the other grounds as far as the trees were marked to the bridge at John Rogers, and from John Rogers, as the way now lieth to the corner of Jonathan Brewsters cowyard," etc. Jones' River was in the opposite part of the town to that which became Marshfield.

Henry Blage, a servant, etc., was turned over by Widow Elizabeth Watson to Thomas Watson, and by him turned over, November 8, 1638, to John Rogers for the remainder of the term.

Among those proposed, March 5, 1638, to "take up freedom" was John Rogers; but the record does not show that it was done at the next court.

John Rogers and Ann Churchman were married April 16, 1639. He was propounded as a freeman September 7, 1641, and admitted March 1, 1642 (new style).

On April 6, 1640, Constant Southworth and Thomas Southworth, his brother, Joseph Rogers and John Rogers, his brother, were granted fifty acres apiece of upland near where Mr. Vassal's farm is at North River, with apportionable meadow, etc. This was laid out in Vassal's Range, "near to a certain creeke that

runneth up southward" . . . "with the one half of the marsh land abutting upon the aforesaid upland together with a small hammock of upland in the fore-said marsh, which lands lie next to the lands granted to Francis Cooke and John Cooke." The grantees sold out soon afterward.

June 5, 1644, John Rogers was appointed surveyor for Duxburrow. August 20, 1644, he and Joseph were appointed on the part of Duxburrow to act with two appointed on the part of Plymouth to lay out a certain highway, and if they could not agree they were to choose the fifth man; and Nov. 5, 1644, Joseph Pryor, "now dwelling with John Rogers of Duxburrow," chose a guardian.

In 1645 a grant of land at Sawtuckett (Bridgewater) was made to the inhabitants of Duxbury, and John Rogers was one of those nominated "to be feofers in trust for the equal dividing and laying forth the said lands to the inhabitants." It was divided into fifty-four shares, of which John Rogers had one. But when the land was actually laid out he had none, having undoubtedly sold, as the whole number of lots was laid out.

Mitchell, in his history of Bridgewater, devotes four sentences to John Rogers; the first is correct; the other three follow Deane and are all erroneous.

On June 7, 1648, the court allow and request John Rogers and others to stake out a highway from Jones' River Bridge to the Massachusetts Path; it was further ordered, June 2, 1650, that if laying out this way was prejudicial to either Mr. Bradford or John Rogers,

they were to have full satisfaction; the way was laid out June 10, "through ground of John Rogers"; and June 6, 1654, the court granted to John Rogers of Duxborow, a tract of upland meadow lying near Jones' River Pond, in lieu of damages for laying out the way to Massachusetts Path.

June 3, 1657, John Rogers and William Paybody were deputies from Duxbury.

On March 2, 1657, John Rogers and William Paybody were upon a committee summoned by the court; June 7, 1659, John Rogers was absent from the grand inquest, and John Rogers Jr., "stood propounded to take up his freedom."

Oct. 2, 1660, John Rogers was on the jury in the trial of a murder case; June 4, 1661, on the grand inquest; May 7, 1662, on the jury of inquest on the body of Thomas Clark who "came on that side of Jones' river which is on Duxborrow side"; June 1, 1663, on the grand inquest; June 5, 1666, a constable of Duxborrow; April 24, 1666, and Sept. 20, 1667, on juries of inquest; and June 3, 1668, on the grand inquest.

The court gave, June 8, 1666, to John Rogers and William Paybody "liberty to look for land"; and renewed it June 5, 1666, to John Rogers of Duxburrow; and July 2, 1667, granted unto John Rogers, Senior, of Duxbury, one hundred acres of land lying upon Coteticut River, "if it may be had, if not, that he have liberty to look out elsewhere." On July 4, 1673, the court made a grant of one hundred acres between Taunton and Teticut, on

the northeast side of the bounds of Taunton to John Rogers Sr.

June 1, 1669, John Rogers Sr. was surveyor of highways in Duxbury, and June 5, 1671, on the grand inquest; July 5, 1671, "John Rogers Sr. of Duxburrow" entered a complaint in court.

As I have already stated, on the 1670 list of freemen, were John Rogers Sr. and John Rogers Jr. of Duxburrow and John Rogers of Marshfield.

John Rogers was on the jury in a capital case October 27, 1674; and on the grand inquest June 7, 1676, and on the same day John Rogers Jr. was appointed surveyor of highways in Duxburrow.

March 5, 1677 (old style) John Rogers was surety on Widow Anna Tisdale's bond; she was his daughter or sister according as he was the senior or the junior. John Richmond, John Rogers and Samuel Smith were overseers of the estate.

John Rogers Sr. was on coroner's jury, June 3, 1673; with Joseph Rogers, was surveyor of highways in Duxburrow; and also June 5, 1678.

John Rogers Jr. was constable of Duxburrow, June 5, 1670; on the jury, October 29, 1671; surveyor of highways in Duxburrow, June 3, 1674, and again June 7, 1676.

The records further mention John Rogers Sr., June 3, 1679, Sept. 28, 1680, and July 7, 1681.

On June 7, 1681, John Rogers of Duxbury took the oath of a constable "to serve in the ward of Mount Hope [afterwards Bristol] for the present year;" this was John Jr.

John Rogers was constable for Duxbury in 1681 and 1683; John Rogers of Duxbury was surveyor in 1682, and on the jury in a capital case in 1684.

On November 9, 1687, John Rogers of Duxborough by deed duly witnessed, but not acknowledged, conveyed to Joseph and Edward Richmond [who were his grandsons] one hundred acres of land in Middleboro, with rights of common and further divisions, if any. This deed was proved in court, in place of acknowledgment, September 13, 1693, as was usual when the grantor died without acknowledging it.

“John Rogers, Sen<sup>r</sup> of Duxborough,” by will dated August 26, 1691, proved Sept. 20, 1692, gives:—

1. To his grandson, John Rogers, all his houses and lands in the town of Duxborough.

2. To his grandson, John Tisdall, for the use of his mother Anna Terry, one-half of his land divided and undivided in Middleboro, excepting his rights in the Major Purchase, the land “to be disposed of according to his mother’s mind.”

3. To his daughter Elizabeth Williams [who was the wife of Nathaniel Williams of Taunton] the other half of the Middleboro land; and his “cattel” were to be equally divided between these three daughters.

4. To his grandson, John Rogers, all his household stuff and moneys out of which he was to pay to his sister, Elizabeth Rogers, forty shillings; and twenty shillings each to “his other three sisters,” Hannah Bradford, Ruth Rogers and Sarah Rogers.

5. To his daughter, Abigail Richmond, “that twenty shillings a year which is my due for fourscore

acres of land which I sold to my two grandsons, Joseph Richmond and Edward Richmond."

6. He appoints his "loving son, John Rogers, sole executor and administrator of this my last will and testament."

This is the kind of a will that rejoiceth the heart of the genealogist. He gives the names of all his children then living; gives the surnames of his daughters' husbands, and the names of many of his grandchildren. It identifies his son John as the one who married Elizabeth Pabodie, by naming the well-known children of the latter as his grandchildren. His children were John, Abigail, Anna [sometimes called Hannah] and Elizabeth.

Abigail married, as his second wife, John Richmond of Taunton, and was the ancestress of very many of the families of that name scattered all over the country. Anna married (1) John Tisdale Jr.; (2) Thomas Terry, and (3) Samuel Williams of Taunton; she had children by the first two; Elizabeth married Samuel Williams of Taunton, and had six children, who grew up and married. I have abstracts of various deeds that prove these marriages beyond question, in addition to the statements in the will. I will give but one. By deed dated July 4, 1710, Anna Williams, "relict of Samuel Williams, late of Taunton deceased," conveys to her son, Benjamin Terry, all lands in Middleboro, "given to me by the will of my honored father, John Rogers, late of Duxbury, deceased, according to an agreement signed by me, said Anna



Williams, my sister Elizabeth Williams, and by John Tisdale and Joseph Richmond dated October 5, 1709."

Plym. Co., B. 22, p. 53.

2. JOHN ROGERS JR., OF DUXBURY. As John Rogers, Hannah Bradford and John's "other three sisters" were the well-known children of John and Elizabeth [Paybodie] Rogers and are now shown to be the grandchildren of John Rogers Sr. of Duxbury, of course John Rogers Jr. must have been his son, and the John Rogers Jr. mentioned in the records which I have cited. The father of Elizabeth was William Pabodie, whose name is mentioned so often in the records in connection with that of John Rogers Sr., both of whom, as well as "Mr. Bradford," lived in Duxbury and were neighbors.

We have already seen that John Rogers of Duxbury, on June 7, 1681, took "oath of a constable to serve in the ward of Mount Hope for this present year"; he was licensed October 23, 1681, for "Bristol, alias Mt. Hope, and again June 16, 1683. In 1681, John Rogers Jr., disappears from Duxbury, and is found in Bristol. He was deputy for Bristol in 1685, 1686, 1689 and 1690, and was selectman in 1686, 1689 and 1690. He is described in deeds as of Bristol in 1694 and 1696; but on May 27, 1697, "as late of Bristol, now of Boston."

His son John, legatee under the will of John Rogers Sr., of Duxbury, died in Boston, unmarried, November 2, 1696; but in the letters of administration issued to his uncle, Maj. Samuel Bradford, he is described as "late of Duxbury."

The autograph of John Rogers, made August 2, 1701, in discharging a mortgage, is found in Suffolk Registry of Deeds, Book 14, p. 433. He lived in Boston about ten years, but apparently claimed Bristol as his home, although it may be that he actually lived in other places during these ten years. His wife died, and he married Marah Browning of Boston, widow; a marriage settlement was made March 22, 5. William and Mary, acknowledged, Aug. 7, 1699, and recorded November 12, 1702, in which he described himself as of "New Bristol, alias Mounthope," and as "a Planter." He owned real estate in Boston, and there are many conveyances on record to which he was a party. These deeds show that he moved to Taunton as early as June 16, 1706, and bought real estate there, but moved from there and was living in Swansea, April 5, 1710; he continued to live there till about 1726, when he moved to Barrington, where he died June 28, 1732, in the ninety-second year of his age. He had then been blind nearly ten years. He left ninety-one descendants, but none bearing his name, his only son, John, having died unmarried over thirty-five years previously. But his daughters had large families: Hannah married Maj. Samuel Bradford and settled in Duxbury; Elizabeth married Sylvester Richmond (nephew of the John Richmond whom her aunt, Abigail Rogers, married), and settled in Little Compton; Ruth married James Bennett of Robury; and Sarah married Nathaniel Searle of Milton. His second wife survived him, but under the marriage settlement she had no dower in his estate, and had only

certain articles which he gave her in his lifetime. She died in 1739, and administration was taken out in the following February.

Perez Bradford of Milton and William Richmond and Nathaniel Searle of Little Compton were appointed, September 5, 1732, administrators of the estate of their grandfather, John Rogers, late of Barrington deceased, his widow and two daughters refusing to administer.

Partition of his real estate was made, by the record of which these statements as to his family may be verified.

VII. There was a John Rogers in Billerica; and still another in Watertown; but they have been identified, and have not been "confused" with those I have mentioned. I have gone at length into details, because I am in conflict with Deane, Mitchell, Winsor, Davis and others, and therefore felt the necessity of demonstrating my position beyond a reasonable doubt.

I believe all of them have assumed that John Rogers of Marshfield and John Rogers of Duxbury were the same, and Deane gives John of Duxbury, John of Weymouth and John of Scituate as being the same. The truth is that John of Marshfield, John of Duxbury and John of Weymouth were three different men, each of whom made his will, showing that each of them had a son John, and two of them each a grandson John, son of the son John.

Taking their wills and the dates I have given from the colony records, and comparing them, it is absolutely certain that John of Marshfield and his son

John, and his grandson John, were different men from John of Duxbury, and his son John, and grandson John, and that both sets were different men from John of Weymouth and his son John, who had four daughters and no son.

The next question is, "Which John was the son of Thomas of the Mayflower?" It has heretofore been assumed that John of Marshfield was; but it has also been assumed that this John and his wife Frances were the parents of the John who married Elizabeth Pabodie; this last assumption I have shown to be absolutely erroneous. John of Duxbury was the father of the John who married her, and, I believe, the son of Thomas. John of Marshfield was apparently too old, and Savage suggests that he was the brother of Thomas; he named his sons John, Joseph and Timothy, but had no Thomas; while Joseph, the son of Thomas, had Joseph, Thomas and John. But quite conclusive evidence arises from the relations of Joseph, known to be the son of Thomas and John of Duxbury. "Joseph, and John his brother" are named in the records, and in numerous instances Joseph and John of Duxbury are named together; they both lived in the southerly part of Duxbury, near each other, while the other John lived in Marshfield. Joseph came over first, and when John came he naturally would be with his brother. We find him named with Joseph in 1633, and trace him, almost year by year, till his death in 1691; he married Ann Churchman in 1639, had a son (John) born in 1640, and a daughter (Abigail) born in 1642, as is shown by their ages at the time of their deaths.

I know that Deane gives Ann Churchman to John of Weymouth, and makes her the mother of Lydia, born in 1742; but he gives no evidence of his assertion; moreover, he says they were married at Weymouth, but their marriage is recorded in the Plymouth Colony records, and Weymouth was not in that colony, and the marriage was not recorded in the Weymouth records. Besides, he erroneously assumes that John of Duxbury was John of Weymouth, and went from Duxbury to Weymouth. John of Duxbury named his first daughter Abigail, probably for one of her grandmothers, and his second daughter Anna, for her mother. In addition, the tradition in the families of the descendants of John of Duxbury has always been that they descended from Thomas of the Mayflower. Taking all these facts together, they entirely overcome the mere assumption that John of Marshfield was the son of Thomas, especially when it is remembered that the same assumption makes John of Duxbury and John of Marshfield the same person.

## ADDENDUM.

Since the foregoing was completed I have found the record of an agreement entered into before "Mr. Bradford, Governor," dated January 23, 1648, old style, by which Ephraim Hicks sold to John Rogers of Duxbury land "lying at the Illand creek at Duxbury aforesaid next unto the land on which the said John Rogers now liveth." The transaction was not completed until January 19, 1652, old style. As Island Creek was in the extreme southerly part of Duxbury as now existing, and North River, where the other

John lived, was the northern boundary, the suggestion that John Rogers of Duxbury lived so near the Marshfield line that he was sometimes on one side of it and sometimes on the other side, has no foundation.

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## MARTIN PRING.

BY JOSEPH WILLIAMSON.

*Read before the Maine Historical Society, December 13, 1894.*

It is now well settled that Sebastian Cabot, in his search for the northwest passage, a year before Columbus discovered the American continent, sailed along the coast of Maine, and that Verrazano, a quarter of a century later, came in view of some of our islands and hills. No evidence exists that either of these navigators made any landing, and it is quite certain that they formed very crude ideas of our topography. While the icy seas and shores of Greenland, Labrador and Canada were depicted on the maps of the sixteenth century with a high degree of truth, the coast of New England remained neglected and unknown. And when at the beginning of the seventeenth century French and English adventurers arrived here, they had to begin the work of exploration anew. Hudson, who as late as 1609, sailed south of Cape Cod, and entered the Bay of New York, was justified in saying that he penetrated an unknown sea. Excepting the fishery of Newfoundland, the Europeans

at that time were in actual possession of no part of North America, although the English claimed a right to the whole by virtue of the prior discovery by the Cabots. In the language of the poet, the maxim in those days was,

The time once was here, to all be it known,  
When all a man sailed by, or saw, was his own.

The opening of the seventeenth century witnessed a revival of colonial enterprise under Queen Elizabeth, and in March, 1602, Bartholomew Gosnold sailed for the new world in a small vessel called the "Concord." His company numbered thirty-two persons, a third of whom intended to remain and plant a colony. On the fourteenth of May, he sighted our coast near Casco Bay, calling the place Northland, twelve leagues southwest of which he visited Savage Rock, or Cape Neddock, whence the Indians came off, and by signs desired them to stay, but "the harbor being naught and doubting the weather," the invitation was not accepted. In the night, they departed southward to Boon Island, and thence to Cape Cod, which they rounded, and searched that island of the group now known as Cuttyhunk. The erection of a fortified house there, the lading of their vessel with sassafras and cedar, the final demoralization of the company, and its return to England after two months, are detailed by Gabriel Archer and John Bereford, journalists of the voyage.

Although the experience of the voyagers upon the island and mainland are given in length by the above named journalists, no mention of any landing within

the limit of our own State appears, and an exploration of its bays and rivers awaited future navigators. To one of these, Martin Pring, who followed Gosnold the next year, belongs the honor of being the first white man who is known to have set foot upon our soil. But unlike Gosnold, Waymouth and De Monts, the particulars of whose adventures have been written by faithful and painstaking hands, no narrative of the expedition of Pring is preserved, and therefore he has been deprived of the prominence which those voyagers have enjoyed, and which his fame merits.

Pring was born in 1580. Although the place of his birth is not determined with certainty, it was probably Devonshire. For at least four centuries his family name has so extensively prevailed in that county as to afford sufficient grounds for believing that he originated there. In the negligent orthography characteristic of the period it is found to be spelt in various forms. A list of burials preserved at Awliscomb, a parish midway between Bristol and Plymouth, contains under the year 1569, the name of "Martyn Pringe." Considering that neither the surname of Pring nor the Christian name of Martin are of common occurrence, the association of the two names warrants the conclusion that the two Martin Prings, living so nearly together in point of distance and time, were related to each other.

Pring first came to notice at Bristol, at the beginning of the seventeenth century. By what means he was attracted there is unknown. A high prestige then attached to that port in the line of naval enter-



prise, and any resident of its vicinity touched with the spirit of adventure would naturally have sought an opportunity for development there. It was from Bristol in 1496 that Robert Thorne and Hugh Eliot sent ships for discovery under the world-renowned Sebastian Cabot, and as early as 1581, Master Thomas Aldworth, a prominent citizen, and who, thirty years later was a patron of Pring, wrote "that he had good inclination to the western discovery" — an inclination which culminated the following year in a subscription by the merchants of that city, for an exploration of the coast of America, lying to the southwest of Cape Briton. A degree of enterprise prevailed there, which was unequaled in any part of the kingdom.

"Of the earlier years of Pring," says his biographer, Dr. James H. Pring, from whose account, published in 1888, many of the facts in this paper are derived and incorporated, "no direct information can be obtained. It is certain, however, that the prudence, integrity and courage which became so conspicuous in him as he grew up, were all subordinated to a high sense of Christian duty. This, indeed, was to a considerable extent characteristic of most of those who embarked at that period in this special line of service. It has been well observed that the difficulties of crossing the Atlantic at that time were new, and it required strong courage to encounter hazards which ignorance exaggerated. The imagined dangers were infinite; the real dangers were very great. The ships first employed for discovery were generally less than a hundred tons burden; that in which Frobisher sailed

was a vessel of but twenty-five tons; and so perilous were the voyages then deemed, that the sailors were accustomed before embarking to perform solemn acts of devotion, as if to prepare for eternity. The influences to produce this general effect on the nautical mind of the period, would not we may be sure be suffered to pass unrecognized by Pring, who seems to have been naturally of an earnest and somewhat serious turn of mind. It was the recognition of his high qualities, his prudence and courage, joined with true Christian character, which led the chief merchants of Bristol, with the ready assent of Raleigh and at the special instance of Hakluyt, the enlightened friend and able historian of those enterprises, unanimously to elect Pring, at the early age of twenty-three, to undertake the charge of an important expedition of this kind for the discovery of the north part of Virginia. The singularly complete success which attended the voyage shows how fully their confidence was justified.

Although in point of time the expedition of Gosnold and Pring were closely connected, they were of a different nature. The purpose of Gosnold was a more "purely trading adventure"; that of Pring wore the character of maritime exploration. Gosnold's enterprise was without official sanction; and Sir Walter Raleigh, who held the patent covering the whole of Virginia, on the return to his vessel, confiscated her cargo of sassafras, then worth fifty pounds per ton, and of cedar, as contraband. On the other hand, profiting by Gosnold's experience, Pring first sent a

deputation to the distinguished patentee, asking permission to visit his territory, "and leave being obtained of him under his hand and seal," no time was lost in fitting out a small ship called the "Speedwell," of fifty tons, with a crew of thirty men and boys, and the "Discoverer" (so named to mark the exploratory character of the voyage), a bark of twenty-six tons with thirteen men and boys. The commander of the ship was Pring, and his mate was Edmund Jones. The captain of the bark was William Broune, and had Samuel Kirkland as mate. Robert Saltern, who had been with Gosnold, the year before, went as chief agent and supercargo, and was furnished with various kinds of clothing, hardware and trinkets for trade with the natives. The vessels were provisioned for eight months.

"We set saile from Milford Haven," says the narrative of the voyage, in Purchas, his *Pilgrimes*, "(where the winds had stayed us a fortnight, in which time we heard of Queen Elizabeth's death), the tenth of April, 1603. In our course we passed by two Iles of the Azores, had first sight of the Pike, and afterwards of the Island of Onermo, and Flores, and after we had runne some five hundred leagues we fell with a multitude of small Islands on the north coast of Virginia, in the latitude of 43 degrees, the — of June, which Ilands were found very pleasant to be hold, adorned with goodly grasse, and sundry sorts of trees, as cedars, spruce, pines and firre trees. Heere wee found an excellent fishing for Cods, which are better than those of New-Found-land, and withall we saw

good and rockie ground fit to drie them upon ; also we could see no reason to the contrary, but that salt may be made in these parts, a matter of no small importance. We sayled to the south-west end of these Islands, and then rode with our ships under one of the greatest. One of them we named Foxe Iland, because we found those kinds of beasts thereon. So passing through the rest with our boats to the mayne land, which lieth for a good space North-east and South-west, we found safe riding among them, in sixe, seven, eight, ten and twelve fathomes. At length, coming to the Mayne in the latitude of forty-three degrees and an halfe, we ranged the same to the South-west. In which course we found four Inlets, the most easterly whereof was barred at the mouth, but having passed over the barre, we ranne up into it five miles, and for a certaine space found very good depth, and coming out againe as we sailed South-westward, wee lighted upon two other Inlets, which upon our search we found to pierce not farre into the Land, the fourth and most westerly was the best, which we rowed up ten or twelve miles.

“In all these places we found no people, but signes of fires where they had beene. Howbeit we beheld very goodly Groves and Woods, replenished with tall Okes, Beeches, Pine-trees, Firre-trees, Hasels, Witch-Hasels and Maples. We saw here also sundry sorts of Beasts, as Stags, Deere, Beares, Wolves, Foxes, Lusernes, and Doggs with sharp noses. But meeting with no sassafras, we left these places with all the foresaid Islands, shaping our course for *Savage Rocke*,

discovered three years before by Captain Gosnold, where going upon the *Mayne* we found people, with whom we had no long conversation, because here also we could find no sassafras."

The cluster of Islands which Pring first fell in with, was at the mouth of Penobscot Bay, the two principal of which, comprising North Haven and Vinalhaven, still retain the name of "Fox Islands." Dr. Belknap and other historians conclude that after he had passed the islands as far westward as Casco Bay, the easternmost of the four inlets which he entered was at the mouth of the river Saco. The next two were Kennebunk and York rivers, and the westernmost and best was the Piscataqua. From his exploration of the latter, Pring has been pronounced by Bancroft the discoverer of New Hampshire. The reason of finding no people was, that the natives at that season (June), were fishing at the falls of the river, and the vestiges of fires marked the places at or near the mouth where they had resided and taken fish in the earlier months. Savage Rock is supposed to have been near Cape Ann, but the Rev. Dr. DeCosta claims that it was Cape Neddock, at the entrance of York Harbor. Desiring to collect sassafras, then highly esteemed for its medicinal qualities, but finding none, they doubled the cape, again pursued a southerly course, and finally anchored in Old Town harbor, or Martha's Vineyard, where they remained six weeks. This Pring called "Whitson Bay," from the name of the "Worshipful Master John Whitson, then Mayor of the Citie of Bristol," and one of the chief promoters of the voyage.

In an article entitled "Norumbega and its English Explorers," forming a portion of Windsor's History of America, Dr. DeCosta assumes Whitson Bay to be identical with modern Plymouth harbor, but his quite ingenious theory has not been generally adopted.

During the stay in this harbor, the narrative says, "according to our instructions given us in charge before our setting forth, we pared and digged up the earth with shovels and sowed Wheat, Barley, Oates, Pease, and sundry sorts of garden seeds, which for the time of our abode there, being about seven weeks, although they were late sowne, came up well, giving certain testimony of the goodness of the climate and of the soyle. The natives came to us some times in great numbers, at one time as many as one hundred and twenty at once. We used them kindly, and they did eat Pease and Beanes with us. The men are of a tawny or chestnut color, somewhat taller than our people, strong, swift, well proportioned, and given to treacherie, as in the end we perceived. Some few of the men wore plates of brasse a foote long and half a foote broad on their breasts. Their weapons were bows and arrows very skilfully made, and of such length and strength as must have required not only great dexterity, but great strength on the part of those who used them. These arrows were of a yard and an handful long, made of fine light wood very smooth and round, with three long and deepe blacke feathers of some Eagle, Vulture, or Kite closely fastened with some binding matter. Their boats, whereof we brought one to Bristoll, were in propor-

tion like a Wherrie of the River Thames, seventeen foot long and four foot broad, made of the barke of a Birch-tree far exceeding in bignesse those in England, and though it carried nine men standing upright, yet it weighed not at the most above sixty pounds, a thing almost incredible in regard to the largenesse and capacite thereof."

By the end of July Pring had loaded the Discoverer with sassafras, when Jones sailed in her for England, leaving him to complete the cargo of the other ship. On the ninth or tenth of August, the Speedwell departed from Whitson Bay, and after a passage of five weeks by the route of the Azores they reached King Road below Bristol on the second of November, the bark having arrived about a fortnight before. The whole voyage occupied six months.

It is quite certain that Pring committed to paper a detailed account of this voyage, and historians have generally attributed to him the authorship of the relation found in Purchas. Such, however, is not the case, with the exception of a few paragraphs. A Dutch abstract of his relation is mentioned long before Purchas's Pilgrims appeared, but the original from which it was made has disappeared. It was undoubtedly in the possession of the compiler of that work, and one writer without giving his authority, however, states that Strachey, who in 1618, prepared an account of the Popham settlement, "used the Journals of Gosnold, Pring and Rosier" — thus intimating that Pring's Journal was published like the others. The manuscript may have been among the

collection of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, which comprised "all sorts of materials for the history of English North America, from the first discovery down to the civil war; memoirs, journals of voyages, charts, charters, minutes of arguments, letters, sketches of projects, lists of partners — everything to illustrate the events and their causes and to display the actors, and which, it is not extravagant to suppose, may, undreamed of by their possessor, be now feeding the moths in the garret of some manor-house in Somerset or Devon, or in some crypt of London, which vast city has always been the receptacle, often the final hiding-place of such treasures." New England would welcome its discovery in a spirit akin to that with which the world would rejoice at finding the lost books of Livy.

The successful voyage of George Waymouth in 1605, induced the next year several fresh enterprises to the coast of New England. In one of these Pring bore a conspicuous part. It appears that Gorges had previously sent out a ship under Captain Challenge, but the result of the expedition was disastrous. No tidings could be obtained of it, and this led to despatching another ship to search for the missing one, and to make further explorations. The latter was in a great measure intrusted to Pring. Of it, Gorges gives the following account in his "Briefe Narration."

"Shortly upon my sending away of Captain Challenge, it pleased the Lord Chief Justice (Popham) according to his promise to despatch Captain Pring from Bristoll, with hope to have found Captain Challenge, whereby his instructions he was assigned, who



observing the same, happily arrived there, but not hearing by any what became of him (Challouge) after he had made perfect discovery of all those rivers and harbors he was informed of by his instructions, — (the season of the year requiring his return) — brings with him the most exact discovery of that coast that ever came into my hands, and indeed he was the best able to perform it of any I met withall to this present, which with his relation of the Country, wrought such an impression on the Lord Chiefe Justice, and us all that were his associates, that (notwithstanding our first disaster) we set up our resolutions to follow it with effect.” On this report an expedition was at once fitted out to establish a colony.

From the completion of his last American voyage until 1614, Pring was probably in the East India service. Purchas makes several extracts from his manuscript journal of two voyages to that part of the world between 1614 and 1621. In the last of these he commanded a squadron of five ships, one of which was over a thousand tons burden. At that time the vessels of the East India Company combined many of the requisites of ships of war; and the officer in charge of an entire fleet bore the title of General. While on this service, he captured a Portugese frigate, and in cooperation with Sir Thomas Dale, attacked the Dutch fleet, off the Island of Java. Upon the death of Dale, in 1619, Pring succeeded to the command of the whole English East India squadron. After his return, there is no account of any other voyages which he performed. His merits were appreciated

in Virginia, and a record of 1622 shows that "the Quarter Court of the Virginia Company thought fit to make Captain Martin Pring a freeman of the Company, and to give him two shares of land in regard of the large contribution which the gentlemen and mariners of his ship had given toward good works in Virginia, whereof he was an especial furtherer."

Captain Pring died in 1626. By his will, executed that year, it appears that the name of his wife was Elizabeth, and that he had one son and five daughters. An imposing monument was erected to his memory in St. Stephen's Church, Bristol, by the Company of the Merchant Venturers of that city. The inscription, which is as follows, "acquires," says his biographer, "additional strength from representing the sentiments of a public body, instead of being due to private and individual affections, a source which is apt to be influenced by partiality."

To the pious  
Memorie of Martin Pringe,  
Merchant, sometymee Generall to the  
East Indies, and one of ye  
Fraternitie of the  
Trinitie House.

The living worth of this dead man was such  
That this fay'r Touch can giue you but A touch  
Of his admired gifts; the ise quarter'd Arts,  
Enrich'd his knowledge and ye spheare imparts  
His hearts true Embleme where pure thoughts did moue  
By A most sacred Influence from aboue.  
Prudence and fortitude ore topp this toombe,  
Which is braue PRINGE tooke vpp ye cheifest roome;  
Hope, — Time supporters showe that hee did clyme,

The highest pitch of hope, though not of Tyme.  
 His painefull, skillful tranayles reach't as farre  
 As from the Artick to th' Antartick starre;  
 Hee made himselfe A shippe. Religion  
 His onely compass, and the truth alone  
 His guiding Cynosure, faith was his sailes,  
 His anchovr hope, A hope that never fayles;  
 His freight was charite; and his returne  
 A fruitfull practice. In this fatall vrne  
 His shippes fayr Bulck is lodg'd but ye ritch ladinge  
 Is hous'd in heaven, A hauen neuer fadinge.

Hic terris multum iactatus et vndis.

Obit Anno { Salutis } 1626.  
 { Ætatis } 46.

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## SKETCHES OF THE LIVES OF EARLY MAINE MINISTERS.

BY WILLIAM D. WILLIAMSON.

*Presented to the Maine Historical Society, with an Introduction by Joseph  
 Williamson, December 10, 1831.*

[CONCLUDED.]

REV. THURSTON WHITING.

REV. THURSTON WHITING, ordained in July, 1776, was the second settled minister in Newcastle. His predecessor was Rev. Alexander Boyd, who was dismissed in 1758. The interval of eighteen years had been truly full of anxiety and interest in Newcastle. The affairs and transactions with Mr. Boyd, and also with Mr. Ward, made, in their progress and result, unfavorable impressions upon the minds of the people. They tended to loosen, and even break, the ties of sound union, which always in all younger communi-

ties specially need strengthening. Parochial disputes and religious controversies are the hotbeds of evil, which nothing but long labor and much grace can change into the garden of the Lord. After the departure of Mr. Ward in 1761, the people employed several candidates, and invited Rev. Moses Job Lain, Samuel Perley, William Southmayd, Joel Benedict and Jesse Reed to settle with them in the ministry, but they severally returned answers in the negative.

Mr. Whiting first appears as a preacher at Winthrop in 1773 and next in 1775 at Newcastle, where he is now settled. The people had been Presbyterians, yet being willing to adopt Congregational rites and forms in harmony with his sentiments, they settled him on that foundation, and a church of the same order was embodied at the same time. But Mr. Whiting was not the minister for the people of Newcastle. He did not in the outset come to them in the power and spirit of Elijah or Paul. He had not a collegiate education; he had no more than ordinary abilities; there was nothing captivating, or commanding in the turn or temperament of the man.<sup>1</sup> Nor was he endued with the faculty to mold disconnected materials into form and comeliness and thus build up the parish. His destiny, at length, proved to be like that of his predecessor, for in January, 1782, he was dismissed, not without reflections by the Council, after an unpleasant pastorate of five years and six months. The next year he was preaching in Edgecomb when

<sup>1</sup> This, I think, is incorrect, inasmuch as he was never destitute of many warm friends, and when I knew him in later years possessed an amiable, mild, social disposition, though he was wanting in firmness. CYRUS EATON.

the Council formally restored him to "good standing" and organized a church, but did not, though requested, think fit to instal him. In two or three years after the dismissal of Mr. Urquhart, about 1784-85. Mr. Whiting removed into Warren and was employed about ten years in preaching there and in Thomaston, but was never resettled after leaving Newcastle. In 1796 he represented Warren in the General Court, and it might have been more for his honor, interest and happiness if he had never engaged in any other than secular employments, for uneducated,<sup>1</sup> unconverted, self-made men are never distinguished for their success and usefulness in the ministry of the gospel.

#### REV. BENJAMIN CHADWICK.

REV. BENJAMIN CHADWICK, Harvard College 1770, was ordained December, 1776, the second settled minister in the second parish of Scarborough. His predecessor was the Rev. Mr. Elvins. His ancestors were the early settlers of Watertown. His ministerial labors faithfully performed so wasted his strength and impaired his health as to affect severely his spirits and gradually his mind. At his instance, therefore, he was dismissed in May, 1795, by mutual consent. Afterwards, by exercise, change of air and of scene, and freedom from cares, he so far recovered his health and energies as to be able to preach occasionally, though without any pastoral charge. He died Novem-

<sup>1</sup> His literary attainments were by no means inconsiderable. He entered college, though for some reason, probably misconduct, did not graduate. He was acquainted with the Latin, Greek and French languages, wrote a good style, and his contributions often appeared in the newspapers of the day. C. E.

ber 10. 1819. respected and lamented. His piety shone with pure light, and might have been splendid had it not been veiled with gloom and even eclipsed by the dark planet of ill health.

REV. CHARLES TURNER.

REV. CHARLES TURNER, Harvard College, 1762, preached and dwelt in Turner, but was never settled in Maine. He was a descendant of Pilgrim ancestry at old Plymouth and a minister of Duxbury seventeen years. He first visited this place, called Sylvester plantation, in 1776, the year after the first settlement was begun, and again in 1779, at which latter time he admitted such as desired to own the covenant and then baptized them and their children. This, denominated the "half-way covenant," was an unfortunate beginning of religious establishments in a new town. Nor did the procedure evince the minister's scriptural godliness, nor the most correct view of the sacred ordinances. He continued to preach in different places and in 1792 he removed into this town, it having been incorporated July 7. 1786, and also, as a compliment to him, taken his surname. After Mr. Strickland's dismissal in 1797, both were, at times, employed to preach, and in 1802 Mr. Turner was invited by the parish to settle, but the procedure was non-concurred by the church and nothing was affected. Mr. Turner was in the ministry about forty years, though only fitted for secular employments. No man can teach what he never knew, nor guide to heaven in ways to which he is a stranger. He emigrated into

this new town, principally for the pecuniary advantages of his family, an enterprise wherein he met a reward. His son, John, a worthy man, was the first representative of Turner, 1806-7-8-9, in the General Court and a magistrate.

REV. NATHANIEL WEBSTER.

REV. NATHANIEL WEBSTER, Harvard College 1769, was ordained April 14, 1779, the third settled minister of Biddeford succeeding to the pastorate of Rev. Moses Morrell. He is believed to be the son of Rev. Samuel Webster, D. D., who, graduated at Harvard College 1737, was the minister of Salisbury, Mass., and died 1796. The subject of this sketch partook largely of the talents so readily conceded to the name, and acquired the character of a pious and devoted divine. His ministry closed with his life, in 1728, after being extended thirty-nine years.

REV. JOHN ADAMS.

REV. JOHN ADAMS was the first minister in Washington plantation, incorporated a town February 26, 1794, by the name of Newfield. He was the son of Mathew Adams, an ingenious and literary mechanic of Boston, whose writing in the New England Journal raised him to public notice. He died in 1753 leaving several children without any other inheritance than an estimable reputation. His son John, above named, born 1732, was graduated at Harvard College in 1745, the father having anxiously labored to give him a liberal education. Having completed a theological

course of reading, he was ordained in 1748 at Durham, in New Hampshire,<sup>1</sup> the nephew of Rev. Hugh Adams, the first minister settled in that place. But, unfortunately, the subject of this notice was connected with a people whose opposition, fanaticism and indolence gave him great discomfiture. For in the words of Dr. Eliot, "any man who received a liberal education, who wore a band or black coat, and held a regular service on the Lord's day, was called hireling, thief, wolf, or anything that would make him odious. So insulted, he was often enveloped in gloom, ready to sink into despondency. In his best days, however, he was very much the sport of his feelings. Sometimes he was so depressed, as to seem like a being mingling with the dust; then, suddenly, he would mount up to heaven with a bolder wing than any of his contemporaries. This would happen frequently in the pulpit, so that when he had been all the week preparing a sermon which was, according to his own expression, as dull as his feelings, he would take a new text and give a flow to his sentiments and expressions, which were much better than he was ever able to utter with previous consideration. His delivery was then as lively as his fancy." He was called in another publication, "a man of superior natural talents, but rather eccentric in his genius."

At length the people became weary of supporting a man they did not like, and of paying their money which they thought they needed more for other purposes in time of war; therefore, they dismissed him

<sup>1</sup> 2 Coll. of Farmer Moore p. 365.



in 1768, and it was a dissolution which ministered much to his own relief and comfort. In a couple of years the proprietors of Newfield believing a preached gospel to be of the first importance in new settlements, freely gave him four hundred acres of land in consideration of which he removed his family into the plantation in February, 1781, when it contained only five or six families. Indeed, the population in 1790 was only two hundred and sixty-two souls. Mr. Adams was a physician as well as a minister, and rendered himself exceedingly useful in both professions, continually doing good, for he preached constantly, somewhere, and practised physic in Newfield, Lexington, Parsonsfield and Limerick till a short time before his death. His home was in Newfield and he died there June 4, 1792, aged sixty years, leaving a character for faith and good works which will not, for ages, wholly be lost in oblivion.

#### REV. DAVID JEWETT.

REV. DAVID JEWETT, Harvard College 1769, was installed January 2, 1782, the first settled minister of Winthrop, which was incorporated in 1771. The first preacher here was Rev. Thurston Whiting, 1773; the second was Rev. Jeremiah Shaw in 1776, when a church was formed of twenty-seven members. Mr. Jewett had been recently dismissed from a pastoral charge in Candia, N. H., and he now entered upon the solemn duties and labors of his office as an experienced teacher. But his ministry was of short continuance, he being taken from his people by death in February,

1783, in less than fourteen months after his installation. Transformed by grace and fitted to die, he was translated early to the mansions of blessedness. In his departure, the world had a minister less; God an angel more.

REV. CALEB JEWETT.

REV. CALEB JEWETT, Dartmouth College 1776, ordained November 20, 1783, was the third settled minister of Gorham. He was a successor of Rev. Isaiah Thatcher. He was a kindred, perhaps a brother of Rev. David Jewett, settled at Winthrop. They were both men of considerable talents, forcible and persevering, rather than intuitive, free and flowing. Abundant time was taken for the people of Gorham to become acquainted with his piety and powers, for he was there more than two years before he was settled. He was their preacher, in all, about nineteen years, and though his preaching was intermitted by reason of infirmity a year or two before his death, his pastoral relation was only dissolved by his own dissolution, which occurred in 1801 — a good and faithful minister of consecrate memory.

REV. SAMUEL PERLEY.

REV. SAMUEL PERLEY, Harvard College 1763, installed the eighth of September, 1784, the second settled minister of Gray. He was the successor of Rev. Samuel Nash, much such a man and minister, and continued his pastoral relation about the same length of time. But neither of them were fit ministers

for Gray. No; the people there longed for a minister of splendid mind, interesting manners, pristine piety: for such a preacher sent from God might have been the means of showing what religion can achieve. Mr. Perley had been previously a settled minister at Seabrook and at Moultonborough, N. H. A repeatedly dismissed minister, like an often removed family, gathers no substance, nor yet fame. He may varnish and redeliver his old sermons, but they are not new-cooked viands directly from the fire. On his settlement Presbyterianism was adopted. He represented Gray in the General Court in 1788, and he worried along till May, 1791, when he and his people mutually agreed, and perhaps rejoiced, to be set asunder. From that time he ceased to preach, though short of fifty years of age; a minister whose motives and character were better than his piety and talents. His son, Jeremiah Perley, was a counselor-at-law, author of *Powers and Duties of Justices of the Peace*, and stenographer of the delegates in the convention at Portland that formed the constitution, 1820. He died at Orono, 1830, a pious man.

REV. JOHN STRICKLAND.

REV. JOHN STRICKLAND, Yale College 1761, installed September 20, 1784, the first settled minister and second preacher of Turner. Rev. Charles Turner had previously preached there and his residence was in that town. Mr. Strickland was a dismissed minister, having been previously settled first at Oakham, Mass., April 1, 1768, dismissed June 24, 1773, and again

installed July 15, 1774, at Nottingham, West, N. H., and was then dismissed a second time in 1783. He professed to be a Presbyterian: a church was, therefore, previously, August 16 (1784), established on that foundation, and he was installed by the "Salem Presbytery" removed there for that purpose. On this occasion Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Whitaker, lately dismissed from Salem, Mass., and John Urquhart, late minister of Warren, and Mr. Perley, just installed at Gray, officiated in the ordination. There was at this time in Turner only two hundred and twenty souls. For five or six years his situation was satisfactory, as he enjoyed the praise of his people and his ministerial success was considerable, as he saw his church increase from thirteen to thirty-two members. But the day of ordeal had arrived: several of his parishioners had become affected with the Baptist leaven, and, consequently, on the seventeenth of November, 1792, they were incorporated with their brethren in Brookfield into a religious society. Thus weakened, Mr. Strickland like a good shepherd that careth for the flock, agreed to relinquish so much of his salary as the seceders would have paid and strive to live on the rest.<sup>1</sup> For the seven subsequent years he rather existed than lived, and on the eighteenth of May, 1797, he took a final dismissal. He continued to reside in town and was sometimes employed as its minister. In 1806, March 12, he was installed the first settled minister in Andover, formerly East Andover. He died there full of years and experience in

<sup>1</sup> His wife was Patty Stone, by whom he had fourteen children, eleven of whom survive him. She died May 4, 1805.

the ministry of the Lord, October 4, 1823, a good man, though not a great preacher. His death was in the eighty-fourth year of his age. (See 3 Coll. Farmer and Moors p. 117, appx. 98.)

#### REV. NATHANIEL WHITAKER.

REV. NATHANIEL WHITAKER, Nassau Hall 1752. D. D., at Dartmouth College 1780, was installed September 10, 1784, the first settled minister in (Canaan), the present Bloomfield. He had been recently dismissed from Salem, Mass., and removed into this new place in hopes of a happier home. Himself a Presbyterian, he received installation from the Salem Presbytery that adjourned its session at Gray, after reinducting Mr. Perley into the sacerdotal office to Bloomfield. Dr. Whitaker continued his ministry about five years, and then he took a dismissal and left the town to labor in some richer vineyards. Dr. Whitaker was not the first nor the last mistaken great man that supposed he should be the Alpha and Omega, in influence and dictation, after a removal into this eastern country. The settlers of a new-formed community are often more shrewd and enterprising than those left resident in the places of their nativity. They are, likewise, more jealous of strangers having more intercourse with them; also, abilities and character are as quickly discerned, and as often in requisition as in places older and more populous. An oak standing alone is more readily essayed and even more easily upturned than in a forest.

## REV. JOSEPH LITCHFIELD.

REV. JOSEPH LITCHFIELD, Brown University 1773, ordained July 10, 1782, was the second settled minister of the Second Parish in Kittery. He was the successor of Rev. Josiah Chase. Though Mr. Litchfield was old-fashioned in his appearance, manners and style of preaching, and formal in his prayers, he was thought to be unquestionably a pious man, and allowed to be an orthodox minister. But his salary was small and his family large; hence, he was under a necessity of doing more secular labor than was consistent with a full discharge of his parochial duties. His useful ministry was, however, continued through the lengthened period of little less than forty years. He died at his dwelling-place January 28, 1828, aged seventy-eight years. He was probably the brother of Rev. Paul Litchfield, Harvard College 1775, who died at Carlisle, Massachusetts, November 5, 1827, aged seventy-six years. It is good evidence in support of a minister's usefulness to find that the people of his parish in New England, who have intelligence and think and act with independence, have sat, edified and contented, under his charge and instructions nearly half a century.

## REV. PETER POWERS.

REV. PETER POWERS,<sup>1</sup> Harvard College 1754, was probably a descendant of an ancestor having the same name, and born in 1643 at Charlestown, Mass. Mr. Powers was many years the minister of Haverhill, N.

<sup>1</sup> Originally perhaps "Power." <sup>2</sup> Savage's Wenth 148. *Farm. r.*

H., situated northwesterly of Dartmouth College. Being dismissed in 1784, he proceeded to Deer Isle and the next year took charge of the new church there, being its first pastor. Animated by a lively faith in his Lord, he preached the truth with force and soberness; truth which his Divine Master set home with effectual power upon the hearts of his charge, for in 1798, he had the heartfelt satisfaction of witnessing a revival of religion, which hardly terminated with the succeeding year. All his parishioners were awakened to serious thought; about fifty were subjects of the mighty work, and still others were disciples of reform. In the midst of this refreshing season, Mr. Powers was, however, confined to his house, unable, through illness, to preach to his people from the lively oracles and mingle with them in spiritual sympathies. He died in the fore part of the year 1799, when short of seventy years old. He possessed talents of a superior order, piety that sanctifies the affections and faithfulness that searches the heart, yet never fears, never tires. "An Humble Inquiry into the Nature of Covenanting with God," was published by him three years before his decease. It was logical and able; intended to encounter the practise of the "half-way covenant."

#### REV. SAMUEL NASH.

REV. SAMUEL NASH, Brown University 1770, in the second class of graduates, was ordained June 21, 1775, the first settled minister of New Boston, the present town of Gray, incorporated in June, 1778. A Congre-

gational church was formed of seven male members in August, 1774, with hopes of peace divine and reviving grace. He was, probably, a descendant of the worthy pilgrim whose name he bore and who settled in Duxborough, Massachusetts. Mr. Nash was not the man for a young, rising community, where the social relations are to be formed and strengthened and the original impress of character to be received. It is quite a mistake to think that ordinary abilities and glimmering piety will answer for new and small places. For, surely, new towns need, first of all, able ministers, in the vigor of life, glowing in "their first love," attractive by the fresh beauties of holiness. Such a minister will inspire in his people a relish for divine things which will often be noticeable from generation to generation. Great is a young people's misfortune to have a dull minister. Mr. Nash, unsuccessful and disheartened, took a dismissal in 1782, thus closing a pastorate of seven years and a few months, perhaps with regret that he ever entered into the sacerdotal office.

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## HALLOWELL RECORDS.

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COMMUNICATED BY DR. W. B. LAPHAM.

[Continued from Page 204.]

John Smith 3d was born in England. Came to this town sometime in 1814. Married Margaret, daughter of William and Jane Vass of this town, formerly from New York. Their children are:—

Martha, b. Sept. 26, 1815.

Loisa, b. Oct. 6, 1816.



Henry Smith came to this town with his family March 26, 1816. The children are :—

- Harrison, b. Dec. 13, 1799.
- Pelina, b. May 15, 1802.
- Winthrop, b. June 14, 1804.
- Thankful, b. June 16, 1806.
- Lucinda, b. Aug. 26, 1809.

Sarson Butler, son of Elijah Butler and Jane Kelley, his wife, was born in Edgarton, Martha's Vineyard, October 13, 1761. Married Susanna, daughter of Levi Young of the same place. Came to this town March, 1811. Died June 20, 1842. Their children are :—

- Henry Young, b. Nov. 25, 1783.
- Jane Kelley, b.
- Susan and Sarson (twins), b. Mar. 21, 1790.
- Mary, b. Sept. 21, 1792.
- Phebe Young, b. Feb. 28, 1794.
- Deborah, b. Dec. 12, 1796.
- Elisha, b. Aug. 11, 1799.
- Amelia and Nathan (twins), b. Oct. 8, 1801.
- Hannah, b. Aug. 11, 1805.
- Shepherd N., b. Sept. 2, 1808.

Joseph White, son of Joseph White, was born in Rochester, state of New Hampshire. Married Sally, daughter of Jonathan Gardiner of Boston. Their children are:—

- Sally Mumford Gardiner, b. Apr. 15, 1797.
- Mary Hinkley, b. Mar. 15, 1799.
- Mr. Joseph White, d. Oct. 26, 1798, age 30.

Ralph Moran, son of William Moran and Betsey his wife, was born in the county of Kilkenny in Ireland, February 1, 1782, came to this town 1804. Married Hannah, daughter of Daniel Tibbetts and Betsey Billington, his wife, who was born in Litchfield. Their children are :—

- Mary, b. Sept. 4, 1811.
- Eleanor R., b. Mar. 26, 1814.
- William Maurice, b. Nov. 26, 1817.
- George M., b. May 11, 1821.

Ebenezer Besse, son of Jabez and Ruth Besse, was born in Wareham. Married Patience Burgess of Rochester. Their children are :—

Warren, b. Mar. 18, 1797.  
 Henrietta, b. Aug. 23, 1798, } in Wayne.  
 Lot Handy, b. Dec. 26, 1799, }  
 Braddock, b. July 21, 1801, in Hallowell.  
 Ebenezer, b. Feb. 1803.  
 George, b. Oct. 6, 1804.  
 Loisa, b. July 17, 1806; d. Nov. 15.  
 Mary Ann, b. Nov. 21, 1807.  
 Julia Ann, b. Sept. 25, 1809.  
 A son, b. Dec. 24, 1810; d.  
 Achsah, b. July 25, 1813.

Jabez Dingley of Marshfield came with his family to this town August 5, 1816. Their children are :—

Harvey, b. Aug. 31, 1797.  
 Celia, b. June 7, 1800.  
 Jabez, b. Sept. 6, 1809.  
 Ichabod, b. July 1, 1812.

Solomon Clark, son of Jonathan Clark and Judith Norton, his wife, was born in Wells, county of York, March 23, 1774, came to this town November 9, 1793. Married Margaret, daughter of John and Betsey Thurston of Exeter, New Hampshire. Their children are :—

Charlotte, b. Nov. 25, 1794.  
 John, b. Sept. 1, 1798.  
 Joseph S., b. Oct. 23, 1799.  
 Ebenezer, b. Dec. 25, 1801; d. Nov. 21, 1884.  
 Lucretia Page, b. Feb. 9, 1804.  
 Eliza S., b. July 22, 1806.  
 William Rufus, b. Nov. 25, 1808; d. Oct., 1835.  
 Mary Jane, b. Mar. 11, 1813; d. Feb. 22, 1837.  
 George F., b. Oct. 31, 1815.

Robert Francis, son of Jeremiah Francis, was born in Creighton in the kingdom of Great Britain and county of Surry, came to this town, March 1797. Married Mary, daughter of Bachelor

Bennett of Middleborough. Robert Francis died November 16, 1834. Mrs. Francis died March 3, 1851. Their children are:—

Mary Bennett, b. June 6, 1799.

Robert, b. Oct. 23, 1800.

Jeremiah, b. Mar. 18, 1802.

Orrin, b. Feb. 16, 1807.

Elisabeth, natural daughter of Joseph Leigh of this town living in the family, b. Feb. 16, 1815.

Barney Gorham, married Jane, daughter of Benjamin Johnson of Hallowell. Their children are:—

Hiram, b. Sept. 22, 1804.

Sarah Jane, b. July 13, 1806.

Betsey, b. Nov. 11, 1808.

Olive, b. Apr. 22, 1812.

Gideon Gilman, son of Eliphalet and Joanna Gilman was born in Gilmanton, state of New Hampshire, March 29, 1770. Came with his father's family to this town 1785. Married Nancy daughter of Benjamin and — Hilton of this town, by whom he had one child viz. :—Eliza, b. November 10, 1800. Mr. Gilman died, January 4, 1845.

Mrs. Nancy Gilman died March 30, 1810, and Mr. Gilman married Lois, daughter of Benjamin and Silence White of this town. Their children are:—

Lucy, b. Apr. 15, 1813.

Eliphalet, b. Apr. 10, 1815.

Mary, b. May 11, 1817.

Nancy, b. Jan. 15, 1820.

Gideon, b. July 2, 1824.

Ellen, b. July 8, 1826.

John, b. Mar. 19, 1829.

Nathan G. Pratt, son of Richard Pratt and Rebecca Ingals, his wife, was born in Lynn, November 10, 1770. Married, Mary, daughter of James Keppell of Salem, who was born July 3, 1773. Came to this town July, 1809. Their children are:—

Mary, b. Mar. 18, 1797; d. Feb. 9, 1842.

Nathan, b. Dec. 15, 1796; d. Aug. 2, 1814.

Harriet, b. Feb. 13, 1800; d. June 3, 1800.

John Gillespie, b. Oct. 17, 1802; d. Oct. 13, 1884.

Eliza Cox, b. Dec. 6, 1805.

Julia Ann, b. Aug. 20, 1808.

James Archer, b. Sept. 10, 1811.

The children of William Harvey, viz. :—

James, b. June 4, 1813, in England.

William, b. Mar. 24, 1816, at sea.

Mary Loisa, b. Apr. 22, 1818, in Hallowell.

Henry, b. Sept. 15, 1820.

Charles, b. June 15, 1823.

Edward, b. Feb. 26, 1825.

Grace Greenleaf, b. July, 22, 1830.

John Franklin, b. Nov. 22, 1833.

Elisha Nye, son of Elisha Nye, married Nancy Young of this town. Their children are :—

Nancy, b. Dec. 25, 1797.

Elisha Bacon, b. Mar. 12, 1799.

James, b. Oct. 21, 1801.

Tiliston, b. June 25, 1806.

Jane, b. Sept. 14, 1807.

Eleanor, b. Jan. 27, 1813.

Mr. Nye was lost on a passage to Boston, December 3, 1813. Mrs. Nye afterwards formed an illicit connection with John Smith of this town, which produced a son whom she named Rufus, born July 31, 1817.

The children of Solomon Stewart and Margaret Drew his wife are as follows, viz. :—

Sylvanus Freeman, b. Mar. 12, 1800; d. Oct. 2, 1812.

James Gamaliel, b. Apr. 23, 1804.

Mary Collins, b. July 5, 1806; d. Feb. 22, 1807.

Rebecca Hovey, b. Jan. 20, 1808; d. June 4, 1819.

John Collins, b. Oct. 3, 1810; d. 1818.

John Collins, b. Sept. 3, 1812.

Deborah Taylor Ranville Cooper, b. Nov. 24, 1815; d. Sept. 6, 1817.

Solomon Stewart, d. Sept. 13, 1842.

Mrs. Margaret, d. March 15, 1840.

Rufus Davis came with his family to this town March, 1817. The children are :—

Rufus, b. Mar. 3, 1801,	} in Farmington.
Betsey, b. Apr. 26, 1802,	
Charlotte, b. Feb. 2, 1804,	

Shepard, b. May 10, 1806,  
 Patty Bullen, b. Nov. 3, 1809, }  
 Warren Smith, b. Apr. 30, 1812, } in New Sharon.

Mrs. Davis died January 27, 1848.

Moses Davis came with his family to this town February, 1816.  
 The children are:—

Alfred, b. May 2, 1802, in Madbury.  
 Charles, b. Dec. 17, 1804, in Lee.  
 Mary Ann, b. Apr. 25, 1816, in Hallowell.

Moses Davis died January, 1842.

Seth Littlefield, son of Jeremiah Littlefield, was born in Wells, county of York, July 20, 1757. Married Lucy, daughter of John H. Bartlett and Mary Moulton, his wife, of Kittery, 1780. Came with his family to this town November, 1795. Mr. Seth Littlefield died January 21, 1804. Mrs. Lucy Littlefield married Mr. Stephen Toby of Augusta, September 15, 1809. Their children are:—

William Bartlett, b. Sept. 25, 1781, in Wells.  
 James, b. Sept. 5, 1783.  
 George, b. Feb. 16, 1786; d. Apr., 1812.  
 Jeremiah, b. June 3, 1788; d. June 2, 1819.  
 John, b. Mar. 17, 1791; d. 1821.  
 Dorothy, b. Oct. 3, 1793.  
 Nathaniel, b. May 8, 1796, in Hallowell.  
 Benjamin, b. Mar. 16, 1799; d. Mar. 11, 1814.  
 Dorcas, b. Oct. 12, 1801; d. Aug. 10, 1806.

William B. Littlefield, son of Seth, married Elizabeth C. Nye of Sandwich, county of Barnstable, October, 1807. Their children are:—

George, b. Mar. 26, 1809.  
 Celia Nye, b. Mar. 16, 1811.  
 William, b. Nov. 19, 1813.  
 Lucy Boothby, b. Dec. 22, 1815.  
 Elizabeth M., b. Apr. 13, 1818.  
 Hannah Emeline, b. Jan. 17, 1820; d. Aug. 21, 1822.  
 Abigail, b. May 15, 1822.  
 Jane.

Jeremiah Littlefield, son of Seth Littlefield, married Dolly, daughter of Eliphalet and Alice Pray of Berwick, county of York, October 9, 1810. Their children are :—

Orilla, b. July 21, 1811.

Nathaniel, b. Jan. 7, 1813.

John, b. May 9, 1815.

Susan, b. July 16, 1817.

Mr. Littlefield died June 2, 1819, on his passage from New Orleans.

Isaac Clark, son of Pease and Alice Clark, was born in Attleborough, Massachusetts, August 16, 1741. Came with his family to this town May 3, 1762. Married Alice, daughter of Eliphalet Philbrook, of Cumberland, state of Rhode Island. Their children are :—

Anna, b. Nov. 21, 1767.

Lydia, b. Nov. 17, 1771.

Martha, b. Sept. 19, 1773.

Isaac, b. Sept. 5, 1780; d. in Hallowell, 1813.

William and Charlotte, b. Oct. 12, 1788.

Mrs. Alice Clark died August 15, 1810, of a bilious colic, aged 65.

Josiah Bachelder son of Abraham and Anna Bachelder, was born in London, state of New Hampshire, February, 1779. Came to reside in this town, 1803. Married Betsey, daughter of Moses and Anna Rollins of said London. Their children are :—

George Albert, b. Dec. 25, 1809, in Hallowell.

Sally Rollins, b. Oct. 1, 1812, in Gardiner.

Josiah Otis, b. Feb. 3, 1814, in Gardiner.

Caroline, b. Apr. 18, 1817, in Hallowell.

## PROCEEDINGS.

DECEMBER 19, 1895.

A meeting of the Society was held in Baxter Hall, and was called to order at 2.30 P. M., the President in the chair.

The following greeting to the Pilgrim Society of Plymouth, Massachusetts, was presented and adopted:

The Pilgrim Society of Plymouth, Massachusetts, celebrates on Saturday, December 21, 1895, the two hundred and seventy-fifth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims. Organized to commemorate the landing, and to venerate the memory of the intrepid men who first set foot on Plymouth Rock, the Pilgrim Society, for three-quarters of a century, has honored itself, as well as the Forefathers, by the high character of its public celebrations, and by its unwearyed efforts to cultivate and perpetuate the Pilgrim spirit. On the eve of this added commemorative occasion, the Maine Historical Society, holding in everlasting honor the stalwart virtues and heroic deeds of the Pilgrims, sends its greetings to the Pilgrim Society, with the assurance of its fellowship in maintaining and extending the principles which brought the Pilgrims to these New England shores.

JAMES P. BAXTER,

*President of the Maine Historical Society.*

Dr. Burrage was delegated to bear these resolutions to the Plymouth Society, and deliver them in behalf of the Maine Historical Society.

Mr. Samuel T. Dole, of Windham, read a paper entitled Gambo, Old and New, giving particulars of the gunpowder industry and the casualties that have occurred at Gambo Falls in the powder mills.

A paper on Colonel Thomas Goldthwaite of Fort Pownall, Was he a Tory, contributed by Col. Robert

Goldthwaite Carter, U. S. A., of Washington, D. C., was read by Rev. Dr. Burrage.

A genealogical paper on the Rogers' Family of Plymouth was presented by the author, Mr. J. H. Drummond, and it was accepted for publication.

A communication from Mr. Edwin S. Drake of Portland was read by the Secretary, giving an account of the discovery of some human bones on Mr. Stover's land in Harpswell. These bones were found unjointed and split.

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

At the evening session Rev. Dr. Burrage presided, and Hon. William W. Thomas Jr., read a thorough history of the colony of New Sweden in Maine.

#### FEBRUARY 14, 1896.

A meeting of the Society was held in Baxter Hall, and was called to order at 3 P. M.

A brief sketch of the Life of Otis R. Johnson of Racine, Wisconsin, a native of Maine, was read by Mr. Brown Thurston. A paper on the Life and Adventures of Stephen Manchester, the slayer of the Indian chief Polan, the terror of the early settlers of Cumberland County, was read by Mr. Nathan Goold. At the evening session a paper on Nathan Noble of Gray, Maine, was read by Mr. Nathan Goold.

#### MARCH 26, 1896.

A meeting of the Society was held in Baxter Hall, and was called to order at 2.30 P. M., Mr. George F.



Emery in the chair. The Librarian and Curator, Mr. Bryant, made a report of the acquisitions to the library and cabinet.

A paper on The Little Falls of the Presumpscot River was read by Mr. Samuel T. Dole of Windham.

Mr. Leonard B. Chapman read a paper on the First European Occupants of Saccarappa, and exhibited a number of photographs of landmarks in that locality.

A paper of personal reminiscences of the late Gov. John Fairfield of Saco, was read by his daughter, Mrs. B. F. Hamilton of Saco. It was largely made up of extracts from family letters written by Gov. Fairfield while in Congress, in which he described graphically men and doings in Washington.

Rev. Henry O. Thayer read a paper giving an account of the life of a pioneer minister on the Kennebec.

Mr. Edwin S. Drake presented to the Society some additional fragments of human bones found at Harpswell.

Adjourned until evening.

At the evening session Rev. Dr. Burrage read a paper contributed by Hon. James W. Bradbury of Augusta, entitled Some Railroad Reminiscences.

The President, Mr. Baxter, read a paper on the Municipal Management of Towns, especially in England.

On motion of Rev. Dr. Burrage, it was

*Voted*, That the Maine Historical Society urgently appeals to the members of Congress from New England to advocate the publication of the Records and Papers of the Continental Congress.

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

Adjourned.

APRIL 24, 1896.

A meeting of the Society was held in Baxter Hall, and, in the absence of the President, Rev. Dr. Burrage took the chair.

Mr. L. B. Chapman of Deering read a history of the Mast Industry at Stroudwater and Vicinity, as drawn from original documents.

The second paper was the History of the Eighteenth Continental Regiment of 1776, Commanded by Col. Edmund Phinney of Gorham, by Mr. Nathan Gould.

Remarks were made by the chairman and by Rev. Dr. Dalton.

A Sketch of the Life of Thomas Davee of Piscataquis County, contributed by John F. Sprague of Monson, was read by Dr. Burrage.

The Recording Secretary, Mr. Bryant, read extracts from a rare pamphlet which he had recently received from London, entitled, Description of Portland in the United States in a letter from an English Gentleman in America to his friend in Shropshire, printed in 1816. The author, James Gay, settled in Portland, and many of his descendants still reside there.

Votes of thanks were passed for the papers, and the meeting adjourned.

## ORIGIN OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS IN NEW ENGLAND.

BY EDWARD H. ELWELL.

*Read before the Maine Historical Society, May 4, 1893.*

ALL history proves that governmental institutions among men are not made but grow out of the conditions and necessities of their surroundings. As the patriarchal form of government grew out of the family relations, so monarchical institutions sprung from the necessity of leadership, and the feudal system of the middle ages met the need of the times. Systems fall and rise as conditions change and can never be made to order.

Nowhere has this fact been more clearly demonstrated than in the growth of democratic institutions in New England. They were not purposely planted here. The Pilgrim forefathers did not knowingly bring them, nor did the colonists of Massachusetts Bay purposely establish them. They sprung out of the soil in the favoring conditions under which it was comprised. They became a necessity of the times, not always willingly recognized.

Neither the Pilgrims nor the Puritans came here with cut-and-dried political institutions. The governmental systems of the old world could not be transplanted to the new. The field was too large and uncontrolled. All such systems, when attempted

here, failed to establish themselves. The plans of John Locke in North Carolina, and of Ferdinando Gorges in Maine, with their church establishments, their orders of nobility, their feudal tenure of land, gained no foothold here.

The great object of the Plymouth and Massachusetts colonists was to establish their own form of church government and discipline in a place where they could live under them unmolested. In the articles of confederation of all the New England colonies, in 1643, they declared that they came to this country "to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the gospel in purity with peace." Forms of civil government were a secondary consideration with them.

It is true that both the Pilgrims and the Puritans brought with them certain principles out of which democratic institutions naturally sprung. The conditions were favorable, for there were here no rigid customs to be overcome, no foregone conclusions to impede a progress to future freedom, sure if slow. We shall see how the better men of Plymouth, on board the *Mayflower*, were constrained, unwillingly, to grant civil rights to their servants; we shall see how the people (the church-members) in Massachusetts came to take and keep powers which even Winthrop, one of the most liberal of the magistrates, believed to be most dangerous; and how the people who were not church-members took the power which had been usurped by the members alone, and exercised it in common with them; how

in short, Massachusetts became a democracy, a thing of which the Rev. John Cotton, the leading mind at one time in the Bay, said: "I do not conceive that ever God did ordain it as a fit government, either for church or commonwealth. for if the people be governors, who shall be governed?" It did not occur to him that the people might govern themselves. We shall see how this democracy, in spite of the opposition of the leaders, grew up gradually, under the force of circumstances, the pressure of necessity expressed by popular demand, questions being met as they arose, and decided by the conditions which brought them about.

Though more liberal in their views than the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay, the Pilgrims of Plymouth did not intend a democracy. They had no faith in it. They came hither without a charter, and no one or more of the party possessed hereditary or delegated authority to govern the rest. They thought little of government until, as they neared their destination, they heard the mutterings of some of the smaller grains of this "choice seed." Some of the more ignorant sort said, "It is all very well; but when we get ashore, there is plenty of room and one will be as good as another; and if we have no voice in ordering matters, we can step out into the woods and order things to suit ourselves." The leaders said this will never do, and being men of sense as well as justice, they said that to deny these men — though they were "servants" — a voice in directing their own common affairs would not only be unjust, but unwise. They

foresaw the evils and dangers of division, hence they drew up the compact which bound them all together into "a civil body politic, for their better ordering and preservation," and "by virtue thereof to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought meet and convenient for the general good of the colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience." Each man was asked to sign this instrument, and by that act he bound himself to submit to orderly government, while on the other hand he was admitted to an equal share in it. This was beginning *de novo*. They were all at sea in more senses than one. They had separated themselves from civil as well as ecclesiastical authority; they of necessity fell back on the primitive rights of the individual. "This," says an historian, "was the birth of popular constitutional liberty. Thus were organized the rights of man. Each man — master and servant — thenceforward was recognized as a man: felt the responsibility of a man, and voted as a man; his voice counted as one." But the Pilgrims did not take this long look ahead. They were providing only for their own safety in the establishment of order among themselves. They had no power to control the inferior class without their consent. Necessity forced the superior class to concede what may have well seemed then an unwise admission. But men build better than they know. The men of birth and education among the Pilgrims, while forced to concede civil

equality, strictly maintained the social distinctions to which they had been accustomed. "Mr." and "Goodman" were titles rigidly adhered to.

Plymouth was originally intended as a trading-post. The purpose was to establish a factory rather than a colony. The form which government took under the compact was at first paternal rather than representative. The governor was chosen annually by general suffrage and ruled as the father of his people. It was not until 1624 that he was given a council of five to assist in the government. The towns which sprang up had no act of incorporation, no selectmen until 1662, nearly half a century after the settlement at Plymouth. All business, local as well as general, was transacted at the general court at which all citizens were expected to attend. But in process of time the people complained of the hardship of personal attendance upon every session without pay, and in 1638 it "was enacted that Plymouth should make choice of four, and every other town of two, of their freemen, to join with the court, to enact all such laws and ordinances as should be adjudged to be good and wholesome for the whole, provided, that the laws they do enact shall be propounded at one court, to be considered and confirmed at the next court." This latter was a cautious provision, characteristic of the legislation of both colonies. It was instigated by the fear of the leaders that the populace might go too fast and too far. The magistrates of Massachusetts, in particular, had the gift of procrastination in an extraordinary degree. What they could not assent

to they put off as long as possible. Representation, in the Plymouth colony, came about of necessity, eighteen years after the settlement.

It is to be always borne in mind that Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay were two entirely distinct and independent colonies, in many respects unlike each other. They were separated by forty miles of unbroken wilderness, a distance then as great as five hundred miles are now. Plymouth was weak, Massachusetts comparatively strong; Plymouth expanded slowly, Massachusetts grew rapidly; Plymouth was poor, Massachusetts comparatively rich; Plymouth was republican, Massachusetts essentially aristocratic; Plymouth gave a voice in the government to all citizens of good character; Massachusetts restricted citizenship to church-members; Plymouth was tolerant of diversity of religious views, Massachusetts permitted no differences of belief, and persecuted all heretics; the Plymouth leaders were plain, unlettered men, though of sound judgment and wise distinction; the Massachusetts magistrates and clergy were men of culture, graduates of universities, some of them being among the most learned men of their day in England. Plymouth at first had no ordained clergymen; Massachusetts swarmed with clergymen and was largely governed by them; Plymouth had no men of rank among its leaders, few being entitled to have esquire added to their names, and not a great number were high enough in rank to be addressed as Mr. Many of the Massachusetts magistrates were members of distinguished families, with high connec-



tions, and some of them bear titles of nobility. But above and beyond all, the Plymouth people were Separatists; those of Massachusetts, Nonconformists. This made a great difference and distinction between the two colonies.

The Plymouth men had separated themselves from the Church of England because of its abominations, as they had cut themselves off from English rule by their twelve years' expatriation in Holland. The Massachusetts colonists still regarded themselves as members of the Church of England and were loyal to the king; they only refused to conform to what they considered the corruptions and abuses of the church, for which they were persecuted, which led to their seeking a home in America. They had a horror of Separatists. The latter had been given a bad reputation in England as Brownists, from one Brown, who after being of them had gone back to the Church of England and was not a man of immaculate character. All manner of slander against the Separatists was afloat in England and had created such a prejudice against them, insomuch that when the Rev. Ralph Smith, the first minister at Plymouth, by some chance got smuggled on board a ship conveying colonists from England to Massachusetts, the friends of the Massachusetts people wrote them to beware of him, although he was a very harmless individual. Circumstances gradually dispelled this prejudice against the Plymouth people. It was broken in the first instance, as in so many other cases, by kindly offices and better knowledge of those against whom it was directed.

During the winter of 1628-29 a deadly sickness broke out amongst the people at Salem, the first settlement of Massachusetts. Having no physician in their distress, Gov. Endicott sent to Plymouth requesting that their good Dr. Fuller, who had had experience of similar sickness at Plymouth, might be sent to their relief. The doctor not only ministered to their ailments, but by his conversation so enlightened Gov. Endicott as to the views and practises of the Plymouth people that his prejudices were dispelled, and he wrote to Gov. Bradford of Plymouth that he rejoiced that he was satisfied by Dr. Fuller touching your judgment of the outward form of worship. "It is," he wrote, "so far as I can gather, no other than is warranted by the evidence of truth, and the same which I have professed and maintained ever since the Lord in his mercy revealed himself unto me; being far different from the common report that hath been spread of you touching that particular." The intercourse thus happily begun was continued by occasional acts of courtesy, and the necessity of common defense against the Indians, resulting in a confederation of all the New England colonies in 1643, and the union of Plymouth and Massachusetts by royal decree in 1691. Plymouth thus had a separate existence of about seventy years, but in the end, as we shall see, her principles and practise prevailed over those of the larger colony into which she was absorbed.

The Massachusetts colony, having previously effected a settlement at Salem under Endicott, came over with their patent under Winthrop in 1629.

Unlike the Pilgrims they came with authority and a form of government — that of a joint stock company, which was to have the trade in beaver for seven years. Their patent provided for a governor, deputy governor, and eighteen assistants, called magistrates, to be chosen by the members of the company known as freemen, who were required to take an oath, and this oath was the first thing printed when the press was introduced in 1638. This body was to be the law-maker and executive, and the formation of a legislature, or a body of delegates from the people, was not contemplated. The General Court was to meet four times in the year, when freemen having business before it might attend, and once a year all the freemen were to meet in one place, and elect the governor and assistants, the latter body meeting in the intervals for the general administration of affairs. But so little did the freemen regard their right of election that during the first three years they merely elected the assistants and allowed them to choose the governor and deputy from among themselves. It would seem that they allowed the assistants to continue in office without reelection annually, for in 1632, in after-dinner talk, the governor told his company that he had heard that the people intended, at the next General Court, to desire that the assistants might be chosen anew every year, and that the governor might be chosen by the whole court, and not by the assistants only. Whereupon Mr. Ludlow grew into a passion and said that then we should have no government, but there would be an interim,

wherein every man might do what he pleased, and protested that he would then return back into England. Nevertheless the change was made, though the assistants took care that if they were no longer to choose the governor, he was to be chosen out of their own number. These magistrates were jealous of their power, and took care to keep the government in their own hands. When the inhabitants of Boston, in choosing a commission to divide the lands, selected some of "the inferior sort," "fearing that the richer men would give the poorer sort no great proportion of land," the magistrates were highly offended, and Rev. Mr. Cotton labored with them, "showing that it was the Lord's order among the Israelites to have all such business committed to the elders," whereupon it was agreed to go to a new election, in which the men chosen were all of the superior sort. The magistrates went so far as to have it ordered by the General Court in 1636, that a certain number of the magistrates should be chosen for life. The pretext for this was, as for most things they wished to accomplish, that it "was shown in the word of God that the principal magistrates ought to be for life," but the real motive was to tempt over here some of the peers and other leading men, who might expect at home, in due season, to be raised to the upper house, by assuring them of an equal tenure of power on this side of the ocean. This council for life existed for only three years, the magistrates, who were wise in their day and generation, taking care to avoid the unpopularity it excited.

We shall see how out of this oligarchy, under the pressure of necessity, was slowly evolved, step by step, against the continued opposition of the magistrates, a more democratic form of government.

We find the germ of our free institutions in the town governments of New England, but the Puritans had no conception of town government as it is now understood and practised here. It was a thing of growth. It sprung out of the conditions in which the people found themselves; it came of necessity. As the colony grew, and it became necessary to form new settlements, plantations were established at various points. The germ and center of these plantations was the church. The people went out as a church, and no house was to be built at a greater distance from the meeting-house than one-half mile. This was for convenience in attending worship, and for safety from the Indians. But it led to too great density of population, and was the cause of frequent emigration. The plantation was not a town as we understand that term. It was a parish. The church had jurisdiction over the whole of it, and every inhabitant was expected to attend worship. The Puritans held that ecclesiastical jurisdiction is committed by Christ to each particular organized church, from which there is no appeal. From this it would seem easy, the parish being the town, to pass to town government. But the magistrates at first were not ready to grant the people this power. The plantations, as such, were under the centralized rule of the court of assistants. They were not incorporated, they had no power of self government. But,

it becoming inconvenient to regulate all matters in General Court, it was at last ordered in 1635, that "trivial things should be ended in towns." The magistrates were not ready to give up their centralized power, but they found it convenient to disburden themselves of trifling matters. Doubtless there were constant appeals, complaints, requests, coming up from the plantations which it were not always easy to meet. So trivial matters were entrusted to towns. The weightier questions they reserved to themselves. But the thing grew. The placing of power in the hands of the people is like the letting out of waters. It is not to be controlled. Out of these trivial things grew the town government which is the corner-stone of our democratic institutions.

At first the town business was transacted at a meeting of the whole body of its free men, who, it should be understood, must be church-members. The larger number of men of ripe age were therefore placed in the position of mere wards of the commonwealth. No such restriction existed in Plymouth, or afterwards in Connecticut. In time Dochester designated twelve men to meet weekly and consult, but they had no authority beyond other inhabitants who should choose to meet with them. Watertown at the same time agreed that three persons should be chosen for the ordering of civil affairs. In the fourth year from the settlement of Boston three persons were chosen "to make up the ten to manage the affairs of the town." An order was made by the inhabitants of Charlestown, at a full meeting, for the government of the town by

selectmen. This name presently extended throughout New England to the municipal governors — eleven men to be chosen to act for the town, with the advice of pastor and teachers in any case of convenience — the church still keeping its hand upon the people in all matters involving morals or religious belief, as the magistrates did in all civil affairs.

For as yet the town had no representation in the General Court, which passed upon all weightier matters relating to them. The freemen might go up to Boston once a year to elect their rulers. If the distance was so great as to make it inconvenient for the whole body to go, a town might send proxies to represent them in the election. But as the Court of Assistants, which was the legislative body, did not represent the towns, it was inevitable that complaints should arise and protests be made.

In 1632 the first complaint came from Watertown upon this occasion. For the purpose of fortifying Newton, since called Cambridge, which was to have been made the capital, a tax was laid upon the towns by the Court of Assistants. Whereupon “the pastor, elder, etc. of Watertown assembled the people, and delivered their opinion that it was not safe to pay moneys after that sort, for fear of bringing themselves and their posterity into bondage.” For this offense the pastor and others were summoned before the governor and assistants, and were told that the assistants were representatives of the freeman, being chosen by them, and hence had the power to lay assessments. “After much debate,” says Winthrop, “they acknowledged

their fault, confessing freely that they were in error and made a retraction and submission under their hands, and were enjoined to read it in the assembly the next Lord's day." "And so their submission was accepted and their offense pardoned." Yet the Watertown people were clearly in the right, for no power was by the charter granted to the governor and assistants to raise money by levy, assessment, or taxation. And although this became a necessity the power lay with the General Court and not with the Court of Assistants.

The freemen were now becoming more jealous of their rights, and grew restive under the rule of the Court of Assistants. Trivial occasions often open great causes. It was left to that humble domestic animal, the hog, to be the occasion of the granting of representative government in the Massachusetts colony.

Swine were among the most important of the domestic stock of the early settlers. The contracts for labor often required four meals per week of meat, and the flesh of the swine was relied upon to provide them. Much of their food was fish, and pork was a necessary element in its preparation. The herds of swine were therefore carefully cherished. In some localities swineherds were appointed to take charge of them. In others they were allowed to run at large, upon their being properly yoked, between April 6 and October 15, and ringed in the nose all the rest of the year. The Indians stole them and the wolves devoured them. The wolves were a great pest. They came



daily about Governor Winthrop's house at Mystic, so that when he went out to walk he took his gun along, thinking he might shoot one. Swine were often pastured out upon the islands to save them from the depredations of the wolves and the Indians, hence the number of islands on our coast that bear the name of Hog. In 1633 the Court of Assistants ordered that "it shall be lawful for any man to kill any swine that comes into his corn; the party that owns the swine is to have them, being killed, and allow recompense for the damage they do." This was the cause of frequent neighborhood quarrels. Those who had swine at large objected to this provision. They went to the governor to advise with him about abrogating it. He told them that "when the patent was granted the number of freemen was supposed to be so few that they might all join in making laws, but now they were grown so many it was not possible for them to make or execute laws, and the Company could not be at the loss of time to attend to it. Yet this might be done. The General Court might make an order that once in the year a certain number should be appointed (upon summons by the governor) to revise all laws, and to reform what they found amiss therein; but not to make any new laws, but prefer their grievances to the Court of Assistants; and that no assessments should be laid upon the county without the consent of such a committee, nor any lands disposed of." This suggestion was adopted, and two representatives from each town met to consult about the laws, though they were not to enact any new ones, having only an

advisory voice. So it came about that an order was passed that every town should be at liberty to make such orders about swine as they should judge best. The door once partially opened, full representation naturally followed. The deputies soon began to exceed the powers granted by Winthrop, and became competent to make, as well as to mend laws. In 1634 the representative system, brought about by this dispute about swine, was fully established, each town having three representatives.

For a period of ten years, until 1644, the General Court, consisting of the magistrates and deputies, sat and determined matters together, in one body, over which the governor or deputy governor presided. But although they sat together they did not vote as one, the magistrates having a negative voice. No measure could pass without the consent of six of the assistants. This was a cause of great difference between the governor and assistants and deputies. The latter would not yield the assistants a negative voice and the assistants, "considering," says Winthrop, "how dangerous it might be to the commonwealth, if they should not keep that strength, to balance the greater number of the deputies, thought it safe to stand upon it. So when they could proceed no further, the whole court agreed to keep a day of humiliation to seek the Lord, which was accordingly done in all the congregations," and the Rev. Mr. Cotton preached a famous sermon, in which he laid down the rights of the magistracy, the ministry and the people—"the strength of the magistracy to be their authority;

of the people, their liberty ; and of the ministry, their purity, and showed how all these had a negative voice, and that yet the ultimate resolution ought to be in the whole body of the people, with answer to all objections, and a declaration of the people's duty and right to maintain their true liberties against any unjust violence, which gave great satisfaction to the company" and composed the quarrel for the time being.

But as years went on new causes of dispute arose between the magistrates and deputies, until at last the swine again, in the person of an innocent sow, came to the solution of the question by the separation of the General Court into two bodies.

The ballot had succeeded the show of hands, and it had been decided that the consent of the people was necessary for levying taxes ; but the powers of the assembly and the magistrates were not well defined, and it was not until 1644 that the negative voice of the magistrates was established. This, as I have said, was brought about by a quarrel concerning a sow, which agitated the colony for a period of seven years. As Winthrop says, it was "a great business upon a very small occasion."

In 1636 a stray sow in Boston was committed to the care of Capt. Keayne, who kept it in a yard with a sow of his own. He had it cried divers times, but none laid claim to it for near a year. Then, after he had killed his own sow, there came forward one Mrs. Sherman, but not finding her own marks upon the sow, she claimed that the sow he had killed was hers. The noise thereof spread abroad, the matter was

brought before the elders of the church, many witnesses were examined, and Capt. Keayne was cleared. But he had an enemy, one Story, who had a grievance against the captain, and he took up the cause of Mrs. Sherman with all the vigor inspired by personal animosity. The case was brought before the inferior court, Capt. Keayne was again cleared, and the jury gave him £3 for his costs. Thereupon he brought an action against Story and the woman for reporting that he had stolen her sow, and recovered £20 damages of either of them. Story now bestirred himself to search town and country to find matter against Capt. Keayne and had the case reopened before the General Court. Seven days were spent in examining witnesses, and debating the cause, but no decision could be reached, "because no sentence could by law pass without the greater number of both the magistrates and the deputies, which neither plaintiff nor defendant had." The majority of the magistrates favored the captain, the majority of the deputies the woman. This excited the democratic spirit. It became a popular question. It entered into the politics of the towns. Many of the people could not distinguish the action for slander from the principal cause. "What!" they said, "shall Mrs. Sherman be fined £20 for demanding her sow; she a poor woman; he a rich man?" The captain was unpopular, for he was known to drive hard bargains.

The magistrates had sided with him; it was time their negative vote was taken away. Winthrop came to the rescue with a published statement of the necessity of upholding the same. The case was

adjourned from court to court. It went as usual to the elders; they could come to no decision, but earnestly desired "that the court might never more be troubled with it." All consented except Mr. Bellingham, one of the magistrates, who would have them lay down "their negative voice, and so the cause to be heard again." Mr. Saltonstall, another magistrate, issued a treatise against the council, but was brought to see the error of his way. Story petitioned for another hearing; many favored it.

The elders undertook to deal with the deputies of their town. But the deputies declared their towns were not satisfied. "Which" says Winthrop, "shows plainly the democratical spirit which acts over deputies." The deputies claimed victory; the magistrates were fain to let the matter drop for the sake of peace. The deputies continued earnest to take away the magistrates' negative vote in the General Court. Winthrop issued a small treatise showing "how it was fundamental to our government, which if it were taken away, would be a mere democracy." As usual he fortified himself from Scriptures. Yet even this would not satisfy, but the deputies and common people would have it taken away. An answer to Winthrop's treatise was written by one of the magistrates, and the deputies made great use of it. The magistrates now being so hard pressed it was, says Winthrop, "their only care to gain time, that so the people's heat might be abated, for then they knew they would hear reason, and that the advice of the elders might be interposed, they agree-

ing that if the elders decided against them they would surrender their negative voice. Thereupon one of the elders wrote a small treatise, laying down the true form of the government, and showing the unavoidable change into a democracy, if the negative voice were taken away. This prevailed for the time being; "the people," says Winthrop, "having their heat moderated by time, and their judgments better informed, let the cause fall." But only for a time. The agitation about the negative voice still went on. At last, in 1644, it being evident that they would be outvoted, the magistrates passed for separate houses, as the deputies agreed that the Court should be divided, "the magistrates by themselves, and the deputies by themselves, what one agreed upon they should send to the other, and if both agreed, then to pass."

So the magistrates saved their negative voice by going off by themselves, and forming a separate house, which was the origin of the present Senate of Massachusetts, the division of the Legislature of our states into two separate branches. So ended the great sow case, which formed an epoch in the history of New England. Well has it been said that "the animal whose wanderings have thus led to the establishment of two of the great securities of liberty among us may surely claim, at least, as honorable mention in history as has been awarded to the geese of the capitol." The hog should take its place beside the cod fish in Massachusetts halls of legislation.

The deputies were now presided over by one of their own number, and the first speaker elected was William Hawthorne, who being of Salem, may have been an ancestor of our great romancer. The deputies still remained jealous of the rule of the magistrates, who claimed the right to govern in the vacancy of the General Court. The deputies would have had a commission appointed to govern in the interim, composed of seven magistrates and three deputies. The magistrates objected that this would overthrow the foundation of the government. They claimed that by virtue of the patent the magistrates or Court of Assistants, which had now become a separate legislative body, was the standing council of the commonwealth. They offered, as usual, to refer the question to the elders, but all compromise being rejected, they declared that if occasion required they must act according to the power and trust committed to them. To this Speaker Hawthorne replied "You will not be obeyed." When the deputies and magistrates would not agree the deputies preferred to refer the question to arbitrators rather than to the clergy, as the magistrates desired, well knowing that the clergy would agree with the magistrates.

In considering this disposition of the deputies to absorb all powers, it must be remembered that they were very far from representing the whole body of the people. The government set up by the Puritans was still a theocracy, not only because all important

questions were referred to the clergy, whose decision in most cases was final, but because no other than church-members could choose or be chosen to any office, or even serve as jurymen. Thus all power was committed to about one-sixth of the males of full age. Thus all others were to be tried for life, limb or estate, by those of the church, who were in a sense their adversaries. As a matter of course, this did not work well. The more unscrupulous the conscience, the easier it was to join the church, and abandoned men who wanted public preferment could join the church with loud professions, gain their ends and make church-membership a by-word. True, in a few years a slight relaxation took place; non-church-members were permitted to serve as jurymen and to vote in laying town taxes and choosing selectmen. But the choosing of deputies still remained with church-members.

The denial of civil rights to non-church-members was a cause of much discontent. Even some of the magistrates disapproved of it. Mr. William Vassal, who had been one of the first assistants, but was of a less strait sect than the Puritans, petitioned that the distinctions in church estate might be taken away, and that the people might be wholly governed by the laws of England. For this he is stigmatized by Winthrop as "a man of busy and factious spirit." A number of others joined with him in his petition. Among these was one Dr. Child, a young gentleman, who having studied physic at Padua had come to this country to make his fortune. Finding himself denied all civil



and religious liberty, and being a man of spirit, he joined in the petition, and threatened to appeal to the Parliament of England. This was taken as a contempt of authority and as tending to sedition. They were summoned to appear before the court to answer for their offenses. When they pleaded the right of petition, they were answered that they were summoned not for petitioning, but for the matter of their petitions. When they pleaded the rights of freeborn Englishmen, the reply was the peculiar privileges granted by the patent. When it was pointed out that the patent required that no laws should be passed repugnant to those of England, resort was had to the Jesuitical casuistry that they had no laws diametrically opposed to those of England, for then they must be contrary to the laws of God and of right reason, which are the fundamental basis of English laws, and if anything had been otherwise established by England, it was an error, and not a law! Thus all laws of England which did not conform to the Puritans' idea of the laws of God, were not laws! When the right was claimed of an appeal to the English Parliament it was replied that "appeals do not lie from us by our charter, and to appeal before any sentence is to disclaim our jurisdiction."

The result was that Dr. Child was fined £50. and the others less sums, even the hospitable Maverick, of Noddle's Island, who had advanced money for fortifying the defenses of the harbor, being mulcted in the sum of ten pounds. This odious tyranny resulted in driving all the petitioners, save Maverick, out of the

country. Dr. Child prepared to leave in high dudgeon, to prosecute the appeal before Parliament. To this end he got a petition from the non-freemen to take with him. The leading magistrates, getting wind of this, consulted together, and keeping their purpose secret from those of their own number who did not accord with their extreme views, they agreed to stay the doctor for his fine, and to search his trunk, but not to do so until he had got on shipboard. But fearing that one of their number had disclosed their intentions, the doctor was seized on shore, his study and his trunk searched, and the petitions and appeals, asking that the laws of England may be established here, that arbitrary power may be banished, and that liberties for English freeholders be established here as in England, were secured. Dr. Child and others were apprehended and held prisoners until the ship had sailed. "His confinement," says Winthrop, "he took grievously, but he could not help it." Refusing bail he was committed to prison, but in the end he got away to England, where he was loud in rehearsing his wrongs.

The Puritans naturally dreaded all appeals to England for the correction of errors in their administration, fearing the loss of their charter to which they tenaciously clung, in spite of repeated demands for its surrender. This practical denial of the authority of England, united with the evil spirit of the clergy, that would enforce uniformity in ceremonies and belief, produced the effect of preventing many from coming

to Massachusetts and drove away many who had already established there their domestic altars.

Civil liberty, it has been said, roots itself in spiritual liberty. The Puritans claimed spiritual liberty for themselves, but were not ready to grant it to others, hence they were slow in arriving at democratic institutions. They, in common with the age in which they lived, had not arrived at the truth which Jefferson proclaimed more than a century later, that "error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it." But they understood how to reason together, and this freedom of discussion which prevailed among them, together with the force of circumstances and the conditions which surrounded them, ultimately worked out the free institutions under which we live.

The church test of citizenship was tenaciously clung to until the year 1665, when it was reluctantly yielded, at the requirement of His Majesty's commissioners, and was entirely abandoned, after some evasions, about the year 1686. Under the charter granted by William and Mary in 1691 the qualification for electors was fixed at a "freehold of forty shillings per annum, or other property of the value of £40 sterling." Since then the democratic spirit has steadily advanced, until now all tests of citizenship, even that of sex, are swept or are being swept away, and we are launching out into the great ocean of unqualified equality with all its perils and its breezy freedom before us.

## COL. THOMAS GOLDTHWAIT—WAS HE A TORY?

BY R. GOLDTHWAITE CARTER, U. S. ARMY.

*Read before the Maine Historical Society, December 19, 1895.*

### PART IV.

#### THE STORY OF FORT POWNALL.

WE come now to the events just preceding the outbreak of the struggle for Independence.

Besides the statements made that Thomas Goldthwait was cruel and unjust to the settlers and Indians, that he was an extortioner, etc., all accounts reflect severely upon him for the part he took when the fort was dismantled in 1775, which — with the traditions and stories handed down by those who were more or less injured by the temporary suspension, through this act, of the extensive trade which had been carried on with the Indians, and upon which the very existence of the settlers then depended — had set the seal of condemnation upon Col. Goldthwait for all time.

Having recently examined into this matter very carefully and exhaustively, the writer has come across such strong proof as will, he feels confident, not only upset and contradict these statements, but will exonerate Col. Goldthwait, from all blame in the matter.

The files of the Massachusetts Archives were not then so fully accessible to the historians of Maine as

now, and the history of that event—the dismantlement of Fort Pownall—of so much significance to the people of that region, to be written at all at that time, had to be based upon no more authentic source than that of John Davidson's manuscript narrative, as there was no other account to be had.

It is thus graphically described in the following letter, which the writer believes has never been printed. It was found accompanying and attached to the petition of Capt. Goldthwait and the garrison to the General Court, for pay for their services for the year 1774-75. (Mass. Arch. 88: 211.)

The following is an account of the manner which the cannon & spare arms were taken from Fort Pownall on the 14th of April 1775 by an order of General Gage directed to Tho<sup>s</sup> Goldthwait, Esq., Commander of said Fort.

On Friday even'g the 13th of Apl. came into Penobscot river a Topsail Schooner, which anchored near Fort Pownall, which myself and others took to be a Merchantman, going up the River to purchase Lumber: and early next morning we saw another schooner which came to anchor near the Former.

Soon after came ashore some sailors from the first mentioned Vessel to beg some milk for their Breakfasts, and said they were going up the River to get Lumber.

Presently after came on shore an officer who enquired for the Commander of the Fort, and on seeing him, presented an order from Gen. Gage for the Cannon and spare Arms: he then returned on board and immediately appeared a large number of Soldiers on the Deck (which before was not seen), who directly got into Boats & came ashore & marched into the Fort, and went to work getting out the Cannon. &c. w<sup>ch</sup> was carry'd on board.

I am convinced at that time 'twas not in Col<sup>o</sup> Goldthwait's power to have resisted them with the least degree of success, having only 6 or 8 men in the Fort, and but half a Barr<sup>l</sup> of powder which the Gunner shew in the Magazine.

I further declare that I remained at said Fort, 'till the news came of the Battle of Lexington — immediately on which (tho' late at night), Col<sup>d</sup> Goldthwait dispatched a number of Men in his Barge to go 20 miles up the River and advise the people of the news, and recommended to them to immediately call a Meeting, to consider what was Elagable to be done.

The meeting was accordingly held the 6 day of May — when Col<sup>d</sup> Goldthwait presided a Moderator thereof. I attended the Meeting myself, and found that after Col<sup>d</sup> Goldthwait's Conduct was represented to them, that they were universally satisfied, w<sup>ch</sup> they manifested by a General vote, during the whole of the above transactions I was at the Fort, and look't on Col<sup>d</sup> Goldthwait to be a Strong Advocate for the Liberties of his Country.

W. Molineux.

The above if required am ready to make oath to  
Watertown, 23 Oct. 1775.

I would further add that the Officer which Commanded the party, said that if Col<sup>d</sup> Goldthwait refused delivering up the Cannon, &c. 'twas his orders to destroy the Fort immediately.

W. M.

The writer has included in the foregoing letter all erasures, interlineations, etc. It will bear a very close study as to Col. Goldthwait's motives in calling the meeting, etc. There is every reason to believe, by a correspondence had with the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty at London, that the two schooners referred to were the Diana, commanded by Lieut. John Graves, a nephew of Admiral Samuel Graves, commanding the British fleet in American waters, and the Neptune. Both were tenders to the sloop of war, Canceaux, commanded by Lieut. Henry Mowat, who later burned Falmouth.

The armed force on board the two schooners was a large detachment from the 64th British Foot.

(Cor. British War Office.) The report of the proceedings of the meeting referred to, as held on May 6, has been searched for but without success.

It may be of interest, just here, to state that the *Diana* commanded by Lieut. Graves, was in action May 28, 1775, at Noddles Island (East Boston), and after being riddled with shot from two field-pieces served by Capt. Gideon (?) Foster and a detachment of men, was run ashore, burned and blown up. (Moore's *Diary of the Revolution*, pp. 85-7.) (Vol. 1, *Kemble Papers*, New York Historical Society.)

It must be borne in mind that this event occurred just preceding the actual outbreak of hostilities, five days before the Battle of Lexington. Col. Goldthwait had not been in close touch with the sentiments and inflamed passions of the people at Boston.

He was at a place remote from the centers of uprising, where news reached slowly. The writer does not think that, in that quiet region of Penobscot, he could have been so keenly aware of the spark of war then being fanned into an intense flame at Boston, by any thing he could see at Fort Pownall. But, nevertheless, he was then compelled to obey that order.

Directly following this, there transpired an event, which had more to do with shaping public sentiment in that region, and branding Col. Goldthwait with the opprobrious epithets and aspersions which have been so freely bestowed on him, than the event just described. It is thus given in the Rev. Richard Pike's Centennial Address, previously referred to, as also in the *History of Belfast* (pp. 55-57).

The people of Belfast suffered greatly from the scarcity of provisions. One cause of this was that they had gone short of ammunition, and could take but little wild game. Col. Goldthwait had ammunition entrusted to him for the public good.

In their distress, the people of Belfast sent to him for a supply, but he refused to give heed to their representations, and treated their importunities with contempt. But they were determined not to be defrauded of their rights by a tyrant and a coward; so a few days after they made another application. Taking their guns and what ammunition they had, they went in numbers to the fort.

Upon drawing near their destination, they deputed two of their men to go in advance and make the demand. They met with no better success than their predecessors. The narrator of the account says: we told him that we were determined to have it, the ammunition, and would take it by force of arms if we could not get it without.

By this time our company was in sight. We said — here comes assistance, and you may see them. We are determined not to be treated as the two men were who came to you on this business before. He cooled down, and gave to each man a pound of powder and ball and tint.

The next we heard of the Colonel he had gathered up all, and gone on board a British vessel out of the Country. He adds the following words which are very suggestive:— We heard nothing of him afterwards, *so that what we received at the time was clear gain.*

The italics are mine.

This visit to the fort, of the detachment of men from St. Georges, is even more graphically described in a letter written by Col. Goldthwait himself to the selectmen of that town.

This letter has been copied several times, and published both in the Annals of Warren and in the Bangor Historical Magazine. But there have been just enough errors in them of sufficiently vital importance to have it now printed correctly.



It has now been copied from the original by Mr. Edward Brown of Thomaston, Maine, in whose possession it is, who has kindly sent copies to the writer, with explanations as to the missing sentence, an altered word, etc., and it is now absolutely correct.

It is given entire, as follows :—

To the Gentlemen, the Selectmen of St. Georges, and in the absence of Selectmen, to Major Mason Wheaton and Capt. Jno. McIntire, to be communicated to the Inhabitants of St. Georges.

FORT POWNAL, May 8, 1775.

Gentlemen :— On the 27th of last month about 20 arme'd men arrived here from St. Georges who came in the name & as a Committee from the people of St Georges & others who they said had assembled there to the amount of 250 men & this party in their name demanded of me the reason of my delivering the Cannon, &c. belonging to this Fort to the Kings forces.

I told them I tho't their request reasonable and that I would give them all the satisfaction they demanded in this matter, & immediately left them.

I went into the Fort & got the Governor's letter to me, and it was read to them. I then informed them that this was the King's Fort & built at his expense; that the Gov<sup>r</sup> was Commander in Chief of it, that I could not refuse obeying his orders; that I was ready to make oath that I had no intimation of this matter until Mr. Graves who commanded this expedition shew'd me the Governor's order, within ten minutes after his vessels came to anchor here: & in case it had been in my power to have resisted this order, I should not have tho't it expedient to have done it, as the inevitable consequence of such resistance, would have been the Total Ruin of the River: being that a small naval force at the mouth of it, could entirely stop the provision Vessels & Coasters, and all other merchant Vessels, & must have soon broke up the River.

Upon my representing these facts and reasoning in this manner, Capt. Gragg & his party appeared to be satisfied: He then told me

that they had intelligence that the Canadians & Indians were swarming down upon us; that the arm'd vessels that went from hence had killed the peoples cattle at Townsend, & they expected to meet with the same fate at St. Georges; that among all the people that were assembled there, they hadn't ten charges of ammunition, and were very scant of arms; & that one part of their orders was to desire & demand of me a part of ours, I informed them the true condition of the Fort & the Scarcity of ammunition upon the River; still they persisted in their request.

I sometime after told the Serjant he must see what there was & let them have what could be spared upon such an emergency; and he accordingly delivered them 7 musketts 10<sup>lb</sup> powder & 24<sup>lbs</sup> Balls, for which Messrs Sam<sup>l</sup> Gragg, Rob. McIntire & Benj. Burton gave a rec<sup>t</sup> for, as a Committee from St. Georges.

Now Gent<sup>n</sup> as it appears that this alarm was premature, & that these people came, as they declared, with authority from your Town; I hope you'll interere in it and see that the arms & ammunition are returned to the Fort, and especially too, as it is now declared & known to be true that this river is barer of arms and ammunition than you are at St. Georges.

I shall enclose a copy of the Gov<sup>rs</sup> letter to me for your satisfaction. I beg the fav<sup>r</sup> of you to communicate this letter, together with the votes passed upon this river (which will be delivered you by a Committee sent on purpose) to your Town that they may have an opportunity to act in it as they judge expedient. I am Gent<sup>n</sup>,

Y<sup>r</sup> most humble serv<sup>t</sup>,

Tho. Goldthwait.

In the original, there appears the word "*letter*" crossed out, followed by the word "order." But in the copies, it reads "*later order*." This latter expression would make it appear that Col. Goldthwait *had already received a prior order*, which was not the case. *One order was handed to him by Lieut. Graves*, and this *condition* with the *alternative* — as stated in William Molineux' letter — *stared him in the face*.

There is also omitted in the copies, one very important sentence, one that in all human probability, influenced his decision quite as much as the appearance on the scene of an overwhelming force. In fact, it may have been the strongest motive, or mainspring of Col. Goldthwait's action in so promptly obeying the Governor's order. The sentence reads as follows:—

*Being that a small naval force at the mouth of the river, could entirely stop the provision vessels & coasters, & all other merchant Vessels, & must have soon broke up the River,*

This, with the sentence just immediately preceding it, shows conclusively that his good military sense and sound judgment which, by all the letters quoted, he had previously shown, was, in this case given for the benefit of the settlers as it had been done on all other occasions.

To have resisted a large armed force at that moment, with the few men he had on hand, would have been not only madness on his part, but would have invited the prompt destruction of the fort, and insured a speedy blockade of the Penobscot River, and, in consequence brought sure starvation to the inhabitants of the entire Penobscot Valley. It nearly followed as it was.

None but a good soldier, with a rare *coup d'œil*, would have known that it was wise to surrender to an overwhelming force, or have displayed such a remarkable forethought, as is shown in the sentence now quoted, as to the consequences to the people had he not have promptly done so.

This was another most dignified and soldierly letter : written calmly amidst the tumult of his surroundings.

In reading carefully the events of that period, just prior and subsequent to the battle of Lexington, in many histories, journals, diaries and narratives, we have been struck with the generally lawless, unreasonable character of the acts committed by the Whigs, under the guise of patriotism in carrying out their loyal plans : and especially in and about the region of what is now known as Eastern Maine.

It is very evident to our mind that John Davidson was one of those rough, lawless, border characters, who reigned supreme at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, in those sparsely settled districts. The writer has seen just such within twenty years in Mexico, Texas, and the Indian Territory.

Everybody was supposed to take sides upon the spur of the moment at the outset, and if one was suspected even of being Loyalist, Tory or Neutral, the first thought was to burn him out, mob, or kill him, or do him some personal injury.

The Annals of Warren, by Eaton, mention the lawless acts committed, and the turbulent spirits in that region, ready to use mob violence, or any other methods to enforce their demands upon all who did not agree with them. There was lack of sound judgment and cool reason on both sides. Burton and Gregg are cited in this valuable work as examples of this sort. They were the companions of Davidson and Nichols on their errand to the fort ; and the two latter were selected to make the demand upon

Col. Goldthwait. Burton was also in the famous tea-party of Indians (?) at Boston. (Annals of Warren.)

In Davidson's narrative, this feeling is quite in evidence, from the manner in which he describes their visit to the fort, first demanding powder and ball, then threatening what would be done were it not complied with, and his general condemnation of Col. Goldthwait for all his acts.

The narrative was written when Davidson was an old man, and necessarily from memory; but his prejudices do not seem to have died out or even abated, for his recollections of those days centered on two events—the dismantlement of Fort Pownall, the incident connected with the ammunition, and Col. Goldthwait's seeming indifference to his demands.

To further prove the lawlessness, turbulence and unorganized force of those times, one need only to consult the archives: they are bristling with facts.

A letter from Marshfield, Massachusetts, to a gentleman in Boston, dated January 24, 1775, describes it in very vivid colors there. (Am. Arch. 1: 177.)

A letter was written by Enoch Freeman, Committee of Safety, etc., at Falmouth, May 10, 1775, concerning the projected capture of the sloop *Canceaux*, Capt. Mowat, by one Col. Thompson. He says:—

We are in confusion. Pray let Congress be informed of this affair, and let us know whether Thompson had such orders, and pray the Congress to give us some directions, *for we are in such confusion nobody seems rational.*

On May 11. follows a letter from a gentleman of Falmouth to somebody at Watertown (probably Enoch Freeman to Samuel Freeman, Secretary of the Provincial Congress), then the seat of Congress, concerning the doings in the town on that day: he describes the rioting, drunkenness, the number of barrels of rum drank, etc., etc. (Am. Arch., 2: 550-552.)

Then follows a letter from Gen. Jedediah Preble, Chairman of the Committee of Safety, commending Capt. Mowat for his prudence, gentlemanly conduct, etc. (Am. Arch., 2: 585.)

A letter was sent to Col. Thompson, censuring him for his unjustifiable conduct, etc. (Am. Arch., 2: 587.)

Numerous other instances are on record.

Numerous letters were written to the Provincial Congress concerning the act of Col. Goldthwait. They do not seem to have been wholly free from jealousy and selfish motives.

In the journal of each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts is a letter written by Enoch Freeman of Falmouth, dated Falmouth, May 5, 1775, about three weeks after Fort Pownall had been dismantled. He says: —

We have just heard that the Penobscot Indians are highly exasperated at Capt. Goldthwait for suffering the tender to dismantle the Fort, and for carrying off the powder; and truck trade is stopped, as well by us; and that a number of men around about there are going to take him — Goldthwait — for delivering up the fort, into their custody; but what they intend to do with him I don't hear.

Perhaps it would be prudent for Congress to send down here and secure the Indians in our interest, by keeping Truck Trade open, supplying them with powder, or any other method in their wisdom, upon mature consideration they may think best.

A hint on this head is enough.

A letter now follows from Gen. Jedediah Preble, the first Truckmaster. Its animus is clearly seen and as easily understood. In fact, the letter explains itself. The truck trade must be kept open and continued for the benefit of his son John Preble; and the influence of the party addressed, whose name is not given, is solicited for that purpose.

FALMOUTH, June 1, 1775.

Col. Goldthwait will no doubt make interest to have provision made for the subsistence of the garrison at Penobscot, but I will leave you to judge whether a man is fit to command such a fortification as Fort Pownall who will suffer two schooners to Rob it of guns & ammunition.

I think it will be the height of imprudence to neglect supplying the Truck Trade. Shall be much obliged to you to use your influence that my son may be continued Truckmaster, for he has been at grate expence to furnish himself with a habitation and other necessaries for carrying on the Indian Trade.

I am your ready friend & humble servant.

Jedediah Preble.

These waite on you by Capt. John Lane, who arrived here yesterday from Penobscot with four Indian Chiefs who are bound to the Congress.

(Willis Papers, Portland Public Library.)

This letter was undoubtedly addressed to Samuel Freeman, Secretary of the Provincial Congress.

Acting upon the hint given by the letters of Enoch Freeman and Gen. Jedediah Preble, both members of

the Committee of Correspondence and Safety at Falmouth, the Secretary of the Provincial Congress, Samuel Freeman, addressed the following letter to the Penobscot Indians:—

In Provincial Congress, Watertown, May 15, 1775.

Friends and Good Brothers:—We, the Delegates of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, being come together in Congress to consider whatever is best for you and ourselves, &c. have thought it best to write the following letter: . . . “Captain Goldthwait has given up Fort Pownall to our enemies. We are angry at it, and we hear that you are angry at him, and we dont wonder at it.

*We want to know what you, our good brothers, want from us of clothing, or warlike stores, and we will supply you as fast as we can. We will do all for you we can, and fight to save you any time; and hope none of your friends or the Indians in Canada, will join with our enemies. You may have a great deal of good influence on them.”*

“We have sent Captain Lane to you for that purpose, and he will show you his orders for raising one company of your men to join with us in the war with you and our enemies.”

“Brothers! if you will let Mr. John Preble know what things you want, he will take care to inform us, and we will do the best for you that we can.”

(Am. Arch., 2: 1133.)

The italics are mine. This sudden exuberance of spirit and excessive liberality, now displayed towards the Indians, is in marked contrast with the niggardly policy previously shown.

It looks very much like a clear case of “locking the stable door after the horse is stolen.” Had one-half of this diplomatic generosity been exercised in that direction toward *reenforcing and supplying Fort Pownall with its necessary garrison, ammunition and stores*, before Admiral Graves had the opportunity of



sending down and dismantling it: had the "ounce of prevention" been applied at the right time, instead of the "pound of cure" after the mischief was done; Col. Goldthwait's course might have been different, and all the suffering and misery caused to the inhabitants of the Penobscot Valley might have been avoided.

There was certainly a most remarkable lack of wisdom shown in dealing with this momentous problem at the mouth of the Penobscot River.

After the dismantlement of Fort Pownall, the following private letter was sent from that region to the Provincial Congress at Watertown. This appears in full in *American Archives*, 2: 943.

Extracts have been quoted from it at various times by the local historians of Maine, *but not that portion which stands out as a strong vindication of the character of Col. Thomas Goldthwait.*

It is as follows:—

PENOBSCOT. (written from Wheelerborough), June 7, 1775.

(Extract)

Sir:—The River excels for fish of various kinds, and easie navigation for the largest of vessels. The people firmly attached to the Constitution you precide off, and I am confident will support it to the last moment of their lives, being willing in general to encounter any difficulty, rather than yield to that Band of Tyranny whose plodding Poles (Pates) have long been projecting methods to enslave us.

I am confirmed in this opinion by an anecdote or two that has come to my knowledge since my residence on this River, for I live in the neighborhood of Col<sup>o</sup> Thomas Goldthwait, who was a member of our Assembly (as you may remember) for many years, particularly in the year 1762.

From whom I had the following story. Richard Jackson, Esq., was then the agent for our Province. The Col<sup>o</sup> says that then in some of his private letters, which he wrote after his appointment, he intimated his fears that it would not be in his power to do the Province much service, as there was a principle prevailing in England at that time to render the Colony Assemblys useless.

The Colonel also says Mr. Bollin (who was agent before Mr. Jackson), was continually warning the General Court of this principle then prevailing in England, and yet, you no doubt remember, both those Gent<sup>n</sup> were turned out of their Agency upon a suspicion that they were not in the interest of the Province.

Certainly, they were faithful as touching the most important matter, whatever part of their conduct might give umbrage to their Constituents. And there seems to be some degree of similarity in the Case of the above gentlemen and Col<sup>o</sup> Goldthwait. For one of your members, viz:—Capt. John Lane, who is now here, says the Congress had rec'd very unfavorable acct's of the Col<sup>o</sup>'s conduct, Whereas on a fair and impartial examination, it will appear that Col<sup>o</sup> Goldthwait has been a steady and uniform Friend to our Constitution.

Some unimportant or irrelevant matter follows and he adds:—

Pray excuse the want of order in these hints.

From, Honble Sir, Your Humble Ser't.

In Haste, Elihu Hewes.

P. S.

I have wrote by this opportunity to Joseph Hewes, Esq., in the Continental Congress. We are Brothers children, and were bro't up together in the same Family. Your favour in forwarding is prayed by.

Sir, Yours, &c. &c.

There is an Island in the mouth of this River owned by Isaac Winslow, Esq., as he saith, contains 6 or 7000 acres. I first settled on it. There is 10 or 12 good Conn. [Connecticut] men who are Heartily in our cause and should hold what they have

taken in their own right. The rest should be deemed Forfeit. This is my private opinion made to none but you.

To Joseph Warren, Esq. President of the Provincial Congress for the Mass. Bay.

This letter as a whole will bear a great deal of careful study. Had he at that time had any occasion to suspect Col. Goldthwait's loyalty to his cause, he would have so stated it in a private letter to the President of the Provincial Congress. The writer will refer to him later.

The following petition was also referred to the Provincial Congress, of this same date. As it is headed by Thomas Goldthwait, and it expresses the strongest sentiments of loyalty to the cause, it would indicate just the reverse of Toryism or disaffection to the Province.

#### PETITION.

Gent<sup>m</sup> :—

We the subscribers being appointed a Committee by the inhabitants on Penobscot River, the inhabitants of Belfast, Major bigwa-  
duce & Benjamins River, to make representation to you of the difficulties & distress the said inhabitants are under, in respect to the scarcity of corn & ammunition occasioned by the interruption of vessels, which they depend upon for their supplies, & also in the impediments in exportations from the Seaport towns, &c.

We accordingly herewith send you the votes of the said inhabitants passed by them at a general meeting on Teusday the 6th day of June instant which we are to pray your consideration of, &c. &c.

*We are further to assure you that the said inhabitants are ready with their lives & all y<sup>t</sup> they have to support the cause which their country is engaged in, in defence of their liberties & their priveledges, and will hold themselves in readliness for that purpose, &c.*



The italics are mine. Could anything in the shape of loyalty to one's country be stronger, especially after the act of his, already so many times cited, than this petition over the signature of Thomas Goldthwait? Can anyone doubt of his sincere intentions toward sustaining the cause of the patriots? *In the original, the petition looks as though it was drawn up by Thomas Goldthwait himself.* It is my belief that it is his own handwriting. He would not even allow another to express his own language in the sentiments he wished to convey.

## RAILROAD REMINISCENCES.

BY HON. JAMES W. BRADBURY.

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

I HAVE always felt great interest in the advance of the railroad system in my native state, especially as it so happened that it fell to my lot to aid in obtaining from the Legislature the charter of the first railroad of importance constructed within its limits. This was in 1837. While battling for this road I little thought that within my lifetime more than sixteen hundred miles of good substantial railroad would be in successful operation in the state.

In 1836 the petitioners for two contesting lines of railroad towards Boston were before the Legislature — the Shore Line to pass through Saco, Biddeford, Ken-

nebunk and York, to Portsmouth, and the "Interior Line" through Gorham, Alfred, North Berwick and Berwick to Dover, New Hampshire. In the struggle between them the latter prevailed, and obtained a charter under another name than the Boston & Maine, which it afterwards received. But it did not proceed to build during the year.

When the Legislature assembled the next year, the petitioners for the "Shore Line" applied to me to assist them and take charge of their case before the legislative committee, and we were able to satisfy the committee and the Legislature that, as their contestants had neglected to do anything under their charter, the petitioners were entitled to have one for the Shore Line; and the act for the incorporation of the Portland, Saco & Portsmouth Railroad was passed and approved.

A year or two afterwards the company obtained an amendment, professedly to avoid a hill in York, in terms so general as to enable it to avoid Kennebunk and York Village and to go so far to the west as North Berwick, which was in the chartered line of the other road. With this I had nothing to do. Under its charter the Portland, Saco & Portsmouth was constructed prior to any other railroad in Maine, excepting only, the few miles of imperfect road from Bangor to Oldtown.

The Boston & Maine had built its road from Boston to Dover, New Hampshire, and thence to North Berwick, reaching that place in 1842. It found the Portland, Saco & Portsmouth operating its road in connec-

tion with the Eastern, and thus forming a continuous line between Boston and Portland. Trouble soon arose between these rival lines. The Boston & Maine complained that the Portland, Saco & Portsmouth had unfairly got upon its chartered line, and was managing its road to monopolize the travel between Boston and Maine. It refused to connect, or to ticket over the other line; and it was said it would not stop at the station for the passengers if the cars were in sight on the other line, and that its hostile management was depriving the Boston & Maine of any share of the through travel. The Boston & Maine then made application to the Legislature for relief. Its agent called upon me to attend to their case before the Legislature. It was an important case as the life of the road depended upon the result. The battle before the railroad committee was a hard one. Among the eminent lawyers we had to contend with who were employed by our real opponent, the Eastern Railroad, that controlled the Portland, Saco & Portsmouth — was Gen. Fessenden, in the full maturity of his power. We asked that the Portland, Saco & Portsmouth should be required to connect and take our cars over its road upon the receipt of fare for the passengers that were in them. This was scouted at as a thing unknown, and as an unjust use of their property for the benefit of others, against their will. At the close of the argument, the committee voted to grant our petition and to give us a bill. I was directed to prepare the bill and present it at the next meeting of the committee. During the week after the adjournment our opponents

performed so successful lobby work, that when I presented the bill a member moved to take the vote again on the petition, and he succeeded in reversing the action of the preceding meeting, and denying the prayers of the petitioners. We were surprised. It chanced that there was another railroad bill pending before the committee to which there was no objection. I expressed the hope that the committee would not kill that bill also, as they had done mine. The reasons for connection were being discussed by the other members of the Legislature, and I felt confident of the result if we could get our measure before either branch of the Legislature.

The committee reported in favor of the other bill. It was a general act concerning railroads. When it came up for action a senator, who was in favor of the provisions of our bill, moved that they be added to the pending bill as an amendment. After a good deal of discussion the amendment was adopted and the provision requiring railroads to connect became a law.

Thereupon the two roads, after a little delay, entered into an agreement for the division of the through business which continued in force for nearly thirty years. In 1871, the Eastern gave notice of its intention to terminate the agreement, and paid the forfeiture required of the party that should terminate it. This was regarded by the Boston and Maine as a declaration of war. It tried to settle, but every offer of adjustment was rejected by the Eastern. At the request of the president of the Boston and Maine I met him at his office in Boston early in January, 1872.



There appeared to be no other mode of relief than to obtain the right to extend its road to Portland. I prepared a brief petition which he signed. I informed him that as he had not given the requisite notice, it was doubtful whether we could get a hearing by the present Legislature, which was then in session. The petition was presented by me to the Legislature immediately after my return. When it came before the committee the objection was at once made that the thirty days' notice required had not been given, and that under the rules the petition must be referred to the next Legislature. The reasons for waiving this objection were urged by me, and upon my proposition that the objection of the preliminary notice should not be regarded as waived, but be considered at the hearing, the committee finally consented that notice for a hearing might be given. This was a substantial victory.

On the day named for the hearing the opponents to our petition appeared with their lawyer and went into the general merits of the case so fully as to take away all force to the objection of want of preliminary notice, as it plainly appeared that there had been time for the most thorough preparation.

The committee decided in our favor and reported a bill giving the right to the petitioners to extend their road to Portland on the line prayed for, which after a good deal of debate passed the Senate and House and was approved by the governor, thus giving to the Boston & Maine, what it deemed essential to success, an independent line between Boston and the commercial capital of Maine.

The next movement in connection with railroads on this line was made by Judge Rice. He was the president of the Maine Central and, to secure proper accommodations and rates for freight and fares, he offered to the stockholders of the Portland, Saco & Portsmouth to take a lease for the Maine Central of their road and to pay them eight per cent. on the entire stock, and to ticket the through business equally over both lines beyond North Berwick. The Portland, Saco & Portsmouth was then so under the influence of the Eastern that it rejected the offer at the meeting at which Judge Rice was present and made it, and continued its arrangement with the Eastern at six per cent. instead of the eight it could have been sure of receiving. The Maine Central was also to lay a double track from North Berwick to Portland, which he judged would accommodate the business and cost but little in comparison with the millions that a separate and nearly parallel line would necessarily cost.

Failing in this he then made an effort to arrange with the Boston & Maine in regard to the through business of his road, as that road had accommodation for his freight which the Eastern had not.

After correspondence and conference the Boston & Maine appointed a committee consisting of the president and Messrs. White and Beckford of the directors to meet the Maine Central and adjust the terms and prepare an agreement to be presented to the Board for its action thereon.

At the request of Judge Rice, in behalf of the Maine Central, I met the committee in Boston, and

we spent several days in adjusting the terms of an agreement. By it the Maine Central was to have the charge of the through business, receive its profits and pay its expenses, and pay to the Boston and Maine a sufficient amount to enable it, with its net local earnings, to pay to its stockholders an annual dividend of ten per cent. in semiannual payments. There were other provisions that were satisfactory to the Eastern, so as to secure peace.

Finally, every point was agreed upon and put in proper form, and the president of the Boston and Maine, who was the chairman of the committee, signed the committee's approval, and agreed to recommend the adoption of the agreement by his Board, and the stockholders. When the report of the committee reached the directors and the stockholders it failed of being adopted. The Boston & Maine then went forward and completed its line into Portland, at a very heavy expense. Up to that time it had been very economical, and my impression is (as I write from memory, having no report at command) that its entire stock and bonded debt were less than nine millions of dollars.

I rendered one service to the stockholders of railroads which I think is of substantial value. I prepared and sent to the Legislature the bill for the foreclosure of railroad mortgages, which was passed and became the law of the state. Its distinguishing feature is the provision that upon the completion of the foreclosure, the holders of the bonds may at once become the stockholders in a new corporation, in pro-

portion to their bonds, to continue in the possession and management of the road, subject to prior claims thereon.

This saves the small stockholders from being frozen out by the sale of an equity, that may in some cases be worth millions, for a comparatively small amount to a combination of a few rich owners, and secures to every one his fair proportion of the value of the property.

Under the provisions of this act the holders of the second mortgage bonds of the Kennebec & Portland Railroad, which at the time of the foreclosure were selling at from fifteen to twenty dollars per hundred, became the stockholders of the Portland and Kennebec, and their stock became worth much more than one hundred dollars per share several years ago; while a sale of their equity in the road under the old law would not have given them twenty per cent. of the amount they subsequently received.

A similar law throughout the Union would have saved millions for those who had not the means to get into the small syndicate of purchasers.

## ADDENDUM.

BY JOSIAH H. DRUMMOND.

THERE are important and interesting historical facts connected with the railroad controversy in 1871 and 1872, which should be stated in connection with the history given by Mr. Bralbury.

In 1870 the competition between the Eastern and Boston & Maine was exceedingly sharp; unfortunately

parties had secured an interest in the Eastern who were disposed to use it for speculative purposes. This they believed could be effected by obtaining the sole control of the Portland, Saco & Portsmouth Railroad. The first movement in this direction was to terminate the contract of 1847 for the use of that railroad by the Boston & Maine and the Eastern, which could be done by notice by any one of the three parties and the payment of two hundred thousand dollars forfeit.

The Eastern gave the requisite notice to terminate the contract on the first day of January, 1871; it also effected a contract, dated May 5, 1871, the precise terms of which were not made public or brought out in the litigation which followed, but which was understood to give the full control of the Portland, Saco & Portsmouth to the Eastern. Thereupon the latter company advertised that it would put on a through express train on June 5, in addition to its other trains, both ways between Boston and Portland.

Of course the Boston & Maine was practically compelled to do the same. There was some question in the minds of its officers whether the Eastern would draw the cars of the Boston & Maine on those trains, and they consulted counsel in Portland with the view of an appeal to the courts in case of refusal. Later they became satisfied that there would be no refusal, and so notified their counsel, but requested him to be in his office on the fifth.

But they were disappointed; the new train ran by the Junction, and the Eastern refused to draw the

cars of the Boston & Maine on that train; in the same manner it refused to draw the Boston & Maine cars from Portland on the corresponding train to Boston.

An application was made for an injunction practically to compel the Portland, Saco & Portsmouth (or really, as it was alleged, the Eastern) to draw the Boston & Maine cars on those trains; as the matter was pressing and delay almost ruinous, application was made for an injunction, without any hearing, upon the giving of a sufficient bond; the application was granted upon the filing of a bond for fifty thousand dollars; the bill in equity was filed June 6, 1871, and the injunction was issued and served the next day. Of course it was obeyed.

But on June 13, 1871, a motion to dissolve it was filed, and later a hearing was had. While the motion was addressed to Judge Walton, and must be acted upon by him, it was heard by him in the presence of five of the other judges at the Law Term in Bangor. It was argued for the Portland, Saco & Portsmouth by Judge Libbey, with whom Thomas K. Lothrop, then president of the Eastern, was associated; and Henry W. Paine, then of Boston, was associated with me for the Boston & Maine.

The court did not dissolve the injunction, but allowed it to remain in force until the final decision of the case. It must be borne in mind that this injunction was temporary, until the whole case should be heard in the regular manner, and then if the injunction had been denied the Portland, Saco & Portsmouth would have their remedy by enforcing the bond.

The Boston & Maine relied upon the act of 1842, mentioned above by Mr. Bradbury, which compelled the Portland, Saco & Portsmouth to draw its cars, while the Portland, Saco & Portsmouth claimed that the extent of its duty was to carry the passengers, and, so far as it was concerned, the act of 1842 was inapplicable or invalid. It is quite a curious coincidence that thirty years after the enactment of this statute the very parties, which had the contest over its enactment, should be, for the first time, contesting its application to them in the courts — the Portland, Saco & Portsmouth, with the Eastern behind it, on the one side, and the Boston & Maine on the other.

When the application of the Boston & Maine for a charter to extend its railroad into Portland was before the Legislature in 1872, the Portland, Saco & Portsmouth were drawing the Boston & Maine cars on its express trains only by the injunction of the court. I well remember with what tremendous power Mr. Bradbury used this fact before the committee of the Legislature in reply to the objection that the required notice of the petition had not been given, and therefore that no action could be had at that session.

It was intended and expected to make up the injunction case for the law court, but it had not been actually done when Mr. Bradbury succeeded in obtaining the charter for the extension; the injunction, therefore, was continued in force till January, 1873, when, as the extension into Portland had been completed, the case was dismissed without prejudice and without costs, and the bond canceled, but left on the files of the courts.

The Boston & Maine was first chartered under the name of the "Maine, New Hampshire & Massachusetts Railroad Corporation," and its western terminus was "the village of Great Falls in the town of Somersworth, New Hampshire," instead of Dover.

## THE MAST INDUSTRY OF OLD FALMOUTH.

BY LEONARD B. CHAPMAN.

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

At the time of the last settlement of Old Falmouth, the land was covered by a native growth of soft and hardwood trees, excepting a few places where clearings had been commenced by those driven from the soil by the Indians.

An idea of the kind of growth that covered Falmouth Neck, now Portland, is obtained by the record of the highway from the head of what is now known as India Street — then called King — to Libby's Corner in Deering, and at this date known by the name of Congress Street. It was the first highway voted by the new settlers and was in the year of 1728, as follows: —

The highway that goes from King Street up to the head of Fore River, beginning at the head of Middle St. where it comes into s<sup>d</sup> way bounded as followeth at a stake standing on the northern side



of said way Running south west and be west or thereabouts to Mr. Proctors fence, thence to a great Red oak tree marked with W near as the way gose and from s<sup>d</sup> tree to another Red oak marked with W, thence to a large white oak tree marked with W, thence to a large Red oke near a small brook or gully marked with W, thence to a large white oke tree with W thence to a Red oak tree marked with a W. T. the way turnes to the marsh to a Red oak tree by y<sup>e</sup> side of the marsh marked with W, thence cross y<sup>e</sup> marsch to the point of upland to a small Birch marked with W and a stone by it — thence to a small white oke marked with W thence to a large white oke marked with W, thence to a large Red Oke to the norword marked with A W. against the head of y Round marsh thence to Mr. Thams bound of his thirty acre lot. (Old Falmouth Records, City Clerk's office, Portland.)

Towering above all in certain localities was the haughty pine, sought and procured for ships' masts, yards and bowsprits, the less in size being used for mill logs.

Mast procuring in those days was an industry of no small proportions, compared with the means at the disposal of those engaged in the business. The market, or place of disposal of the product, was England, and the business was under the ban of statutory law. The Province of New Hampshire was the place of commencement of the industry in New England as the data I have been able to obtain shows. Samuel Waldo appearing before the legislature of the Province for the purpose of explaining the law, who, it is believed, transferred his interest in the business to Col. Thomas Westbrook in the year 1718 — the pioneer in the industry hereabouts, who established himself temporarily at the place now known as Dunstan Landing, in the town of Scarboro, living, it is

conjectured, in what is termed in lumber regions, "a lumberman's camp." Rev. Thomas Smith, the first minister of Portland Neck, or Falmouth of the last settlement, for his field of labor embraced the entire township, frequently alludes in his diary to the act of loading and the sailing of mast ships; but I propose on this occasion to present to you statements founded upon careful perusal of original records, to some of which, now before me, I not only allude but invite your attention, and the first is the account book of Nathaniel Knight; and I will here acknowledge that I am indebted for its use to Miss Ruth E. Knight of Auburn, this state, who has kindly loaned it to me. Could it speak what an interesting story of local history it would tell.

But who was Nathaniel Knight? He was a son of Nathan Knight, whose wife was a sister of Col. Thomas Westbrook. Nathan Knight was the son of George Knight, who died in Scarborough, October 9, 1671, will made same year. In 1720 this Nathan Knight came to Dunstan and made a purchase of land at the Landing and built a dwelling-house, which, on the fifteenth day of November, 1748, for a consideration of forty-five pounds, was conveyed to Richard King, gentleman, of Scarborough, by Nathan's children, eight in number, Nathaniel who married with Priscilla Berry being the eldest. Nathan was admitted to the Scarborough church September 12, 1731.

In the year 1735 he purchased a hundred acres of land at Stroudwater Falls, a mile southerly of Sacca-

rappa village, where he built a good two-story dwelling, the cellar hole being plainly visible at this date. His children were : —

1. Mary, born March 6, 1726.
2. Sarah, born March 17, 1728.
3. John, born June 10, 1730; died August 3, 1744, and tradition says carried off and murdered by Indians.
4. Hannah, born August 20, 1732.
5. Elizabeth, born September 16, 1734; died January 22, 1736.
6. Nathaniel, born August 1, 1735.
7. George, born February 27, 1739.
8. Priscilla, born May 29, 1742; died September 24, 1743.

Nathaniel retained the homestead and married his cousin Ruth Elden, of Buxton, December 12, 1782. He was accustomed to say in his young manhood that he would not marry, but his Uncle Elden, who married his aunt, the sister of his father, would occasionally inform him that he was raising him a wife, so at the time above stated, he united in marriage with Elden's daughter, she being twenty-nine years his junior. The farm, the best of the region, comprising nearly two hundred acres and half a sawmill and a good house, came into the possession of this Nathaniel. The house was destroyed by fire, September 4, 1829, while owned by John Knight, son of the second Nathaniel and father to Miss Ruth E. Knight, alluded to above as the possessor of the ancient account book and other papers now before me. In course of time most of the farm went to the late Edward Chapman, deceased, and is now owned by the City of Westbrook.

There is nothing recorded in this ancient book of Nathaniel Knight, senior, that reveals the exact time it was first used. Evidently memoranda were transferred to it from time to time. Under date of February 9, 1728, I find as follows:—

Col. Westbrook, Esq.	Dr.
Then began ye Oak contract.	
To dyating ye men when hewing at Dunstan	£77-4-0
To making Walter Hinds Trowsers	0-5-6
To one day carrying things to Stroudwater	0-8-0
To Sundry times my horse and boy to Stroudwater	3-0-0
To 32 days hewing masts at Dunstan @ 7 pr day	11-8-0
To a house	11-0-0

This, evidently, was the house that stood at what is known as the southwesterly corner of Westbrook and Bond Street, Stroudwater, which was given the name of "Harrow House," but is better known in history as the "Garrison House," which was removed to make room for the so-called Fickett house, built a hundred years ago by Samuel Fickett.

The account then goes on:—

To driving logs to Stroudwater	£0-8-0
To clearing roads at Dunstan	20-0-0
July 24, 1732. To whole years work which was our agreement for	£10-0-0
To finding myself in victuals in foul whether and from Saturday night to Monday morning the whole year	10-0-0

November 25, 1732, he commences a record of what he says is "An account of what Provisions I found in Partnership with Thomas Westbrook, Esq., masting." The account covers four pages of this

long book, but I can make only two or three extracts at this time as follows:—

To myself 127½ days	£63-15-0
To 28 loads of hay	84- 0-0

June 12, 1738, he begins an account with Col. Westbrook as follows:—

To hunting masts, fitting them, and clearing of roads.

The time covered was forty-seven weeks and he charged one pound per day for his services, but there is not a date entered after the first.

I will here state, though the fact is known to many, that the highways, as now used in this vicinity, were laid out for the purpose of transporting mast logs in connection with the rivers, and cleared or opened by Col. Westbrook and others engaged in the mast business.

November 1, 1744, he opens an account with Solomon Bragdon, who owned the sawmill on the Stroudwater River, above the Falls mill, and known fifty years ago and later as the Curtis mill, as follows:—

To 72½ days work hunting, fitting, clearing and halling masts.  
£72-10-0.

Then he charges for going up the Stroudwater River, “twitching masts into the river, clearing river, bringing down the river,” “to soldiers work paid for,” and then “twitching masts out of the river.” Bragdon is charged also for hauling masts at “Horse Beef” and at Saecarappa—self and four oxen four days  
£5-10-0.

For the purpose of showing who Bragdon was I refer to Vol. 2, page 527, time 1761, Cumberland County Registry of Deeds, as follows: —

In consideration of Love and Affection, I Jeremiah Jordan of Falmouth convey, to my beloved grandson and daughters Solomon Bragdon, Deborah Bragdon, Mehitable Bragdon and Sarah Bragdon, the heirs of my daughter Deborah Bragdon, the wife of Capt. Salmon Bragdon of Scarborough, deceased at Spurwink in Falmouth lots of land, etc."

Vol. 2, p. 433, same, and same records. Consideration same as foregoing: —

Solomon Bragdon of Scarborough to my son, Solomon of Scarborough 60 acres of land in Scarborough, one fourth part of one saw in my saw mill in Scarborough, now standing on Stroudwater river with the one half of my privilege over the stream. The 60 acres was granted to John Westcott Esq & Henry Bigford by the proprietors of Scarborough, etc.

July 24, 1749, and June 5, 1751, he charges Capt. Joshua Bangs with certain masts at the rate of one pound per inch in diameter, and Col. Jedediah Preble at the same rate at the same time.

From the reading of a certain part of the book it appears he was at one time in company with his neighbor Babb.

The exact time that George Tate came to this country as the king's mast agent does not appear by records, but in the year 1753 he purchased a lot at Stroudwater and built the house as now seen, though some changes in the roof were made by a son of his near the year 1800. His career as a procurer of masts does not appear in a connected form. He was a merchant in England, and a few family relics of his

still exist, one of which is the large family Bible, containing the names of his children and date of time when born, from which the following is copied:—

THE TATE FAMILY.

George Tate, born in London, Eng. Apr. 20, 1700; d. 1794<sup>1</sup>

Children of George and Eleanor Tate, b. in Eng.

1. Samuel Tate, b. Aug. 3, 1738; d.—
2. William, .. b. Nov. 15, 1740; d. Aug. 1833, in London.
3. George, .. b. Nov. 7, 1741; died young.
4. George 2<sup>nd</sup> The Admiral, b. June 14, 1746; d. 1821, at St. Petersburg.
5. Robert Tate, b. Jan. 23, 1751; d. at Barbadoes, 1801.

In the month of May, 1757, Nathaniel Knight opened an account with Mr. Tate and charges him with sixty large spars two hundred and fifty pounds. The charges for masts are few, but the account continued till January 7, 1769, when a settlement was made, Mr. Tate writing the receipt for the balance due Mr. Knight which appears in this old book. For two-thirds of three masts, Mr. Tate was charged £300: thirteen pounds veal. £1-7-0, and six turkeys. £6-15-0.

September 30, 1754, Mr. Knight came under obligations to furnish Capt. Samuel and Francis Waldo with a certain number of masts, mainyards and bowsprits. The copy, evidently in the hand of one of the Waldoes, is nearly as fresh as one a year old.

An abstract reads as follows:—

Falmouth, Sep. 30, 1754. I Nathaniel Knight of Falmouth, do hereby covenant and agree with Messrs. Samuel & Francis Waldo

<sup>1</sup>Gravestone at Stroudwater. See Maine Historical and General Recorder, Vol. II p., 195.

to Procure & deliver them at Presumpscoot Dam & Stroudwater Landing on or before the Twenty-fifth day of October next, the afore mentioned fifteen main masts, eight fore masts, ten main yards & ten bowsprits of ye exact Dimentions & Lengths aforesaid at the rate of two shillings & four pence per Inch diameter for ye masts yards & Bowsprits which are to be chiefly Apple pines, *alias* Norways, & all sd masts & Bowsprits that are over twenty Inches diameter are to be hewed into Sixteen Squares & thereunder & yards into Eight Squares as is customary. The above said masts, yards & Bowsprits are to be handsome straight & sound sticks, free from Defects of all sorts & are to be delivered on sd Day & place aforementioned, under the penalty of Two hundred Pounds.

A little later than the date of this contract, Nathaniel Knight and one John Libby constituted a company, as appears by the old books, for the procurement of masts, and a long list of names of those who were employed with oxen appear.

Labor was very low at this date. Two shillings and eight pence paid for a day's labor. William Haskell is credited with sixteen shillings for self and two oxen three days.

To Mr. George Johnson, grandson of John Johnson, who settled upon the wild land, a mile westerly of Stroudwater in 1747, upon which George now resides, I am indebted for original papers relating to mast procuting in the year 1769, copies of which I here present as follows:—

Province of New Hampshire v. His Majesty's Woods in North America.

Having had application made to me by Edmund Wendell, Agent to John Durand & Anthony Baron Esq<sup>r</sup> under Contract to His Majesty, for supplying the Royal Navy with Masts, Yards & Bow-



sprits — that Lycense be granted to Mess<sup>rs</sup> John Johnson, James Johnson, David Small, William Lamb, William Webb all of Falmouth, & Richard Maberry of Windham, in the County of Cumberland in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay to go with their Workmen into the King's Woods in the Township of New Gloucester and half of Bakers Town [now Poland] in the County & Province aforesaid there to cutt & hali Fifty white pine Trees for Masts, Yards, and Bowsprits being agreed for and to be delivered to the said Edmund Wendell for the aforesaid Contract, and Whereas by His Majestys Royal Lycense dated 28th day of October, 1768, to me directed — I am authorized to grant such permission. I do therefore in obedience thereunto grant Lycense to the said John Johnson, and Company as above named to go into the said Township of New Gloucester & half of Bakers Town, then, to cutt and hali to the most convenient Landing, fifty White pine masts which fifty white pine Trees first to be surveyed and marked by an Officer lawfully deputed & authorized for said service who is hereby required to attend said Survey when requested — And said Masts to be delivered to said Edmund Wendell as agent, or to the Agent for the time being of said Mast Contract — also to transmit & deliver to me, under Solemn Oath, within one year of the Date hereof, an exact account of the Number and dimensions of White pine Trees cutt, fell & halled by virtue of this Lycense. In the execution of which you are directed not to interfere with or molest any other workmen lycensed. For all of which and every part thereof this shall be your full & sulicient Warrant, Dated at Portsmouth, 30th August, 1769.

J. WENTWORTH. <sup>1</sup>

MEMORANDA of Agreemen made & Concluded upon by & between Edmund Wendell of Portsmouth In the Province of New Hampshire, Merch<sup>t</sup> of the one part & John Johnson, James Johnson, David Small, William Lamb, William Porterfield, Jesse Partridge & William Webb of Falmouth and Richard Mayberry of Windham, all of the County of Cumberland, Province of the Massachusetts Bay, Yeoman, of the other part Witnesseth :

<sup>1</sup> John Wentworth was governor in 1765.

That the said John Johnson, James Johnson, David Small, William Lamb, William Porterfield, Jesse Partridge, W<sup>m</sup> Webb & Richard Maberry, for themselves & their Respective Heirs, Executors, Administrators & Assigns, do hereby Covenant, promise & agree to & with the said Edw. Wendell, his Executors, Administrators & Assigns, to procure & deliver him or them, at the Common & Usual place of Delivery at Falmouth aforesaid, on or before the Thirtieth day of July Next Ensuing, from the date hereof, the following Number & sizes of Masts Yards & Bowsprits, to be sound & good fit for his Majesty's use, as shall be so esteemed by him the said Edmund Wendell, or by any other person, the sd. Edmund Wendell shall think proper to appoint to receive such Masts &c. & to be hew'd into their sixteen squares — viz :

2. Two Mast Thirty-two Inches diameter — 32 yards long at Forty-five pounds Sixteen shillings sterling.
2. Two do Thirty One Inch<sup>s</sup> do — 31 yd do at Thirty five pound four shillgs.
6. Six do Thirty Inc<sup>s</sup> do — 30 yd do at Twenty Eight pound.
10. Ten do Twenty Nine Inch<sup>s</sup> do — 29 yd at Twenty two pound Eight shillgs.
6. Six do Twenty Eight Inch<sup>s</sup> do — 29 yd do at Eighteen pound Eight shillgs.
6. Six do Twenty Seven Inch<sup>s</sup> do — at 29 yd do at Fourteen pound Eight shillgs.
4. Four do Twenty Six Inch<sup>s</sup> do — 28 yd do at Twelve pound Sixteen shillgs.

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36 Masts ———

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1. One Bowsprit Thirty five Inch<sup>s</sup> do — 23½ yd do at Thirty four pound.
3. Three do Thirty four Inch<sup>s</sup> do — 23 yd do at Thirty two pound.
3. Three do Thirty two Inch<sup>s</sup> do — 21½ yd do at Twenty three pound four shillgs.
2. Two do Thirty Inches do — 20½ yd at Sixteen pounds.

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9 Bowsprits

1. One Yard Twenty four Inch<sup>s</sup> do — 34 yd do at Twenty five pound Twelve shillgs.
  1. One Yard Twenty three Inch<sup>s</sup> do — 32 yd do at Twenty pound Eight shillgs.
  2. Two do Twenty two Inch<sup>s</sup> do — 31 yd do at Sixteen pound Sixteen shillgs.
  1. One do Twenty Inch do — 28 yd at Eleven pound twelve shillgs.
- 5 Yards ———  
—

We the said parties do further agree that the above Stipulated prices are to be paid for each & every such Mast, Yard & Bowsprit that on delivery shall be found fit for his Majesty's use, In Cash, unless We should have Occasion Of supply's, in which Case we agree to take of said Edmund Wendell, (If he inclines to supply.) To the True & faithful performance of these presents, We bind & Oblige ourselves Jointly, & severally by these presents & Each of our respective Heirs, Executors & Assigns, Each to the other In the penal sum of Two Thousand Pounds Sterling money of Great Britain.

In Witness whereof the parties have hereunto Interchangeably set their hands & Seals the Fifth day of September Anno Domini One Thousand Seven hund'd & Sixty-Nine. Falmouth Casco Bay.

	Edmund Wendell	[ Seal ]
	John Johnson Jun	[ Seal ]
	James Johnson, Jur.	[ Seal ]
Sign'd, Seal'd & Delever'd	Daniel Small	[ Seal ]
In the presence of	W <sup>m</sup> Lamb	[ Seal ]
William Slemons	William Porterfield	[ Seal ]
Stephen Riggs	Jesse Partridge	[ Seal ]
	William Webb	[ Seal ]
	Richard Mayberry	[ Seal ]

Four months after the signing of the foregoing, the company received a communication as follows: —

PORTSMOUTH, 26th Dec, 1769.

GENTLEMEN: — I have it in command from His Excellency Governor Wentworth to acquaint you He has received the Complaint of

Messes, Wm. Slemons & George Knight of Falmouth that you & your Company have contrary to your License for cutting Mast Trees interfered with the said Slemons & Knight in their District by entering upon their half of Bakers Town as agreed upon by a dividing Line between yourselves, cutt down & barked two considerable large Trees much to their Damage—By which means you have exposed yourselves not only to an action of Damage from the sd. Slemons & Knights; but of Trespass from the Surveyor General, and it is his Orders that you immediately settle the matter to the Satisfaction of Messes, Slemons and Knight within a month from this time, otherwise His Excellency is determined to bring an action against you for Trespass in a court of Admiralty which you'll do well to avoid.

I am Gentlemen

Your most hum. Svt.

JONS HURD.

To Messes,

James John Jun. & Company Mast cutters & License.

It seems that the Johnson party of mast-cutters got over the line agreed upon and cut two trees, and Messrs. Wm. Slemons and George Knight entered a complaint against them. This is the first and only intimation I have that Slemons & Knight were in the mast business. Slemons lived where Mr. Fred A. Johnson now resides, in the same Slemons house, westerly of Stroudwater; and Knight, who was a son of Nathaniel Knight alluded to in the foregoing, and became son-in-law to Slemons, being married January 6, 1771, lived on the Buxton road, a mile or more westerly of the Johnsons.

The matter of trespass was settled by arbitration, James Milk, Richard Codman and John Waite being chosen referees, who, after a bond had been signed by Messrs. Slemons and Knight in the sum of £100

lawful money to abide by the award, brought in that the Johnson Company should pay Messrs. Slemons & Knight £7-14-6, and that Slemons and Knight should pay the others for cutting the trees forty shillings.

Accompanying the papers from which the foregoing copy is made, is the original acknowledgement dated September 10, 1770, that the money was received and signed by William Slemons.

A statement made by Wendell dated November, 1770, shows that the Johnson Company received from him £1375-15-9 lawful money, among the items of which is one of £400-8-6 paid on an order in favor of George Tate, and one in favor of Joshua Wentworth for £35-13-0, thus making it appear doubtful who J. Wentworth really was that signed the license — whether John Wentworth, governor of New Hampshire or Joshua Wentworth, another character.

Jonathan Sparrow was a trader at Stroudwater about fifteen years. In his old daybook, date of June 21, 1804, I select the following:—

ASA FICKETT	Dr.
To 1 18½ Inch Mast ⅔	\$16.96
To carrying dow the same ⅔	.38
Nov. 17, 1804	
JOSEPH McLELLAN & SON	Dr.
To Twelve Masts, 212 inches ⅔	\$189.50
To carrying down the Same 2/	“ 4.00
Nov. 17. 1804.	
JOHN TABER & SON	Dr.
To Eighteen Masts, 3 10, inches ⅔	\$371.26
To carrying down the same.	6.00
	\$277.26

These parties were business men in Portland and "carrying down the same" means, down Fore River to Portland.

A period of one hundred and sixty-eight years has passed since the mast industry was commenced in what is now termed Old Falmouth. The lofty pine tree has passed away, probably forever. Record evidence of the events of the time is scarce. Records of the footprints of the actors are difficult of obtainment. Places of rest of the earthly part of their lives are not known. Long may the few manuscript records live in a manner that will illustrate the good deeds of those who felled the forest trees and made the water of the river assist in the labors of civilization, and the hill-side bring forth sweet grasses. One relic of which time, this mammoth mast-chain, turned up by the plow in the hands of Mr. George Johnson, some fifty years ago, in the "Johnson ninety-acre field," located in front of the site of the first John Johnson dwelling-place in Falmouth, now Deering, in his behalf, I now present to this Society.<sup>1</sup> Henceforward it is for you to keep, with this meager offering of mine.

<sup>1</sup> The chain presented is now with the relics of the past belonging to the Society; and for a short sketch of the Johnson family, and a cut of the modernized family abode, see "H.-story of Cumberland County of 1880."

## ANCIENT NAGUAMQUEEG.

BY SAMUEL T. DOLE.

*Read before the Maine Historical Society, February 6, 1895.*

THE territory of New Marblehead (now Windham) was confirmed to the petitioners on June 7, 1735, and they at once began preparations to comply with the conditions imposed by the Great and General Court of Massachusetts, and believing that a sawmill would tend to encourage settlers to come here, we find that at a proprietors' meeting held in old Marblehead, August 8, 1735, it was put to vote, to see if a sawmill should be built in said township at the general charge. This, however, passed in the negative, and the meeting adjourned to the twenty-first of the same month, at which time the following communication was presented for their consideration, which I copy verbatim from the old records:—

To the Grantees of the Township upon Presumscot River, laid out to several Inhabitants of Marblehead: this Manifesto of George Pigot, Clerk, Declareth that upon the grant of one Mill right, and Two acres of land thereunto adjoining to him his heirs and assigns forever, he will undertake to Erect a Sawmill upon the falls of the Great River next above the Township lots before Michaelmas Day 1736. Provided he have convenient Highways leading to said mill laid out by order of the Grantees, with Liberty to cut Timber off the School lot.

George Pigot.

Accordingly it was voted that the above manifesto be allowed and granted to said Pigot, so long as he or

his assigns keep up a mill there. This flourish of trumpets, however, amounted to nothing and we hear no more about a mill until January 12, 1738, or more than two years later at which time there were but four families in the township, viz.: — Thomas Chute, William Mayberry, Stephen Manchester and John Farrow. On that day it was

*Voted*, That whereas it is the opinion of the proprietors or grantees, that the grant made to the Rev. Mr. George Pigot is void, it appearing to the proprietors that he did not erect said mill by Michaelmas day 1736, nor hath yet erected the same, nor begun it, therefore,

*Voted*, That the committee formerly appointed for receiving the proposals of any of the proprietors relating to erecting a sawmill, take under their further consideration the proposal of Ebenezer Hawks and others, and make report at the adjournment of this meeting.

At the adjournment on January 19, 1738, this committee reported as follows: —

Forasmuch as it is thought by the said proprietors to be very expedient to have one or more sawmills upon some part of the aforesaid tract of land, and conducive to their general good, and advantage; and forasmuch as Messrs. Ebenezer Hawks, Blacksmith, William Goodwin, Carpenter, Isaac Turner, Carpenter, and Ebenezer Stacey, Shoreman all of Marblehead, in the County of Essex, four of the proprietors have manifested their desires, and inclinations upon suitable encouragement, to erect and set up one or more sawmills upon some part or place of said tract of land suitable for that purpose, it was voted for their encouragement in the undertaking that there be and hereby is given and granted to the above named Ebenezer Hawks and others all the proprietors right, title and interest in and to any one of the falls of water in the main river lying above the great bridge lately erected over said river at their choice or election, together with all the privilege thereunto



belonging, and ten acres of land to be laid out on the northeasternmost corner of four acres of common land, ordered to lay in common for the use of said mill as a landing place to lay logs on.

Then follows a list of conditions full of that quaint legal phraseology our ancestors were wont to use in their business transactions, from which we learn that Mr. Hawks and his associates were bound to begin the erection of their mill on or before the first day of August, 1738, and have it ready for operation before the last day of the November following: they were also to improve the residue of their water power with any kind of mills they might think proper, within five years, also they were positively forbidden to obstruct by dams or otherwise the free passage of logs or rafts over said falls. One proviso here recorded shows, or at least gives us a hint, of the unsettled state of affairs at that time, for says the old record.—

If in case of a war with the Indians the said Hawks and his associates shall be obstructed in the fulfilment of any condition on their part, then they shall be allowed the same length of time after the close of said war, for performing the conditions as is above limited.

After mature deliberation, these gentlemen selected as the site of their future operations the falls next above ancient Saccarappa, at a place called by the Indians Naguamqueeg, now known as Mallison Falls. And they chose wisely and well, for the water power here is one of the best on the river, and at that time a magnificent forest of pine, hemlock, oak and ash timber grew in profusion along the river's bank, and crowned the hilltops on every hand. In fact, the

whole township was one dense forest almost untouched by the woodman's ax.

Having settled the question of locality, these gentlemen commenced to build the mill at the appointed time and were making rapid progress when they were suddenly interrupted by the Indians, who forbade their building at that place, and by threats and menaces drove the workmen away, and the work was suspended for a time. Shortly after, however, a compromise of some kind was made with the savages, and the enterprise carried to a successful completion, and on December 13, 1740, they were able to report that they had finished and put in operation a sawmill on said falls; whereupon the proprietors confirmed the grant, laid out the ten acres as voted, and also the common lot of four acres, together with the necessary roads; and a plan of the whole was entered on the proprietor's book of records where it is still to be seen. This was the first mill of any kind erected within the limits of the township, and remained, with various repairs and additions, until the spring of 1843, when the last of its venerable timbers disappeared in a great freshet which occurred on the river in that year. It was, according to the best information I can obtain, about fifty feet long by thirty wide, and appears to have been an exceedingly wide and simple affair, containing but one up-and-down saw, put in motion by an old-fashioned undershot, or as our ancestors called it, "a flutter wheel." It had none of the modern appliances for either despatch or economy in the process of manufacture; in fact, they were

unable to saw much beside boards and planks. To do even this they were obliged first to saw the log into a square stick of timber, and then from one side manufacture a board, or plank, as the case might be, and so on until the log was made into the required article, when another would be subjected to the same slow process. But with all its inconveniences this first mill was an important factor in the early growth of the town. It enabled the settlers to build a better class of dwellings than is usually found in a new settlement, and gave a decided impetus to the timber trade, which in after years became a source of considerable revenue to the inhabitants.

Several years after this a mill was erected on the Gorham side of the river, similar in construction and for the same purpose, but it is said a little better equipped for business for, whereas the first mill had no edging saw, this one was the fortunate possessor of that most necessary piece of machinery. This mill stood on Mallison's grant, but who built it, or when it was first put in operation, I am not able to state. But it is written in the "History of the Libby Family in America," that Joseph Libby, born in Scarborough, March 24, 1732, came to Gorham in 1760, and bought the privilege, and for many years carried on a saw-mill there: and for aught anyone knows to the contrary, may have been the first man to improve the water power on that side of the river. But certain it is that during its history it had, like its near neighbor, many owners. After Libby came a Mr. Johnson, then Capt. Joshua Suett, a Revolutionary soldier who

died here in 1851 aged eighty-nine years. After him came his son, Col. Clark Suett, a man highly esteemed by all who knew him, and who died in 1839, at the age of forty-eight; after his decease the mill was occupied for some years by Jonathan Stevens and his son William, who leased it of the late Nathan Winslow, into whose hands the property on both sides of the river had previously fallen. This was the last lumbering of any amount done here. These mills became the center of a thriving village which in point of age antedates any other in Windham.

In the prosperous days of the lumber business there were at least twenty dwelling-houses here, together with two grocery stores, one tannery, one grist-mill, a small paper mill, a pottery, the first of the kind in town, one blacksmith's shop, and a local physician, Dr. Henry Dupée, who resided here for some years and then removed to Portland where he died according to "Deane's Diary," in March, 1811.

In 1822, the Free Baptists erected a small church edifice here, which was one of the first built by that denomination in Cumberland County. But as time elapsed the lumber interest in this vicinity declined rapidly as the land became denuded of trees suitable for milling purposes, and in a few years this once flourishing village began to show signs of decay and dissolution; this was especially the case when in 1822, a company of Portland capitalists purchased the water power at Little Falls, three-quarters of a mile above, and built a large cotton mill which they operated with uniform success for many years. This

corporation gave employment to many who resided in the old village, and several moved their houses to the new center of business, until but two or three of the original dwellings were left, and aside from these nothing remained of the once busy and thriving hamlet but ruined cellars and moss-grown foundation stones scattered here and there along the principal street, and so endeth the early history of ancient Naguamqueeg.

A few words in regard to the names these falls have borne at different times may not be amiss here ; as we have seen, they were called by the Indians Naguamqueeg, and they are so termed in the proprietors' book of records. In 1739-40, while building the dam and mill they were re-christened Horse Beef, a name they bore without question for nearly one hundred years, the origin of which, I was informed by a gentleman who was old when I was a boy, came about in this wise. He said that when the proprietors commenced operations on their mill there were, of course, no houses in the vicinity. So they built a temporary dwelling in which to board and lodge their workmen ; among other things necessary for their sustenance, a barrel of beef was procured ; this the men one and all pronounced of the best quality until one unlucky day the cook produced the hoofs of a horse which he solemnly declared he had found in the beef barrel. This produced a tremendous sensation of course, but investigation proved it to be a fact ; so they headed up the barrel, hoofs and all, rolled it over the dam, and renamed the falls " Horse Beef."

In 1830, when the Cumberland and Oxford Canal was opened to traffic, an attempt was made to change this queer name to "Lock Falls," and they are thus designated in a few deeds of that date, which have come to my knowledge; but the name never came into general use, and is now, and for many years past has been almost forgotten, and the old name Horse Beef was used until 1866, when a company of gentlemen in this vicinity purchased the old sawmill site on Windham side, and built a woolen mill, and in their charter they were styled the "Mallison Falls Manufacturing Company," and the falls by common usage are now called Mallison Falls.

## THOMAS CHUTE.

THE FIRST SETTLER OF WINDHAM, MAINE, AND HIS DESCENDANTS.

BY WILLIAM GOOLD.

*Read before the Maine Historical Society, December 23, 1882.*

THOMAS CHUTE, the first settler of Windham, was born in London in 1690, and emigrated to Marblehead, Massachusetts, previous to 1725. The first charge in his carefully kept book of accounts bears that date. He notes that he raised his house on the twenty-ninth of February, 1729. He kept a house of entertainment, and sold all kinds of drinks—toddy, wines, flip, and the like, and often charged his cus-

tomers for melting his pewter pots. There was very little money in circulation which compelled the charging of the smallest articles which were finally paid for in barter. The wealthiest people did not hesitate to have a grog score in the public house in what Chute called his "drink book," and when it became large enough it became a debtor item in his account book. He also dealt in other kinds of merchandise, hardware, dry goods and crockery. He was also a tailor, making up his own clothes and those brought to him by his customers. He also made suits of colors for vessels, and has on the cover of the book the quantity of bunting of each color required for an ensign, and for a suit — British of course.

Chute soon became the owner of buildings which he rented. In 1730 a barber is charged with half a year's shop rent, six pounds, and on the opposite page is credited with the "curling of his wig," and "half a years shaving 10 shilling," also, for "a wig for his son," and "shaving his head to receive it." He also had a horse to let, often "double," that was for two persons to ride on his back at the same time. He sometimes let his chaise to go to Boston. This was a pleasure vehicle that was very rare in those days.

In 1733 Mr. Chute was appointed deputy sheriff by Benjamin Marston, high sheriff of Essex County and we have his original commission. A large part of his book is taken up with charges for the service of writs. The high sheriff was entitled to a share of the fees which compelled the deputy to keep a book separate, with the sheriff, in which each writ is

entered; we have that, also, from which we learn that in the four years which he held the office he served neasly one thousand writs, besides other precepts. Mr. Chute served writs for Wm. Shirley, who was afterwards appointed governor of the province. The first charge to him is in 1733. His biographers have it that he did not come from England until two years later.

James Bowdoin, subsequently governor of the state, Brigadier Waldo, and Andrew and Peter Faneuil, are charged with the service of writs in Essex County. In the book the name of Faneuil is spelt Funel — the same as it is on the family tomb in the Granary burying-ground.

By his book Chute seems to have served occasionally as an attorney as well as deputy sheriff, and did not hesitate to treat the jury and witnesses. The following charges were made in 1735: —

Alexander Watts, Mariner.

Dec. To my attending the court three days at Salem.

2 s per day . . . . . 6 shillings

To my expenses . . . . . 15 shillings

To cash I gave to treat the jury . . . . . 10 shillings

We got our case — Hines appeals.

At the review of the case he charged again:—

1736. May Court. To cash paid Mr. Gridley,

ye lawyer . . . . . 1 pound

This was Jeremiah Gridley of Boston, who afterwards became the king's attorney. One pound for attending court at Salem and making a plea seems at



this time a very small fee for one of Gridley's ability and celebrity. The next charge is: —

To cash to treat ye jury after they gave ye cause in favor of you . . . . . 10 shillings

At the Ipswich term in the following October, in another case for the same client, there is a similar charge for treating the jury, and another for treating "ye witnesses."

In 1733 Sheriff Marston is charged for cash paid for whipping John Barnor, and for putting him in jail.

Soon after the treaty with the Indians in 1727, it was decided by the provincial government to survey a second or back tier of townships, between Salmon Falls River and the Androscoggin, and offer them to settlers on very easy terms. For nearly a century the old towns had formed a single line between the ocean and the wilderness, and never were a people's prudence and heroism more severely tried by the Indian enemy. Four new townships were granted: one of which was New Marblehead, now Windham, on the petition of inhabitants of old Marblehead in Essex County.

Thomas Chute was one of the original grantees of the township, and was chosen one of a committee of three to accompany the committee of the General Court in the location and survey of the township, which was begun in April, 1735. In the distribution of lots Chute drew home lot number twelve. He soon decided to make himself a home in the new township. After closing his business in Essex County he, with his family, came to Falmouth in the spring

of 1737. The last entry in his book in Marblehead is under date of April twenty-fifth. He did not immediately go to the new township, but remained in Falmouth, where he commenced his old business of keeping a house of entertainment and working at his trade. His book contains charges against many of the leading men of the town, Rev. Mr. Smith, Col. Thomas Westbrook, and Moses Pearson, for whom in 1738 he made "a plush coat and britches trimmed with silver lace." From his account we learn that Mr. Pearson kept an Indian boy, who wore a red jacket, and a negro, both of whom wore leather breeches. The church record of the first parish in Falmouth, in October, 1738, has this entry:—

Thomas Chute, Mary his wife, and Abigail, their daughter, being regularly dismissed from Marblehead church, were admitted to the one here.

While living at Falmouth, Chute had been preparing for a new home in the new township, ten miles off. The precise date of his removal to New Marblehead is not known. His first charge in the book there is against Rev. John Wight, the first minister of the town, for twenty-nine week's board. He was ordained and settled in the town in December, 1743, and Chute and his family were dismissed from the Falmouth church and recommended to that at New Marblehead.

Mr. Chute in his new home became the first settler of the township. His house was near the shore of Presumpscot river, which was the best highway to Saccarappa, three miles off, where his nearest neighbors lived. The settlers in the new tier of towns were

really picket sentinels for the coast towns — sure to be attacked first in the event of an Indian war. In 1743, in expectation of a French and Indian war, the General Court of the Province appropriated twelve hundred pounds for the defense of the eastern settlements, of which one hundred pounds was assigned to New Marblehead. This was expended by a committee of the legislative council in building a fort of square timber two stories high and fifty feet on the sides, with flankers of twelve feet square at the two diagonally opposite corners. These flankers each contained a mounted swivel gun, furnished by the proprietors of the township, and a long nine-pound gun was mounted in front of the fort to fire as an alarm gun. This was furnished by the Province, and the whole work was enclosed by a palisade. This fort was built in February and March, 1743. In the same book already quoted, Mr. Chute charged for the labor of himself, his son, and his hired man, on the fort to the amount of sixteen pounds and six shillings, and in December of the same year, he credited the Province, by the hands of the committee, one hundred and fifty pounds old tenor, to balance the charge of sixteen pounds and ten shillings lawful money. Mr. Chute continued his habits of thrift in the new town. Besides the clearing of his farm he hauled masts to the river and furnished the settlers with goods of different kinds, made their clothes and entertained them with drinks. His neighbors probably gathered at his house after the labors of the day, to hear from the outside world, from some one who had been to town, as the

settlement at Falmouth Neck was called, and some treated in their turn.

Moses Pearson continued his custom to Chute's house after he removed to New Marblehead. It was a half-way house on his way to Pearisontown, now Standish. He often stayed over night. Here is a sample of Chute's charges to him, "To a bowl of toddy and oats for ye horse." The same year is this charge: "To one mug of flip when your son Freeman came from logging." This was Joshua Freeman, his son-in-law, who lived where Jeremiah Dow now does on Grove Street. Rev. Dr. Deane married another of Pearson's daughters, and fled to Freeman's when the town was burnt in 1775. In 1749 Mr. Chute attended the General Court at Boston seventy-three days as agent to defend the inhabitants against Capt. Daniel Hill's petition: but there is no intimation in the book what was the purport of the petition. In 1751 John Frost of Kittery, justice of the Court of General Sessions, issued a warrant to Chute as "one of the principal inhabitants," to warn them to assemble for the choice of officers, according to an act of the General Court. This warrant is among the papers. In 1762 the town was incorporated by the name of Windham, and Mr. Chute was the town clerk from that year until 1766, when he was chosen selectman, and charged for eight days' work, making "town, county and province rates." Mr. Chute died in 1770 aged eighty years. His descendants can be numbered by hundreds. He had an only son, Curtis, who had lived with the father

but was killed by lightning. In Parson Smith's journal of 1767, June 5, is this entry: —

Curtis Chute and one young man were killed in an instant by the lightning at the Widow Gooding's—Harrison and others hurt, and near being killed, and the house near being destroyed also.

Curtis Chute was a selectman, and in the town clerk's book of records of Windham is the following vote recorded in town meeting: —

*Voted*, that Peter Cobb be selectman and assessor this year in the room of Curtis Chute, who was killed by the thunder June ye third at Falmouth.

Thomas Chute had two daughters; Sarah married John Bodge of Windham, and was drowned in 1776. Abigail married Cobham.

Curtis Chute, who was killed at Falmouth left a widow and five children. She seems to have been a business woman, and carried on the homestead farm, continued the old family book of accounts, and reared her four sons to be useful and respectable citizens. Josiah, Thomas and James were in the army of the Revolution. John was selectman in 1806. He continued to live on his grandfather's farm until about 1830, when he moved to Naples and opened a public house at the foot of Long Pond, where he died in 1857, aged ninety years. He was father of John Chute, the second cashier of Casco Bank. A daughter married a Mr. Church, who continued the public house. Josiah Chute, the son of Curtis, and a grandson of the first Thomas, was born June fourth, 1759. At the com-

mencement of the Revolution, he was sixteen years old. He enlisted in the army and served two years, but I do not learn with what body of troops he served. On his discharge he again enlisted in a company under Capt. Richard Mayberry of Windham. I have the muster-master's book of records which has Chute's name and that of his brother Thomas, and says they were mustered with their company January 21, 1777. From his former service Josiah was appointed a sergeant and clerk of the company. The muster-master's book says the company was attached to the regiment under Col. Francis. It became the fifth company of the eleventh regiment of the Massachusetts Bay forces and was in the left wing of the army under Gen. Gates in the campaign of 1777, which ended in the capture of Burgoyne at Saratoga in October.

My own great-grandfather, Nathan Noble, belonging to Capt. John Skilling's Falmouth and Scarborough company, was killed by a musket shot in his head while entering the British works alongside of Capt. Mayberry's company just before the surrender. He had fought for the English at Louisburg thirty-two years before in the "Canada Expeditions" of 1757, 1758 and 1759 and now was killed by an English bullet. He also served in Capt. Winthrop Boston's company at the siege of Boston in 1776.

Chute was not at the surrender of Burgoyne. He was wounded at the battle of Hubbardton, July seventh, three months previous, when he received a musket ball in his shoulder, and his commander, Col. Francis was killed by his side while enquiring about

Chute's wound. He was taken prisoner and put into a hospital tent, from which he and another made their escape and were two weeks in the woods before they got to a friendly settlement and finally reached his home. After the healing of his wound which required two years, he returned to his regiment and having only one month more to serve he obtained his discharge which I have. It is written in the book of his own muster-roll. It reads thus: ---

Headquarters — Robinson's House, Peekskill Dec. 12<sup>th</sup> 1779.

Sergeant Josiah Chute of the Eleventh Massachussetts regiment having been reported as a faithful soldier who has been wounded in battle, and thereby rendered unfit for duty, has leave of absence from the camp until the first day of January next, in the year 1780. As Major Knap has reported that the time for which said Chute engaged to serve in the army, will expire on the said first day of January next, he is not required to again join his regiment, but to receive this as a discharge from the army of the United States of America, as fully as if given after his time of service had expired.

By command of Maj. Gen. Heath.

Th. Cartwright

*Aid de Camp.*

Mr. Chute was then twenty-one years of age. He came home to his widowed mother with his depreciated Continental money in his pocket, with which he was paid off, which was of small value, but he had good pluck; he commenced the ordinary business of his life as if nothing had happened. He engaged in farming, school teaching, and town business. He was selectman twenty years, between 1788 and 1816. He was representative to Massachusetts General Court ten years, 1805-12 and 1817-20. He was a delegate

from his town to the convention that formed the constitution of Maine in 1819. He was much respected by his townsmen. The centennial of the incorporation of Windham occurred in 1862. In response to an invitation from the citizens of the town, Gov. John A. Andrew of Massachusetts, a native of Windham, left his pressing business of sending forward troops to the army, and on the Fourth of July he delivered a centennial address to his former fellow citizens. In that address he alluded to Josiah Chute and another — his fellow soldier, in these words: —

But I must mention two men who never should be omitted — these two soldiers of the Revolution, Josiah Chute and John Swett: venerable when first I knew them, yet intelligent and active. Many times and oft, on a pleasant morning like this, have I rode with my mother and listened to the story of events in which they played a part. You know how warmly glows every emotion of the heart when we return to the old family hearthstone. So long as memory bears the recollections of childhood, so long as the earth of Windham is consecrated by the sacred dust of one [his mother] whom no fortunes of life can cause me to forget — so long will her interests and people be dear as I dear to my affectionate memories.

Josiah Chute died October 2, 1834, aged seventy-five years, leaving seven sons and daughters.

How sleep the brave who sink to rest,  
By all their country's wishes blest!

Mr. Chute's son, George W., remained at home, and smoothed his father's pillow in his last days, when the British bullet, which he had carried fifty-five years, caused him pain.

This son, true to the original stock, was a valuable citizen, and spent his life on the father's farm. Here



he substantially walled up a family burial lot, and also a larger one adjoining, which he presented to the town for public use. He died a bachelor, on the twenty-third of November 1882, aged seventy-seven years. By his will he set aside one thousand dollars, to be expended by his executors in the erection of two similar marble monuments in the family burial lot: one to be inscribed to the memory of Thomas Chute, his great-grandfather, and the other to his own memory.

While I was preparing Mr. Chute's will, as he had no descendants, he expressed a wish that I would accept these family mementoes, his great-grandfather's books and papers including the commission as deputy sheriff, one hundred and fifty years old, and his father's muster-rolls of December, 1778. One has his discharge at Peckskill on the back. The other is dated at West Point, January 1, 1779. They are probably duplicates. He authorized me to dispose of them as I thought best for their safe keeping. The rolls are very valuable. Of course it occurred to me that the library of the Maine Historical Society was the proper place for them, where they would be safe and accessible to all. Accordingly I now present them to the Society without reserve.

## THE SIMANCAS MAP OF 1610.

BY REV. HENRY S. BURRAGE.

*Read before the Maine Historical Society, February 26, 1891.*

IN the "Narrative and Critical History of America."<sup>1</sup> Mr. Justin Winsor, in an editorial note, says: "The cartography of New England in the seventeenth century began with the map of Capt. John Smith in 1614." When this sentence was penned the most painstaking researches in England and on the continent, by different persons and in places where it might naturally be expected that such researches would be rewarded, had not brought to light a seventeenth century map of the coast of New England with an earlier date. Such a map, however, has at length been found in the General Archives of Simancas, Spain, and it is now accessible to all interested in our early American history, as it has a place in Alexander Brown's "Genesis of the United States"<sup>2</sup> an exceedingly valuable work published at the close of 1890 by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

But this is not a Spanish map. It is an English map, and it found its way into Spain soon after its preparation, in a noteworthy way. The king of Spain, Philip III., regarded with a jealous eye the efforts of Englishmen to establish colonies in North America. March 8, 1607, he wrote from Madrid to the Spanish ambassador in London, Don Pedro de Zuñiga, as follows: "You will report to me what the

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 3, p. 381.    <sup>2</sup> Vol. 1, p. 457.

English are doing in the matter of Virginia — and if the plan progresses which they contemplated, of sending men there and ships — and thereupon, it will be taken into consideration here, what steps had best be taken to prevent it.”<sup>1</sup> Six days after the date of this letter Philip consulted with his council as to the manner in which these efforts of the English to colonize North America could best be thwarted. Two months later the Spanish minister was directed to ascertain “with great dexterity” the movements of the English in this direction, and he was instructed “to give the king of England to understand” that the government of Spain complained “of his permitting English subjects of his to disturb the seas, coasts and lands of his majesty.” He was also to continue to report whatever he might learn concerning English movements in North America, in order that the necessary remedies might be provided.<sup>2</sup> The Spanish minister was faithful to his instructions, and kept his royal master as well informed concerning the English plans with reference to the occupation of the American coast as it was possible for one in his position, and with the doubtless large means at his disposal. Information was diligently and skilfully gathered and promptly communicated.

The anxiety of the king of Spain at this time was doubtless occasioned by the preparations of the Popham colonists and their patrons; and the movements of the colony were carefully followed. When Sir John Popham died, Zuñiga, under date of August 22,

<sup>1</sup> Genesis of the United States, Vol. 1, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis of the United States, Vol. 1, p. 101.

1607. wrote to the king: "As the chief justice has died, I think this business will stop."<sup>1</sup> a shrewd observation which subsequent events justified. September 10, 1608, Zuñiga wrote to the king: "I have thought proper to send by M. a plan of Virginia [*i. e.* South Virginia, 'Genesis of the United States,' Vol. 1, p. 184] and another of the fort [do., p. 190], which the English have erected there, together with a report given me by a person who has been there."<sup>2</sup> The fort to which reference is here made was Fort St. George at the mouth of the Kennebec. The plan of the fort was carefully drawn and bears the following inscription: "The draught of St. Georges fort erected by Captayne George Popham Esquier one the entry of the famous River of Sagadahock in Virgina taken out by John Hunt, the viii day of october in the yeare of our Lorde, 1607." It is an evidence of the tireless activity of the Spanish ambassador that a plan of this fort should have been secured for the king so soon after its arrival in England and from a member of the expedition. The date upon the plan may have been the date of the sailing of the *Mary* and *John* from the Kennebec on the return voyage to England. It is worthy of notice in this connection that the manuscript of the Popham colony found in the library at Lambeth Palace a few years ago abruptly closes October 6, 1607.

Zuñiga continued to report to the king of Spain until the arrival of his successor, Don Alonso de Velasco, who was appointed Spanish ambassador to

<sup>1</sup>Genesis of the United States, Vol. 1, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup>Genesis of the United States, Vol. 1, p. 183.

England in January, 1610. Velasco seems to have been as watchful and efficient in securing valuable information as was his predecessor. In a letter to the king, dated London, March 22, 1611, he says that since coming to England he had endeavored to ascertain the condition of the people of Virginia, the reasons that induced the English to continue there, and the inconveniences that might follow to Spanish interests because of their occupation of the country. Having found the reports to vary very much, he says: "I have tried to ascertain the truth by means of the persons who have come over in the two ships which have recently arrived, thro the agency of 'Guillermo Monçon,' admiral of this strait, who, as a person of such high authority among sailors, has in secret, and with great skill discovered what follows."<sup>1</sup> The letter concludes with these words: "This king sent last year a surveyor to survey that province, and he returned here about three months ago and presented to him [King James] a plan or map of all that he could discover, a copy of which I send by M." It was not creditable to William Monson that he had become a pensioner of Spain and was willing for Spanish gold to betray the interests of his country. And yet, in so doing, he accomplished a service which later generations will gladly acknowledge. The map which he secured for the Spanish ambassador at length found its way, with the reports of Zuñiga and Velasco, to a place in the General Archives at Simancas, from which, through the Hon. J. L. M. Curry,

<sup>1</sup> Genesis of the United States, Vol. I, p. 455.

late United States minister to Spain, it was secured by Mr. Brown for his "Genesis of the United States." Indeed this map is one of the most valuable of the treasures which Mr. Brown's work contains.

From the above extract from Velasco's letter to Philip III., we learn that this map was prepared in 1610 by a surveyor whom King James had sent to Virginia that year for this purpose. Having accomplished his task the surveyor returned to England late in the year and laid his map before the king. Evidently the map had been prepared with great care, although only in part doubtless from original surveys. Its author is unknown. Mr. Alexander Brown, in his note concerning it, says:—

I am inclined to think that the map was compiled and drawn either by Robert Tyndall or by Capt. Powell. However, I cannot be certain.<sup>1</sup>

And he adds:

I think the map evidently embodies (besides the surveys of Champlain and other foreigners) the English surveys of White, Gosnold, Weymouth, Pring, Hudson, Argall and Tyndall, and possibly others. Strachey, referring to Argall's voyage of June to August, 1610, says he "made good, from forty-four degrees, what Captayne Bartho. Gosnoll and Captayne Waymouth wanted in their discoveries, observing all along the coast, and drawing the plotts thereof, as he steered homewardest, unto our bay." Purchas [Vol. iii, p. 590], in a side note to the narrative of Hudson's voyage along our coast in August, 1609, says, "This agreeth with Robert Tyndall." Tyndall made a plan of James River for the Prince of Wales in 1607, which is now probably lost. He made a chart of James and York rivers in 1608. . . . The North Carolina coast, on this map, was evidently taken, chiefly, from Captain

<sup>1</sup>Genesis of the United States, Vol. 1, p. 458.

John White's survey and drawings. . . . The coast from Cape Charles to about  $41^{\circ}$  north latitude, and up the Hudson River to a little beyond the entrance of the Mohawk, contains only one or two names, and I think was drawn from the recent surveys of Hudson (1609) and Argall (1610). . . . I believe the New England coast of this map shows traces of the surveys of Captains Gosnold, Archer, Pring, Waymouth, and probably of the North Virginia colonists, as well as of Champlaine, and possibly other foreigners.

Unfortunately the maps of these voyagers have not been preserved, with the exception of the map of Champlain. That Gosnold and Pring prepared maps of those parts of the coast that were visited by them is well known. Mr. Baxter has a small Dutch map entitled "Northern Part of Virginia, by Bartholomew Gosnold and Martin Pring," while a note gives the added information that in the preparation of this map the maps of Gosnold and Pring had been "compared with later and more correct maps." Waymouth also prepared a map. Rosier, in the preface to his "Relation" of Waymouth's voyage to the coast of Maine in 1605, refers to the "perfect Geographical map of the country" prepared by Waymouth.

With these and other maps in his possession, the surveyor sent out by King James, adding such information as he was able personally to obtain, executed his task, and the result was a map surprisingly accurate for that early period, especially in its delineation of the coast of southern and northern Virginia.

Very naturally that portion of this map on which is outlined the coast of Maine has the greatest interest to us. Familiar names greet us for the most part, such as Cape Porpus, Sagadahock, Cinebaque (Ken-

nebec), Pamerogat (Pentagoet. — Penobscot), Iles de Mountes Deserts, Ile haute, etc. Monhegan, called St. George, is correctly located, and the multitudinous islands along the coast are largely represented, considering the scale upon which the map is drawn. Such marked features of the landfall as the Camden and Union Mountains are indicated, and a single mountain west of the Kennebec, may be intended to represent Mt. Washington as seen from Small Point. As to the general trend of the coast line the superiority of this Simancas map of 1610 appears when compared with the maps of the same period, as for example with Capt. John Smith's map of 1614, and the Dutch "Figurative Map" of the same year; also with Champlain's larger map of 1632, and other maps of the seventeenth century.

But of especial interest is the bearing which this Simancas map has upon the discussion that has occurred with reference to the places visited by Waymouth in his visit to the coast of Maine in 1605; and the discoveries which Waymouth made at that time.

Hitherto one argument presented by the advocates of the Kennebec theory, the advocates of the St. George's theory have not been able satisfactorily to meet, viz.: that on Capt. John Smith's map of 1614 and on the "Figurative map" of the same year, the St. George's River has no place whatever: while on Champlain's large map of 1632 it hardly attracts attention. The force of this argument is destroyed by the Simancas map of 1610. Here the St. George's River, under the Indian name Tahanock, is delineated



with singular accuracy. The St. George's River has this marked peculiarity, that on either side are large coves by which the breadth of the river is greatly extended. On the coast survey map these coves are designated as Deep Cove, Gay Cove, Turkey Cove, Maple Juice Cove, Otis Cove, Watts' Cove, Cutter's Cove, Broad Cove, and Hyler's Cove. Rosier noted this feature of the river in his "Relation." "There were on both sides," he says, "every half mile very gallant coues;" and Waymouth's "perfect Geographically map," which Rosier mentions, could hardly fail to indicate this noteworthy peculiarity. Certainly the Simancas map does not. On it these many "very gallant coues" are distinctly marked, although of course not with the accuracy of our present careful surveys.

Rosier also makes reference to "the codde" of the river which Waymouth discovered, and up which he sailed in his vessel. Capt. John Foster Williams, who in 1797 examined the coast of Maine with reference to Waymouth's discoveries in 1605, in his report says: "The word 'codde' is not common, but I have often heard it as 'up in the codde of the bay,' meaning the bottom of the bay. I suppose what he calls 'the codde of the river' is a bay in the river." There is such a bay at Thomaston, exactly where from Rosier's description, we should expect to find it; and this bay is indicated on the Simancas map of 1610.

Further, the river that Waymouth discovered at length "trended westward into the maine." So does the St. George's River at Thomaston. Such a trend there is in the Tahanock on the Simancas map of 1610. Moreover, Rosier says that Waymouth, when

he ascended the river the second time, took with him "a crosse to erect at that point." It is a remarkable fact that on the Simancas map, where the St. George's River trends westward, there is the mark of a cross. What is this cross but the cross to which Rosier refers, and which Waymouth erected as a token of English discovery? Its indication on the map may be regarded as very strong evidence that this part of the Simancas map was taken by King James' surveyor from Waymouth's "perfect Geographically map."

It should be added that on the Simancas map Monhegan is designated "I St. George." This was the name given to Monhegan by Waymouth. "The first land we fell with," says Rosier, was "named by vs Saint Georges land." When Waymouth was anchored north of Monhegan, "From hence," says Rosier, "we might discerne the maine land from the west-south-west to the east-north-east, and a great way (as it then seemed, and as we after found it) up into the maine we might discerne very high mountaines." In the direction given mountains are indicated on the Simancas map.

This Simancas map of 1610 may have an equally important bearing upon other historical discussions pertaining to the beginnings of our American history. It was a copy, as Velasco testifies, and it is not a little strange that the original in England should have disappeared so long ago that the memory of it had perished. Its discovery at Simancas at this late day is one over which we may well rejoice out of full hearts: and it cannot fail to have an important place in the cartography of the American coast in the seventeenth century.

## SETTLEMENTS IN MAINE AFTER THE PENOBSCOT EXPEDITION.

FROM MASSACHUSETTS ARCHIVES, VOL. 185, PAGE 359.

*Petition of Inhabitants of Lincoln Co. to Gen'l Court.*

EXTRACTS

dated Boston, Oct. 1st, 1779.

“ The failure of the late expedition to Penobscot has already laid desolate a number of very hopeful settlements in these parts: the inhabitants, men and women, having fled through the wilderness to the western parts of the state, leaving behind them their stock, provisions, crops and all they had; many of them are already arrived in these parts and know not where to lay their heads, being destitute of money and every resource of supply to their families and must cast themselves on the mercy of the country in general or expect to terminate their present calamities by a miserable death; many more are following them in similar circumstances, and if government does not speedily devise some method for the relief of that ruined people the prospect before them is horrible indeed. . . . Nor is the condition of that part of the people yet remaining near the shores in the county much more comfortable than of those who fled; their prospects of sustenance by the fruits of the earth are now cut off & ended: they were engaged in opposing the common enemy when they should have been attending their grain and hay, and hence great quantities were much damaged and not a little totally perished—of the residue very little now remains after supplying the retreating army & the flying families that followed them, and that little is in jeopardy every hour from the wanton depredations of an insolent and triumphant enemy who avows the design of treating the country as a conquered one and its inhabitants as persons taken in actual rebellion: hence many have been compelled to take an impious and profane oath contrary to their consciences, and then driven in like slaves to work at constructing forts, recovering cannon, etc., for the enemy, and in the meanwhile obliged to find their own supplies and subjected to be cudgelled, kicked and abused by every petty officer

set over them. . . . We therefore only beg leave to add that for aught we can see there is the greatest reason to apprehend that what is now suffered by the people near Penobscot will be the common fate of the whole coast of the Counties of Cumberland and Lincoln before the opening of another campaign; the provision already made having hardly a show of intention to defend it; the whole number raised being scarce a man to a mile if equally distributed on the coast and even these are likely to become a grievous burden to the towns that must maintain them, whose stores are utterly inadequate to the wants of their own houses, and without a number of whale-boats the troops as already stationed can never be assembled seasonably at any place to answer any great purpose either for offence or defence.

A very little reflection on the condition of the country invaded, ravaged, in great part desolated and ruined, may suffice to convince an impartial mind, that it will be utterly impossible for its inhabitants to supply as formerly an equal proportion of the public funds: the valuation by which the late tax-bills were regulated cannot be considered as a rule by which to judge of taxable property in that country now when so great a part of it has fallen into the enemy's hands and so much more lost at the late destruction of our fleet. . . . and from the best judgment we are able to form by a pretty general acquaintance with the County of Lincoln, we declare it our belief that all the money in it would not suffice to pay more than one-half of the tax last assessed upon it.

With the firmest confidence then, we refer to the wisdom of the Hon. Court to judge of the policy of laying farther taxes on the people at this time; as we cannot prognosticate without pain the steps that may be taken by a people in their circumstances, deeming themselves abandoned by government to the fury of an enemy left secure of their triumph in the very heart of their country, neglected in their distress, tho' crying for relief to the fathers of the state and driven to desperation by oppressive burdens which neither themselves nor their fathers in their best circumstances were able to bear.

Signed by Sam'l McCobb, James Cargill, Josiah Brewer, Water-

man Thomas, Moses Copeland, Jacob Eaton, Agreeen Crabtree, John Murray, Sam'l Oakman, Sam'l Howard, Reuben Colburn.

(A petition from Selectmen of Winslow, Vassalboro, Wintthrop, and Hallowell was also received Oct. 7, praying to be released from full pay't of tax and stating their inability to meet the demand.)

A Resolve passed Oct. 8th directing the selectmen of towns in Lincoln County to which any inhabitants residing at or near Penobscot had fled, to supply them with necessaries and present their accts. to Gen. Ct. The treasurer of Mass. was directed to stay "execution to the constables of the several towns in the Co. of Lincoln until 3d Wednesday of the next sitting of the Gen. Court."

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LETTER OF JOHN ALLAN TO MASSACHUSETTS COUNCIL, FROM ARCHIVES,  
VOL. 153, PAGE 362.

Indian Encampment, Passamaquoddy, May 28, 1780.

SIR:—I have to acquaint the Honorable Board that I arrived here the 23 inst. in consequence of the movement among the Indians occasioned by the invitation of the enemy and the reports propogated among them to the disadvantage of the states.

I have had several conferences with them during the time, do not find them as usual, tho' I have prevailed with them to continue some time longer till further news from the westward. The enemy have received large supplies on St. Johns: a fort is erected about 70 miles up the river where a truck house is fixed: several other persons under government scattered up and down for the purpose of supplying them. Mr. Franklin and the priest is expected every hour, the latter to continue at the fort up the river. The day after my arrival three Indian Expresses from Penobscot arrived with strings of Wampum to the several tribes Eastward with intelligence that 50 Irroquois were thro' in the winter and desired the eastern

Indians to give a final answer of their determination. In the evening, express from St. Johns from the Micmacs and others on the St. Johns where numbers were collecting for the grand conference on that account and to meet the priest and Franklin. No doubt the Britons are at the head of this to create confusion among the Indians. The great advantage the Britons have by the priest and the large and good supplies, put me in the greatest difficulty how to act: add to this I have no instructions or advice what is to be done with the Indians from the westward.

Mr. Parker who had a quantity of the meat for the Indians is taken and carried into Magabigwaduce, we have not one morsel of meat left, consequently nothing but corn and a little butter to use, as we had meat last winter: there are ten bushels of corn a day used among the Indians, while this difficulty is kept up, and for want of meat we are growing short. No provisions have arrived for any white persons, as to the goods they merely scoff at it, as the British goods are so superior: their furs are selling everywhere, particularly beaver, which they sell at St. Johns: other furs to American fishermen who keep rum for the purpose, and my indigent situation (having but six persons) prevents my apprehending and pursuing such to justice. Indeed, the imposition of the American traders is such that it much discourages the Indians, the Britons dealing much fairer and on more honorable terms, which is supported by the British government, and must say from the appearance of things that those who may continue must be actuated from such principles of virtue rarely to be found at this day.

## HALLOWELL RECORDS.

COMMUNICATED BY DR. W. B. LAPHAM.

[Continued from Page 332.]

Chandler Robbins, son of the Rev. Doctor Chandler Robbins, and Jane Prince, his wife, was born in Plymouth, Massachusetts, August, 19, 17— . Graduated at Harvard College, 1782, came to this town 1791. Married Harriet, daughter of Thomas Lothrop and Lydia Goodwin, his wife, 1792, who was born in said Plymouth. Appointed Register of Probate and a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the county of Kennebec, 1799. Appointed sheriff of said county, 1816. Their children are:—

William Henry, b. Oct. 22, 1795.

Chandler, b. Aug. 21, 1797.

The Chandler first mentioned is of the fifth generation from Nathaniel Robbins who came to New England from Caledonia in Scotland in 1670, whose son Nathaniel was the father of Philemon who was the father of the said Rev. Doctor Robbins.

Nathaniel Dummer, born in Newbury, March 9, 1755, is of the fifth generation in a lineal descent from Richard Dummer, Esq., who came from England with the first settlers of Newbury, November, 1633. The said Nathaniel was the son of Richard, who was the son of Nathaniel, who was the son of Richard who was son of the Richard first mentioned. The first mentioned Nathaniel married Mary, daughter of Joseph Owen of Providence, Rhode Island, who was the widow relict of John Kelton by whom she had one child, viz., Sarah, who married with John Odlin Page of this town). Came from Providence with his family to this town November, 1789. Died, September 15, 1815. Children of Nathaniel and Mary Dummer are:—

Joseph Owen and } born, Mar. 5, 1780.

Judith Greenleaf, } Judith G., d. Mar. 19, 1783.

Gorham, b. Sept. 27, 1782; d. Jan. 2, 1805.

Maria, b. Aug. 7, 1787.

Richard Dummer, son of Richard Dummer and Judith Greenleaf, his wife, was born in Newbury in the Parish of Byfield, county of Essex, May 19, 1757. Married Hannah, daughter of Samuel and Susanna Northend of Rowley, June, 1785. Their children are:—

- Sophia, b. Oct. 2, 1788, in Byfield.
- Judith Greendale, b. Mar. 16, 1792, in Byfield.
- Elizabeth, b. Mar. 1, 1794, in Byfield.
- Susanna Northend, b. Feb. 6, 1796, in Byfield.

Mr. Dummer came with his family to this place October, 1801.

Jeremiah Dummer, son of Richard Dummer and Judith Greenleaf, his wife, was born in Newbury in the parish of Byfield, Married Melitable, daughter of Paul and Mary Mooly of said Byfield. Came to this town to abide. Their children are:—

- Charles, b. Sept. 3, 1793.
- Mary Moody, b. Dec. 15, 1795.
- Hannet, b. Apr. 17, 1798.
- Deborah Elizabeth, b. July 21, 1800.
- Richard William, b. May 6, 1805.
- Jeremiah, b. Sept. 17, 1805.
- Henry Emory, b. Apr. 9, 1808.

Joseph Owen Dummer, son of Nathaniel Dummer, married Judith Greenleaf, daughter of Richard and Hannah Dummer. Their children are:—

- Nathaniel, b. Dec. 30, 1816.
- Richard Cochran, b. Apr. 12, 1819.
- Hannah Elizabeth, b. Dec. 2, 1826.

Edward Cummings, son of Thomas Cummings and Catherine Clary, his wife, was born in the city of Waterford in Ireland August 15, 1786. Came to America in 1800. Married Sophia, daughter of Peter Lemerica of Dresden. Came to this town with his family August 15, 1810. Their children are:—

- Mary, b. Sept. 3, 1807, in Boston.
- Thomas, b. Jan. 25, 1809, in Boston.
- John, b. 1810, d.
- Cecil, b. Jan. 29, 1811, in Hallowell.
- Peter, b. 1813, d.
- Henry, b. May 12, 1816.
- John, b. Dec. 31, 1818.



Daniel Evans 2d, son of George and Lois Williams, his wife, was born in Allenstown, state of New Hampshire, February 22, 1780. Married Philomela, daughter of Levi and Susanna Dearborn of Monmouth, District of Maine, came with his family to this town April 25, 1814. Their children are:—

George, b. Aug. 27, 1804, in Monmouth.

Louisa, b. July 14, 1806, in Monmouth.

John, b. Mar. 8, 1809, in Monmouth.

Daniel, b. Oct. 21, 1811, in Monmouth.

Susan, b. June 16, 1814, in Hallowell.

Julia, b. Dec. 22, 1816.

Gorham, b. Aug. 16, 1819.

John Sewall, son of John Sewall and Joanna Stone, his wife, was born in York, District of Maine, September 13, 1756. May 19, 1791 married Eunice, daughter of William and Abigail Grow of the same town, who was at that time the widow relict of William Emerson of said York, and then had four children, viz:—

Edward, b. Apr. 24, 1776.

Oliver, b. Oct. 23, 1781; d. Dec. 1814.

Sophia, b. Apr. 19, 1784.

Lucy, b. June, 1786; d. Jan. 3, 1842.

Joanna Sewall, only child of said John, was born March 9, 1792. Came with his family to this town October 8, 1797. The first mentioned John, is of the fifth generation in a lined descent from Henry Sewall, who came from England in 1634 and settled in Newbury. Samuel and Nicholas, sons of John, and grandsons of said Henry, settled in York about the year 1708. From them descended the numerous race of Sewalls scattered over the District of Maine. Samuel was the grandfather of the first mentioned John.

Moses Sewall, son of Moses Sewall and Miriam Stone, his wife, was born in York. He was grandson of Samuel Sewall. February 10, 1787, married Ruth, daughter of Nathaniel and Sarah Barrell of said York. Came with his family to this town 1787. Their children are:—

Sophia, b. May 16, 1788.

Benjamin, b. Jan. 29, 1790.

Charlotte, b. Jan. 24, 1792.

Elizabeth, b. Feb. 19, 1794.

Moses, b. Mar. 24, 1796.

Mary, b. June 24, 1798.

Mr. Moses Sewall died March 24, 1798, and Mrs. Ruth Sewall married Mr. John Arnold, by whom she had two sons, viz.:—

Nathaniel Barrell, b. Mar. 24, 1805.

Henry Augustus, b. Mar. 22, 1807.

David Sewall, brother of Moses, was born August 16, 1766. Came to this town to settle 1784. September 7, 1793, married Hannah, daughter of Nathaniel and Sarah Barrell of York, who was born January 28, 1774. Their children are:—

David, b. Oct. 19, 1794; d. Oct. 5, 1795.

Mary, b. Mar. 3, 1796; d. Aug. 17, 1796.

A daughter still-born, Feb. 10, 1798.

George Barrell, b. Jan. 29, 1799.

David, b. July 17, 1801; d. Jan. 8, 1812.

Rufus, b. Dec. 31, 1802.

Edward, b. Oct. 15, 1804.

John, b. Mar. 11, 1806.

Charles Albert, b. Dec. 26, 1807.

Hannah Barrell, b. Jan. 15, 1811; d. July 9, 1811.

Olive Maria, b. Feb. 20, 1814.

Charlotte Sophia, b. Sept. 22, 1816.

Stephen Sewall, brother of Moses and David, was born September, 1768. Married Abigail, daughter of John H. Bartlett and Mary Moulton, his wife, of Kittery. Settled at Bath. Mr. Stephen Sewall died at Bath. Their children are:—

Doreas, b. Mar. 17, 1789.

William, b. Sept. 17, 1790.

Miriam, b. Feb. 18, 1792.

Stephen, b. Feb. 13, 1794.

John Kinnavan, son of Martin Kinnavan and Bridget Mayo, his wife, was born in the county of Mayo, in Ireland, June, 1786. Came to America 1807. Came to this town July 19, 1811. Married Mary, daughter of —— Hunt of Ireland, who was at that time the widow relict of —— Ronen and then had one child, viz.:—

John Ronen, b. Jan. 1809, in Boston.

Children of said John Kinnavan and Mary his wife.

Martin, b. June 15, 1814, in Hallowell.

Charles Freeman, son of Barnabas Freeman and Hannah Hewitt, his wife, was born in Waldoborough, September 30, 1782. Married Lois, daughter of Andrew Kimball of Belgrade. Came with his family to this town October 24, 1815. Their children are:—

John Lyman, b. Mar. 5, 1808, in Vassalboro.

Willard, b. Apr. 27, 1810, in Vassalboro.

Otis, b. Jan. 17, 1811, in Vassalboro.

Thomas Waterman, b. Dec. 24, 1813, in D.

Susan Ann, b. June 19, 1816, in Hallowell.

Charles, b. Feb. 26, 1819.

Charles, b. Oct. 11, 1821.

Louisa, b. Sept. 12, 1824.

Benjamin White was born in 1728; came with his family from Roxbury to this town in 1762, and settled on the east side of the river. Their children are:—

Moses, b. Jan. 22, 1751, in Roxbury.

Elizabeth, b. Oct. 14, 1752.

Mary, b. July 20, 1754.

Benjamin, b. June 12, 1756.

Sarah, b. Aug. 1, 1758.

Aaron, b. March 1, 1760.

William, b. Feb. 22, 1762.

Jeremiah, b. Nov. 2, 1763, in Hallowell.

Prudence, b. Dec. 2, 1766.

Rebecca, b. May 24, 1768.

Hannah, b. Oct. 15, 1770.

Lydia, b. June 30, 1772.

Patty, b. June 7, 1776.

Benjamin White, son of the above Benjamin, was born in Roxbury, June 12, 1756. Came with his father's family to this town 1762. Married Silence, daughter of — Baker of Dorchester, who was born September 15, 1759. Their children are:—

James, b. Oct. 6, 1784.

Mary, b. Sept. 1, 1787.

Lois, b. April 11, 1789.

Lydia, b. Oct. 10, 1791.

Lucy, b. Dec. 8, 1794.

Joseph, b. March 12, 1797.

Hannah, b. June 1, 1800.

James White, son of Benjamin and Silence White, married Dorothy, daughter of ——— Kimball of Readfield, who was born October 6, 1784. Their children are: —

Charles, b. Jan. 10, 1815.  
Franklin, b. Aug. 14, 1817.

James Kenney, son of Patrick Kenney and Molly Perkins his wife, was born in Edgecomb, county of Lincoln, August 26, 1770. Came to this town July, 1780, and was bound as an apprentice by the selectmen of Vassalboro to David Jackson, late of Hallowell, deceased. Married Nancy, daughter of Eliphalet and Joanna Gilman of this town. Their children are: —

Woodburn, b. Oct. 23, 1792; d. Feb. 25, 1816.  
Nancy, b. April 27, 1794.  
Eliphalet Gilman, b. March 24, 1796.  
Sally, b. April 21, 1798; d. Aug. 5, 1802.  
Maria, b. Sept. 9, 1800.  
James, b. Jan. 15, 1803, in Gardiner.  
Lutherasa, b. Oct. 3, 1805, in Hallowell; d. July 5, 1815.  
Joshua, b. Jan. 11, 1807, in Gardiner.  
Lydia, b. Aug. 26, 1810.  
William, b. Feb. 1, 1813, in Hallowell.  
Ephraim, b. Dec. 17, 1815.  
Joanna, b. July 19, 1818.

James Goodwin, son of Andrew Goodwin and Hannah Stackpole his wife, was born in Pittston (now Gardiner) February 22, 1786. Came with his father's family to this town. Married Remember, daughter of ——— Nye of Sandwich. Their children are: —

Sophronia, b. July 31, 1804.  
Oliver, b. March, 1807.  
Emma Jane, b. Feb., 1809.  
Julia Octavia, b. Feb., 1813.  
James, b. Jan., 1821.

Mr. James Goodwin died February 17, 1821. His death was occasioned by a limb falling from a tree on his head, which so fractured his skull that he died the day following.

John Hesketh, son of John and Mary Hesketh, was born in Knowsley in the county of Lancashire, in the kingdom of Great Britain, May 12, 1771. Came with his family to America May 4,

1797. Came to this town May, 1798. Married Margaret, daughter of Hedge Syers of Fow, in the county aforesaid. John Hesketh died June 8, 1845. Their children are : —

- Mary, b. Dec. 3, 1795; d. Aug. 29, 1802.
- Ann Lennar, b. July 13, 1797.
- John, b. Dec. 27, 1799; d. Aug. 17, 1802.
- William, b. Mar. 14, 1802.
- John Kerley, b. Aug. 20, 1804.
- Mary Syers, b. Oct. 19, 1806.
- Robert, b. June 5, 1809.
- Thomas, b. April 13, 1811; d. July 18, 1832.
- Margaret Ann, b. Dec. 2, 1813.
- Jane Maria, b. May 27, 1819; d. July 15, 1836.

George Gardiner, was born in the kingdom of Great Britain March 19, 1766. Came to this town January, 1794. Married Martha, daughter of William and Mary Baxter of Hailburn, county of Cheshire. Their children are : —

- Mark, b. Feb. 10, 1789.
- Mary, b. June 24, 1792.
- Luke, b. Oct. 15, 1793.
- Aliza, b. Sept. 9, 1795.

Capt. George Gardiner died May 11, 1839.

David Day, brother of Daniel Day, was born June 3, 1796. Came to reside in this town 1794. Married Abigail, daughter of Samuel Lord of Ipswich. Their children are : —

- William Lord, b. Jan. 16, 1803.
- David Goodhue, b. Feb. 6, 1806.

Mrs. Abigail Day died May, 1812, and Mr. David Day married Lucretia Rich of Bath, June 4, 1820. She was born February 25, 1784, in Ipswich, Massachusetts. Their children are : —

- Abigail L., b. May 12, 1821.
- Samuel Henry, b. June 3, 1824.
- Lucretia Ann, b. Nov. 10, 1827.

Gideon Farrell, son of Josiah and Mary Farrell, was born in Brimfield, county of Hampshire, October 30, 1779. Married Sally, daughter of Isaac and Hannah Moore of Western in the county of Worcester, Massachusetts, who was born in Plymouth County in

the town of Hanover, Massachusetts, June 23, 1783. Came to this town April, 1806. Mr. Gideon Farrell died January 18, 1844. Their children are : —

- Mary Moore, b. Aug. 18, 1802, in Western.
- Frances Elizabeth, b. Nov. 25, 1805, in Portland.
- Sarah Ann, b. Dec. 8, 1807.
- Charles Gideon, b. Sept. 30, 1810.
- Hannah Moore, b. April 6, 1813.
- George Washington, b. Dec. 17, 1815.
- Lewis Edwin, b. Dec. 7, 1818.
- Isaac Eugene, b. Sept. 19, 1821.
- Ellen,        } b. Mar. 26, 1824.
- Louisa,       }

Benjamin Dearborn, son of Levi Dearborn and Anne Haven his wife, was born in North Hampton, state of New Hampshire, December 17, 1786. Came to reside in this town September, 1807. Married Mary Anne, daughter of Joseph and Mary Haven of Boston. Their children are : —

- Julia, b. Jan. 18, 1819.
- Eunice, b. Jan. 1, 1822.

Samuel Smith was born in Exeter, state of New Hampshire. Married Hannah, daughter of Jonathan Young and Abigail Scribner, his wife, of said Exeter. Came to this town with their family, February, 1793. Their children are : —

- Abigail, b. Jan. 5, 1779, in Gilmanton, N. H.
- Sally, b. July 5, 1782, in Gilmanton.
- John, b. May 5, 1786, in Gilmanton.
- Samuel, b. Aug. 18, 1789, in Gilmanton.
- Susan, b. Sept., 1791, in Gilmanton.
- Hannah, b. Mar. 14, 1794, in Hallowell.

## PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, JUNE 24, 1896.

The Annual Meeting was held at Brunswick in the Cleveland recitation room at 2 P. M.

The President, Mr. James P. Baxter, in the chair.

Mr. Moses A. Safford was appointed Secretary of the meeting.

The members present were: —

Messrs. Charles E. Allen, Charles F. Allen, J. P. Baxter, John Marshall Brown, Henry S. Burrage, Horace H. Burbank, Samuel C. Belcher, Edward P. Burnham, Hubbard W. Bryant, Henry L. Chapman, Samuel F. Dike, L. A. Emery, Charles J. Gilman, Samuel F. Humphrey, Henry Ingalls, Henry Johnson, Fritz H. Jordan, James M. Larrabee, George T. Little, Hiram K. Morrell, John A. Peters, Parker M. Reed, Walter H. Sturtevant, Asbury C. Stillphen, Joseph Williamson, Joseph Wood, Marshall Pierce, of California, a Corresponding Member.

The record of the last Annual Meeting was read by the Recording Secretary, Mr. Bryant, and approved. The Secretary read also his annual report as Librarian and Curator, and the same was accepted.

The annual report of the Treasurer was read by Mr. Fritz H. Jordan, and it was accepted to be placed on file.

Mr. Joseph Williamson, as Corresponding Secretary and Biographer, read his annual reports which were accepted to be placed on file.

A report of the doings of the Standing Committee for the past year was read by the Secretary.

Rev. Dr. Burrage, on the part of the Publication Committee, made a verbal report on the extra work done in the library during the past year and suggested a continuance of the indexing of pamphlets and manuscripts.

Mr. M. A. Safford presented a copy of the record of the organization of the York Historical Society, and Mr. Bryant read a report from the Lincoln County Historical Society.

*Resolved.* That the publications of this Society be furnished hereafter to the auxiliary historical societies.

The President then read a letter from Dr. George A. Wheeler of Castine, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements for the celebration of the centennial of the incorporation of the town, inviting the members of the Society to attend the exercises of the celebration on the ninth day of July, next, and it was

*Resolved.* That the next Field Day excursion of the Society be made to Castine on the date specified in Dr. Wheeler's letter.

The following Committee of Arrangements were appointed by the chair: Rev. Dr. Burrage, Joseph Williamson and Fritz H. Jordan

The President then appointed the following a Committee to nominate a Board of Officers for the coming year:—

Edward P. Burnham, Samuel F. Humphrey, Hiram K. Morrell.

On motion of Rev. Dr. Burrage it was

*Resolved.* That the biographical notices of deceased members, furnished by the Biographer, be printed as a part of the Proceedings.



The Nominating Committee having reported that they had agreed upon the same Board of Officers for the coming year on motion of Mr. Stilphen it was

*Voted*, That Mr. Burnham cast the vote for the present Board of Officers and having done so the following were declared elected:—

For *President*, James P. Baxter.

“ *Vice-President*, Rufus K. Sewall.

“ *Treasurer*, Fritz H. Jordan.

“ *Corresponding Secretary and Biographer*, Joseph Williamson.

“ *Recording Secretary, Librarian and Curator*, Hubbard W. Bryant.

“ *Standing Committee*, Rev. Henry S. Burrage, of Portland, Professor Henry L. Chapman, of Brunswick, John Marshall Brown, of Falmouth, Edward P. Burnham, of Saco, Samuel C. Belcher, of Farmington, Henry Ingalls, of Wiscasset, Charles E. Nash, of Augusta.

The following candidates for resident membership having been duly nominated in advance of the Annual Meeting, were balloted for and unanimously elected:—

Frank W. Hovey, of Pittsfield.

John Owen Patten, of Bath.

Herbert Payson, of Portland.

The following were elected Corresponding Members:—

Robert Hallowell Gardiner, of Boston.

Benjamin Vaughan, of Cambridge.

Robert C. Winthrop, Junior, of Boston.

Henry Youle Hind, of Windsor, Nova Scotia.

Robert Goldthwaite Carter, of Washington.

On motion of Professor Chapman it was

*Voted*, That it is the sense of this meeting that any expense attending the arranging and cataloguing of the pamphlets belonging to the Society meets with the approbation of the Society.

Professor Chapman also gave notice of the following proposed amendment to the By-Laws, to come up for action at the next Annual Meeting :—

#### NOTICE OF PROPOSED AMENDMENT.

To amend Section 4 of the By-Laws by inserting before the words " may be elected " etc., the clause " or who have been resident members for a period of not less than thirty years : " — so that the whole section shall read as follows :

" Persons, whether residents of the state or not, who shall have attained an eminent distinction in history or kindred subjects, or shall have done eminent service in promoting the objects of this Society, or who have been resident members for a period of not less than thirty years, may be elected honorary members with the rights and privileges of corresponding members."

On motion of Mr. Burnham, it was

*Resolved*, That the next Annual Meeting be called at 2 P. M. on the date to be fixed by the Standing Committee.

Adjourned.

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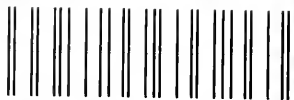








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