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MAJOR JOHN LILLIE
AND
THE LILLIE FAMILY
OF BOSTON.

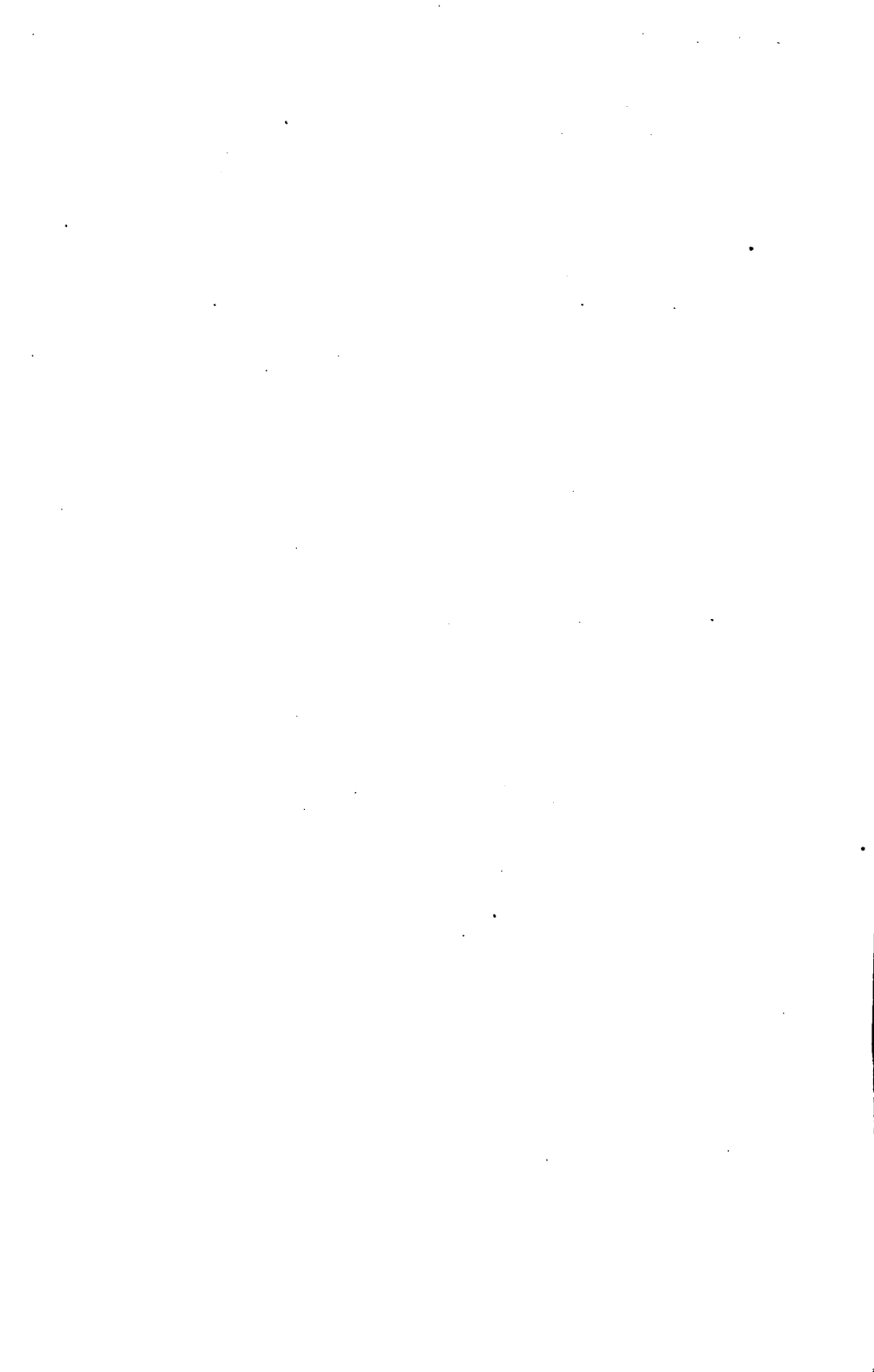
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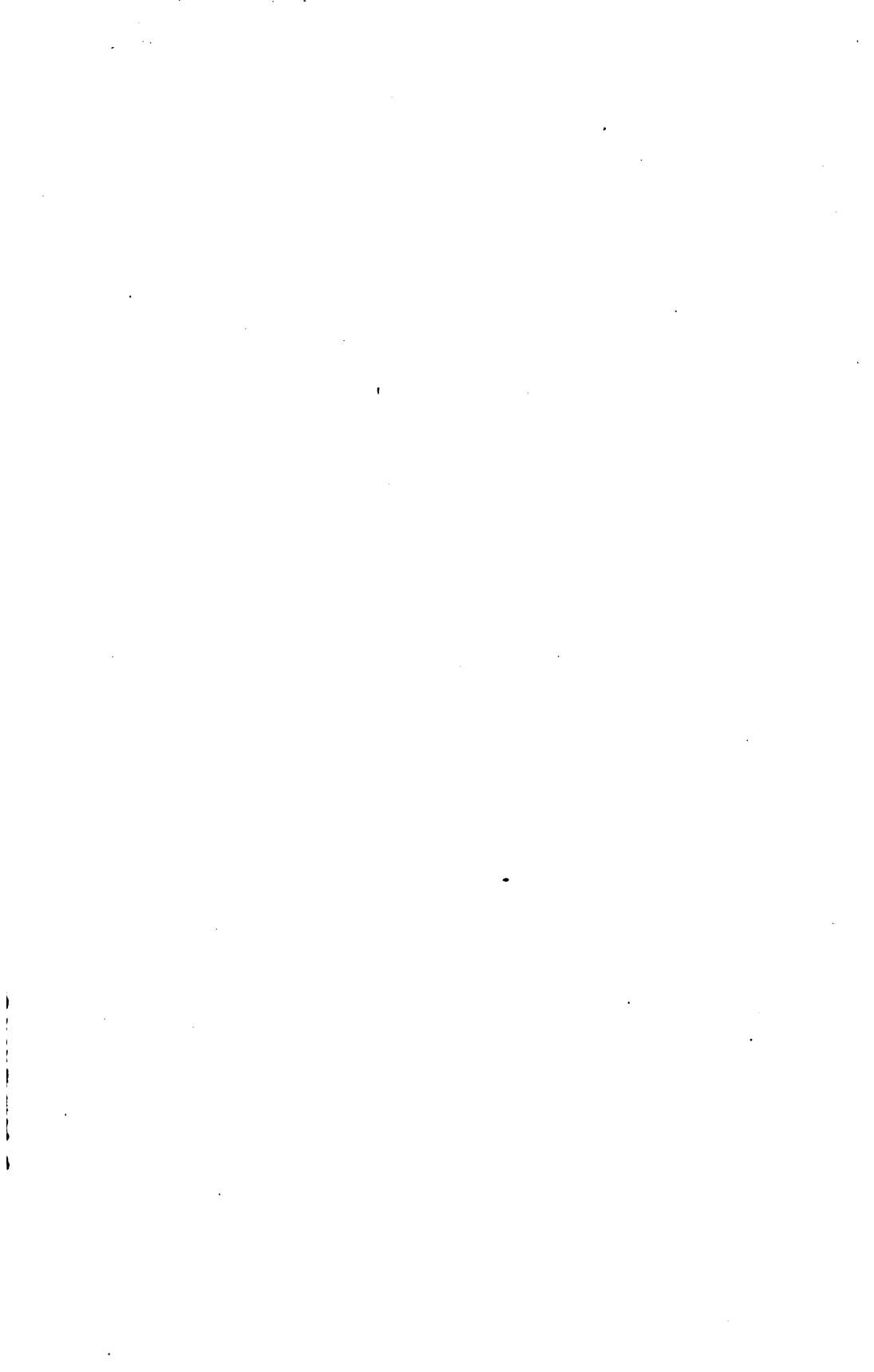














John Lillie

MAJOR JOHN LILLIE.

1755-1801.

THE

LILLIE FAMILY OF BOSTON.

1663-1896.

BY

EDWARD LILLIE PIERCE.

REVISED EDITION.

CAMBRIDGE:

JOHN WILSON AND SON.

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NOTE.

THE preparation of this Memoir and Pedigree has involved more labor than appears at first sight. It was undertaken for these reasons:—

1. To perpetuate the honorable memory of the brave soldier of the Revolution whose name is its title.

2. To illustrate, in some degree, the annals of the town of Milton, the ancient residence of my maternal ancestors, my own cherished home for a long period, and the birth-place of all my children.

3. To put in shape the scattered materials of family history and descent, so as to gratify a praiseworthy—or, at least, an innocent—curiosity in those who inherit the name or blood of the original progenitor of their stock in Boston.

It deserves mention that the late Dr. Estes Howe, of Cambridge, not long before his death in 1887, undertook to trace the Lillie pedigree, beginning with some notes which I was glad to place in his hands. He was drawn to the investigation by the fact of his wife's descent from Mrs. Anna Howard, sister of Major Lillie. He made industrious researches, but unfortunately failed to complete his work, leaving his materials in an unarranged and unfinished state, so that they could serve only to suggest the sources and true lines of inquiry. He had gone far enough, however, to fix the line of ascent, and to establish connections by marriage with other families. What gratified him most in his search was, that, being on his mother's side a

descendant of the Hutchinsons, he had discovered the blood relation between them and the Lillies, — thus revealing, what was unknown to him before, that himself and his wife were related not only by marriage but by consanguinity. It is my regret that he did not live to complete an investigation for which his historical tastes well fitted him.

The Lillie family, appearing in Boston at an early period and remaining there, the materials for its history are found largely in the town records, the Probate Office, the Registry of Deeds, the records of the old churches, and — what has only very recently become accessible — the court files of Suffolk County, now permanently arranged in volumes, and carefully indexed. These and other sources, indicated in the course of this Memoir, have been diligently explored.

Streets, places, churches, and records referred to in this account may be presumed to be of Boston and Suffolk County unless otherwise indicated.

EDWARD LILLIE PIERCE.

MILTON, MASS., May 1, 1896.

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MAJOR JOHN LILLIE.

JOHAN LILLIE, son of John (a mariner) and Abigail (Breck) Lillie, was born in Boston, July 18, 1755.¹ Through his parents he was connected with well-known families of the town,—with the Hutchinsons on his father's side, and with the Brecks, Shaws, and Crufts on his mother's.² His few letters which have been preserved show him, by their style and penmanship, to have received the best education, including the common branches and mathematics, then attainable in Boston and vicinity outside Harvard College. His father dying when he was a child, he passed much of his boyhood and early manhood at the home of his maternal uncle, Samuel Breck, and acquired a mercantile training in the counting-room of that well-known merchant.³ It was a very disturbed condition of affairs when he was entering on manhood, and it is altogether likely that he did not take up any regular occupation before beginning his career as a soldier.⁴

¹ There is no contemporaneous record of his birth; but the true date is believed to be as above, though that of 1753 was entered in a family Bible thirty years after his death.

² He is to be distinguished from a contemporary who was not a relative,—John Sweetser Lillie, a merchant. See Shurtleff's "Topographical and Historical Description of Boston," pp. 620-623.

³ Father of Samuel Breck, author of the "Recollections."

⁴ The statement that he learned a cooper's trade appears not to be well founded. It is not confirmed by any record, and is in conflict with family traditions.

Young as he was when the Revolutionary War began, John Lillie had already shown a military instinct in joining Paddock's artillery company.¹ It would not have been surprising if this fatherless youth had been led by the example of his uncle Theophilus to the support of the Crown; but he chose rather to take his place with the Patriots, among whom were his kinsmen Breck and Shaw. He enlisted in the Continental army as soon as it was formed. His service began May 1, 1775, with a second lieutenancy in Colonel Richard Gridley's regiment, or battalion of artillery. He is stated to have been in Morton's company of that regiment,² though in the next month he appears to have been with Edward Burbeck's company. It does not appear that his company was in the battle of Bunker Hill,³ but he undoubtedly served during the siege of Boston. He served with this body till December 10, 1775, when he became second lieutenant in Knox's regiment, being promoted to a first lieutenancy in August, 1776. He was commissioned January 1, 1777, captain-lieutenant in Colonel John Crane's regiment of artillery, then forming, and made captain April 21, 1780, to take rank from November 1, 1778. With this regiment he remained till he was made aide-de-camp to Major-General Knox, May 1, 1782, a position which he continued to hold till the end of hostilities. He was transferred to a corps of artillery, June 17, 1783, and served in it till November 3 of that year.⁴ His active service, continued during the war, was mostly as an

¹ Life and Correspondence of Henry Knox, p. 128.

² This is so stated in the Memorials of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, p. 330, but upon what authority is not known.

³ Frothingham's Siege of Boston, p. 184. Only three companies—Gridley's, Trevett's, and Callender's—were engaged in the battle.

⁴ The authorities for this summary are Heitman's "Historical Register of the Officers of the Continental Army;" Memorials of the

officer of Colonel John Crane's third artillery regiment, the details of which appear more fully in his own letters hereafter given. Of this regiment it has been said that it was "officered chiefly of those who had been trained under Paddock, Gridley, and Knox, — a corps not exceeded in discipline, valor, and usefulness by any in the service. It was principally employed with the main army, and near the person of the commander-in-chief, and was relied on as an essential auxiliary in the most important battles. No military organization in that army participated in so many eventful scenes, or won more laurels."¹

When Captain Lillie became one of General Knox's staff, the capture of Cornwallis's army had taken place, and active operations had been mostly suspended. Knox was in 1782-83 stationed at New Windsor, on the Hudson, where also was his wife (born Flucker, of Boston), who was always the leader of military society whenever she appeared in it. Major Lillie became intimate with the General's family, and was conspicuous in the festivities of the camp. He had remarkable social qualities, which made him welcome everywhere. He had then an opportunity to see much of Washington, who was at Newburgh, near by. He was doubtless, in company with Knox and Major Samuel Shaw (another aide-de-camp of Knox), a witness of the scene at Newburgh, March 15, 1783, when Washington appeared in the midst of his officers, seeking to calm their impatience and revive their patriotism. He entered New York the next November with Knox, who received the surrender of the city; and there can be

Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, p. 330; the Massachusetts Archives, deposited at the State House; and General Henry Knox's Life and Correspondence, pp. 131, 139.

¹ Memorials of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, 1890, p. 151.

no doubt that he witnessed the parting of the commander-in-chief with his beloved officers at Fraunces' tavern, and his affectionate embrace of Knox.

The following certificate was given to Major Lillie by Washington under date of December 1, 1783:—

Whereas, Captain John Lillie hath behaved with great propriety during his military service, I have therefore thought proper to grant this certificate, thereby making known that the said Captain Lillie entered the army as a second lieutenant of artillery the 1st of May, 1775; that he was appointed to a first lieutenancy in the year 1776, to a captain-lieutenancy in 1777, and in August, 1780, was promoted to be a captain. He was also appointed aid-de-camp to Major-General Knox on the first day of May, 1782. In all which several stations and capacities I do hereby further certify and make it known that the aforesaid Captain Lillie has conducted himself on all occasions with dignity, bravery, and intelligence. Given under my hand and seal this 1st December, 1783.

G^o WASHINGTON.

Afterwards visiting Virginia, Major Lillie turned aside from his route to call at Mount Vernon on Washington, with whom he had sustained friendly relations during the war. Major Lillie's highest recorded commission was that of captain; but in the latter part of his service, and particularly while with Knox, he had the rank of major. Knox himself, in existing papers, gives him that title. Samuel Shaw, another aid of the General, although only a captain, had likewise the rank of major of brigade.¹

Major Lillie's letters to his family have not been preserved.² A few of his letters from 1782 to 1798 are found in Knox's correspondence, now deposited in the

¹ Journals of Samuel Shaw, p. 73.

² Copies of a few of his letters (made by himself), and other letters to or concerning him, have been discovered since the above sketch was put in type. See Appendix.

archives of the New England Historical Genealogical Society.¹ This correspondence shows him to have been at New Windsor on the Hudson, July 1, 1782, and at Newburgh, March 25, 1783. He was, June 14, 1783, at Philadelphia, where he had made some purchases for the General and Mrs. Knox; and on the 17th he announces that he is to start for Virginia the next day with General Lincoln. In the same letter, he notes the arrival of Mrs. General Greene from South Carolina.

The correspondence of Major Samuel Shaw testifies to Captain Lillie's capacity and courage in the field. Writing to his father just after the battle of Brandywine from "Camp near Schuylkill," September 13, 1777, he says: "Please also to tell Mrs. Lillie² that John is safe after being in as much fire as a salamander would choose. Both Captain Randall, in whose company he is, and himself behaved with great spirit." Again writing from New Windsor, May 13, 1781, to his father on the subject of his brother Nathaniel's wish to join the army he says: "I propose placing him with Captain Lillie, whose reputation as an officer is second to none of his rank in service." He wrote to his brother the same day: "To the pleasure of seeing my good friend Lillie was added that of receiving your letter. . . . Under the guidance of Captain Lillie I think you cannot fail of getting a competent knowledge of duty; and I am sure your own good qualities and his friendship for your brother will induce him to manifest the utmost attention to your welfare."³

¹ Vols. ix. 22; xii. 47, 129, 156, 162; xxv. 157; xxix. 57, 151; xl. 93, 112, 125, 138; xli. 126; xlix. 95.

² Captain Lillie's mother, then a widow, afterwards wife of Samuel Harris.

³ Journals of Major Samuel Shaw, pp. 36, 91, 92-93.

The following letter was written by Major Lillie from Milton, July 18, 1799, to General Samuel Smith, M. C. from Maryland. The verity of its statements is tested by the fact that General Smith, a comrade in arms, would at once have detected any exaggeration. It is in purport and expression similar to the one he wrote from Milton, April 30, 1799, to President Adams, then in Quincy, from which the words inserted in brackets are taken. It was of this letter that the President wrote May 7, 1799, "I own I am not able to read such histories without emotion."¹

"I . . . recollect with great pleasure having fought with you often in the same field, near you, and bore with the same fortitude the hardships and misfortunes that the incidents of war called us to encounter. It happened to be my lot to be with that gallant regiment from Maryland commanded then by that worthy, brave soldier Colonel Smallwood, to see it waste away by fatigues and hard fightings in defending their country. Too well and with pain do I recollect many of the valuable gentlemen of that corps falling by our sides; and it almost seems as if we were the chosen few designated as targets for the enemy to shoot at. But, thank God! some few of us still live to repeat the tale of events, and condole with each other on the past catastrophe. You will think this letter something singular and novel, but having accidentally heard you had named me to the President of the U. S. upon some occasion as a military character in those terms that were flattering to me, gratitude demands an acknowledgment of your goodness, and [I] name the following little incidents to endeavor in some measure to do justice to your recommendation.

"If my services in the action on Long Island² and assisting in the retreat; if with six men in a small boat, after the evacuation of Governor's Island by our troops, I went over, unspiked

¹ See *post*, p. 30.

² August 29, 1776. "Lossing's "Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution," ii. 813, note 4, where it is mentioned that Washington sent Major Crane of the artillery (under whom Captain Lillie was serving) to annoy a British man-of-war.

some of the cannon, fired upon the 'Roebuck' of forty-four guns [which lay under the Battery], obliging her to slip her cables and retire to Staten Island, by which means we went over in the night with an hundred men, and brought off all the guns [cannon] and stores to New York; ¹ if the service performed [by me] with two twelve-pounders [only], in cannonading the ship 'Rose' [lying in the East River] in the open field when commanded by Commodore Wallis [and obliged her to move from her moorings], was of utility to our cause; ² if by assisting with two six-pounders in defending Chatterton's Hill, in front of the White Plains [with General McDougall], four hours in the presence of the whole English army, where you acted well your part, and where so many brave gentlemen of your regiment fell by our sides; ³ if on our retreat through the mire of New Jersey [in rain and tempestuous weather], bootless and scarcely a shoe, ⁴ when the soldiers were

¹ Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society, "Campaign of 1776," p. 300, where it is said: "Governor's Island was evacuated on the morning of the retreat from Long Island, but the enemy failed to take possession for two days. The interval was improved by the Americans in carrying off all except the heavy pieces to New York in the night time. . . . The 'Roebuck' alone, as already stated, could work its way along far enough to send some harmless long-range shots at the Red Hook fort."

² Captain Wallace is referred to. This was probably on September 5. The above quoted "Memoirs," pp. 230, 231, state: "On the night of the 3d September the frigate 'Rose,' of thirty-two guns, sailed up the East River, convoying thirty boats and running through the fire of our guns at the Grand Battery, the shipyards, and Corlears Hook, anchored close into Wallabout Bay, where on the 5th our artillerymen briskly cannonaded her."

³ October 28, 1776. Lossing, ii. 822, 823. Lillie's correspondent Smith was at this time in Smallwood's Maryland Regiment which bore a conspicuous part in the action.

⁴ November 20, 1776—December 8, 1776. Irving, in his "Life of Washington," ii. 419, speaks of the retreat "with a handful of men, weary, wayworn, dispirited, without tents, without clothing, many of them barefooted, exposed to wintry weather, and driven from post to post by a well-clad, well-fed, triumphant force, tricked out in all the glittering bravery of war."

so disheartened that a whole brigade of militia to whom I was annexed deserted me in one night, leaving my artillery without protection except a small band of veterans which with some address and persuasion I kept together;¹ if on that memorable, that most important night for America, when her liberty or bondage was vibrating by a silken thread, I did my duty at the attack on Trenton [in taking the corps of Hessians],— it was that night which may almost be said sealed the independence of our country;² if in the advance of the [little shattered] army to [at the attack on] Princeton, almost bare-footed, over the frozen ground, where the brave General Mercer fell within six feet of my side in the first of the attack;³ if at Chad's Ford on the Brandywine River I sustained the heat of the action and brought off my artillery safe;⁴ if on that dark, dismal night at the Paoli [on the Lancaster Road] with General Wayne and [our detachment being about] twelve hundred men, three hundred of whom were massacred [in one hour by a party of two thousand commanded by General Grey],— at the recollection of which the eye of humanity must ever weep,⁵— I brought off my artillery through morasses and woods, after having once been surrounded by the enemy [of which they afterwards boasted in their public prints I had surrendered to them in the combat]; if being in front of the column with General Wayne, in the attack on Germantown,⁶ where we drove the grenadiers and

¹ Historians pass lightly over the unsoldier-like conduct of some of the American troops at this period, most if not all of them from the Middle States.

² December 25–26, 1776. Lossing, ii. 227–229; Bancroft, ix. 229–235. The American victory at Trenton was all that Captain Lillie claimed for it. It was a critical moment in the war.

³ January 3, 1777. Lossing, ii. 234–237; Bancroft, ix. 247–250.

⁴ September 11, 1777. Lossing, ii. 377–386; Bancroft, ix. 395–399. Major Shaw wrote, two days afterwards, to his father that in this action Captain Lillie had been “in as much fire as a salamander would choose,” and had “behaved with great spirit.” *Ante*, p. 11.

⁵ September 20, 1777. Lossing, ii. 369–373.

⁶ October 4, 1777. Lossing, ii. 314–320.

guards nearly three miles [till we were ordered to halt],¹ I supported the character of a soldier through the day; if on that melting Sunday, in addition to my other duties, at Monmouth I took the first prisoner by single combat, — a sergeant of grenadiers, with his arms, — and brought him to General Lee, from whom we received the earliest information of the enemy's position and strength;² if at the close of eight years' service, as far as I know my own heart and actions, I sheathed a sword without a tarnish by dishonor, that had been the companion in my toils during that period; if still retaining an inflexible attachment for my country, its Constitution and its laws, with a desire still to defend it [when necessary] against all its enemies; — if there is any merit in those small transactions, I only claim my little share by having done the duty assigned me on the theatre of our late war."

The artillery, while a very effective arm of the service, was comparatively small in numbers; and its officers were brought closely into relations with their superiors of high rank. Captain Lillie was under Knox in the campaigns in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. He was under the immediate eye of Washington in the retreat from Long Island, the battle at White Plains, the retreat through New Jersey, and the battles at Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth. At two important points he was with McDougall. At Chatterton's Hill he was under the immediate command of Hamilton, and was with him also at Monmouth. He was

¹ Knox advised against the pursuit. Lossing, ii. 317.

² June 28, 1778. Lossing, ii. 355-364. This was one of the hardest fought battles of the war, ending in a British retreat. Washington, after the battle, in a general order, wrote that he "can with pleasure inform General Knox and the officers of the artillery that the enemy has done them the justice to acknowledge that no artillery could have been better served than ours." *Memorials of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati* (1890) p. 304.

with Wayne at Paoli, Brandywine, and Monmouth. He was with Greene at Trenton, Germantown, and Monmouth. At Germantown he was with Pulaski, and at Monmouth as well as at Brandywine he was with Lafayette.

General Lafayette gave Major Lillie a dress-sword, which is now in the possession of his grandson, Henry L. Pierce. Washington, it is said, also gave him one; but this souvenir cannot now be traced.

Major Lillie was an original member of the Society of the Cincinnati, organized under Knox's lead, May 13, 1783, at the headquarters of Baron Steuben, near Fiskhill, New York. His diploma bears the signature of Washington, signed at Mount Vernon in December, 1783, naming "John Lillie, late Captain in Artillery and Aide-de-camp to Major-General Knox." The three friends—Lillie, Knox, and Shaw—signed together in this order, after about two hundred and fifty signatures had been made. Major Lillie's gold medal and badge is in the possession of his grandson Daniel C. Lillie, who has succeeded him and his son in the membership.

Major Lillie wrote thus from West Point, November 13, 1783, to Samuel Breck:—

"We were made happy in hearing our Assembly had passed the impost without restrictions.¹ The army will ever remember with gratitude those gentlemen on whose unparalleled exertions it depended, and by whose superior eloquence, generosity, and perseverance a stop was put to the breath of envy and malevolence. Happy would it be for mankind could the milder dic-

¹ A reference to the vote of the Massachusetts Legislature, October 9, 1783, granting power to Congress to levy duties on certain foreign imports as asked for by the resolution of Congress April 18, 1783. The measure proved ineffective as several of the States were tardy in their assents, and New York was obstructive to the end. Bancroft's "History of the United States Constitution," i. 103, 105, 125, 263-265.

tates of reason influence their sentiments! Then benevolence would silence envy, and candor equally protect them all.

“Will not the prohibition of trade to the English West India Islands affect our fishery, and oblige the planters to receive their articles from Newfoundland? But upon cool reflection I find it impossible; for commerce must be free and unrestrained, or it cannot be beneficial to a nation. My idea of trade is (if I may be allowed the comparison) like water poured upon the earth, that spreads itself and takes different courses as Nature directs, which fills the brooks and lakes, each participating of its bounties according to its situation. It diffuses its blessings and renders a general utility to the whole.

“I have just returned from New York, where I have been upon some particular business to Sir Guy Carleton. He told me he should certainly evacuate that city in all November if the transports arrived which were daily expected from Halifax and England. I cannot promise myself the pleasure of seeing you till some time in January, as we shall have some arrangements to make in New York after the English leave it.”

Major Lillie's life after the war cannot from original materials be followed continuously. A few letters to General Knox, family traditions, and a manuscript narrative written by his eldest son in 1830 are about the only sources of information. Like the greater number of the officers, the war left him with small means and at his wits' end to know which way to turn for a living. They sought it generally in removing to unsettled districts of the country, investing in public lands, or undertaking voyages as master or supercargo; while a few were fortunate in obtaining public employment. Major Lillie's relations with his uncle Samuel Breck, a leading merchant, led him naturally to trade; but it is probable that a period of leisure intervened between his service in the army and his engaging in any regular occupation. He found a welcome in the homes of his married sisters, Mrs.

Samuel Phillips, living in Hollis Street, and Mrs. Samuel Howard, living at the North End, and also in the home of Mr. Breck. His family connections and attractive presence gave him entry into the society of the town. He became engaged to Elizabeth ("Betsy" as she was published December 13, 1784) Vose, of Milton, with whom he had exchanged notes and souvenirs while in camp at West Point. She was born in Milton, October 20, 1767, and died in Dorchester, March 28, 1843.¹ Her father was Daniel Vose, the leading merchant of that locality, whose well-stocked store at the head of the navigation of the Neponset River was a distributing centre for a wide section of country, covering not only what is now Norfolk County, but also large parts of Bristol and Plymouth counties, and extending even to Cape Cod. He owned vessels in which he transported his merchandise, and brought his dry goods from so remote a point as Philadelphia. He married Rachel, daughter of Jeremiah Smith, of Milton,² a successful manufacturer; and this connection enlarged his commercial opportunities. He was at times proprietor of a saw-mill, a lumber-yard, a grist-mill, a chocolate-mill, a paper-mill, and a distillery.³ Such a miscellaneous business has its hazards, and Mr. Vose did not escape them. His losses at times exceeded his gains; and at his death, December 7, 1807, at the age of sixty-six, he left only a moderate fortune. He suffered severely in the depreciation of Continental currency, of which he held a large quantity. His daughter Patience, marrying Dr. Amos Holbrook, the

¹ Her grandson, D. C. Lillie, has a miniature of her at the age of twelve.

² Teele's "History of Milton," pp. 396-397.

³ The editor of Hutchinson's "Diary and Letters," i. 76, 111 *note*, suggests that Mr. Vose kept a tavern in Milton. This is not probable, though tavern-keeping, even with lawyers, was in those days often associated with mercantile and professional business.

leading physician of the place, was the grandmother of Henry J. Gardner, Governor of Massachusetts; losing her mother as a child, she was brought up at her Grandfather Vose's with the Lillie children. At the house of Daniel Vose, still standing though on a slightly different site, were passed, September 9, 1774, the "Suffolk Resolves" drawn by Joseph Warren. Mr. Vose's portrait and a picture of his house are found in the "History of Milton," and his tomb is in the town cemetery.¹ His wife survived him several years, dying January 25, 1821, at the age of eighty-four years.

Notwithstanding Major Lillie's unpromising circumstances, he married Elizabeth Vose, January 20, 1785. Their first child, Elizabeth (or Eliza), was born July 30, 1786; and by the autumn of 1797 the group of sons and daughters numbered six. It was an anxious question for the father of the family how they were to be supported. Their home was at times in Boston, but mostly at Milton, near the Bridge, when he was absent on voyages or other ventures. Mrs. Lillie, when left alone for considerable periods, found a home at Milton for her "little flock" (as her husband called it in one of his letters to Knox) in her father's house, or perhaps with her grandmother, Rachel Smith, widow of Jeremiah Smith,—a home which his daughter Eliza, as appears by another letter to Knox, called "Lillievale."

The loss of family papers leaves gaps in Major Lillie's employments after the war. His son John, writing in 1830, states that his father once went to Canada to purchase furs, and another time embarked in the business of paper-making in Milton; but the dates for these enter-

¹ Teele's "History of Milton," pp. 150, 184, 363-365, 396-399, 425, 431. Alden Bradford, after graduating at Harvard College and while studying for the ministry, lived in Daniel Vose's family as tutor for his son Daniel T.

prises are not given. Public records show him to have been in May, 1786, a joint owner with Samuel Breck of a cargo of spermaceti oil imported into Boston.¹ It is certain that for the years 1788-89 he was engaged in trade in Boston. The first directory of the town names him as "merchant, south side of Town Dock," occupying a store (later known as being on Codman's Wharf) which belonged to his father-in-law, Daniel Vose. His advertisements,² naming this store, show him to have had in stock Cape-de-Verde hides, goat-skins, olive oil, all kinds of paper, German steel, pig iron, claret, and brandy, — a combination of merchandise which was common in those days. The paper must have come from the mills at Milton, which were owned by his kinsmen or friends (Vose, Boies, and McLean), — the mills which manufactured the first paper made in this country, specimens of which are preserved in the files of the Boston newspapers of that period. Major Lillie advertised in 1788 the schooner "Betsy" (named for his wife) to sail for South Carolina and Georgia. He owned three-fourths of this vessel; but her voyage proved a losing venture.³ His son wrote in 1830 that he freighted a vessel for the South, and that she sank at the wharf laden with his goods, which was a heavy loss to him. The Boston store was closed in 1789.

Major Lillie is supposed to have gone on several voyages as master or supercargo, perhaps shortly after his marriage, as well as after he closed his store in Boston, — probably assisted in these undertakings by Samuel Breck. Mention of two such voyages is made in his letters to

¹ Boston Record Com. Report, xxv. 303.

² Massachusetts Centinel, August 23, 27; September 3, 20, 27; October 4, 11, — 1788. September 19, 26; October 3; November 14, 21, 25, — 1789. His letter to John Adams, December 7, 1787, shows that he was in Boston at that date.

³ Suffolk Court Files, 97261, 97350, 97365, 98582.

General Knox, — the first dated March 6, 1790, from Boston, in which he speaks of his recent return from France after just a year's absence, having sent his vessel from Georgia to the West Indies and thence to France, and having met with losses, but adding: "My circumstances are as eligible as those of my brother officers in general in this quarter." He desires the good offices of Knox, then Secretary of War, to assist him to an appointment as an officer of excise, but expresses his unwillingness to intrude on the time of one who is "now greatly occupied in the business of our rising empire."

By another letter to Knox, dated August 12, 1791, written on the ocean in the ship "Eliza," bound to Savannah, it appears that Major Lillie had recently been at Madeira and Gibraltar.¹ He informs Knox of a reported insurrection in Morocco, and cautions against paying the emperor an amount recently voted by Congress as a gift, for the reason that a successful usurper would demand an equivalent sum. Necessity, not love of adventure, compelled these long voyages. He had no congenial companion with him; and in distant seas, thoughts of his home and of those whose comfort depended on his success must have troubled his mind.

Being hitherto unfortunate in his marine enterprises, Major Lillie next embarked in trade in his wife's native village, where he bought of Jeremiah Smith Boies, April 13, 1793,² for £150, a piece of land in Milton, near the bridge over the Neponset River, on the left or east side of the road leading to Quincy. It was the first building site after crossing the river from Dorchester, — a corner lot, two hundred feet on the highway and one hundred feet

¹ The inventory of his estate notes a print of Gibraltar, now in the possession of his grandson, Henry L. Pierce.

² Suffolk Deeds, lib. 175, folio 265.

in depth. Its frontage extended from the way leading by the river side to the site of Sanderson's paper-mill, to the southern limit of the present location of the branch of the Old Colony Railroad.¹ Here he erected a store, and began business, which he carried on, though perhaps with intervals, for several years.²

In May, 1794, when war with England — growing out of the British Orders in Council — seemed imminent, Major Lillie, while still engaged in trade in Milton, accepted an appointment as assistant engineer for the construction of defences of seaports north of Boston. He wrote to Colonel Timothy Pickering, then Secretary of State, December 16, 1796,³ —

“After returning from the field, I placed myself in the commercial line, and in that situation I remained till the year 1794, without accumulating much property; but was very easy in my circumstances. In the sphere above mentioned, when the dark cloud of war and difficulty appeared to cast a veil over our country, my friend General Knox wrote me a letter proposing that I should accept of an appointment as assistant

¹ The lot in two pieces had been conveyed by Jeremiah Smith (Mrs. Lillie's grandfather) to James Nelson Boies, August 5, 1780 (Suffolk Deeds, lib. 133, folio 158), and to Jeremiah Smith Boies April 2, 1790 (ibid. lib. 167, folio 183). Mrs. Lillie bought it at auction, September 30, 1803, after her husband's death (Norfolk Deeds, lib. 21, folios 194, 195), and afterwards sold it to her son John, September 10, 1812 (ibid. lib. 42, folio 180), who occupied the store for some time. He sold it March 29, 1820 (ibid. lib. 63, folio 38), to N. C. Martin, by whom it was divided. The building erected by Major Lillie is now the older part of Samuel Gannett's grain-store.

² A draft by Anna Lillie (Halifax) is addressed October 11, 1793, to “Major John Lillie, merchant, Milton.” He signs as a witness at Boston, January 17, 1797, the bond of Anna Howard, executrix of her husband's will.

³ The original letter is among the Pickering Papers belonging to the Massachusetts Historical Society.

engineer in order to fortify our eastern seaports. In consequence of his request, I accepted; and in that capacity remained (studying every economy and making every exertion for the public good) till the 16th December, 1795, making more than nineteen months, at which time I made out my account of my services to that period. From that time I remained in a state of suspense, without doing any business, till March following. . . . I would beg leave to mention to you that while I was in public service the last time, it very much deranged my business by being from it, and since my dismissal I have been unfortunate in some commercial pursuits, while having a large family to support. . . . You may not possibly have a recollection of me personally as aid-de-camp to General Knox, but I am persuaded that the President has; and as a gentleman in private life, I wish to refer you to my friend and relation, Samuel Breck, Esq., of Philadelphia."

Gloucester appears to have been one of the eastern ports, perhaps the only one, which Major Lillie was engaged in fortifying; and the works are said to have been called "Fort Lillie" for a considerable period. This accords with a family tradition, certified to by his daughter Mary Ann. Writing in 1868 to her cousin, the widow of Rev. Samuel Gilman, she said:—

"As regards the name of the fort I cannot tell, but the fact of my father's superintending the building is certain. I have repeatedly heard my mother describe her residence of a month there; and as there were no hotels in those days, they were urged to reside at the hospitable and genteel mansion of Major Gilman, between whom and my father a warm friendship had been contracted during the war. Hence the interest we took in the son when he became a classmate of Walter Baker, and afterwards ministered to us in holy things."

General Knox and Major Lillie, having already had some business relations with each other, entered, April 5,

1797, at Boston, into an agreement for carrying on the salmon and other fisheries at Brigadier Island in the vicinity of Penobscot Bay. Knox was to supply a schooner, the equipment of the vessel, and fishing grounds; while Lillie was to pay the men employed, and provide salt, barrels, and kegs necessary to preserve the fish,—the former to receive one quarter and the latter three quarters of the profits. The locality was near St. George's, where Mrs. Knox's inherited estates lay. Lillie went promptly to Brigadier Island, as his letters from that place to Knox (then in Boston) — May 4, 21, and June 9 of the same year — show. The enterprise met with no success. Evidently, the resorts and habits of the salmon were not then well known, and flounders rather than salmon found their way into the nets. At the last named date, only two hundred salmon had been caught.

Incidentally, though disclaiming practical knowledge of farming, Major Lillie reported what was taking place on Knox's estates, and recommended the General to come to St George's and give personal attention to them. He wrote to Knox, May 21, when Mrs. Lillie was approaching the birth of her sixth child: "I am grieved for Mrs. Lillie. I know her anxiety at my absence in her delicate situation, as she expects to be confined in the course of the summer. I should esteem it a particular favor if Mrs. Knox and the ladies of your family would visit her. Mrs. Knox under those circumstances can feel for her and you for me. I do not expect to have time to write to Mrs. L. by this post; perhaps you will see her, and tell her I faithfully preserve her and our little flock in remembrance, and that I am in perfect health." He had now lost faith in the fisheries; and fearing that the enterprise "would entail poverty on his dear family," his thoughts turned again to military employment. He wrote thus to General Knox: —

BRIGADIER ISLAND, 9th June, 1797.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—Your letter of the 5th instant came to hand this morning. I thank you for the newspapers. I am suspicious from your hint Mrs. Lillie has been sick, as I have not received a line from her since my departure.

I wish to God I could tell you my prospects here brightened. Salmon is scarce and run very thin; we have not taken more than two hundred. I fear, as I wrote you before, they have gone up in the deep water; we catch but four to seven a day, and some days none. Last Sunday, however, I took forty-four; but the fish surveyor obliges me to take up my nets to-morrow, being Saturday, and I shall not be at liberty to put them out till Monday.

The schooner has returned from her third cruise and done poorly, being gone a week and brought but about three quintals of fish,—I suppose principally owing to the want of fresh-bait, as herrings could not be procured; they had nothing but the clams, and the large fish will not bite at them. I fear I shall be obliged to quit here as soon as the salmon has done running, as my men's wages, etc. amount to five dollars per day, which is too high to employ them in the cod-fishery; and to continue it without success would entail poverty on my dear family. I have sent two kegs by this conveyance of soused salmon,—one for Mrs. Knox, and the other for Mrs. Lillie. I forgot to mention that I have never taken but one salmon on the bar.

As there is a prospect (I observe by the President's speech) of completing the fortifications, etc., I have to request, if you have any communications with the present Secretary at War, that you would write him and mention my name to be employed. I was once in hopes of never being under the necessity of being in public service again; but I fear my disappointments and losses, which I mentioned to you in Boston, will, if I can meet with an appointment that is an object, compel me.

The weather begins now to be pleasant here, tho' we had ice

three nights ago ; but the feed is good. Mr. Lothrop appears to be busy about the island with his people, and I understand has sheared near one hundred sheep.

I hope before this Mrs. Knox has made a visit to Mrs. L., at, as my daughter Eliza calls it, Lillievale ; and you may rest assured nothing has or shall be wanting on my part, day nor night, for our interest in the fishery.

I am, dear sir, with great respect and esteem,

Your very obed^t

JOHN LILLIE.

GENERAL KNOX.

P. S. I do not see any prospect of sending salmon fresh in schooner to Boston ; no great quantity can be collected at one time, and I should not think of sending her with less than one hundred. I have seventy in the smoke-house. This is a long, melancholy letter, but I am sorry to be obliged to confess it is all true ; please to forward my letter to Mrs. Lillie, and befriend me in my request to the Secretary of War.

J. L.

It was natural that Major Lillie's successive disappointments in commercial enterprises should bring on the depression of spirits to which President Adams refers in a letter hereinafter cited.

Major Lillie wrote from Milton, June 6, 1798, to Knox, referring again to his losses in navigation, and soliciting the latter's influence for the command of a corps of marines (the rank to be that of major), which he had heard was to be organized, — a post for which he thought his knowledge of navigation, gunnery, and fortifications fitted him ; and he requested Knox to recommend him to the President in that connection, and to obtain the signatures of General Benjamin Lincoln and General Henry Jackson in his behalf. Knox's letter to the Secretary of War was as follows : —

BOSTON, 7th June, 1798.

SIR, — Major John Lillie, who commanded a company of Artillery, and who acted as my aid-de-camp, during the late war, is desirous of presenting himself as a candidate to command the corps of Marines about to be raised. His knowledge of fortifications, gunnery, and the mathematics relatively thereto, as well as navigation, together with his bravery and good conduct during his military service, all concur to render him a very suitable character for the object in question.

Therefore, at his desire, it is my duty to recommend him to the notice of the President of the United States.

I have the honor to be respectfully, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Honorable Secretary of War.

H. KNOX.

Major Lillie was an earnest supporter of the Federal administrations of Washington and Adams. In the summer of 1798 he joined with his fellow-citizens of Milton in the erection of arches at the bridge over the Neponset River, in commemoration of Jay's treaty and in welcome of President Adams, who drove through the town on his way from Washington to his home in Quincy. Eliza Lillie and another village maiden, Mary Walker, were at the head of a procession of girls which greeted the President,¹ — the latter, as he passed in his carriage, gracefully recognizing Major Lillie. Shortly after, Major Lillie erected at his own expense a permanent arch on the bridge over the river called "a Federal Arch," bearing the motto, "We unite in defence of our Constitution and laws."² This arch remained in place for several years,³ and was painted

¹ The newspapers describe with much enthusiasm the President's reception at the Milton bridge (Columbian Centinel, August 11, 1798).

² Columbian Centinel, September 5, 1798.

³ It was standing as late as 1805. See advertisement (in rhyme) in the Norfolk Repository (Dedham), July 2, 1805. The carpenter's bill for the labor is still preserved.

as the decoration of a looking-glass still preserved by the descendants of Miss Walker, who became Mrs. Tolman.

While serving as an inspector in the Boston Custom House, Major Lillie received the following testimonials with reference to the command of a new battalion of artillery:—

NEW YORK, 16th March, 1799.

SIR, — The bearer, Major Lillie, informs me that he is about to make application for the command of the additional battalion of artillery authorized to be raised.

Recurring to the impressions which remain on my mind of his conduct and character as an officer in our Revolutionary War (which are not impaired by anything that has come to my knowledge since), I know of no candidate likely to have superior pretensions; and I verily believe that the appointment he desires will be well bestowed on him. This testimonial, due to his merit in my opinion, I with great pleasure give to Major Lillie at his request.

With perfect respect and esteem I have the honor to be,
Sir,

Your hum. serv^t

A. HAMILTON.

The President of the United States.

Another letter from Hamilton is as follows:—

NEW YORK, May 5, 1799.

SIR, — I have received your letter of the 27th April last, and assure you that my sincerest wishes for your success will remain unabated.

With true regard and esteem, I am, Sir,

Your obed. serv^t

JOHN LILLIE, Esquire.

A. HAMILTON.

Hamilton's letter of recommendation was referred with this indorsement: "The President of the United States

recommends this letter and Major Lillie's pretensions to the particular consideration of Mr. McHenry, Secretary of War. — JOHN ADAMS."

It appears from the following letter that Major Lillie became in 1799 Inspector of Customs at the port of Boston. General Benjamin Lincoln wrote as follows:

BOSTON, 5th December, 1800.

As it is impossible for the heads of departments to have a very particular knowledge of all the characters which may be recommended to them to fill the vacancies which may be created, by death or resignation, under them respectively, you will not I hope, my dear friend, consider my recommending Captain John Lillie to your notice as an improper interference in the duties peculiar to your office. He has it in his power to evince that he served during the Revolutionary War with great intelligence, bravery, and activity. For the last year he has been employed as an Inspector of the Customs at the port of Boston, and has discharged his duty in a manner which entitles him to my confidence and esteem. From these considerations I am induced to say, that, should he obtain the command of the fourth battalion of artillery now to be raised, he would, I am confident, discharge the important duties of the trust with that information, diligence, and fortitude which shall be interesting to the United States and honorary to himself.

I am, my dear Sir, with very great consideration,

Your affectionate friend and humble servant,

B. LINCOLN.

Honorable SAMUEL DEXTER, Esq., Secretary of War.

President Adams wrote from Quincy to Secretary McHenry, March 29, 1799: "Major Lillie also has been here. His merits must be attended to." And again, April 16: "Major Lillie has made me a visit, and I was well pleased with his appearance and conversation. He did not appear

to me to be an altered man. I learn from others that he has been, like many worthy men, extremely unfortunate in trade, and his misfortunes have sometimes affected his spirits; but an appointment in the army, upon which his heart is set, it is believed by Colonel Rice, will restore him completely to himself. There is some weight, however, in your objection that two majors are more than the proportion of one State. With a view to this objection I wish to be informed of the candidates for his office from other States." The President enclosed, May 7, to the secretary several letters from officers, — one of them from Major Lillie, adding, "I own I am not able to read such histories without strong emotions." His last letter on the subject which has been printed was written May 16, in which he says, "My sentiments of Lillie you know."¹

Being informed of the secretary's objection as to locality, Major Lillie wrote to President Adams from Milton, April 30, 1799:² —

"The trouble I have given you, of interesting yourself in my behalf for the appointment I requested in the army of the United States, fills a mind with gratitude who was once a soldier, and whose heart, I hope, will ever be the seat of sensibility and consideration. I think the Secretary of War must be misinformed respecting the appointment of officers in Massachusetts; and from my own knowledge there is but one (and he is a subaltern) between Boston and Rhode Island, in those five large and respectable counties, viz., Norfolk, Plymouth, Bristol, Duke's, and Barnstable. In order to do justice to your good opinion and recommendation of me as a military character, I can only say [here follows the recital given *ante*, pp. 12-15, with a conclusion as follows:] If those circumstances be real, then you will not blush at having given me your approbation and

¹ Life and Works of John Adams, viii. 630, 633, 641, 648.

² This letter is preserved in the Adams archives in Quincy.

confidence for a recommendation as far as it has already extended; and be assured, Sir, it will at all times be my ambition to merit your good opinion and that of my country."

Major Lillie finally received the command which he desired. He was appointed February 16, 1801, captain of the Second United States Artillerists and Engineers, and assigned in May to the command at West Point. He arrived there with his eldest and second son June 17, and the rest of the family, except his daughter Patience, followed at the beginning of September. He took much interest, as incidental to his command, in the Military Academy, then in a formative condition. His daughter Mary Ann wrote late in life: "The building for the Academy was put in order by my father. It was about as large as a country schoolhouse, and I well remember going to see it. The seats and forms were painted green. It impressed me, as I had never seen a schoolroom painted." His eldest son wrote in a journal in 1830: "My father was much beloved and respected by the officers and soldiers under his command, and also by the inhabitants of the neighborhood. Many gentlemen with whom he had been intimately acquainted during the Revolution were still living within a short distance from the garrison, and I shall ever remember the many pleasant excursions we made to visit the hospitable mansions of those old friends, where we feasted on the most delicious peaches, pears, cherries, plums, etc." The son's further record is: "On the 20th September following, my father was taken with an ague in his face, or rather a rheumatic affection. His family regarded it only as the effect of a common cold, and noticed it only as such. About ten o'clock on the evening of September 22, 1801, he expired in an apoplectic fit. Thus departed one of the best of fathers, kind and affectionate in his family, friendly and generous

to all mankind. My mother, sisters, and brother soon after returned to my grandfather's [Daniel Vose's, at Milton]. I alone remained at the Military Academy, and received the appointment of Cadet of Artillerists and Engineers on the 24th December, 1801.¹ There I remained four years and six months." The Boston papers noted the death of Major Lillie as of one "o'er whose ashes valour and patriotism will shed tributary tears."²

After a succession of disappointments during the eighteen years following the Revolutionary War, Major Lillie had at last received an appointment suited to his tastes and yielding him the means of supporting his family. It seemed sad that it had come so late, only a few months before his death. The end came unexpectedly, when he had been in good health and was only forty-six years of age.

Efforts to discover Major Lillie's burial-place, made at different times, have proved fruitless. The modern cemetery at West Point was not opened till some years later. One of his daughters, visiting the post in 1827, sought for his grave, and was informed by Lieutenant Kingsley and his mother, who had attended his funeral, that the spot was in a gentleman's garden. She sought the place, and was told that at the foot of the garden were some unknown graves. Even the site of this garden is not now known. Some graveyard, which has since disappeared, existed at West Point at the beginning of the century. Major Edward C. Boynton, writing to Mrs. Woodward, January 23, 1868, said: "A half a century ago the work of depopulating the old Continental graveyard commenced, and later years have swept away every vestige

¹ He was the eighth cadet admitted. See Cullom's Biographical Register of the United States Military Academy, iii. 486.

² Columbian Centinel, October 3, 1801. Independent Chronicle, October 5, 1801.

of it. The former site is now covered by a stately pile of buildings. The oldest inhabitant here now dates back only to 1815, and no living person at West Point has any knowledge of the little white picket-fenced enclosure. Tradition, however, still repeats that near the Cadet barracks a little daughter of General Knox lies interred; and I can proceed to the spot in the garden where it is alleged the graves existed."

Mrs. Mary Ann Woodward, Major Lillie's daughter, placed two cenotaphs to his memory, — one in the cemetery at Palmyra, N. Y., erected in 1847, a town which had been her own home for a long period; the other in the military cemetery at West Point, erected in 1868, for the placing of which she received due permission from the authorities. She conceived and executed at her own expense this memorial, though modestly ascribing it on the stone to two of her grandsons. The inscriptions at both places are similar, the one at West Point being as follows:

JOHN LILLIE.
 BORN IN BOSTON
 1753.
 DIED WHILE IN COMMAND
 AT WEST POINT
 AND AN ACTIVE AGENT
 IN FOUNDING THE
 MILITARY ACADEMY
 1801.
 DREW HIS SWORD
 FOR HIS COUNTRY
 1775.
 SHEATHED IT UNSULLIED
 BY DISHONOR
 WHILE AID TO GEN. KNOX
 1783.
 —————
 OVER HIS ASHES
 VALOR AND PATRIOTISM
 SHED TRIBUTARY TEARS.

Mrs. Woodward, late in September, 1868, visited West Point just after the monument had been set up. Her nephew, Daniel C. Lillie, who was with her, wrote at the time: "Aunt Mary Ann had not been there for sixty-seven years, and of course everything had changed; still, she could tell where her father lived and died, and where he was buried; but the spot where he was buried is now covered by one of the large stone buildings of the Military Academy."

Two portraits of Major Lillie exist. (1) One of these (the one accompanying this narrative) was, until 1875, in the possession of the family of his sister Mehitable, who married Samuel Phillips. It is doubtless the earlier of the two, being probably taken before his marriage in 1785, and naturally passing into the hands of collateral kindred. It was inherited by his nephew, John Lillie Phillips, who gave it, late in his life, to his brother Samuel M. Phillips, from whose heirs it passed to Edward Lillie Pierce. In this picture he is wearing a military dress, with chapeau. It is thought to have been painted by Edward Savage, the same artist who painted Washington and Knox. The last survivor of persons who had ever seen him was his niece Mrs. Harriet Phillips Folling. Three years before her death in 1879, she said to the writer that she remembered him in childhood as visiting her mother, who then owned the picture, and that it looked just like him. (2) The other portrait of Major Lillie was long in the possession of his eldest daughter Eliza, and passed from her to her son Henry Lillie Pierce, its present possessor. This was painted after the Revolutionary War, and represents him with the badge of the Society of the Cincinnati. It has been engraved for the "Memorials" of that Society and for Teele's "History of Milton." His children regarded this as an excellent portrait.

Children of John and Elisabeth (Vose) Lillie.

1. Elizabeth (abbreviated usually as Eliza) Smith, born in Milton, July 30, 1786; died in Dorchester, November 1, 1871.
2. Patience Holbrook, born April 11, 1789; died unmarried in Milton, July 7, 1836.
3. John Lillie, born May 8, 1791; died in Willimantic, Conn., January 20, 1855.
4. Mary Ann, born September 21, 1792; died in infancy, August 22, 1793.
5. Mary Ann (sometimes written Mary Anna), born August 22, 1794; died in Palmyra, N. Y., June 20, 1881.
6. Samuel Shaw, born January 3, 1796; died in Dartmoor, England, May 16, 1815.
7. Daniel Thomas, born September 15, 1797; died in New York City, June 30, 1849.

Mrs. Lillie returned to Massachusetts shortly after her husband's death. She had an uncomfortable passage from New York to Providence, in a boisterous sea and against a hard wind. In her letter to Lieutenant L. Howard of her husband's regiment, October 14, she expresses gratitude for "the unparalleled friendship and sympathy" she had received at West Point in "the melancholly and distressing scenes" through which she had passed. Out of sympathy for her situation, Captain Fleming received her son John into his own house; other good friends at the post were Lieutenant-Colonel Jonathan Williams, Mrs. Osborn, and Miss Moffat. In a letter to Mrs. Fleming, July 12, 1802, Mrs. Lillie mentions the distance which "deprives her of the society of those friends who have so endeared themselves to me by their sympathy and attention, and of visiting that spot ever sacred in my remembrance."

Major Lillie, as might have been expected, left a small estate, consisting only of articles of furniture, his store

in Milton, and tracts of land of inconsiderable value in Hallowell and New Sharon, Maine.¹ Little remained for the family after the payment of his debts, the principal one being the claim of the estate of Theophilus Lillie, the Loyalist who had died at Halifax. Mrs. Lillie was not, however, entirely without means. She had received December 13, 1789, from her grandfather Jeremiah Smith, the gift of half an acre of land in Milton, with mansion house, out-houses, and garden,² situated on the Neponset River a short distance below the lot where her husband had four years later had his store, — an estate which was afterwards the residence of Dr. Jonathan Ware, and is now the property of Henry L. Pierce, grandson of Mrs. Lillie. Unfortunately for Mrs. Lillie, this resource was not available to her for a year or more after she became a widow, as the premises were for that time without a tenant.

After Major Lillie's death, his widow came with her children to Milton and found a home at her father's, Daniel Vose's, — the house at the corner of the Plymouth Road (now Adams Street) and the way leading to the wharves, which was burned in 1860. While living here, she married, October 5, 1803 (the marriage taking place at Barrington, R. I.), Edmund Baker, of Dorchester, for some time a friend of the family, — a chocolate manufacturer, who was succeeded in the business by his son, Walter Baker, a son by his first marriage.³ As both Mr. Baker and Mrs. Lillie had children by previous marriages, two groups of children were brought together, — the Lillie children joining Mr. Baker's household, except the eldest (Eliza), who

¹ Probate Records of Norfolk County in estate of John Lillie.

² Suffolk Deeds, lib. 167, folio 85.

³ Two years after Walter Baker's death, in 1852, Henry L. Pierce, grandson of Major Lillie, became proprietor of the Baker chocolate business.

continued to live with her Grandmother Vose. The Baker-Lillie marriage added a third group of three children, — one of whom was Edmund J. Baker, well known in the history of Dorchester, who died in 1890 at the age of eighty-five;¹ and another, his sister Lydia B., who married in 1841 Rev. Benjamin Huntoon, a Unitarian divine, and became the mother of Daniel Thomas Vose Huntoon, author of the "History of Canton," "Genealogy of the Huntoon Family," and some historical papers.

Major Lillie's daughters had an enjoyable youth in Milton, which then had an independent life of its own, with an overflow from Boston. Near by were the daughters of Dr. Holbrook, — afterwards Mrs. Dr. Henry Gardner (who was the cousin of the Lillies), Mrs. William E. Vincent, and Mrs. Dr. Thaddeus W. Harris, — who was living at one time in the village, and who removed in 1801 to his fine mansion on the hill. They were relatives of the Boies and McLean families who were living at Mattapan, and were in friendly intercourse with the sons and daughters of Lieutenant-Governor Edward H. Robbins, living on Milton Hill and afterwards on Brush Hill. A favorite place for children's tea-takings, *al fresco*, was the summit of the abrupt hill, wooded and rocky, which rises at the Lower Mills between the railway and the river. A printed card, with name and date filled in, still existing, reads thus: "The Miss Lillies present their compliments to Miss Alleyne, and desire the favor of her company at tea on Monday next, May 28th, 1796." Mr. Alleyne lived in a house occupying the site of Mr. J. Malcolm Forbes's, on Milton Hill. The "Miss" invited, then eight years old, became the mother of the Chickerings of Dedham. Mary Ann Lillie (Mrs. Wood-

¹ He is represented by descendants, the children of his daughter Lydia, who married first John H. Edwards of Philadelphia, and afterwards O. A. Taft of Dorchester, Mass.

ward) wrote May 21, 1875: "Abiel Alleyne lived on Milton Hill next our schoolhouse. He was intimate with my father. I used to partake of the elegant Christmas dinners at Dr. Holbrook's; Smith Boies and family were always there. Their adopted children — Miss Alleyne and young Boies, Sally and William Holbrook — made the party. Sally dined at my grandfather's on Thanksgiving day; a handsome side-table was placed for the five young people, and every luxury served us. This continued for years, till my grandfather died in 1807."

At the centre of the town was Madam Cranch's boarding school, on the site of the present Town House. Here Patience Lillie, and perhaps some of her sisters, attended; and here too were girls from remote places,—as the Tyngs of Newburyport, afterwards Mrs. Newton and Mrs. Marquand. In 1875 they and Mrs. Woodward, all past eighty, recalled in letters and personal interviews these old scenes in Milton.

In the hall of the Glover (now Faucon) house on the hill, then a tavern, Master Lovett Stimpson kept his dancing class. Mrs. Woodward recalled, late in life, as Stimpson's pupils in 1805,—“James M. Robbins; Sally and William Holbrook; Sally and John Amory; Susan Adams and Miss Johnson, the President's granddaughters; Sally Tyng, daughter of Dudley Atkins Tyng; her cousin, Miss Oxnard; two Miss Derbys from Salem; Miss Jackson from Boston; Henry and George Cabot, with their sisters, who lived on the Morton estate; and Mary Ann Bent (since Mrs. Samuel Adams). Miss Bent was the best dancer; she would dance a minuet like a fairy. James M. Robbins and Mary Ann Lillie were the poorest dancers. I never excelled in that branch, but I consoled myself in after days that I got as many partners as any of them. My sister Patience was very easy

and graceful. Years and years after, I was driving with Colonel Pierce ; we met an old gentleman driving gayly along. 'That,' said Colonel Pierce, 'is Lovett Stimpson ; he is still dancing.'"

Outside their own neighborhood, the Lillie young ladies found a welcome in the families of their kinsfolk,—the Brecks and Lloyds in Boston, the Fays at Cambridgeport, and Judge Thomas's¹ in Plymouth. They made long visits at the home of John McLean, whose wife (Ann Amory) was their faithful friend.²

John, Major Lillie's eldest son, born May 8, 1791, became, as already stated, a cadet at West Point; but he did not follow the military profession.³ He married Betsey Lillie (not a relative), of Windham, Conn., June 20, 1817. He engaged in business in Milton and in Kennebunk, Maine, and died in Willimantic, Conn., January 20, 1855. Three of his children died unmarried,—(1) John, born April 9, 1818, a student for a time at Bowdoin College, and died in Dover, Ill., October 10, 1844; (2) Elizabeth Baker, born August 23, 1820, and died in Dorchester, December 31, 1838; (3) Lucy Campbell⁴ (twin), born February 27, 1828, and died June 23, 1875. The fourth is Daniel Campbell Lillie (twin), born February 27, 1828; living at North Easton; successor

¹ Father of William Thomas, of Plymouth, 1789-1882.

² Mrs. McLean's portrait is in the possession of John C. Ropes, of Boston. She became Mrs. Lee by a second marriage. She is buried in one of the tombs of the Milton cemetery.

³ He was appointed a cadet, December 24, 1801. The statement that he received a commission as second lieutenant of artillery is not correct. See American State Papers, xiii. 60 (Military Affairs, ii.).

⁴ Always known by that name, although by legislative act, March 17, 1841, it was changed to Elizabeth Baker Lillie.

of his father in the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati; married April 12, 1849, Hannah A. Stearns, of North Easton; a contributor of articles to local newspapers. His only child is a daughter, Marianna Woodward Lillie, born August 31, 1867.

Samuel Shaw, Major Lillie's second son, born January 3, 1796, and named for his father's friend and kinsman, met with an unhappy fate, dying at the age of nineteen away from kindred and friends. When a mere youth, he enlisted as a seaman in the war of 1812 with Great Britain.¹ He was on the ship "Gossamer" as early as July, 1812. He served on the United States war vessel, the brig "Rattlesnake" of sixteen guns, and was on her when she was captured by the "Leander," July 11, 1814, at 8 A. M. off Cape Sable. She arrived at Halifax with her crew July 13.² They were taken in the "Chesapeake" from Halifax to England, and received into custody at Dartmoor Prison, October 6 of the same year. Here young Lillie died May 16, 1815. He is numbered 4030 on the "General Entry Book of American prisoners of war at Dartmoor Prison," now kept in the Record Office, Fetter Lane, London. His person is there described. The American and French prisoners were buried in unmarked graves in separate grounds, in each of which a suitable commemorative monument has been erected by the British government.³ At the time young Lillie's death was reported in Boston, Rev. Samuel Gilman, then supplying the pulpit of the Third Religious Society of

¹ He was a pupil in the Milton Academy in 1809.

² Niles's "Weekly Register," vi. 391; Henry Adams's "History of the United States," vii. 313.

³ Papers contributed (after a visit to Dartmoor) by Edward L. Pierce, to the Massachusetts Historical Society's Proceedings, November, 1891, pp. 17, 18; April, 1895, pp. 116, 117.

Dorchester, referred to the event in his sermon, and read as a hymn the one hundred and thirty-seventh Psalm in Belknap's Collection, "Far from our friends and country dear," etc. His sister, Mrs. Woodward, placed in 1870 a cenotaph to his memory, as "a martyr to the war of '12," in the cemetery at Palmyra, N. Y.

The third son, Daniel Thomas (born September 15, 1797, and died June 30, 1849), married December 17, 1844, Elizabeth E. Lakey, of Palmyra, N. Y. He passed the latter part of his life in New Orleans, where he was successfully engaged in the sale of marine compasses and mathematical instruments; and his widow and only daughter, Marianna (born January 20, 1848), have continued to live in that city. He died in New York City, and was buried at Palmyra in a lot adjoining his sister's. His only son John, born December 11, 1845, has lived for many years in England, in or near London. He has made contributions to magazines, among them one on "the Westminster Effigies," and another on "London Mock Parliaments," both contributed to Harper's Monthly Magazine.¹ By his marriage with Amy Hamilton Reynolds, of Boston, June 30, 1891, he has two children, both born at Richmond-on-the-Thames,—(1) Louise Hamilton, born October 1, 1892; (2) Walter Hamilton, born May 4, 1895.

Elizabeth Smith (or Eliza, as her name was usually abbreviated), Major Lillie's eldest child, was born July 30, 1786, and died November 1, 1871. She was eighteen at the time of her mother's second marriage. She had a wide circle of friends in her youth; among them Mrs.

¹ August and September, 1889, vol. lxxix. pp. 373-383, 620-631.

Ann McLean, widow of John McLean,— a friendship tokens of which remain in a wedding present of a sugar-bowl and cream-pitcher. After her grandmother's death in 1821, and perhaps before, desirous of being self-supporting, she took a house of her own,— the Vose house, still standing near the railway station. Here she became engaged to one of the lodgers in the same house,— Colonel Jesse Pierce, then keeping a well-known private school on Milton Hill, where Robert B. and John M. Forbes, John Codman and Fletcher Webster were among his pupils.¹ They were married September 9, 1824, at the house of Rev. Samuel Gile, of Milton, a Calvinist clergyman, whose side in the ecclesiastical controversy of that period the bride had warmly espoused. Bridegroom and bride drove the same day to Stoughton, where a new house (still standing) had been built for them on the Bay Road, close to the Sharon line, on a farm which had been Colonel Pierce's home in childhood; and here they kept a family school, which was patronized mostly by boys from Boston and vicinity. The school was continued till 1829, after which time Colonel Pierce was much engaged in the education of his own boys, in administering trusts and local offices, and in service in the Legislature. They removed in 1849 to Dorchester Lower Mills, the scene of early associations, where they occupied the house now the home of their eldest son. Sketches of Colonel Pierce (born November 7, 1788; died February 3, 1856) and of his two sons Henry and Edward, with portraits, may be found in the "History of Norfolk County," the "History of Milton," and the "Pierce Genealogy." He and his wife, her sister Patience, and her half-sister Mrs.

¹ Captain John Codman's "Winter Sketches from the Saddle," p. 57, gives an interesting incident of his school life at this time.

Lydia (Baker) Huntoon are buried in the same lot in the Dorchester cemetery, at the foot of Codman Hill.

Children of Jesse and Elizabeth Smith (Lillie) Pierce, all born in Stoughton, Mass.

1. Henry Lillie, born August 23, 1825; unmarried, and living in Boston; Mayor of Boston, and member of Congress.
2. George, born June 20, 1827; died September 28, 1827.
3. Edward Lillie, born March 29, 1829; living in Milton; Brown University, 1850, and Harvard Law School, 1852.

Children (besides two sons who died in infancy) of Edward L. Pierce by marriage, April 19, 1865, with Elisabeth Helen Kingsbury, of Providence (born June 19, 1840, and died March 30, 1880), all born in Milton, Mass.

1. Edward Lillie, born March 28, 1866; Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1886.
2. Mary Mackie, born November 14, 1869; married April 25, 1895, Rev. Franklin E. E. Hamilton.
3. George Burgess, born January 21, 1872; Harvard University, 1893, and Harvard Medical School, 1898.
4. Charles Sumner, born September 5, 1874; Harvard University, 1895.
5. Arthur Johnson, born July 15, 1876; Friends School, York, England.
6. Reginald Kingsbury, born July 20, 1878; Friends School, Providence, R. I.

Children of Edward L. Pierce by marriage, March 8, 1882, with Maria Louisa Woodhead, of Huddersfield, England, both born in Milton, Mass.

1. Grace Elizabeth, born November 20, 1883.
2. Harold Whitworth, born March 31, 1885.

Patience Holbrook Lillie—named for her aunt, Mrs. Dr. Amos Holbrook—was born April 11, 1789, and died

unmarried in Milton, July 7, 1836. She had many friends, the most cherished being Mrs. Ann McLean, whom, with her husband, John McLean, she accompanied on their journey to Madeira in 1810.

Mary Ann, youngest daughter of Major Lillie, was born in Boston, August 22, 1794. She attended the Academy in Sandwich in 1806; and while a pupil there she became a friend of Dr. Samuel Savage's family, of Barnstable, particularly of his daughter Hope Savage, afterwards the second wife of Chief-Justice Lemuel Shaw. The young Lillies and Savages were visitors at one another's homes in Barnstable and Milton. One of Mary Ann's visiting resorts was at the Haleys living on their island, now the well-known Isle of Shoals. Her connection with the families of Samuel Breck and James Lloyd — both merchants, and the last eminent in public life — opened to her social opportunities. Writing February 20, 1868, to her cousin, Mrs. Dr. Gilman, she said: "Mr. Breck's daughter, Mrs. Lloyd, was a patron and friend of mine; and I spent several weeks at her house every winter. Mr. Lloyd often introduced me as the daughter of Major Lillie; and on one occasion Timothy Pickering said he well remembered Major Lillie, and a very gentlemanly man he was." Mary Ann married August 2, 1819, Charles Chauncy Woodward. Her only child, Marianna Cornelia, was born September 25, 1822, and died unmarried April 26, 1843. After her marriage, Mrs. Woodward passed most of her life at Palmyra, N. Y., beginning to live there in 1829, and dying there June 20, 1881. She was the last survivor of her father's children. The loss of her only child left a life-long mark of sorrow upon her. Twenty years afterwards she commemorated her bereavement by a memorial stone, placed in her

lot in the Palmyra cemetery, which was inscribed with verses of her own composition. They are as follows :

My bitter grief has calmer grown
 Since that sad, mournful day,
 When thou, dear daughter, from my home
 To Heaven wer't called away ;
 And I can even speak of thee
 In tones that falter not,
 But yet my own, my only one,
 'T is not thou art forgot !
 There's not a floweret of the spring,
 Nor star that wanders free,
 Nor a low sweet strain of music,
 Nor murmur of the sea,
 Nor aught of beautiful and good,
 But bringeth thought of thee.

She anticipated her own death by these lines cut in her lifetime on her gravestone : —

A childless widow, she had none
 To soothe her downward way ;
 Till the last sands of life were run,
 God was her only stay.

Mrs. Woodward was always greatly interested in social, ecclesiastical, and public affairs. She contributed both prose and poetry to the newspapers of Wayne County ; and a collection of her verses, entitled " Old Rhymes for Old Friends," was printed in 1874 for private distribution. She was the attached friend of Rev. Horace Eaton, pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Palmyra. Her patriotism in the Civil War was active and earnest ; and she took the lead in placing memorials of the soldiers who died in that war. A local history records : " Our women solicited the money for the beautiful memorial tablets in our Town

Hall. Let all who look at these remember Mrs. Marianne Woodward and Mrs. Dr. Marsh."¹ Among her many friends in Palmyra the Sexton family deserve special mention.

Mrs. Woodward varied her quiet life in Palmyra with visits to her brother Daniel at New Orleans; and while in that city, after his death, she bought and freed a negro woman Agnes, who had been his slave. These visits to the South did not in the least temper her natural antipathy to slavery; and one of the beneficiaries in her will was the American Missionary Association, selected on account of its extended work among the freedmen. She showed unusual vigor for one of her age, when in 1854 she crossed the Atlantic in the steamship "Canada," without friend or companion, visiting in her journey England and France. In her chosen home in western New York, isolated from kindred, she impressed herself on two generations of her neighbors by her friendliness, her quaint observations on life and people, and her remarkable individuality. In person she was tall and slender; and to the last she kept something of the color and expression in her face which recalled her attractiveness as a maiden.

¹ Lewis H. Clark's "Military History of Wayne County," p. 650.

THE LILLIE FAMILY OF BOSTON.

1663—1896.

THE most remote ancestor of Major John Lillie, who can be traced, is Edward Lillie, who appears by the recorded births of his children to have been in Boston as early as 1663.¹ The presumption is that he was born in England, — a presumption justified by his devotion to the English Church, — though neither the county nor the town of his nativity has been discovered. The date of his eldest child's birth makes it likely that he was born before 1640.

There is reason to suppose that this branch of the Lillies, coming from England, sojourned for a while in Newfoundland; and if so, they are likely to have been of the Devonshire or West-of-England stock, which supplied the first settlers for that Province. It is certain that they became possessed of real estate at St. John's sometime in the latter half of the seventeenth century. It is described as "a plantation," — a term which signifies a full proprietorship, but not necessarily a tract of any considerable extent. Its description in deeds and

¹ Savage's "Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England" (iii. 90) places Edward Lillie's appearance in New England seven years later than the records show. Hotten's "Original Lists of Persons of Quality Emigrants" (p. 125) contains the name of "Edward Lillie, aged nineteen," as embarking for Virginia; but there is probably no identity or connection between him and his Boston namesake.

public documents indicates that it was a small piece of land on the shore, large enough, however, for drying and curing fish. One of Major Lillie's letters in 1787 states that this property had been in the family "more than a century;" and another, written in the same year, makes the period "near a century." This is a general expression, and is consistent with the supposition that Edward Lillie, whose eldest child was born in Boston in 1663, emigrated first to St. John's, and after a brief sojourn there removed to Boston. Trade between New England and Newfoundland was active as early as 1645, and increased greatly during the next fifteen years. The transition was easy from St. John's to Boston. The alternative supposition is that Edward's eldest son Samuel, whose mercantile connections were extensive, acquired in the course of trade "the plantation" after his father's death in 1688-89.

There is a family tradition—mentioned by Major Lillie's daughter, Mrs. Woodward, in a letter to her cousin Mrs. Gilman—that the Lillies did come to Massachusetts from Newfoundland. As in her youth she knew well her Grandmother Harris, who had once controlled "the plantation" and who lived till 1819, she probably received the tradition from her, the last Lillie who held the estate. Possibly the records of the Province may hereafter throw light on the origin of the Lillie title, the place whence the family came, and the period of their arrival in America.

The Lillies were forcibly dispossessed of this "plantation" shortly after the independence of the United States was recognized by the British government. The transaction appears in two letters of Major Lillie,—one addressed, September 5, 1787, to Governor Elliott, who was then in Newfoundland, but who appears to have

gone shortly to London; and the other addressed, December 7, 1787, to John Adams, our minister to England, asking his good offices with the Governor,¹ which is as follows:—

BOSTON, 7th December, 1787.

May it please your Excellency:

. . . There is an estate in St. John's, Newfoundland, known by the name of Lillie's Plantation, which has been the property of my ancestors for more than a century past, and handed down from generation to generation. This property legally descended to my father, Mr. John Lillie, who died about twenty-two years ago. My mother, Mrs. Abigail Lillie, as I was then a child, thought best to lease it out for the term of twenty-one years, which lease expired the 29th of October last. I should have gone down and taken possession of the estate, as soon as I was of age, had it not been upon lease, which would have been to no effect; for that reason I omitted it till the expiration of the lease. Under those circumstances, my being the only son and heir and indeed the only male of the family living, I thought best to write His Excellency Governor Elliott on the subject about two months before the expiration of the lease, in which I stated to him my claim, and informed him I had every paper necessary to prove it, lodged in my agent's hands in St. John's, and that I fully intended to be there early in the spring to settle upon, sell, or lease the same, as no business could be done there in the winter season; also that the person to whom it was leased had refused to pay the agent for the rent justly due for the last three years. I observed to him, as the helm of Government rested in his hands, I did not doubt he would have the premises delivered up to the agent at the expiration of the lease, and begged him to insist on the person to whom it was leased to pay the balance due for the rent previous to his departure for Europe, — that everything might be amicably and honorably settled previous thereto.

¹ This letter is among the Adams Papers at Quincy.

Notwithstanding those, I am sorry to say, that, contrary to my opinion and that of every person in this country who has been made acquainted with the circumstances, His Excellency was pleased one month before the expiration of the lease to issue warrants for the purpose of levelling to the ground three dwelling-houses, etc., and given to persons fish-rooms and lots of land (belonging to me) who had not the least claim thereto: which plantation was surveyed and placed on record at St. John's by order of the late predecessor of His Excellency Governor Elliott.

This from all the information I can collect has been done in consequence of my being a member of the late American army, which does not in the least correspond with my ideas of the same of the definitive Treaty of Peace; or if I was considered an alien, I think His Excellency has been rather too precipitate in his determinations, by ordering my property destroyed and lands given away without the privilege of a hearing, or even that of my agent who is upon the spot.

Your Excellency may easily conceive what trouble and difficulty may arise between the two nations, if property is so taken and destroyed. As you are sensible, there are many estates in this town belonging to British subjects now residing in England under similar circumstances, and which may with the same propriety meet with an equal fate, although humanity would recoil at a retaliation so cruel and unjust. I must therefore submit the above facts to your consideration, and hope you may not find it too inconvenient to speak to his Excellency, Governor Elliott, on the subject.

I have the honor to be, with great esteem and respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

JOHN LILLIE.

His Excellency JOHN ADAMS, Esq.

The following correspondence is copied from the records (vol. ii.) in the office of the Colonial Secretary at St. John's, Newfoundland:—

By His Excellency John Elliott, Esqr., Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Island of Newfoundland, etc.

Whereas I have granted permission for Mr. John Saul of this place, boatkeeper, to keep possession of a fishing-room belonging to a plantation situated below Saint John's Church, known by the name of Lilley's Plantation and formerly occupied by an American of that name; and also consented to his taking possession of the whole of the said plantation at the expiration of the lease by which it is now, and may be till the 29th of this month, held by Mr. Samuel Jutsham and his under tenants, whose houses upon the said plantation having been represented to me as nuisances to the fishery are to be taken down and removed after that time, that the said Mr. Saul may be able to erect flakes and other fishing conveniences in their room; and whereas the said under tenants to Mr. Jutsham, whose names are mentioned in the margin, have by my directions been warned to quit the premises immediately after the said 29th of October next, and to provide themselves with dwelling-houses elsewhere: You are hereby required and directed on the 30th of this month to put the said Mr. Saul into possession of the whole of the above mentioned plantation, and to see that he is not disturbed in the quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the same, nor obstructed in taking down and removing the said old houses (unless the present occupiers will undertake to do it themselves, in which case they are to be allowed a reasonable time to do it in) for the purpose of improving the said plantation and occupying it in the most advantageous manner for the fishery.

Given under my hand and seal at Saint John's, Newfoundland, 20th October, 1787.

J. ELLIOTT.

To NICHOLAS LECHMERE, Esq., *High Sheriff of the Island of Newfoundland.*

By command of the Governor.

A. GRAHAM.

The foregoing order was given in consequence of the following petition presented by John Saul:—

To His Excellency John Elliott, Esqr., Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Island of Newfoundland, etc.:

The petition of John Saul of Saint John's Harbor, boat-keeper, humbly sheweth—

That he has for many years past been engaged in the fishery at this place, and having increased his capital so as to enable him to keep two boats in addition to the number he has in his employ at present, he wishes to extend his concern equal to his ability, but the want of room prevents him from so doing; that the lease of the fishing-room which he now occupies under Mr. Samuel Jutsham expires in October next, and as the plantation (of which the said room is a part) belongs to an American who cannot be allowed to carry on the fishery himself, your petitioner is afraid that either his rent will be raised or that he shall be turned out of possession by the person or persons who may be appointed to act for the said American at the expiration of the said lease; that part of the said plantation is rendered useless for the fishery by dwelling-houses being built thereon, and that there's a probability of the whole going to decay should your petitioner be obliged to quit the premises.

Your petitioner therefore humbly requests he may be allowed to keep possession after the expiration of the aforementioned lease, and to improve the plantation by removing the dwelling-houses and erecting fishing-flakes in their stead, according to Act of Parliament.

And your petitioner as in duty bound will ever pray, etc., etc.

Captain Gower of his Majesty's ship "Salisbury" being directed to inquire into the merits of the foregoing petition made the following report:—

"Capt. Gower having in consequence of His Excellency Governor Elliott's directions of the 14th August, 1767, called to

his assistance Mr. Gart. Quigley, a gentleman well acquainted with the fishery, and examined into the petition of Mr. John Saul, boatkeeper in St. John's Hr., and into Mr. Samuel Jutsham's pretensions to the holding of part or whole of the land that John Saul wishes to employ in the fishery, begs leave to report that Mr. Samuel Jutsham's lease expires in October next, [which] he held of Mrs. Abigail Lillie, now Harris, an American woman and said to be a subject of the United States of America living near Boston; that the whole of the plantation mentioned in the petition is private property, and very convenient for the fishery; that a great part of it is occupied by people not carrying on the fishery; that there are three houses near the churchyard in a very central spot for fish-flakes, in a ruinous state, and great nuisances (are now rented from Mr. Samuel Jutsham by John Eales); two of the three are inhabited (the one by a Mrs. Holland, and the other by — Reeves a cooper); there is likewise a baker of the name of David Shepherd who has part of his dwelling-house converted into a room for baking of bread, and a garden adjoining, both situated on the said plantation, and is very detrimental to the fishery; that in the upper part of the lower path there is a house belonging to the same ground alluded to in the petition, rented now by Michael Cahill, who keeps a boat in the fishery and makes his fish in Petty Harbour, and near that dwelling is another small ruinous house, both detrimental to the intention of carrying on the fishery, occupied by Daniel Donovan, who keeps five boats (fishes and cures his fish at Torbay) — beg leave to add in the same report that Mr. John Saul is a man of good character, and that it does not appear but that he is equal to the employment that he proposes to undertake in his petition, and offers to bring men of character to prove his ability.

E. GOWER.

GARRETT QUIGLEY.

LONDON, 26th April, 1788.

SIR, — I have the honour to transmit you herewith a letter addressed to me as Governor of Newfoundland, respecting the claim of a Mrs. Lillie to a fishing plantation in that island, which (with the minute annexed thereto) I beg may be submitted to the consideration of the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for trade and foreign plantations, and request that their Lordships will be pleased to inform me whether Mrs. Lillie (who is an American subject residing at Boston) is competent to hold possession of any fishing conveniences in Newfoundland, and whether she can be allowed to sell the plantation which was leased by her father to Mr. Samuel Jutsham, and is now occupied by British subjects in the fishery.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

J. ELLIOTT.

STEPHEN COTTRELL, Esqr.

BOSTON, 5th September, 1787.

May it please Your Excellency:

A stranger would beg the indulgence of a few moments of your time, and flatters himself the subject on which he is writing will be a sufficient apology for the liberty he has taken, he being the only male heir to an estate in Saint John's known by the name of Lillie's Plantation.

This plantation has been the property of my family for near a century past. About twenty years ago my father, Mr. John Lillie (being sole heir to the plantation), died, and my mother, Mrs. Abigail Lillie, now Abigail Harris, leased the same to Mr. Samuel Jutsham for the sum of ten pounds per annum for the term of twenty-one years, which lease expires the 29th of next month.

Mr. Peter Prim, agent for the estate at Saint John's, has written that Mr. Jutsham has refused to pay the rent for several years past, and that he has insinuated to him he

will not give up the premises at the expiration of the lease; those are circumstances very extraordinary, but not alarming, as the helm of government rests in your hands, and the premises, rent, etc., must be given up before your departure for Europe.

Mr. Peter Prim has every paper relative to his estate, and will I am persuaded lay them before Your Excellency before or by the expiration of the lease, in order to have the agreements honourably fulfilled. I fully intended to have waited on you this fall myself, but some unavoidable circumstances prevented. I shall, however, come down early in the spring to settle upon, sell, or lease the plantation.

Relying on that justice, honor, and humanity which has ever marked Your Excellency's character, and that it would at all times give pleasure to wipe a tear from the eye of the afflicted, I am persuaded you will not suffer the income of a property to be unjustly detained from a woman when drawing towards the evening of life, whose principal dependence it is for support. I must therefore beg leave to submit this case to Your Excellency's decision previous to your departure for Europe.

I have the honor to be, with perfect esteem & respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

JOHN LILLIE.

To His Excellency GOVERNOR ELLIOTT.

The Governor sent for Mr. Prim on the 2d of October, and informed him that the Treaty of Peace and the Act of the 15th of George the 3d., Chap. 31, totally incapacitated Mrs. Lillie from enjoying the fishing plantation herself, and of course she could have no authority to let or sell it to other persons; that, with regard to the arrears of rent due from Mr. Jutsham, Mrs. Lillie's application (or Mr. Prim's for her) would more properly come before one of the courts competent to decide in such cases.

To the Right Honourable the Lords of a Committee of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, appointed to consider of all matters relating to Trade and Foreign Plantations :

May it please Your Lordships : In obedience to Your Lordships' commands we have considered the case of Mrs. Abigail Harris to us referred, and are of opinion that it is not competent to her, being an inhabitant of the United States of America, to hold possession of any fishing-room or other conveniences for fishing on the Island of Newfoundland. For our opinion concerning the nature of the property of these fishing-rooms, we beg leave to refer Your Lordships to an opinion given by us, together with Mr. Selwyn, to Your Lordships on the 22d of March, 1786 ; and from the nature of that property we conceive that she has no right to sell her former fishing-rooms, etc., which are occupied by British subjects in the fishery. We desire to be understood as having given this opinion without in any measure touching upon a question of great importance,—namely, how far Americans who, after the United States were by His Majesty declared independent, chose to swear allegiance to those States, are capable of retaining real estates in His Majesty's dominions, or, if not, of selling the same to a British subject.

All which is humbly submitted to Your Lordships' consideration.

R. P. ARDEN.¹

A. MACDONALD.²

June 17, 1788.

By His Excellency John Elliott, Esqr., Governor and Commander-in-Chief over the Island of Newfoundland.

Whereas John Saul of this place, boatkeeper, has represented to me that in consequence of being last year allowed to possess a plantation or fishing-room in Saint John's Harbour, known by the name of Lilley's Plantation, he has been at

¹ Richard Pepper Arden, afterwards Baron Alvanley, 1745-1804.

² Probably Sir Archibald McDonald, 1747-1826.

very considerable expense in erecting flakes and other necessary buildings thereon for the use of the fishery, and requested to be secured in the quiet and peaceable enjoyment thereof; and Capt. Gower of his Majesty's ship "Salisbury" having by my direction viewed the premises and reported that the whole of the said plantation has been built upon by the said John Saul as is represented in his petition, and that it is properly employed by him in the fishery: I do hereby grant permission for him to keep possession, and strictly forbid his being disturbed by any person whatsoever in the quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the said plantation or fishing-room so long as he shall continue to occupy it for the purpose (only) of curing, salting, drying, and husbanding of fish agreeable to an Act of Parliament passed in the 10th and 11th years of King William the 3d. [chap. 25] intituled "An Act to encourage the Trade to Newfoundland." But if the said John Saul should desert and suffer the said fishing-room to go to decay, or neglect to make fish thereon for one entire season, then and in that case it may be occupied by any other of His Majesty's subjects first arriving from England or one of the British dominions in Europe, who shall take and keep possession in like manner and for the like purpose (and for no other whatsoever) of carrying on the fishery agreeable to the aforementioned Act of Parliament.

Given under my hand and seal at St. John's, Newfoundland, the 3d day of August in the year 1788.

J. ELLIOTT.

8th December, 1838, copy granted to John
Harrington for the son of the late
John Saul.

By command of the Governor.

A. GRAHAM.

The two Acts of Parliament above referred to, passed in 1699 and 1775, excluded aliens from the right to dry and cure fish on the coasts of Newfoundland, and lim-

ited that right to his Majesty's subjects coming from Great Britain or one of the British dominions in Europe; but neither of them undertook to dispossess titles to land and shore rights already established, or disqualified the Lillies from selling their real estate or privileges to others who could legally use them. The dispossession was a high-handed measure; and quite likely it was thought a fit retaliation for the confiscation proceedings which the different States of the United States had adopted during and after the Revolutionary War.

The Lillies appear to have had for some years a hope of regaining this property; for Major Lillie's mother, Mrs. Abigail Lillie (now Harris), acting under a power vested in her by her first husband's will, conveyed by deed, May 26, 1798,¹ to her son-in-law Samuel Howard, in consideration of \$300, an undivided moiety of "an estate in Saint John's in the island of Newfoundland, commonly known by the name of Lillie's Plantation, butted and bounded as follows, viz., by the new Church Gardens, by the Ship's Boom, by Cook's Plantation, Thomas Mearley's house and stage, James Clark's house and Thomas Meartley's Flake," described as the same estate leased by the grantor, then Abigail Lillie, to Samuel Jutsham.

The direct line of the Lillie family from Edward Lillie of Boston, the American progenitor, to Major John Lillie is —

- I. Edward Lillie, — 1688/9 and wife Elizabeth ———
- II. Samuel Lillie, 1663–1730, and wife Mehitable Frary.
- III. Theophilus Lillie, 1690–1760, and wife Hannah Ruck.
- IV. John Lillie, 1728–1765, and wife Abigail Breck.
- V. John Lillie, 1755–1801, and wife Elizabeth Vose.

¹ Suffolk Deeds, lib. 189, folio 284.

<p>EDWARD LILLIE. — 1688/9.</p>	<p>SAMUEL. 1663—1730.</p> <p>Elizabeth [Hobson]. 1666—</p> <p>Thomas. 1668—1704.</p> <p>Richard. 1671—</p> <p>Edward. — 1702.</p> <p>Nathaniel. — 1688.</p>	<p>Theophilus. 1685—1690.</p> <p>Samuel. 1686—d. young.</p> <p>Hannah. 1689—</p> <p>THEOPHILUS. 1690—1760.</p> <p>Samuel. 1692—d. young.</p> <p>Mehitable [Bowdoin]. 1694—1748.</p> <p>Elizabeth [Clarke]. 1696—1765.</p> <p>Edward. 1698—1700.</p> <p>Abigail. 1699—1700.</p> <p>Edward. 1704—1712.</p> <p>Abigail [Bond-Parker]. 1706—1752.</p>	<p>Samuel. 1726, d. young.</p> <p>JOHN. 1728—1765.</p> <p>Theophilus. 1730—1776.</p>	<p>John (Major). 1755—1801.</p> <p>Mehitable [Phillips]. 1756—1825.</p> <p>Hannah [Fairservice]. — 1787.</p> <p>Margaret [White]. d. after 1796.</p> <p>Anna [Howard]. — 1804.</p> <p>Abigail, d. young.</p>
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Edward Lillie's family appears to be entirely distinct (at least as to origin in this country) from other families spelling the name "Lilly," as from those of George of Reading, John of Concord, John of Woburn, and Luke of Marshfield. The letters of Edward Lillie's name as subscribed to his will in 1688 are not legible; but his son in his will, made in 1702, writes clearly his name as "Lillie." The autographs of the family are uniformly written in this way, though other persons as well as public records often write the name as "Lilly."

The American progenitor, Edward, was one of the substantial citizens of the town of Boston when its estimated population was from five to seven thousand inhabitants. In 1687, he was one of the sixty citizens whose property was rated at £50 or more, — taking rank with such contemporaries as Elisha and Eliakim Hutchinson, Adam Winthrop, Samuel and Anthony Checkley, and Simon Lynde.¹ It was a period, it may be remarked, when the actual value of real estate exceeded by five-fold its valuation for the purposes of taxation. The tax-lists of 1676, 1681, and 1687 contain Edward Lillie's name; that of 1695, the "Widdow Lilley's;" and those of 1686-1688, 1691, and 1698, their son Samuel's.²

Edward Lillie carried on a large business as "cooper," at that period one of the most important industries of New England in its connection with commerce. This trade was then organized as a guild, which at times took formal action for enforcing the laws requiring apprentices to serve seven years.³ The public records show him to have been thought qualified for civil duties,

¹ Memorial History of Boston, ii. 8.

² Boston Record Com. Report, i. 64, 70, 83, 102, 108, 138, 140, 151. See references to him, *ibid.* vii. 53; x. 67, 77.

³ Record Com. Report, vii. 39.

and his mechanical talent was once sought for superintending the reparation of "the Draw Bridge over the Mill Creek,"¹—where now is North Street.² Three years before his death he was engaged in building, as appears by a suit brought against him by a blacksmith.³ He had land "in his tenure and occupation" at the North End prior to 1670 (deed of Williams to Drincker, January 14, 1670/1; Suffolk Deeds vii. 75). He purchased July 8, 1670, an estate at what was then the South End of the town,—a dwelling-house and land bounded by "the high way leading to Roxbury on the northwest side or neere," 88½ feet, southwest by land sold to Edward Cowell 259 feet, southeast by land of the Widow Bottolph 33½ feet, and northeast 255 feet "by the high way leading to Wheeler's Pond"⁴ (Deeds vi. 208). This estate was situated on the southeast corner of Washington and Bedford streets, with a frontage on the former street of about 88 feet, and on the latter of over 250 feet; it is in part now (1896) the site of R. H. White's dry-goods establishment.

Edward Lillie made January 11, 1674, an important purchase of Captain Thomas Savage,⁵ a noted citizen and commander in King Philip's war. It was situated on Conduit (now North) Street, at or near the southwest corner of Blackstone and North streets, and included a share in the conduit,—the curious reservoir of that

¹ Record Com. Report, vii. 69.

² Shurtleff's "Topographical and Historical Description of Boston," pp. 113, 401.

³ Payne v. Lillie, Suffolk Court Files 2323, July 20 and August 27, 1685.

⁴ Known also as the "Town pond," or "Town's watering-place," situated on the northerly side of Pond, afterwards Bedford, Street, and filled up in the last half of the eighteenth century. Shurtleff, pp. 138, 407-411.

⁵ Shurtleff, p. 195.

day.¹ Being at or near the Town Dock (now North Market Street), where the sea came at high tide, it was an advantageous site for business purposes.² It is described in deeds as follows: land in Conduit Street near the Draw Bridge (in North Street), bounded northwesterly by said street, northeasterly by land of John Bateman and Mill Creek (the site of Blackstone Street), southeasterly by the sea, and southwesterly by land of heirs of James Neighbor, having a frontage on the street of fifty feet and a breadth at the rear or the southeast end to the seaward of eighty-nine feet (Deeds ix. 117). Mr. Lillie had occasion to raise loans upon this property, which were paid after brief intervals (Deeds xi. 59; xiii. 176, 177, 369, 370, 399; xv. 124). His deed of purchase refers to buildings and wharves already on the land. He erected upon it in 1684 a brick dwelling-house; and when the estate was conveyed shortly after his death, it was described as having on it houses, edifices, shops, sheds, gardens, yards, and wharves. It was valued in the inventory of his estate at £1300. Edward's son, Samuel Lillie, "merchant," purchased May 30, 1691, of his brother Edward and his sister Elizabeth (Hobson), widow; August 16, 1693, of his brother Richard; and May 16, 1695, of his brother Thomas, — their interests in the two above described estates of their father (Deeds xvi. 224, 225; xxii. 465). He also, by indenture October 10, 1689 (Deeds xxiv. 6), hired of his mother the estate near the Draw Bridge for two years, at an annual rent of £15, — this last document being witnessed by Richard Lillie and Elizabeth Hobson. He sold this estate (November 25, 1707; Deeds xxiii. 173), with additions, to Susannah Jacobs, who conveyed it (August 23, 1717; Deeds xxxii. 52) to John and Elizabeth Pitts, by whose heirs it was divided June 4, 1764 (Deeds ci. 243-246).

¹ Shurtleff, pp. 398-405, 640, 645. ² *Ibid.* pp. 111, 112, 116, 641, 682.

Samuel's son Theophilus, the senior of that name, became after his father's death the owner of the estate on Pond Street by releases from his three sisters, — Elizabeth Clark (March 22, 1750, Deeds lxxix. 199), Mehitable Bowdoin, and Abigail Bond (October 4, 1737, Deeds liv. 255),— and in consideration thereof he released to them all right to certain other property (Deeds lxxix. 203–207). The connection of the Lillie family with this estate ended in 1754, when Theophilus (his wife Hannah joining) sold it to Henry Price by a deed which was afterwards (July 17, 1760) confirmed with a better description by his sole children and heirs, — John, “mariner,” and Theophilus, Jr., “merchant” (Deeds lxxxv. 148 ; xciv. 245).

Edward Lillie's will — dated December 24, 1688, and proved January 7, 1688/9 — names as executors his wife and son Samuel, and as beneficiaries his wife Elizabeth and his children Samuel, Edward, Elizabeth, Thomas, Nathaniel, and Richard, and his grandson Theophilus, who died in childhood. Besides other provisions for her benefit, he assigns to his wife the labor of his negro men Will, Dick, and Jupiter, and of his negro woman Nan, with children Robin and Cuffe. With the formal commitment of his soul to his Maker, common to such documents in those days, he expresses unusual religious feeling, — declaring, as to his estate, “to the intent that there should be no strife for the same after my decease, I do therefore first of all, after thanks given to Almighty God for his great benefitts, desire and pray my wife and children and all others to be contented with this my last will and testament, without any trouble, business, or vexation of any of them against the other, as they will answer for the same before the great tribunall of God, who is a great rewarder of all good persons and a severe judge and revenger of all those who do evill.” He undertook to

write his name, but his hand was so feeble and tremulous that the letters are undistinguishable. His widow's estate was settled in 1708 by her son Samuel. Some of the relatives, as well as other persons, were summoned to produce her papers and goods; but the charge of secreting them did not appear to be sustained.

Edward Lillie was in religious association with the Church of England. This connection appears in his will, in which he bequeathed to that church the sum of three pounds. The legacy is likely to have been given by way of paying his subscription of the same amount for building King's Chapel, "towards erecting a church for God's worship in Boston according to the constitution of the Church of England as by law established." It will be remembered that he lived at a time when Sir Edmund Andros, the Governor, aroused ecclesiastical antipathy by his efforts to set up Episcopacy in Massachusetts. His son Samuel married a daughter of Deacon Frary of the Old South Church; and a religious division in the family led to a scene at Edward Lillie's burial-service, which is thus described by Hamilton A. Hill in his "History of the Old South Church" (i. 277, 278):¹ —

"There was a painful scene at the grave of Edward Lilley, who died during the winter of 1688-89, which shows the intensity of the feeling in the Puritan community against the introduction of the rites of the English Church here. Lilley had been more or less in sympathy with the Episcopal party,

¹ The scene is described in Rev. Joshua Moodey's letter to Increase Mather, January, 1688/9, printed in Mass. Hist. Coll. viii. (4th series) pp. 370, 371, where the note erroneously gives the Christian name as "Samuel." The letter mentions "old Lilly," but Hutchinson (as appears by a reference to the original manuscript in the Boston Public Library) commits the error of substi-

and his name appears among the subscribers for building the new house of worship; but he had left the ordering of his funeral to his executors. The Rev. Mr. Ratcliffe claimed the right to read the service over him, which Mr. Frary in behalf of the family protested against, and with so much vehemency that he was bound over to keep the peace."

I. Edward Lillie, of whom an account has been given, married, about 1661 (as is supposed from the births of his children), Elizabeth, whose maiden name is unknown. She was living in July, 1693 (Court Files, Fragments 48), and is probably the "Widdow Lilley" who was taxed in 1695; and she may be the "Elizabeth Lilley" who was licensed April 3, 1697, to keep a house of entertainment (Files 3446). She is likely to be the "Mrs. Lily" whose death, according to the town records, took place January 4, 1705. The inventory of her estate is dated June 6, 1705, though it was not settled till three years later. The six children of Edward and Elizabeth Lillie were as follows:—

1. Samuel, born March 20, 1663, of whom an account will be given later.

2. Elizabeth, born July 6, 1666; married James Hobson. She had a son James who was baptized at the Old South Church, January 8, 1688/9. She was styled a widow in 1691, when she joined with her brothers in settling her father's estate (Deeds xvi. 224).

3. Thomas, born January 10, 1667/8; a mariner; married tuting "one" for "old." (History of Massachusetts, i. 356 *note*. Boston ed. 1764.) Increase Mather in his "Vindication of New England" (p. 47) ignores the fact that Edward Lillie was an Episcopalian, and asserts that he had "never signified to any of his friends his desire to have the Service Book used at his burial." Foote's "Annals of King's Chapel" (i. 89, 91 *note* 16) erroneously refers to the funeral as "Samuel's."

June 2, 1698 (Rev. Cotton Mather officiating), Elizabeth, daughter of William Hobby and sister of Sir Charles Hobby, — a family prominent in the mercantile industries of Boston at that period.¹ Captain Lillie's widow Elizabeth was married February 10, 1713/4 (Rev. Peter Thacher of Milton, father of the bridegroom, officiating), to Oxenbridge Thacher of Milton (b. 1681, d. 1772), the elder of that name;² and they were the parents of the second Oxenbridge Thacher, the distinguished patriot lawyer of the Province, and the ancestors of a notable line of clergymen.

Captain Thomas Lillie is supposed to have died in Cagliari, the chief port of southern Sardinia. He was severely wounded when commanding "a private ship of war" in an engagement with a Spanish ship, at the time of the war of the Spanish Succession, in which England, Austria, Prussia, and Portugal were arrayed against France. He made his will at Cagliari, July 23, 1704, which, with a deposition attached, was presented to the Probate Court in Boston six years later. He bequeathed to his wife Elizabeth funds and prizes (including prizes at Lisbon, taken when he was Captain Broom's lieutenant) belonging to him, which were in the hands of agents at Tunis, Leghorn, and Lisbon. The little we know of him reveals the adventurous spirit of New England mariners at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The affidavit taken in proof of the will is as follows: —

Lazarus Oxman, of full age, late Apprentice of Tho^s Lillie of Boston, mariner, Saith: That being at Sea wth his s^d Mast^r, then Cap^t of the Southwell Galley, a private Ship of War, his s^d Mast^r being sorely wounded in an Engagement they had wth a Spanish Ship, being taken by her & carryed into Callere^s in the

¹ Captain Lillie was at home, May 16, 1695, when he conveyed his paternal inheritance to his brother Samuel (Deeds xxii. 465).

² Heraldic Journal, Boston, iv. 77, 116, 117. Oxenbridge Thacher was the first child whom his father baptized after beginning his ministry in Milton. He records the birth May 17, 1681, thus: "God sent me a son Oxenbridge, about half an hour after eleven at noon."

³ Probably Cagliari.

Isl^d of Surdeigne, his s^d Master desired his Lieutⁿ W^m Goldsbrough to write his Will for him, w^{ch} he accordingly did. And then his s^d Master signed, sealed, & declared ye Same to be his last Will in this Depon^ts presence, & In the presence of the S^d Goldsbrough, Henry Huby, Clement Melloy, & J^{no} Jackson, Officers on b^d the s^d Ship, who subscribed their names as Witnesses there to accordingly. And the Deponent verily believes the writing on y^e oth^r side is the Same that was then Executed by his s^d Master for his last Will & Testament, & attested as afores^d.

LAZARUS OXMAN.

BOSTON, May 5th, 1710.

4. Richard, a mariner; b. September 20, 1671; m. Mary —, and had a child who died in Boston, May 12, 1706. His wife's affidavit (May 28, 1708) concerning his mother's property shows that he was at sea at that date. He is probably the Captain Lillie referred to as shipping for St. Christopher in Sewall's letter, October 12, 1706; and he is likely to have died at sea.

5. Edward, a mariner; m. July 16, 1702, Mary Emmes, daughter of Henry Emmes,¹ messenger of the General Court (Savage's Dictionary). He was in 1697-98 master of the ship "Samuel" (his brother's ship), which was running between Boston and the ports of Barbadoes and Surinam (Court Files 4801, 4815, 4827, 4831, 5158, 98582; Papers of David Jeffries). His married life was short. His will was made August 4, 1702, and proved November 25 of the same year, the latter date just preceding his death. He left £30 to his mother "if she have need of it and demand the same," and the remainder to his wife, "desiring her to have a tender and child-like care" of his mother during her life. His widow married July 19, 1704, Caleb Trowbridge, and under her new name sued Samuel Lillie, December 13, 1706, for her share in their father's estate, of whose will Samuel was the executor (Court Files 6982, 6985). She married (third) before 1723, the date of her father's will, — Webber.

¹ There was a Henry Emmes in Boston in 1762. Court Files 83667.

6. Nathaniel, whose death was near the date of his father's,— an inference from his clothing being mentioned in the inventory of his father's estate.

Samuel Lillie, eldest son of Edward and Elizabeth, was admitted to the Second Church, April 9, 1682. He married June 4, 1683, at the age of twenty, Mehitable (or Mehetabel as she signed her name) Frary (born February 4, 1665/6; died March 4, 1723), who was then eighteen. She was the daughter of Captain and Deacon Theophilus Frary, one of the founders of the Old South Church, who lived on a part of his father-in-law Eliot's estate, at the corner of Frog Lane (Boylston Street) and Orange (Washington) Street, afterwards the site of the Boylston Market.¹ She "owned the covenant" at the Old South Church, April 30, 1680.² Her mother, who was married at the age of sixteen and a half, was the daughter of Jacob Eliot and the niece of John Eliot the "Apostle to the Indians." Her grandfather Jacob Eliot lived at the corner of Essex and Washington streets, where the Liberty Tree stood, and owned there a valuable estate which extended south almost to the present line of the Boston and Albany Railroad, and westward to the sea-water.³ As Theophilus Frary had no sons, his estate and his wife's were divided among his daughters,— Mehitable Lillie, Abigail (who married Berechiah, or Baraichia) Arnold (whose only child Hannah married

¹ Memorial History of Boston, i. 561, 563, 573; Sewall's Diary (Nov. 8, 1685), i. 103. Hill's "History of the Old South Church" contains many references to Deacon Frary.

² Hill's History, i. 236.

³ Memorial History of Boston, ii. xxxvii. 549, 550. The relations of these families and the estates owned by them are described in Hill's "History," i. 236, Hill's "Historical Catalogue of the Old South Church," pp. 284-285, and in notes to the Sewall Papers, ii. 23; iii. 160, 161.

Samuel Welles, — Deeds xlv. 222), and Hannah (who married, first, Isaac Walker, and afterwards Andrew Belcher, father of Governor Jonathan Belcher, as his second wife). The three daughters by a deed dated June 30, 1708 (Deeds xxiv. 23), with a plan, divided their father's property among themselves. Ten years later, Hannah (now widow of Andrew Belcher), "especially in consideration of the natural love and affection she had and bore towards her well-beloved nephew and nieces, — namely, Theophilus Lillie, Mehetabel Lillie, Jr. (Bowdoin), Elizabeth Lillie (Clark), and Abigail Lillie (Bond)," — conveyed to them (reserving a life estate) her house and land on Wing's Lane (Elm Street) where she was living, her wharf and lands at the South End, her orchard on Frog Lane, and two other parcels of land on the way to Roxbury (Deeds xxxiii. 167). This gift she confirmed January 28, 1718/9 (xxxiii. 197), revoking under a reserved power an inconsistent gift which she had made by deed January 3, 1718 (xxxiii. 181), to Jonathan Belcher and others.

The validity of Mrs. Belcher's gift to the Lillies was questioned by her other relatives on the ground that she had, "by the visitation of God, become *non compos mentis*;" and the beneficiaries seem to have admitted her incapacity to dispose of her property. Theophilus Lillie was made (December 14, 1724) guardian of his aunt Hannah Belcher, described as "relict of Hon. Andrew Belcher," on the ground that she was "enfeebled in body and mind." He was appointed April 14, 1729 (she having died ten days before at the age of seventy-three), administrator of her estate, with Thomas Hutchinson and John Ruck as his sureties. Both before and after her death there were, in 1724 and 1730, voluminous agreements and releases, by which her devisees and heirs adjusted their conflicting claims; and

Governor Jonathan Belcher appeared as mediator between them, receiving himself a conveyance of a part of the disputed property which had belonged to the Eliot-Frary estate (Deeds xxxviii. 65-69; xlv. 222-226, 240). Later conveyances were made, in 1737 and 1750, by Theophilus Lillie, as administrator of Hannah Belcher and as one of her heirs, to his sisters Mehitable Bowdoin, Abigail Bond, and Elizabeth Clarke, and also to Hannah Welles, daughter and heir of his sister Abigail Arnold, — apparently by way of a division of their shares in Mrs. Belcher's property (Deeds lxxix. 203, 205, 206); and he also conveyed to his sister Elizabeth, March 23, 1750, (lxxix. 207) his interest in an estate of Mehitable Bowdoin on Wing's Lane (now Elm Street).

Samuel Lillie is likely to have learned his father's business, as they are both styled "coopers" in a bond signed by them August 27, 1685 (Court Files 2323); but Samuel shortly after entering manhood embarked in commerce, sending as early as May 23, 1684, merchandise to the island of Nevis (Files 2203). From that time till 1707, a period of twenty-three years, he was widely engaged in commercial transactions. He was uniformly styled "merchant" in formal documents. He bought and occupied, after his father's death, the latter's premises at the North End, enlarging them by other purchases, and received February 23, 1700, a special permit to erect a warehouse of timber on his wharf "near the entrance of the Great Dock," of which "the roof was to be covered with slate and both ends rough-casted or plastered" (Files 4969). In 1703 he paid a fine of forty shillings for building with wood contrary to law (Files 5732). Among the vessels he owned, in part or wholly, were the "Friendship," as early as 1694 (Files 2950); the "Margaret," bought of Isaac Royall in 1698 (Files

3734); the "Michael," "Benjamin," "Elizabeth," "Prudent Hannah," "Boston Merchant," "Hannah and Mary," "Union Galley," "Neptune," "Good Luck," "Victory" (Files 5663, 5884, 5889, 6298-99, 6563, 6647, 6970, 7169, 7200, 7389); the "Samuel," mounted with sixteen guns (Files 7016), which he sold to Andrew Belcher, March 31, 1707, probably in payment of a debt (Files 7169); the "Rose," taken by the French at Nevis in March, 1705/6 (Files 7169); and the brigantine "America," mounted with thirty guns, which was building for him at Salem in 1707 (Files 7169, 7218, 7398).¹

In January, 1701, his brig "Mary," bound from the Bay of Campeachy to Boston, laden with logwood, was cast away on the rocks off Marblehead, with the loss of most of the cargo; and the General Court remitted the duties (Mass. Archives, lxiii. 399). In December, 1702, Lillie and one Genner fitted out the privateer "Content," with twelve guns, in the war between England and France and Spain; and Governor Dudley's instructions to the commander are preserved (Archives, lxii. 425-427). In 1697, when a war between England and France was apprehended, five large guns belonging to Lillie, John Ruck, and two others were seized for the defence of Castle Island; and ten years later the General Court voted a reimbursement (Archives, lxxi. 439, 440).

Samuel Lillie's vessels frequented the ports of Central America, the Leeward Islands, Barbadoes, and Surinam (Files 6298-99, 6402, 7218). They returned thence to Boston, or proceeded to London or Holland, or went direct on some voyages from Boston to Europe. He seems to have gone himself to Barbadoes in 1706.² His agents

¹ L. V. Briggs's "History of Ship-building on North River, Plymouth County, Mass.," names several vessels built for Samuel Lillie, of some of which his brothers Thomas and Richard were masters.

² Papers of David Jeffries, October 28, 1706.

were David Waterhouse (of Boston) in London (Files 5884, 7277), Levinus Van Schaick at Rotterdam (Files 6606), and William Gerrish at Montserrat in the West Indies (Files 6298-99). Goods brought from southern ports were sometimes reshipped from Boston to Europe (Files 7282). His vessels arrived in 1701, laden with a quantity of logwood from the Bay of Campeachy which he had caused to be cut there, a venture which resulted in law-suits (Files 5557, 5684, 5760, 5884, 5889, 6212, 6262). Among his out-going cargoes were salted fish, wines, white-oak, staves, hoops, and corn (Files 6970, 7282); and among his returning cargoes were salt, wines, lime-juice, and shipping-gear (Files 4365, 5852, 6213, 6220, 6606, 7277, 7282). These transactions led to considerable litigation, in which John Valentine, a lawyer of the period, was usually Mr. Lillie's attorney¹ (Files 7169, 7200). Paul Dudley served him once in that capacity (Files 6606).

The Lillies and Royalls were by their common relationship to the Eliots brought into business relations with each other. Isaac Royall, father of the Loyalist of the same name, married Elizabeth, daughter of Asaph Eliot, who was the son of Jacob Eliot and nephew of the "Apostle to the Indians."² Mrs. Lillie and Mrs. Royall were thus cousins. Mrs. Royall's father died in 1685, and when in 1700 she became of age she succeeded to her inheritance. Mr. Lillie and Mr. Royall were from 1697 to 1704 in close relations as ship-owners and mer-

¹ Sewall (Papers ii. 162, 163; Letter Book i. 333) probably refers to one of Samuel Lillie's actions in court.

² Memorial History of Boston, ii. 550. This Isaac Royall afterwards lived for a considerable period in Antigua, but returned to New England in 1737. His son, the Loyalist, inherited his estates in that island.

chants; and Royall, becoming indebted to Lillie, gave him in 1704 as security for a debt of £600 a mortgage, his wife joining, which included several tracts inherited by her from her father,¹— a tract at Boston Neck, so called, in King's Province, alias the Narragansett country; one hundred and twenty acres in the North Purchase of Taunton; and three parcels at the South End in Boston: (1) a tenement with garden and orchard, bounded "northerly upon the street or lane leading into the Common, or training-field;" (2) a piece of pasture-land containing two acres, bounded "westerly on the sea or salt water" and northerly in part by the Common; (3) a parcel bounded easterly by "the broad street that leads towards Roxbury," and southerly by "the lane that leads up unto the Common, or training-field" (Deeds xxii. 96, 98; xxiv. 216; xxxv. 22). The conditions of the mortgage not being fulfilled, Mehitable Lillie in 1715, acting under a power of attorney for her husband, who was then resident in London, conveyed all these tracts and lots to their son Theophilus² (Deeds xxx. 153; xxxvi. 92). The above mortgage and the transaction involved in it became the subject of protracted litigation between the parties to it, both in Boston and Antigua (whither Royall went to reside); and an appeal was taken in October, 1730, from the court in Antigua to the Privy Council in London, which, however, was not prosecuted. The contention which began in 1704 lasted over half a century, long surviving the original litigants, and was

¹ These parcels of land are mentioned in an earlier transaction in Edward D. Harris's pamphlet entitled "The Royalls of New England," which is an amplification of his article in the *N. E. Hist. and General Reg.* xxxix. 348.

² The original deed is in the possession of a descendant of the parties to it, — Daniel C. Lillie, of North Easton, Mass.

still in court as late as February, 1757 (Court Files 7788, 14704, 14747, 30342, 30381, 31402, 72991, 75449, 75541, 75986, 76642; Fragments 78).

Certain actions brought by Mr. Lillie for defamation and personal assault (Files 4402, 5835, 7219, 7236), as well as his long contests with Isaac Royall and others, apparently justify the imputation of David Jeffries's London correspondents — William and Sheldon Chambers — when they wrote March 9, 1708/9, "advising him of the trouble and fatigue they had had with that contentious man Lillie."

Samuel Lillie had occasion to borrow money of different persons, among them his sister-in-law Abigail Arnold, then a widow and shop-keeper.¹ This loan led to litigation; and as the result, some of the property inherited by Mrs. Lillie passed to her sister (Deeds xxiv. 24; Court Files 7128, 7467, 7764, 16760, 16763, 16765, 16880, 17601, 27554).

Samuel Lillie's career as a merchant ended in failure. In March, 1707, he was unable to meet his engagements, his commercial paper was protested, his ships and real estate were seized, and many suits were brought against him, which appear in the court records (Files 7182, 7200, 7253, 7439, 8741). The most persistent of his creditors was the firm of Edward Bromfield and Francis Burroughs (Files 7016, 7169, 7173, 7218, 7326, 7398, 7435, 98607). The creditor's remedy was then an arrest of the person; and to avoid this, Mr. Lillie remained for some time in his house, his wife answering for him (Files 7169). She came of a vigorous stock, and her husband relied im-

¹ Samuel Lillie mortgaged August 25, 1707 (Deeds xxiii. 155), to Abigail Arnold, the tracts or parcels which had been conveyed to him by Isaac Royall; but the mortgage was released June 12, 1716 (xxxv. 68).

plicity on her energy and capacity. He executed June 30, 1707, a comprehensive power of attorney, giving her full power to dispose of his real and personal estate and to manage his affairs, trusting all to her "good discretion" (Deeds xxxviii. 165). He was in Boston, May 5, 1708 (Court Files 7435), and July 1, 1708, when he signed a mortgage (Deeds xxiv. 24); and his last known transaction there was August 25, 1708, when, being still styled "a merchant of Boston," he gave a bond to David Jeffries to secure a loan of £710. From that time he was absent for twenty-two years, and little is known of him during that period. The letters of the Messrs. Chambers of London to David Jeffries show that he was not there November 2, 1708, but that he had arrived there before December 4 of that year. Their letters of March 9 and 15 following show that he was still in London. They report his loss of £50 through Captain John Myles (brother of Rev. Samuel Myles of King's Chapel), who had committed a homicide in Ireland and had escaped justice by bribing the judge's wife, misappropriating Mr. Lillie's money for the purpose.¹ He does not seem while in London to have been without funds, and the Messrs. Chambers having some of his money in their hands were able thereby to secure his debt to Mr. Jeffries.² Certain existing papers indicate that he was in Antigua in 1710, where he submitted his controversy with Isaac Royall to arbitration (Files 30342); but perhaps this interpretation

¹ Myles was killed the next year in an encounter with a French privateer, and his widow's petition for relief was granted by the General Court of Massachusetts in November, 1709. *Mass. Archives*, lxiii. 138-140.

² W. Lloyd Jeffries of Boston, descendant of David Jeffries, has his ancestor's papers, rescued twenty years ago from the attic of Faneuil Hall, where they had long remained forgotten and unknown.

is open to question. Legal proceedings in Massachusetts show his absence from the country at different dates, as in 1713 and 1720 (Files 9307, 17601).¹ He is described July 30, 1722, in an instrument signed by his wife, as "being late of Boston in New England, now resident in London, merchant" (Deeds xxxvi. 92). It is not likely that he was in Boston from 1708 till shortly before his death.

A statement made by his son Theophilus, in the controversy with Isaac Royall, claims that on account of his father's failure to obtain from Royall the amount due to him, Samuel Lillie was obliged to take the benefit of bankrupt proceedings in London, June 27, 1727, in which he obtained a certificate in August 25 of that year;² and the same statement reveals, that, "broken with age and infirmities," he returned in 1730 to New England, and died there soon after (Files 30342, 72991). Letters of administration were taken out by his son Theophilus, but not till March 16, 1753, when they probably became necessary for some legal action.

Some impressions of Samuel Lillie's seal are preserved, — two of them being affixed to his own and his wife's signature to a mortgage, July 1, 1708, to Abigail Arnold (deposited in Suffolk Court Files 7467, and recorded with Deeds xxiv. 24). The original contains the autographs of his children Theophilus and Hannah. Another found in the Jeffries collection is described thus: "Arms,

¹ Entries of Sewall (Papers, ii. 362; iii. 149) imply his absence in 1712 and 1717.

² The docket book of the Court of Bankruptcy, London, for the year 1727 (vol. v. p. 319, no. 957), gives the date of the commission as June 26, 1727, and describes the debtor as "Samuel Lillie of Kirby Street in the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, and County of Middlesex; merchant."

or a fesse cotised,—in chief, three lillies (?); crest, a lilly (?)”¹

The Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather, in his introduction to the seventh and last book of his “Magnalia” (ii. 489, edition of 1853), after recounting the literary assistance which had been rendered him in its preparation by reverend gentlemen, concludes with these words:—

“But every undertaking of this nature being expensive, ’t is highly reasonable that I should make a publick and thankful mention of those worthy persons who have generously expressed their good-will to my endeavors, by bearing some of the expences which this work hath called for. Our honourable Lieutenant-Governour, William Stoughton, Esq., the worshipful Samuel Sewal, Esq., the worshipful John Foster, Esq., the worshipful Adam Winthrop, Esq., and my good friends Mr. Robert Bronsdon and Mr. Samuel Lilly are those who have kindly *Mecenated* these my labours. May their names be found written in the Lamb’s book of life as well as ours!”

II. Samuel Lillie, son of Edward Lillie, and his wife Mehitable (Frary) had eleven children, born in Boston, and baptized (except one or two) in the Second Church each a few days after birth.

1. Theophilus, b. June 10, 1685; d. May 31, 1690.
2. Samuel, b. November 12, 1686; d. young.
3. Hannah, b. February 4, 1688/9. She was a witness to a deed, July 1, 1708 (Deeds xxiv. 24; Court Files 7467). She may be the one of that name who appears by the town records to have married May 11, 1710, John Ellis. He had property in Lynde Street, and removed to Cambridge (Suffolk Deeds xliii. 119; xlv. 246. Middlesex Deeds xxx. 303; liii. 203).
4. Theophilus, baptized August 24, 1690; d. March, 1760 (of whom see later).

¹ N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg. (1877) xxxi. 62, where the date is erroneously given as 1709 instead of 1708.

5. Samuel, baptized June 5, 1692; probably died young.¹

6. Mehitable, b. February 2, 1693/4; m. April 24, 1735, James Bowdoin as his third wife. He died September 8, 1747, and she died the next year, her will being made June 28, 1748, and proved August 2, 1748.

7. Elizabeth, b. February 29, 1695/6; m. October 2, 1749, Jonas Clarke (d. 1759), and died in January, 1765. She is probably the one of her name who was admitted to the Second Church, September 20, 1713.

8. Edward, b. February 25, 1697/8; d. August 31, 1700.

9. Abigail, baptized November 19, 1699; d. September 14-1700.

10. Edward, b. November 20, 1704; baptized at the Old South Church, November 26, 1704/5; d. August 26, 1712. Sewall records, August 29, 1712, "went to the funeral of Mrs. Lillie's son, about 8 years old." The father was then absent from the country.

11. Abigail, b. April 26, 1706; admitted to the Old South Church, January 22, 1726; m. August 29, 1728, Matthew Bond, a "merchant," who "being bound on a voyage to sea" made his will, February 10, 1732, leaving no children. His widow married October 5, 1736, Seth Parker (b. 1705), who had removed from Falmouth to Boston.² He died just before April 26, 1750, and his wife before December 25, 1752 (Probate Rec. *xlvi.* 235; *lx.* 475-476; *lxiv.* 601; *lxxii.* 446-467, 655; *lxxiv.* 169). Their estate was divided September 13, 1765, between their two children (of whom Elizabeth Clarke had been one of the guardians), — Samuel (b. August 10, 1743) and Mehitable (b. 1742), who as early as 1765 married Richard Palmes, an "apothecary" or "trader" (Deeds *cvi.* 43; Probate Rec. *lxv.* 161). This Samuel Parker, having a wife Ann

¹ There was a Samuel Lilly or Lillie in Sutton in 1720, who removed to Woodstock, Conn. (Deeds *xxxv.* 202; *xxxvi.* 168; *xxxvii.* 176; *xxxviii.* 28, 61; *xxxix.* 145, 171; *xl.* 17); but this Samuel Lilly, or Lillie, belongs to another line, — that of Reading, Mass.

² Freeman's "History of Cape Cod," *ii.* 467 *note.*

and a son Samuel, became a merchant in Boston, and died there in 1773, making his will January 5 of that year, "being bound to sea," which was proved March 26 following. Theophilus Lillie was one of the witnesses, and one of the appraisers of the estate. Samuel Parker had purchased in 1765 and 1768 the interests of Richard and Mehitable Palmes, Abigail Lillie (widow) and Theophilus Lillie in an estate in Wing's Lane (Deeds cvi. 43; cxiii. 119), and he had joined with those same parties in 1766 in a deed of certain property to the Town of Boston (Deeds cix. 264). His son Samuel, apparently his only child, does not again appear on the records, and as far as known left no descendants. The name Palmes has become extinct in Boston.

Mehitable Lillie, daughter of Samuel and Mehitable (Frary), became the third wife of James Bowdoin,—the rich merchant, and the father of Governor Bowdoin by an earlier marriage. Her married life of twelve years was passed in affluence, ending with his death, September 8, 1747, at the age of seventy-one, her own death following in less than a year.¹ Though well provided for by an ante-nuptial agreement mentioned in his will, he remembered her generously in the bequest of a house at the West End during her widowhood, with a sum of money and "a four-wheeled chaise and two horses." In her own will, dated June 28, 1748, and proved August 2, 1748, of which her sister Elizabeth (Clarke) was made executrix (her nephew Theophilus Lillie becoming administrator *de bonis non* in 1765), she made bequests to her brother Theophilus Lillie, to her sisters Elizabeth and Abigail (Parker), and to her "cousin" (nephew) John Lillie. Theophilus Lillie conveyed March 22, 1750 (Deeds lxxix. 207), to his sister Elizabeth Clarke his share in

¹ Her portrait is said to have existed at a modern period, but the effort to trace it has been fruitless.

the house on Wing's Lane, which had come to him through Mrs. Bowdoin's will. Mrs. Bowdoin left, as the inventory of her estate shows, a large amount of plate and jewelry, as well as "four family pictures and a coat-of-arms, which according to custom are not prized." One provision of her will is of interest: "I give and bequeath my negro man slave named Cæsar to my sister Elizabeth Lilley, as long as she shall live unmarried; and if my said sister should marry in the lifetime of my said negro, I order that from that time he be a free negro; and in case said negro should behave well, and my said sister should not marry but die before said negro, I desire that she would make him free at her death."

The ante-nuptial agreement between Elizabeth Lillie and Jonas Clarke—made September 27, 1749 (Deeds lxxxix. 56), and witnessed by her brother John Lillie and Christian Barter—secured to her her own property and the payment of £2000 from her husband's estate in case she survived him. His death occurring before hers, she duly acknowledged (February 23, 1761) the receipt of the stipulated sum. The inventory of her estate was made January 23, 1765, indicating her death shortly before that date. Her property was divided between her nephews Theophilus and John Lillie and Samuel Parker, and her niece Mehitable Palmes.

There is in the possession of Major Lillie's descendant—Daniel C. Lillie—a silver mug, of a weight equal to fifteen silver dollars, bearing the stamp of its maker Benjamin Burt, on which is engraved, without date, "The gift of Mrs. Eliz. Clark to John Lillie." The latter name is ambiguous, being that of the giver's nephew, who had rendered her kindly services; or of his son, the future Major Lillie, who was still a child at the time of her death in 1765. The inventories of the estates, it may be added, of

both Mrs. Clarke and her sister Mrs. Bowdoin show them to have been possessed of a large amount of choice furniture and bric-a-brac.

In 1723 "a watch-house" was placed at "the upper end of Pond [now Bedford] Street," near the home of Theophilus Lillie. In 1730 it was, after discussion, removed at his request, as he was making some improvements farther up the street at the corner of Newbury Street and Frog Lane, "contiguous to and ranging with his land."¹

III. Theophilus Lillie [Samuel,² Edward¹] married July 8, 1725, Hannah Ruck (Rev. Cotton Mather officiating), and died in March, 1760. Their children, born in Boston and baptized shortly after birth in the Second Church, were as follows: —

1. Samuel, b. April 26, 1726; d. young.
2. John, b. August 8, 1728 (father of Major John Lillie).
3. Theophilus, b. August 18, 1730 (the Loyalist)

The elder Theophilus Lillie, son of Samuel, does not appear to have been active in business; but he had much to do in settling his father's affairs. He appears in 1736 as one of the subscribers to "Prince's Chronological History of Boston,"² — the list containing, according to Mr. Drake, the names of persons most interested at that period in literary concerns.³

Hannah Ruck (b. December 4, 1702), wife of Theophilus Lillie the elder, was the daughter of John Ruck, a successful merchant, a citizen active in municipal affairs and holding municipal offices.⁴ In March, 1738, the town

¹ Record Com. Report xiii. 202, 203.

² Memorial History of Boston, ii. 561.

³ N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg., vii. 185.

⁴ Memorial History of Boston, ii. 534-535, 562; iv. 647.

by formal vote thanked him for his "good service" as overseer of the poor for twenty-three years, and on his request excused him, as he was advanced in years, from further holding the office. Hannah Ruck's mother (great-grandmother of Major John Lillie) was Hannah Hutchinson, daughter of Colonel Elisha Hutchinson and aunt of Thomas Hutchinson, the last Royal Governor of Massachusetts.¹ There were close relations — combining kinship, friendship, and homes near together at the North End — between the Hutchinsons and Lillies, which were kept up in Boston and continued in Halifax, after the Loyalist exodus in 1776. The two family names appear together in deeds and probate papers.

John Ruck died September 19, 1750 (Court Files 71309). Judge Edward Hutchinson, uncle of the Governor, who was named in his will (proved December 26, 1750) as executor, had died the year before; and John Ruck's grandson, Theophilus Lillie, Jr., the Loyalist, was appointed June 8, 1753, administrator with the will annexed, giving as sureties his brother John Lillie and Edward Hutchinson, son of the deceased judge. The beneficiaries of John Ruck's will were his daughter Abigail (wife of Benning Wentworth, afterwards Governor of New Hampshire), his daughter Hannah (wife of Theophilus Lillie), and the two sons of each, and his youngest daughter Margaret (unmarried, who was living as late as 1779 in advanced years), known as "Aunt Peggy," making her home with Samuel Howard (Deeds cxxx. 6). Mrs. Lillie and Margaret Ruck had occasion to petition the General Court in November, 1752, in order to secure their rights under a mortgage on land in Braintree, and a remedy was granted.²

¹ Thomas Hutchinson's "Diary and Letters," ii. 467, where "Joseph" should read "Theophilus" Lillie.

² Massachusetts Archives, xviii. 883-888.

Theophilus Lillie's sale of the family estate at the corner of Newbury and Pond streets, March 9, 1754 (Deeds lxxxv. 148), has already been noted. Before this sale he had removed (as appears by John Ruck's will, August 13, 1750) to the Ruck homestead "near the old North Meeting House," an estate which will appear again in the confiscation proceedings against his son and namesake.

Theophilus Lillie died late in March, 1760. Administration was granted on his estate (April 4, 1760) to his widow Hannah, with her sons John Lillie ("mariner") and Theophilus ("merchant") as her sureties, and Margaret Ruck as a witness to the bond. The small property he left, only seventy-two pounds after payment of his debts, indicates that he had not prospered in trade. Among his assets were "a coat-of-arms," an "8-day clock," and "1 qt^t part of a negro man named Hanabal." His wife left a will dated November, 17, 1761, proved June 2, 1767 (John Langdon and Hannah and Abigail Mather witnesses, and her son Theophilus executor), by which she bequeathed most of her property to her son John, Theophilus having received a larger share as the elder son from his father's estate.

Dr. Estes Howe left this memorandum, made while pursuing his investigations:—

"I have thus traced the ancestry of Theophilus Lillie [the elder of that name] and his wife back to the first settlers in all their branches. They may be said to have belonged to the best families of New England. The aunt of Theophilus, Hannah Frary, had married the father of Governor Belcher. His sister Mehitable married Hon. James Bowdoin, a Councilor, and father of the future Governor. His wife's sister Abigail was the wife of Benning Wentworth, son of a Governor of New Hampshire, and himself Governor for a quarter of a

century. His wife's uncle, Hon. Thomas Hutchinson, was a man of wealth and distinction, a Councillor; and his more distinguished son was just beginning a career of public honors, which for forty years marked him as the most distinguished man of the State."

Theophilus Lillie, youngest son of Theophilus and Hannah (Ruck) Lillie, was born August 18, 1730. He married late in 1757 (intentions of marriage published October 27, 1757) Ann Barker, who had been a shop-keeper, in company with Abiel Page, "near Rev. Mr. Mather's meeting-house" (Court Files 79294, 80422, 81522, 81785; Boston "Gazette," November 14, 21, 1757). He was educated as a merchant, while his brother John followed the sea. He was actively in the retail trade as early as 1758, as shown by the numerous collection suits brought by him, and his advertisements in the Boston "Gazette" May 22 of that year (Files 79191, 79201, 79204, 79269, 83022). His store was on "Middle [Hanover] Street, near Mr. Pemberton's meeting-house." His stock was miscellaneous, — English dry-goods and groceries. At the time of the exodus from the town on account of the small-pox in February, 1764, he set up his business temporarily "near Milton meeting-house."¹ The Boston records show him to have been appointed on a committee concerning the demolition of the old buildings in Dock Square belonging to the town.²

Mr. Lillie was a determined Loyalist, being naturally led to that party by his relation to the Hutchinsons and his friendship for Dr. Benjamin Church. He was particularly obnoxious to the Patriots for his stubbornness in refusing to comply with the agreement of merchants

¹ Massachusetts Gazette, March 8, 1764.

² S. G. Drake's "History of Boston," p. 597 *note*.

not to import British goods.¹ He was on this account waited upon, in 1769-1770, by merchants organized as a "body," and formally denounced by them as well as by the citizens in town-meeting. He signed the addresses to Hutchinson and Gage, and the protests against radical measures which were subscribed by other supporters of the Crown.² An offensive figure representing an "importer" was placed on a pole before his store, and the attempt by one Richardson to remove it resulted in the death of the lad Snyder, one of the assailants. This inflamed popular feeling against Mr. Lillie, who however had taken no part in the affair.³ Mr. Lillie's full statement of the interferences with his business by committees of merchants and citizens will be found in the "Massachusetts Gazette," January 11, 1770. An extract will show its spirit:—

"Upon the whole, I cannot help saying—although I have never entered far into the mysteries of government, having applied myself to my shop and my business—that it always seemed strange to me that people who contend so much for

¹ Massachusetts Gazette, October 5, 1769; January 4, 11, 25; February 1, 1770. S. G. Drake's "History of Boston," pp. 767, 776; Record Com. Report, xviii. 16; Edes and Gill's North American Almanac, 1770; "Memorial History of Boston," iii. 30; N. E. Geneal. and Antiq. Reg. x. 250; John Rowe's Diary in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, March, 1895, p. 73.

² Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter, July 7, 1774. Curwen's "Journal and Letters," pp. 425, 433.

³ Boston Gazette, February 26, 1770; Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Post Boy and Advertiser, February 26, 1770; Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter, March 1, 1770; Sabine's "Loyalists of the Revolution," ii. 16, 17. A broadside representing the affair, with a picture of the scene including Mr. Lillie's store and sign, which was issued at the time, is in the library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society; it has been reprinted, with the cut reproduced.

civil and religious liberty should be so ready to deprive others of their natural liberty ; that men who are guarding against being subject to laws [to] which they never gave their consent in person or by their representative should at the same time make laws, and in the most effectual manner execute them upon me and others, to which laws I am sure I never gave my consent either in person or by my representative. But what is still more hard, they are laws made to punish me after I have committed the offence ; for when I sent for my goods, I was told nobody was to be compelled to subscribe ; after they came, I was required to store them. This in no degree answered the end of the subscription, which was to distress the manufacturers in England. Now, my storing my goods could never do this : the mischief was done when the goods were bought in England ; and it was too late to help it. My storing my goods must be considered, therefore, as punishment for an offence before the law for punishing it was made.

“ If one set of private subjects may at any time take upon themselves to punish another set of private subjects just when they please, it’s such a sort of government as I never heard of before ; and according to my poor notion of government, this is one of the principal things which government is designed to prevent ; and I own I had rather be a slave under one master (for if I know who he is, I may perhaps be able to please him) than a slave to a hundred or more, who I don’t know where to find, nor what they will expect from me.”

Mr. Lillie removed in 1770 to Oxford in Worcester County, — a removal probably induced by his recent experiences in Boston ; and his domicil is stated to be in that town in actions brought by him in Suffolk County (Files 89839, 89973, 89989, 90282). But his new residence did not prove more congenial than Boston to one of his political views. The people of Oxford took umbrage because in 1772 he attached for a debt the house of Dr. Alexander Campbell, and they threatened him with

violence (Files 91114). In the same year he sold his place in Oxford, and returned to Boston. He bought in 1774 an estate in Brookfield, but it does not appear that he lived upon it at any time.¹

Mr. Lillie seems to have been, until the political troubles, in good circumstances; and according to family traditions he kept up in his manner of dress the fashions of the period. His confiscated personal effects indicate a liberal style of living. He left Boston in March, 1776, at the time of the British evacuation, and went with the troops to Halifax. His family thus embarking numbered four persons,² — himself and wife, and one of the other two being, doubtless, a negro servant. He died in Halifax, May 12, two months after leaving Boston.³ His will, dated four days before his death, gave all he had to his wife Anna. Two of the three witnesses were well-known Loyalists, — one, Benning Wentworth, a relative; and the other, Dr. William Lee Perkins, of Boston. Governor Hutchinson, then in England, wrote in his journal July 24: "When I came home, heard of Mr. Lillie's death at Halifax. What numbers have been brought to poverty, sickness, and death by refusing to concur with the present measures of America!"⁴

Mrs. Lillie continued to live at Halifax after her husband's death. Notwithstanding the confiscation proceedings, she undertook to collect, by suits in Massachusetts in 1784-85, some of the debts due to her husband (Court Files 95851, .4304). In one of these cases — a suit for goods sold between January, 1774, and May 8, 1775 — the

¹ Daniels's "History of Oxford," p. 594.

² Proceedings of Mass. Hist. Soc. December, 1880, p. 267.

³ Continental Journal, June 27, 1776, copied from "Nova Scotia Gazette."

⁴ Diary and Letters, ii. 84.

defendant had filed an untrue account with the State commissioners, and Mrs. Lillie's claim was for the amount which was really due from him. Her counsel was Edward Hutchinson Robbins, afterwards lieutenant-governor, and the account had been made up by Major John Lillie. The confiscation act was, however, a bar to any recovery.

Mrs. Lillie survived her husband eighteen years. Her funeral is registered on the records of St. Paul's Church, Halifax, as being on September 16, 1794, at the age of seventy-nine.¹ Her will (appointing Foster Hutchinson, Jr., executor) — dated December 29, 1789, with codicils dated December 10, 1791, and August 5, 1794 — was proved September 20, 1794, on the oath of John Masters and Foster Hutchinson, Jr. Its provisions show close relations of kinship and friendship with the Hutchinson family. After dividing her linen and clothing between Mrs. Mary Cox (a relative) and her (Mrs. L.'s) niece Mehitable Andrews, she gives to Judge Hutchinson a ruby ring, and to his wife Margaret a diamond ring; to Rev. Dr. Andrew Brown² a silver tankard; to Foster Hutchinson, Jr.,³ a silver tankard; to Henry Atkins a silver cup marked "E. L."; and to Elizabeth Hutchinson a silver tea-pot, — this last being given by codicil to Mrs. Lydia Slater, daughter of Foster Hutchinson, Sr., and sister of Elizabeth, who had died May 17, 1792. Certain provisions show a particular interest in a colored servant. The will provides: "It is also my will

¹ This record of her age at death makes her a much older person than her husband, and it may be incorrect.

² Minister of the Scotch church at Halifax, and friend of Rev. Jeremy Belknap, of Boston. See Belknap Papers, Mass. Hist. Soc. iv. 520 *note*.

³ The last representative of the Foster Hutchinson family is William J. Stirling, formerly of Halifax, N. S., now of London, who passes most of the time on the Continent.

and intention that my black man Cæsar be free, and that the sum of ten pounds be retained and left in the hands of my hereinafter named executor, to be applied to the use of the said Cæsar in case of sickness or other necessity, at the discretion of said executor." One codicil (December 10, 1791) bequeaths to him "a suit of mourning clothes suitable for a man in his situation in life;" and the later codicil (August 5, 1794) bequeaths to him "the feather-bed and bedstead whereupon he usually sleeps, and also the bedclothes and bedding belonging thereto."

The will refers to claims of her late husband's estate against persons in New England, and to those she had "preferred to Government to a large amount, for the losses sustained by my late husband in consequence of his loyalty and adherence to his Majesty's government in America." Whatever should be realized from these sources she desires to have applied to the payment of her husband's debts to Messrs. Champion and Dickinson, and to Messrs. Thomas and Elisha Hutchinson, the residue to be divided among her relations,—Mrs. Mary Cox, or her representatives, and her (Mrs. Lillie's) niece Mehitable Andrews.

Major Lillie was a debtor to Mr. Lillie's estate,—an indebtedness which appears to have been created by his becoming the assignee of a debt due to the estate, for which he took in payment lands in Maine. He paid two of the widow's drafts upon him,—one dated October 1, 1793, for forty dollars, payable to Alice Wyer, supposed to be a relative of Mrs. Anna Lillie; and another dated January 9, 1794, for five pounds and ten shillings, payable to Rev. Dr. Jeremy Belknap of Boston, probably a friendly gift to that divine as her former pastor. After Major Lillie's death, his widow (as administrator) paid from his

small estate a certain sum in settlement of the balance due to Foster Hutchinson, executor of Mrs. Anna Lillie's will.¹ The amount must have been used under the directions of her will to pay her husband's indebtedness to the Hutchinsons. This was an honorable transaction in Major Lillie's widow, as she might have set up in defence to a suit the confiscation proceedings against Theophilus Lillie.

Theophilus Lillie died childless. Search was made in July, 1895, by Edward Lillie Pierce and his son George, in the old graveyard at Halifax; but no stone for him or his wife was discovered, although her funeral had been duly recorded in the church register. The stones of Foster Hutchinson and his family were well preserved; and the Lillie stone, if ever set up, would be likely to be found near them.

The real and personal estate of Theophilus Lillie was seized by the State under confiscation proceedings. He had performed no hostile act, but was proceeded against as an "absentee," — his crime being that he had left the country, when one of his avowed loyalty to the Crown could not have remained behind without peril of personal violence and imprisonment. His personal property was disposed of, and his three pieces of real estate were sold at public auction, — (1) land and buildings on Middle (Hanover) Street; (2) an undivided third of land and house at the corner of Sun Court and Market Square, where he lived; and (3) an estate in Brookfield. The two Boston estates were appraised (June 9, 1780), the first at £35000, and the second (a third interest) at £8000. His debts were small, less than one hundred pounds; but the whole amount turned into the treasury was £595, val-

¹ Probate Records of Norfolk County in estate of John Lillie.

ued at £446 in sterling money.¹ As was usual in such cases, the public gain was inconsiderable. Samuel Howard, who had married Mr. Lillie's niece, purchased (May 4, 1781) the one-third interest in the Sun Court property (Deeds cxxx. 5). It had come from the Ruck estate; and Margaret Ruck, Mr. Lillie's aunt, owned another third, which she conveyed (March 31, 1779) to Samuel Howard (Deeds cxxx. 6) in consideration of £130 and the grantee's agreement to support her during life. The remaining third had been overlooked by the State commissioners charged with the duty of disposing of confiscated estates. By deed executed at Halifax, December 13, 1784 (Deeds clv. 97), Mrs. Lillie conveyed all her husband's rights (which included this remaining third) to Samuel Howard; but the conveyance was prudently withheld from the record till February 8, 1786, when the mania for confiscation had passed. This estate became the site of the Seaman's Bethel, made famous by the distinguished ministry of Father Taylor.

IV. John Lillie [Theophilus,³ Samuel,² Edward¹], born August 8, 1728, was the eldest son of the first Theophilus Lillie who lived beyond infancy. He is described as "mariner" in public documents, but no details of his career on the sea have been transmitted. He married in Trinity Church, August 16, 1754 (intentions published July 27), Abigail Breck (b. June 19, 1732). He died in April, 1765 (his will being proved on the 19th).²

Mrs. Lillie was the daughter of John and Margaret (Thomas) Breck. She received, like her married sisters, £125 on her marriage, which was deducted from her equal

¹ Massachusetts Archives, cliv. 338; cxxxix. 405; also Probate Records of Suffolk County, no. 16620.

² His widow joins in a conveyance, November 4, 1766 (cix. 264).

share bequeathed her by her father's will (proved March 13, 1761). Her father was a cooper, having a mansion house on Ship (now North) Street, where also were his shop and wharf. He was the owner of shares in vessels. He left three sons, — Samuel (the merchant who lived at the corner of Winter and Tremont streets), William, and Daniel; and four daughters, — Mrs. Lillie, Mrs. Margaret Nickels, Mrs. Anna Cruft, and Elizabeth, afterwards Mrs. Treat. A son of Samuel the merchant, and bearing his name (b. July 17, 1771; d. September 1, 1862), was a member of Congress from Philadelphia from 1823 to 1825, and is the author of an entertaining volume of "Recollections." Late in his life, and early in the Civil War, he and his kinswoman Mrs. Eliza S. Pierce resumed correspondence, in which each expressed patriotic sentiments. A year or so before his death, in an interview with her son Edward Lillie Pierce, he gave recollections of Washington's last visit to Philadelphia, and of scenes in France just preceding the Revolution of which he had been an eye-witness. In his "Recollections" (p. 281), under date of July 3, 1817, he wrote: —

"On the 4th of June, 1815, Mr. Samuel Howard and Mr. Edward Cruft, two of my kinsmen, dined with me; and in course of conversation we mentioned the ages of my paternal relations now living. If I recollect right, my father's sisters are now of the following ages: Mrs. Nichols [Nickels] ninety-four, Mrs. Harris [married first to John Lillie] eighty-five, Mrs. Cruft seventy-five; and his two brothers, now living, William Breck seventy-eight, Daniel Breck seventy."

Mrs. Lillie's mother was Margaret Thomas, daughter of Captain William Thomas of Boston, a successful mariner. His other children named in his will (proved in 1747) were Ann (a witness to John Ruck's will), who died unmarried,

and William, who became a physician in Plymouth. On September 30, 1769, Dr. Thomas and the children of his deceased sister Margaret Breck (including Mrs. Lillie, then a widow) joined in a conveyance of his father's property at the North End (Deeds cxx. 198). The Breck and Thomas families made another connection with each other by the marriage of John Breck's son William to Dr. William Thomas's daughter Margaret.¹

The late William Thomas of Plymouth (b. 1789; d. 1882), who was the oldest graduate of Harvard College at the time of his death, was Dr. William Thomas's grandson and the last-named Margaret's nephew; and he recalled in his old age, in interviews with Edward Lillie Pierce, his early association with Major Lillie's family and his visits to them at Milton.²

The Lillies became connected with the Shaws by the marriage of Abigail Breck's sister Margaret to Captain William Nickels, mariner, who were the parents of the wife of Francis Shaw, Jr., the father of Robert Gould Shaw. The friendship and fellow service in war of Major Lillie and Samuel Shaw — younger brother of Francis Jr. — have been referred to in the sketch of Major Lillie.

Mrs. Lillie (born Breck) made a second marriage, January 13, 1779, to Captain Samuel Harris, who lived in Charter Street, and died in February, 1792, at the age of 62.³ After the death of her second husband (by whom she had no children) she lived for a time with her granddaughter, Mrs. Fay, at Cambridgeport, but mostly with her daughter Mrs. Samuel Phillips at No. 6 Hollis Street,

¹ For these connections see "Genealogy of the Breck Family" (Dorchester Branch), pp. 18, 19, 39.

² For the Thomas pedigree, see W. T. Davis's "Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth," p. 262.

³ *Columbian Centinel*, February 4, 1792.

Boston, where she was living at the time of her death, October 28, 1819.¹

She was buried in the Granary Burial Ground, in the tomb of Samuel Phillips and Francis Barrett, which is still conspicuous in the northern part of the ground. She was supported in part by a small annuity left in 1804 by her daughter, Mrs. Samuel Howard.

¹ This is the date given in the Phillips Family Bible, but the town records state the date to be the 29th.

DESCENDANTS OF MAJOR JOHN LILLIE'S SISTERS.

JOHN LILLIE, son of the elder Theophilus, subscribed his will February 25, 1765 (proved April 19 of that year), by which he gave his wife Abigail (Breck) full power to sell his personal and real estate, — the income to be hers during her life, and the remainder after her death to be equally divided among his six children, whom he named: John (the Major), Hannah, Mehitable, Margaret, Ann, and Abigail. The witnesses were William and Samuel Breck, his wife's brothers, and Samuel Treat, who married her sister Elizabeth. The children's births are not entered in the town records, or in the baptismal records of churches, or (so far as known) in contemporaneous family Bibles. Later records in some cases assign dates of birth, but without certainty.

Two of the daughters — Mehitable, marrying Samuel Phillips; and Ann, marrying Samuel Howard — have always, with their descendants, been well known. There was a family tradition that one of the other daughters married a Fairservice, and another a White; but otherwise they were lost sight of. A recent examination of public records has resulted in identifying Hannah as marrying Matthew Fairservice, and Margaret as marrying Joel White; but neither is now represented by any issue. The fifth daughter, Abigail (presumably the youngest), is not traced beyond the mention of her name in her father's will;

and she probably did not long survive him. The particulars as to the other four daughters are as follows:—

Hannah Lillie, married early in 1778 (intentions published December 25, 1777) Matthew Fairservice, who was engaged in business in Boston and for a time in Watertown,—at the latter place in 1782, in connection with Samuel Harris, probably the second husband of his wife's mother.¹ She survived her husband, and died February 9, 1787, her age being then stated to be thirty-three.² She left a son Charles, who was cared for by his uncle, Samuel Phillips,—the latter being appointed April 26, 1796, guardian, with Samuel Howard as surety on his bond. This son died November 5, 1802, at the age of seventeen. The name of "Hannah Fairservice" is signed as witness to a deed of Margaret Ruck to Samuel Howard, March 31, 1779 (Suffolk Deeds cxxx. 6).

Margaret Lillie, called "Peggy" in documents, married in 1783 (intentions published June 11, 1783) Joel White, of Watertown, son of Jonas White, a leading citizen of that place. (Their only child died in April, 1789; Mr. White died in the summer or autumn of that year, at the age of thirty-five.) Her name appears on a bond, November 4, 1789 (Middlesex Probate Records, lxxiii. 386). The date of her death is not known, but she was living December 27, 1796, when she was a witness (signing as "Peggy" White) with her mother, Abigail Harris, to the will of Samuel Howard, her brother-in-law.

Mehitable Lillie, born October 17, 1756; died August 20, 1825; married October 1, 1778, Samuel Phillips (1756-

¹ Massachusetts Archives, ccxxxv. 382-384.

² Independent Chronicle, February 15, 1787.

1836), of Boston. His house was at No. 6 Hollis Street, and his shop near by at No. 57 Orange (then Washington) Street. He was one of the descendants of Major William Phillips of Boston and Saco, the genealogy of whom has been fully explored by Frederick L. Gay, of Brookline. The medallion miniatures of Samuel and Mehitable (Lillie) Phillips — profile likenesses in composition or clay finished in wax — are in the possession of George A. Phillips, of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The family tomb is in the rear part of the Granary Burial-Ground, marked with Samuel Phillips's name and F. Barrett's. The children of Mehitable (Lillie) Phillips were Nancy (Ockington), John Lillie, Betsey (Bent), Nathaniel, Mary Fox (Knox), Harriet (Folling), Samuel Maverick, and Mehitable Lillie, as follows:

I. Nancy Phillips, b. September 5, 1779; d. January 15, 1871; m. July 27, 1803, David Ockington, of Boston, and their children (besides Julia, d. in infancy) were —

1. Mary Anne, b. March 11, 1808; d. October 10, 1887; m. October 19, 1825, Flavel Moseley (b. March 6, 1798; d. February 4, 1877); she and most of her descendants were of Dorchester; and (besides Sarah, d. in infancy) she had — (1) Mehitable P. [b. July 15, 1826; m. November 4, 1846, John H. B. Lang, of Boston; and had — (a) Emma L. (b. April 15, 1848; d. October 1, 1869; m. Edward Ashwell, of Dorchester; and had one child, d. young); (b) William D. (b. July 8, 1853; m. Josephine E. Ordway; and had three children, — Elizabeth, b. November 4, 1882; Martha, b. May 24, 1884; and Mary Ordway, b. February 5, 1895); (c) Grace L. (b. July 2, 1855; d. December 28, 1895; m. Theodore Phipps, of Needham; and had six children, — Adeline W., b. October 22, 1879; Grace L., b. September 29, 1880; Mehitable L., b. September 14, 1882; Theodore T., b. March 21, 1885; Samuel H., b. January 2, 1890; and William, b. June 5, 1895); (d) Annie M. (b. December 12, 1857; m. Joseph B. Williams, of New York City;

and had five children, — Elsie M., b. December 9, 1882; Pearcie P., b. March 23, 1884; Constance, b. June 15, 1887; Francis C., b. June 5, 1889; and Joseph B., b. July 16, 1892); (c) Frank M. (b. December 12, 1859; m. Jennie Mingard, and lives in Johannesburg, Africa). (2) Flavel A. [b. June 9, 1830; m. Caroline L. Weymouth, and had — (a) Loring A. (b. October 6, 1854; m. Virginia C. Keiley; and had Mary E., b. August 3, 1883; Mabel F., b. March 2, 1885; and Arthur L., b. July 6, 1888); (b) Florence C. (b. January 23, 1863); (c) Willard C., b. June 4, 1869]. (3) Rebecca S. [b. March 28, 1832; d. June 10, 1896; m. Ebenezer Holden, Jr., and (besides Arthur, d. young), had — (a) Harry M. (b. October 24, 1851; m. Frances Bird; and had Homer W., b. October 24, 1883); (b) Walter D. (b. September 29, 1855; d. January 28, 1893; m. Eleanor Winslow; and had Annie R., b. October 3, 1878; Eben W., b. December 19, 1882; Gertrude, b. September 30, 1886; Grace, b. December 19, 1889; and Walter D., b. June 19, 1893); (c) Marion R. (b. January 31, 1868; d. June 5, 1891; m. Samuel W. Humphrey]. (4) David O. [b. July 20, 1834; d. March 4, 1879; m. (first) Florence Etheridge, and (second) Fannie Seymour, and left one child by second marriage]. (5) Elisha [b. August 25, 1836; m. Elizabeth H. Bailey; and (besides Cora and George, d. young) had — (a) Charles B. (b. October 6, 1861; m. Lucy M. Fowle; and had Elizabeth L., b. May 10, 1888, and Maynard F., b. January 22, 1890); and (b) Fanny A. (b. November 9, 1863; m. Henry D. Hooke, and had Anna M., b. November 10, 1893]. (6) Charles H. [b. February 6, 1840; m. Louisa Glover, and had Elisha H. (b. February 6, 1874), and Jenny G., b. October 12, 1871]. (7) Sarah E. (b. January 12, 1843; m. Alexander Hood, of Boston; and had Mary, who m. Frederick Pool, of Boston).

2. Sarah S., b. January 28, 1810; d. June, 1876; m. George Briesler (Elmira, N. Y.), who d. March 2, 1866. They had — (1) Georgianna (b. 1830; m. Abram Shoemaker, of Van Etten, N. Y.). (2) Frederick (d. about 1864, aged 30). (3) George F. [Elmira, N. Y.; d. May 19, 1892, aged 53; m. Eliza A.

Bowker; and (besides five children, d. young) had—(a) Fred E. (Chicago; b. February 14, 1865); and (b) Mary A., b. January 7, 1875].

3. David, b. February 9, 1814; d. February 5, 1875; m. Margaret Varney (b. 1813; d. 1879), July 6, 1843. He removed to Lowell about 1833. His three daughters, living at 330 High Street in that city, are the last of the family bearing the name of Ockington, — (1) Nancy P. (b. July 24, 1845); (2) Marianna (b. May 12, 1847); and (3) Helen M. (b. August 10, 1849).

II. John Lillie Phillips (Boston); b. March 22, 1781; d. in Cambridgeport, January 9, 1867; m. Sally Tector, October 25, 1804. He and several of his descendants are buried in the Ackers-Gilbert lot 467, Maple Avenue, Cambridge Cemetery. His family Bible is in the possession of his granddaughter, Miss Ida M. Gilbert. His children (besides Caroline, d. young), were —

1. Samuel, b. November 27, 1805; d. September 16, 1828.

2. John, b. August 15, 1807; d. September 26, 1842.

3. Sarah Ann, b. March 26, 1809; d. January 2, 1881; m. John Ackers (Brookline), and (besides Charles, d. young) had—(1) Mehitable (b. July 31, 1832; m. Sylvester S. Crosby, 21 Sacramento Street, Cambridgeport). (2) William H. (35 Pearl Street, Cambridgeport; b. March 11, 1834; m. Sarah A. Burns). (3) John Lillie P. [44 Western Avenue, Cambridgeport; b. February 10, 1836; m. Martha A. Macauley, and (besides two children, d. young) had Charles H., b. September 22, 1863; m. Florence A. Merrill]. (4) Webster [Boston; b. November 18, 1847; m. Adelaide A. Bessey, and (besides Charles W., d. young) had—William (b. September 10, 1872), John P. (b. March 12, 1874), and Edward, b. 1876]. (5) Sarah E. [b. September, 1843; d. September, 1869; m. William Macauley (Cambridgeport), and had Edward G. (Avon); b. October 10, 1864; m. Albertines Kalberg]. (6) Algernon S. (Quincy; b. April, 1845; d. June, 1882).

4. John, b. August 15, 1807; d. September 26, 1842.

5. William, b. December 3, 1810; d. January 3, 1827.

6. George H. (Rockland, Me.); b. October 28, 1812; m. Mary Jane Bennett, and had—(1) John L. (b. December 19, 1849). (2) Edwin (b. May 9, 1852). (3) Ella F. [b. December 18, 1855; m. Benjamin S. Whitehouse, and (besides two children, d. young) had—(a) Lettie M. (b. August 6, 1882); and (b) Edith M., b. September 4, 1886]. (4) Minnie [b. September, 1857; m. Thomas R. Achorn, and (besides two children, d. young) had—(a) Jennie M. (b. June 27, 1882); (b) George A. (b. November 1, 1884); (c) Annie B. (b. December 13, 1887); (d) Charles E. (b. July 8, 1891); and (e) Carrie E., b. October 17, 1892]. (5) Frank L. (b. May 3, 1861). (6) Cora E. [b. March 5, 1865; d. September 5, 1891; m. G. A. Burgin, and (besides one child, d. young) had Clarence C., b. June 6, 1888].

7. Henry, b. November 11, 1814; d. at sea, April 2, 1839.

8. Caroline M., b. March 28, 1818; d. June 27, 1860; m. Samuel G. Andrews (Cambridgeport), and (besides John H. and Samuel G., d. young) had—(1) Nelson S. (b. July 4, 1844; d. May 26, 1870). (2) Caroline L. [b. April 29, 1856; m. Oliver B. Whitmore (91 Baker Street, Lynn); and had Harold C., b. February 22, 1887].

9. Harriet, b. February 8, 1820; d. July 12, 1885; m. Henry Gilbert (Bridgewater), and had—(1) Elizabeth S. (b. January 9, 1850; Holyoke Building, Seattle, Washington). (2) Ella G. [b. January 19, 1852; m. James S. Adams (2034 Scott Street, San Francisco, Cal.); and had—(a) Bertha (b. September 21, 1878); (b) Henry G. (b. July 20, 1880); and (c) James S., b. September 5, 1884]. (3) Ida M. (b. July 27, 1861; 30 Main Street, Hartford, Conn.).

10. Ann M., b. November 3, 1821; m. Dr. Henry D. Wakefield, July 3, 1854; removed to Natchitoches, La., and died there June 28, 1856. Her only child died young.

III. Betsey Phillips, b. January 19, 1783; d. December 11, 1853; m. William Bent (Boston), August 11, 1803. No children.

IV. Nathaniel Phillips, b. November 30, 1784; d. (Bunker Hill, Ill.) September 11, 1845; m. Margaret Buckman, July 10, 1807. Their children (besides Mary L., Lucretia, and two Elizabeths, d. young) were —

1. James (Boston); b. April 4, 1808; d. January 17, 1879, at Youngstown, O.; m. Martha Perkins, and had — (1) George H. (Chelsea; b. December 19, 1831; d. April, 1885). (2) Rebecca S. (b. March 13, 1836; m. Eben Wright, of Kingston, and had Ezra S., b. April 3, 1869). (3) Frances M. (b. October 5, 1840; m. Dr. George E. Allen, of Youngstown, O., and had Frank). (4) Martha A. (b. October 5, 1846; d. January 4, 1877; m. Thomas Gage, of Essex). (5) James E. (New England Conservatory of Music, Boston; b. July 24, 1849; m. Mary O. Ennis). (6) William T. (Colebrook, N. H.; b. June 9, 1854; m. Amy —, and had Gertrude, b. March 6, 1885).

2. Abby H., b. September 13, 1809; d. August 18, 1890; m. Samuel R. Smith (Boston); and (besides George, d. young) had — (1) Charles W. (89 Aspinwall Avenue, Brookline; b. November 15, 1837; m. Caroline Newell, and had Carrie M., b. August 15, 1865). (2) Henry R. [Quincy; b. December 10, 1842; m. Emma Lue; and (besides Charles, d. young) had — (a) Lillian B. (b. November 12, 1878); (b) Louis (b. May 22, 1880); and (c) Norman, b. November 30, 1887]. (3) Abby F. (b. May 9, 1849; m. Dr. Arthur B. Morong, 755 Tremont Street, Boston; and had Thomas M., b. September 11, 1880).

3. Nathaniel Jr. (Boston and St. Louis); b. April 28, 1811; d. March 27, 1892; m. Harriet Hartshorn and (besides Frederick, d. young) had — (1) Samuel R. (7 Haviland Street, Boston; b. August 5, 1850; m. Nannie McDonough). (2) Annie H. (b. 1855; d. July 25, 1888).

4. Margaret, b. July 16, 1812; d. October 3, 1849; m. Josiah W. Richards (Bunker Hill, Ill., and St. Louis); and had — (1) Abby L. (b. October 13, 1839; d. 1872; m. Montgomery Saylor, of Mt. Hope, Mo.; and had — (a) Horace C.; (b) Charles H.; (c) Edwin C.; (d) Alden; and (e) Theodore). (2) Theoline L. [b. September 28, 1844; m. Robert E. Ames (May

Street, Needham); and (besides Louisa, d. young) had—(a) Robert E. (b. February 21, 1870); (b) Walter H. (b. March 27, 1876); and (c) Fred R., b. March 22, 1877]. (3) Idalena [b. June 5, 1848; m. Edward Reynolds (21 Schuyler Street, Roxbury); and had—(a) Ida G. (b. December 10, 1875); (b) Edward (b. August 22, 1877); (c) Louise M. (b. December 17, 1879; d. July 28, 1880); (d) Gilbert R. (b. July 30, 1881); and (e) Clara L., b. July 6, 1884].

5. Charles H., b. July 22, 1814; d. in 1845 at St. Louis, and had three children.

6. Harriet M., b. May 23, 1819; m. (first) Francis N. Burnham, of St. Louis (d. July, 1849); and had—(1) Leander (m. and had two children). (2) Josephine [b. November 25, 1841; m. William H. Gwynne (Cambridge); and had Grace H., b. July 22, 1866, who m. Carl E. Steere, and had Marion G., b. in June, 1890). (3) Lizzie F. [b. September 2, 1847; d. March 18, 1889; m. (first) Thomas H. Gwynne; and (second) Herbert S. Packard, of Philadelphia; and by second marriage (besides Arthur B., d. young) had—(a) Edith T. (b. October 5, 1884); and (b) Marion D., b. December 28, 1886]. Mrs. Harriet M. Burnham m. (second) Josiah C. Vinton (Boston and Chicago), and they had Alice M. (Exeter Chambers, Boston; b. January 30, 1853), and Mary G. (b. September 3, 1854; d. in 1864).

7. Mary K. (Cambridge); b. December 28, 1828.

V. Mary Fox Phillips, b. December 15, 1786; d. August 5, 1840; buried in Phillips-Barrett tomb in Granary Burial-Ground, Boston; m. (first) Adam Knox (Boston), sea-captain; m. (second) John Melville (Boston). By her first marriage, her children, who removed to New Orleans, La., were—

1. Mary M., b. November 25, 1816; d. November 19, 1864; m. George Hews (New Hampshire), who removed to New Orleans, and (besides three children, d. young) had—(1) Edson L. [2708 Magazine St., New Orleans; b. February 5, 1839; m. Josephine Pierson, and had—(a) Howard (Chicago; b. January 25, 1866); (b) Edson L. (Waco, Texas; b. Novem-

ber 26, 1867); and (*c*) Sallie R., b. March 3, 1872]. (2) Sarah E. [b. 1840; m. William A. Randolph (2708 Magazine Street, New Orleans), and had — (*a*) Elmira R. (b. 1861; m. Harrison Alexander, of Newbern, Va., and had Randolph, b. 1881; Harrison, b. 1883; and Kenneth, b. 1894); (*b*) Mary H. (b. 1864); and (*c*) Fannie, b. 1866]. (3) Mary L. [b. March 12, 1853; m. John F. Barringer (New Orleans), and had — (*a*) Maude M. (b. August 28, 1874); (*b*) John Fred. (b. July 16, 1876); (*c*) Edson H. (b. January 3, 1878); (*d*) Louise (b. May 22, 1881); (*e*) Irene (b. November 2, 1886); and (*f*) Annie H., b. July 22, 1889].

2. Eliza A. (New Orleans); b. September 23, 1818; m. Lemuel L. Brown; and (besides seven children d. young) had — (1) George E. [New Orleans; b. April 30, 1838; d. May 18, 1867; m. Alice Carpenter, and had — (*a*) Julia L. (b. July 15, 1860; m. Herbert Wasson, of New Orleans, and had Lindsay, b. June 5, 1885, and Alice, b. September 12, 1890); (*b*) George S. (New Orleans; b. February 7, 1867; m. Mary E. Carradine, and had Beverly C., b. December 22, 1890, and Guy C., b. May 1, 1894). (2) Charles H. C. [930 Gravier Street, New Orleans; b. October 13, 1842; m. Eleanor M. Rainey, and had — (*a*) Eleanor R. (b. March 26, 1867; m. Sidney L. Walker, of New Orleans, and had Eleanor, b. December 6, 1888; Dorothy, b. August 22, 1890; and Thomas F., b. May 4, 1892); (*b*) Charles H. (Opelousas, La.; b. December 13, 1868; m. Nene Richard, and had Richard, b. August, 1893, and Edna, b. August, 1895); (*c*) Florence R. (b. February 7, 1871; m. Dick B. Williams, of Charlestown, West Va., and had Dorcas, b. December, 1893, and Elsie, b. January 12, 1895); (*d*) William R. (Charlestown, West Va.; b. November 5, 1877); and (*e*) Carrie K., b. July 27, 1880]. (3) Lawrence L. (b. June 30, 1845; d. November 20, 1867, unmarried.) (4) Carrie A. (b. April 4, 1849; d. October 9, 1872). (5) William R. [b. March 26, 1860; d. December 30, 1892; m. Bettie White, and had Estelle (b. July 22, 1890) and Mildred (b. August 11, 1892), both living in New Orleans].

3. Harriet P., b. January 6, 1821; d. June 25, 1860; m. John S. Nevins (Grand Rapids, Mich.), and (besides Harriet L., d. young) had — (1) John K. (Grand Rapids; b. September 28, 1844; d. January 25, 1885; m. Kittie Dunham, and had Lillian and George). (2) Anna M. [b. September 22, 1849; m. Elliot E. Richardson (Kansas City, Mo.), and (besides Elliot K., d. young) had — (a) Dwight N. (b. April 19, 1871); (b) Anna L. (b. May 24, 1874); (c) Clara B. (b. January 23, 1876); (d) Frances E. (b. August 14, 1878); (e) John E. (b. August 16, 1882); (f) Charles S. (b. July 8, 1884); (g) Ethel (b. July 8, 1886); and (h) Alice E., b. March 7, 1888]. (3) Maggie P. (b. August 20, 1853; d. August 20, 1875).

4. Samuel A. (New Orleans, La.); b. February 10, 1822; d. April 30, 1870.

5. Sarah, b. April 2, 1825; m. Robert Pitkin (New Orleans); and had — (1) Sarah [b. February 4, 1844; m. Rev. Alfred L. Clark (Los Angeles, Cal.), and had — (a) Paul G. (New Milford, Conn.; b. May 6, 1877); (b) Grace P. (b. November 12, 1879); (c) Maria C. (b. August 24, 1881); and (d) Ethel, b. February 27, 1884; d. 1894]. (2) Robert K. (b. July 31, 1846; m. Allie A. Thomas). (3) Charles S. (Kansas City, Mo.; b. January 29, 1852). (4) Mary B. (b. July 15, 1856; d. June 30, 1888). (5) Nellie O. [b. November 8, 1861; m. Rev. James O. Lincoln (San Matteo, Cal.), and (besides Katharine, d. young) had Dorothy, b. December 10, 1891]. (6) Oscar H. (Kansas City; b. April 15, 1867; m. Julia Lambert).

6. Rebecca, b. January 1, 1828; d. April 27, 1885; m. (first) Lamon O. Andrews (no children), and (second) William C. Shepard (New Orleans), and had — (1) William L. [1560 Henry Clay Avenue, New Orleans; b. May 7, 1852; m. Nannie D. Atkinson, and (besides William L., d. young) had — (a) Nancie A. (b. March 19, 1879); and (b) Effie, b. November 8, 1883]. (2) Samuel K. [New Orleans; b. September 10, 1854; d. September 8, 1878; m. Bellie E. Middlemiss, and (besides Samuel K., d. young) had — (a) Vivian I. (b. September 7, 1876); and (b) Peter M., b. November 28, 1878]. (3) George E. (New

Orleans; b. July 18, 1856; d. April 21, 1882). (4) Charles L. [New Orleans; b. January 3, 1860; m. Nellie E. Walker, and (besides Nellie W. and Thomas F. W., d. young) had Sidney W. (b. August 7, 1885), and Charles L., b. June 15, 1896]. (5) Nellie M. (b. August 14, 1861; m. Vincent Loosjes, of Haarlem, Holland, and had Vincent, b. October 21, 1894).

VI. Harriet Phillips, b. January 19, 1789; d. Jan. 17, 1879, in Boston; m. George Folling; no children.

VII. Samuel Maverick Phillips (Roxbury), b. May 19, 1795; d. June 8, 1875; m. January 27, 1823, Rebecca Simmons; partner with his nephew, Flavel Moseley, in the iron trade as early as 1822; his children were —

1. Joseph R., b. March 2, 1824; d. April 8, 1885.

2. Samuel S., b. October 28, 1825; d. June 4, 1862; m. Belinda L. Simmons, who (besides Louisa and Henry, d. young) had Walter R. (Crescent Avenue, Boston); b. February 16, 1856; d. March 16, 1896; m. Mary A. Kiley, and had — (a) George A. S. (b. July 25, 1877); (b) Lillie L. (b. April 3, 1880); and (c) Robert W., b. August 5, 1881.

3. George Arthur (235 Lyon Street, Milwaukee, Wis.); b. April 20, 1827; m. Mary W. Nazro, of Boston; and had — (1) Henry N. [b. June 30, 1851 (now living in Sault St. Marie, Mich.); m. Polly Parr, and had George A., b. November 14, 1893]. (2) Mary Simmons (b. January 25, 1853; m. William W. Allis, of Milwaukee). (3) Lillian M. (b. May 6, 1854; m. Henry N. Austin, of Milwaukee, and had Mary Allis, b. July 23, 1885). (4) Clara B. [b. April 20, 1857; m. William Bigelow, and had — (a) John P. (b. January 25, 1887); and (b) Margaret, b. October 28, 1892]. (5) Rebecca G. (b. October 15, 1862; m. Jesse P. Reineck, and — besides Ruth and Alice, d. in infancy — had Gardner W., b. September 26, 1887).

4. Flavel Mosely, b. August 2, 1828; d. November 24, 1894; m. Eliza M. Hancock (Haverhill), and (besides George, Harry, and Flavel, d. young) had — (1) Samuel M. (b. September

15, 1869); (2) Henry K. (b. January 24, 1878); and (3) John Lillie, b. March 2, 1881.

VIII. Mehitable Lillie Phillips, b. September 19, 1800; d. March 30, 1820.

Anna (or *Ann*) *Lillie*¹ married in 1777 (intentions declared April 3, 1777) Samuel Howard, a shipwright, who appears to have been active in the trade. He was born in Boston, and died there at the beginning of January, 1797, at the age of forty-five.² He is reputed to have been one of the Boston "Tea Party," the members of which, however, it is difficult to identify.³ After purchasing the confiscated homestead of Theophilus Lillie, he took up his residence upon it.⁴ His will, which names his children, made December 27, 1796, was proved January 17, 1797. His widow (*Anna*) removed to Andover, where she died late in December, 1804.⁵ A cenotaph, erected by her descendants in the North Andover burial-ground, states

¹ Her name was written both as *Anna* and *Ann* by herself and her relatives.

² The "Columbian Centinel," January 7, 1797, gives notice of the funeral as taking place January 7, 1797, from his house in North Square.

³ See Lossing's "Field Book of the Revolution," i. 499 *note*, which copies the list given in the "Memoir of G. R. T. Hewes, with Traits of the Tea Party," p. 261; and F. S. Drake's "Tea Leaves," p. 106. He, or another "S. Howard," was secretary of the American Academy to promote agriculture. "Massachusetts Centinel," October 29 1788.

⁴ *Ante*, p. 91.

⁵ Her son Samuel's letter from Savannah (dated January 14, 1805) to S. P. P. Fay (on file with the probate papers of her estate) shows that he had just received tidings of her death by a letter from his correspondent.

(without identifying the particular lot) that she was buried there in 1806; but this date is erroneous.¹ Her will—made in Andover, July 9, 1804—was proved in Suffolk County, February 25, 1805. A private celebration in honor of Samuel Howard as one of the “Tea Party” was held December 16, 1873, at the house of his granddaughter Mrs. Annie M. Bowen, in Cambridge. Her mother, Mrs. Caroline Gilman, daughter of Samuel and Anna Howard, was present, and afterwards commemorated the occasion in printed “Recollections.”

The children of Anna (Lillie) Howard were Samuel, Charles, Harriet (Fay), Anna Maria (White), Caroline (Gilman), and George. The last named is only traceable in his father's will.

I. Samuel Howard, b. in Boston; went to Savannah, Ga., in 1802 (where he and his brother Charles engaged in commercial business); d. there October 5, 1823; m. Rebecca Gray, of Boston (d. July 2, 1862). Their children (besides seven d. young) were—

1. Samuel (Rev.); b. June 26, 1804; d. December 23, 1834; m. Mary Maxwell; no children.

2. Harriet, b. June 13, 1810; d. July 18, 1878; m. Cyrus B. Carter, of Savannah, and had—(1) Annie R. [1327 Leavenworth Street, San Francisco, Cal.; b. September 29, 1829; m. John Norton Pomeroy (1828–1885), jurist, of Rochester, N. Y.; and had—(a) Howard N. (b. September 20, 1856; d. August 25, 1884); (b) Carter P. (b. September 4, 1858; m. Anna L. Morris, and had Christine M. and Harriet H.); (c) John N., Jr. (b. May 7, 1867; Carter P. and John N., Jr., both lawyers in San Francisco); (d) Harriet H., b. August 24, 1860; m. Dr. W. Gilman Thompson, 34 East 31st Street, New York City]. (2) Eliza W.

¹ The same cenotaph states that Samuel Howard was buried at Copp's Hill; but his name does not appear among the printed inscriptions found in that burial-ground.

(b. September 29, 1831). (3) Edward P. [Chicago, Ill., and Fort Washington, Pa.; b. 1833; m. Mary A. Ferguson, and (besides two daughters, d. young) had Jeanie W. (b. August 16, 1858), and Louise H., b. November 4, 1868]. (4) Cyrus B. (b. September 4, 1835; a Confederate soldier, killed June 19, 1864; his son, Christopher R. (b. August 28, 1863), lives in Elizabeth, N. J.

3. Maria H., b. June 5, 1818; d. in Pittsburg, Pa., January 31, 1837; m. Rev. Stephen G. Bulfinch, D.D. (1809-1870), author; and had Maria H., b. January 3, 1838; m. George D. Bleything, 1008 Madison Avenue, New York City.

4. George B., b. June 10, 1820; d. unmarried, about 1885.

II. Charles Howard, b. in Boston in 1785, emigrated to Savannah, Ga.; m. Jane Wallace, of Savannah, February 18, 1807; d. June 25, 1819, at sea. His wife d. March 19, 1848, and is buried in Christ Church Cemetery, in Savannah. They had —

1. Mary Wallace, b. December 30, 1807; m. Rev. Francis R. Goulding, of Roswell, Ga., and had — (1) Charles H. (d. in service in the Civil War). (2) Mary H. (m. Carl G. Helmer, of Atlanta, Ga.). (3) Anna (m. John H. Tripp, of Tampa Bay, Fla.). (4) Francis R. (Pensacola, Fla.). (5) Benjamin L. (Chattanooga, Tenn.). (6) Thomas, d. in Brunswick, Ga.

2. Charles W., b. in Savannah, October 10, 1811; d. December 25, 1876; m. (1835) Susan (daughter of General Jett Thomas); educated at the University of Georgia and at Princeton Theological Seminary; a Presbyterian minister at Milledgeville, Ga., professor at Oglethorpe University, pastor of the Huguenot Church in Charleston, S. C., 1845-1852 (in which, after his death, there was a memorial service, with a sermon by Rev. C. S. Vedder); visited England in 1838 in search of colonial documents; active and skilful in mineral and agricultural investigations, and author of a "Manual on Grasses and Forage Plants for the South;" one of the founders of the Georgia State Agricultural Association; served as a Confederate captain

in the Civil War, and was wounded July 22, 1864, in a battle between Decatur and Atlanta; late in life lived on his farm "Ellerslie," on the east brow of Lookout Mountain. His widow, with her three unmarried daughters, lives at Spring Bank, near Kingston, Ga. His children (besides six, died young) were — (1) Jett Thomas [b. January 28, 1836; d. May 25, 1882; and by first marriage with Mary Guerard had — (a) Godin Guerard (Savannah; b. March 1, 1864; unmarried); (b) Charles Wallace (Savannah; b. March 20, 1866; m. Elizabeth Gordon Rieves, and had — besides Elizabeth, d. young — Emily G., b. November 19, 1867; Charles W., born July 10, 1892; and Mary G., b. May 16, 1894); (c) Emily G. (b. November 19, 1867; m. Thomas P. Ravenel, of Savannah, and has two daughters); and by his second marriage with Ellen R. Davenport had — (d) Ellen J. (b. February 19, 1873) and Mary, d. young]. (2) Jane W. [b. October 16, 1837; m. Henry Bryan (Savannah and Brampton Cliff, Dillon P. O., Dade County, Ga.); and had — (a) Ella H. (b. February 19, 1872); (b) Howard (b. August 28, 1873); and (c) Virginia, b. January 29, 1876]. (3) Ella S. [b. April 21, 1839; m. George H. Waring, of Cement, Ga., and (besides two, d. young) had — (a) Frederick H. (b. March 20, 1862); (b) Jane H. (b. July 19, 1864; m. Joseph Raymond Robson, of Atlanta, Ga., and had Mary W., — b. July 6, 1862, — and Ella R., d. young); (c) Mary J. (b. July 27, 1866); (d) Ella H. (b. December 10, 1868; m. William Crump, of Memphis, Tenn.); and (e) George H., b. April 18, 1871]. (4) Eliza L. (b. July 1, 1840). (5) Mary S. (b. November 26, 1841). (6) Frances T. (b. April 10, 1843). (7) Sarah W., b. December 30, 1844.

III. Harriet Howard, b. March 27, 1782; d. July 27, 1847; m. Samuel P. P. Fay, of Cambridge; Harvard College, 1798; Judge of Probate for Middlesex County. Their children were —

1. Samuel Howard, b. July 21, 1804; d. April 16, 1847; removed to Savannah, Ga.; m. July 5, 1825, Susan Shellman; they had — (1) Anna Maria (b. March 12, 1828; Boston).

(2) Harriet E. (b. October 29, 1829; m. James S. Bush, and has children). (3) William G. (b. December 18, 1838; m. Emma C. Fenner, and has children). (4) Clara M. (b. July 10, 1845; d. February 16, 1881; m. Frank H. Smith, and had children).

2. Richard Sullivan (Boston); b. June 15, 1806; d. August 9, 1865; Harvard College, 1825; m. Catharine S. Pickman; and their children were — (1) Richard S. (b. February 28, 1833; d. March 5, 1882; m. Elizabeth Bowditch, and had one son). (2) Katharine (b. June 10, 1837; m. H. Sidney Everett, and has children). (3) Elizabeth (b. January 8, 1841; d. September 4, 1880; m. Henry H. Parker, of New York City, and had children). (4) William P. (b. July 5, 1843; d. March 25, 1879; m. Sarah L. Abbott, and had children).

3. Charles (Rev.); Grand Isle, Vt.; b. July 21, 1808; d. November 6, 1888 (New York City); Harvard College, 1829; m. Charlotte E. Hopkins. Their children were — (1) Harriet M. (b. February 24, 1836; m. Charles S. Pierce, of Cambridge). (2) Laura M. (b. April 25, 1841; m. Rev. Francis W. Smith, of Woodstock, Vt.). (3) Amelia (New York City; b. May 21, 1844). (4) Katharine M. (b. July 6, 1846; m. William E. Stone, of Cambridge). (5) Charles N. (Chicago, Ill.; b. August 13, 1848). (6) Rose E. (Chicago; b. September 4, 1852; m. Theodore Thomas). (7) Lillian V. (Chicago; b. July 26, 1855; m. Charles H. Wilmerding, and has children).

4. Harriet Howard (Cambridge); b. April 22, 1810; d. March 29, 1875; m. William W. Greenough, and had children.

5. Joseph Story (Boston); b. December 8, 1812; m. Sarah S. Bryant. Their children are — (1) Joseph S. (Boston; b. August 10, 1847; m. Rebecca M. Motley, and has children). (2) Henry Howard (Boston; b. October 13, 1848; m. Elizabeth E. Spooner, and has children). (3) Sarah B. (Boston; b. July 11, 1855).

6. Maria Denny; b. June 6, 1820; d. February 15, 1890.

7. Eliza Davis, b. March 6, 1825; d. July 22, 1885, at Fisher's Island, N. Y.; m. (first) Judge Heman Allen, of Highgate, Vt.,

and (second) Robert R. Fox, of Fisher's Island, N. Y., and had children.¹

IV. Anna Maria Howard, b. in Boston, April 10, 1791; m., May 9, 1811, Abijah White, of Watertown, nephew of Joel White, who married Margaret Lillie. (See Bond's History of Watertown, p. 640.) She died there June 26, 1849. Her children were —

1. George Howard, b. February 8, 1812; d. September 20, 1814.

2. Lucy Dana, b. June 27, 1814; d. July 30, 1875; m. George W. Richardson, of Worcester, January 6, 1836. Her children are — (1) Anna Maria [b. October 7, 1836; m. William Sidney Davis, January 1, 1862, and has a daughter Lucy (b. April 22, 1863), who married William H. Manning, of Marquette, Mich.]. (2) Clifford (b. March 6, 1856; m. Teresa Stoughton, of Washington, D. C.).

3. George, b. April 22, 1816; d. August 22, 1817.

4. William Abijah, b. September 2, 1818. Harvard College, 1838; Harvard Law School, 1840. An antislavery speaker; d. (Milwaukee, Wis.) October 10, 1856. (See sketch in Historical Collections of Wisconsin, iii. 80). He m. (first), May 7, 1846, Harriet Tilden Sturgis, of Roxbury, who d. March 18, 1850. Their children were — (1) William H. [b. in Watertown, February 21, 1847; d. December, 11, 1895, at Redlands, Cal.; m. Margaret H. Parker, his cousin, October 5, 1878, and has three children, — (a) Lowell (b. May 14, 1880); (b) Theodore Parkman (b. August 12, 1882); and (c) Sarah Shaw, b. April 14, 1887]. (2) Amy (b. September 25, 1848). William A. White m. (second) Adeline A. Butterfield, of Chicago, May 15, 1855, by whom he had Justin Sidney, b. April 19, 1856; d. February 25, 1857.

¹ The Fay genealogy is given fully in a volume in manuscript, prepared by the family, and deposited with the New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston; and Mr. William E. Stone, of Cambridge, has in manuscript additional information.

5. Anna Maria, b. July 8, 1821; d. (at Cambridge) October 27, 1853; m. (December 26, 1844) James Russell Lowell, of Cambridge; Harvard College, 1838; poet and diplomatist. Mrs. Lowell was the author of poems and of translations from the German (See Allibone's Dictionary of Authors). Her death is commemorated in Longfellow's "Two Angels." Her children were — (1) Blanche (b. December 31, 1845; d. May 10, 1847). (2) Mabel [b. September 9, 1847; m. (April 3, 1872) Edward Burnett, of Southborough (Harvard College, 1871), and has five children, — (a) James Burnett Lowell (name changed from James Lowell Burnett); b. February 4, 1873; (b) Joseph (b. December 29, 1874); (c) Francis Lowell (b. January 31, 1878); (d) Esther Lowell (b. March 7, 1879); and (e) Lois, b. May 26, 1881]. (3) Rose (b. July 16, 1849; d. February 2, 1850). (4) Walter, b. December 23, 1850; d. 1854.

6. Lois Lillie, b. August 23, 1824; m. (December 28, 1848) Estes Howe, of Cambridge (Harvard College, 1832; M.D., 1835; d. 1887); and had — (1) Samuel (b. November 22, 1849; Harvard College, 1871; M.D., 1875; d. April 30, 1879). (2) Clara (b. October 2, 1851). (3) James Robbins (b. July 1, 1860; Harvard College, 1881; d. June 10, 1883). (4) Lois Lillie, b. September 25, 1864.

7. Mary Greene (Cambridge), b. December 29, 1826; m. (July 25, 1855) Charles Wyllys Elliott (author of "New England History"). Their children were — (1) Paul (b. June 8, 1856; d. July 25, 1858). (2) Wyllys (b. March 2, 1858; d. April 22, 1865). (3) Howard (St. Louis, Mo.; b. December 6, 1860; Harvard College, Civil Engineer, 1881; m. October 12, 1892, Janet January, and has one child, — Janet, b. Oct. 16, 1893.)

8. Agnes Howard (Cambridge); b. July 29, 1829; m. (July 20, 1852) Arthur Lithgow Devens (Harvard College, 1840; LL.B., 1843; d. 1867), and had — (1) Arthur Lithgow [b. June 3, 1853; Harvard College, 1874; m. (December 29, 1876) Agnes Russell Elwood, and had — (a) Agnes Dorothy (b. June 3, 1878); (b) Arthur Lithgow (b. November 15, 1879); and (c) Elizabeth Elwood, b. April 12, 1881]. (2)

Bessie (b. November 29, 1855; d. December 23, 1855). (3) Mary (b. May 19, 1857). (4) Agnes [b. June 17, 1865; d. March 26, 1896; m. (October 27, 1886) Thomas Mott Osborne, of Auburn, N. Y. (Harvard College, 1884), and had — (a) David Munson (b. November 20, 1887); (b) Charles Devens (b. November 22, 1888); (c) Arthur Lithgow (b. April 2, 1892); and (d) Robert Klipfel, b. February 3, 1896].

9. Caroline Gilman, b. July 3, 1832; m. Montgomery D. Parker, and had — (1) Montgomery D. (b. June 20, 1851; m. Elizabeth Almy, and has one child, — Mildred Almy, b. May 10, 1891). (2) Margaret Howard [b. September 1, 1854; m. (October 8, 1878) William Howard White (her cousin). For mention of their children see page 111]. (3) Winthrop Stanley (New York City); b. June 10, 1857; m. (August 16, 1892) Susan A. Robinson, whose first husband was — Birdsall.

V. Caroline Howard, b. October 8, 1794; d. (in Washington, D. C.) September 15, 1888; m. (December 14, 1819) Rev. Samuel Gilman, D. D.¹ (b. February 16, 1791; d. February 9, 1858; Harvard University, 1811; Unitarian clergyman at Hingham, and later, for a long period, at Charleston, S. C., where he died). Mrs. Gilman and her daughter Caroline were authors. (See Allibone's Dictionary of Authors.) She was in South Carolina during the Civil War, and sympathized strongly with the Confederate cause. Late in life she became much interested in reviving the memories of her father, Samuel Howard, — a reputed member of the "Tea Party," — and of her uncle, Major John Lillie, and printed papers concerning them. Her children, who had descendants, are —

1. Abby Louisa, b. October 27, 1820; d. January 9, 1883; m. Francis James Porcher, of Charleston, S. C. Their children, all living in Charleston, are — (1) Louisa (b. May 18, 1855). (2) Francis Yonge (b. September 30, 1857). (3) Wilmot De Saussure (b. September 14, 1860).

¹ See Gilman Genealogy, pp. 145-149, 191, 192.

2. Caroline Howard, b. June 1, 1823; d. January 29, 1877; m., first (March 19, 1840), Wilson Glover; and, second (March 9, 1864), Lewis Jervey, of Charleston. By her first marriage she had — (1) Wilson Glover (living in Greenville, S. C.; m. Annie McBee). (2) Caroline Gilman (b. February 19, 1843; m. William W. Finley, of Charleston, and had Caroline and Jessie). (3) Annie (b. May 20, 1846; d. October 27, 1875). By her second marriage she had Clare, b. December 11, 1864.

3. Eliza Webb, b. February 14, 1825; m. (first) Pickering Dodge, of Salem, Mass., by whom she had — (1) Francis Pickering [b. August 31, 1856; now of Washington, D. C.; m. (November 12, 1895) Harriet E. McEwen]. (2) Rebecca Gilman (m. Charles W. Rae, an officer of the U. S. Navy). Eliza Webb Gilman m. (second) General Francis J. Lippitt.

4. Annie Margaret (Boston, and Tiverton, R. I.); b. June 27, 1828; m. Rev. Charles Bowen (b. 1827; d. 1870; Brown University, 1847; a Unitarian clergyman at Baltimore, Md., Newburyport, Kingston, and Roxbury, Mass.). They had — (1) Lillian (b. October 5, 1851). (2) Samuel G. (living in Tiverton, R. I.; b. February 3, 1856).

Rev. Samuel Gilman, D.D., before his marriage with Caroline Howard, had, as classmate of Walter Baker, been brought into relations with the Lillie family. Major Lillie's daughter, Mrs. Woodward, writing to Mrs. Gilman, January 16, 1868, said: —

“I see Mr. Gilman as I saw him at Commencement in 1811, and afterward at the Phi Beta. Where is that brilliant company that sat at your sister's [Mrs. Fay's] table on the last occasion, — Judge and Mrs. Fay, Judge Story, Mr. and Mrs. King [John King, of Salem], Mr. Carlisle, Mr. Sedgwick, Mrs. Gilman, and your humble cousins from Dorchester?”

APPENDIX.

THE letters written to Major Lillie or concerning him, and also the copies of his own letters taken by him at the time, which are here given, were discovered too late to be inserted in their proper place in the sketch of his life.

Two of his letters, of which he retained copies, were written to Allen Crocker, who is likely to have been at the time in the employ of Daniel Vose and living in his family, and who was afterwards for a long period a merchant in Boston. The first letter is in part as follows : —

WEST POINT, 11th March, 1783.

Presuming, my dear Crocker, you had not quite given me up as a correspondent, in consequence of my long delay in not writing, I have taken the earliest opportunity of convincing you that I faithfully preserve you in remembrance. Now and then I forget the distance which separates us, and fancy myself in that agreeable circle where no doubt you are every evening to be found. . . .

I found the army in good health and spirits, anxiously waiting for the gentle voice of peace to soothe the weary soldier after a pilgrimage of eight long years; one lisp from her lenient voice produces more melody than all the martial music that accompanies us through the various vicissitudes of war.

The profession of arms is manly, but equally inhuman. Scenes of distress are generally our companions; by it we frequently see an indulgent father taken reluctantly from the arms of an affectionate wife, and the tender mother robbed of a darling boy.

The second reads thus : —

WEST POINT, 28 March, 1783.

At length, my dear Crocker, that long wished for happy day has visited our country. I congratulate you most cordially upon this auspicious event, at which every generous bosom must glow with

raptures, and every friend to humanity participate in this joyful occasion.

You may read in the countenance of the weary soldier the language of his heart, — that he is happy in hearing peace proclaimed to his distressed country, after the toils of eight long years [of] war and a perfect accomplishment of his mission ; that a stop is put to a deluge of innocent blood, which has so repeatedly shocked the feelings of human nature.

May our governments be conducted with wisdom, and the citizens of America rest in the bosom of security and ease!

You will pardon me for being so laconic, as business demands my attention.

Remember me particularly to our friends, and accept my best wishes for your happiness ; for be assured that no person can be more ready to contribute thereto than your sincere friend and humble servant,

JOHN LILLIE.

Mr. Crocker, in a letter to Major Lillie, June 19, 1783, wrote : —

“ Parson Dunbar of Stoughton is dead, the same I mentioned to you who made the Hibernian prayer respecting the British troops, that they might be like Sennacherib and his army, — when they awoke in the morning, they might find themselves all dead men, and the rest might return with shame to their own country. I am much pleased with your institution [Society of the Cincinnati]. I think it a good one; it will do you honor as a society and as individuals. May you retire like Cincinnatus, and like him continue citizens till your country calls you to the field! You, my good friend, would not forgive me if I did not devote the small remains of my paper to the dear little girls; and first Miss B. V. [Elizabeth Vose], you desired me to chide her gently for not writing you. I did it, I fear, too severe. She made a confession, but she is a dear girl. She acknowledged she was to blame for not writing you a note when she sent the ruffles.”

Major Lillie, in anticipation of the end of his military service, wrote to his maternal uncle, Samuel Breck, a prominent Boston merchant, —

WEST POINT, 13 May, 1783.

DEAR SIR,— In all human probability the army will in a few weeks be disbanded, which will leave me again floating upon the uncertain

ocean of hope, pursuing the vast varieties of fortune. . . . As the young adventurer requires the guidance of an experienced pilot, it will be necessary, previous to my commencing the voyage, to take some directions from you, who know the difficulties and dangers attending the voyage.

As I have made no arrangements, or scarcely looked into futurity, with respect to business, I am undetermined what measures to pursue, — except, if nothing more flattering should offer, to visit Newfoundland, as the lease of that patrimony will expire next fall; but being ignorant of its extent or value, and as there is no particular part assigned me, I cannot form any permanent resolutions respecting the feasibility of the plan.

I shall have public securities to the amount of twelve hundred pounds lawful money, which would afford great assistance could I realize it immediately; but I shall not receive more than the interest annually. Your advice at this juncture will be highly necessary.

. . . As your opinion upon this subject will be of moment to me, I doubt not but you will give it with all that candor and precision that the exigence of it requires, which will ever be remembered with gratitude, and greatly induce to exhilarate the feelings of your most obedient and very humble servant,

JOHN LILLIE.

SAMUEL BRECK, Esq.

In reply to Major Lillie's second letter asking advice as to what calling he might best pursue after the close of his military service, Mr. Breck wrote :—

BOSTON, Oct. 30, 1783.

DEAR SIR,—I have read your letter of the 8th instant, with the greatest attention, and upon the most mature deliberation am of opinion that there is no line of business except the mercantile that can possibly be pursued to so much advantage as to afford you the means of a genteel support. I do not, however, see the necessity of your passing much, if any, time in a store to acquire what is called the knowledge of trade. Necessity and industry, with your capacity, will be the best tutors. It is not the precise mode of book-keeping that is so essentially necessary to constitute a great merchant,—this can be done by clerks,—but it is a taste for and a genius to conduct business that will give a man consequence in this profession;

and, indeed, our young country abounds with abundant proofs of this assertion.

I congratulate you upon the late disposition of our government to do justice to their protectors; after many long and expensive debates, they were finally ashamed to call a vote respecting the justice and propriety of paying the commutation, and finally passed the five per cent impost so long requested by Congress. The Senate have been for many months unanimous for this measure; but the lower House, being composed of men of small abilities and less honesty, have till within these last few weeks uniformly opposed them.

The post will depart immediately; I therefore cannot add further, except to assure you of the wish I have to see you at my house, where we shall converse more freely upon these as well as upon many other subjects.

I am, with sentiments of esteem and regard,

Your humble servant,

Captain JOHN LILLIE.

SAM. BRECK.

Major Lillie answered Mr. Breck's letter, Nov. 13, 1783, by saying, —

“ This will recognize the receipt of your favor of the 30th ultimo, in which you detailed your ideas of commerce and gave friendly assurances of assisting me upon my return to private life. I am sorry it is not in my power to give you any other testimony of my gratitude than an acknowledgment of this and many other friendships which I have experienced from the bounties of your goodness.”¹

Ebenezer Stevens (b. 1751; d. 1823) was an officer of the artillery in the Revolutionary War, and after its close became an eminent merchant in New York City. He was born in Boston, and had, like Major Lillie, served in Knox's regiment. In 1801 he appears to have been in charge of military stores in New York City. He wrote the following letters to Major Lillie:—

Capt. JOHN LILLIE.

NEW YORK, 3 Aug., 1801.

DEAR SIR,— I am packing up the shirts agreeable to your return, to go by the first opportunity that offers. Not being able to have a

¹ The remainder of the above letter appears *ante*, p. 16.

drum repaired here, I shall send you a shell, with the hoops, snares, heads, &c., which you can have put in order with you.

General Irvine, superintendent of public stores, is now at Springfield, viewing the Public Armory there; from thence he proceeds to Albany, and calls on you to inspect the public stores.

I hope you find your situation agreeable at West Point. I wish you were here, and had the command of the fortifications in this harbor. Your knowledge and experience is much wanted. I am,

Dear Sir,

Your obed't servant,

EBEN^r STEVENS.

NEW YORK, 21 August, 1801.

Capt. JOHN LILLIE,

Commanding at W. Point.

DEAR SIR,— I send you by this opportunity, at the request of General Irvine, a garrison flag, with a sett of halyards, for use of your Fort, which I hope will be acceptable to you. Colonel Tousard with his family will be shortly with you; his baggage has arrived, and I am putting it on board of a vessel bound to West Point.

Your esteemed respects of 10th inst. was duly received; and [I] sincerely thank you for the friendly attention shown to the remains of my late deceased wife. I notice your request respecting your good lady. Mrs. Anthony will advise me of her arrival, and [I] shall give you timely notice of it.

It will always afford me pleasure to tender you my services. You know my great attachment to my old military companions,—and among them you rank the first. My military advice, to one so much experienced in those *tactics*, I am sensible will be but of little use, but, such as it is, is much at your service.

My family are all in the country. When your wife arrives, I shall expect the pleasure of your company at my seat out of town.

Please to render me duplicate receipts for the flag, as usual.

I am, dear Sir,

Your obdt Servant,

EBEN^r STEVENS.

The Chevalier de Tousard (b. 1749; d. 1821), who reported Major Lillie's death to his father-in-law in the following letter, had studied the military art in France, and resigned his place in the French army to take part in the war for American inde-

pendence. He was with Major Lillie at the battle of the Brandywine. After the war he resumed his place in the French army; but, leaving it the second time, he was reinstated in the United States army. Retiring from the service in 1802, he passed the latter part of his life in New Orleans.

WEST POINT, Sept. 23, 1801.

SIR, — The duty which I have to perform is of a very distressing nature. However, I will try to conform with Mrs. Lillie's request, and impart to you the melancholy event which took place yesterday evening and covered a sympathizing garrison and a number of officers with mourning. Capt. John Lillie is no more! He was taken with an apoplectic fit yesterday morning at past eight, and in less than two hours expired in our arms. One hour before, he was conversing with some officers and with Mrs. Lillie, when he was taken with convulsive fits. Every mark of respect and military honors have been paid to the remains of our brother officer, and the situation of his distressed family has called all our regards and attention. Mrs. Lillie has evinced great Christian fortitude, but finding herself too weak to write to you on such a sad subject has desired me to do it; and although a stranger to you, I could not refuse to satisfy her wishes.

She desires me to mention to you not to come for her, nor to send anybody on the same purpose. I have promised her to order an officer from this garrison to wait on her as far as New York, and not to leave her until she is safely embarked in a Providence packet, as she insists on the gentleman not going farther. You may rely, Sir, that our attention and respect will be unremitting, — happy if our exertions have the desired effect to afford her any consolation in her distressed situation. My daughter is constantly with them, and I myself will come forth to settle all the Captain's business, and spare her any kind of trouble.

I wish, Sir, my introduction to you had not been on so melancholy a subject. Regard it as a proof of my respect for you.

With respect, I am, Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

LEWIS TOUSARD,

Lt.-Col. Com. 2d Regt., Inspector of Artillery.

DANIEL VOSE, Esq.,
Milton, near Boston.

Ebenezer Stevens also wrote to Mr. Vose the following sympathetic letter: —

NEW YORK, 28 September, 1801.

DEAR SIR, — I have received a letter from Maj^r Fleming¹ of West Point, giving me the melancholy intelligence of the death of Captain John Lillie, who died very suddenly, of an apoplectic fit, on the 22 inst^t at ten o'clock P. M. I sincerely sympathize with your daughter for the loss she has sustained. I am informed that she proposes to return with her family to the eastward in a few days, and will be attended to this place by an officer of that garrison. When she arrives I shall do everything to make her situation agreeable, and will procure her passage to Providence. Timely notice will be given you at what time she will be there in order that you may meet her. I hope I may succeed in finding some person bound that way to accompany her. Due respect was paid to the remains of the deceased. He was buried, with the honors of war, on the evening of the 24 inst.

I remain, dear Sir,

Your ob. Serv.,

Mr. Vose,
Milton, Mass.

EBEN^r STEVENS.

Major Daniel Jackson, to whose care the following letter was addressed,² was a comrade of Major Lillie in the artillery service at Germantown and Monmouth: —

NEW YORK, 19 January, 1802.

Maj^r JOHN LILLIE.

MY DEAR BOY, — The enclosed letter I received from Maj^r Jon^a Williams, Superintendent of the Military Academy at West point, informing me that he has received a Cadet Warrant for you. As it is a station that is respectable and will be something lucrative, and having the advantage of being instructed in military tacticts, which may be of use to you, my advice is that you will do well to accept of the appointment. You must therefore make your acceptance of this known to the Secr^y at War as early as practicable.

¹ Major George Fleming, the military storekeeper.

² Addressed: "Mr. John Lillie, Milton, Mass. To the care of Major D^r Jackson. To be forwarded with all possible dispatch."

Your travelling expenses from Milton to West point will be paid by the U. States. Make my respects to your mamma and the children, and believe me, my dear boy,

Yrs affectionately,

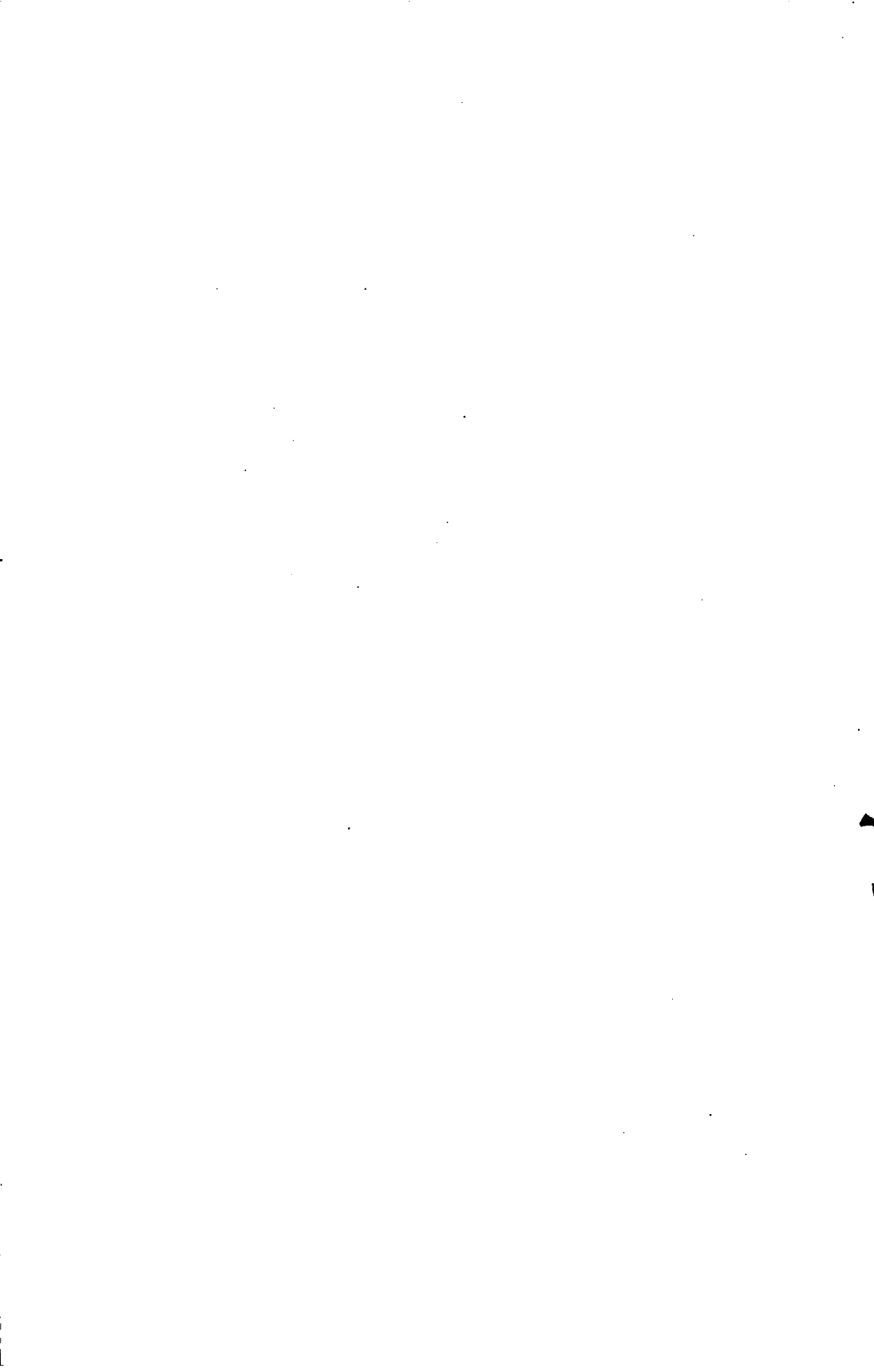
EBEN^R STEVENS.

Major Lillie, as appears by a letter addressed to him in December, 1781, was then stationed at the "North Redoubt," West Point, a fortification erected on a low mountain on the east side of the Hudson River, of which some earthworks still remain in a good state of preservation. It is immediately back of the present residence of Rev. Walter Thompson, of Garrisons, which is named "North Redoubt."

General Knox's headquarters at New Windsor (*ante*, p. 9) still stand. The house is now the residence of Adolph Simis, Esq., a lawyer of Brooklyn, N. Y., and is well preserved. It was visited June 2, 1896, by Edward Lillie Pierce, who obtained a photograph of it.

With reference to page 31, it may be explained that the Military Academy at West Point was not formally established until July 4, 1802, under Major Jonathan Williams as superintendent; but a Military School had been opened there as early as September 1, 1801, with a more permanent institution in prospect. For a description of the School which preceded the Academy, see Cullom's Biographical Register of the United States Military Academy, iii. 485, 638, 639; and the *Magazine of American History*, ix. 261, 262, which makes reference to Major Lillie's command at West Point.





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