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EDWARD HENRY ELWELL



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MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS.

EDWARD HENRY ELWELL.

BY SAMUEL T. PICKARD.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, December 10, 1891.

EDWARD HENRY ELWELL was born in Portland, December 14, 1825, and resided nearly all his life in his native city and in the adjoining town of Deering. During one year only did he live elsewhere. His boyhood and youth were spent here, and to Portland he loyally gave the full strength of his maturer years. He was born in an ancient house that formerly stood at the foot of Free street, near the corner of Cross street. His father, Charles Elwell, was a master mariner who sailed from this port, as did his father before him. Captain Charles Elwell died before his son, the subject of this sketch, was old enough to remember him. He inherited from his ancestors a yearning for the sea which he found it difficult to resist. But as the dutiful son of a widowed mother, he yielded to her wish, and remained by her side.

Young Elwell received a good education in the Portland public schools, was an apt scholar and a favorite with his teacher and his schoolmates. He was as fond of play as of study, and joined in all the boyish sports and games of his day with a zest even beyond the average that obtained among the youth of half a

century ago. To the end of his life his interest in such sports never ceased. He retained for threescore years his boyish delight in the bell ringing, the cannon firing, the brass bands, and even the India crackers of Independence Days and felt defrauded of his holiday if no provision was made for what he considered an adequate celebration. His delightful book, "The Boys of '35," is a record of his own youth, and each character in it is a true sketch of some youthful comrade. Its great popularity as a boy's book is due to its perfect fidelity as a sketch of juvenile life in the second quarter of our now nearly completed century.

His school life was finished when he was about fifteen years of age, and for a year he found employment in a commission store on Exchange street. He then decided to become a printer, being moved thereto by a belief that in this business he could have better opportunities for intellectual improvement. In 1842, Benjamin Kingsbury was publisher of the True American, which was the short-lived organ of the Tyler administration. Young Elwell entered the office of that paper, became an expert compositor, and soon began to try his hand as a contributor not only to the paper on which he was employed but to the two other daily papers of that time, the Advertiser and the Argus. He wrote anonymously, but his letters were so well considered and so neatly expressed that they were in every case promptly published. When the publication of the True American was suspended at the close of the administration it had supported Mr. Elwell,

who had not yet attained his majority, became a compositor in the office of the *Christian Mirror*, then edited by Rev. Dr. Asa Cummings. The venerable divine became much attached to the young man, whose faithful work and studious habits were under his notice for about two years.

In 1847, when in his twenty-second year, Mr. Elwell went to Limerick, Maine, and was for about a year the foreman in the office of the *Free Will Baptist Repository*, a paper edited by Elder Buzzell. In July, 1848, in conjunction with the late Edwin Plummer, he started a literary weekly, called the *Northern Pioneer*, published in Portland. The enterprise was a success from the beginning, notwithstanding its rivalry with the *Portland Transcript*, a weekly of similar character, which had the advantage of having been published eleven years, most of the time under the editorship of Charles P. Ilsley, whose versatile pen had given it an excellent reputation. The *Transcript* had, in 1848, come into the possession of the late Erastus E. Gould, who was an excellent business manager and who saw the need of a good editor for his paper. Noticing in his rival contemporary an editorial article that pleased him, he determined to find out which of the two editors of the *Pioneer* wrote it, and then if possible secure him as editor for the *Transcript*. He soon found that Mr. Elwell was its writer, and began negotiations which ended in the purchase of Mr. Plummer's interest in the *Pioneer*, by Mr. Elwell, who then united the *Pioneer* with the *Transcript*. This was in October, 1848. The union of the two papers

gave strength and stability to the enterprise. Mr. Gould's admirable business tact and Mr. Elwell's literary ability at once extended the circulation of the paper and gave it a reputation that increased year by year.

In April, 1855, the Portland Eclectic, a paper that had been started by Edwin Plummer, and by him sold to the late Edward P. Weston and S. T. Pickard, was united with the Transcript, nearly doubling the subscription list. The firm name, hitherto Gould & Elwell, was changed to Gould, Elwell, Pickard & Co. Mr. Gould's health failing him, he sold his interest to Mr. Pickard in 1856 and thereafter until the death of Mr. Elwell, the style of the firm was Elwell, Pickard & Co.

The Transcript steadily grew in popular favor, attaining a circulation of twenty-five thousand copies. At the time when Mr. Elwell assumed the editorship, its circulation was not over two thousand copies. The plan adopted and always borne in mind was to make it a family newspaper, excluding sensational matter and the details of crime. Public issues were discussed on their merits without regard to party. Mr. Elwell was a fearless and independent writer, and did good service in promoting every reform, political or social, that appealed to his love of justice and fair play. He was especially interested in the cause of the slave, writing brave words for freedom, at times when loss of patronage was a sure result of plain speaking. He was also a zealous worker in the temperance reform, and he never failed to demand fair and generous treatment of the Indians.

His sturdy independence was manifested in his treatment of questions that divided political parties. The Transcript was non-partisan, but never neutral upon any question that involved a principle. During heated political campaigns it was often taken to task by one or other of the party organs for daring to express an opinion before a constituency that represented all parties. Here is Mr. Elwell's reply to a Bangor paper which objected to his defense of our representative in congress, Mr. Goodenow, who in 1850 voted to receive petitions praying for a dissolution of the Union.

We have spoken freely of public measures, and believing it to be our duty as a journalist, shall continue so to speak. We recognize the importance and necessity of parties, while we do not hold that their acts are above criticism or censure. Of course, we speak of those legislative acts which affect the welfare of the nation, and not of the squabbles of politicians, which affect none but themselves. We leave such matters to those who have nothing more important to attend to. But being American citizens, and therefore interested in all that affects the character and welfare of the country, we shall speak of things with the freedom becoming American citizens.

This was written at the outset of his editorial work and it was the keynote of his whole career.

Mr. Elwell from early youth neglected no opportunity for the improvement of his mind. His reading covered a broad field and his retentive memory stored its treasures with an orderly system that made it easy to draw upon them at will. When he was about twenty years of age he helped organize a debating society, composed of young men, which was called the

Augustan Club. Among his associates in this club were John Lynch, D. Fuller Appleton, Charles Payson, Henry M. Parkhurst and Frederic E. Shaw. He here developed a readiness in debate which greatly added to his usefulness in many other literary associations with which he was afterward connected.

He became a member of the Maine Charitable Mechanic's Association in 1853; was early connected with the Portland Society of Natural History; was elected member of the Fraternity Club in 1874; of the Maine Press Association he was one of the founders; and his connection with the Maine Historical Society dates from July 11, 1879.

He was a member of the White Mountain Club, formed for the exploration and study of the peaks of the White Mountain Range. Of several historical societies in New Hampshire and Massachusetts, he was an honorary or corresponding member. In the Portland Society of Art, the Longfellow Statue Association and the Diamond Island Association, he made his influence felt, as he actively contributed to their success. The school committee and village improvement association of Deering each had in him a working member. A liberal, charitable and enterprising spirit characterized his dealings with every organization in which he became interested.

I need not speak before this Society of the zeal and success with which he prosecuted the studies in which you as an organization are especially interested. There are few men so thoroughly conversant as he was with the early history of our city, our state, and of our

country. In him the American Indian had a steadfast friend, advocate and apologist. The papers he read at the meetings of this Society treat of the following topics :

1. The White Hills of New Hampshire. Read May 25, 1881, and printed in Vol. IX.
2. The Portland of Longfellow's Youth. Read Feb. 27, 1882, printed in the Birthday Volume.
3. Memoir of Enoch Lincoln. Read Dec. 23, 1882, and printed in the Maine Historical Society Quarterly, April, 1890.
4. The Aborigines of Maine. Read Jan. 8, 1885.
5. The Newspaper Press of Maine. Read Jan. 8, 1885.
6. The British View of the Ashburton Treaty. Read Dec. 22, 1885.
7. The Early Schools of Portland. Read Dec. 21, 1886. Printed by the city.
8. Church and State in Maine. Read Feb. 9, 1888.
9. Extracts from the Ledger of Solomon Bragdon. Read Feb. 22, 1889.
10. Influence of the Transmission of News on Public Events. Read March 27, 1890.

The themes of the papers he read before the Fraternity Club, during the fifteen years of his membership of that literary association, cover a very wide range of study. In 1886, a collection of these essays was published under the title of "Fraternity Papers," and this is a list of the subjects of which they treat:—

1. One Day in Florence, a reminiscence of his visit to Europe in 1870.
2. The Building of the House, a pleasant essay upon ancient and modern ways of building dwelling houses.
3. The Humors of Dialect, showing the different kinds relished by various nations.

4. Dreams.
5. Conversation.
6. Discovery of the Mississippi.
7. The White Mountains, with many anecdotes of the early explorers.
8. The Aborigines, treating particularly of the tribes inhabiting Maine. He holds that our contact with the Indian has been too close to admit of a true perspective. When the race shall have faded away we shall see them in a truer light, and wonder that when they were with us we knew so little of them.
9. The Puritan Sermon. This is a graphic description of the services in the old-time New England meeting-houses.
10. The Gospel of the Disagreeable. This is an essay which expresses the optimistic creed of the writer probably better than anything else he has written. He believed that our race has steadily grown happier and better, and it did not seem reasonable to him that progress and improvement shall cease with this life.

The great mass of the literary work of Mr. Elwell is to be found of course in more than forty volumes of the *Portland Transcript*, edited by him from 1848 until 1890. The books and pamphlets which bear his name, as author, have the following titles:—

1. *Successful Business Houses of Portland*. Published in 1875.
2. *Aroostook, with some Account of the Excursions thither of the Editors of Maine, in the Years 1868 and 1878, and of the Colony of Swedes settled in the Town of New Sweden*. Published in 1878.
3. *The Boys of Thirty-Five*. Published by Lee & Shepard, in 1884.
4. *The Schools of Portland, from the Earliest Times to the Centennial Year of the Town*. Published by the city in 1880.
5. *Fraternity Papers*, 1886.
6. *Portland and Vicinity*. An Illustrated Guidebook of the city. Published by J. & A. Reid, Providence.

In the character of Mr. Elwell there was an admirable mixture of conservatism and enterprise. Attached as he was to the traditions of the past, and fond of the old ways of doing things, he was ever ready to examine the claims of whatever was new. As a public lecturer he was very popular and his services in that line were frequently in demand. As an after dinner speaker he had few equals. He made good points in a bright, incisive way. In social intercourse he was the life of any company in which he found himself, having a fund of anecdote and apt allusion, and a readiness at repartee that were inexhaustible. But profane and vulgar jests were never heard from him, nor was he pleased with the society of those who indulged in them.

Although not a member of any religious society, his reverent acceptance of the truths of revealed religion was never to be doubted. The form of public worship he preferred was that of the Congregationalist church. In temperament he was a level-headed optimist, believing that the world is growing better year by year, and yet having a conservative leaning toward all good things that have stood the test of time and experience. He did not believe that the "good time coming" was to come whether or no, and without human help. For his part this help he was always ready to give. His charities were numerous, and without ostentation.

He was particularly happy in his domestic relations, and found his greatest enjoyment in home life. When twenty-six years of age, he married Sarah C., daughter of Capt. John Polleys of this city. Of the eight children born to them, five are living, viz.: Mabel, Frank A., Dr.

Walter E., Edward H. Jr., and Margaret. For the first years of his married life he resided in Portland, but in 1857 he built the comfortable house on Pleasant street, Woodfords, where he ever after lived. It was one of the first houses built on that street, and Mr. Elwell took much pleasure in developing a good orchard and garden. A few years ago he built a beautiful summer cottage on Diamond Island. All who were privileged with the intimacy of Mr. Elwell are aware how happy he was in his home, and how much he enjoyed the loving attentions of his wife and children. As a neighbor he was kind and helpful to a remarkable degree, living happily with all who were around him. He cheerfully took his full share in the burdens of his village and his town, and exercised all the duties of citizenship with conscientious fidelity.

Mr. Elwell was overtaken by the illness that proved fatal, while stopping at Bar Harbor, on his way from Machias, whither he had gone upon the summer excursion of the Maine Press Association. He was accompanied upon this excursion by his daughter, Miss Mabel Elwell, and by their relative, Miss Sarah A. Gilpatrick, a teacher in the Portland high school. When he arrived at Bar Harbor, upon his return homeward, he was feeling none the worse for his journeying, and he spent the evening in pleasant social intercourse in the parlors of the West End hotel. But during the night he had an ill-turn of a kind to which he had been occasionally subject, and which it was thought might be due to indigestion. He obtained relief, but thought it best not to resume his journey on the morrow as he

had expected. He sent reassuring messages to his wife and children at home, promising to rest a day or so at the comfortable hotel. But there was a return of unfavorable symptoms the next afternoon, and though no immediate danger was apprehended, it was thought best to telegraph to his son, Dr. Walter E. Elwell of the Togus Military Home, who went to Bar Harbor by the next train. But he arrived just too late to find his father living. During the night, Mr. Elwell, who was tenderly cared for by his dearly loved daughter, in the intervals of relief from pain, (which it was now known proceeded from an affection of the heart), pleasantly made plans with her for the journey homeward, and suggested forms of telegrams that would be most reassuring to the family at home. He was always very considerate in such matters. At half-past seven o'clock, Wednesday morning, July 16, 1890, after a brief paroxysm of pain, while resting in the arms of his daughter, he started up, with an exclamation of wonder, "Oh, what!" These were his last words for his soul had taken flight.

I cannot better conclude this imperfect sketch of the life and character of my long-time associate and friend, than by quoting the estimate of the man written by Hon. George F. Talbot, which appears in the resolutions adopted by the Fraternity Club, when his death was announced to that association.

In the intimacy of our conversations and discussions, we have learned more and more to value his modesty, the urbanity of his manners, his admirable powers of expression in both written and oral language, his scholarly tastes and those gifts of a successful author which seemed to have fitted him for a larger literary sphere, and a wider public recognition than he actually attained.

Urged by a genuine enthusiasm no research dismayed him, and no industry wearied him. The subjects of his frequent public addresses were always well adapted to the popular taste, as well as the popular instruction, and he was able to unfold them in a graphic and pleasing style, enlivened by anecdotes, and lighted by flashes of spontaneous humor, so far as to impress his ideas upon his delighted audiences.

A genial optimism determined the trend of his opinions. His faith was large and liberal; his heart enthusiastic and hopeful. His mind was reverent and devout, and his spirit cheered itself in the assurance that goodness and wisdom were at the center of the universe and would bring all things at last to the best issues. He believed in his country and its great destinies, in the world and its redemption, in men and that they all have their good side.

Perhaps his intellectual forte was history; and he was fond of bringing, to depict the customs and manners of people of earlier times, his close and minute observation, his power of vivid description, and his kindly humor . . . Indeed, it seems that with the mental equipment he had, Mr. Elwell, if the editorship of a successful paper had not too much absorbed his time, might have prepared himself by training and study for the higher walks of historical composition, and have enrolled his name among the historians whose works survive the age in which they are produced.

In our meetings, though his share of literary work was always done promptly, and with a degree of excellence that kept the standard of quality high, he spoke too rarely. Never tedious or commonplace, he only broke his customary silence to utter something pithy and striking, some new view that had escaped the general notice, often coming with chivalric generosity to the defense of some maligned person or some decried cause.

THE ABNAKIS AND THEIR ETHNIC RELATIONS.

BY JAMES P. BAXTER.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, March 27, 1890.

THE origin and history of the Pre-Columbian inhabitants of America possess for the student of Anthropology an ever increasing interest. Not only is the attention attracted at every turn by constantly accumulating collections of the archaic belongings of the peoples who once occupied this vast continent; but the facilities presented him for exploration are such, that he may with a minimum expenditure of physical and pecuniary capital, personally study the most interesting remains, which a decade past could be reached only by exhausting and dangerous adventure.

When Europeans, the Spaniard and Englishman, first set foot upon this continent, the one upon its southern, the other upon its northern shores, they found it peopled with men unlike themselves in complexion, language, and modes of life. If they traveled in any direction, they found that these people themselves differed in language and appearance, as well as in those arts, which minister to man's comfort and promote his civilization. Without regard, however, to these differences, they applied to them all the common, and perhaps not wholly inappropriate, title of Indians, a term which, for convenience, we may properly adopt.

There was, however, a wide difference between the men who occupied the southern, and those who occupied the northern portion of the continent; between the Aztecs of Mexico, and the Abnakis of Maine. The former had attained a degree of civilization which we hardly yet appreciate, but of which we are learning much through study of their architectural, sculptural and textual remains, which almost rival in beauty some of the admired achievements of old world art; while the latter lived in rude booths, or tents of bark, and wandered from place to place half naked, or, at best, clothed with the skins of savage beasts to which they seemed akin; indeed, had one traversed the continent northward from the Gulf of Mexico, while these peoples flourished, he would soon have experienced a loss of most of those conditions which make for civilization, and long before reaching the North Atlantic seaboard, he would have found himself face to face with an almost hopeless barbarism. The questions which would persistently have presented themselves to him, are the same which present themselves to the student, who to-day, in thought, takes the same journey; questions which relate to origin and antiquity, and to which answers must largely be derived from archæological remains, though we may learn something from early explorers, and may not altogether overlook tradition.

An early theory of the origin of the Indians of America was, that they were emigrants from the Asiatic coast, probably by the way of Behring strait; but this theory was in time overshadowed by that ad-

vanced by Morton, and which was based upon that illustrious scientist's study of the crania of tribes inhabiting widely separated parts of the continent. This theory briefly stated was that the Indians of America were indigenous to the continent: that they differed from all other races in essential particulars, not excepting the Mongolian race. That the analogies of language; of civil and religious institutions, and the arts, were derived from a possible communication with Asian peoples; or, perhaps, from mere coincidences "arising from similar wants and impulses in nations inhabiting similar latitudes:" and that the Indian inhabitants of America, excepting the polar tribes, were of one race and species, "but of two great families, which resemble each other in physical, but differ in intellectual character;" and finally that all the crania which he had studied belonged to "the same race, and probably to the Toltecan family." To this theory Agassiz lent the weight of his great name, as it so well accorded with his own theory, that, "men must have originated in nations, as the bees have originated in swarms, and as the different social plants have covered the extensive tracts, over which they have naturally spread." It is, however, evident that the autochthonic theory, which for a time passed almost unquestioned, is fast losing ground; indeed, it has become evident that in accepting it, Agassiz did not submit it to the test to which he was wont to subject questions within his own special field of investigation, but welcomed it as favoring a scheme to which he had become wedded. This change in opinion finds its warrant in Morton's

own field of cranial investigation, which has been widely cultivated since his day, disclosing faults in some of his most important deductions. Besides, a comparative study of the handiwork and lingual characteristics of the Indian peoples has been entered upon, which has already disclosed a vein, that promises to furnish a wealth of archæological knowledge. Again is our attention drawn to the high tablelands of Asia, which we now know to be geologically the earliest portion of the globe suited to man's abode. Of course we at once face here the question of man's origin; certainly a pertinent one, but altogether beyond the scope of the present inquiry. It may, however, be said in passing, that if the theory of evolution as applied to man be true, the American ape could not have been the progenitor of the American man. This is the opinion of evolutionists upon the subject, including Darwin, who declares that "man unquestionably belongs in his dentition, in the structure of his nostrils and in some other respects, to the Catarrhine, or old-world division," and that, "it would be against all probability to suppose that some ancient new-world species had varied, and had thus produced a man-like creature with all the distinctive characters proper to the old world division, losing at the same time all its own distinctive characters;" and he concludes in these words, "there can, consequently, hardly be a doubt, that man is an offshoot from the old world Simian stem, and that under a genealogical point of view, he must be classed with the Catarrhine division."

As the theory that the American man is indigenous

to the American soil has lost ground, the theory of the unity of the human family has again come to the front, and considerable testimony has been adduced to its support. The old belief, too, that human life dawned upon Asian soil has been revived and fresh arguments have sprung up in its support.

A remarkable correspondence between the peoples of the two continents is found to exist ; indeed, a comparison of the people living upon opposite sides of Behring strait show them to scarcely differ from each other. On the Asiatic side the Chuckchis well know that the two continents are connected by submarine banks, and the tradition is still current that they were once joined by an isthmus which mysteriously subsided. A marked resemblance between some of the Chuckchis and the Dakotas has been observed ; at the same time, it is obvious that in common with the Eskimos on the American side, they represent one and the same type of ancient man ; a view which is strengthened by a study of their customs, and particularly of their implements, which are analogous to those of the stone age in Europe and America. If from this point we proceed to study the tribes of the old continent, we shall find still more remarkable resemblances between them and the Indian tribes of America. Much has been written about the remarkable mounds of the western portion of the continent, and enthusiasts have declared that they were the remains of an ancient civilization, which once extended over a considerable portion of the continent ; but there is nothing to warrant such a conclusion. These mounds are of va-

ried character, some being strictly sepulchral, others defensive, and still others in the form of elevated plateaus of remarkable extent, most probably constructed for building sites, a purpose to which they were admirably adapted, since from these elevated situations, the inhabitants could more readily perceive the approach of an enemy, and more easily resist his attack. This custom of mound building is not peculiar to this continent. Extensive mounds exist among the Turcomans and other Asiatic peoples. One of these on the banks of the Turgai, is upward of a hundred feet in height and nearly a thousand feet in circumference; nor is mound building yet obsolete, for such structures are still reared above noted chiefs by their friends, who each contribute a certain number of baskets of earth to their erection. Other customs too of the nomadic tribes of the old continent, are remarkably similar to those of some of the American tribes. Among these are the adoption of animal names; the artificial flattening of the skull; the burial of the dead upon the branches of trees, the ideographic method of recording thought, various religious observances, and a contempt of labor, which is left to be performed by women. Space will not permit a comparison of the art and architecture of the Mayas and Aztecs with those of the more civilized peoples of the old continent; but here are to be found the strongest proofs of relationship, if we except lingual affinities, from a more thorough study of which we may expect still stronger proofs.

When the tide of emigration to America first began,

we cannot learn; indeed, it is not impossible that at this period, which antedated the glacial epoch, the northern portion of the two continents were united. In that remote time a temperate climate prevailed in regions now locked in eternal ice, and swept at all seasons by devastating storms. When we view these regions now so sterile and forbidding, impenetrable even to the most daring adventurer, we can hardly realize that this was the ancestral home of most of those plants and animals with which we are now so familiar in New England and other portions of the North Temperate zone, and that here man flourished amid conditions not unfavorable to his growth and comfort; and yet we have sufficient evidence to warrant such belief. A time came, however, when a change took place; a change ascribed with much force to well known astronomical facts; the combined effect of the progress of the equinoxes, and of the changing eccentricity of the earth's orbit; a change when winter increased in severity, and the glaziers from the farther north began to move southward. The ice age had set in. As the glacial streams slowly advanced and united, they formed in time a vast ice belt stretching across the continent, and year by year continued moving toward the south. In its general form it was bow-shaped, and when its southern limit was reached, its most advanced portion rested on the southern line of Illinois, its western arm curving sharply toward the northwest, leaving uninvaded the territory occupied by Nebraska and a portion of Dakota and Montana, and its eastern arm extending northeastward until it

met the sea coast. New England was buried under a moving mass of ice, which found in the Atlantic an obstacle to its further progress.

Before the ever advancing ice flood, animals and men retreated. The men who occupied the extreme northern territory, rendered uninhabitable by the irresistible power which blighted everything in its course, were forced upon the tribes occupying more southern regions, which must have resulted in continual warfare.

How long the northern portion of the continent was enveloped in ice cannot be accurately determined; but in time this dreary scene of Arctic sterility began to change. Attacked by a power which it could not resist, the deadly ice began its retreat northward, which it continued until it reached its present limit. The men who dwelt upon its border slowly followed, forced back probably in many cases by foes. In their long wanderings many of the rude belongings of these people, whom many archæologists believe to be the ancestors of the present Eskimos, must have been lost, and those of an imperishable nature we should expect to find among the débris left behind by the glaciers. In this we are not disappointed. Numerous rudely chipped implements of stone, similar in form, but as unlike the stone implements found in more recent deposits, as early Saxon implements are unlike the finished productions of the English people of the nineteenth century, are found in deposits indisputably belonging to the glacial period. These paleolithic, or ancient stone implements, so called to distinguish them from neolithic, or new stone implements, are known by

their rudely chipped surfaces, unfinished cutting edges and irregularity of form; while neolithic implements are often finely finished, with cutting edges smoothly and sharply ground, and symmetrical of form, showing considerable skill in their manufacture.

Although we have attempted to briefly outline the theory believed to be most in accord with present archæological knowledge respecting the origin of the Indian tribes of America, it has not been our purpose to consider the more civilized peoples of the extreme south. In outlining the broader theory, we have hoped to obtain a point of view from which we could more intelligently consider a branch of a great family of Indians, who occupied the northern and eastern portion of the continent, south of the Arctic tribes.

As the glaciers disappeared from the lake country of the north and the New England seaboard, a region especially favorable to the sustentation of man was rendered accessible, and was gradually taken possession of by advancing tribes. These tribes probably came from the west, and if we follow westward the lines most available to sustain a migratory people in their wanderings, we shall reach a vast region on the Pacific coast, embracing the valley of the Columbia and adjoining territory, possessing all the requisites for sustaining a large population; indeed when we study this region where coast and stream still yield fish in marvelous abundance, and where thick forests stretching east still shelter vast numbers of fur-bearing animals, we may reasonably entertain the belief that here, for a long period, was the initial point, the nur-

sery, so to speak, from which migration south and east set out.

We are not to suppose that these migrations were the result of caprice. On the contrary, they were movements inspired by purpose and guided by natural law, and would continue under the influence of physical causes alone, until the confines of the continent were reached. We should expect the advancing tribes to follow those lines most accessible to the regions which would furnish them with game and fish upon which, especially the latter, they depended for subsistence; hence we should expect to find them following the more fertile valleys, and gathering about the lakes, along the streams, and upon the seaboard, especially in the neighborhood of extensive forests, which would afford a haunt for game; and as these movements would occupy long periods of time, and tribes of the same original stock would become so widely separated as to have no intercourse together, we should expect changes to take place between them, which would constitute noticeable differences in customs, habits of life, and especially in language, and in this we shall not be disappointed. When the early European colonists began to occupy the eastern shores of the continent, they found it in the possession of various tribes of people having similar physical characteristics, manners, and customs. Their complexion was uniformly of a coppery brown hue; their hair black, straight and lank, differing, as is now known from the hair of the European in structure, having its coloring matter in the cortex instead of a central duct. Their eyes were

black and piercing; their noses aquiline, their mouths large and their faces beardless, owing to a custom prevalent among them of plucking the hair from their faces, whenever it appeared. Physically they were tall, muscular, lithe and active, and could endure severe hardship without apparent inconvenience. Further study of these tribes revealed the fact that they belonged to one great family, though their speech had so changed that tribes living remote from one another could not hold converse together; moreover, they were in continual strife, frequently engaging in wars, which caused the destruction of whole tribes. This great family, to which the French gave the title Algonkin, stretched along the Atlantic seaboard from Labrador to South Carolina, and westward to the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains, occupying very nearly the country which had been covered by the glacial flood, except, where into its territorial domain another powerful family had thrust itself like an immense wedge, the head of which rested on southern Canada, between Lake Champlain and Lake Huron, while its point penetrated Virginia, separating the tribes on the Atlantic seaboard from the western tribes, and harassing them with destructive wars. These intruders, to whom the French gave the title of Iroquois, were fiercer than the Algonkins, whom they most bitterly hated; being feared and as bitterly hated in return. By tradition they held that they once occupied the region along the St. Lawrence as far east as Gaspé bay, but had been driven westward by the Algonkins, who had invaded their territory from the east. This

tradition] will be noticed later. When discovered by Europeans, the Algonkin tribes on the Atlantic seaboard had become stationary within limited areas, while the tribes to the west were still in movement. Observation has shown that the nomadic condition is unfavorable to the cultivation of the arts which tend to the development of man's higher faculties ; hence, in settled communities, agriculture thrives and competition stimulates the people to improvement in manners, as well as handiwork. This settled condition had but partially obtained among the Algonkins of the Atlantic seaboard. They had, it is true, their settled villages and cultivated lands, but these villages were of an unstable character, and were not unfrequently abandoned for localities supposed to possess greater advantages. In spite of this, the semi-settled condition of these Atlantic tribes conduced to more gentle manners, and stimulated them in some degree to imitate their European neighbors. This was especially noticeable in the Narragansetts, a tribe which had advanced beyond all others in the manufacture of those implements which were necessary to savage life, and whose production, were eagerly sought by even remote tribes. Upon the introduction of the more elegant products of English workmanship, these people at once began to improve their own work, and in some cases succeeded in producing articles of considerable elegance, which found a ready market in the shops of London.

The Algonkin tribes possessed certain useful arts. They understood the fashioning of domestic utensils of clay, rudely ornamented and hardened by fire ; the

manufacture of a great variety of implements in wood, stone and bone; of rope and twine for nets from filaments of bark; of hand weaving from the same material into various articles of ornament and use, and from reeds and osiers into baskets; the making of boats; the canoe of birch bark, and the dugout of wood; also the construction of musical instruments; the primitive pipe and drum. Moreover, they employed the ideographic method of recording thought. These arts were possessed by all the Algonkin tribes in greater or less perfection, but the more stationary tribes, like the Narragansets, excelled the others in their practice.

Having thus briefly given a general description of the Algonkin family, we may properly examine one of its most interesting branches, the Abnakis of New England, whose chief seat was within the limits of the present state of Maine. While possessing the general physical characteristics of the great family to which they belonged, the Abnakis were more gentle in manners, and more docile than their western congeners; the result perhaps, of more settled modes of life. They were hunters, fishermen and agriculturists; if their rude methods of cultivating the maize, the squash, the bean, and a few other esculents entitle them to the latter term. At all times they appear to have depended largely upon fish for subsistence, though maize furnished them with an important winter diet; indeed we are told, that they undertook long journeys through the snow, with nothing to sustain them but parched maize pounded to a powder, three spoonfuls of which sufficed for a meal. In their agriculture, they

used fish, of which there was a wonderful abundance, to fertilize their crops ; one or two fish being placed near the roots of the plant. Their dwellings were not constructed with a view to permanence ; but frequently exhibited considerable taste in arrangement and decoration. They were usually of bark fastened to poles in a pyramidal form, and covered with woven mats, which rendered them impervious to wet, and when furnished with abundance of skins, were comfortable for habitation. Their villages were inclosed for protection, with palings set upright in the earth. Each village had its council lodge of considerable size, oblong in form, and roofed with bark, and similar structures were made use of by male members of the village, who preferred to club together in social fellowship. They were hospitable to a fault, and delighted to entertain strangers in their rude fashion, generously sharing with them their food, even when the supply was scanty. They possessed no articles of furniture, using skins to sit upon as well as for beds, and mother earth served for a table upon which to spread their simple viands. Their costumes were of the simplest kind. In summer they went naked with the exception of a breech cloth fastened about the waist, and hanging down before and behind like a double apron ; but in winter, they wore leggins of dressed buckskin, reaching to their feet, which were shod with moccasins, usually of moose hide, which they skillfully tanned, the upper parts of their bodies being protected by loose mantles made of the skins of wild beasts. Like all untutored people, they de-

lighted in ornaments, and decked themselves gaily with bracelets, ear pendants, and curiously wrought chains, or belts, all of which were usually formed of carven shells, bones, and stones. They also painted their faces, and, according to Wood, imprinted figures with a searing iron upon their bodies; perhaps, as he suggests, "to blazon their antique Gentilitie," for, he says, "a sagamore with a Humbert in his eare for a pendant, a black hawke on his occiput for his plume, Mowhackees for his gold chaine, good store of Wampompeage begirting his loynes, his bow in his hand, his quiver at his back, with six naked Indian splatterdashes at his heeles for his guard, thinkes himself little inferior to the great Cham; hee will not stick to say, hee is all one with King Charles."

Father Vetromile asserts, that, "Their sentiments and principles of justice had no parallel amongst the other tribes," and that they were never known to have been "treacherous nor wanting in honor or conscience in fulfilling their word given either in public or private treaty." While we may properly regard this as too great praise, we must admit that they possessed a nobility of character remarkable in a savage people. It is certain that the missionaries found them more tractable and more ready to listen to their teachings than any other branch of the Algonkin family with which they came in contact. Although dignified and taciturn in council, and among strangers, when free from restraint they were social and always ready to join in amusements among themselves. They favored athletic sports, and engaged freely in

competitive trials of skill in wrestling, running, swimming and dancing. Their most exciting game was football, which they played on immense courses, with goals a mile apart, a single game continuing sometimes for two days. They also indulged in games of chance, two of which Wood has graphically described to us under the names of Puim and Hubbub,* which he says are "not much unlike Cards and Dice;" and he asserts, that they would often become so bewitched by these games, that they would lose at a sitting, "Beaver, Moose skinnies, Kettles, Wampompeage, Mowhackies, Hatchets, Knives;" in fact, everything which they possessed; and yet, we are assured, that however fierce the competition in these games might become, they never quarreled nor harbored feelings of anger on account of losses, or even of injuries received in athletic sports, but as friends would "meete at the kettle."

Their domestic relations were sacred. Polygamy was but little practiced by them. Courtship was simple, and the initiatory act was the bestowal of a present upon the parents of the girl sought in marriage. If the present was received, the marriage was consummated without ceremony, and the contract was held by the parties inviolable. The life, however, of the woman, was one of hardship. She was expected to construct the covering of the dwelling; to braid the mats; to cultivate the garden; and to prepare the

*This Indian game of chance, accompanied as it was by constant exclamations of hub, bub! hub, bub! caused the early adventurers to the New England coast to call any noisy demonstration a "hubbub." The term having its original application is still in common use in New England, and is used to some extent elsewhere in the United States. Skeat in his Etymological Dictionary, permitting himself to be misled by similarity of sound and meaning, derives it from whoop. The old form he conceives to have been whoop-whoop, a reduplication from the Anglo Saxon *wōp*, an outcry. It is, he says, "in any case connected with whoop."

meals, of which it was not considered proper for her to partake, until her husband and guests had regaled themselves. In spite of this, the affection which these rude parents exhibited for their children was considerable. They were reared with care, and as soon as they were able to walk, the boys were taught the use of weapons; especially of the bow with which they became remarkably expert; and the girls the art of basket making and other domestic employments. Especial pride was taken by parents in the exploits of their sons, and the first game which they secured was publicly exhibited, and afterwards devoted to a feast for their friends.

Both men and women are uniformly described as being modest, and perhaps the most remarkable thing to be recorded in favor of the Abnaki warrior is the fact that no female prisoner ever had occasion to complain of him in this respect.

Vetromile records the important fact that the Abnakis, and they alone of the Algonkin family, possessed the art of chirography, and he gives specimens of characters employed by them, which strikingly remind one of the ancient phonetic script of Egypt and Phœnicia. He further states that the people were accustomed to send missives to one another written upon birch bark, and the chiefs, to dispatch written circulars of the same material to their warriors, asking for advice; indeed, the Abnakis asserted that their method of writing expressed ideas as fully and as freely as that employed by Europeans. Their government was autocratic. The king held

absolute rule, and at his death was succeeded by his oldest son. If childless, the queen assumed authority. If he left neither son nor consort to succeed him, then his office was assumed by his nearest relative.

To understand a people, it is necessary to study their religious beliefs, since these often furnish motives for actions in themselves unintelligible. The Abnaki believed in the existence of an unseen world, and of unseen beings by whom it was peopled, and with whom his priests could commune. These priests, or as rudely translated into English, medicine men, performed the threefold function of priest, prophet and physician, and they often practiced an asceticism as severe as that of the ascetic priests of India. To the ignorant child of the forest, they possessed miraculous power, beholding the hidden things of a supernatural sphere, which rendered them capable of forecasting the future. We should not regard them as impostors. Reared from childhood in the belief of supernatural existences, which found embodiment in the surrounding forms of nature; subject to long fasts and solitary communings with imaginary beings, they held themselves to be akin to the mysterious powers to whose service they were devoted, and acceptable mediums of communication between them and the common people. These men, therefore, exercised a controlling influence upon the tribes, as men exercising the priestly function have done in all ages, and among all races of men. To them the proudest chiefs bowed submissively, and obeyed without question their mysterious utterances.

In common with other tribes of the Algonkin family,

and in striking correspondence with Oriental beliefs, the Abnakis held that the world was under the influence of dual powers; beneficent and maleficent, and that there was one great spirit who held supreme rule, but at the same time did not interfere with these ever conflicting powers. Upon this conception of deity their entire system of religious belief necessarily hinged; hence their belief in guardian spirits which they denominated manitos, took a peculiar form, a belief which perhaps exercised greater influence upon their daily actions, than any other doctrine which they cherished in the gloom of their unilluminated minds. In order to come into true relationship with his manito, the youth, when he reached the age of puberty, subjected himself to a painful fast, which induced dreams. In this state, he believed that his manito presented himself in the form, usually of some bird or beast of which he dreamed, and this animal became his manito, and was adopted as his totem or crest. Thenceforward he was under the influence and guardianship of his manito, but it might be either good or evil, and subject to a more powerful manito possessed by another member of his tribe, which often caused him anxiety.

That they believed in a future existence, old writers generally testify. Wood, who was a close observer, quaintly says that "they hold the immortality of the never-dying soule, that it shall passe to the Southwest Elysium concerning which their Indian faith jumps much with the Turkish Alchoran

holding it to be a kinde of Paradise, wherein they shall everlastingly abide, solacing themselves in odoriferous Gardens, fruitfull Corne fields, greene Medows, bathing their tawny hides in the coole streames of pleasant Rivers, and shelter themselves from heate and cold in the sumptuous Pallaces framed by the skill of Nature's curious contrivement; concluding that neither care nor paine shall molest them, but that Nature's bounty will administer all things with a voluntary contribution from the storehouse of their Elyizan Hospitall, at the portall whereof they say, lies a great Dogge, whose churlish snarlings deny a Pax intrantibus to unworthy intruders: Wherefore it is their custome to bury with them their Bows and Arrows, and good store of their Wampompeag and Mowhackies; the one to affright that affronting Cerberus the other to purchase more immense prerogatives in their Paradise. For their enemies and loose livers, who they account unworthy of this imaginary happiness, they say, that they passe to the infernall dwelling of Abamocho, to be tortured according to the fictions of the ancient Heathen."

The doctrine of metempsychosis, in an obscure form, seems to have been held by these people, and also of the duality of the soul, which is said to have been the reason for their custom of burying domestic utensils and other articles with the dead, and of placing food upon their graves. A singular statement is made by Mather, that they called the constellation of Ursa Major by a word in their language, which possessed the same signification. In common with many other

racés of mankind, they regarded the serpent as being the embodiment of supernatural power, superior in wisdom and cunning; in fact, a manito, which demanded their reverence. Charlevoix tells us that they painted the figures of serpents upon their bodies, and that they possessed the power so noted among the natives of India, of charming them.

Believing in the constant nearness of supernatural agencies, we cannot wonder that they beheld in every object in nature a form with which such an agency could mask itself. The wind, invisible to the eye, but announcing unmistakably its presence to the ear, formed to them the truest symbol of spiritual power, as it ever has with civilized man. The fire, whose beneficent heat was so necessary to them; the waters which yielded them subsistence; the animals which haunted the woodland glooms, aye! the very trees and rocks, and above all, the great luminaries of night, whose movements they could not comprehend, prefigured to them mysteries which they strove in vain to grasp.

An affinity between Abnaki and Scandinavian myths and legends, should not pass unnoticed; though we may not be able to indicate how it obtained. That such affinity exists, seems, however, evident, and the suggestion of a Norse-Greenland source, through an Eskimo channel may not be altogether presumptuous, though far from conclusive, since it is not impossible that the myths of both peoples may have come down from a common source by different channels.

In this brief sketch, we have given about all that is known of this interesting people. They have left

behind no monuments to excite the admiration of the archæologist; nothing in fact, but implements of stone and bone to testify to their former existence. Along the shores of bays, islands, and river estuaries, where fish most abounded, may be seen slight elevations usually of a more vivid green than the surrounding land. To the inexperienced eye, these are but knolls, the common handiwork of nature; but, if examined more closely, are found to be composed of comminuted shells. These are the kitchen middens of the Abnakis, and when opened, reveal objects of interest. At first we are likely to come upon ashes and blackened embers, among which are stones that bear the marks of burning, and, with emotions akin to awe, we realize that we are invading the fireside of an ancient people, to whom the surrounding landscape, wood, stream, and rocky shore, were familiar and beloved objects. With care we examine the mingled shells and earth which the spade exposes to view, among which are the bones of birds and beasts, the remnants of former feasts, as are, indeed, the shells, the extent and depth of which reveal a long continued occupation of the spot. Often our search is rewarded by the discovery of fragmentary vessels of burnt clay, bearing the indented ornamentation familiar to archæologists, and implements of bone and stone upon which time has wrought no change. The axe, which was used for a variety of purposes, was commonly formed from a stone of convenient size and form by bringing to a cutting edge one end, and working about the other a deep groove, by which it could be hafted, by attaching to it a cleft stick, with the end

wound with a leathern thong; or two sticks, one placed on each side of the grooved stone, and held together by being wound the entire length with a similar thong. These axes were of various forms, and made of many varieties of stone. Some made of slate or stone, which lent itself readily to lapidarian art, being of elegant shape and finish. Stone axes have been found a foot in length, and more than half as wide, but specimens five or six inches in length are more common. The smaller axes were probably used in war, and known in Indian parlance as tomahawks.

Another form of stone implements found in the middens is the celt or chisel. These are slender stones of some length, with one end worked to a straight cutting edge, and were probably used by being fixed into a horn, or cylindrical handle of wood, of suitable size, which would permit the exposure of the cutting edge. Some of these stones are grooved in the form of a gouge, and served the purpose of the modern implement of that character. Occasionally one comes upon an implement which probably served as a hammer. It is usually an oval stone with a groove worked around it, by which it could be hafted. A rare implement is semi-luna in form, and was used for cutting purposes. It was five or six inches in length, the rounded edge being ground thin, the straight side being held in the palm of the hand. Doubtless many chipped flint stones, with sharp edges, which are mistaken for spear heads, were used as knives.

Sometimes we come upon an implement resembling an imperfect arrow head, but with a long and slender

point. This was used for drilling holes, and served the purpose of the modern drill or awl.

Oblong stones more or less finished were more common. Some of these were used in dressing the skins of beasts, and others as pestles for pulverizing maize. A common boulder having a depression upon its surface, often served for a mortar, but sometimes a mortar neatly wrought from a stone of convenient size and form is found. Such a specimen is highly prized to-day, as it doubtless was by its Indian owner.

The most common objects found are spear and arrow heads. These are made usually of flint, or stone of similar hardness, and often show much skill in their manufacture ; indeed, it is no easy task for the modern lapicide to imitate them. They are of various forms, and their use may be largely determined by their size. Some arrow-points are simple triangular forms, and were slipped into the split end of the shaft. Some of the spear and arrow heads have a groove at the base so as to be bound to the shaft by a sinew, and others have but a narrow, straight projection, which permitted them to become easily detached from the shaft. The reason for this seems evident. By this means the point was left in the flesh, greatly aggravating the wound. Whether any of these points were poisoned, or not, is a mooted question.

It is well known that besides the spear and arrow, the Indian used a mace or weighted club. This consisted of a round stone which was covered with skin and bound securely to the handle. Those which were grooved readily attract the attention of the delver in

the middens. Among the most interesting objects which reward the relic searcher are pipes. They are not only curious in form, but are often elegantly wrought and, we must believe, were highly prized by their owners, as they were by the early European settlers, who obtained them from the Indians whenever they could induce them to part with them, and sent them to Europe where they were in demand by curiosity hunters. Occasionally a pipe of red clay is found, similar in shape to the clay pipe of civilized man, but being composed of more fragile material than the stone pipe, is usually imperfect.

Among the more common objects, are stones, often in the form of an elongated egg, with a groove around the smaller end, which are sometimes mistaken for pestles, but their size clearly denotes their use as sinkers or weights.

Some of the most curious objects, and those which perplex the student most, are perforated, and, in rare instances, inscribed stones, in forms which rendered them unfit for any conceivable use, unless as has been supposed, they were employed in ceremonial observances. Some were doubtless used merely as ornaments. The implements of bone, which are quite common in the middens, would require considerable space to properly describe. They were mostly used for perforating soft materials, for sewing, and for spearing the smaller fish. Many of the Indian hooks were made of bone.

The wampum, which the Indians so highly esteemed, and which served the important purposes of trade and personal adornment, has mostly perished. It was

composed largely of beads made of variously colored shells often curiously wrought; the colored specimens being considered of the highest value, unless we except those of copper, usually cylindrical in form.

Of their pottery only fragments remain, but these cannot be mistaken for fragments of the pottery of civilized man, as they bear the peculiar indented decoration so common among barbarous people, consisting of upright, diagonal, and curved lines made with a pointed instrument, or left by the mold in which the vessel was formed, and which was of some coarsely woven material.

What has been thus briefly described, constitutes nearly all that remains to tell us of a most interesting people; but this description serves as well to depict the remains of neolithic man in the old world. If we cross the ocean to explore midden and barrow, we shall unearth objects of the same form and character as those we have found on the shores of New England; the same spear and arrow heads; the same axes, stone sinkers, hammers, chisels, gouges, bone implements, and even fragments of pottery, with the same indented decoration, showing how universal was the art peculiar to neolithic man. We may not pause, however, to pursue the interesting questions which here present themselves to us; but consider in a few words the relation which the Abnakis of Maine bore to certain tribes somewhat further west. Vetromile, who was, perhaps, as well qualified as any student of the Abnaki tongue to give us the correct etymology of the name, insists that the modern title was derived

from wanbnaghi, and signifies, our ancestors of the East, and not, as some other writers have supposed, men of the East. This title, our ancestors of the East was applied to the Indians of Maine, by some of the tribes west of them, and reminds us of the tradition, of the Iroquois, already alluded to, that, they once occupied the country as far east as the Gulf of St. Lawrence, but were driven westward by the Algonkins. We cannot but regard this tradition with interest, and coupled with the title bestowed upon the Abnakis of the coast by their congeners living between them and the Iroquois, as significant; nor can we escape the conclusion, that the Abnakis, after reaching the coast of New England, gradually spread northward along the seaboard until they reached the Gulf of St. Lawrence, where they encountered the Iroquois; and forced them slowly back against the western tribes, compelling them to extend their lines southward, until they occupied the strange position in which they were found when discovered by Europeans; a position which separated the Algonkins of the east from their brethren of the west.

The territory from which the Iroquois had been driven was occupied by the Algonkins, the tribes which called the Indians of Maine their fathers of the east, and which if the theory assumed is correct, was their proper title. If the Iroquois and Algonkins migrated from the west as the traditions of both peoples claim it is probable that the former pursued a line north of the latter. In their long continued migrations, they may at times have approached each other, and come

into conflict. That they finally met upon the seaboard, and that the Iroquois were forced westward by the Algonkins, seems probable. Harassed by the Algonkins, who hemmed them in on every side, and living in a state of perpetual warfare, the Iroquois at last became such fierce and cruel experts in war, as to strike their Algonkin enemy with dread. As they were obliged to extend towards the south, it is quite apparent that they forced the Algonkins, who occupied territory on their southern border, still farther south, until they had reached the extreme limits which they occupied when discovered by European adventurers. By the fierce conflicts, which brought about this condition, the Abnakis of the New England seaboard were not affected. Their conflicts were with their own lineage. They, might, however, have continued until to-day, using their poor implements of stone and bone, in happy ignorance of more useful ones, had not civilized man come in contact with them. As it is, but a remnant now remains of our fathers of the east.

SKETCHES OF THE LIVES OF EARLY MAINE MINISTERS,

BY WILLIAM D. WILLIAMSON.

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INTRODUCTION.

A CHRISTIAN ministry, as it is more or less distinguished for talents, learning, and piety, may be the means of forming a similarity of character in a surrounding community. Having chosen a religious teacher, a people will assuredly partake of his sentiments, tastes, and morality. The first settlers of this country were the highest liberty-men that England or any European nation could produce. They emigrated to these shores, on purpose to enjoy unmolested, as much of civil, and religious equality, and other rights, as would be consistent with reason, conscience, and principle. The classes were two; laboring men and gospel ministers; and it is remarkable how many of the latter were learned, and how many of the former were the unchanging friends of education. They were the few on the earth in their generation, who thought, and read, and judged for themselves. They believed that all those who would be acceptable worshipers of Almighty God, must be intelligent, and conscientious; their obedience cheerful, and their homage heartfelt, and pure; and that ceremonies were only a burden, not any aid to divine service.

A sensible, well-informed people prefer an educated minister. When the Puritans emigrated from London to Holland, and settled at Leyden, A.D. 1609, their minister, Rev. John Robinson, went with them—a gentleman educated in the celebrated university at Cambridge, and subsequently, while he was an Episcopalian, he enjoyed a benefice in the English county of Norfolk till he became a proselyte to the Puritan sentiments. It is true, he did not cross the Atlantic in 1620 with the part of his church and their families who emigrated and settled Plymouth in New England; but William Brewster, who was educated at the same university, a learned and distinguished man, did emigrate with them, being the ruling elder in their infant church, and a preaching teacher to the new settlement twenty-four years.

The first settled minister in Scituate, the second corporate town of Plymouth colony, was Rev. John Lathrop (Lothrop) who was installed A.D. 1635, having received his education at the university of Oxford, and had been an Episcopal clergyman in Kent. At the same seminary, Rev. Samuel Newman received his education, preached at Weymouth from 1639, three years, thence removing with a part of his church, became in 1644 the first settled minister of Rehoboth. The early religious teachers of many of the towns in the old colony were men of equal celebrity for abilities and learning.

All the first settled ministers in Massachusetts, likewise, had, with few exceptions, a thorough classical education at some European university, and were also

in priest's orders before they came to this country. For instance, Rev. Francis Higginson of Salem, John Wilson of Boston, John Norton of Ipswich, Jonathan Burr, colleague with Richard Mather, of Dorchester, Thomas Shepherd of Charlestown, Peter Bulkley of Concord, Ezekiel Rogers of Rowley, Thomas Hooker of Cambridge, John Fiske of Chelmsford, Thomas Parker of Newbury, John Cotton of Boston, were educated at one of the colleges in the university of Cambridge, in England; except Richard Mather, who was educated at Oxford, and Thomas Parker, who received his education at the university of Dublin.

These, and others of the same exalted reputation, were the men who laid the original foundations of the churches, and first preached the gospel and administered the ordinances in New England. Yes, more than seventy¹ of this class came into this country within fifty years after the first settlement of Plymouth; the most of whom, in unison with some political men of liberal education and generous minds, and with an aspiring people, acted a conspicuous part either in founding or rearing that ancient and honorable temple of science — Harvard College. This is monumental of their wisdom and worth, enduring as the pillars of their fame. Perhaps no other literary seminary in the world, within an equal period of time, and in proportion to the number educated, has done more good to the church and the community. As it was put under the oversight, tuition, and guidance of literary and

¹ Rev. C. Mather says there were "seventy-seven in the actual exercise of their ministry when they left England" and he gives their names. *Magnalia*, 213—Hartford Edition, 1820.

professional men, who had their collegiate education at one of the universities in England, the same prerequisites before admission were required, the same authors were generally studied, the same classic course pursued, and the same period of four years required to be spent at college before the degree of bachelor of arts was conferred. Indeed, so learned and faithful was the instruction, and so watchful and judicious was the government and discipline, that several students from abroad, we are assured, pursued for a period, or finished, their classical course at Harvard College. The memorable year of its foundation was 1636, and its first commencement in 1642; and "from that hour," as Doctor Cotton Mather says, "Old England had more ministers from new, than New England had since then, from old." He might, however, mean to except the fourteen he mentions, who being ejected by the act of uniformity, which was passed 1662, removed to this country, and were established in the ministry at different places.

Any scholar was thought fit to enter college¹ during

¹ At the time I entered Williams college in 1800, the prerequisites for admission were these: the scholar must be able to read into English, the four first *Æneids* of Virgil, the four orations of Cicero against Catiline, and the four Evangelists in the Greek Testament. He was not examined in any other book. The study hours of each day, I think were eight, of which two in the winter were between seven and nine in the evening. The scholars in the several classes recited three times in every day except Wednesdays and Saturdays,—only twice: each recitation was immediately preceeding breakfast, dinner, and supper. In study hours the scholars were not allowed to be absent from their rooms, *nisi ex necessitate*; the tutors daily calling at their rooms to see if the rules were duly observed. On the afternoons of Wednesdays, the scholars of the several classes convened in the chapel where the tutors heard some half-dozen in each class declaim, and made remarks upon their manner of speaking, and capabilities of improvement. During the two last years, an original composition was read by one of the class every day, immediately after the forenoon recitation, each scholar reading in rotation, and also declaiming before his class. The books studied and made classics during the collegiate course, the

the early periods of its institution, who could read any classical author into English, make true Latin and read it readily into English prose and verse, and perfectly decline the paradigms of nouns and verbs in the Greek tongue. The classic course pursued was this—in the first year, logic, physics, etymology, syntax, grammar of the English, Hebrew, and Eastern tongues, and practice in the Bible. In the second year, ethics, politics, prosody, dialectics, parsing in poesy, Nonnus and Duport, read Ezra, and Daniel in Caldee. In the third year, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, Greek, exercises in style, composition, imitation, epitome, “both in prose and in verse,” Hebrew, and the Eastern tongues, the Syriac to be read in Trostius’ New Testament. Every scholar declaimed as often as once every month, on the seventh day of the week—lectures on rhetoric on the sixth day of the week to all the students—in fine, perhaps the last year, botany, history, and divinity.

But it is supposed that the scholars were not at first required to reside actually at Cambridge more than three years,¹ for in 1647, the corporation passed a vote which required “the students to reside four years at

first year, were all of Virgil, Cicero’s ten select orations, the whole of the Greek Testament, making Latin, and Vulgar Arithmetick. During the residue of the course, the scholars studied Horace, Guthrie’s Geography, (“Grammar” as the book was entitled) of the Eastern Continent, and Morse’s of the Western, Duncan’s or Watts’ Logic, Blair’s Lectures on Rhetoric, Locke on the Human Understanding, Webster’s Mathematics, just substituted for Ward’s, Hammond’s Algebra, Enfield’s Natural Philosophy, and Astronomy, Jasly’s Ethics, or Moral Philosophy, Tully’s *de oratore*, Priestley’s Lectures on History, Edwards on the Will. At Brown University, to which I went in the beginning of the fourth year, Lord Kaims on Criticism was used instead of Doctor Blair, also Millot’s Elements of History.

¹ Doctor Elliot says in his Biographical Dictionary, page 456, that Samuel Torrey would have taken his degree in 1650, but left college because a law required four instead of three years.—*Story*.

Cambridge instead of three" which vote seems to have been so impolitic as not to have been carried into effect till about the year 1655, when "seventeen of the scholars went away from college without any degree."

We are told in Pierce's History of Harvard University, (page 237) that a century after the establishment of the college, in the days of President Holyoke—1737–1769—and probably for many years before, the textbooks were Virgil, Cicero's Orations, Cicero's Offices, the Greek Testament, and a little of Homer, Ward's Mathematics, Gordon's Geographical Grammar, Gravesend's Philosophy, Euclid's Geometry, Woltebius' Compend of Theology, and Brattles' Compend of Logic, both in Latin, Watt's Logic, and Locke on the Human Understanding. To those add instruction in Hebrew, the professors' lectures—respectively in divinity and mathematics—the president's expositions after evening prayers twice in each week, and the disputations of the seniors and juniors, and the whole collegiate course at that period is classified, leaving the just inference that the Oriental languages were not then so much studied and so well understood as in former periods.

There was a "placing" of the scholars on the catalogue, as it was called; that is, an arrangement of their names in each class, which was to the college authorities a perplexing affair, as it occasioned much discontent among the students. For this was not the country to rate young men by the rank of their parentage, but by the grade of individual merit. It was evidently a badge of servility borrowed from the universities in

Europe, and yet it still prevails in Columbia College, New York, though it was laid aside at Yale in 1768, and at Harvard in 1773. This prerogative of placing was exercised within six or nine months of the freshman year, and their names, written handsomely in German text, were then posted in a conspicuous place beside the classes of the other undergraduates, where the names of all were kept suspended till they left college. Each freshman, apprised of his station, took it at recitation, at commons, in the chapel, and on other occasions. Nor was it ever afterward altered in college or in the catalogue, "however the rank of their parents might be varied." The "place" was ideal, as it was a precedence which gave to the higher part of the class some substantial advantages. Generally they had the most influential friends, and the best chambers assigned to them. At the table in commons, they had the right to help themselves first, and might, perhaps, raise their expectation of better appointments at commencement. There were also some other injudicious usages, such as giving the seniors the right to command the waiting services of the freshmen; all which, the spirit of republicanism during the American Revolution, gradually subdued to the rites and rules of equality.

At the annual commencement there were no other performances in English than the president's prayers, and no other printed order of exercises, than the "Theses" which were all in Latin, the caption of which was an adulatory address or dedication to the rulers, magistrates, ministers, and patrons of the college. A

Thesis, for instance this: "Hebrew is the mother of tongues" was discussed in Latin by the appointed members of the senior class, after which the president made his remarks upon the subject in the same language. It is supposed that exercises in English were introduced about the year 1758; and now there is at most of the colleges none other, except a salutatory in Latin.

As Harvard University has been the prototype and pattern of all the colleges in New England, as well as the Alma Mater of so many learned, distinguished men, rulers, ministers and statesmen, this notice is only a tribute of respect richly due to its merits and exalted usefulness, especially before we proceed to record some biographical sketches of its scholars, whose abilities, labors and piety have been of such essential service to Maine, as well as to other states.

REV. RICHARD GIBSON.

The first preacher of the Gospel in Maine of whom we have any knowledge was Rev. Richard Gibson. He arrived from his native England in the spring of 1636, and after visiting Saco took up his abode on the banks of Spurwink river, toward its mouth a short distance westerly of the celebrated Richmond's island.¹ At that time, all the inhabitants within the present limits of this state did not exceed fifteen hundred, and the number of settlements between the river Piscataqua and Broad bay was only ten or twelve, the oldest of which were York, Saco and Monhegan, planted A.D.

¹ Some say he resided upon the island itself. Willis, History of Portland.

1623-24; Broad bay and Pemaquid, in 1624-25; Pejepscot, in 1626; Falmouth, 1628; Kittery, Berwick, and Scarborough, 1631.

Mr. Gibson was educated, without doubt, at one of the universities in England, for none in that country are permitted to assume the sacerdotal vestments and the clerical character, till he is thorough in literature and divinity. It was conceded by his opponents, Gov. Winthrop of Massachusetts, and others equally qualified to judge, that Mr. Gibson was a man of distinguished abilities and scholarship. His notions of church polity were exclusively Episcopal, and he was supremely devoted to the English hierarchy. Admitted to the grade of priests' orders before he left home, he believed he had a right here, as well as there, to administer baptism and the Lord's supper, and to solemnize marriages. He was furnished with a very decent service for sacramental occasions, and he resolved to adopt entirely the forms of worship, the rites and ceremonies of the mother church. He was a gentleman of unblemished reputation, and his manners and appearance were commanding.

It was meet, and might be expected, that such a clergyman would be chosen by those who had obtained the several territorial patents within which the settlements had been commenced, such as Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Richard Vines, Thomas Canmock, George Cleeve, Robert Trelawny, Moses Goodyear, Alderman Aldworth, Giles Eldridge, John Pierce, and others, for they were, in general, of the same religious sentiments with Mr. Gibson, though several of them never

came into this country, and some of them might be Puritans. His ministrations were not confined to Spur, wink, and Casco; they were extended to Saco, and from expressions in the records and transactions of that period, relating to his and his successors' support we may infer there was an attempt to introduce the English policy of exacting tithes or tenths of products though paid by way of an equivalent or composition in money.

A minister who first settles among a people has often to encounter discouragements of no ordinary magnitude. Being strangers to each other, and having different opinions and views, they are not readily bound together by any bond of sympathetic union. His parishioners, too, being poor, are only able to contribute proportionately toward their minister's support. To justify their covetousness, they will often times complain without cause; and some will not restrain their tongues from uttering bitter reproaches. Mr. Gibson probably gathered a church and received from Mr. Goodyear and others, some presents, still his support was quite slender, hardly sufficient for himself and wife. Moreover, controversy and ill-treatment begot discontent. In 1640 he brought an action of slander against John Bonyton of Saco, for calling him "a base priest, a base knave, a base fellow," and recovered in damages only £6, 6s, 8d, though £500 were the damages alleged in the writ.

The same year the people of Portsmouth, opposed to Puritanical sentiments, formed an Episcopal society, erected a chapel and parsonage house, and made choice

of Mr. Gibson for their first pastor. He accepted the invitation, and left Maine, hence conforming in all respects to the worship, rites and ritual of the English church. The chapel was furnished with one great Bible, twelve service-books, one pewter flagon, one communion cup and cover of silver, two fine tablecloths, and two napkins, which had been sent over by John Mason.

The next year, 1641, Massachusetts, on a resurvey of her patent, claimed to hold as far eastward as the river Piscataqua, thus bringing Portsmouth and its inhabitants, also Mr. Gibson, within her jurisdiction. Considering this on her part an arbitrary stroke of power, and determined not to be a subject of puritanical, republican control, he left Portsmouth and went to the Isles of Shoals. Here he commenced preaching, probably the first these islanders ever enjoyed; also, he joined parties in marriage, and administered the ordinances. As they had been told by Massachusetts that their islands, as well as Portsmouth, fell within her patent, they were disposed to submit to her administration, and yield obedience to her laws. But through the influence of Mr. Gibson, as Mr. Hubbard expresses himself, they "were provoked to revolt," or in other words, to withhold or withdraw their allegiance from her, and attempt to form a social compact. These measures, of which he was supposed to be the sole instigator, touched the pride of Massachusetts, and set her face against him. In the meantime, he was involved in another difficulty. Hansard Knolleys, and Thomas Larkham had been preaching at the same time

in Dover, New Hampshire, and severely contending for the palm of popularity and influence. Displeased with the interfering policy of the Massachusetts government, Knolleys pronounced its measures more arbitrary than the high commission court in England: a stand which was truly grateful to the mind of Mr. Gibson, and which determined him openly to espouse the interest of Knolleys. Larkham took fire, and in a sermon he subsequently delivered, he inveighed severely against such disorganizers, and hirelings, as he represented Gibson to be. In return, the latter sent to him an open letter, wherein, as Governor Winthrop says, "he did scandalize our government, oppose our title to those parts, and provoke the people by way of arguments to revolt from us." Hence he was taken into custody by the marshal, but, upon acknowledging his fault, and submitting himself to the favor of the court, they took the whole circumstances into consideration, such, especially as his being a stranger, an Episcopal minister, and his certain departure from the country in a few days, and discharged him without penalty, punishment, or cost. This was in June, 1642, and we hear of this worthy clergyman no more. He is said to have been a popular speaker, and a man highly esteemed among the people of his religious sentiments. Indeed, ministers of his zeal and character seldom fail to do good, though their tenets be sectarian.

REV. WILLIAM TOMPSON.

The second minister of the Gospel in Maine was the Rev. William Tompson. He was educated at the Uni-

versity of Oxford, in England, and was afterward an ordained preacher in Lancashire till 1637,¹ when he fled from the persecuting sword to New England. Doctor Cotton Mather says he was a very powerful and successful preacher, and his name is joined in the title-page of several books with Reverend Richard Mather, a native of the same place, who came into this country two years before him.

The earliest ministerial services here, which have been mentioned of him, were performed at Agamenticus, now York. He was probably dwelling in that place before the year of his transatlantic arrival closed. It was then a plantation, only fourteen years of age, having a population, probably, of one hundred and fifty souls. Sir Ferdinando Gorges says in his history—“Colonel Francis Norton, and Captain William Gorges went over in 1623, with divers workmen for the building of mills, houses, and all things necessary for the settlement of our designs,” at Agamenticus, and hence we may justly infer it was permanently settled at that time. The settlements on the northerly side of the Piscataqua were commenced the next year, or soon afterward; and we may well suppose the ministerial services of a man, so distinguished for abilities, piety and zeal as his were, would never be confined to a single plantation, between one and two years, the probable period of his residing there. For Governor Winthrop says he was “a very holy man, who had been an instrument of much good at Agamenticus.” The conversion of souls, not pecuniary gains, was the purpose of his heart, and his was an

¹Perhaps A.D. 1636. Collections Mass. Historical Society, Volume IX, 191. This family uniformly write their name without an *h*.

inventory of good works, not of riches, and his successes, the fruits of labor, prayer and faith.

At length he was installed at Mount Wollaston (Braintree) now Quincy, Massachusetts, September 24, 1639, probably the next year after he left Agamenticus. In 1642, he went a missionary to Virginia, in hopes that a journey and a milder climate might improve his health of body and mind, and cheer his spirits, but his wife, whom he left behind, died in January, 1643, and he returned to Braintree the same year. He died December 10, 1666, aged sixty-eight. His character was adorned with graces; nevertheless, he was the subject of a splenetic melancholy,¹ and was, as Dr. Eliot says, under great temptation to commit suicide, — a state of mind which at times “almost wholly disabled him for the exercise of the ministry.” But he fought manfully in his Master’s strength against the satanic insinuation, armed with the spiritual weapons of fasting, faith, and prayer, also the pastors and pious brethren of the churches in the vicinity, poured out their supplications for his relief; and happy was the sequel, for though his was a life of severest warfare his end was peace, and his eternity blessed.

Reverend William Tompson, the subject of this notice, had two wives, four sons, and a daughter. 1st, Samuel, born in England, 1631, came to New England with his father in 1637, settled in Braintree, which he represented in the general court fourteen years. He died in 1695. 2d, William, Harvard College, 1653, was a minister in Connecticut. 3d, Joseph, born 1640, settled

¹ Doctor Mather says *balneum diaboli*. Magnalia B. III, page 396.

at Billerica, where he was a lower officer, deacon of the church, and a representative to the general court. He died 1732, aged ninety-two. 4th, Benjamin, born 1642, Harvard College, 1662, was famed as a poet,¹ physician, and schoolmaster; died 1714. His son Edward was minister of Marshfield, Massachusetts. William, another son, Harvard College 1718, was ordained the minister of Scarborough, 1727, and died 1759. Reverend John Tompson Harvard College, minister of Standish and Berwick was son of Reverend William of Scarborough, and died 1828, aged eighty-eight. He was the great grandson of the first Reverend William Tompson.

¹See a specimen of his poetry on Rev. S. Whiting's death and character. *Magnalia*, Book III, page 459.

[To be continued.]

SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF GENERAL LA FAYETTE.

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF HIS VISIT TO MAINE.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, November 16, 1881.

GILBERT MOTIER DE LA FAYETTE was born in Auvergne, France, on the sixth of September 1757, and was sent at an early age to the College of Duplessis in Paris, where he received a classical education. At the age of sixteen he was offered an honorable position at the French court, which he declined. At seventeen he married a granddaughter of Duc de Noailles. His fortune was large and his rank was with the first in Europe. His connection brought him the support of the chief persons in France. His character was warm, open, sincere and virtuous. At the age of nineteen his thoughts and sympathy were turned to the struggle of the American colonies against the oppression of their mother country. Nothing could be less tempting to a man of mere personal feelings than an interference in behalf of the United States at this time; their army was in retreat, their credit in Europe was entirely gone, and their commissioners to whom La Fayette offered his services, were obliged to acknowledge that they could not even give him decent means for his passage. Then said he "I shall purchase and fit out a ship for myself." He did so, and his vessel was sent to one of the nearest ports of Spain, that it might be out of the

reach of the French government. It was not until he was on his way to embark that his romantic project began to be known. The British minister became alarmed, and at his request an order was issued for his arrest, which overtook him at Bordeaux, where he was detained, but in the disguise of a courier he escaped and passed the frontiers three hours in advance of his pursuers. He arrived in Charleston, South Carolina, in April 1777. The sensation produced by his appearance in the United States was much greater than that excited in Europe at his departure. This event stands forth as one of the most prominent and important circumstances in the Revolutionary contest. At the present time few can believe what an impulse it gave to the hopes of a people nearly disheartened by a long series of disasters. Immediately on his arrival the Marquis received the offer of a command in the American army, which he declined. During the whole of his service he seemed desirous to render disinterested assistance to the cause in which he was embarked. He entered the army as a volunteer without pay. Soon after his arrival he purchased clothing for the troops under General Moultrie in that quarter, he also made an advance of sixty thousand francs to General Washington for the public service. His services were appreciated by Congress, and in July, 1777, he was appointed a major-general, but he did not immediately act in that capacity. At the battle of Brandywine in September, he distinguished himself by his activity and undaunted bravery, but in a subordinate rank. He received a wound in the leg in this engagement, but

remained on the field until the close of the battle, inspiring the men by his presence and courage. Before his wound, which was a severe one, was entirely healed, he again joined the army under Washington.

In November, at the head of some New Jersey militia, he attacked a body of Hessians and defeated them. Soon after, the young Frenchman took the command of a division in the Continental army and frequently was appointed chief officer in separate commands. General Washington became greatly attached to him; he loved him for his goodness and honored him for his bravery and military talents. In 1778, it was proposed to make an attack on Canada with the idea of annexing it to the States, and General La Fayette was appointed to take the command of the troops collecting at Albany for that purpose. This project originated in Congress, but was not approved by General Washington, and it was abandoned.

General La Fayette had a distinguished command at the battle of Monmouth, and received the unqualified approval of the commander-in-chief. The same year he made a visit to Boston, the object of which was unknown, but Congress passed a resolve thanking him for this and other services. In his reply he says, "The moment I heard of America I loved her, the moment I knew that she was fighting for liberty I burnt with the desire of bleeding for her." Early in the year 1779, after an absence from his family of more than two years, General La Fayette revisited France, with the consent of Congress and General Washington. In his reply to a letter of Congress he says, "I dare flatter

myself that I shall be considered a soldier on furlough, who most sincerely desires to join again his colors." He arrived at Versailles on the twelfth of February, and the same day had a long conference with the prime minister, though he was not permitted to see the king. As a punishment for having left France without permission, he was ordered to visit none but his own relatives, but as he was connected by birth or marriage with nearly the whole court, and as everybody thronged to his hotel, the order did not weigh heavily on him. Congress had directed that Doctor Franklin, the American minister at Versailles, "cause an elegant sword with proper devices to be made and presented to the Marquis La Fayette." On the receipt of the sword, the Marquis replied with a warm letter to Congress, in which he said, "It is my present desire soon to employ that sword in your service." La Fayette went home to France ostensibly to offer his services to his own nation, as war had been declared between France and England, but he seems to have exerted himself, with effect, to induce the king and court of France to lend the United States more effectual aid. A large fleet was sent over which rendered the United States essential service, as they had no efficient navy to protect their coast. When La Fayette obtained permission to revisit his native country, he retained with his rank in the American army, an ardent zeal for the interest of the American cause, which was so well calculated to inspire a young and generous mind in favor of a people struggling for liberty and self government with the hereditary rival of his nation. He came again to the

United States. He arrived at Boston in April, 1780, although the frigate in which he sailed was obliged to go into Marblehead to escape a British squadron. At a time when it was expected that the ship would be compelled to defend herself, the General was found at one of the guns preparing to take a part, should she be attacked.

On his arrival, he hastened to report at headquarters, and then proceeded to Congress with the information that the king of France had consented to employ a large land and naval armament in the United States, in the coming campaign. This intelligence gave a new impulse, both to Congress and to the state legislatures, who were becoming despondent, and led to resolves and movements of the most vigorous character.

Let us turn aside for a moment to consider who was the French king who espoused our cause at that critical juncture. It was no less than the unfortunate Louis the Sixteenth, "the mild and good," who with his queen, Marie Antoinette, were guillotined in 1793 during the French Revolution. They were the firm friends of our infant republic, and with their fleets, armies and treasure, they sent to Congress their full-length portraits, of which graceful act history makes no mention. The fact was revealed, two or three years ago, by a private letter loaned to me by a friend whose grandfather, a representative in the fourth Congress, wrote to his daughter. It is dated December 26, 1795. After describing the halls of Congress, the writer says, 'You ascend the stairs leading to the chamber at the north, and pass through an entry having committee

rooms on each side. In that on the east side of the Senate chamber, is a full-length picture of the king of France and in the opposite one, is one of the queen. The frames are elegantly carved and gilt. They are superbly dressed with the insignia of royalty. Hers, I think, is the finest picture I ever saw. She is tall and a fine form. Her eyes are blue and her countenance expressive. She approaches near to a beauty. Alas! how little did they dream of the dreadful catastrophe awaiting them, when they sat for these pictures—they were presented by the king." These portraits were undoubtedly removed from Philadelphia to Washington, when the capitol was first occupied in 1801, and were destroyed with the records relating to their reception, when the building was burned by the British in 1814, which will account for the lack of any mention of them. The writer of the description of the pictures was Jabez Bradbury, the first lawyer who resided and practiced in Cumberland county. He was born in Newbury in 1739, graduated at Harvard College in 1757. Commenced the practice of law in Falmouth in 1762, and returned to his native town, after the burning of Falmouth in 1775. He was chosen representative to Congress for Essex district in 1794, and died in 1803, aged sixty-four.

When General La Fayette joined the army after his return from France, he received a separate command of a body of light infantry of about two thousand, which he clothed and equipped, partly at his own expense, and by his unwearied exertion rendered it the finest corps in the army. He raised two thousand

guineas on his personal credit to supply the pressing wants of his troops. His rescue of Richmond, his long trial of generalship with Cornwallis, and finally the seige of Yorktown—the storming of the redoubt and the reduction of the place in October, 1781, to which he largely contributed, are proofs of his talents as a commander, and of his devotion to the cause of the United States. Congress had already repeatedly acknowledged these services, but in November, 1781, when he was again about to visit France, and only twenty-four years old, they passed a resolution desiring the foreign ministers of our government to confer with him in their negotiations concerning American affairs. At the same time Congress ordered, “that a conveyance be provided for General La Fayette in a public vessel, whenever he shall choose to embark.” In his reply he said, “My attachment to America, the sense of my obligations, and the new favors conferred upon me, are so many everlasting ties that devote me to her.”

In France a brilliant reputation had preceded him. The cause of the United States was already popular there. On his return he was followed by crowds in the streets wherever he went. In the meantime he was constantly urging upon the French government the policy of sending out more troops, and Count d’Estaing was ordered to hold himself in readiness to sail for the United States whenever La Fayette should join him. Forty-nine ships and twenty thousand men were for this purpose assembled at Cadiz when peace rendered the assistance unnecessary. This great event of

peace was first announced to Congress by a letter from La Fayette dated Harbor of Cadiz, February 5, 1783. At the pressing invitation of Washington, General La Fayette revisited the United States in 1784, after the struggle was ended. He was received with an enthusiastic welcome everywhere, and when about to depart, Congress appointed a deputation of one member from each state to take leave of him, and to assure him "that these United States regard him with particular affection, and will not cease to feel an interest in whatever may concern his honor and prosperity, and that their best and kindest wishes will always attend him." A complimentary letter was at the same time ordered to be sent to the French king, acknowledging the services of La Fayette and recommending him to the favor of his Majesty. In 1786, he, with others, formed a society in Paris for the gradual extinction of African slavery. He was chosen a member of the celebrated National Assembly at the breaking out of the French Revolution. He was in favor of retaining the king with limited powers, and was appointed to the command of the National Guard, and afterward to the command of a division of the regular army of France. The Bastille was destroyed in 1789, the key of which he presented to Washington, and it now hangs in the hall at Mount Vernon.

In 1792, the Jacobin party got the power, and La Fayette was obliged to leave France with the intention of coming to America, but he was arrested by an Austrian general and imprisoned, first at Wessel and then at Magdeburg where he was confined a year in a

dungeon without light, during which he was offered his liberty if he would join the enemies of France—he spurned the proposal. He was then removed to the fortress of Olmutz, and kept under the most rigorous confinement for three years, where he suffered so much from cold and dampness that his hair fell from his head. His wife and daughters shared his confinement for the last two years. An attempt was made by a Hanoverian named Bollman and Francis K. Huger, a young American, who was accidentally in Austria at the time, to assist La Fayette to escape while taking an airing with a guard, which after a struggle was effected, but he was retaken two days after. General Washington, then president, made repeated efforts to procure his release, but it was not until 1797 that he was set at liberty by Napoleon's desire, after a confinement of five years. Then he had a Jacobin sentence hanging over him in France and could not retire to his seat with safety. His exile finally ceased and he found rest at his home at La Grange, about forty miles from Paris. La Fayette differed with Napoleon and protested against some of his measures, but was not disturbed in his retirement. La Fayette had long entertained a wish and purpose to revisit the United States. He was the last surviving general of the Revolution. In January, 1824, when it became known that he proposed to take passage for America, Congress requested the president “to offer him a public ship and to assure him in the name of the Republic, that they cherish for him a grateful and affectionate attachment.” The legislature of Massa-

chusetts at its session in June adopted a resolve requesting the governor to make such arrangements as would secure to this distinguished friend of our country, an honorable reception on the part of the state, and authorized him to draw on the public treasury to meet the expenses arising therefrom. The Society of Cincinnati of Massachusetts, composed of officers of the Revolutionary army and their sons, at their meeting on the fourth of July, appointed a committee of whom Governor Brooks was chairman, "to consider what measures it will be proper for the society to adopt on the arrival of our distinguished brother." Letters were written to General La Fayette before he left France, by several distinguished individuals, and by the mayors of New York and Boston in the name and behalf of their corporations, expressing a strong desire that he would visit the United States. To the letter of the mayor of Boston, General La Fayette replied, under date of May twenty-sixth, "I joyfully anticipate the day, not very far remote, thank God, when I may revisit the cradle of American, (and in the future I hope) universal liberty. But while I profoundly feel the honor intended by the offer of a national ship, I hope I shall incur no blame by the determination I have taken to embark as soon as it is in my power, on board of a private vessel. Whatever port I first attain I shall with the same eagerness hasten to Boston." This warm letter aroused the public spirit of Massachusetts, and preparations were made to receive their guest in a most honorable manner. General La Fayette embarked at Havre in the packet ship Cad-

mus, and arrived in the harbor of New York on the fifteenth of August, 1824. He was accompanied by his son, George Washington La Fayette, and his friend, M. L. Vasseur. A steamboat in waiting took them immediately to Staten Island, to the residence of Daniel D. Tompkins, Vice President of the United States. It being Sunday he remained there through the day and the night. On Monday five steamers, chartered by the city and having its mayor and government on board, proceeded to the island to receive the guests. The center steamer, the Chancellor Livingston, had on board the West Point band. On this boat General La Fayette, and his party, were conducted to the city, the band playing the Marseilles Hymn, Hail Columbia and other national airs. In the flotilla was the Cadmus, in which the General came, towed by a steamer on each side. The reception committee had among its members several field officers of the Revolutionary army. Of the reception, a New York paper said, "Yesterday was a proud day for New York. We have seen the reception of the allied sovereigns, and the celebration of great events in Europe, we have read of the landing of King William, the entrée of George the Fourth in Ireland, and of Louis the Eighteenth in Paris, but never witnessed a more splendid display, or a more cordial, generous and spontaneous welcome than that of yesterday, on the landing of La Fayette." On the following days the Marquis was waited upon by several societies, by their committees. To that of the New York Historical Society he said: "The United States is the first nation on the records of history, who have

founded their constitution upon an honest investigation and clear definition of their natural and social rights." General La Fayette came to Boston, through Connecticut and Rhode Island. At every large town he was compelled to stop to receive the homage of the people. In Connecticut the church steeples were manned by watchmen to announce his coming. He arrived at the residence of Governor Eustis at Roxbury, (the Governor Shirley house) on the night of the twenty-third of August. His public reception in Boston was on the twenty-fourth, after an absence of forty years — of course it was most enthusiastic. On the twenty-fifth, the commencement exercises occurred at Harvard University. General La Fayette was invited to be present and attended. The corporation had conferred its highest honors on him forty years before. President Kirkland made a long welcoming address to which the Marquis made a hearty response. Three days later committees from Portland and from Bowdoin College arrived, and invited him to these places, which he was obliged to decline, as he was engaged to be in New York at an early day, but promised to visit Maine before his final departure from the United States. While in Boston, General La Fayette visited Bunker Hill, and also made an afternoon visit to Quincy, and called on ex-President John Adams, then eighty-eight years old. He also visited Portsmouth, New Hampshire, halting at intermediate towns to receive attentions. So pressing were his engagements, that he left Portsmouth on his return at eleven o'clock at night. After visiting Lexington and Concord, he proceeded to Wor-

cester and from thence to Hartford, Connecticut, and to New York, While there he was overwhelmed with attentions and honors. A most pleasing and delicate compliment was shown him at a public ball at Castle Garden, which was attended by six thousand ladies and gentlemen. At the close of a dance a large and beautiful transparency slowly rose, representing his home, the Chateau of La Grange, with its towers and park.

General La Fayette's next journey was the historic Hudson to West Point and Albany, with frequent stops on the passage. On his return to the city of New York he rested three days, after which he left for Philadelphia and Washington, visiting the battlefields of Trenton and Princeton. On the eleventh of September he attended the anniversary celebration of the battle of Brandywine. He remained in Philadelphia a week and left for the South by way of Baltimore and Washington. His reception by President Munroe was most cordial and honorable. He visited Mount Vernon on a Sunday accompanied by George W. P. Custis, the nearest male relative of Washington. At the tomb Mr. Custis presented General La Fayette a ring inclosing some of the hair of his immortal relative. The General arrived at Yorktown the next day, and looked over the scene of the triumphs of the American and French armies in 1781, in which he had acted an important part. Thence he proceeded to Norfolk and Richmond and through North and South Carolina to Georgia, and returned to Washington in December, where he remained until spring when he again came to New York and Boston. An association to erect a

monument on Bunker Hill had been organized in 1823. On the seventeenth of June, 1825, the fiftieth anniversary of the battle, General La Fayette, by invitation, assisted in laying the corner stone of the monument. Two hundred surviving soldiers of the battle were in the procession. There were seven captains, three lieutenants and two ensigns, but no field officers. The monument was not finished until 1841, and the event was not celebrated until the seventeenth of June, 1843. Daniel Webster delivered the address, both at the laying of the corner stone and at the celebration of the completion, eighteen years later.

We have seen that Portland and Bowdoin College had sent committees to Boston to invite General La Fayette to visit Maine, the previous year. On the twenty-fifth of August, 1824, the citizens of Portland met at the court house, to consider the propriety of inviting the nation's guest to visit the town. A committee of sixteen were chosen to extend an invitation, of which General Joshua Wingate jr., was chairman. He proceeded to Boston immediately and presented the invitation in person—the answer has been alluded to. In June the next year, 1825, another meeting chose a committee of arrangements for the reception, consisting of General John K. Smith, chairman, William Pitt Preble, Asa Clapp, Isaac Ilsley, Stephen Longfellow, Alpheus Shaw, Joshua Wingate jr., Ashur Ware and Nicholas Emery. General Samuel Fessenden was chosen chief marshal. Governor Parris had also extended an invitation to La Fayette in behalf of the state. General La Fayette left Boston to

visit Portland on the twenty-third of June, and slept that night at Newburyport, in the same room and in the same bed occupied by Washington in 1789. The second night he slept at Saco, having received hospitalities at that town and at Kennebunk. On the morning of the twenty-fifth, Saturday, the reception committee, the town authorities and many other officials were formed in procession, and escorted to the brow of the hill on Congress, then Main street. The escort was composed of the Portland Light Infantry, Captain Benjamin Ilsley, Portland Rifle Company, Captain Reuben Mitchell, Portland Mechanic Blues and the Brunswick Light Infantry, which had marched the entire distance from Brunswick. Captain Ilsley's seniority gave him command of the battalion. Preceding the military, were the truckmen of the town, mounted and in uniform, formed in cavalcade under the command of Captain Seth Bird. It was a very dry time, and to lay the dust the streets through which the procession was to pass were wet down that morning by the fire companies with their hand engines. The expectant crowd had not long to wait; a cloud of dust was seen rising over the road nearly to Stroudwater, and promptly at the appointed hour, nine o'clock, several carriages were seen coming up the hill and the twelve pounder guns above the road, announced the arrival of the guests. . These guns were of brass and were taken by La Fayette at Brandywine. Their fate at the breaking up of the state arsenal at Portland is unknown. General La Fayette rode in an open barouche drawn by four white horses, and was accom-

panied by Colonel Robert P. Dunlap, one of the governor's aids who with Colonel Emery, another aid, had met the General at the state line. In the second carriage were George Washington La Fayette and M. L. Vasseur. The guests, carriages, drivers and horses were of the uniform color of dust. The reception committee and selectmen were in the only three coaches in town — two of which were private, and were loaned for the occasion. They had come down from their carriages to receive the General, who with Colonel Dunlap left their carriage and was by the Colonel presented to the committee. Stephen Longfellow was deputed to make the welcoming address. Although he was a practicing lawyer and a ready speaker, he was so impressed by the noble appearance and the associations connected with the guest, that after saying a few preliminary words, he hesitated and was compelled to refer to his notes in his hat, when he went on fluently. The Marquis soon put him at his ease. In his reply he alluded to Mr. Longfellow as being one of the committee of Congress who invited him to America, and spoke of the sacking of the town in 1775. General La Fayette spoke very good English. While all this was going on, the writer then sixteen years old, was perched on the wheel of a coach holding by the roof, in a position to hear and take in the whole scene at a glance. There were no policemen then to interfere. When the formal reception and presentations were closed, all took their seats in their carriages, and the procession took up the line of march under the direction of that noble looking marshal, General Sam-

uel Fessenden. It passed through Main, State and Danforth streets, to High street, where a lofty arch of evergreen and flowers spanned the street bearing on one side "Welcome, La Fayette" and on the other side "Brandywine." At the head of Free street was a similar arch, on which was perched a live eagle, and on the south side of that street the children of the schools were paraded with their teachers. The girls in white dresses, and the boys had on their hats the words, "Welcome, La Fayette." At the junction of Middle and Exchange streets, was an arch bearing the word "Yorktown." At the head of King, now India street, was a magnificent arch surmounted by a full rigged ship, beneath which was this sentence, "Then I shall purchase and fit out a vessel for myself." A happy allusion to La Fayette's reply to Dr. Franklin in 1777. The last of the arches for the procession to pass, was at the junction of Congress and Pearl streets. Portland had never been in such holiday attire. It was the month of roses and all who had them, brought them by basketfuls to decorate the arches, which were literally covered with them in all colors. These arches were no contracted structures, they spanned the wide streets from curb to curb, with their crown twenty feet high. The cities and large towns of the Middle States, and New England, had for nearly a year been endeavoring to surpass each other in decorations to honor the nation's guest. These tributes had been elaborately described in the newspapers. When at last it came to be the privilege of Maine to entertain him who had been our benefactor, "when days were

dark and friends were few," the people were moving and exhibited a laudable pride in putting the capital town of the new state into the most attractive condition. Not only was La Fayette to be entertained, but also many people from the eastern towns, as the Marquis was to proceed no farther east. After the reception, the guests were escorted through all the streets named as decorated, which were crowded with the people of the state, many of whom kept abreast of the procession through the entire march. Of course great enthusiasm prevailed, as the Marquis rode uncovered over the whole route. He was received with all the honors possible to be shown. Where now is the eastern wing of the city building, then stood the wooden state house containing the senate and council chambers, and rooms for the state officers. It was used in connection with the adjoining court house to accommodate the legislature. Here the procession halted, and General La Fayette left his carriage and was received by Governor Parris, who welcomed him to the state. In his reply he said, "I found in Washington a father and in Knox a brother." This was in allusion to Knox as a citizen of Maine. The Governor then conducted the guests into the state house. A platform had been built the width of the building, and about three feet high. The whole area in front was shaded by an awning which was fastened to the cornice of the state house and to the elm trees in front, one of which is yet standing into which, Zacheus-like, I then climbed to see the ceremonies. The General and guests soon returned to the platform

when an opportunity was given to the people to be presented to the Marquis. An hour was spent in hand shaking. Several soldiers of the Revolution were presented, the chairman of the committee of arrangements, General John K. Smith, among the number. General La Fayette recognized him and stepped forward to receive him, calling him Captain Smith, the rank he held in the army, but he was always known as General, having held that office in the state militia. While the reception was in progress, the part of the platform on which La Fayette stood broke down, without injuring anyone, and the General was obliged to take a new position. Here the president and several of the officers of Bowdoin College were presented and President Allen delivered an address and conferred on La Fayette by diploma, the degree of LL.D. John Davis of Augusta, presented invitations from Augusta, Hallowell and Gardiner to General La Fayette to visit those towns. At noon the guests were taken to their lodgings, at the house now owned and occupied by Abner Shaw, on Free street. It was then kept as a boarding-house by Daniel Cobb. Here a collation was waiting, which was partaken of by a company numbering two hundred or more, and including the state and municipal officers. After the lunch and before dinner, the Marquis called on Mrs. Thacher, daughter of General Knox, and on Mrs. General Wingate at her house, on the corner of High and Spring streets, where were also a party of ladies. Mrs. Wingate was a daughter of General Henry Dearborn, whose military services commenced while a boy at the

battle of Bunker Hill, and closed with the taking of Little York in the war of 1812. At four o'clock invited guests and subscribers met La Fayette and his party at a public dinner at Union Hall, on the same spot now occupied by the building of that name on Free street. General John K. Smith presided at the table and Thomas A. Deblois acted as toastmaster. After the regular toasts, the president gave "La Fayette, the faithful disciple of the American school." The Marquis rose and acknowledged the honor in a short speech, at the close of which he gave, "The state of Maine, who yet an infant, and not weaned from the mother, gallantly helped in crushing European aristocracy and despotism. And the town of Portland, who rose from the ashes of patriotic Falmouth to become the flourishing metropolis of a flourishing state. May their joint republican propensity last and increase forever." George Washington La Fayette gave, "Yankee Doodle the American tune — the oldest and gayest death song to despotism."

A much needed rain was falling when the company left the hall, which increased in the evening. Notwithstanding the violent storm, the distinguished guests, state, town and college authorities were entertained at a levee at the residence of Governor Parris on Bridge street. General La Fayette and his party left their lodgings at eight o'clock the next morning, which was Sunday, without any escort — none was offered. The excuse was that he had engaged to be in New York on the fourth of July, and his friends said he would stop and attend church at Saco. A Boston

paper says he did attend at Biddeford in the forenoon, and that he arrived at Northwood, New Hampshire, that night. To accomplish this he must have traveled seventy-five miles. On Monday he went to Concord and from there to Burlington, and was present at the laying of the corner stone of the University of Vermont. The rooms occupied by General La Fayette in Portland had been richly furnished—I think at the expense of the state. The furnishings were sold at auction, and are now kept as relics by the families of the different purchasers. La Fayette kept his engagement to spend Independence Day in New York city. From thence he proceeded to Washington, and was the guest of President John Quincy Adams at the White House. The new frigate at Washington was named the *Brandywine* in compliment to him, and was offered to him for his conveyance to France. This he accepted, and on the ninth of September, accompanied by Henry Clay, secretary of state, and James Barbour, secretary of war, he left the president's house and proceeded by steamboat to Annapolis, Maryland, where the *Brandywine* awaited him, and which conveyed him to France. General La Fayette remained at his home in quietness until the three days' revolution in July, 1830, when the Duke of Orleans, afterward Louis Philippe, was called by the assembled Deputies to the lieutenant-generalship of the kingdom, and La Fayette was by acclamation chosen commander-in-chief of the National Guard.

In a letter to a friend, dated Paris, twenty-first of August, he says, "You ask for some personal views—

I was at La Grange at breakfast on Tuesday when I received the *Moniteur* and Ordances (these caused the outbreak), eight hours afterward I was in Paris. The fighting began on Tuesday evening and continued through Wednesday and Thursday. On Thursday morning the Hotel de Ville after having been taken and retaken became my headquarters, and the tri-colored flag which I had there forty-one years ago, again floated from its roof." La Fayette undoubtedly saved the life of the king, and made his safe passage out of the country possible. The Duke of Orleans, although he was a Bourbon, had fought in the Republican armies of France under the tri-colored flag and was an avowed friend of popular rights. He was, by the exertions of La Fayette, elected constitutional sovereign under the title of Louis Philippe, and then La Fayette resigned his command.

General La Fayette had lost much of his fortune, which Congress tardily attempted to repair by a grant of lands, I think in Pennsylvania, said to be worth one hundred thousand dollars. He however retained his estate and Chateau of La Grange. Here he closed his eventful life in 1834, aged seventy-seven.

The fathers in glory shall sleep,
Who gather'd with thee to the fight;
But the sons will eternally keep
The tablet of gratitude bright.

FIELD DAY, 1891.

THE Society chose the Kennebec river for the field day operations of 1891, planning to occupy two days in July. The management was committed to Rev. H. O. Thayer of Limington, Captain Charles E. Nash of Augusta, Mr. J. L. Douglas of Bath. Using so much of business force as was in them, and heeding the expressed wish of the Society, still the committee utterly failed to secure the required transportation in that busy excursion month. A generous offer was, however, received from P. O. Vickery, Esq., for the use of his steamer and for entertainment at his hotel at Popham Beach, on the first days of September. This date, or failure, were the alternatives; and with misgivings the third and fourth were selected, which in the result proved exceedingly auspicious, giving the finest and mildest weather, and convening presumably as many members of the Society as any earlier date, so that favorable skies and temperature yielding the most that could be desired, and joining with the quite satisfactory working of all the humanly devised machinery, left little lacking to make the excursion a complete success.

The steamer Percy V. was put under the direction of the Society, and for economy of time substantial dinner lunches were served on board. The excursion left the city of Bath after arrival of morning trains, about 8.30 Thursday, September 3.

The party, including a few joining later, were these : —

Of members : —

James P. Baxter, <i>President</i> ,	Portland.
Hubbard W. Bryant, <i>Secretary</i> ,	"
Rev. Henry S. Burrage, D.D.,	"
Rev. Asa Dalton, D.D.,	"
Brown Thurston,	"
S. T. Pickard,	"
Hon. Josiah H. Drummond,	"
J. Lufkin Douglas,	Bath.
Charles E. Allen,	Dresden.
Dr. Charles E. Banks,	Vineyard Haven, Mass.
Luther D. Emerson,	Oakland.
Janus G. Elder,	Lewiston.
Hon. Charles J. Gilman,	Brunswick.
Dr. William B. Lapham,	Augusta.
Prof. George T. Little,	Brunswick.
Charles E. Nash,	Augusta.
Rev. H. O. Thayer,	Limington.

Of invited guests : —

Mrs. Charles E. Allen,	Dresden.
Mrs. James P. Baxter,	Portland.
Miss Baxter,	"
Madeline Baxter,	"
Mrs. William H. Baxter,	"
Percival P. Baxter,	"
Mrs. H. W. Bryant,	"
Rev. and Mrs. E. C. Cummings,	"
Mr. and Mrs. E. M. Barton,	Worcester, Mass.
Miss Alice M. Douglas,	Bath.
A. D. Knight,	Hallowell.
A. S. Manson,	Boston, Mass.
S. P. Mayberry,	Portland.
Rev. E. G. Porter,	Lexington.

Miss L. M. Prohon,	Augusta.
Dr. J. F. Pratt,	Chelsea, Mass.
S. Boardman Reed,	Woolwich.
Miss Ann M. Robinson,	Bath.
A. C. Stilphen,	Gardiner.
Rev. G. S. Sargent,	Augusta.
Rev. T. F. White,	Bath.
Miss Jennie M. Young,	Cambridge, Mass.

The two-days' trip is thus outlined:— From Bath up river direct to Dresden; a few hours spent ashore; reëmbarking, with zest for dinner now served, reached Richmond; visit to site of Fort Richmond; then direct to Bath, which city was enjoying a gala-day in honor of the White Squadron. By the courtesy of H. W. Swanton, Esq., of the Eastern Steamboat Company, in the use of a landing stage at the side of the Newark, the steamer was laid alongside and the party made a brief visit to the ship; thence to Popham Beach at the mouth of the river; remained till the middle of next forenoon; a sail around Stage island; then returning up river, a landing to climb the promontory, Cox's Head; a visit to South Arrowsic; again moored in Pleasant cove at northerly part of Phippsburg for a visit to Colonel Noble's farm; an anchorage in Long Reach for a boat's party to go ashore at Dublin point; thence with a glance at Arrowsic and Tuessic Neck on the right, and across to the Bath side for a view of the shipbuilding and iron works, where the government cruisers are in construction, the steamer reached her wharf, and the company separated for the late outgoing trains of the afternoon.

The order of historic events in the points visited

was broken and confused, the later put into the earlier place, by the necessary round trip of the steamer; this report may be therefore more lucid and valuable if it follows in the main, the chronological sequence of so much as came into the purview of the Society. Even this must be brief and fragmentary, barely touching a few points of history, since the region visited is second to no equal area in the state for the amount and value and startling character of the events which there transpired.

I. SETTLEMENTS.

The projected field day had a chief aim to examine anew the location of the Popham colony. The result by added facts in its history gave zest to the visit to the former traditional site of Fort St. George. In preparation for the Society's examination, and to ensure an easier grasp and determination of the new problem, the general and particular topography had been studied, measurements made, bounds set up to indicate outlines. Copies of the ancient plan of the fort, discovered in the Spanish archives at Simancas, were at hand to be viewed on the spot. The topography which the plan required as it made report of conditions at the construction of the fort, and that of the locality examined, were found to be in close and perspicuous agreement. The features of the unchanging rock assured the verification which was deemed by the Society and their historical visitors accurate and complete. The location was regarded as clearly established, the previous incredulity of some respecting a conclu-

sive determination yielding at a view of the evidence seen upon the spot.

In the evening field day work was resumed by addresses in the parlors of the Eureka House, as the excursionists there assembled. The President, Mr. Baxter, in an appreciative spirit, felicitously noting the impress of history upon every scene without, made a brief opening address nearly in these words:—

Members of the Maine Historical Society and Friends:—

The spot upon which we have recently been standing, the site of the Popham colony, is truly historic. I might almost say, sacred ground, since it was consecrated to a noble purpose, by Richard Seymour, two hundred and eighty-four years ago. Yes, two hundred and eighty-four years ago today George Popham and his little colony were laboring to erect on this spot their fort and habitations. The same scenery upon which we have been looking was spread out before them. The same blue sky, flecked with passing clouds, the same waters, ruffled with the early autumnal breezes, the same rocky shores met their eyes which meet ours today. How they toiled, how they suffered; and under the same sod which perhaps our feet have pressed, reposes the chest of Popham himself. Here, not long after, stood Father Biard, the Jesuit missionary, with his French and Indian companions, and regarded with grim satisfaction the ruins left behind by the colonists. To his narrow view, the English heretics had suffered justly, and a partial Providence had reserved the land for the faithful Frenchman. Still later, in 1624, the genial Maverick stood here and contemplated the same ruins. For many years, Sir Ferdinando Gorges looked to this locality as the site for a future city, the capital of a state country, which was to have the rare honor of being christened by the king. But all these schemes failed, and vanished away, and today not a vestige remains to indicate the site of the northern colony of Virginia. But it is not my purpose to occupy the time in extended remarks respecting this early effort of colonization at Sagadahoc. It is

reserved for Mr. Thayer to give you a detailed account of this enterprise which he will now do.

Yielding to the solicitations of President Baxter, and to his representations that many persons knew little or nothing of the Popham enterprise, Reverend Mr. Thayer attempted to sketch the outlines of English colonization in America, — the establishment of Popham and his company at Sagadahoc, — the disheartening retreat and the failure of the attempt, only a mere entry on the page of history remaining; the revival of interest in the matter through historical research; the evidence for the location of the colony; the final certification by the Spanish plan, which fits the natural features of the site, as a glove does the hand to which it belongs when laid down upon it. Reference was made to the Popham celebration of 1862, to the memorial stone then provided for the wall of the new fort, and then ceremonially laid with Masonic rites, but now lying disregarded awaiting, perhaps hopelessly, its designed place in that granite structure. The opportunity had now come when upon the basis of accurate knowledge some appropriate monument might be erected on the actual site of the Sagadahoc colony.

Reverend Doctor Burrage remarked on the relation of the Popham colony to our history, and the value of verifications now gained. Reverend Doctor Dalton very fittingly enlarged on some phases of the same matter. Honorable C. J. Gilman briefly noticed the bearing of the charter of 1606 upon this and other endeavors in colonizing America. Honorable J. H. Drummond, who had been officially present at the

commemorative service in 1862, found something unexplainable in comparing the public laying of the memorial stone then, and its present castaway condition.

It was a quiet, charming, moonlit night by the sea-shore; September's usual frostiness was kindly tempered, and the piazza on the beach not unattractive; but rest and sleep were more inviting and the company early dispersed.

In the morning a visit was made to the United States fort, fittingly bearing the name Popham. The visitors were courteously received by the officer in charge, Sergeant Jones, but found less interest in the fort and its equipments, than in the attractive views of the surroundings and scenery obtained on the roof. The memorial stone was examined in its discarded state in the fort yard, its face and inscription well planked over from wear and harm.

A visit by some was made to the government life-saving station, and to other points as fancy led.

Again upon the Percy V., a sail was taken around Stage island lying across the mouth of the river opposite to Popham Beach. The island is a reminder of the extensive fishing operations of that first century of settlement, and was a point of defense in the Indian wars. The line of the fort stockade is now apparent. The trip also allowed a look from the distance into Little Good Harbor of Parker's island, where relics show early occupancy and trade, and gave a general view of ancient Sagadahoc, the district at the river's mouth, as explorers and fishermen at an unknown period made it a well known point on our coast.

Our steamer ran close upon Champlain's anchorage by Stage island in 1605, and then along his track up river. A few of the party noted how every probability would lead this navigator from the Kennebec into Back river (between Arrowsic and Parker's island). For in the advance from Parker's flat, the configuration of the shores shuts nearly out of view the true Kennebec on the west, but discloses a broad channel on the east of Bald Head, the southern point of Arrowsic. A stranger going up the river, especially if holding to the starboard hand, would almost inevitably be led into this inviting watercourse, from its breadth and appearance the true Kennebec, but really Newtown bay, which after a little distance narrows into an insignificant tide-way. Champlain, if once entering here would naturally push on, and would find his way into Sheepscot waters where his narrative reveals him.

There was no time for the party to follow *Sieur de Biencourt's* track, after the amusing night adventure of the song-singing and mocking shouts between his crew and the natives on shore, away from the Kennebec, as they entered Arrowsic Gut towards Sasanoa river, and to note how this unpiloted craft, except by ignorant natives, inclining to a direct course across Nequasset bay, would easily leave the navigable channel on the left and quickly be in danger on the flats, frightening the suspicious Frenchman, and sending down the anchor at once. Thus our excursionists were following the track of Champlain, of Raleigh Gilbert's exploring boat, of *Père Biard*, of Edward Winslow's corn-laden Pilgrim shallop, of the Jesuit *Dreuilletes*;

then later the fur trader's and the merchant's richly laden boats; then soon fleets of canoes filled with angry, stealthy Indians, gliding upon the prey, or again filled with wretched captives and plunder, propelled towards the wilderness; here also sailed the redoubtable Church, fierce for vengeance; or armed vessels of the province carrying agents to deal with hostile tribes; here Arnold's brave company, advancing to perils and starvation in a hideous wilderness; these were memories of scenes the headlands and coves on either hand of the noble river had beheld in former years.

Great estates sold by Indian sachems, and locations of pioneer settlers could have slight notice. These may be mentioned:— John Parker's purchase of the "Great Island of Sagadahock," on the southern end of which was his "old plantation;" also of Salter's island and the Sabino peninsular; Thomas Atkins, whose house was across the bay from the site of Fort St. George; William and John Cox, at Cox's Head; John Parker, junior, and his brother-in-law, Thomas Webber on the northerly half of Phipsburg; John Richards and his successors, Clarke and Lake, owning Arrowsic; Reverend Robert Gutch on the west of Long Reach, at Bath; James Smith and his successor, Richard Hammond, on the east of the river from Tuessic to Merrymeeting bay, Woolwich; Christopher Lawson's plantation and house at Whiskeag, North Bath; upon the bay; Thwing's point, formerly Hutchinson's, and previously a prominent part of Thomas Ashley's large plantation, where at his house near the present ice

houses, the Plymouth government in 1654 was organized; Swan island, now town of Perkins, around which the excursionsists sailed, by the eastern Kennebec channel on the upward trip, and by the western, Swan alley of old, on return, owned by Lawson, then Humphrie Davie, then Adam Winthrop, Esq.; also Abagadasset point, the home of the chieftain of that name, as Swan island was of Kennebis; and Dresden neck, the western half of which was early possessed by Sylvanus Davis. Attention was called to one fact perhaps without parallel in Maine, the division line of the Tuessic neck estate opposite Bath, established before 1670, has been continued unchanged, and now is maintained between adjacent owners.

The party touched the ancient history of Arrowsic, as it went ashore on its southern part, which was Newtown, the center and seat of an extensive town jurisdiction under the Andros government for a brief existence of ten years, 1679-89. In its place, after a quarter century of desolation, grew up the new settlement, "Georgetown upon Arrowsic island," taking at incorporation in 1716, that name in honor of the new king of England. A map of the island as surveyed, a plan of the "Forty House Lots" which made the compact, defensible town on the site of Newtown; the location of the Watts garrison, the main defense, also of Major Denny's, and the approximate sites of three others, making the defenses in 1722; cellars visible by the highway for a mile or more where the forty householders and successors had their homes; ridges or beds still visible where those early settlers, Scotch-Irish,

cultivated potatoes; the desolate burying-ground, and the later churchyard; these all with varied and vivid light illustrated that period of the beginning of permanent settlements in the Kennebec valley.

A companion settlement to this, — one of several made at that time,—the projected town of Cork, could only be outlined from the steamer's deck in passing. It extended from the chops of the bay to Eastern river. Ashley and son had been the chief or only occupants here till in 1684 the Pemaquiders set up their block-house at the chops, greedy and sanctioned by the narrow, arrogant ducal government to sweep in all Kennebec trade. In the next century, when Cork was begun, Captain Robert Temple held the lower part. The grant to him of one thousand acres for aiding the settlements on the river was read in passing. Colonel Edward Hutchinson held the upper part, and both placed tenants upon those lands. Swan island, or Garder island, as its owner Winthrop named it, was held by one or more tenants at the same time. The Indians in the opening of this century had no permanent abodes nearer than Norridgewock, or Rocameco on the Androscoggin.

Advancing to Dresden the party was historically introduced to another and later settlement, after Cork and points occupied on Merrymeeting bay had lain in desolation of war for some thirty years. Landing at the old Carney place, now Lincoln ice houses, they were met by the large welcome of the citizens whose carriages conveyed them to the high land between the Kennebec and Eastern rivers, to a spot once the gar-

den of the church lot, now but a pasture overgrown with trees, where under the shade of pines, addresses set forth the history of the spot and surroundings.

Honorable Charles E. Allen sketched the history of the town. Only portions of his address condensed can here be given. Dresden was settled in 1751 by immigrants of various nationalities, chiefly Germans, introduced by the Plymouth Company. Between 1751 and 1756 the "defensive house," or Fort Frankfort was built. In 1756 Reverend William MacClennachan came as a minister, remaining two years. He was followed in 1760 by Reverend Jacob Bailey of Rowley, Massachusetts, who had received holy orders in London. The Frankfort plantation with adjoining territory was in the same year incorporated as Pownalboro, in honor of Governor Pownall, whom Charles Sumner pronounced the purest and best, though least known of the colonial governors. In 1761 the court house was erected by the Plymouth Company, for the new county.

In 1770 Mr. Bailey's parish erected a church and parsonage nearly on the spot where we now stand, services being held in the new church for the first time November 4, previous to which time the little congregation had gathered in the fort, the court house, or wherever they could find a place.

Mr. Allen added Reverend Mr. Bailey's description of his home and surroundings and the distant scenery, and continued : —

Such, my friends, was the frontier missionary's description of this spot, as it appeared one hundred and twenty-one years ago. On my right, nearly concealed by yonder clump of white pines, is the depression in the ground which marks the site of the par-

sonage. On my left, behind that bunch of pine bushes, perhaps half a dozen rods distant, you will find Mr. Bailey's old well, and if you have the courage to push your way a little further down the hill to the eastward, through the brush, you can see the winding Eastern river with its beautiful and fertile farms, the place of the old Huguenot settlement in Dresden. I should judge the church was about fifty rods north of here, as Mr. Bailey has said. We will visit its site after you have inspected this spot. It is not now a busy spot, although Mr. Bailey officiated within its walls nearly nine years. In 1772 he preached the dedicatory sermon at Christ church in Gardiner. About 1775 his little congregation were much disturbed by events connected with the revolt of the colonies. Mr. Bailey was a loyalist, refused to pray for Congress, was, as he says, insulted and threatened, even shot at. Upon one occasion some threatened to erect a to him obnoxious liberty pole in front of the church. He was certainly obliged to flee from home several times, once when Arnold's expedition came up the Kennebec. Finally he went to Nova Scotia in 1779, and in 1787 the church and parsonage were reported as going to ruin. He seems to have been a man of rather more than average intelligence for his time, and certainly he possessed the courage of his convictions. All that you will find of the old church is the outline of its foundation and some of the graves in the churchyard. The present St. John's church is at Dresden Mills village, rather more than a mile east of this spot and the descendants of the old French and German families still live in our town.

General Samuel J. Bridge, an aged citizen above fourscore, was introduced by President Baxter, and gave interesting reminiscences. He described the old Bridge mansion, a hotel in the time when courts were held in Pownalboro, in whose kitchen sometimes thirty saddles were housed; named distinguished visitors who had honored it; mentioned Major John Polereczky, one of the guards of Louis the Fourteenth, who had made

his home here, and was fifteen years town clerk. Mr. Allen had mentioned likewise Doctor Ernest Frederick Philip Theobald of Hesse Cassel, a graduate of Göttingen, a surgeon in Burgoyne's army, who in 1777 settled in town and practiced medicine. General Bridge's lively description of places and events induced a desire to visit some of the places, but it was only possible to ride where Dresden Mills could be seen, and the charming valley of Eastern river.

The ancient court house next received the party. It occupies the site of Fort Frankfort, or Shirley, as it was soon renamed, and is said to have been placed in the center of the fort area which was two hundred feet square, inclosed by a stockade. The site of one of the blockhouses, of which there were two for flankers, twenty-eight feet square in opposite corners of the stockade, was recently shown by chance excavations.

Standing in front of the court house, Dr. Lapham, who had been invited to do so by the committee, pointed out the site of Fort Shirley and made the following remarks: —

This fort was constructed in 1751,¹ nine years before Lincoln county was formed and Pownalboro made its shire town. One of its two blockhouses stood near the road which now passes in front of the residence of Captain Samuel Goodwin, formerly the court house. A few years ago, while at work on the road, the magazine of the old fort was broken into by the workmen and the site of one of the blockhouses clearly determined. The other nearer the river, a little above the court house near where the jail was subsequently built. Fort Shirley, called in the rec-

¹ The building of the fort was promised this year, but it was not completed until two years later.

ords of the Plymouth Company the "defensive house," was erected by the company as an inducement to a colony of various nationalities to settle here, and was named Fort Frankfort, the locality having received the name of Frankfort from the colonists, some of whom are said to have come from that city. The area of the fort, according to an old map still in existence, was two hundred feet square, inclosed with pickets. The blockhouses, situated at opposite corners, were twenty-four feet square, with projecting upper stories, and sentry boxes at the top. Within the parade ground were barracks, officers' quarters, armory and storehouses. Captain Samuel Goodwin, who served the Plymouth Company in various capacities, appears to have been in command of the garrison here, which after the erection of Forts Western and Halifax was of but little account. Soon after its erection, the name of this "defensive house" was changed to Fort Shirley in honor of the governor of the Massachusetts Bay, who took a deep interest in the construction of defensive works on the Kennebec. When the court house was built in 1760-61, Fort Shirley was demolished.

The court house has long been in possession of the Goodwin family, and is now occupied by Captain Samuel R. Goodwin, descendant of Samuel Goodwin of Charlestown, who was in 1750 agent of the Plymouth Company, and later a captain of scouting parties in the Indian wars. The house is of three stories, of which the second and third remain nearly in their primitive state, disclosing the solid strength of the structures built a century and a half ago. It abounds in articles and relics exhibiting customs and life of that time. The flavor of antiquity was everywhere manifest, the many objects of curiosity invited examination, and the appreciative reception and assiduous attentions of the family so engaged the guests that departure at the proper time was with difficulty secured.

The site of Fort Richmond, at the northerly part of the village of that name, near the ferry long known from its former keeper as Park's ferry, received a brief visit by a part of the company. All remains of it long since disappeared, but a well formerly in the inclosure is still pointed out. A fine house was found in process of erection upon the spot, and workmen had dug out a foot beneath the surface bricks and water-worn stones, portions of old pavements. The original fort house was built in 1719-20, and it continued the most advanced post of defense on the river till the erection of Forts Shirley, Weston and Halifax, when it was abandoned.

When the party arrived at the site of Fort Richmond, Dr. Lapham gave the following interesting description of the old garrison and trading post, which was located near Richmond ferry:—

Fort Richmond was built by order of the government of the Massachusetts Bay in 1718-19. In the spring of 1719 the Pejepscot proprietors caused the lands bordering on the Kennebec river to be surveyed by Captain Joseph Heath, their object being to ascertain the limits of their own patent, the title to which they had but recently acquired. Heath's plan bears date of Brunswick, May 16, 1719, and upon it is a drawing of Fort Richmond, which had just been completed, with colors flying at this time. Fort Richmond was the only garrison house above Merrymeeting bay. It was a truck or trading house, and also a defensive outpost, and continued so to be until Fort Western was built at Augusta, and Fort Halifax at Winslow. It was built in the usual way, having block houses, a truck house, or store, officers and men's quarters, a chapel, and the whole surrounded by a strong palisade.

In 1740 the fort had become weakened by decay, and as it was

still an important outpost it was decided to rebuild it. This was done under the direction of Captain John Storer of Wells, and at an expense to the province of five hundred and ninety-six pounds and eight shillings. As a truck house it was the means of communication with the Indians, supplying them with such things as they needed, and affording them a convenient market for their furs. As an outpost it kept an eye on the Indians, studied their manner and moods, and served as an advance guard to the settlements below.

It is probable that Captain Joseph Heath was the first in command of Fort Richmond, and he occupied that position for several years. With a company of men from the fort, in 1725, he marched to Penobscot river and destroyed a recently established village of the Tarratine Indians. Captain Heath was succeeded in command by Captain Jabez Bradbury, who was appointed to this post June 13, 1734. Captain John Minot was the next in command, and was in charge when the fort was rebuilt in 1740. Minot's lieutenant was Captain Joseph Bane, or Bean of York, who had acquired a knowledge of the Indian language during a captivity of six years, and was interpreter at the fort. Captain Minot was not only commander, but truck-master, and April 27, 1742, he delivered up the garrison to his successor, who was the same Captain Bane who had served as second in command. Captain Bane was succeeded by William Lithgow, who remained in charge until Fort Halifax was completed, when he was placed in charge of that outpost, and Fort Richmond was dismantled. The building remained for a long time after it ceased to be a defensive work. In 1759 before the court house was built, the chapel of Fort Richmond was used as a place of public worship; but on the completion of the court house, meetings were held there until the Saint John's church edifice was ready for occupancy in 1778.

An enjoyable hour ashore was spent at Pleasant cove farm, which comprises the height of land at the northeast part of Phipsburg. William Cox entered upon this land about 1650. Here by some hand English

cherries early were cultivated. At the opening of the next century the Pejepscot proprietors obtained it, and it was apportioned to Stephen Minot of Boston, whose son John after his father's decease sold it to Arthur Noble in 1733. His house surrounded by a stockade, and strongly fortified, was a post of no inferior importance, for which Colonel Noble petitioned for soldiers in 1746. Though he was killed at Minas the next year, his fort was a defense to his family and neighbors probably as long as the Indian wars continued. The precise location is well certified by a heap of stone and brick, showing a commanding position at a short distance from the cove and river; it is also clearly shown by the surveyor's plan of the farm made in 1743, still preserved, copies of which were exhibited. The farm passed to Colonel William Lithgow, and for a long time bore his name; then transferred to the Morse family, it is now owned by Captain James B. Morse, who with active and winning hospitality received the excursionists. The history of the place was briefly recounted; a view was had of the White Squadron steaming down river, to which Captain Morse dipped his flag as a patriotic seaman might do; then from the agreeable shade of his trees departure was compelled, and the steamer's bows were turned toward Bath.

The location of the garrison-house of Jonathan Preble at the northern point of Arrowsic, and of Samuel Harnden in Woolwich, at the head of Long Reach, were merely noticed, and both were contemporaneous with that of Colonel Noble.

II. WARS AND TRAGEDIES.

If imagination could have prevailed in such peaceful and exhilarating surroundings, then along the route of the excursion signs of savage warfare, trails of blood, stifled sobs of captives, moans or shrieks of stricken families, alarm guns from the forts, flight of fugitives, or hurried march of soldiers, might have been perceived. A few points of contact with these events may be noticed.

First, the earliest tragedy of the Kennebec, that at Hammond's head and fort, as the locality was noticed, at the northeast of Long Reach, in Woolwich, alone suggested the period of Philip's war. Newtown and Stage island could vividly recall the second war. As the steamer lay to near this island, letters from the commander of the Sagadahoc, *i. e.*, Stage island, garrison were read, from which a few sentences will show the posture of affairs in the summer of 1689.

Captain Andrews writes May 19, to the governor:—

Please your Honor:—Last Thursday, The soldiers of Pejepscott and Fort Ann garrison went from hither for Boston, and I am only left at Sachadehock garrison with a very few men, being but 9 and myself, in the midst of our enemies who are now at this instant a burning the houses on the westward side of this river & a killing the cattle, I being so weak am not able to make any assault against them. . . . The people at Newtown resolve to forsake the garrison, not being able to subsist.

He asks that the governor order his men to withdraw, or that he send men to his relief. A petition of the inhabitants of the same date, states the same facts, the burning of houses and killing of cattle, and begs

for speedy relief, "so that we perish not here upon an island."

Another letter of June 10 shows that Captain Andrews had remained and held the garrison, though a part of his men had abandoned him. Again July 20, he writes that as a party went from the island to the west side in a vessel for cattle, six were killed by ambushed Indians. He requests a stronger force to keep the garrison, or that the people be drawn off, for they are not able to subsist.

A letter to the governor from Newtown, June 10, says: —

We inhabitants of Newtown on Rousack Isld in Kennebec river, being in garrison & left destitute, the upper garrisons lost or destroyed, having no help but God, request help. Some of us belong to the west side of the river & some to Newtown, all the king's subjects & in danger of being destroyed by the heathen,—are weak in garrison, having not above 13 men able to perform duty. Beseech care and relief, as in danger of our lives.

It seems that by the first of August, the soldiers and inhabitants were withdrawn from these two last points of defense, and then the Kennebec was surrendered to the savages for a time.

These events became more vivid as an hour later the excursionists landed at Arrowsic and passed over the site of the Newtown settlement and its palisaded fort, whence this urgent and piteous appeal went up to the government. After the withdrawal, dwellings and fort, all, were burned, except one house. Then the visiting party could go forward from the blackened desolations, thirty-three years, to the new Georgetown settlement, in the same locality, to similar deeds and

scenes, when in September, 1722, the savages in fierce jealousy and hate, under French instigation sought to drive out the intruding white men. The outer limits of the settlement were abandoned and some twenty-six houses burned, and many cattle and much property destroyed, but only a few lives were lost, as the people gained the shelter of the forts. In previous months the inhabitants along the river and at Merrymeeting bay had been driven off or made captives, Fort Richmond and probably Temple's fort at the chops alone being maintained.

This war, frequently termed Dummer's war, as it occurred in his administration, has by some historical writers been named Lovewell's war, a name ill suited and misleading, and to be rejected everywhere, for Lovewell's bloody fight, however applauded, was but a single event, a late episode of the real conflict of three or more years; was a fierce encounter by men who had gone out to hunt Indians for pay, not as in the case of these others, of patriotic men who defended lives of families, property and hopeful infant settlements. The Kennebec war would be far more applicable, since the brunt of the conflict was in that region.

The "old French war," or indeed the whole period from 1742-43 to 1759, demanded activity and vigilance in the forts and defensive houses along the river. The chief were the Watts' garrison, Denny's and Preble's, on Arrowsic, Colonel Noble's, and two or three defensive houses at Bath, Captain Harnden's and the chops garrison in Woolwich, and Fort Richmond. Two savage incursions enter this period and must be noticed as

the places could be seen from the steamer's deck. On Swan island in Sept., 1750, the surprise of the house of Captain James Whidden and taking of thirteen persons from his household into captivity. Again in 1758, in Woolwich, a murderous assault upon the home of Ebenezer Preble, costing four precious lives and gaining six captives. The next year by the fall of Quebec the tragedies of the Indian wars terminated.

III. CHURCHES.

In following these lines of events in the settlements of the Kennebec, the excursion party could not neglect their religious institutions. We may follow the order of their establishment. Worship was maintained and a house of worship built in Fort St. George as the first company of Englishmen fixed their habitations. The spot where these rites were performed can be nearly determined if the details of the Spanish plan are trustworthy. Nearly threescore years later, as the settlements along the river were thriving a meeting-house was erected at the northern extremity of Arrow-sic. Here for a few years ministered Reverend Robert Gutch, and after his death by drowning about 1667, a successor for an unknown time, Reverend Ichabod Wis-wall, afterward pastor at Duxbury. There was also worship maintained at Newtown, probably in the fort, yet a church is not improbable, though unmentioned.

At the same place in the new settlement of the next century, Reverend James Baxter ministered to the people for a time in the Watts garrison. The services of other ministers in later years were occasionally en-

joyed. But in 1736, by the favor and aid of Colonel Arthur Noble, a meeting-house was erected on the highest point of his farm, suitable to be a beacon to the surrounding region. The house was devoted to the uses of worshipers after the rites of the Scottish church. Noble's deed of gift with conditions was read to the party when upon the spot. This house held a central location between Merrymeeting bay and the sea, and offered its privileges to all the inhabitants in that extent of river territory which by incorporation in 1738 became the town of Georgetown. Twenty years later, the Second Parish, or Bath, and the Ne-quasset plantation set up their own religious institutions. By this the church at Noble's was left in the extreme corner of the remaining portion of the town. Its use was abandoned as a new house centrally located was built in 1761 for the convenience of the people. Newtown was again the chosen spot, and the house placed near where had been the Andros fort, was the scene of Parson Emerson's labors for half a century. Religious services were also held in Richmond fort by chaplains customarily provided for the soldiers. Reverend Jonathan Pierpoint was one longest in service.

At about the time of the abandonment of the meeting-house at Noble's an Episcopal sentiment asserted itself, and sought to supply its desired forms of worship. Directly opposite the Scottish kirk and across the river's bend at Fiddler's Reach, upon Arrowsic, a building was begun, probably about 1758. But it was never completed, never used for religious purposes, and torn down, its materials were put into farm build-

ings at Indian point, of Parker's island. A dozen years later the friends of Episcopacy, with the favor of the Lithgow family, it is said, erected on the site of the Scottish kirk, using, possibly in part its timbers, a church after their desires. This was located near the present dwelling of Captain Morse. Its churchyard was near, and the spot was shown the company where a few years since a skull was dug out, verifying the place of the dead. But its site was long ago obliterated by the encroachments and neglect of farm operations, as buildings and farmyards were extended over the spot. The visit to the Noble-Lithgow-Morse farm was among the delightful features of the field day. For identifying the site of the first Episcopal structure in the Kennebec valley, a boat's party went ashore, as the captain's good nature yielded to let go the steamer's anchor. Dublin point holds the honor, and a line of foundation stones well certified to the traditions of former owners of the farm, assure the fact. The Episcopal church of Dresden has already been mentioned. The outlines of its foundations and the slight mounds and rude headstones in its churchyard, given up to the neglect accorded a pasture, told the visitors more effectively than could Mr. Allen or any one, of the changes time had wrought. These various churches and other places of religious worship, gave witness to the religious convictions of the early settlers.

On the return trip from Popham Beach, the promontory Cox's Head, a sentinel of the Kennebec channel, seemed to invite the party to tarry and enjoy for a little upon its summit the warming sunlight and breeze

of the last excursion day. The sharp ascent was taxing, but the endeavor was amply repaid. A worn embankment line around the flattened summit of this great cone bore witness how the Kennebec militia in 1814 guarded the river and the interests of the towns upon it. But history could here be laid aside before the claims of the extended panorama. Sabino peninsula revealed its form and position, interpreting and supplementing the records concerning Popham's colony and fort. "Sagadahoc" was outlined with distinctness, of which rugged shore, point, cove, beach, near and distant islands formed varied parts; the "river of Sagadahoc" could be traced by silvery areas far inland, and was flanked by headland, valley, forest-clad heights forming the rough land areas on either side; while land and ocean joined to construct a view which will hold chief place in memories of two delightful days.

BIRTHS FROM HALLOWELL RECORDS.

COMMUNICATED BY DR. W. B. LAPHAM.

THE settlement of Hallowell dates from the construction of Fort Western in 1754. The town was incorporated April 26, 1771, and then included Augusta, Chelsea and portions of Manchester, Farmingdale and Gardiner. The first town clerk was Daniel Savage who held the office eleven years. General Henry Sewall came to the fort settlement immediately after the close of the Revolutionary war, and was soon after chosen town clerk, which position he filled in Hallowell and afterwards in Augusta, which was set off in 1797, for thirty-five years. He was also clerk of the district court for twenty-nine years, and register of deeds for Kennebec county seventeen years. He consolidated the early volumes of Hallowell records and what is now called volume one, is in his beautiful hand writing. The following records of births, etc., are copied in the order in which they stand in the book.

The following are the children of Elias and Mary Taylor:—

John, b. April 24, 1754.

Sarah, b. Feb. 26, 1757.

Mary, b. May 3, 1759.

Elias, b. Feb. 21, 1762.

Anderson, b. Sept. 21, 1763.

Anne, b. Sept. 15, 1767.

Samuel B., b. Aug. 22, 1769.

Jonathan Davenport, son of Ebenezer and Submit Davenport, was born in Dorchester, Mass., January 4, 1732. Sept. 4, 1758, he married Susanna White, who was born July 29, 1734. He came to Hallowell with his family October, 25, 1762.

Children:—Philip, Aug. 5, 1759.

Mary, b. June 7, 1761.

Thomas, b. Nov. 2, 1764.

Abraham, b. May 6, 1766.

Submit, b. June 13, 1769.

Calvin, b. April 10, 1771; d. at sea, Jan. 7, 1793.

Lemuel, b. Aug. 21, 1773; d. April 8, 1806.

Jonathan, b. Dec. 4, 1775.

Children of Ezekiel and Anna Page:—

Abraham, b. July 23, 1749.

David, b. Sept. 16, 1752.

Amos, b. Jan. 13, 1755.

Timothy, b. July 29, 1758.

Betty, b. June 3, 1761.

Lydia, b. Oct. 23, 1764.

Anne, b. Feb. 17, 1769.

Children of Daniel and Elizabeth Savage:—

Mary, b. April 27, 1755.

Jennet, b. Jan. 16, 1757.

Daniel, b. Jan. 19, 1759.

Elizabeth, b. Jan. 21, 1761.

Sarah, b. Dec. 7, 1762.

Hannah } twins, b. Nov. 8, 1764.
Martha }

Children of Isaac and Subella Savage:—

Joseph, b. York, March 13, 1752.

Hannah, b. Georgetown, Nov. 14, 1753.

Tabitha, b. Oct. 16, 1755.

Sarah, b. July 30, 1757.

James, b. Woolwich, March 16, 1759.

Benjamin, b. Feb. 15, 1761.

Mary, b. Oct. 20, 1762.

Dorcas, b. June 12, 1765.

Jesse, b. May 26, 1767.

Lucy, b. Hallowell, July 13, 1769.

Children of Edward and Mary Savage:—

Susanna, b. Woolwich, Feb. 8, 1760.

Edward, b. Hallowell, March 21, 1763.

Mary, b. Oct. 13, 1764.

Abigail, b. Sept. 8, 1766.

Hannah, b. April 21, 1768.

Deborah, b. Dec. 25, 1770.

James, b. Aug. 15, 1771.

Fanny, b. Oct. 17, 1773.

James, b. June 4, 1775.

John, b. Jan. 24, 1777.

MASS. STATE ARCHIVES, VOL. 187.

REVOLUTION PETITIONS, BOOK 8, FOL. 346-50.

Jany 16, 1782

347. Petition of John Lewis of North Yarmouth in behalf of the Inhabitants of Cape Elizabeth States that the Number of the Inhabitants was 350 being the basis for raising the Army in 1777. Their proportion was 50 men. In that year there was inlisted 76 men. Yet soon after drawing out so many men they by mistake gave in a List of 402 Polls for a new Valuation. After enumerating several disabilities,—prays fer exemption of the Town from certain Liabilities for Fines. In Senate Feb 1 1782 Committed

348. Petition of Selectmen of Cape Elizabeth . Shows the Town incapable to furnish the Quota of men . Having furnished more than the quota formerly, *and but few returned*, also extraordinary losses of men by Sea which has served to multiply widows and orphans. Loss of Navigation & fisheries, &c Pray to be relieved of the Quota . Same date . To same Committee.

349. A list of Men formerly belonging to the Town of Cape Elizabeth which went out in Armed Vessels, &c since the year 1776, vizt. Lost in ye ship Cumberland Capt Collins commander

Joseph Parker	David Strout Jr
Rich'd Langley	Tho's Cushing.
Robert Stanford Jr	Sam'l Small
Tho's Stanford	Isaac Jordan
James Dyer	Tho's Webster
Sam'l Jordan	Tho's Jordan
John Curate	Nath'l Wheeler

Lost in the ship Sliflen Capt Day commanded viz't

Reuben Dyer

Lost in a ship from Newbury of 18 Guns viz't

Simon Jordan

Lost in ye Privateer Ge'll Wadsworth viz't

Andrew Jordan

Lost on board the Guardship at New York viz't

Josiah Walles

Benj Dyer

Christopher Strout

Lost in the Civil Usage . . . com'dr viz't

Peter Dyer

Tho's York

Barney Sawyer

John Gammon

Lost with Capt George Maxwell viz't

William Jones

Sam'l Robinson

Stephen Cash

Sam'l Gammon

James Webber

Lost with Capt Stone viz't

Joseph Maxwell

Francis Cash

Tho's Maxwell

Lost with Capt Hinkley viz't

Joseph Stanford

Ebenezer Jordan

Jeremiah Jordan

Israel Jordan

Lost with Capt Arthur McCallen viz't

William McCallen

Mathew Simonton

Lost in a Prize Brig'n at Piscatique Harbour viz't

Ebenezer Robinson

Ebenezer Sawyer

Walter Simonton

Wm. Jordan

Lost in ye Ship Rover of 28 Guns viz't

Nath'l Randell

Ephraim Sawyer

Daniel Strout

Richard Stanford

Benj'a Sawyer

A List of Men Mov'd from the Town of Cape Eliz'th since ye year 1776 viz't

James Samll

John Cash

Sam'l Pennel

John Veeman

Benj'a Smith

Joshua Westicoat

Tim'o Small

Dan'l Dyer

Josh'a Strout Jr

Daniel Small

Peter Bitler

Benj'a Sawyer

Jacob Small

George Boa

Wm Roberts

Ithiel Smith

Isaac Strout

James Wagg Jr

Hump'h McKenny

Rich'd Strout

Ezra Jordan

Benj'a Jordan

James Stinson

John Fowler

Clem't Jordan Jr

Vincent Ficket

Jedidiah Cobb

Archalus Stone

Abner Ficket

John Simonton

Jon'a Stone

Henry Jackson

Tho's McCallan

David Vickery

Peter Staple

Stileman Jordan Ref'ge

Joseph Robert

Sam'l Tenney

Robert Jackson

Jona Ficket

John Guld

Ebenezer Newell

Joseph Weeman

George Robinson

Jacob Webb : Refugee

Edmund Weston

A List of Men who Dec'd in the
Continental Army for 3 years in the year 1777.

Robert Herrington	Loring Cushing	{	Eleazer Strout Jr Ephraim Crocket Sam'l Dyer Tho's Gent Wm Maxwell Joseph Cobb, Jr Not knowing wheth. dead or living
James Stoble Cobb	Robert Stanford		
John Jordan	John Strout		
Robert Jordan	Lemuel Sawyer		
Edmund Jordan	Wm Sawyer		
Solomon Jackson Jr	Nath'l Sawyer		
Edward Avery	Jon'a Strout		
John Bryant	Reuben Skilling		
Abraham Bryant Jr	Josiah Stanford		
	Thos Jones		

Cape Elizabeth Jan. 17, 1782.

NATH'L STAPLE	} Selectmen
STEPHEN RANDALL	
DAVID STROUT	
	of said Town.

350. Resolve reported. In Senate Feb. 19, 1782.

The Town of Cape Elizabeth exempted from payment of the Average price of ye 18 men assessed as their quota for Three years or during ye War, and from the fine of Fifty per cent, agreeable to Resolve Oct. 20th last.

Six of the 18 men assessed are abated. And the Treasurer be directed to stay the Execution against sd Towd for the average price of sd 18 men,

Sent down. Concurred (with amendment) Feb 25. In Senate,

Read & concurred

S. ADAMS, Presid't

Approved

JOHN HANCOCK.

Cop'd Feb 21 '60 P. M.
at State House.

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Democratic Review. Vols. 8, 22, 32.

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“ “ Resolves. 1832, 33, 34.

“ “ Journals of the House. 1854, 55, 56, 57,
59, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 69, 71, 75, 76, 78,
80, 81, 85, 89.

“ “ Journals of the Senate. 1854, 55, 56, 59,
62, 64, 65, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 75, 76, 77,
78, 81, 83, 85, 89.



John H. Sargent, Boston

Wm. M. Sargent

Born 1840. Died 1901.

WILLIAM MITCHELL SARGENT, A.M.

BY DR. CHARLES EDWARD BANKS.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, December 10, 1891.

SENTIMENT underlies everything that is noble, true or grand in life. Without it there would be no love, no heroism, no compassion, no charity. It sustains man in the gloom of the dungeon; nerves him for the martyrdom of the stake and steels his heart in the battle's roar. It is the mainspring of friendship, the excuse for patriotism. Its beautiful promptings impel us, when one of our number has finished his life-work, to pause in our path and rehearse his virtues, forgetting, if there be, his faults. Inspired by this sentiment, which is universal, we come together to-day from our several spheres of activity to afford an opportunity to his former associates in this Society to testify their appreciation of the life and work of William Mitchell Sargent.

Death to the old, or to those whom Providence has afflicted with bodily infirmities, seems a part of the processes of nature, whose effect upon us has long since been discounted by expectation; but when it comes to those who are, as the poet says —

In the morn and liquid dew of youth,

or in the meridian of a splendid manhood, and at the very acme of their possibilities, it is difficult for frail humanity in the first hours of grief to say: — "The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be

the name of the Lord." As we contemplate the unfinished column symbolic of ambitions unsatisfied, of hopes that cannot reach fruition, of aspirations that lie sealed within the pulseless heart of death, then, above all, we think of the summons that comes to each of us as indeed inexorable and insatiate. Then, indeed, mortality appears to us as the remorseless fate of youth. To-morrow, in the aged man, we shall think of it as a release from weariness and pain.

Mr. Sargent came from a pure English ancestry, largely made up of the pioneers of New England in the seventeenth century. Of this descent he was always proud, holding his Pilgrim and Puritan forefathers in a reverence inspired by his own intimate knowledge of the pedigree of each of the contributing elements. On his father's side he was descended from Thomas Bradbury, Reverend John Wheelwright and William Pepperrell, among others; and on his mother's from Experience Mitchell, George Felt, Nathaniel Weare, all of whom were prominent men in the colonial days of New England. He was the first child and only son of William True and Hannah B. (Mitchell) Sargent of North Yarmouth, Maine. In 1847, his father, who was a staunch Democrat, had received a political appointment under President Polk as receiver of public moneys in the general land office at El Dorado, Union county, Arkansas, in which place he was engaged in mercantile pursuits. In this little southern town, not far from the Louisiana line, William Mitchell Sargent was born on the fifth of September, 1848, and there he passed the first seven years of his life. In

the absence of schools his mother acted as his mentor and guide, and from her he learned the first rudiments of that finished liberal education which was his cherished fortune throughout his career. In the spring of 1856, on account of a throat trouble, their family physician advised that he be sent North to reside, a step which was accordingly taken, and he became a resident of Portland, in the family of his maternal grandfather, the late Jeremiah Mitchell, Esquire, under the special charge of his aunt, Mrs. Muzzey. In the fall of 1857, he entered the Park Street Grammar School of this city, under the mastership of the late Manthano Pickering, where he stayed four years as required in that grade. From thence he was advanced to the High School in the fall of 1861, where he remained four years under the tutelage of Master J. H. Hanson.

At his graduation in June, 1865, he was awarded the James Olcott Brown Medal for distinguished scholarship during his course, one of the early and tangible evidences of that fine mind and intellectual capacity which belonged to him and was only awaiting cultivation. Endowed with a strong memory and keen perceptive faculty it need not be told of him that he was "quick to learn" as we are informed by one who knew him in his youth. At the age of seventeen, with the eagerness of the studious mind for further knowledge, he was able to gratify the particular desires of his father that he should have a collegiate education for which he had been preparing in the High School. His father and family had remained at

the South during the war, and his uncle, the late Cyrus F. Sargent, made the necessary plans so that he was enabled to have this wish gratified, and he matriculated in September, 1865, as a freshman at Harvard College. Among the young men in his class he found a few who have since made themselves known in the world — Frank D. Millet the artist, Mark Sibley Severance, Henry W. Putnam, Francis G. Peabody, and his classmate in the High School, George E. Bird, Esquire, of this city, late United States district attorney, who accompanied him to Harvard. His college career was like that of most young men who are fortunate enough to experience it. It was the usual attention from term to term to the curriculum, varied with the usual diversions of athletic sports in which Mr. Sargent was proficient. He had his mettle tried upon the base ball field in many an exciting match game, and bent his broad back to the stroke of the oar in his class crew at the 'Varsity races. His exuberant spirit in common with others found the heavy hand of the Faculty laid upon him for the usual collegiate escapades; but in due course, on commencement day 1869, he received from President Thomas Hill, his coveted sheepskin as Bachelor of Arts and went forth into the world to justify his educational privileges. He had determined to enter the legal profession, a decision which he had reached himself, by choice, and thenceforth began reading law under the supervision of Honorable William L. Putnam of this city. While he was preparing himself in these requirements he engaged for a while in teaching. In 1870, he was

instructor in ancient languages at a private school in Norwalk, Connecticut, and in 1871, he was instructor in mathematics in a similar institution at Morristown, New Jersey. He also taught a few months in the Portland High School to fill a temporary vacancy in 1871-72, and in the latter year he was made Master of Arts by his Alma Mater. Having completed his course of legal study he was admitted to the Cumberland Bar October 22, 1872, on motion of his preceptor, and on April 22, 1873, he was admitted as a counselor of the Circuit Court of the United States on motion of Honorable Nathan Webb, now one of its judges. He decided to cast his fortune in this city which he had made his residence since his youth, and here he began the practice of his profession, which he followed, with but one temporary interruption till the close of his life, a period of nineteen years. Of this interruption I must pause a moment to speak. In 1880, he undertook a project entirely at variance with all his previous habits of life and gave to it all the best powers of his nature. It was nothing less than the organization of an expedition to undertake hydraulic mining for gold in the Atrato river, Colombia, South America. He had, through an old friend in the navy, who had been on a surveying expedition up that river, learned of the deposits of gold to be found in its bed, and now crudely washed out by the natives. Almost alone he organized the company, secured its capitalization from friends, superintended the construction of its special machinery, prepared its equipment and selected its personnel, in all of which he succeeded

through his tireless energy and contagious enthusiasm. The expedition reached Cartagena in safety where it met with unforeseen delays. The customs officials interposed trivial objections to their procedure; demanded exorbitant dues and kept the vessels in port till the high water of the rainy season ensued and blocked their work for that year. The overthrow of his plans, the mental chagrin and responsibility of the failure, for upon him devolved the management, the fatigue from overwork and anxiety and the accumulative influence of climatic conditions soon told upon him and he was sent home in advance of the others, almost a physical wreck. He was under medical care for over a year before the complete restoration of his health enabled him, in 1882, to resume the practice of his profession, which he thereafter followed without further interruption till his death. His achievements in his lifework were not of a kind to bring him the notoriety that some branches of his profession afford to its specialists. The criminal lawyer, whose fame becomes associated with the criminals he defends and the number of necks he may save from the gallows, attains a publicity that cannot be reached by the lawyer with an office practice in conveyancing. In these quieter paths, working upon abstracts of titles, our friend laid out his labors and he came to be everywhere recognized not only as an authority, but pre-eminently the final authority on the question of land titles in Maine. To him all the legal fraternity turned when in trouble over some knotty problem in this branch of their business and no one has felt his loss

more than his brothers in the law, to whom he was always helpful in his special branch of knowledge. An examination of some of his abstracts of titles made for clients will show him at his best. An instance familiar to the members is partially exhibited in the Collections and Proceedings of this Society, volume 1, page 133, showing the title to Gorges Neck, York, Maine. The original abstract, neatly bound in flexible leather covers, written out in the beautiful penmanship of our friend, filled with historical illustrations and explanations, with pedigrees of descent by heirship, etc., is worthy the regard in which it is held by its present owner and possessor, Mr. Samuel S. Allen of Boston. Work like that reflects credit upon the profession of law which can produce such evidences of the muniments of title to our lands, dating from the settlement of this country; and it and similar work of his must long remain models for the future conveyancer. In this special branch wherein he acquired his reputation, this complete result could not have been reached except for his historical studies and antiquarian research. In this we know him best, and it is pardonable for us to believe that what he was in his lifework can be partly referred to his thorough knowledge of the early history of our state. That fullness of detail, that finishing touch which he was able to put upon all such work in his business, resulted from these studies into the early history, customs, laws and policy of our state, a study which he followed with such interest and zeal.

And this leads me to speak of him as one of our

associates in the Society to which he was elected on June 21, 1887, as a resident member. He early became interested in such work. He said that Professor Torrey of Harvard first turned his mind toward historical investigation through some requirements that students should write out and file in the college archives their personal and family histories. This led him to examine his own pedigree and such was the fascination that it had for him that he gave himself to the pursuit in after life as time and occupation allowed. In the complexities of family history and the genealogy of our first settlers he was easily the first authority, and his extensive correspondence is filled with the acknowledgements of people from all parts of the Union, for help rendered in their own researches. He brought to this Society all the enthusiasm of youth and the zeal of manhood, and soon became one of its most active and hardest working members. In his short term of membership, scarcely four years, we find before us, as the fruits of his labor besides several manuscript communications on special topics, and the work which he did as associate editor of the Society's quarterly, on the six volumes of York Deeds as assistant to the late H. W. Richardson, who edited volumes I-IV, and his own independent editorship of the next two volumes, and one volume of Maine Wills, striking and tangible evidences of that industry and capacity for work which was so characteristic of him. To one who has done similar work this bare statement will be sufficient; but to the inexperienced in such matters an idea of it may be conveyed in numbers by saying that these volumes represent a total of

nearly four thousand printed pages, which, with deciphering the ancient chirography, transcribing the original for printer's copy, reading proofs and correcting it for a practical reproduction of all the signs, marks, contractions and wonderful spelling of our ancestors, etc., exhibit a record of industry and patience which no one of us can hope to equal. These volumes will ever remain his monument in our library and a permanent contribution to the documentary history of the state. Nor is this all to be said about it. His work on these volumes was not merely mechanical as representative of our Society. It enlisted the enthusiasm of his nature, and the subsequent continuation of the work beyond the original plan is due to his personal efforts. At the last session of the legislature he procured the necessary appropriation to enable him to transcribe, print and issue two more volumes of York Deeds, and he had carried the work partly through to the press work when the inexorable summons suddenly stilled his active mind and stayed his diligent hand.

Of the manner of his death there can but be spoken, amidst the intenser thoughts of grief, the words of admiration that we accord to the brave. In the flush of magnificent manhood, with the ample endowment of a fine physique, he was the last one of all the members of this Society whom we expected to lose. On Friday, March 27, he left his house in the morning thinking himself a well man, to go to his business office; on Sunday, the twenty-ninth, he lay lifeless in the silent chamber of death. In the few hours that intervened there came to him the ill-timed but not dreaded

messenger, who comes but once to the brave. He was obliged to return to his home early in the afternoon of the twenty-seventh, suffering with intense abdominal pain, which he had been enduring for hours in silence, now too severe to withstand, and his family physician was speedily summoned. The gravity of the case was at once apparent to him upon his arrival, and a consulting surgeon was called in to aid him in its management. He was found to be suffering from peritonitis, perforation of the intestines and inflammation of the *appendix vermiformis*, and a surgical operation could only offer the single hope of recovery. He cheerfully accepted this "one chance," sustaining his sorrowing and almost paralyzed family, a wife, a widowed mother and a cherished sister, with an unruffled calm which carried all before it. The operation was successfully completed, but the damages to the internal organs and his system due to his fortitude in endurance of pain in the first stages of the disease had reduced his powers of recuperation. As soon as he had sufficiently rallied from the immediate effects of the operation, he directed, with his characteristic methodical habit of mind, the disposition of his business affairs, arranged for all his obligations and then lay back to await the end which he must have inwardly felt was surely approaching. Not a petulant tone fell from his lips as he contemplated the shattering of his life plans, the surcease of his ambitions, the end of all earthly things to a man of his ardent temperament. He had, as one described it, set up a standard for the death of a strong man, and by it he died without a flinch or a swerve. The hourly attendance of his

skilled surgeon, the sleepless vigils of the trained assistants, the gentle courage of his young wife, the loving hand of that mother who had watched his career from youth to manhood, the staff for her declining years, and who now saw, with a grief nobly repressed for his sake, that son in the hour of death; the tender ministrations of a sister—all these aided but availed not. Early on Sunday morning, the end was near and at his request, Bishop Neely, under whose spiritual care he had been from a boy, was summoned to add the benediction of the Church to his dying moments. "I could not die, Bishop," he said, "without your blessing," and soon after this spiritual consolation was given, his soul left its pain-wracked tenement forever. From the joys and sorrows of earth, in which he had been glad to share, from the blessings of a home which he had but lately reared for himself, from all this he turned with reluctance, but with no expressed regret to wring the aching hearts of those already sore with grief.

On that beautiful Easter morning, celebrated by the Church as the resurrection of our Lord, he left us, laying his burden manfully down and bequeathing to us the recollection of a life well lived and nobly ended. To me his death has the effect of a personal grief and there remains behind it the sense of personal desolation. I had enjoyed his friendship for many years, and as opportunity permitted, because of our kindred interest in the work of the Society, shared his confidence in many of his plans. My last hours with him were spent in the fall of 1890 at old York, whither we went by pre-arrangement to spend a few days of my

vacation to visit her historic fields. Thoroughly familiar with the topography and early ownership in the place, he made my visit especially valuable by his explanations and descriptions of the various localities so that I returned to my home enriched in knowledge of the place, interesting to me particularly as the home of my ancestors. Nor shall I soon forget his devotion to my personal comfort, his anxiety that I should see all that would interest me, his unselfishness and gentle courtesy throughout, and the memory of it will long be an excuse for the affection I had for him.

In his personal appearance he was one of nature's noblemen, standing over six feet, erect and of fine proportions. No one of us can ever forget his elastic step, his vigorous presence or his exuberant vitality who has seen him in these halls. He was characterized by an indomitable will, a ceaseless industry and a courage in himself that often led him to impatience with those who could not keep pace with the alertness of his mind. His spirit was aggressive, that waited not to be attacked but assumed the initiative itself, never in anger, but with that boldness which rested upon the courage of his own convictions. He was always a partisan. In politics his Democracy was uncompromising, and had he lived in a state or community where that party was in power he would doubtless have achieved political preferment. In social and domestic life he was seen at his best. He married, October 27, 1886, Mabel, daughter of William L. and Mary J. (Griffin) Hurd of Boston, with whom he lived an ideal life for nearly five years, and who in her youth mourns her great loss. With a charming home

in Portland and a beautiful summer residence on one of the islands in Casco bay, he dispensed a hospitality that was at once cordial and delightful. No one who has ever been the recipient of it could ever doubt its cordiality, and with the mellowing of years the heartiness of his entertainment was rounded by a charm of gentle courtesy which made his friends more and more attached to him. His artistic tastes, first noticed when as a boy in Arkansas he amused himself with modelling in clay, were evidenced in the appointments of his house, which he largely designed himself. For he was a skillful and cunning draughtsman, well informed in architecture, and among his effects are many designs of handsome buildings, which he had planned for his amusement in leisure hours. His accurate and methodical habits of mind ever brought him in demand in societies of which he was a member, to act in the capacity of recording secretary. As such he served the Harvard Society of Maine from its organization, and the Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, both of which offices he held at his death. He was an active member of the Maine Genealogical Society to whose meetings he contributed many valuable papers. Of his published work I have already spoken of the York Deeds and Maine Wills. His other publications were an Historical Sketch of Cushing's Island, The Weare Family of New Hampshire, The Mitchell Family of North Yarmouth, besides scores of separate historical and genealogical articles which have been printed in the Maine Recorder, New England Historic-Genealogical Register, Western Antiquary, Old Times and other similar

magazines. He left much valuable material relating to the early settlers of Maine, but by reason of his sudden death it is not in the condition he would have left it to others could he have foreseen his early end. Among this material his Book of Eastern Land Claims with historical and genealogical annotations is his principal work, upon which he had spent several years of labor. I am given to understand by his widow, that she intends to make this Society which he loved and strove for, the repository of his papers, when she can arrange them. That they will prove to be a valuable addition to our archives I am prepared to say after a personal examination of them.

Thus lived and died our lamented associate. The shaft he reared lacks its capital, but that which remains to us as a Society deserves the wreath which we would bestow on the completed column had he lived to perfect it. It is the old and ever-saddening story of a life checked in the day of its fruition, when the work of an ambitious career goes for naught because of its choking off before the goal is reached. He was growing more valuable as a man, a citizen and a companion as he grew in years. As we stand at his premature grave, thinking of the sudden dashing away of his hopes, the pause to his aspirations, the possibilities of his future, we can pray peace to his soul and do honor to his memory. The rest is in the hands of Him "who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out Heaven with the span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance."



Jane Gilley
1825.

HISTORY OF THE DUEL
BETWEEN JONATHAN CILLEY AND
WILLIAM J. GRAVES.

BY HORATIO KING.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, December 10, 1891.

THE report not long ago that Major William Preston Graves was "dying at Little Rock, where he has been stationed with his regiment, the Second artillery, the past two years," recalls the deplorable duel in which Jonathan Cilley of Maine, fell at the hands of Major Graves' father, the late William J. Graves of Kentucky, on the twenty-fourth of February, 1838. The report goes on to say, truly, that "next to the duel between Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr, no event of the character ever attracted more attention, and it might have said greater condemnation, than that between Graves and Cilley." It also repeats what was erroneously stated at the time, and which has been repeatedly denied from certain knowledge, that "Cilley was noted as one of the most skillful shots of the day." I shall have occasion to refer again to this assertion. When this unnatural combat took place, I resided in my native state of Maine, and was at Augusta, where the Maine Legislature was in session, when the news of Mr. Cilley's death was received. I well remember the wide-spread excitement and condemnation which immediately followed. Few people are now living who shared in or were witnesses of

that excitement, and who remember the circumstances leading to and attending that appalling tragedy.

Some fourteen or fifteen years ago I prepared an account of it, which the late ex-governor of Maine, H. J. Anderson, who was familiar with all the facts, pronounced the most complete ever written of the whole affair; but unfortunately it was printed in a local magazine that never reached its second number. As it would be new to the majority of readers now, and could hardly fail to possess a melancholy interest for all, I propose to reproduce it in substance, adhering strictly to the facts of the narrative as originally presented.

Both combatants were representatives in Congress, and hitherto they had been warm personal friends, notwithstanding Cilley was a Democrat and Graves a Whig. A charge of corruption against a senator in Congress, made by "The Spy in Washington," Matthew L. Davis, correspondent of the New York Courier and Enquirer, was the basis of the trouble which led to the fatal rencounter. He was the intimate friend and biographer of Aaron Burr, and while acting as correspondent at the capitol, he was excluded, I remember, from the ladies' gallery, on account of alleged gross immorality there. In a letter to his paper the charge referred to was set forth as follows:—

The more brief my statement the better it will be understood. It is in my power, if brought to the bar of either house, or before a committee, and process allowed me to compel the attendance of witnesses, to prove by the oath of a respectable and unimpeachable citizen, as well as by written documentary evidence,

that there is at least one member of Congress who has offered to barter his services and his influence with a department or departments for a compensation. "Why, sir," said the applicant for a contract, "if my proposition has merit it will be received, if it has not, I do not expect it will be accepted." And what do you think was the answer of the honorable member? I will give it to you in his own emphatic language: "Merit," said he, "why things do not go here by merit, but by pulling the right strings. Make it my interest and I will pull the strings for you."

The editor of the "Courier and Enquirer," James Watson Webb, vouched for the character and standing of his correspondent, and called upon Congress promptly to initiate the investigation thus challenged, both as an act of justice to itself and the country." Whereupon Henry A. Wise of Virginia, offered in the House of Representatives, on the twelfth of February, a motion for a committee of inquiry, embodying in the preamble to his resolution both the above extract and the editorial comments thereon. The resolution gave rise to a warm debate, and resulted in a determination to bring Mr. Davis before the bar of the House. He appeared accordingly, and having declared that the person alluded to in his letter was not a member of the House, he was discharged.

On the thirteenth of February, John Ruggles, senator from Maine, addressed a letter to the editor of the "Globe," stating that he had been informed that the charge referred to "was a blow aimed at him." In explanation, he said that a Mr. Jones of New Jersey, had applied to him to draw up a specification and claim for a patent for a trunk lock. He had consented to do it, "as it was a strictly professional matter." Sub-

sequently he had agreed to take an assignment of one fourth part of the patent for his services; the papers were drawn and assented to by Jones, but never executed, nor had any compensation ever been allowed for his services.

On the sixteenth of February, at Mr. Ruggles' request, a committee to investigate the charge against him was appointed in the Senate, and he was entirely exonerated.

In the debate on Mr. Wise's resolution, Mr. Cilley said:—

As the course proposed to be pursued on this occasion was novel and extraordinary, he hoped the House would pause before it embarked in this business on such authority as was produced. This charge comes from the editor of a newspaper, and we all know that in a country where the press is free, few men can expect to escape abuse and charges of a similar description. Ordinarily, when we are about entering upon a business of this kind before a magistrate, a conservator of the peace, the charges submitted are obliged to be made distinctly, clearly and under the solemnity of an oath; and why should we now depart from this well known and well settled rule? He knew nothing of this editor, but it was the same editor who had made grave charges against an institution of this country [the old United States Bank in 1831] and afterward was said to have received facilities to the amount of fifty-two thousand dollars from the same institution and gave it his hearty support; he did not think his charges were entitled to much credit in an American Congress. If he has charges to make, let him make them distinctly and not vaguely; let him make them under the solemnity of an oath, and then it will be quite time enough to act. He trusted the House would not go into an investigation of this kind on a mere newspaper statement without any proof.

It was the subject of pointed comment at the time

that, whereas the remarks of Mr. Cilley were published in *The Globe* of the twelfth, Mr. Webb waited until the twenty-first of February before demanding an explanation. Therefore the presumption was, and it was distinctly charged, that "the offense was taken at Washington, the plot arranged there, and Mr. Webb sent for, after full consultation, and notified that he must take offense at Mr. Cilley's remarks." This supposition was the more readily credited not only because the same imputation against Mr. Webb had "been thousands of times made on innumerable occasions in Congress" without his ever resenting it in any such manner, but also from the fact that Mr. Cilley's ability and fearless bearing in debate had aroused a determination on the part of certain southern gentlemen, if possible, to intimidate him and destroy his influence. As an illustration of this feeling the following extract from the *Democratic Review* is in point. Referring to the discussion upon Mr. Wise's resolution, above mentioned, the editor, J. L. O'Sullivan, afterward United States Minister to Portugal, and who, I am glad to know, still survives, said:—

An altercation of a very accrimonious character on the part of Mr. Wise arose upon this occasion. In reply to Mr. Cilley, Mr. Wise, among general remarks upon the opposition of the friends of the Administration to all investigation without specific charges, etc., remarked, "Every man careful of his honor, when such charges as these are made, will not wait to have them specifically framed, and in the present instance he would say to the gentleman from Maine that a member of the party [Democratic], to which that gentleman belongs, should be the last man to oppose the investigation of a charge like this, for it was much more likely to be him that was meant by the author of the charge than

himself [Mr. W.]. "I, sir," said Mr. Wise, "have no influence with the Executive or any of its branches, to sell for a price." etc.

Afterward, in the course of the debate, the following altercation took place, as we find it reported in *The Intelligencer* :—

But now, because he [Mr. C.] had stood up to defend the character of the House against that anonymous imputation, he was to hear the basest charges against himself.

"MR. WISE here asked if the gentleman from Maine meant to say that he (Mr. W.) had made base charges in relation to himself?

"MR. CILLEY would explain. He did feel that it was ungenerous for that gentleman to have said that the presumption was rather that it was he (Mr. C.) than himself (Mr. W.) to whom this charge alluded.

"MR. WISE had made no personal charge against the gentleman, the member from Maine, false or true, none whatever, and he again asked that gentleman if he meant to say that he had insinuated base charges against him?

"MR. CILLEY responded in substance what he had said.

"MR. WISE. Then the gentleman from Maine designs deliberately to insult me?

"MR. CILLEY certainly did not ; he had not made any charge against the gentleman from Virginia. He knew his rights and those of his constituents on that floor.

"MR. WISE understood ; and did not understand the gentleman from Maine as disclaiming the charge that he had made base charges against that gentleman.

"MR. CILLEY said that he had distinctly remarked that the gentleman from Virginia had said he (Mr. C.) was more obnoxious to the charge contained in the resolution before the House than he (Mr. W.) was ; and he could say no less than he had said, fearless of all consequences, but he had no intention to insult anyone. The gentleman from Virginia just remarked that he had been informed of the name of the member alluded to ; why not disclose it?

"MR. WISE rose and said that he could never again treat

that gentleman with confidence, who could rise in his place and repeat to the House what a member had said in private conversation in his seat.

"MR. CILLEY had not intended to violate confidence. The gentleman from Virginia had said openly in his seat that he knew the name of the member meant.

"MR. WISE. But it was in reply to an express question of another member."

"Some further explanation then took place between Mr. Cilley and Mr. Wise, etc."

The report of it is here cut off. Mr. Cilley sustained himself with perfect firmness and dignity to the end — his manner being according to our information, in highly advantageous contrast with that of his assailant. The latter concluded by the following remark, spoken so openly and loud as to be heard at some distance, a remark which Mr. Cilley never affected to notice or to hear. "But what is the use of bandying words with a man who won't hold himself personally accountable for his words?"

To fully appreciate this scene, one needs to have known its principal actors and observed the calm, firm and dignified manner of Cilley in contrast with the fierce look and aggressive bearing of his opponent, as the writer more than once saw him in debate in the House during the winter of 1838-39, while Graves, looking sad and desponding, was also still a member of that body.

We will next present the correspondence, etc., as it appeared in a paper signed by the seconds in the duel, George W. Jones of Iowa, and Henry A. Wise of Virginia, which they published as their

STATEMENT.

WASHINGTON CITY, D. C.

February 26, 1838.

The following is a statement of the facts of the duel between the Honorable William J. Graves of Kentucky, and the Honor-

able Jonathan Cilley of Maine, agreed upon by George W. Jones and Henry A. Wise, the seconds of the parties, committed to writing between the hours of 10.30 o'clock A.M. February 25, and 12 o'clock M. this day. The seconds propose, first, to state the correspondence which occurred before the challenge, and which was communicated through others than themselves, neither second having borne any message, verbal or written, to or from either of the principals, until Mr. Wise bore the challenge and Mr. Jones bore the acceptance. This correspondence, as it has been placed in the hands of the seconds, is as follows, to wit :

Mr. Graves to Mr. Cilley.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

February 21, 1838.

In the interview which I had with you this morning, when you declined receiving from me the note of Colonel J. W. Webb, asking whether you were correctly reported in the "Globe" in what you are there represented to have said of him in this House upon the 12th instant, you will please say whether you did not remark, in substance, that in declining to receive the note, you hoped I would not consider it in any respect disrespectful to me, and that the ground on which you rested your declining to receive the note was distinctly this : That you could not consent to get yourself into personal difficulties with conductors of public journals for what you might think proper to say in debate upon this floor, in discharge of your duties as a representative of the people ; and that you did not rest your objection in our interview, upon any personal objections to Colonel Webb as a gentleman.

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

W. J. GRAVES.

HONORABLE JONATHAN CILLEY.

Mr. Cilley to Mr. Graves.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

February 21, 1838.

The note which you just placed in my hands has been received. In reply I have to state that in your interview with me this morning, when you proposed to deliver a communication from

Colonel Webb of the New York "Courier and Enquirer," I declined to receive it because I chose to be drawn into no controversy with him. I neither affirmed nor denied anything in regard to his character; but when you remarked that this course on my part might place you in an unpleasant situation, I stated to you, and now repeat, that I intended by the refusal no disrespect to you.

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

JONA. CILLEY.

HONORABLE W. J. GRAVES.

Mr. Graves to Mr. Cilley.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

February 22, 1838.

SIR:—Your note of yesterday, in reply to mine of that date, is inexplicit, unsatisfactory and insufficient; among other things in this, that in your declining to receive Colonel Webb's communication, it does not disclaim any exception to him personally as a gentleman. I have therefore to inquire whether you declined to receive his communication on the ground of any personal exception to him as a gentleman or man of honor? A categorical answer is expected.

Very respectfully,

WILLIAM J. GRAVES.

HONORABLE J. CILLEY.

Mr. Cilley to Mr. Graves.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

February 22, 1838.

SIR:—Your note of this date has just been placed in my hands. I regret that mine of yesterday was not satisfactory to you, but I cannot admit the right on your part to propound the question to which you ask a categorical answer, and therefore decline any further response to it.

Very respectfully,

JONATHAN CILLEY.

HONORABLE W. J. GRAVES.

Here follows the first paper borne by Mr. Wise:—

WASHINGTON CITY,

February 23, 1838.

As you have declined accepting a communication which I bore to you from Colonel Webb, and as by your note of yesterday you have refused to decline on grounds which would exonerate me from all responsibility growing out of the affair, I am left no other alternative but to ask that satisfaction which is recognized among gentlemen. My friend, Honorable Henry A. Wise, is authorized by me to make the arrangements suitable to the occasion.

Your obedient servant,

W. J. GRAVES.

HONORABLE J. CILLEY.

Mr. Wise states that he presented the foregoing challenge to Mr. Cilley in the parlor at Mr. Birth's boarding-house a few minutes before twelve o'clock, on Friday, the twenty-third instant.

In addition to the foregoing correspondence the seconds propose to relate only such facts and circumstances as occurred within their joint knowledge, after their own participation in the melancholy affair.

On the evening of the twenty-third instant, about the hour of five o'clock, Mr. Jones, the second of Mr. Cilley, delivered to Mr. Graves, in the room of Mr. Wise, and in his presence, the following note, which was the first paper borne by Mr. Jones, to wit:—

WASHINGTON CITY, February 23, 1838.

HONORABLE W. J. GRAVES:—Your note of this morning has been received. My friend, General Jones, will "make the arrangements suitable to the occasion."

Your obedient servant,

JONA. CILLEY.

Immediately upon the preparation of the acceptance of the challenge, Mr. Graves retired, leaving Mr. Jones with Mr. Wise, who submitted to Mr. Wise the following propositions for the arrangement of the meeting, to wit:—

WASHINGTON CITY,
February 23, 1838.

SIR:—Mr. Cilley proposes to meet Mr. Graves at such place as may be agreed upon between us to-morrow at twelve o'clock M. The weapons to be used on the occasion shall be rifles; the parties placed side to side at eighty yards distance from each other; to hold the rifles horizontally at arm's length downward; the rifles to be cocked and triggers set; the word to be "Gentlemen, are you ready?" after which, neither answering "No," the words shall be in regular succession, "Fire — one, two, three, four." Neither party shall fire before the word "fire," nor after the word "four." The positions of the parties at the ends of the line to be determined by lot. The second of the party losing the position shall have the giving of the word. The dress to be ordinary winter clothing and subject to the examination of both parties. Each party may have on the ground, besides his second, a surgeon and two other friends. The seconds, for the execution of their respective trusts, are allowed to have a pair of pistols each on the ground, but no other person shall have any weapon. The rifles to be loaded in the presence of the seconds. Should Mr. Graves not be able to procure a rifle in the time prescribed, time shall be allowed for that purpose.

Your very obedient servant,

GEORGE W. JONES.

HONORABLE HENRY A. WISE.

About nine o'clock P.M. at Mr. Jones' room at Dawson's, Mr. Wise returned to him the following answer, to wit:—

WASHINGTON CITY,
February 23, 1838.

SIR:—The terms arranging the meeting between Mr. Graves

and Mr. Cilley, which you presented to me this evening, though unusual and objectionable, are accepted with the understanding that the rifles are to be loaded with a single ball, and that neither party is to raise his weapon from the downward horizontal position until the word "fire."

I will inform you, sir, by the hour of eleven o'clock A.M. to-morrow whether Mr. Graves has been able to procure a rifle, and consequently whether he will require a postponement of the time of meeting.

Your very obedient servant,

HENRY A. WISE.

HONORABLE GEORGE W. JONES.

About eight o'clock A.M., on the twenty-fourth instant, Mr. Jones left at Mr. Wise's room the following note, to wit:—

WASHINGTON CITY,
February 24, 1838.

SIR:—I will receive at Dr. Reilly's, on F street, any communication you may see proper to make me until eleven o'clock A.M. to-day.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEORGE W. JONES.

HONORABLE H. A. WISE.

DR. REILLY'S, F STREET,
February 24, 1838, 10 A.M.

SIR:—I have called at this place in conformity to your note of this morning, to inform you that Mr. Graves has not as yet been able to procure a rifle and put it in order, and cannot be ready by twelve o'clock M. to-day. He is desirous, however, to have the meeting to-day if possible, and I will inform you by half-past twelve o'clock M. to-day what time he will require to procure and prepare a weapon.

Very respectfully, etc.,

HENRY A. WISE.

HONORABLE GEORGE W. JONES.

Afterward Mr. Jones left at Mr. Wise's room the following note, to wit:—

WASHINGTON, 10.30 A.M.,

February 24, 1838.

SIR:— Your note dated at ten o'clock to-day is received. In reply I have the pleasure to inform you that I have in my possession an excellent rifle in good order which is at the service of Mr. Graves.

Very respectfully, etc.,

GEORGE W. JONES.

HONORABLE H. A. WISE.

Afterward Mr. Jones sent to Mr. Wise's room the following note, to wit:—

WASHINGTON, February 24, 1838, 11 A.M.

SIR:— Through the politeness of my friend, Doctor Duncan, I now tender to you for the use of Mr. Graves, the rifle referred to in my note of ten o'clock this morning.

Respectfully your obedient servant,

GEORGE W. JONES.

HONORABLE H. A. WISE.

And with this note a rifle and powder-flask and balls were left at Mr. Wise's room.

After the reception of this note from Mr. Jones, Mr. Wise called on him at Doctor Reilly's and informed Mr. Jones that Mr. Graves had procured a rifle other than that left at his room by Doctor Duncan, and would be ready for the meeting at three o'clock P.M. It was then agreed that the parties should meet at the Annacostia bridge, on the road to Marlboro, Maryland, between the hours of half-past one and half-past two o'clock P.M., and if either got there first he should wait for the other, and that they would thence proceed out of the District. Accordingly the parties met at the bridge, Mr. Cilley and his party arriving there first, and all proceeded, about two o'clock P.M., to the place

of meeting. On arriving at the place, Mr. Jones and Mr. Wise immediately proceeded to mark off the ground. They then decided the choice of positions. Mr. Wise won the position, and consequently Mr. Jones had the giving of the word. At the time Mr. Jones was informed by Mr. Wise that two gentlemen (Mr. Calhoun of Kentucky, and Mr. Hawes of Kentucky) were at some distance off, spectators, but they should not approach upon the ground. Mr. Jones replied that he objected to their coming on the ground, as it was against the articles of the meeting, but he entertained for them the highest respect. Mr. Wise informed Mr. Jones that contrary to the terms, he had brought on the ground two rifles; that if he (Mr. Jones) required him to do so, he would immediately send one of them away. Upon Mr. Jones finding that the rifle was unloaded, he consented that it should remain in one of the carriages. There were, it is proper to remark, several persons on the ground (besides the hack-drivers and the two gentlemen at a distance before mentioned) who were there without the authority or consent of either party or their friends, as far as is known either to Mr. Jones or Mr. Wise, and one of these persons was supposed to be the owner of the field. Shortly after the hour of three P.M. the rifles were loaded in the presence of the seconds; the parties were called together; they were fully instructed by Mr. Jones as to their positions, and the words were twice repeated to them as they would be and as they were delivered to them in the exchange of shots. After they were ordered to their respective

positions, the seconds assumed their places, and the friends accompanying the seconds were disposed along the line of fire to observe that each obeyed the terms of meeting. Mr. Jones gave the word distinctly, audibly, and in regular succession, and the parties exchanged shots without violating in the least a single instruction. They both missed. After which, Mr. Wise called upon the friends generally to assemble and hear what was to be said. Upon the assembling of the friends, Mr. Jones inquired of Mr. Wise whether his friend (Mr. Graves) was satisfied. Mr. Wise immediately said in substance, "Mr. Jones, these gentlemen have come here without animosity toward each other, they are fighting merely upon a point of honor; cannot Mr. Cilley assign some reason for not receiving at Mr. Graves' hands Colonel Webb's communication, or make some disclaimer which will relieve Mr. Graves from his position?" Mr. Jones replied in substance, "Whilst the challenge is impending Mr. Cilley can make no explanations." Mr. Wise said in substance: "The exchange of shots suspends the challenge, and the challenge is suspended for the purpose of explanation." Mr. Jones therefore said he would see Mr. Cilley, and did go to him. He returned and asked Mr. Wise again: "Mr. Wise, do I understand aright that the challenge is suspended?" Mr. Wise answered, "It is." Mr. Jones was then about to proceed when Mr. Wise suggested that it was best, perhaps, to give the explanation or reason in writing. Mr. Jones then said in substance: "Mr. Wise, if you require me to put what I have to say in writing, I shall require you

to put what you have said and may say in writing." Mr. Wise replied: "Well, let us hear the explanation beforehand, as it may not be necessary to put it in writing." Mr. Jones then proceeded, as he now thinks, substantially to say: "I am authorized by my friend, Mr. Cilley, to say that in declining to receive the note from Mr. Graves, purporting to be from Colonel Webb, he meant no disrespect to Mr. Graves, because he entertained for him then, as he now does, the most kind feelings; but that he declined to receive the note because he chose not to be drawn into any controversy with Colonel Webb." Mr. Wise thinks this answer of Mr. Jones' was, in substance, as follows: "I am authorized by my friend, Mr. Cilley, to say that in declining to receive the note from Mr. Graves, purporting to be from Colonel Webb, he meant no disrespect to Mr. Graves, because he entertained for him then as he does now, the highest respect and most kind feelings, but my friend refuses to disclaim disrespect for Colonel Webb, because he does not choose to be drawn into an expression of opinion as to him." Such is the substantial difference between the two seconds as to the answer of Mr. Jones. The friends on each side, with the seconds, then retired from each other to consult upon this explanation. After consultation, Mr. Wise returned to Mr. Jones and said: "Mr. Jones, this answer leaves Mr. Graves precisely in the position in which he stood when the challenge was sent." Much conversation then ensued between the seconds and their friends, but no nearer approach to reconciliation being made, the challenge was renewed and another

shot was exchanged in a manner perfectly fair and honorable to all parties. After this the seconds and their friends again assembled, and the challenge was again withdrawn, and very similar conversations to that after the first exchange of shots again ensued. Mr. Jones then remarked; "Mr. Wise, my friend, in coming to the ground and exchanging shots with Mr. Graves has shown to the world that in declining to receive the note of Colonel Webb he did not do so because he dreaded a controversy. He has shown himself a brave man, and disposed to render satisfaction to Mr. Graves. I do think that he has done so, and that the matter should end here." To this Mr. Wise replied in substance: "Mr. Jones, Mr. Cilley has already expressed his respect for Mr. Graves in the written correspondence, and Mr. Graves does not require of Mr. Cilley a certificate of character for Colonel Webb; he considers himself bound not only to preserve the respect due to himself, but to defend the honor of his friend, Colonel Webb." These words of Mr. Wise Mr. Jones recollects, and Mr. Wise thinks he added the words: "Mr. Graves only insists that he has not borne the note of a man who is not a man of honor and not a gentleman." After much more conversation and ineffectual attempts to adjust the matter, the challenge was again renewed, and whilst the friends were again loading the rifles for the third exchange of shots, Mr. Jones and Mr. Wise walked apart and each proposed to the other anxiously to settle the affair. Mr. Wise asked Mr. Jones "if Mr. Cilley could not assign the reason for declining to

receive the note of Colonel Webb that he did not hold himself accountable to Colonel Webb for words spoken in debate?" Mr. Jones replied that "Mr. Cilley would not assign that reason, because he did not wish to be understood as expressing the opinion whether he was or was not accountable for words spoken in debate." Mr. Wise then, according to his recollection, asked Mr. Jones whether Mr. Cilley would not say that in declining to receive the note of Colonel Webb he meant no disrespect to Mr. Graves directly or indirectly?" To which Mr. Jones replied affirmatively, adding: "Mr. Cilley entertains the highest respect for Mr. Graves, but declines to receive the note because he chose to be drawn into no controversy with Colonel Webb." After further explanatory conversation the parties then exchanged the third shot fairly and honorably as in every instance. Immediately previous to the last exchange of shots Mr. Wise said to Mr. Jones: "If this matter is not terminated this shot, and is not settled, I will propose to shorten the distance." To which Mr. Jones replied: "After this shot, if without effect, I will entertain the proposition."

After Mr. Cilley fell, Mr. Wise, for Mr. Graves, expressed a desire to Mr. Jones to see Mr. Cilley. Mr. Jones replied to Mr. Wise, "My friend is dead;" and went on to Mr. Graves and told him that there was no objection to his request to see Mr. Cilley. When Mr. Jones approached Mr. Graves and informed him that his request should be granted, Mr. Graves inquired, "How is he?" The reply was, "My friend is dead, sir." Mr. Graves then went to his carriage. Mr.

Wise inquired of Mr. Jones before leaving the ground whether he could render any service, and tendered all the aid in his power. Mr. Wise and Mr. Jones concur that there were three shots exchanged.

Such is the naked statement of all the material facts and circumstances attending this unfortunate affair of honor, which we make in justice to our friends, to ourselves, and to all concerned, the living and the dead; and it is made only for the purpose of allaying excitement in the public mind, and to prevent any and all further controversy upon the subject which already is full enough of woe. We have fully and substantially stated wherein we agree and disagree. We cordially agree at all events, in bearing unqualified testimony to the fair and honorable manner in which this duel was conducted. We endeavored to discharge our duties according to that code under which the parties met, regulated by magnanimous principles and the laws of humanity. Neither of us has taken the least exception to the course of the other; and we sincerely hope that here all controversy whatever may cease. We especially desire our respective friends to make no publication on the subject. None can regret the termination of the affair more than ourselves, and we hope again that the last of it will be the signatures of our names to this paper, which we now affix.

GEORGE W. JONES,
HENRY A. WISE.

Vain hope! Instead of this being "the last of the affair" the supposed instigators of it were met on all sides with a perfect storm of indignation, and an almost universal demand for a searching investigation of the matter and punishment of the guilty; and the more the circumstances of the tragedy became known, the fiercer the cry for retribution. Before proceeding however, to depict this feeling, I will introduce the

sworn statement of William H. Morrell and Daniel Jackson, two chosen friends of Colonel Webb, who, according to their testimony, "said that it was utterly impossible that a meeting could be permitted to take place between Messrs. Graves and Cilley until Mr. Cilley had first met him (Webb), and that he was determined to force such a meeting upon Mr. Cilley, be the consequences what they might." It was accordingly agreed that Colonel Webb with two friends "properly armed, should repair to Mr. Cilley's room, when Mr. Webb should offer to Mr. Cilley the choice of his duelling pistols with the following alternatives: either then and there to settle the question, or pledge his word of honor that he would give Colonel Webb a meeting before Mr. Graves, at such a place and time and with such weapons as Mr. Cilley might appoint; and in the event of doing neither, then to expect the most serious consequences on the spot. Mr. Webb then added: 'Should he refuse either to fight me at the time, or give the pledge required, I shall have no alternative left but to shatter his right arm and thereby prevent his meeting my friend.'" Before this plan could be carried out, it was found that Mr. Cilley had left his lodgings for the duelling ground, understood to be Bladensburg, to which place Colonel Webb and his two friends immediately repaired. On their way, Colonel Webb designated the following as the order of proceedings:—

On reaching the parties, said he, I'll approach Mr. Cilley and tell him this is my quarrel, and he must fight me; and that if he aims his rifle at my friend, I'll shoot him on the spot. We know that upon this, Messrs. Graves and Wise will interfere, and that

we will be ordered off the ground, but I shall tell them that we have come prepared to lose our lives or prevent the meeting, and that it cannot proceed without first disposing of us. From our knowledge of the parties, it is probable that some one of them will then raise his weapon at me, when I shall instantly shoot Cilley, and we must proceed to defend ourselves in the best way we can.

After stating that they drove to the "usual dueling ground" and several other places without being able to find the parties, the witnesses say:—

It is unnecessary to add what would have been the course of Colonel Webb if Mr. Graves, instead of Mr. Cilley, had been injured. Suffice it to say that his determination was sanctioned by us, and however much we deplored it, we could not doubt but the extraordinary position in which he would then have been placed would have warranted the course determined upon.

Alluding to the dark intimation in the last paragraph, an able editor at the time holding a high position under the United States government, remarked:—

Thus, then, it seems if Cilley had escaped from the field of blood with his life, he would have been, doubtless, assassinated by Webb and his associates.

Colonel Schaumbourg, a friend of Mr. Cilley, states that, before the meeting, Mr. Cilley said to him:—

Mr. Graves has taken upon himself to demand of me to say, and that in language dictated by himself, that James Watson Webb is a gentleman and a man of honor. Now that is what I am not going to disgrace myself by saying. I see into the whole affair. Webb has come on here to challenge me because he, and perhaps others think that, as I am from New England, I am to be bluffed, and Mr. Webb will proclaim himself a brave man, having obtained an acknowledgement on my part that he is a gentleman and a man of honor. But they have calculated without their host. Although I know that the sentiment of New

England is opposed to dueling, I am sure that my people will be better pleased if I stand the test than disgrace myself by humiliating concessions. Sir, the name I bear will never permit me to cower beneath the frown of mortal man. It is an attempt to browbeat us, and because they think that I am from the East, I will tamely submit.

Besides the two seconds, the friends of each party on the ground were, on the part of Mr. Cilley, Jesse A. Bynum, member of Congress from North Carolina, Colonel W. Schaumbourg of Pennsylvania, and Alexander Duncan (surgeon), member of Congress from Ohio; and on the part of Mr. Graves, John J. Crittenden, senator, and Richard H. Meniffee, member of Congress from Kentucky, and Doctor J. M. Foltz (surgeon), of Washington City. These gentlemen were quite as free from censure in the affair as were some others not present. The greater weight of "public opprobrium and disgust" fell upon Mr. Wise and Colonel Webb, as will appear from quotations we will see from the public records and the press.

[TO BE CONCLUDED.]

WILLIAM BARROWS—JOHN TRIPP.

BY PERCIVAL BONNEY.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, May 9, 1891.

IN collecting materials for a history of Hebron Academy to be used at the dedication of the school building which has recently been erected at that place, I have become greatly interested in the first pastor of the Hebron Baptist church, Reverend John Tripp, and his first deacon, William Barrows, to the efforts of which gentlemen the existence of the Academy is mainly indebted; and it is proposed in this paper to present biographical sketches of these two persons who have interested me so thoroughly.

At the close of the Revolutionary war there was an extensive movement of people from the parent Commonwealth to the District of Maine. Lands were granted to many persons as compensation for military services rendered in the war and great efforts were made by the grantees to induce the young men of Massachusetts whose military service had just expired to settle upon them; so hundreds of old soldiers left their native towns, took up a journey, then a long one, to the unsettled parts of Maine, made a clearing for themselves and families in the wilderness, endured the privations of pioneer life, and thus laid the foundations of that sturdy character which has remained with their descendants to the present day.

The towns in the western part of Oxford County

were settled considerably earlier than those in the eastern portion of the county, Fryeburg having first been settled from New Hampshire in 1763 and incorporated in 1777, while the towns of Brownfield, Hiram, Lovel and Waterford were settled not long afterward. But a wilderness intervened between the towns just named and those on the eastern border, so there was very little intercourse between the people inhabiting the two sections.

The township of New Gloucester on the south had been reached by the settler in 1740, and was the frontier town for nearly forty years. Josiah Bailey was the first person who made a settlement north of New Gloucester in Bakerstown in 1768 while four years later the pioneer's ax was heard in Sylvester-Canada, now the town of Turner. No white man penetrated north of Bakerstown until about 1774 when a party cut a road from New Gloucester through Bakerstown, and what is now Hebron, to No. 4, now the town of Paris. The proprietors of No. 4 then lived in Massachusetts, and cut out this road to facilitate a settlement there, the route being from New Gloucester to Minot Lower Corner, thence over Woodman Hill to West Minot, or Bridgham's Mills, as it was then called, and over Greenwood Hill to Paris. This road was recut and otherwise improved in 1779, and made ready for the influx of immigrants, who began the next year — 1780 — to clear the land and make settlements in No. 4.

March 8, 1777, Alexander Shepard, jr., of Newton, Massachusetts, received a grant of land from the Gen-

eral Court, comprising the present towns of Hebron and Oxford, under the title of Shepardsfield. Shepard was born in Newton, September 9, 1741, and was thirty-six years old when he received the grant of land now included within the borders of these two towns. This grant was provided as a compensation for surveying the public lands in the district, he having surveyed a considerable portion of the land lying in northern Cumberland and eastern Oxford counties. He married in 1765, at King's Chapel, Boston, the widow of John Greenwood of Newton, the ancestor of the Greenwoods, somewhat numerous in the town of Hebron. After the death of Alexander Shepard, jr., his widow removed to Hebron, where she died in October, 1801, and was buried in the cemetery on what is known as Greenwood Hill, where many of the first settlers sleep his last sleep.

The population of the District of Maine, which, at the close of the war was very small, increased with great rapidity, and steps were at once taken for the education of youth. It has been said that if a colony of New England people should be planted on the remote frontier in any quarter of the globe, within twenty-four hours they would have a church under cover on the most available corner and a schoolhouse on the nearest knoll. This peculiarity of the modern New Englander has come down in lineal descent from his intelligent and pious ancestors.

The law establishing grammar schools in towns having more than one hundred families was inoperative in the early settlements in Maine, as few of those set-

tlements had that population; and so beginning with the last decade of the century, charters were granted to five academies in the District. These institutions were springing up so numerous in different parts of Massachusetts and the District as to attract the attention of the Governor, Samuel Adams, who, in his annual message to the general court in 1795, said: "It is with satisfaction that I observe the patriotic exertions of worthy citizens to establish academies in various parts of the Commonwealth."

Up to 1805, seven academies were in operation east of Exeter, institutions recently established at Hallowell, Fryeburg, Portland, Berwick, Machias, Bluehill and New Castle. Several had been chartered earlier than that date, but were not in actual operation.

The first school in Shepardsfield was a private one, supported by John Greenwood, Isaac and Samuel Whittmore, Stephen Myrick, Asa Bearce and Nathaniel Cushman. It was kept in a private house on Greenwood Hill by a Mrs. Baker from Weston, Massachusetts, whose husband was the first tanner in the settlement.

In the first year of the present century the population of Hebron and adjoining towns had become so numerous that the establishment of an academy was agitated, and a building for such a school was erected in 1803, through the efforts of Deacon William Barrows. Application was made to the General Court for the incorporation of an academy. A charter was granted on the tenth of February, 1804, which was signed by Governor Caleb Strong of illustrious memory. The original incorporators were Rev. James

Hooper, the somewhat eccentric pastor of the Baptist church at Paris; Ezekiel Whitman of New Gloucester, who afterward served with distinction as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Maine; Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, then of Paris, the father of Hannibal Hamlin; Samuel Parris of Hebron, a man of considerable local standing and father of Governor Albion K. Parris; John Greenwood of Hebron, a local magistrate and a man of character and reputation in the community, and son of Mrs. Alexander Shepard, jr., before referred to; Dr. Luther Cary of Turner, who served as judge of the court of common pleas, state senator and representative for many years; Dr. Jesse Rice, the first practicing physician in Minot, and who with his family accompanied Rev. Jonathan Scott from Nova Scotia in May, 1795, when he assumed charge of the Congregational church in that town; John Tripp, the pastor, and William Barrows, the deacon of the Baptist church in Hebron.

The school was opened in September, 1805, and while scores of other academies in the state, apparently much more advantageously located than this, have died after a short and precarious existence, the light of this institution has continued to shine without interruption from that day to this. It has now a large endowment, and with the substantial and spacious buildings approaching completion, its usefulness seems in a fair way to continue with increasing power. The original projectors and promoters of the institution were the pastor and the deacon before referred to, and to them the credit is mostly due.

William Barrows was born in Plympton, — now Carver, — Massachusetts, January 22, 1756. At the age of nineteen, in 1775, at the commencement of the Revolutionary war, he entered the American army as artillery man, and continued to perform military duty until March, 1777. The term of his enlistment expired in December, 1776, and he thought at that time that nothing could tempt him to endure the hardship of the camp beyond the period of his enlistment. When his term was about to expire he was in New Jersey, under the immediate command of General Washington, who in person urged upon the departing soldiers the importance and necessity of reënlistment, even for a few weeks. In after life he often declared that as a result of the appeal his resolution to return home and his feeling of weariness with the hardships of the camp disappeared. He, with many other patriotic youths, complied with the request of the commanding general and remained several weeks longer. He then left the service finally.

Soon after the evacuation of Boston by the British army, General Washington moved a part of his forces to New York, where they were quartered in and about the city.

In 1770, the colony of New York procured an equestrian gilt statue of George the Third and set it up with imposing ceremonies on the Bowling Green, on the spot where a fountain was located at the time of the introduction of Croton water into the city. The artillery company to which William Barrows belonged was among the troops ordered to New York, and while

there he took part in the following adventure, an account of which, from the lips of the soldier himself, was written by his son, John Stuart Barrows, for the New York Tribune and copied into the Portland Advertiser of October 12, 1843 : —

With ten or fifteen young men he went, one evening, without any order or knowledge of his commanding officer, with the intention of compassing the destruction of his Majesty, the King, so far as overthrowing his statue would effect it. On reaching the spot his companions hoisted him upon the horse behind his Majesty and gave him an ax, with which he commenced cutting off his head, applying the blows thick and heavy upon the back of his neck, but the task was not easily accomplished; his ax was soon dulled and the noise attracted the attention of the Tories, who collected in great numbers with lanterns and threatened his party with violence, and as they far outnumbered the Whig soldiers, the latter thought it advisable to retire.

He, however, had the pleasure, a few days after, of making one of a party, detached by order of their commanding officer, who went in full daylight, when all the Tories in the vicinity could have a view of them and their sacriligious conduct, and threw a rope around his Majesty's neck and prostrated him, horse and all, upon the ground. On removing the bronze the statue was found to be composed of lead, which was afterward run up into bullets and fired at his Majesty's more loyal subjects.

This account is confirmed by a communication in the Pennsylvania Journal of July 10, 1776, which says : —

This afternoon the Declaration of Independence was read at the head of each brigade of the Continental army, posted at and in the vicinity of New York. It was received everywhere with loud huzzas and the utmost demonstrations of joy, and to-night the equestrian statue of George the Third, which Tory pride and folly raised in the year 1770, has, by the Sons of Freedom, been

laid prostrate in the dirt, the just desert of an ungrateful tyrant. The lead wherewith the monument was made is to be run into bullets to assimilate with the brains of our infatuated adversaries, who, to gain a peppercorn, have lost an empire.

The battle of Trenton was fought December 26, 1776, and as our army had previously lost their tents, stores and baggage, our men suffered severely on account of the cold weather, many of them marching without shoes and lying on the snow-covered ground.

After the battle the young soldier — Barrows — discovered some little distance from the field a dead Hessian, who had on a pair of new boots, which he longed for to cover his almost naked feet; but he was unable to pull them from the lifeless body. Summoning a comrade to his aid, they both “tugged away,” as he used to express it, with all their might, but in vain, and so the poor man, who died in his boots, was probably buried in his boots, as they were frozen fast to his feet.

Mr. Barrows first visited Hebron in August, 1779, when he was twenty-three years of age, and took up a lot and felled some trees. A portion of the present academy real estate is a part of the farm which was cleared and cultivated by him in his youth, though the lot upon which the first three school buildings were located was presented to the corporation by his brother, Joseph Barrows.

June 8, 1780, he was married to Sarah Dunham, with whom he lived until her death, in 1795. She bore him seven children. On the last of that month he came to Hebron again, and remained until October, following, felling additional trees and burning and

clearing the lot upon which he was to establish his home in the wilderness. He was one of the first three men who settled in the town.

In February, 1781, in the middle of the winter, he brought his wife from Carver to New Gloucester, then the chief town on the border, remaining there one month. In March he moved to West Minot, then within the limits of Shepardsfield, and located some three and a half miles from the clearing he had made in the forest. For present use he constructed a log house on his lot. For a floor to the same he and his brother Joseph, who came down to assist him, and who afterward settled in the town, carried the boards on their shoulders from a saw mill, which one of the Bridghams had shortly before erected at West Minot. Having built his primitive habitation for the reception of his bride, he made preparations to take possession of it, but on the very day he was to move into it the log house took fire and was consumed to ashes.

He placed his wife temporarily in a cabin which had been used by the laborers engaged in clearing the land, but in accordance with the neighborly kindness which then existed among the pioneers, and which still exists in the country towns, the few scattered settlers came to his rescue, and in three days from the burning of his log house he had another ready for occupancy. About the same time one or two settlers — John Greenwood and Asa Bearce — made clearings on Greenwood Hill, about two miles to the east of the clearing made by young Barrows. It is a tradition in

the family that Barrows and one of these settlers owned a cow in common, one owner having the use of the animal one week, and the other the next.

He was an active, industrious young man, and worked with great energy and vigor in establishing his home, so that in a very few years his farm not only yielded him a comfortable living, but from the profits he was able to erect a very convenient and comfortable house, in which he lived for many years. He also opened a store for the accommodation of the people in the surrounding country.

The people of Shepardsfield first assembled in town meeting in March, 1786, when he, with two other citizens, were appointed a committee "to take the papers and try the generosity of the people to contribute the pay and settle with the minister." From that time until his death he was active in all local affairs, and was considered by all as the first man for usefulness in the town.

When the settlers were in difficulty respecting the title to their lands, he was sent as their agent to the General Court at Boston to procure relief. He was also frequently appointed by the settlers to confer with Alexander Shepard, jr., the proprietor, who was never a resident of the town, but who continued to live in Newton.

Mr. Barrows was a Federalist in politics and represented his town in the Legislature of Massachusetts, in 1816. When the separation of the District of Maine from the parent Commonwealth was a subject of discussion, he, as well as his son, William Barrows, jr.,

was elected a member of the Convention, which met September 29, 1816, at Brunswick, to examine the returns of votes cast by the people for and against the separation. He acted with the minority of the Convention in the matter, having, however, such associates as Ezekiel Whitman, Nicholas Emery, William Ladd, S. A. Bradley, Levi Whitman, Peter C. Virgin, William Allen and other men of note in their day. He was also for many years a justice of the peace, a position of much more importance than in recent years.

His early advantages for securing an education were very limited, as was the case with most of the young men of that day, but his parents took great pains to instill into his mind correct moral and religious principles, his mother being a professor of religion, while his father, in the somewhat quaint language of his pastor, "though not a professor, was hopefully pious."

There is no doubt that he was literally the father of the academy at Hebron, whose interests he watched and cared for from the day of its incorporation, until he ceased to live. Outside of Andrew Craigie, who gave \$800 for its endowment, he was its largest benefactor until recent days. In 1819, when, owing to the destruction of the first building by fire, it was necessary to erect a new one, the expense was divided into seventy shares, of which the good deacon took twenty-one. He also contributed in money for other academy purpose, at that time \$275.29, as appears by the records of the corporation, while his son, William, contributed \$50 at the same time. For that period these were large donations.

The General Court of Massachusetts was willing to aid the young institution, as was and as has been the policy of that state, but would not make any grant until the people in the vicinity showed some interest in the enterprise. Thereupon Deacon Barrows at once began the work of securing subscriptions, \$3,000 being required. The full sum not being at hand at the given time, he became personally responsible for the balance. In 1807, through his efforts, seconded by William C. Whitney, Esq., then a representative to the General Court, a grant of 11,500 acres of land was made, and the same was afterward located by Deacon Barrows in what is now the town of Monson. He continued to act as a member of the board of trustees until his death, in 1837, and was treasurer for nineteen years.

When the building was destroyed by fire, in 1819, an effort was made by the people of Paris to secure the removal of the institution from Hebron to Paris. The agent selected to present the matter to the board of trustees in behalf of Paris was Stephen Emery, then a young man, who, as a student and assistant teacher, had been an inmate of the deacon's family. In the language of the record kept by Elder Tripp, he "pleaded the propriety of removing it to Paris, and W. Barrows and another (presumably the elder himself), against it. The subject was left as it was before and the meeting dissolved." Mr. Emery himself, in describing the interview, said that the good deacon pleaded so earnestly and so feelingly for his "little ewe lamb" that the other members of the board were moved to tears by his appeals.

In addition to his other work for the good of the institution, he very early erected a large house, costing some \$3,000, quite an expensive structure for those days in the country, for the accommodation of students attending the academy. This building was destroyed by fire, December 14, 1814, upon which there was no insurance, but his friends at home and abroad contributed about \$1,000 toward the erection of another of brick, which is now standing. His early efforts in behalf of the education of youth should be greatly appreciated by those who now, or may hereafter, enjoy the increased facilities which those efforts made possible. For this academy he ever worked and for it he continued to pray until his lips ceased to move.

According to his own account, and as is frequently the case with persons in the military service, he came from the army addicted to habits of profanity and vice, but from a sense of propriety he endeavored to bring himself back to his former life of morality. On the memorable dark day, May 19, 1780, he was at work in an iron foundry in Carver. He had spent the night before in merriment, music and dancing. To use his own language, "at the time of the darkness the whole crew of the furnace were exceedingly alarmed; they were filled with consternation and dismay. The master-workman, or foreman, was so filled with terror as to render him entirely unfit for business. He kept walking about in the foundry wringing his hands and exclaiming, 'The day of judgment has come! I expect

soon to see the Son of Man come in the clouds of heaven!'" But when this terrible darkness began to subside the general gloom which hung over the workmen in the foundry began to disappear. It was otherwise, however, with the young man. His convictions grew more pungent and his distress more poignant. He tried to conceal his emotions from his associates. His distress of mind was such that he temporarily left the employment in which he was engaged, but subsequently returned to his work and declared that relief came to him in the words:—"Behold, I stand at the door and knock; if any man hear my voice and open the door I will come in to him and will sup with him and he with me." He, however, did not connect himself with any church in Carver, but, as has been stated, soon after came to Hebron, where no church privileges existed for several years.

Early in the year 1789, Elder James Potter, a man well known in the primitive history of the Baptist denomination in Maine, and whose work in the state corresponded somewhat to that of Rev. Paul Coffin, a diary of whose missionary journeys is among the published proceedings of the Maine Historical Society, came into Hebron and preached there with great effect, and on the twenty-third of August, 1791, a Baptist church of a dozen members was constituted. The subject of this sketch was then baptized, and in a few days connected himself with the new church. August 18, 1792, he was appointed a deacon, which sacred office he sustained with honor to himself and to the satisfaction of his brethren as long as he lived. By this title he was

generally known, and continues to be known in the region round about.

No pastor was settled until 1798, and from the time of his appointment as deacon until that date, the care of the church fell chiefly upon him. Throughout his entire life, while his circumstances permitted, he was foremost with his property in defraying the expenses of the church and all other benevolent enterprises, as he was also foremost in promoting the interests of the academy. In fact the original academy building was used for both church and school purposes. The meeting house and academy building have always been located in immediate proximity, the same bell summoning the citizens to worship and the students to study. He was also instrumental in securing his boyhood friend and neighbor, Rev. John Tripp, as pastor of the church, who arrived in town July 5, 1798, and who continued to minister to the people from that time until his death, in 1847, a period of nearly fifty years.

On March 6, 1797, Deacon Barrows entered into a second marriage with Mrs. Catherine Macomber, who survived him. She was a great aunt of Marshall Jewell, once postmaster-general and minister to Russia, and Harvey Jewell, at one time speaker of Massachusetts House of Representatives and a judge of the court of Alabama claims. She bore him four children, making eleven by both wives, of whom only four survived him, three sons and a daughter. One of these sons was John Stuart Barrows, a member of the Oxford bar and father of Hon. George B. Barrows of Fryeburg. Another son, though not a survivor of

of his father, was William Barrows, jr., who graduated at Dartmouth, in 1806, a classmate of his townsman, Albion K. Parris, Judge Richard Fletcher, Governor Harvey and General Samuel Fessenden, whose sister he married. He was the first principal of the academy, and acted in that capacity for several years after the institution was put into operation, serving therefor at the rate of "\$400 per annum, and he to board himself." Bezaleel Cushman, a native of Hebron, — Dartmouth, 1811, — was his assistant the first term. One of Mr. Barrows' pupils speaks of him as a most popular teacher, "who won the confidence of his students by his urbanity and social disposition. Under his instruction the institution soon gained a celebrity in the surrounding towns that tended greatly to its established permanence."

Governor Parris, in 1855, speaking of him, said : —

I knew him at the district school, for we were here boys together. I knew him through all the academical studies and through our whole college life, for we occupied the same chamber. I was with him in his last sickness, and although more than thirty years have intervened, his calmness and resignation to the Divine will, his faith in the promises so far as regarded his family, are as fresh in my recollection as if the interview had taken place within the year.

Afterward he studied law and began its practice at Yarmouth, where he died, November 18, 1821, at the age of thirty-seven years, leaving three daughters and one son. The oldest daughter, Mary O., married Alexander R. Bradley, Esq., of Fryeburg. Sarah F. married Dr. Thomas F. Perley of Bridgton. Nancy P. married Rev. Franklin Yeaton, for many years a teacher

at Bridgton and New Gloucester, while the son was Judge William Griswold Barrows of Brunswick, whose distinguished services on the supreme bench of Maine and in other departments are well known.

When William Pitt Fessenden was only a few weeks old, he was brought to Fryeburg and cared for by his aunts, and there his childhood was spent. While his Uncle William was preceptor at Hebron he was sent there to be under his charge.

I have heard Deacon Barrows described as tall, spare, erect and venerable in appearance. He was remarkably active until he was gathered to his fathers, November 22, 1837, at the age of nearly eighty-two.

He lies in peace in the cemetery within a few rods of the church which he did so much to sustain, and of the institution of learning which he founded and loved. The marble slab which stands above him was placed there a few years since by his grandsons, Worthy C. Barrows, George B. Barrows and William G. Barrows. He was a good man. He built better than he knew. He has left his impress upon the community and state in which he lived.

In the efforts of Deacon Barrows to establish the academy and to promote the general interests of education, morality and religion in the town, he had a true yokefellow in his boyhood friend, Reverend John Tripp, who, as has been stated, became pastor of the Baptist church at Hebron through his instrumentality.

Elder Tripp, as he was familiarly known by everybody in that section, was born in Dartmouth, now Fair-

haven, Massachusetts, March 25, 1761. He was a descendant of one John Tripp, who was an associate of Roger Williams, in the establishment of the settlement of Providence Plantation, and who, with him, took an active part in the assertion of the principle of "soul liberty," of which Roger Williams was the great apostle. The name is a very numerous one in New Bedford and towns adjacent, all of those bearing it having probably sprung from the John Tripp just mentioned.

His mother's name was Experience Delano, whose father was a man of considerable wealth and standing in the vicinity. His wife's grandfather was active in King Philip's war. His mother, as the Elder frequently stated, was a woman much better educated than was usual in those days, and was anxious that her children should have what was then called "common learning." His parents lived in Dartmouth until 1770, when they moved to that part of Carver then known as Rochester, in the county of Plymouth, where they died at an advanced age.

As his parents lived in an out-of-the-way part of the town, he did not attend school until he was eleven years old. In fact he never attended a common school more than eight or nine months. He has stated that he was anxious to learn, that he learned rapidly and was fond of reading. He says his mind was drawn to arithmetic, and being much at his Grandfather Delano's, a blacksmith, he was taught by his grandfather to cipher with chalk on the bellows.

He had access to very few books, but at different times he had the use of an arithmetic, an epitome of

navigation and geography. He delighted much in them and paid great attention to them, without any teacher, however.

In a sketch of his life, written by himself for the benefit of his children, he says:—

From the age of twelve or thirteen years my mind was given more to learning, perhaps, than to any earthly thing, but oh! what difficulties I had to encounter. My spirits recoil at the review; my feelings are stirred almost to weeping. Want of books, want of time, want of instructors, with only few to encourage me.

He further says:—

The Revolutionary war commenced when I was about fourteen years old, and I went into the service of my country very young. Expenses were heavy, so that my father, had I requested it, could not have consistently sent me abroad to school. By the time I was nineteen years old, however, I had the advantage of my fellow youths as to learning, and had taught a school several winters; but I wanted something more. I wanted a knowledge of English grammar, which was scarcely known, even by name, among my class. I also had a great desire to read the Greek Testament, indeed I thirsted for acquaintance with all the sciences which were usually taught at college.

There were no schools within my knowledge at that time, where English grammar was taught, and no one was capable of teaching it except such as had a college education. I had understood that Elder William Nelson, who lived in the town of Norton, more than twenty miles away from me, had a college education. With the consent of my parents I set out to visit him, to see if he would instruct me and take my work for my board, but before I reached his house I became disheartened and discouraged and turned aside, visited a relative and then returned home.

In the summer of 1782, I heard of a school where the master could teach English grammar. I made arrangements with a man to board me for my work, and for the instructor to teach me, but a grammar was wanting and Bishop Lowthe's was recommended;

indeed, that was the only one that would in any tolerable measure answer the purpose.

I was informed that Reverend Samuel West, D.D., a Congregational minister at New Bedford, had one, and I was advised to borrow it. I called upon him and he was willing to lend it, but observed, "he doubted the ability of the school master to teach what I was after;" but he said, "if I would come to his house and be boy for him (to use his own words), he would board and instruct me without further expense." I gladly embraced the offer, and tarried with him about six weeks. I learned but little more than the groundwork of grammar, but was able afterward to pursue the study without an instructor, especially after other grammars were published, which rendered the study more familiar.

While with Doctor West my thirst for literary knowledge increased, and, as I had access to his library, my desire for books and information was such as almost to make me insane.

In this biographical sketch he expresses his gratitude to Doctor West for the instruction received and for the kind manner in which he was treated.

The Doctor Samuel West referred to above, graduated at Harvard in 1754, and settled in New Bedford in 1761, where he remained until his death, in 1807. He was an active Whig writer during the Revolution, and one of the ablest of the denomination at that time. Josiah Quincy, in 1801, heard him preach, and writes of him as "celebrated for strength and metaphysical acuteness of mind." Another speaks of him as one whose "literary character is among the most eminent in the profession."

He was connected with a very interesting and important event in the early history of the Revolution. His classmate, Doctor Benjamin Church, one of the most brilliant leaders of the early revolutionary period,

was a member of the general court, of the Provincial Congress, surgeon general of the army and director of the hospitals. He was a person of extravagant habits, which very early in the war led to his pecuniary embarrassment. In 1775, while Boston was in a state of siege, he wrote a letter in cipher ostensibly to his brother inside the city, sending it by a young woman with whom he was on terms of criminal intimacy. The mysterious letter was found upon her person, but the doctor having had an opportunity to speak with her, it was only by the use of threats made by General Washington himself, she having been summoned into his presence, that the name of the writer was forced from her. It was then a long time before any one could be found who could decipher it, but at length Doctor Samuel West of New Bedford, succeeded in translating the epistle. The contents so compromised Doctor Church that he was deprived of his official positions and sent out of the country to the West Indies, on a schooner which was never heard from after it sailed from port. So it seems that young Tripp was under the instruction of one of the ablest and most acute clergymen of his day.

For the next five years he taught school on Martha's Vineyard, summer and winter, and, as he says, "divided his spare time between studying the Scriptures and trying to get learning." Books were very scarce. While at Doctor West's he sent to Boston and bought a Lowthe's grammar, and while at the Vineyard he purchased a Johnson's dictionary, and some Latin books and Watts' Logic were given him by friends. In those

early days he also secured a Greek lexicon, a grammar, a Greek Testament, and pursued those studies by himself all the time he was teaching, to enable him to prepare for the profession which he ultimately entered,—that of the ministry.

During these years he studied alone, without a teacher, Latin, some Greek, arithmetic, logic, rhetoric, geometry, trigonometry, of which he was very fond, surveying, navigation, some astronomy and metaphysics. The sketch referred to was written when he was seventy-five years of age, and he states that he has pursued these studies more or less throughout his life. He states that he never had much time to be idle, and that very few can say that they ever called upon him either by day or by night and found him unemployed.

His general practice for many years was, when the nights were long, to retire to rest early, and after some refreshing sleep to rise and pursue his studies. This man, without instructors, by a proper use of his time, which he devoted through a long life to literary studies, as well as to those directly connected with his profession, became in his mature years a man of extensive learning and information. Quite a number of his sermons, addresses and essays have been published in pamphlets, while he wrote quite extensively for the American Baptist Magazine and other religious and secular periodicals.

He was, as has been stated, an original corporator of Hebron Academy, and served the board as its secretary from 1804 until 1847. He was, also, an original trustee of Waterville College, serving on the board for eleven

years, and receiving from the institution, in 1825, the honorary degree of Master of Arts.

The efforts of this young man to secure an education under such disadvantages may well serve as an example to the youth of today who enjoy such increased facilities over the boy of the past. There is no royal road to learning, however; increased facilities may assist the striver after knowledge, but real knowledge can only be secured under any circumstances by diligence, faithfulness and a proper use of one's time.

At the age of sixteen he entered the military service of his country for a short time, being stationed somewhere in Narragansett. While there he with others volunteered to capture a company of Hessians in camp on Canonicut island near by. A few shots were exchanged, but the only trophy of the expedition was one solitary Hessian who was taken prisoner. For some time after this he engaged in coasting from New Bedford to Connecticut ports, carrying salt and other articles to exchange for produce, chiefly breadstuff.

At one time while on a cruise with two elder brothers, he met with difficulty in getting away on account of an embargo on a portion of his load. The only remedy was to apply to the governor for help. Jonathan Trumbull was then filling that office. A written address was drawn up by young Tripp who says, in his sketch, that he did the best he could, and all signed it. The next day, not having with him a change of outside clothing, he put on the best short jacket the schooner afforded, rode twenty miles and stood before his Excellency. The petition was presented and read by the

governor's clerk. The governor asked several questions and among others who wrote the petition. The questions were satisfactorily answered, and the governor furnished the sailors with a permit to take away their load. That was when Tripp was seventeen years of age.

Under date of March 2, 1779, the general court of Massachusetts, granted him, by vote, a recommendation to the governor of Connecticut so that he could trade with the different parts of that colony without such interruption as has been referred to.

At this time the British had possession of Rhode Island, and in going to Connecticut ports, it was necessary for the young sailors to pass this island by night. Once, however, on returning he was becalmed and was obliged to hazard the passage in the daytime. He describes his experience in this way: —

I soon discovered something a little forward of the weather beam that looked like a very small sail; immediately I saw another and then another, until I counted thirteen. We had no way of escaping, but to keep on our course with all possible speed. As the fleet was partly meeting us, they approached very fast. However we crossed their course before they came. They appeared to take no notice of us, but passed on to Newport, within perhaps two miles of us, but I observed a little sloop left the fleet and gave chase to a privateer schooner that was ahead of us, but she was not in a condition to defend herself as I supposed. The sloop soon gave up the chase and on returning to her company discovered us and gave us chase. Seeing our danger I bore away somewhat out of our course, and stood for the mainland a little north of Seconet rock. We got close in with the land, but I thought not immediately to run ashore, but to keep off as long as we could, hoping that the schooner would not venture to follow

us much further. After firing at us twice she put about and followed the fleet. We were driven some distance out of our way, but we soon hove about also and beat around Seconet point, and arrived home in safety.

The old gentleman in his sketch expresses gratification that through all this danger which lasted several hours, he was not put in the least flurry or confusion.

In the fall of the same year he had a similar experience, but did not come off so easily, for he was obliged to beach his craft and to lose almost his entire cargo of salt, which he was bringing from Connecticut to his home in Massachusetts. He always had a great fondness for the sea, and during his career as a preacher drew frequent illustrations from a sailor's life.

In 1778, New Bedford was burned by the enemy and Tripp, then seventeen years of age, was a witness to the affair. This destruction is chronicled at some length in his autobiography.

He closes the account of his Revolutionary experiences in these words:—

Dear children, little do you and others know of the fears, sufferings and struggles of your parents and grandparents in defense of the rights you so largely enjoy. Oh! that you may never betray those privileges into the hands of oppressors and ever be thankful to God for what you now possess.

His father and mother were Quakers, and so religiously trained the young man in the way he should go. He early gave thought to religious subjects and connected himself with the Second Baptist church in Mid-delboro, in the early part of July, 1774, before he was fourteen years of age. His religious experiences from that time until his old age are vividly and minutely

and in great detail, as was the custom of the time, set out in his autobiography.

Like his friend, Deacon Barrows, he was greatly stirred by the occurrences of the dark day, May 19, 1780, he then being about nineteen years of age. He says:—

Although I felt much alarm I was calm and able to reflect, and was able to inquire in my mind for evidence that I was prepared for the day of judgment. I felt solemn for several days and even better in my mind than I had for a long time before, but much condemned for my conformity to the world.

He received a license to preach September 18, 1787, when about twenty-six years of age. He explains to his children in his sketch the minute mental exercises experienced by him before he came to the conclusion that he had a call to preach. He says:—

I have been thus particular on my call to the ministry, not merely to gratify my own feelings, but to let others, who have greater privileges, know how the mind of a youth, even a child, for the most part of the time removed from ministers, every vestige of books and other human helps, may be led by the scripture, and I hope by the spirit of God, to preach the everlasting gospel.

During his entire public life he kept a diary which is now in the library of Colby University. He preached at Attleboro, July 21, 1789, before his ordination and on returning home the diary shows him to have been in dire distress. He records:—

I am troubled for the Baptists with regard to several things: (1) Ministers insist upon pay for preaching and are not content with a free and voluntary contribution for their support. (2) Secular force is plead for by some in religious matters where it ought not to be used. (3) Ministers are too metaphysical in their sentiments by which I think they sometimes depart from the

simplicity of truth; and (4) singing is carried on in their religious meetings even by the lightest of the assembly (i.e.) the youth who love vanity as well as music.

He was ordained September 28, 1791. From the time of his license until 1798 he supplied the churches at Carver and Middleboro to the general acceptance of both.

On the twenty-fifth of April, 1792, he started from Plymouth in a sailing vessel "on a mission to the eastward." The following entries appear in his diary:—

Came out of Plymouth and reached Salem; detained there by a severe storm of wind and rain. Went on shore and preached at Danvers on the twenty-seventh. On the twenty-eighth the vessel left me at Salem and I went to Boston where on the next day I preached in the morning for Reverend Doctor Thomas Baldwin, and in the evening before the Young Men's Society. The next day I preached at Madam Emmons. On the evening of May 1, we sailed from Boston to Portland where we arrived on the morning of the third, and traveled to Stephen Washburn's in New Gloucester, and on the next day I reached the house of my old friend William Barrows in Hebron.

This was Saturday.

No meeting house had then been erected in the town and so he preached the next day at the house of Samuel Parris (father of Albion K. Parris before referred to). He then continued his journey, preaching almost every day and evening in meeting houses, private houses and barns, through Buckfield, Farmington, Readfield, Whitefield and Gardiner, from which port he sailed for Boston, reaching his home in Carver June 1, on which date his diary contains this entry: "Got home, found all well, Oh! may I praise God."

In 1793 he made a missionary journey on Cape Cod,

and another one in 1794, with Freeman Backus and Isaac Case (the latter well known among the early Baptists in this state) as far west as Sturbridge. His diary during this time, as in fact through all his life, shows a most remarkable dejection of mind and soul and depreciation of his ability and religious condition. But the journey to western Massachusetts seems to have raised his spirits somewhat, for in the diary on reaching home appears this entry: "Preached in our meeting house with greater freedom of soul than I have had for some time." However the tendency to self depreciation soon returned, for only a few days afterwards he makes this entry:—

Preached in the meeting house with some feeling, especially in the forenoon, but sunk into some dejection in the evening on account of outward trials, especially the rage of a neighbor against me, as I heard, for preaching that faith and love were necessary or essential to an acceptable prayer to God. Oh! poor feeble, helpless sinner that I am.

Two days after he went to hear Benjamin Bumpus preach, "and a wretched Arminian sermon it was." During his entire ministry at Carver from 1788 to 1798 he taught school every winter.

In September 1795, he visited his brother who lived twenty-five miles west of Albany, a long journey in those days, and upon returning October 15, he made the following entry:—

Through the blessing of a kind providence and a most merciful God I reached home in health and find my family well, for which I wish to be thankful, but, alas, I am an unthankful, sinful creature; may God have mercy on me.

His wife's parents having removed to Sandy River

in this state, in June 1797, he and his wife made a journey to that region to visit them. He intended to call upon his friend, William Barrows, at this time but did not find it convenient to do so. Sometime after returning home he received a letter from Deacon Barrows, requesting him to come to Hebron and exercise his gifts with the church, at that place. He was rejoiced to receive it and finally after repeated conferences with his brethren at Carver, decided early the next year to take up his abode in Maine. He started from Boston, June 28, 1798 and reached Hebron the fifth day of July. On his way he preached in Portland "with not much freedom, yet very acceptably to the saints. The praise belongs to God."

On October 20, 1798, the church extended to him a formal call to become its pastor. The invitation was written by Deacon William Barrows, and was in the following form:—

The Baptist Church of Christ in Hebron to our beloved brother, John Tripp:—

Whereas, it has pleased God to conduct you into this place agreeably to our request, and has given us an opportunity of attending your improvements in the ministry, and whereas, you have given us satisfaction respecting your call to the work — we trust it is of God — and being sensible we stand in need of an administrator and pastor in this church; we therefore request that you would take the oversight of this church under the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls. We, in our present circumstances, can add but little to your temporal interest. We have subscribed about one hundred pounds for a settlement, which we freely give to you, providing you comply with our request and continue our minister for such a term as justice shall approbate. We also hope that through the blessing of God we shall be en-

abled to communicate something toward your support, as shall appear duty on our part. It is not our meaning that you should be confined with us any longer than duty calls you here.

Now praying that God would grant you much assistance in the great work whereunto we trust you are called, and direct you in your answer to us, and the very God of peace sanctify you wholly, and we pray God your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Faithful is He that calleth you, who also will do it. Brother, pray for us. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you. Amen.

Signed, in behalf of the church,

WILLIAM BARROWS.

HOLMES THOMAS.

In church meeting, October 2, 1798.

On account of "difficulties subsisting among the church," he made no formal reply until January 5, 1799, when he sent the church a letter accepting the invitation extended.

In the course of the letter he said :—

You freely offer me one hundred pounds for a settlement ; besides, you proffer your assistance toward my annual support as duty shall appear. Brethren, I freely receive your bounty as generous and sufficient, with such yearly help as you shall rationally judge proper, considering your circumstances and mine.

You suggest in your call that if I receive your settlement, justice will require that I continue with you some time, though you say not how long. This is reasonable, and, if you please, I will propose that you give me full possession of the said settlement, and if I am taken away from you by death sooner or later (solemn thought), it shall belong to my heirs forever. If I live in your service twenty years, it shall then be mine without reserve. But if I should live and yet leave you short of twenty years, and am the faulty cause of it myself, I will be under obligation to refund the aforesaid hundred pounds in proportion to the time I lack of tarrying with you twenty years. That is, if I lack fifteen years

of tarrying with you twenty years, then I will refund three-quarters of the settlement. If I lack ten years, I will refund half the sum; and if I lack five years, then I will refund a quarter.

You say you do not mean I should be confined with you any longer than duty calls. I heartily agree with it; for, although my present view is never to leave you while I live, yet I know not what may be duty hereafter. I wish to make the reserve of visiting my friends to the westward once a year, if the Lord will, at least as long as my parents live, if God should be pleased to continue my life. As to my occasional preaching abroad, I need only say, I hope not strictly to be bound, nor yet to be unsteady or unfaithful in discharge of duty among you.

O, my brethren, I am a great sinner! Forgive my unworthiness! Pray that I may be holy. Be faithful in your admonitions. Exercise toward your unworthy pastor that charity which covereth a multitude of sins.

On February 13, 1799, a council was held at Hebron, with the aid of which the new pastor was to be installed. To the council the new pastor read the following letter from the church at Carver:—

The Baptist Church of Christ in Carver, to our sister church at Hebron, sendeth Christian salutation:—

DEAR BRETHREN. — Whereas, our beloved pastor, John Tripp, is contemplating a removal of his family into your town, and requests our concurrence therein, we hereby certify that we have considered his request and cannot judge it unreasonable, for, although we earnestly wish for his labors amongst us, yet his temporal circumstances seem to forbid it.

It is nearly ten years since he has labored more or less amongst us as a preacher, and more than six years ago he joined with us in forming a church in this place, and was soon after ordained our pastor, and a happy union and a Christian tenderness and affection have ever since subsisted between us. And it is with reluctance that we now consent that he should leave us, but cannot oppose it lest we oppose the providence of God.

We recommend him as sound in the faith of the Gospel, and of a sober life and conversation, and we are this day in fellowship, love and affection with him.

We pray that it may please our merciful God to prolong his days and make his life useful among you, and that you may be mutually helpful, one to the other. Now desiring that God will prosper you in spiritual things, and asking your prayers for us, we rest your brethren in the Gospel of Christ.

Signed, in behalf of the church,

ROWLAND HAMMOND, } *Deacons.*
BILLA BRYANT, }

March 30, 1798.

He was duly installed the next day, February 14, 1799. The services were held in the house of Deacon Barrows. The sermon was preached by Elder James Potter, who took for his text 1 Tim. 4: 16; "Take heed unto thyself and unto the doctrine. Continue in them, for in doing this thou shalt both save thyself and them that hear thee." The right hand of fellowship was extended by Elder James Hooper of Paris.

No meeting house had yet been erected in Hebron, though a church had been organized since August 23, 1791, and so his preaching, until the erection of the academy building, in 1803, seems to have been in private houses and barns, the houses of Deacon Barrows, Benjamin Barrows and Samuel Parris being most frequently so used. His ministrations were not confined to Hebron, but extended into Paris, Minot, Poland, Buckfield and Livermore, with occasional journeys to the eastward, especially toward the Sandy River region, where his wife's parents resided. Under date of March 4, 1801, his diary shows him to have been at the latter place, where he baptized Doctor Cyrus Hamlin, with

whom afterward he was long associated on the board of trustees of the academy. On October 14, 1800, occurs this entry:—"Went to the funeral of old Mr. Hughes and heard a Methodist preacher, but not much to my satisfaction."

In 1802 he was appointed by the Massachusetts Missionary Society as a missionary in eastern Maine and northern New Hampshire, and he made several journeys about that time as far east as Mt. Desert, and as far north as the Canada line, going via Fryeburg, Conway, Crawford Notch, which he describes as "solemn and delightful," Jefferson, Lancaster and Shelburne, preaching almost every day and evening as he traveled along.

Evidently believing that he was called to preach, he exercised his gifts on all occasions, the following entry appearing in his diary under date of July 9, 1801:—"Preached at a marriage at Mr. Jesse Fuller's." And again, later:—"Preached a short discourse at brother T. Dunham's; his daughter was married." And again, the same year:—"Preached and solemnized marriage at Mr. Snow Keene's."

Under date of December 22, 1802, he records:—

This morning great sorrow of heart that our two deacons left our meeting house because I was absent, and went to the Congregational meeting, leaving a few feeble brethren to carry on our meeting; sorry not because they went to the other meeting, but because they left ours.

On June 25, 1806, his diary mentions the remarkable eclipse of the sun when "two stars appeared. It was a solemn occasion, and reminded me of the end

of the world and the failing of sight on approach of death."

During his ministry he delivered many addresses on public occasions, one on the death of General Washington, delivered February 22, 1800, in a house on Greenwood Hill, the manuscript of which is in the Colby library, and several orations before the Tyrocinic Adelphi, a literary society formed in Hebron in 1803, by William Barrows, jr., Albion K. Parris and Bezaleel Cushman, and which was continued in connection with the academy for many years.

Elder Tripp was not accustomed to read written sermons, though he never went into the pulpit without the skeleton of his discourse on a sheet of paper before him. He never went into the pulpit unprepared to fill out that skeleton as it should be. He viewed the practice of reading to be an "unnatural way of personally addressing a present audience, far less calculated to interest either speaker or hearer," declaring further in his autobiography that "reading a sermon cramps the usefulness of the thoughts and imagination, renders the speaker less ready for the sudden and familiar address, and without authority in Scripture. I have thought it worthy of remark, and it cannot be denied, that there are unlearned ministers who are sufficiently correct in their discourses without writing and reading them; but after some of our youths have been through a course of study, they are rendered, it would seem, less capable of delivering an unwritten sermon than many others without their advantages. This, to me, is the strongest argument against ministerial education." He

seemed to regard the manuscript as a hindrance to the free course of the Holy Spirit.

On special occasions, however, he delivered a written sermon, for in his diary, under date of April 15, 1815, appears this entry : — “National Thanksgiving. Read a discourse in the academy, by which I perceived by experience, as well as opinion, that reading is not preaching.”

In the establishment of the academy at Hebron, Deacon Barrows was its main stay, and put his all at stake in prosecuting his favorite enterprise, but in the undertaking he was sustained and encouraged by the pastor of the church, who had himself experienced such difficulties in securing an education. They both realized that an academy is a center from which radiates an influence over a wide extent of country ; a quickening, inspiring influence, awakening a desire and originating a purpose in many minds for a liberal education. Every well conducted academy becomes the center of such an influence. Mark Hopkins, the distinguished president of Williams, who was reared in a rural town, not far away, recognized such an inspiring effect when he declared : — “But for Williams College I have no reason to suppose I should myself have been liberally educated.”

The presence of this academy has been no exception to the principle, but has served for nearly ninety years as a constant educational incentive to thousands of boys and girls in the region round about. Elder Tripp himself, whose counsels were felt in the administration of the institution's affairs for forty-three years, also

recognized the principle when he declared that the influence of the academy had been of great literary advantage to him and his family; that he had been enabled to give to his children a decent education, and that two had prepared themselves for college within its walls.

The first class graduated from Waterville consisted of only two members, George Dana Boardman, the well known missionary to the Karens, and the other, Ephraim Tripp, a son of the pastor, afterward a tutor in the college, and then a teacher of note in the South.

Elder Tripp continued as pastor of the Hebron church until September 16, 1847, when he died at the ripe old age of eighty-six years and six months. Not long before his death he declared that "the precious truths I profess and have long held forth to the world are my support in prospect of eternity and are sweet to my taste." His body lies buried within twenty feet of the pulpit he so long and so faithfully and ably filled, while the tombstone above his mortal body bears this tender tribute to his memory :—

A faithful minister of the gospel fifty-six years, and pastor of the First Baptist church in Hebron forty-nine years. Beloved by his people and respected by all who knew him. Erected by young men.

The settlers of this small rural town early established the institutions of religion in their midst. The song of praise woke the echoes along with the crash of falling trees, and the prayer of faith ascended to

heaven with the smoke of the burning forest. The whole atmosphere was charged with their supplications and devoted courage ; and while succeeding generations are enjoying the results of their piety and vigor, let all who are inclined to ridicule the simple faith of the fathers take earnest heed that they leave to their successors as bright examples of honesty and right living as their ancestors left to them.

In the opinion of many, it may be, these men were weak, deluded, simple, credulous, narrow minded souls, who needed some of the broadening influences of the present age to render them even tolerable. But they were no bigots. They placed religion first, it is true. In their economy the church was first in order of importance, but they very soon sought science as her friendly ally and established, in their wilderness home, the school and the academy.

Nor were these men mere weaklings moved only by sickly emotion and sentiment. They had the rugged material of which heroes are made. They were poor in purse, it is true, but they were full of faith and steadfastness and moral vigor. Even in their tender youth they both faced the cannon of the public enemy and full of clear convictions never flinched at any duty. These and others like them were the flower of Massachusetts youth who penetrated the forests of Maine, whose hands were hardened with the strokes of the ax and whose faces were blackened with the smoke of the clearing, who with their own hands reared their habitations, and in them set up their household gods.

These were the men who laid deep the foundations of our towns and our institutions, organizations which have been the nurseries of those stalwart intelligent men, distinguished for fidelity, integrity and enterprise, whom no obstacles have daunted, no project has baffled, men, who living with us have conferred honor upon the state of their birth, or leaving us for more inviting fields have become eminent throughout the country in every department of life's activities.

MILITARY OPERATIONS AT PEMAQUID, IN THE SECOND WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

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

Read before the Maine Historical Society, May 20, 1886.

THE ruins of old Fort Frederic at Pemaquid were occupied twice during the second war with Great Britain. On Saturday, September 4, 1813, the Boxer, a British vessel, anchored near John's Island, and the next morning sent a boat with a flag of truce up the harbor, with a request for permission to board a schooner in the harbor bearing the Swedish flag. The Harrington militia company, Captain John Sproul, had been ordered out for drill on Saturday, and on the appearance of the Boxer, Captain Sproul, with a part of his men, repaired to the site of the old fort, and were there on the approach of the flag of truce. Captain Sproul deemed it best to grant the request; but while the British officer was on board of the schooner a signal from the Boxer was given, recalling the boat. It had been discovered that the Enterprise was approaching from the west, and the Boxer hastened out to meet her fate.

In June, 1814, the Harrington company, still under the command of Captain Sproul, was again at Fort Frederic. The Bulwark, a British seventy-four gun ship, was then on the coast of Maine. The night of June 29, was thick with fog. Very early on

the morning of June 30, the guards at the fort detected the sound of oars. Barges from the Bulwark were quietly making their way into the harbor, under cover of the fog. The guards hailed them, and as the boats continued to approach they opened fire, which was returned. There was little, if any loss on either side, as the fire was aimless, and after a short time the enemy withdrew.

It was at once conjectured by Captain Sproul and his men, that the enemy would pass around Pemaquid Point and attempt to land at New Harbor. They accordingly left the Fort and hurriedly made their way thither. In their conjecture they were right. Just at dawn, on the morning of the thirtieth, three barges were discovered at the south of New Harbor. Two of the barges entered the harbor, but a heavy fire of musketry on the part of the Americans compelled them to withdraw, after suffering considerable loss in killed and wounded.

In Johnston's "History of Bristol and Bremen," in connection with the account of this British attack at Pemaquid and New Harbor, June 30, 1814, there is a note (page 413) by the author, in which he says:—

It is believed that Colonel Robert Day sent to General King a full report of the affair at New Harbor, and that it was made use of in Washington twelve or fourteen years ago, in establishing some soldiers' claims; but at the author's request search was made at the proper office and the document could not be found.

In September, 1882, at a field-day meeting of the Maine Historical Society at Damariscotta, Mr. Edwin Stone of Orange, Massachusetts, who has had much to

do with pension claims, called my attention to what is doubtless the missing record referred to in this note. In the report of the secretary of war to the House of Representatives, May 10, 1828, upon the claims of Massachusetts for services rendered during the war of 1812, page forty, occurs the following :—

In the regimental report made by Lieutenant Colonel Day for the thirtieth of June and July 1, 1814, he has noted in the column of remarks as follows :—

“On the night of the twenty-ninth instant, at twenty minutes past one o'clock A.M., our guards were attacked at Pemaquid old fort by three of the enemy's barges, supposed three hundred men, when hailed by our guards, and immediately commenced firing, succeeded, however, in driving them off. The barges then proceeded to New Harbor, where they made an attempt to land at ten minutes past four o'clock, A.M., where they met with a warm reception by our guards and militia; they were, however, beaten off, and supposed a number killed, as they were seen to fall. We had one man slightly wounded.

ROBERT DAY,
Second Regt., Second Brig., Eleventh Div.”

The following list of the officers and men comprising the Harrington militia company, occupying the old fort at that time, is furnished by Mr. Stone :—

Captain, John Sproul.	William McKown,
Lieutenant, Arthur Cox.	James Blackwell,
Ensign, John Russell.	James Thompson,
<i>Sergeants.</i>	Rufus Curtis,
Henry Fassett,	George Fassett,
Jeremiah Bean,	William McCobb,
William Cox.	Thomas Fassett,
<i>Musicians.</i>	Henry Fassett,
Thomas Calderwood,	Robert Russell,
Henry McGuire.	James Russell,
<i>Privates.</i>	John Calderwood,
James Norton, junior,	Samuel Clark, junior,
John Little,	Samuel Blunt,

William Johnston,
Miles Thompson, junior,
Charles Nichols,
Alexander Fassett, 2,
Samuel Nichols,
Thomas Nichols,
Michael Poland,
James McGuire,
William Davis,
W. Sproul,
Patrick Lotler,
William Morton,
Jacob Humphries,
Samuel Tibbetts,
George Russell,
Samuel Childs,
Hugh Little, junior,
Alexander Foster,
Thomas Brackett, junior,
James Fassett,
Joel Sibley,
Alexander Greenland,

William Sproul,
Samuel Curtis,
John Clark,
Edward Young,
Alexander Nichols,
Thomas Gamage,
Ambrose Jones,
Benjamin Simonton,
James Hackleton,
Nicholas Davis,
Thomas Pinkham,
Otis Pinkham,
James Porterfield,
Enoch Hatch,
Benjamin Tuckey,
William Russell, junior,
William Porterfield,
James Robinson,
George McFarland,
John Lawton,
John Chapman,
George McCobb.

SKETCHES OF THE LIVES OF EARLY MAINE MINISTERS.

BY WILLIAM D. WILLIAMSON.

*Presented to the Maine Historical Society, with an Introduction by Joseph
Williamson, December 10, 1891.*

[CONTINUED.]

REV. GEORGE BURDET, A.D. 1638.

THE third preacher resident in Maine, was Rev. George Burdet.¹ He came to Salem in 1635, from England, where he was born and educated, and admitted to priests' orders. Mr. Hubbard says: — "He was an able scholar, of plausible parts and carriage, a person of better knowledge and learning than other abilities fit for that sacred function." His story was that he had left Yarmouth, in England, because of the quarrel he had with the "bishops and ceremonies" of the established church at home; consequently he was received with open arms into the Salem church, admitted a freeman in September of the same year, and employed to preach a twelve-month or more in that place. For his services there, he not only received the applause of the people, but also grants of lands.

But in a short time he became restless, for the discipline of the church in Salem was, in fact, as much too rigid as that of the English church had been, according to his pretensions, too formal and lax; therefore, in 1636, he removed to Dover, in New Hampshire. Here he was received with welcome, and as it was his

¹ "Burditt." Farmer.

ambition rather to curry favor and catch the popular breath, than to convert sinners, he soon found that his artful manners and insinuating address had acquired him success, and given him power to control the voice of the people; and, agreeably to his wishes, they elected him governor of the plantation against all opposition. Burdet, being now preacher, politician and chief magistrate, assumed to exercise the prerogatives, both of civil and ecclesiastical sovereignty. In the mean time, John Mason, the original patentee of the whole colony, deceased, an event which Burdet calculated would render him for a time secure against the heirs, and also against certain claims of Massachusetts to the territory, provided he could gain the favor of the ministry at home. He supposed that a watchful jealousy over Massachusetts would appear most meritorious in the prime minister's view, and he wrote to Archbishop Laud thus:—

I have delayed going to England, that I might fully inform myself of the state of the place as to allegiance, for it was not new discipline which was aimed at but sovereignty, and it has been accounted perjury and treason to speak of appeals to the king.

A copy of this letter was afterward found in his closet, and in the summer of 1638, the archbishop sent him an answer, thanking him for the care of his Majesty's service, and promising him a redress of the disorders as soon as relief from other weighty matters would allow. This letter was intercepted and shown to the governor of Massachusetts, as Winthrop says, and it incensed him the more because Burdet was a freeman of that colony, having taken the oath of alle-

giance. Burdet was so highly affronted because the above letter to him had been opened, and also because a letter had been received by his Dover friends from the governor, advising them to beware of him, that he wrote an insulting letter to the governor, in which he refused to give the latter his title. His true character could no longer remain a secret, for, being detected in some acts of badness, he made a precipitate retreat, in the latter part of the year 1638, to Agamenticus.

At that period, the whole province of New Somersetshire, as Maine was then called, was then in a disordered state. William Gorges, the governor, had returned home. Sir Ferdinando, who had been appointed governor-general of New England, had not arrived; there was political confusion in New Hampshire, sectarian dissensions in Massachusetts, and even a royal order had been issued to recall her charter. Burdet, now at Agamenticus, resolved to take the reins of power and yield to his passions' unbridled influence. His knowledge of mankind was by no means small. Common people and superficial minds are pleased with novelties; changes are their playthings. They are not unfrequently captivated with strangers; the more when they appear under a ministerial garb. This plantation had just been left by the excellent Mr. Tompson, whose example and preaching had wakened thought and feeling. Good fruits, as well as fragrant flowers, were springing from the precious seed he had sowed. But Burdet, a destroying angel, came; spirit of evil. True, he planted, but it was tares; he professed love, yet none passing his love of women. Nay,

fearfully, the man never was born but once. In short, how appears the messenger of glad tidings, ever, that loves a ruler's chair more than his Master's altar; that leaves his flock for a place of political promotion? Why did he enter into the immediate service of his Lord if he did not prefer it to all others, and prize the gospel ministry as his chief joy?

Governor Thomas Gorges, on his arrival at Agamenticus in 1640, found affairs, both religious and political, in lamentable disorder. Burdet was found to be the master spirit of the place, the pretended depositary of law and Scripture, which he was artful enough to expound so as to justify or excuse the whole of his conduct, which he could not keep secret. At the first court, however, under the new administration, the grand jury brought in three indictments against him, namely: for adultery,¹ for breaches of the peace, and for slander; and being on his trial convicted on each one, he was sentenced by the court to pay thirty-five pounds in fines. He appealed, and claimed the right of a rehearing in England. But Governor Gorges told him the charter of Maine gave him no such right, and, therefore, ordered his property to be seized and sold in execution of his sentence. In return, he denounced vengeance against his judges, uttered abundant imprecations upon the country, as fleeing servants are apt to do, and, having now become infamous, he gathered up the remains of his effects and embarked for England. There his anticipations of redress were soon withered, for taking sides with one party in the civil wars, he was seized and thrown into prison by the

¹ Willis. 271.

other, and we afterward hear no more of this troublesome man. He dwelt at Agamenticus about two years. He had no family, perhaps no kindred here, to be sufferers for his disgrace. There were none to regret his departure; nor is he the only man of abilities and accomplishments, nor yet the first clerical character whom crime has cloven down to ruin. He was evidently endued with superior talents, and was accredited a "scholar," an appellation given to no other in his day than a man of a liberal education, and he had his, probably, at one of the English universities. For his natural and acquired abilities he is to be respected; for his perversion of them, and infamy of character, he is to be despised. This notice, though not due to his merits, may be a memento, how the portraiture "a man draws of his own life, good or evil, is more enduring than marble engraved," for it outlives him, and though it be man's duty to forgive, he is nowhere commanded to forget.

REVEREND JOSEPH HULL.

1639.¹ The next, and fourth preacher in Maine, was the Reverend Joseph Hull. His ministrations were partly in Agamenticus, principally on the Isles of Shoals. He was a minister in England, and probably had a university education. On becoming a non-conformist he emigrated to Massachusetts, and was made a freeman A.D. 1635. In the same year "twenty-one families with him were allowed to sit down at Wesse-

¹ Rev. Joseph Hull preached in Weymouth, 1636. Folsom's history of Saco and Biddeford, 82, 178. His daughter, Mrs. Heard. ² Magnal, 512.

gusset, now Weymouth." If he was not the settled minister of that plantation, he was preaching there the next year, and perhaps subsequently, for we are told it was in May, 1639, when he gave his farewell sermon there. His next ministerial labors were evidently on the Isles of Shoals, for it is stated in a description of them¹ that "sometime before the year 1641, the inhabitants of those islands erected a meeting house on Hog Island, and at this period the Reverend Mr. Hull was their minister." In 1644, Governor Winthrop, making mention of a transaction at Agamenticus, introduces "the son of Mr. Hull, *their* minister,"² whereby we may infer his pastoral services were not confined to these isles. The mention made of that meeting house, of a "church-chapel" at Agamenticus in 1641, and of a church on the point at Winter Harbor, in 1642, are the earliest which have been noticed in this state.

These Isles of Shoals were first discovered in 1614, by Captain John Smith; eight being the number of the whole cluster, viz.: Haley's, Hog, Duch, Cedar, Malaga, on the main side of the line; Star, White and Londoners on the other side; of which Hog, Star and Haley's are the largest, the three containing six hundred acres. Star Island, of one hundred and fifty acres, is now Gosport.³ At different periods before the Revolutionary war, those islands contained "from three to six hundred souls." On Hog Island, now without inhabitants, there have been, at the same time, more than twenty families, and on Haley's Island there

¹ Mass. Hist. Col. vii, 254.

² Sav. Winth. p. 210. Phinehas of Kittery. Folsom, 178.

³ Mass. Hist. Col. ii. p. 312. In 1728, Gosport paid a Provincial tax to N. H. of £16, 0s, 4d, as her part of £1,000. Mass. Hist. Soc. vii, p. 246.

was a court house. The present meeting house is on Star Island. When the Revolutionary war commenced, about twenty families removed to York; others dispersed to remote seaport towns along the coast, and never returned.

Mr. Hull was probably considered the successor of Reverend William Tompson, though Burdet was at Agamenticus before, and while Mr. Hull was there, and Mr. Gibson did not quit the Shoals till 1642. It is supposed Mr. Hull left them about the year 1644 or 1645, but there is not much recorded either of him or his ministry; nor is it known when or where he died. During his residence there, a circumstance connected with public worship may be noticed in this place. In 1639, the Puritan reformers were disposed to have restored among them *the singing of Psalms*. They had been translated by Sternhold and Hopkins into meter and usually annexed to the end of their Bibles, but the poetry was poor, and the sense sometimes perverted. Therefore, the New England ministers caused them to be put into more literal, if not better rhyme, and printed in 1640, since denominated the New England Psalm Book. The translators say:—"We rather aimed to have a plain translation, than to smooth our verses with the sweetness of any paraphrase: to respect conscience, rather than elegance; fidelity, rather than ingenuity; that so we may sing in Zion the Lord's songs of praise, according to his own will, until he bid us enter into our Master's joy, and sing eternal hallelujhas."¹ In the earliest periods of Plymouth Colony, the public reading of the Scriptures, and of

¹ Magnal, 367.

the Lord's prayer, was not practiced in public worship; nor was the Psalm read from the pulpit before singing it. In a few years, however, perhaps A.D. 1629, at the instance of a pious brother, who was unable from some cause to read, a deacon read it line by line, and then the congregation sang it; hence the practice became general till about the commencement of the American Revolution.

REVEREND ROBERT JORDAN.

1640. Reverend Robert Jordan was the fifth preacher, and first settled minister in Maine. He was the successor of Reverend Mr. Gibson, and arrived at Spurwink in 1640, about the time the latter left that place for Portsmouth. Mr. Jordan came to this country, it is believed, under the auspices of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who was, at that time, exerting an administration under his new charter of Maine, and of Robert Trelawney, who, with one Moses Goodyear, had, nine years before, obtained a patent of Richmond Island, and what is the present town of Cape Elizabeth. He was a young Episcopal minister, under twenty-nine years of age, when he arrived, who would acquire distinction and make his fortune. Faithful to high church and royal prerogatives, he immediately entered upon his priestly ministrations: a subject of the surplice, the liturgy and the formulas, as prescribed by his metropolitan church.

Let it be noted here, that the coming of those emigrants who were of his political and religious senti-

ment, was rather from motives of gain than principle. They would make money, become wealthy, and copy the forms of worship, and the ritual, which, though left behind, they still loved. Nay, they would espouse the politics of the mother-country, please kings and bishops, and, in a word, form a community strictly English. They believed in the establishments of old, as founded in the wisdom and benevolence of ages. But the Puritans aimed at reform that reached the heart and embraced the life. No veneration, in their opinion, was due to usages not founded in Scripture, nor to forms not fraught with reason. Liberty to think, to believe, to worship, as the Bible and conscience dictated, was a right, they said, which he who made them had given them, and by his will and word they would regulate their duties, as he was their final judge. Though they were friends to their native country and its true interests, they had no affection for a priesthood or a royalty, which had so frequently made their hearts bleed. They came into this country to promote pristine religion and free principles; unshackled by dictation, uninterrupted by sinful or senseless forms, and they would be conscientious freemen and independent believers.

It is easy to perceive that a state, settling and filling with people of such discordance in politics, and tenents, must be a region of dissension and controversy. Yet such was the condition of Maine, in this being different from Massachusetts, Plymouth and Connecticut. They received accessions from the latter class of emigrants, Maine from the former; also those who

fled hither from persecution, altogether exceeded those who came over of choice, and hence, the reason why those colonies flourished better than this.

Mr. Jordan was, without doubt, a man of good sense and good judgment; of enterprise, fidelity and perseverance. As he had been educated for the ministry, and admitted to priests' orders before his arrival, we may justly suppose his education was liberal and classic, perhaps finished at one of the English universities. In a short time he married Sarah, the only child of John Winter, and devoted himself to ministerial services till 1645, the year his father-in-law died. Being executor of his will, he soon found himself deeply involved, and engaged in secular business. For Trelawney and Goodyeare, above mentioned, were merchants in Plymouth, England; Mr. Winter, "a grave and discreet man," as their sole agent, had managed an extensive trade for them in the fisheries at Richmond Island, about thirteen years, without finally closing any material settlement. Mr. Jordan found the plantation heavily in debt to his testator's estate, a greater part, one author¹ says "the whole," of which was only sufficient to pay it. Such part he took by process of law about 1648, and retaining it in right of his wife, the devisee, and sole heir of her father, he became an extensive freeholder, and began to take a part in public affairs. These legal proceedings were in the Lygonian court, organized two years before, under order of the proprietor, Colonel Rigby, in which Mr. Jordan was one of the court, or assistants; an office he con-

¹ Folsom's S. & B., page 80.

tinued to hold till the termination of Rigby's jurisdictional claim.

But in 1653 and 1654, when Massachusetts, on a re-survey of her charter limits, laid claim to the Lygonian Province, his opposition was so bold and decided as to render him obnoxious to prosecutions, and several presentments were actually threatened against him. Unrestrained and unawed by these menaces, he persevered in his resistance till he was arrested in 1657, and carried to Boston for trial, where he barely escaped penance by a wise and timely submission.¹ He was always respected for his firmness and intelligence, and in 1659, and the two following years, under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, he was elected to the office of an associate in the county court. Yet his obstinacy was by no means subdued, but after the revival of the Gorges proprietorship, in 1663, it was the greatest, and in 1664 and 1665² he accepted commissions of the peace from John Archdale, Gorges' agent, and from the king's commissioners, and subsequently exerted himself to maintain the new-established authorities against what he considered the usurpations of Massachusetts. To such a height was his opposition carried, while she was in the exercise of jurisdiction over Maine during the year prior to the coming of the commissioners, that the grand jury of Yorkshire, in that year, returned several indictments against him for breaches of his allegiance, contempts of her authority, and more especially this:—for that “he had said of Reverend John Cotton (an eminent Puritan minister

¹ Sullivan, 370.

² Willis, 109. He says the court convened July 23, 1664.

of Boston, deceased in 1652) that he was a liar, and died with a lie in his mouth, and was gone to hell with a pack of lies — his books were lies, and he had found them so ;” also for that he had said : “ the governor of Boston was a rogue, and all the rest thereof were traitors and rebels against the king, and by the power he and they (the said Jordan and others) had, they could command the (Boston) governor to assist them, and if any did rebel against their power, they would take them and hang them, or burn their houses ;” also for “ swearing commonly by the eternal God ;” and also for being “ an infernal liar, and for raising and fomenting lies ” — “ proved.”¹ The arrival of the royal commissioners probably put an end to these proceedings. Though these charges were not all of them indictable offenses, they do not exhibit him to good advantage as a minister, persecuted and provoked as he unquestionably was and had been. Nor yet can all the ill treatment he received justify his rashness, much less his profanity.

Being of a sanguine temperament, and believing Gorges’ claim just and himself right, Mr. Jordan determined never to cower down to Puritans and Republicans whom he considered usurpers and rebels. When, therefore, the authority of the Royal Commissioners was at an end, and Massachusetts, in 1668, had resumed the jurisdiction of Maine, he was summoned, the next year, before the county court to render an account why he refused obedience to the ordinances of her government ; and again in 1671 he was required in the same way to answer why he presumed to marry

¹ Willis, 108.

Richard Palmer and Grace Bush, contrary to the laws of the colony. For by a law of Massachusetts magistrates only were authorized to solemnize marriages.

Mr. Jordan was a man well known among the Indians, and it seems they disliked him, for his dwelling house at Spurwink was among the first in Maine committed to the flames by them, in King Philip's War, which commenced in 1675, he having only time to escape before it was in flames. He then removed to Great Island, now New Castle, in Piscataqua river, where he resided till a short time before his death, which occurred in 1679, at Portsmouth, when he was in the sixty-eighth year of his age. He left a widow, six sons and a large estate. He had so far lost the use of his hands as to be unable to sign his will, dated January first, the year he died, though it seems he retained the powers of intellect to the last.

The ministrations of Mr. Jordan were probably divided between the plantations of Spurwink, Casco and Saco, and we have good reason to believe he gathered an Episcopal church. For in the inventory of property, jointly owned by Trelawney and Winter, appear the articles of use in the church: several are enumerated, such as the books, communion vessels and cushions, which the latter had furnished. Opposed to Massachusetts in everything, yet possessing talents, learning, worth and influence, Jordan gave her no small trouble. Meanwhile, she not only pursued him by prosecutions, she also assailed his clerical character, and in 1656 and 1657, suspended him from the ministry. Nevertheless, on a Sabbath in 1661, after the close

of public worship, he baptized three children, for which act the general court of Massachusetts awarded him a severe reprimand, and commanded him to transgress no more. But she never found him very yielding or obedient. Having resided at Spurwink and Great Island about thirty-nine years, he was contemporary with the first ten preachers in Maine, if we except the Reverend Mr. Thompson, having lived during a most interesting period of her history, and passed through a great variety of political changes and personal vicissitudes. He had experienced the evils of one Indian war, and the varieties of six different administrations, and finally come to the time when another was about to be created, after a purchase of the province by Massachusetts. But he had not seen Maine largely increased in population; the whole number of white people in it probably not exceeding six or seven thousand at the time of his decease. He was a man of more personal ambition than public spirit; too secular both in his taste and views to be a useful minister of the gospel; too selfish and self-sufficient to be a popular citizen. Nor do we hear anything of his library, his research or his personal accomplishments; nay, he never would correctly distinguish between firmness and obstinacy, between piety of heart and morality of life. He was rather respected than beloved, rather feared than followed. In his life is resplendently exhibited the doctrine that an apostle cannot at once serve his Divine Master and Mammon, for grace and gems have no fellowship.

In his will he devised to his wife the old plantation

at Spurwink, of one thousand acres, for her life, and the Nonsuch farm in Scarborough, of two thousand acres, to be disposed of by her among their sons and heirs, as she might think fit; to his eldest son, John, who had Richmond Island, and to his second son, Robert, he confirmed deeds by which he had previously conveyed them large tracts of land at Cape Elizabeth, as their pur-party expectations; to Dominicus, his third son, Jedediah, his fourth son, each one thousand; to Samuel, his fifth son, one thousand acres, all in Spurwink; and to his sixth son, Jeremiah, he gave the reversion of the one thousand acres bequeathed to his wife for her life. His posterity, which embraced all persons of his surname in that section of this state, was generally very respectable; many individuals attaining to distinction, and possessing the influence due to merit.

John married, about 1677, Elizabeth, a daughter of Elias Stileman of Portsmouth. Robert, second son, sold his Spurwink estate July 14, 1679, to Nathaniel Fryer of Portsmouth, and moved away. Dominicus, third son, was killed by the Indians in 1703, and his wife and children carried by them into Canada. His eldest son, the second Dominicus, after being a captive there thirteen years, ran away and returned safely to Cape Elizabeth. He was a useful man in this town, attained to the rank of Major, and died in 1749, aged sixty-six. His son, the third Dominicus, died 1788, aged seventy-two; and the fourth Dominicus, eldest son of the last, born April 19, 1740, was living (1831) on a part of the "old plantation." For his age and

energy he had the epithet of "Old Scoff." The first Dominicus above mentioned, married Hannah, a daughter of Ralph Tristram of Saco. Besides their son Dominicus, the captive born in 1681, their children were Mary Ann, who, while in Canada, was named Arabella, and married a Frenchman and never returned; Samuel, born 1684, who married and settled at Saco; Nathaniel, who settled on the ancestral estate in Spurwink; Hannah, who married Joseph Calef of Boston; and Elizabeth, who married to Humphrey Scamman of Saco.

The last mentioned Samuel, grandson of the first Robert, titled "Captain Samuel Jordan," married Olive Plaisted of Berwick, whose mother was probably a daughter of Edward Rishworth, and sister to Reverend Shubael Dummer's wife. No other individual, Mr. Folsom supposes, has ever done more for the growth and prosperity of Saco than Captain Jordan.¹ He traded largely at a store near his dwelling house at the Pool, to which people far and wide resorted for their supplies; which house was more strongly fortified and secured against the Indians than any other in town, being encompassed by a stone wall of great solidity, the remains of which are still seen. He was one of his father's family mentioned, carried captive into Canada, and was so long with the Indians as to acquire a full knowledge of their language, and afterward in negotiating treaties with them he was a select interpreter.

Captain Jordan's children were three sons and four daughters. Rishworth, Olive, Sarah, Hannah, Samuel,

¹ Folsom's Saco and Biddeford, pages 237, 272, 273.

Tristram and Mary, all born between the years 1719 and 1733, inclusive. Olive married to Reverend Ivory Hovey of Rochester, Plymouth; Sarah to Reverend Samuel Hill of Marshfield, Saco, and a representative of the last mentioned town; Hannah to Reverend Moses Morrill of Saco; Mary to Captain Philip Goldthwait of Boston, who came and resided at Winter Harbor till the Revolutionary war, when he left the country. Captain Jordan died December 20, 1742, aged fifty-eight years, and his widow married Reverend Thomas Smith of Falmouth.

Their son, Rishworth, born 1719, married in 1742, Abigail, the daughter of Colonel Timothy Gerrish of Kittery. He had four sons and six daughters. Rishworth Jordan was a man early and long distinguished for his abilities, probity and intelligence. As early as 1679 he was a justice of the peace, and being a Whig patriot of the first grade, and in the prime of life at the commencement of the Revolution, he was appointed under the new order of affairs in 1775, a judge on the bench of the common pleas; ultimately proceeded to the seniority of presiding in that court, an office which he honored nearly twenty-five years. His dwelling place was in the lower part of Saco when he died, in 1808, at the advanced age of eighty-eight years. His brother Samuel, was one of the earliest settlers at Union river, and in 1769 was a justice of the peace there. His son Melatiah was first collector of the customs at Frenchman's Bay, under the government of the United States, organized in 1798. Tristram, the other brother, married in 1749, Hannah, Ichabod Goodwin's daughter of

Berwick, afterward, a daughter of Reverend Mr. Allen of Cape Elizabeth, and settled in Saco. He was a select man of the town, captain in the militia in 1754, at the early age of twenty-three, and a representative of the town six or seven years. He was an active and high-spirited Whig of the Revolution, associated with the ablest men of the town in all difficult measures. He was a magistrate in 1779, a naval officer in 1780, a colonel and member of the senate in 1787, and also appointed to inquire after absentee's lands.¹ He died, 1821, at the age of ninety years. Colonel Jordan was married three times, and left several children, who might esteem it no small honor to have had a father so excellent and so highly esteemed. Clement Jordan married a daughter of Reverend Benjamin Allen, and dwelt at Cape Elizabeth.² Nathaniel Jordan of the same place held a lieutenant's commission as early as 1779. Thus we have seen the Jordan family to be numerous; indeed it is said there were over nine by the name of Nathaniel Jordan living at the same time in Cape Elizabeth, necessarily distinguished by different epithets.

¹ Folsom, 290, 291. Willis, 155.

² This daughter married Reverend Enos Hitchcock, D.D. of Providence.

JOSEPH DANE.

BY EDWARD P. BURNHAM.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, December 10, 1891.

JOSEPH DANE of Kennebunk, an original member of the Maine Historical Society, was born in Beverly, October 25, 1778; son of John and Jemima (Fellows) Dane. His parents were natives of Ipswich. The father died 1829, aged seventy-nine; the mother died 1827, aged seventy-six. He prepared for college at Phillips Andover Academy, and graduated at Harvard College, 1799. He studied law with his uncle, Nathan Dane of Beverly, compiler of the abridgement and digest of American law; the founder of Dane Professorship of Law, at Harvard, and from 1785 to 1788 member of the Continental Congress. Having been admitted to the bar, June, 1802, he immediately commenced practice at Kennebunk, then, and until 1820, the second parish in the town of Wells, and here he remained until his death, May 1, 1858.

In 1802 he found but twelve lawyers in the county, viz.: — Prentiss Mellen of Biddeford, Cyrus King of Saco, Joseph Thomas, George W. Wallingford of Kennebunk; John Holmes of Alfred, Dudley Hubbard, Benjamin Greene, William Lambert of South Berwick; Isaac Lyman of York, Nicholas Emery of Parsonsfield, John Burnham of Limerick, and Judah Dana of Fryeburg, then a part of York county. October 3, 1808, he married Mary, daughter of Jonas and Sarah (Watts)

Clark. Judge Clark was Collector of Customs for the district of Kennebunk; had been judge of the court of common pleas, and afterward became judge of probate. January 23, 1809, Mr. Dana was a member of a committee appointed at a town meeting to prepare a memorial to the general court, remonstrating against the embargo system. The same year he delivered the Fourth of July oration. In 1812 he was one of a committee selected by the town to frame a memorial to the president, opposing the war with England. In the militia he was captain of a company of cavalry, and in 1816 major of the battalion. He was a candidate for the senate 1814, 1815, 1816, 1817, 1820. The general court, in 1817, elected him a member of the executive council of Governor Brooks; this office he declined, and Prentiss Mellen was then elected. He was a member, 1816, of the Constitutional Convention at Brunswick, and one of the committee of twenty-five to report a constitution. Mr. Dane was chairman of the committee of arrangements to welcome President Monroe upon his visit to Wells, July 16, 1817. Being a member of the Second Parish in Wells (now the First Parish in Kennebunk), he was one of a committee chosen September 1, 1817, to take into consideration the lack of harmony growing out of the difference of opinion between Reverend Jonathan Greenleaf, minister of the first parish, and Reverend Nathaniel H. Fletcher, minister of the second parish, Mr. Fletcher believing that the Son of God died on the cross, and Mr. Greenleaf maintaining that God himself died on the cross. This was the prelude to a separation wider

than territorial between the two parishes. Mr. Fletcher was pastor twenty-seven years, and died in 1834. Mr. Greenleaf was author of Ecclesiastical Sketches, brother of Simon and of Moses Greenleaf, and died in 1865. In 1818, Mr. Dane was candidate for Congress against John Holmes. The same year he was chosen a trustee of Saco (now Thornton) academy, and held the position forty years.

The town of Wells was opposed to separation, and in 1819 elected a committee of five, of which Mr. Dane was a member, "to petition the Legislature of New Hampshire that Wells may be annexed to that state, should the District of Maine be formed into a new state, and Massachusetts will not consent that the town of Wells may still be attached to her." Several other towns in the western part of the county favored this plan. In 1819 he was a member of the convention which framed the constitution, and of the committee to draft the instrument.

John Holmes, after his election in 1820 as United States senator, resigned as United States representative and Mr. Dane was chosen to fill the vacancy, and also for the term ending March, 1823. He was the first representative to take his seat as chosen from Maine, the other Maine members of that Congress, Ezekiel Whitman, Enoch Lincoln, James Parker, Joshua Cushman, Mark L. Hill, Martin Kinsley, having been chosen in 1818, from Massachusetts. From 1821 to 1823, Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Cushman and Judge Hill, remained his colleagues. William D. Williamson succeeded to Judge Kinsley, Ebenezer Herrick to Doctor

Parker, and in 1822, Mark Harris to Ezekiel Whitman, appointed chief justice of the new court of common pleas. From the record of yeas and nays, it appears that Mr. Dane was a constant attendant. He also performed committee work. The tiresome journeys, length of time away from his family and business, the difference of climate, and the spirit of contention, rendered the position uncongenial to him, and he declined another election. William Burleigh of South Berwick was his successor. In 1824 and 1825, he was representative in the Legislature. Declining a reelection for 1826, Edward E. Bourne was elected, and continued until 1832, when Mr. Dane succeeded him. In 1833, he was the Whig candidate for speaker, against Nathan Clifford; was nominated for reelection as representative, but declined. He assisted in the reception of General Lafayette at Kennebunk, June 25, 1825.

In 1829 he was a senator, and declining a reelection, his cousin, Nathan Dane Appleton, was chosen for 1830. He was again representative in 1839 and 1840. The Legislature elected him, in 1841, a member of Governor Kent's council, but declining to accept, Increase S. Kimball was chosen. This closed his public life. His political party was, for the greater part of the time, in a minority in the county and state, yet he held many positions, and could have occupied others.

Mrs. Dane died February 18, 1872. They had three children, viz. : —

Nathan, born July 8, 1809; died in Alfred February 24, 1885. Senator, 1857, 1858. President of Alfred bank. State treasurer 1860 to 1865.

Mary, born November 10, 1810; died April 17, 1843. Married, 1834, Peter Hall of Kennebunk.

Joseph, born February 21, 1823; died March 16, 1884. Bowdoin, 1843. Lawyer at Kennebunk; bank commissioner 1856; president of Ocean National Bank.

Joseph Dane, senior, lived during a period in which were raised many exciting questions, yet he was enabled to preserve his equanimity in a remarkable degree. He was a careful attorney, a safe counselor, a capable business man. He was well fitted for the position declined by him in 1840, upon the commission to revise the statutes. As a public man he was conservative; as a lawyer, a peace maker; as a citizen, exemplary in conduct. The inscription on his tombstone, in a few words, describes his character: —

Faithful to every trust of his public, professional and private life.

BIRTHS FROM HALLOWELL RECORDS.

COMMUNICATED BY DR. W. B. LAPHAM.

Children of David and Hannah Wall :—

David, b. September 29, 1772, in Hallowell.

Mary, b. July 1, 1774.

James, b. June 12, 1776.

Hannah, b. July 26, 1778.

Children of John and Dorcas Gilley* :—

Margaret, b. July 8, 1770, in Hallowell.

John, b. December 28, 1771.

Robert, b. October 18, 1773.

James, b. June 27, 1775.

Else, b. August 15, 1777.

Dorcas, b. May 29, 1779.

William, b. November 29, 1781.

Children of John and Prudence Clark :—

Abigail, b. July 31, 1767.

Allen, b. July 22, 1769.

Jonas, b. February 26, 1771.

Pease, b. October 16, 1773.

Lemuel, b. May 24, 1776.

Prudence, b. February 7, 1779.

Children of Abisha and Elizabeth Cowen :—

Rachel, b. May 25, 1765.

Mary, b. April 9, 1767.

Lois, b. August 10, 1768.

Elizabeth, b. August 26, 1770.

Susanna, b. October 20, 1772.

Phebe, b. February —, 1775.

Abisha, b. August 24, 1778.

Children of Jabez and Sybil Cowen :—

Bathsheba, b. February 3, 1778.

Mary, b. March 5, 1782.

* According to North's History, John Gilley was born in Ireland in 1690. He married Dorcas Brawn, and died in 1813, said to have been one hundred and twenty-four years old. She died in 1840, aged ninety-five. According to this account, he was eighty years old when his first child was born, and ninety-one at the birth of the seventh and last. All this seems very improbable.

Sarah, daughter of Asa and Susanna Fisk, born at Providence, January 25, 1761.

Samuel Cobb, son of Simeon and Sarah Clark, born April 7, 1771.

Samuel Bullen, son of Philip and Deborah Bullen, was born in Charlestown, Massachusetts, April 1735. He married Anna, daughter of Samuel and Mary Brown, May 22, 1760, and came to Hallowell with his family October, 1763.

Children: — Samuel, b. Billerica, March 30, 1761.

Nathan, b. November 2, 1762; d. of small pox in the army, October, 1782.

Anna, b. February 23, 1765.

Joshua, b. March 17, 1766.

Jesse, b. March 20, 1768.

Patty, b. September 29, 1770.

Philip, b. November 26, 1772.

Children of Josiah and Hannah French: —

Hannah, b. March 30, 1771.

Abigail, b. July 4, 1773.

Betty, daughter of Josiah and Eunice Mitchell, b. Nov. 25, 1774.

Isaac, son of Jabez Cowen, b. October 26, 1774.

Hannah, daughter of Philip and Abigail Snow, b. March 21, 1773.

Charles, son of Briggs and Hannah Hallowell, born March 17, 1771.

George, son of same, b. March 25, 1774.

Hannah, daughter of Seth and Mary Greely, b. November 2, 1772.

Polly, daughter of Seth and Mary (?) Greely, b. July 12, 1775.

Children of Ezekiel and Elizabeth Page: —

David, b. April 4, 1775.

William, b. February 14, 1777.

Samuel, b. August 14, 1779.

Betty, b. April 5, 1781.

Abigail, b. February 21, 1789.

Daniel, b. March 22, 179—.

William, son of John and Abigail Ellis, b. April 26, 1774.

Simeon, Levi, twins, b. January 14, 1780.

Children of William and Abigail Blake.

Nathaniel, b. May 14, 1767.

Rachel, b. August 12, 1769.

Children of John and Sarah Gray: —

William, b. January 30, 1774.

Frederick, b. June 29, 1775.

Children of Samuel and Isabel Chamberlain : —

Sarah, b. September 27, 1767.

William, b. August 14, 1769.

John, b. June 2, 1772.

Mary, b. June 13, 1774.

Elizabeth, b. January 25, 1776.

George, b. November 4, 1779.

Molly, b. January 17, 1781.

David Bailey Cowan, b. February 26, 1764.

Susanna Cowan, b. April 3, 1766.

Polly Cowan, b. March 28, 1769.

Abigail Cowan, b. August 3, 1771.

James Cowan, b. February 24, 1774.

Children of Jabez and Mary Clough : —

Elizabeth, b. March 24, 1775.

Sarah, b. August 8, 1777, in Winthrop.

James Savage, b. September 3, 1779, in Winthrop.

Children of Ebenezer and Reliance Hovey : —

Sarah, b. September 8, 1771.

Samuel, b. September 10, 1773.

Ebenezer, b. August 4, 1775.

Peter Clark, son of Pease and Abigail Clark, was born in Attleborough, Massachusetts, July 8, 1735. Married daughter of Samuel and Esther Sweatland, of the same town.

Children:—Phebe, b. in Cumberland, October 6, 1760.

Chloe, b. in Hallowell, June 3, 1764.

Susanna, b. October 1, 1767.

Peter, b. November, 18, 1769.

James, b. April 6, 1775.

Mr. Clark came to Hallowell with his family April 29, 1764. This place was so thinly inhabited that Mr. Clark's family were obliged to lodge several nights under the body of their cart, turned with the body upward. December 14, 1794, Mr. Clark became deranged and went from home on that day and was not found till the eighteenth. On the twelfth of July, 1796, he went from home and returned the fifteenth. On the seventh of May, 1797, he went from home and did not return. His remains were found in the woods September 11, 1803, about two miles from his home, after a fire, which had burned the leaves with which he was covered.

Children of Abia and Judith Coye : —

Mary, b. September 6, 1772.

Jane, b. June 11, 1775.

Susanna, daughter of Samuel and Susanna Cony, b. Dec. 12, 1774.

Children of Abisha and Sybil Cowan.

Sarah, b. May 13, 1765.

Reuben, b. October 27, 1767.

Hannah, b. March 28, 1770.

Rebecca, b. May 30, 1773.

Levi, b. June 3, 1775.

Bathsheba, b. February 3, 1778.

Mary, b. March 5, 1782.

Children of David and Mary Thomas : —

David, b. in Georgetown, August 2, 1761.

Lucy, b. August 10, 1763.

Jenet Robinson, b. in Hallowell, December 15, 1765.

Elizabeth, b. February 14, 1768.

William, b. May 17, 1770.

Huldah, b. February 8, 1773.

George, b. February 5, 1776.

Children of William and Martha Howard : —

Samuel, b. January 21, 1770.

James, b. May 11, 1772.

Mary, b. July 21, 1774.

Margaret, b. April 4, 1776.

John, b. July 2, 1778.

Children of George and Elizabeth Brown : —

Jonathan, b. September 21, 1776.

William, b. August 7, 1778.

Samuel, b. October 10, 1780.

Children of Edward and Abigail Allen : —

Oliver, b. April 24, 1778.

Elizabeth, b. August 12, 1780.

Ephraim, son of Ephraim and Martha Ballard, b. March 30, 1779.

Children of Jabez and Sarah Cowan : —

Midian, b. January 27, 1779.

Sarah, b. January 18, 1777.

John, son of George and Jennet Bolton, b. September 10, 1780.

Amos, son of Amos and Miriam Pollard, b. July 16, 1779.

PROCEEDINGS, 1887.

THE spring meeting was appointed to be held on the eighty-fifth birthday of the honored president of the Society, Hon. James W. Bradbury of Augusta, June 10, 1887.

The afternoon session was called to order in the library room of the Society, in the city building, at half past two o'clock, and the librarian made his customary report of accessions to the library and cabinet since the former meeting.

The act passed by the Legislature of the state of Maine for the perpetuity of the Society, through the permanence of its funds, was read by President Bradbury, together with the following notice, which had been sent to each member of the Society:—

The principal item of business at this meeting will be the consideration, and if approved the acceptance, of the act passed by the recent Legislature to provide against impairing the Society's fund by any expenditure that shall reduce it below the sum of ten thousand dollars.

A vote of acceptance was called for, and the vote was passed accepting the act. The recording secretary was instructed to make a record of the same, and to notify the secretary of state that it had been so accepted.

Mr. William Gould read a paper on the First Treaty of the United States in 1778, and how the good news was brought to this country from France.

Mr. Joseph Williamson read a paper on the Visits of the Presidents of the United States to Maine.

The Hon. Hannibal Hamlin related some incidents connected with the visit of President Grant to this state.

Mr. George F. Talbot read a paper on the Capture of the British Vessel the *Margaretta* at Machias, in 1775. This affair has been termed the first naval battle of the Revolution.

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

The meeting then adjourned until evening at the Falmouth Hotel, where a complimentary banquet had been prepared in honor of Mr. Bradbury.

Accordingly, at six P.M. the members of the Society, with invited guests, assembled in the parlors of the hotel, and after half an hour of social intercourse sat down to a fine banquet.

Grace was said by the Reverend Dr. Dalton, and after the feast had been duly enjoyed, Professor Henry L. Chapman called the assembly to order and introduced the guests of the evening.

Upon rising to reply Mr. Bradbury was greeted with prolonged applause. In his remarks Mr. Bradbury reviewed the history of the state of Maine and the work of the Historical Society. He gave some account of the forty-nine corporate members who were named in the act of incorporation, approved February 5, 1822. They were a remarkable body of men, busily engaged in the stirring scenes of life, and are now all gone. Their average age exceeded seventy-two years. Mr.

Bradbury had a personal acquaintance with nearly all of them. He spoke particularly of Governor King, a man of great mental power, influence and ability.

Honorable John A. Peters of Bangor, was introduced as the next speaker. Judge Peters' remarks were of a congratulatory character. He expressed the hope that every member of the Society would do his part in rescuing from oblivion letters and documents which might be woven into the general text of the history of the state.

The chairman said that there was present a representative of a sister society, whom it gave him great pleasure to introduce, Doctor Charles Deane of Cambridge, Vice-president of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Doctor Deane presented the congratulations and best wishes of the Massachusetts Society. He referred to Mr. Bradbury's classmates at Bowdoin College, to the former president of the Society, Mr. Willis, and to a memorable field day of the Society at old York and Kittery, in 1870.

Mr. Abner C. Goodell, junior, of Salem, was next introduced as the representative of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society. Mr. Goodell called attention to the fact that incumbency of the presidential chair of an historical society seems productive of longevity.

In introducing Honorable Hannibal Hamlin, Professor Chapman said that the gentleman had occupied so many positions that he hardly knew in what capac-

ity to introduce him, but would do so as the President of the Bangor Historical Society.

Mr. Hamlin was gratified in being present, and wished to testify his regard for Mr. Bradbury. He remarked that they had known each other for sixty years; had not agreed in theology and politics, but had always been warm friends.

Honorable Marshall Cram of Brunswick, was called upon, but declined to make any extended remarks.

Honorable William Goold of Windham, was introduced as the next speaker. Mr. Goold referred to the field day at York, when he first met Mr. Bradbury and Doctor Deane, also other prominent gentlemen, who have since passed away.

The Reverend Doctor John O. Fiske of Bath, was next called upon. Dr. Fiske had been honored with Mr. Bradbury's friendship for forty years. For thirty years they had been associated as trustees of Bowdoin College, and he testified to the practical and unassuming wisdom of Mr. Bradbury, and of his self-sacrificing devotion to his Alma Mater.

Mr. George F. Talbot was introduced as the next speaker. Mr. Talbot was glad to be assigned some service in the public recognition of the eminent ability and services of Mr. Bradbury. He stated that he had completed his law studies in Mr. Bradbury's office, and referred to the marked difference in the political belief of Mr. Bradbury and himself.

At the close of the speaking, Professor Chapman stated that Mr. James P. Baxter had matured his plans

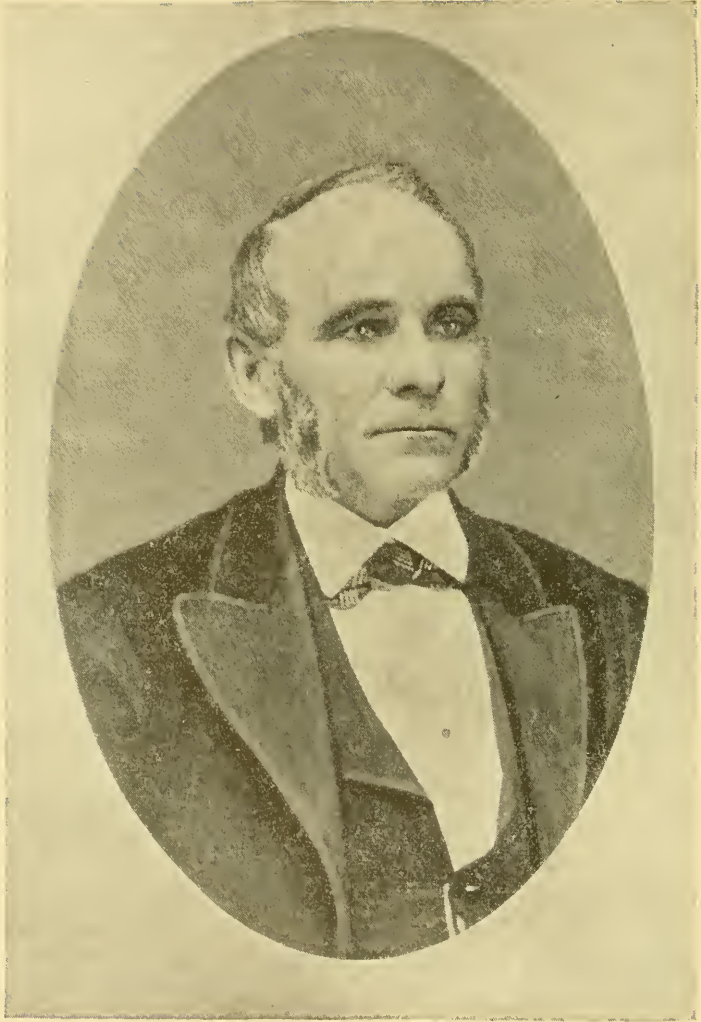
for a fine building to be erected in Portland, in which the Historical Society will have a home.

The company then adjourned to the large parlors, where, after examining the plans of the proposed building, and spending a short time in social intercourse, the party dispersed.

Congratulatory letters were received by the secretary from a large number of personal friends and representatives of sister societies throughout New England, and these were laid before Mr. Bradbury.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS OF THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, APRIL 1, 1892.

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| <p>Adams, Charles Francis, Boston, Mass.
 Barton, Edmund M., Worcester, Mass.
 Beardsley, Eben E., New Haven, Conn.
 Bliss, Porter Cornelius, Boston, Mass.
 Bridge, Horatio, Athens, Penn.
 Brooks, Noah, Newark, N. J.
 Burrage, William C., Boston, Mass.
 Blake, Charles M., San Francisco, Cal.
 Brock, Robert Alonzo, Richmond, Va.
 Colvin, Sidney, Cambridge, England
 Corliss, Augustus W., Washington, D.C.
 Cothren, William, Woodbury, Conn.
 Colesworthy, Daniel C., Boston, Mass.
 Cutler, John Lewis, Quitman, Georgia
 Dean, John Ward, Boston, Mass.
 DeCosta, Benjamin F., New York City
 De Peyster, John Watts, Trivoli, N. Y.
 Durrie, Daniel Steele, Madison, Wis.
 Deane, Llewellyn, Washington, D. C.
 Davis, Joseph E., Worcester, Mass.
 Denham, Edward, New Bedford, Mass.
 Drake, Samuel Adams, Melrose, Mass.
 Everett, Charles C., Cambridge, Mass.
 Emery, Samuel H., Taunton, Mass.
 Felch, Alpheus, Ann Arbor, Michigan
 Fogg, John Samuel Hill, Boston, Mass.
 Frye, Wakefield Gale, Halifax, N. S.
 Folwell, William A., St. Anthony, Minn.
 Gourdin, Robert M., Charleston, S. C.
 Green, Samuel Abbot, Boston, Mass.
 Gilman, Daniel Coit, Baltimore, Md.
 Hale, Edward Everett, Boston, Mass.
 Hammond, George W., Boston, Mass.
 Harris, Samuel, New Haven, Conn.
 Hart, Charles H., Philadelphia, Penn.
 Haskins, David G., jr., Cambridge, Mass.
 Hayes, Charles W., Westfield, N. Y.
 Haynes, Henry W., Boston, Mass.
 Hoadley, Charles J., Hartford, Conn.
 Howard, Joseph J., Blackheath, London, England
 Hoyt, Albert Harrison, Boston, Mass.
 Ham, John Randolph, Dover, N. H.
 Hadley, Amos, Concord, N. H.
 Henry, William Wirt, Richmond, Va.
 Hall, John W. D., Taunton, Mass.
 Hubbard, Oliver P., New York, N. Y.
 Hackett, Frank W., Portsmouth, N. H.
 Howard, Cecil H. C., Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Jones, Charles C., jr., Augusta, Ga.
 Jones, George, Savannah, Ga.</p> | <p>Jamblin, Robert, Dartford, England
 King, Horatio, Washington, D. C.
 Kensington, Henry, London, England
 Kilby, William H., Boston, Mass.
 Long, John Davis, Hingham, Mass.
 Longfellow, Samuel, Cambridge, Mass.
 Lynch, John, Washington, D. C.
 Littlefield, George E., Boston, Mass.
 Latour, L. A. Huguet, Montreal, Can.
 McAlister, John A., Philadelphia, Penn.
 McClintock, John N., Concord, N. H.
 McKenzie, Alexander, Cambridge, Mass.
 Moore, George H., New York City
 Morgan, James A., New York City
 Moses, Thomas F., Urbana, Ohio
 Manning, William C., Washington, D.C.
 Osgood, James R., London, England
 Otis, Albert Boyd, Boston, Mass.
 Paine, Henry W., Cambridge, Mass.
 Patterson, James W., Hanover, N. H.
 Perry, William S., Davenport, Iowa
 Pierce, Frederic C., Rockford, Ill.
 Pierce, Josiah, London, England
 Pratt, John Frank, Chelsea, Mass.
 Putnam, Frederic W., Cambridge, Mass.
 Phillips, Henry, jr., Philadelphia, Penn.
 Perry, Amos, Providence, R. I.
 Rogers, Charles, Forrest Hill, Surry, England
 Russell, Edward, Boston, Mass.
 Richardson, William A., Boston, Mass.
 Sainsbury, William N., London, Eng.
 Sewall, Frank, Washington, D. C.
 Sewall, Jotham B., Braintree, Mass.
 Slafter, Edmund Farwell, Boston, Mass.
 Southgate, William S., Annapolis, Md.
 Stanwood, Edward, Brookline, Mass.
 Small, Lauriston W., Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Stone, William L., Jersey City, N. J.
 Smith, Charles H., New Haven, Conn.
 Thacher, Peter, Newton, Mass.
 Titus, Anson, jr., Towanda, Penn.
 Trumbull, James H., Hartford, Conn.
 Thornton, Charles C. G., Boston, Mass.
 Varney, George J., Boston, Mass.
 Weymouth, Albert B., Los Angeles, Cal.
 Whitmore, William H., Boston, Mass.
 Williams, John F., St. Paul, Minn.
 Winthrop, Robert C., Boston, Mass.
 Woodbury, Charles L., Boston, Mass.
 Warren, Frederic M., Cleveland, Ohio</p> |
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DR. N. T. TRUE.

DR. NATHANIEL T. TRUE.

BY W. B. LAPHAM.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, March 17, 1892.

DR. NATHANIEL TUCKEMAM TRUE was born in that part of old North Yarmouth which is now the town of Pownal, March 15, 1812. He was a lineal descendant of that Henry True who was at Salem, Mass. in 1644; married a daughter of John Pike and settled at Salisbury. Dr. True's ancestors include some of the most distinguished Puritan families of New England, such as Wheelwright, Pike, Bradbury and Stevens. His great grandfather, Jonathan True, was one of the early settlers in North Yarmouth, and the second settler in that part of the old town which was first set off as Freeport and subsequently as Pownal. The grandfather of Dr. True, also Jonathan, was born in North Yarmouth, April 30, 1758, and left nine children; one of whom, John True, born August 7, 1785, married November 30, 1810, Mary, daughter of Abijah Hatch. These latter were the parents of the subject of this notice. The Trues of North Yarmouth were substantial citizens, noted for strength of mind and character; noted also for industry and worldly thrift. Dr. True was inured to labor upon his father's farm in Pownal, attending the brief terms of the town school, which were all the educational facilities the town afforded. He early developed a love for books, and while at home with his father, all his spare funds were devoted to the increase

of his library, and much of his spare time to the study of his literary treasures. He was also a close student of nature, and every natural object, whether animate or inanimate, had in him a close observer and an intelligent investigator.

Not until he was twenty years of age, did Dr. True decide upon pursuing a collegiate course of study. He then became a student of Dr. Joseph Sherman, then principal of North Yarmouth Academy, and in two years entered the freshman class at Bowdoin College. Pecuniary reasons, and the fact that he was becoming of that age when it was important for him to enter upon a profession, induced him to leave college at the end of two years. This in after years was a source of great regret, and was, without doubt, the great mistake of his life. Deciding upon the medical profession, not because he thought it most congenial to his tastes, but because it would better enable him to pursue the collateral studies of botany, chemistry, mineralogy, geology and natural history, of all which he was passionately fond, than any other of the learned professions. While pursuing his medical studies, he engaged more or less in teaching, in order to provide himself with means, and met with marked success.

In 1835, he opened a high school at Bethel Hill, and was there two terms in each year, until he received his degree of doctor of medicine from the Maine Medical School in 1840, when he practiced for a short time in Durham. But he soon found the practice of medicine to be widely different from its study, and

that while he had a fondness for the one, he had neither the taste nor aptitude for the other. So after two or three years in general practice of a profession in which he soon found that he lacked the essential elements of success, he laid aside his drugs and his instruments, and adopted teaching as a life pursuit. Gould's Academy situated at Bethel Hill where he had successfully taught a number of terms of high school, was established and put in operation, while Dr. True was engaged in the study of medicine and in practice; and when he decided to abandon the medical profession, he engaged with the trustees of Monmouth Academy to take charge of that institution, and remained in charge, meeting with marked success, for several years. But the trustees of Gould's Academy and the people of Bethel Hill kept in remembrance the success of Dr. True as a high school teacher, and as soon as an opportunity was afforded they invited him to take charge of their academy—a position which he readily accepted, for he had become greatly attached to the people and the place. It was in 1847 that Dr. True returned to Bethel, intending to make the place his future home. The academy enjoyed its greatest success in the years immediately following the return of Dr. True. The building was literally packed with pupils during the spring and fall terms, while many pursued their studies at their rooms, and only came into the academy long enough to recite.

Dr. True remained in charge of Gould's Academy until the trustees decided that new methods should be introduced and an infusion of younger blood, to put

them into operation. After this he opened the Highland School for boys which continued for four years, and then, while his family continued to reside at Bethel, Dr. True had a professorship in a normal school in western New York, and also taught terms of school at Gorham and Milan in New Hampshire. He was editor of the Bethel Courier, the only newspaper ever published in Bethel, for about two years, and it was in the columns of this paper that appeared his chapters on the early history of Bethel. He served on the school board at Bethel for several years, and one year as supervisor of schools for Oxford county. At the death of Dr. Ezekiel Holmes in 1865, Dr. True was invited to take charge of the agricultural department of that paper, which he accepted and successfully filled for four years. He was also an efficient member of the Maine Board of Agriculture. He wrote much upon the subject of agriculture and horticulture, and was the founder of, and the leading spirit in, the Bethel Farmer's Club. He was a constant contributor to the columns of the Oxford Democrat, Portland Transcript and Lewiston Journal, and wrote upon a great variety of topics.

Dr. True instructed his students at Bethel not only in theory but in practice, and it was his delight to take his spring and summer classes in botany through the fields, pastures and woods, gathering and classifying the various wild flowers in their season; or his pupils interested in mineralogy and geology to the summit of Paradise Hill, and sometimes even to the tops of the surrounding mountains, where he pointed

out and described diluvial markings and other signs of glacial action, and gathered minerals of various kinds. His influence was felt throughout the town and county, and was elevating in its effects more especially upon the public schools.

Dr. True's studies embraced a very wide range, and he was able to impart instruction in almost every department of useful knowledge. They embraced languages, both ancient, including Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and modern, including French, Spanish, Italian and German, the natural sciences, practical surveying and engineering, scientific agriculture, navigation, astronomy, and the higher mathematics. If he failed in anything it was in his effort to cover too much ground, so to speak, for no man can hope to be proficient in everything; and the usual result where a person tries to know something about a great number of things, is that he will be profound in nothing. Dr. True was interested in historical and antiquarian research which induced him to seek membership in the Maine Historical Society. Though not a resident of Bethel until his mature manhood, he soon became and continued to be until his death, the historical man of the town. At the time of the centennial celebration, he was selected as the historian of the occasion, and later at the centennial of the Indian raid into Bethel, he was called upon to act in the same capacity.

Dr. True was a ready and fluent speaker, and when instructing his classes or lecturing before larger audiences upon geology and kindred subjects, he always addressed his hearers in a familiar and off-hand man-

ner, making himself easily understood. He was authority upon the botany, mineralogy and geology of northern Oxford county, and also upon the history, language and customs of the Abnaki Indians. He was enthusiastic in the schoolroom, and had the happy faculty of inspiring his pupils with the same spirit. Among his pupils were the ablest men and women that ever went from Bethel, and not a few of them have achieved a national reputation. His school was well patronized by the people of Portland, and several of the members of this Society, who have been under the instruction of Dr. True, can testify to his efficiency as a teacher. His last active work in 1883 was a resumption of his old employment at Litchfield Academy. There he was stricken with paralysis from which he never recovered, and returning to Bethel he lingered for a year and more, gradually becoming more feeble in mind and body until he passed away. Dr. True received the honorary degree of master of arts from Waterville College, in 1842, and the same from Bowdoin, in 1868. He had been president of the Maine Board of Education, corresponding member of the Portland Society of Natural History, of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and of the Wisconsin Historical Society. Save his magazine and newspaper articles, none of the writings of Dr. True were ever published. He left more or less manuscript, but none of it in form to be printed. His papers upon the language of the Abnaki Indians were disposed of by the family for a small sum and carried to Massachusetts. Dr. True was a professor of relig-

ion, and at the time of his death, one of the deacons of the first Congregational church in Bethel.

Dr. True was married August 9, 1836, to Ruth Ann, daughter of Aaron and Rebecca (Marston) Winslow, of Westbrook. By this marriage he had five children, three of whom died young. The surviving daughter, Mary Hatch True, has achieved a wide reputation as a teacher of deaf mutes.

For second wife, Dr. True married September 19, 1849, Susanna Webber, daughter of Eben and Mary (Barnard Stevens) of Sweden, Me. By this marriage there are two daughters and one son, all of whom with the mother survive. The son, John Preston True, a young man of great promise, fills an important position in the publishing house of Houghton, Mifflin and Company of Boston.

ANCIENT AUGUSTA.

BY HENRY WARREN WHEELER.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, January 21, 1892.

ON the westerly side of Cape Small Point is a harbor known as "Small Point Harbor." Here, early in the last century, the Pejepscot proprietors laid out a town to which they gave the name Augusta. An account of this early settlement was published in the Popham Memorial Volume in 1863, but unfortunately the article contains errors: its statements are highly colored and it gives to the reader a false impression of the size and importance of the place. The object of this paper is to correct this impression and to give a more accurate history of the settlement based upon documentary evidence.

The author of the article referred to says: "Belcher Noyes of Boston, a physician, and secretary, or clerk of the Pejepscot Company, became interested in the Parker estate, and located himself at Small Point Harbor and concentrated his means and energies to the execution of Wharton's designs in reviving the town attempted by Parker and Davis prior to the catastrophe of the late war."¹

Without discussing the question as to whether Parker and Davis ever attempted to establish a town at Small Point Harbor, it is very certain that Belcher Noyes took no part in the movement which was made

¹ Popham Memorial Volume, page 324.

in that direction in 1716, as he was not born until 1709,¹ and was therefore but seven years old when the settlement of the place began, and he was not elected clerk of the proprietors until 1757.²

Oliver Noyes,³ father of Belcher, was however interested in the settlement at Small Point. But Oliver Noyes was not a man who would "locate" in an infant settlement like Augusta. He was a man of wealth, a physician, and a representative to the general court from Boston,⁴ where he resided. He was one of the original members of the Pejepscot Company, and held a one-eighth interest in their undivided possessions, and, in addition, he owned, exclusively, one thousand acres of land on the Topsham side of Merrymeeting Bay; one of the eight lots at the lower end of Merryconeag Neck which were, in 1717, set apart for a fishing town; and one of the eight lots into which Small Point was divided among the proprietors.⁵ His interests were therefore divided and not "concentrated" at Augusta, although he unquestionably did much to encourage and aid the settlement of the town.

The idea of establishing a fishing town at Small Point was a part of the general plan of the proprietors and was not the scheme of an individual. As early as the eighteenth of February, 1715, they presented to a committee appointed by the general court a claim for a confirmation of their purchase, giving among other

¹ Savage, Gen. Dict.

² Pejepscot Records.

³ Oliver Noyes was born 1675; graduated at Harvard College 1695, and died March 1721. Savage, Gen. Dict.

⁴ Hutchinson, volume 2, page 225.

⁵ Pejepscot Records.

reasons for such confirmation, "the encouragement of a fishing town at Small Point."¹

On April 27, 1716, it was "Voted, that such of our partners as shall now go to Pejepscot be fully empowered fully to act what they shall find necessary . . . for laying out a fishing town at Small Point or elsewhere."²

The visiting partners evidently thought favorably of the establishment of a town at Small Point Harbor as on May 24th of the same year the proprietors voted, "That there be a town laid out at Small Point. That the fifty first families have fifty acres granted to each of them for their building a house and improving it for three years' time, whereof part to be a convenient homestead for fishery, five acres salt marsh, and the remainder in upland as can be with convenience. If Penhallow shall go thither and build a house and continue three years, he shall have two hundred and fifty acres, whereof twenty-five shall be salt marsh."³

The first action toward the laying out of lots and roads was taken September 27, 1716, when the proprietors voted, "That Capt. Nowell be desired as soon as may be to get a cart-way cut from Small Point Harbor over to the Sagadahoc River; that Mr. Watts⁴ be desired to get the lots around the harbor staked out and numbered, reserving sufficient space in the most convenient place for a fortification to defend the harbor."⁵

¹ Pejepscot Records.

² Pejepscot Records.

³ Pejepscot Papers, volume 2, page 58.

⁴Mr. Watts was one of the Pejepscot proprietors.

⁵ Pejepscot Papers, volume 1, page 97.

To aid in the settlement of the place, the proprietors built a large and commodious house at which, it is presumed, temporary accommodations were provided for the newly arriving settlers. It was probably built in the fall of 1716, as in the record of a meeting of the proprietors, which was held October 9, of that year the following occurs: "Agreed with Mr. Benjamin Swain to build the Chimneys in our house at Maquoit, and in our House at Small Point; the stack in each house to have Four Fires at Fourty Shillings pr Fire Each Brick Arch under the four Chimneys to be at Fourty Shillings pr Arch; The Stonework to be Four Shillings & 6d pr Perch, the Stuff to be at the Place, S^d Swain to allow Boston Price for what labour he has done by our hands." This house was however, on the fourteenth of October of the following year sold to a Mr. Purington for ninety pounds.¹

The inhabitants of Augusta held two meetings, possibly more, but the records of only two have been preserved. The first was held Nov. 6, 1717, at which John Dorrell was moderator and Edmund Mountfort, clerk. It was voted: "That the home lots be laid out as soon as possible, and that Captain John Penhallow be desired to lay them out and hire men to do the work. Voted, that the place chosen by Captain Penhallow and Mr. Dorrell for a meeting house and burying place, be laid out with the others. Voted, that every inhabitant build a frame or log house on his lot by the last of July next, otherwise any one coming and building with

¹ Pejepscot Records.

the consent of the town, shall have it by paying for the work already done.”¹

At the second meeting of the inhabitants, May 12, 1718, it was voted to lay out a road to the Sagadahoc river, 12 rods wide.² Subsequently, January 5, 1720, the proprietors voted that Edward Mountfort be instructed to lay out the lots between Small Point Harbor and the Sagadahoc, ninety-five acres each, leaving an eight rod road with cross roads at convenient places.³

In what year the fort was erected is not positively known, but a vote of the proprietors, which has been quoted, shows that it was later than September, 1716; probably during the year 1717. It was a stone fort, and according to Penhallow, it was built at the expense of Doctor Noyes.⁴ It seems more probable, however, that it was built at the expense of the proprietors, and that Dr. Noyes merely acted as their agent. They had already instructed one of their number in laying out lots to reserve a space for a fortification. The fort at Brunswick was built at the expense of the company, and as its members were equally interested in Small Point, there seems to be no valid reason why one of them should assume the whole burden. The fort was erected upon two of Dr. Noyes' lots, and this fact may have given rise to the idea that it was built at his expense. It occupied the summit of a commanding knoll at a short distance from the shore. “Its four walls about fifty feet each

¹ Pejepscot Papers.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Penhallow's Indian Wars, page 83.

in length, were placed in diamond form, with flankers of the same shape, about twelve feet on a side projecting from the east and west angles. The fireplace and chimney, as appears from the brick now remaining, were on the north angle. The gate was on the side nearest the bay.”¹

Precisely when the place was vacated is not known, but the following extract from the journal of the Rev. Joseph Baxter shows that it was previous to August 13, 1721. “The next day, viz. Aug. 13 (1721) Colonel Wheelwright came on board our sloop early in the morning and then we sailed out of Casco Bay, and having a good wind we arrived about noon at Small Point where we landed Colonel Wheelwright in order to his going to Arrowsick, and in landing that gentlemen at Small Point, we had an affecting sight of a good fort and several good houses y^t were totally deserted and left empty.”²

The cause of the desertion of the place is also uncertain. Penhallow, the historian, ascribes it to the withdrawal of the government's support of the fort,³ and this statement is strengthened by the fact that Captain John Penhallow, who had charge of a detachment of soldiers at the fort,⁴ is known to have left Augusta in 1720 and removed to Arrowsic Island.⁵ Williamson refers to the death of Doctor Noyes, March 16, 1722, and says that “after this the fort was neglected.”⁶ Mr. Noyes had been a member of the gen-

¹ Rev. Dr. Ballard, *Northern Monthly*, 1864.

² N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg., Jan. 1867: also Ms. copy in Lib. Me. Hist. Soc.

³ Penhallow's *Indian Wars*, page 83.

⁴ Rev. Dr. Ballard, *Northern Monthly*, 1864.

⁵ Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. 1, pp. 253-54.

⁶ Williamson, vol. 2, p. 90.

eral court for several years before his death, having been elected in 1718,¹ and it was probably his influence which secured the aid of the government for the fort, but as the town was deserted at least nine months before he died, it is evident that causes other than his death brought about a withdrawal of support.

The late Rev. Dr. Ballard in an article upon Ancient Augusta which was published in the Northern Monthly in 1864, gives as a reason for the desertion an attack by the Indians. The account which he gives of the attack is evidently traditional, as he quotes no authorities, and none of the earlier historians make any reference to such an occurrence. The story is a plausible one, and is not inconsistent with Penhallow's statement, that the withdrawal of the inhabitants was in consequence of the non-support of the fort. If the narrative is true, however, it is singular that the Rev. Mr. Baxter, who visited the place soon after the alleged attack, and who referred in his journal to the fort as a "good fort," should have made no allusion to the destruction of the building within its walls. Dr. Ballard's account of the attack is as follows:—

Threats of a nature to awaken anxiety on the frontier had been uttered by the French and Indians in a letter dated July 28, 1721, signed by the chiefs of twenty Abnaki tribes, and sent to the "Great Captain of the English"—Governor Shute. The people were armed and took the best precautions in their power for their defense.

At the time of the capture of the fort, the Indians, avoiding the settlement at Georgetown, approached from the Kennebec, probably across their usual carrying-place at Winnegangseag, into the waters of Casco Bay, and thus to the neighborhood of Small

¹ Hutchinson, vol. 2, p. 203.

Point Harbor. They made their stand on Lundeor Ledge, a rocky, wooded ridge on the northeasterly side of the fort. The first act of hostility was killing a man who had gone for water, in that direction, to the well outside of the defenses. From the ledge itself, or the ground between it and the fort, they shot with their bow fire-arrows upon the roof of the wooden shelter inside the walls, and thus put them in flames.

No provision had been made for such an event as this, as the water was outside at some rods distance. The defenders saw that their case was hopeless, but they resolutely kept back the assailants until they could place their wives and children on board their vessels, with such of their effects as the present danger and haste would allow, and sailed to their former homes among their friends, on the south shore of Massachusetts. Their departure left the Indians at full liberty to complete the work of destruction. But for some reason, not preserved in the traditions of the place, this purpose was not attempted till a later day, when they set fire to the forsaken settlement, as related by Penhallow, and the dwellings of the industrious adventures were left a scene of charred desolation.

If the narrative is true it is evident that the Indians avoided the well defended settlements at Georgetown and Arrowsic, and took advantage of the withdrawal of the garrison from the fort at Augusta to attack that feeble and isolated settlement. No intimation is given as to when the attack was made, but it was probably after the threatening letter of the Abnaki chiefs, and therefore between July 28 and August 13, 1721, the Rev. Mr. Baxter finding the place deserted at the latter date.

Although, in 1717, the inhabitants voted to lay out lots for a meeting house and a burial ground, no evidence is to be found of the erection of the former, and no traces of an ancient burial ground, near the harbor,

can now be found. The Rev. Dr. Ballard, however, in the article to which reference has been made, says that "two lonely graves of the olden time have been found," in what he supposes to have been the old burying ground. The Rev. Joseph Baxter preached at Augusta one Sunday in the fall of 1717, and another in the spring of 1718,¹ but there is no probability that religious services were held regularly.

The votes of the proprietors and of the inhabitants, which have been cited, show that the "Harbor lots" were not laid out until later than September 27, 1716; that the road to the Sagadahoc was not laid out until after May 12, 1718; and that the farming lots were laid out subsequently to January 5, 1720. From the statement of town clerk Mountfort, which follows, it will appear that not more than eight² buildings, besides the "proprietor's house," and the fort, were erected upon the thirty harbor lots; and it has been shown that the place was deserted prior to August 13, 1721. The "town" had an actual existence, then, of four or five years. In view of these facts, and knowing as we do, the slow growth of those early settlements, it is difficult to believe that "the sloop Pejepscot plied regularly between Boston and Augusta," (that is in an exclusive sense); that "foreign commerce here started, and it became the point of an export trade for vast quantities of pipe-staves, boards, plank and timber;" that "agriculture also thrived;" that "fine buildings were erected and saw mills put up,"³ and so

¹ Rev. Dr. Ballard, *Northern Monthly* in 1864.

² Baxter's *Journal* and Penhallow say, "Several houses."

³ Popham Memorial Volume, p. 344.

forth. These words, which are quoted from the Pop-ham Memorial Volume, were evidently derived from Penhallow who, however, gave to them a broader significance. The following is a full quotation from Penhallow.

The peace thus concluded and so firmly ratified, gave matter of encouragement to the eastern inhabitants for resettling their former habitations . . . and several gentlemen who had large tracts of land . . . employed a sloop at their own charge for carrying and recarrying the inhabitants with their stock; which gave so great encouragement that several towns began to be settled as Brunswick, Topsham, Augusta, Georgetown, etc., in which a great many fine buildings were erected with several saw mills, etc. A fishery was also undertaken by the ingenious Doctor Noyes, where twenty vessels were employed at a time. He afterwards¹ built a stone garrison at Augusta at his own charge, which was judged to be the best in eastern country; and for a while was kept at the public cost, but afterwards slighted, which occasioned the inhabitants to withdraw, and then the Indians burn't it with several other houses.

In the Kennebec river the sturgeon fishery was also begun and carried on with so great success that many thousand kegs were made in a season, . . . besides vast quantities of pipe-staves, hogshead and barrel, pine boards, plank, and timber of all sorts, which were not only transported to Boston, but to foreign places. Husbandry also began to thrive and great stocks of cattle were raised.”²

It must be apparent to every one that Penhallow referred to the whole eastern territory and not to any particular portion. That he had no specific reference to Augusta, is shown by the fact that the sloop³ com-

¹ Note this word.

² Penhallows' Indian Wars in Col. N. H. Hist. Soc., vol. 1, p. 88. (Originally printed in 1726.)

³ The sloop "Pejepscot" was purchased by the Pejepscot Proprietors about the year 1713, for the purpose of establishing communication with Boston. McKeen, Mss, Lectures in Brunswick, Pub. Lib.

menced her trips before either of the towns were fairly settled, and for the very purpose of aiding in their settlement, and of supplying them with the necessities of life at a later period ; that the fisheries, with the twenty vessels employed, were established before the erection of the fort at Augusta, and consequently, before any settlement was fairly established there ; and the reference to the sturgeon fishery and the exportation of lumber clearly refers to the Kennebec river, and to the whole of its surrounding territory, and not to the little settlement at Augusta.

The vessels employed in the fisheries and in the lumber trade, were doubtless sent out from Boston, the headquarters of the Pejepscot proprietors, and where all but one of them resided. Williamson records under the date of 1716, which is before the settlement at Augusta had fairly begun, that "Noyes being also patronized by some fishmongers in London, entered largely into the sturgeon fishery, which he carried on in the several branches of the Sagadahoc, seven or eight years."¹ One of the "branches of the Sagadahoc" was, doubtless, the Androscoggin which at that time fairly teemed with sturgeon, and it is proper to add that the salmon fishery was carried on in the Androscoggin as late as the year 1737, and probably later.²

The lumber which was shipped to Boston was probably obtained from saw-mills in various localities. There was a mill at Brunswick near the fort,³ one at

¹ Williamson, vol. 2, p. 91.

² History Brunswick, Topsham and Harpswell, Me., p. 631.

³ History Brunswick, Topsham and Harpswell, Me., p. 558.

Bunganock,¹ one on the Cathance river, in 1716, and probably two or three in 1719,² at, or near, which was Mr. Noyes' one thousand acres of land, and there were probably several mills in Georgetown. Although several votes were passed by the Pejepscot proprietors looking toward the future erection of mills at Augusta, the writer finds nothing on record to indicate that any mills were actually built there. As for agriculture, inasmuch as the farming lands were not laid out until 1720 and the town was deserted in 1721, one fails to see the appropriateness of the statement that "agriculture throve."

The number of actual settlers at Augusta appears to have been very small, as will be seen by the following statement made by the clerk of the town, and evidently written after the settlement was broken up. The original document is in the possession of the Maine Historical Society.³

LOTS ON THE HARBOUR FROM YE NORWEST POINT GOING UP THE NORTH CREEK. 100 ft. front.

No. 1.	Vacant Now	} took up by Wm. West, but never settled.
2.	Do.	
3.	Do.	
4.	Do.	
5.	Do.	Do. by David Thomas, Do.
6.	Do.	
7.	Do.	took up by Henry Upperot, ⁴ but never settled.
8.		William Wigger built on.
9.	Do.	took up by Sam'l Harris, but never settled.
10.	Do.	took up by Rich'd Muzzy, and I reckon a house built on it.

¹ History Brunswick, Topsham and Harpswell, Me., p. 558.

² History Brunswick, Topsham and Harpswell, Me., p. 604.

³ Pejepscot Papers, vol. 2.

⁴ This name uncertain.

11.	Do.	took up John Dorrel, but I think no house built.
12.	Do.	took up by John Chickren, and something improved I think.
13.	Do.	took up by one Low, but never settled.
14.	Do.	Do. by Benj ^a Purrington ye prop ^a house stood on it.
<hr/> Road.		
15.	Do.	took up by James Tarrant, but no house I reckon.
16. }	Oliver Noyes, the fort stands on these.	
17. }		
18.	Do.	took up by one Morse, but no improvement.
19.	Do.	took up by Edmund Mountfort and built on.
20. }	Oliver Noyes, Do.	
21. }		
<hr/> Road.		
22.	Oliver Noyes,	Do.
23. }	John Penhallow built on.	
24. }		
25. }	Thomas Webber, part cleared and improv'd and house on ye Iland.	
26. }		
27. }		
28. }		
29. }	Richard Hayward took up, but did not build yron.	
30. }		
This is all I know of ye Laying out Lotts.		
EDMUND MOUNTFORT.		

The names mentioned in the Popham Memorial Volume as among the settlers at Augusta, "the Halls, the Springers, the Rideouts, and the Owens," do not appear in Mountfort's list of lot owners, and the following extract shows that they settled elsewhere:—"At this period emigrated from Salem to the margin of the Kennebec, the Halls, Jeremiah Springer, Nicholas Rideout, John Owen and others."¹ It is hardly to be supposed that the author of this statement re-

¹ Ms. letter to Noyes from J. Clark, quoted in *Ancient Dominions of Maine* p. 226.

ferred to Small Point Harbor, Casco Bay, as "the margin of the Kennebec."

A careful and conscientious consideration of the whole subject forces the conclusion that the attempt to establish a town at Small Point Harbor was a failure before the commencement of Lovewell's war, and not in consequence of it; that, at its best, the number of its inhabitants was small and its buildings few; and, unlike Brunswick, Topsham and Harpswell, which were broken up soon after, and were afterward resettled, the settlement at Augusta was never revived, and all that now marks the spot where the infant settlement made its feeble beginning are the foundations of the old fort and the old well.

REMINISCENCES OF A GREAT
ENTERPRISE.

BY JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, Feb. 20, 1890.

A FEW days since a paper came into my hands, which awakened memories of the Portland of my boyhood, and peopled it with the forms of men who have passed to another sphere of existence; and knowing that this Society has an affiliation, I may say a loving tenderness for reminiscences, I have thought proper to expose to it the contents of this paper, hoping that still other reminiscences of a kindred nature may thereby be awakened.

The paper to which I refer is the journal of John A. Poor, describing his journey to Montreal, begun February 5, 1845, in connection with the proposed construction of the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railroad.

I was a boy at this time, and was wont upon holidays to pass a portion of my time in the store of a relative, which was frequented by the promoters of this great enterprise. This store occupied the site of the present Casco Bank, and here gathered, almost daily, a remarkable body of men to discuss the project pro and con. Among these were William Pitt Preble, tall, dignified and self-contained, who spoke sparingly, but whose sententious utterance deeply impressed those who listened to him; Josiah S. Little, portly, rosy, good natured, and ready to argue *ad finem* every point presented to him; in this respect

quite unlike Judge Preble; Randolph Codman, tall, spare, and sallow, with keen eye and aquiline nose, a man full of wit, and even ready at repartee; certainly a most striking character; Luther and George Jewett, the former having a long and serious face, iron gray hair, straight and long, and a voice seemingly held back, which impressed the listener all the more; the latter, stout, jolly and full of quaint humor; Joseph Pope, then an editor, a man of ample proportions, of a sanguine temperament and unmistakably a *bon vivant*; a man to "set the table a-roar;" Dr. Stephen Cummings and my father, old friends, and both apt *raconteurs*, whose treasuries of humor were inexhaustible, and who vied with each other in relating amusing experiences in their medical practice. Upon these would break in suddenly, John A. Poor, a man of immense proportions—to my eye then a veritable giant—who would talk with vehement action for a few moments, and then leave as suddenly and impetuously as he had appeared, as though he could spare no more time for talk, but must be at more useful work.

These were the men who would gather about the stove in the rear of the principal grocery store of the city, as men are wont to gather even now in the country grocery, and seated upon boxes, barrels, stools, coffee bags, or whatever else would serve the purpose, would discuss the difficulties of building a railroad to Canada through the forests of Maine, and the great advantages which such a road would secure for Portland.

For a considerable time, the questions connected

with the enterprise were discussed by these men and others who would join with them. Sometimes General Samuel Fessenden, a man of remarkably attractive qualities, who could make a witty point and appreciate one with keen zest; "Squire" Deblois, suave, polite and courtly, who always reminded one of a typical English squire of the old school; James C. Churchill, a quiet well balanced man of much force of character, and Charles Q. Clapp, an impetuous and fiery man, a Bismarckian spirit, would join the others, whom I have named, in the discussion of the projected enterprise—a discussion always interlarded with telling stories and witty jokes, which imparted to these gatherings a fascination impossible to describe.

From these discussions grew public meetings, and the more active of those who had engaged in them took part in presenting their views to the people. A general interest in the subject was thereby awakened, and before the meeting of the legislature at the close of the year 1844, it was determined to apply to that body for a charter to construct the proposed road, an undertaking which seemed to many people wild and almost impossible of accomplishment. Preble, Poor, Little and others threw themselves into the movement, and in October, 1844, James Hall, a civil engineer, was appointed by the mayor and aldermen of Portland to make a reconnoissance of a route for a railroad from Portland to Montreal, and on the twenty-third of the month named, he began the examination. The season, he says in his report, made on the seventh of December following, "had already too far advanced to make

a minute examination of the whole distance before winter should set in, and as it was desirable that as much information as possible should be obtained before the assembly of the legislature, that, if the project was feasible, a charter might be obtained, and other preliminary steps taken, so as to insure the earliest possible success of the enterprise," he proceeded to the interior "to examine the more difficult parts of the route, through the forests, among the highlands, trusting to the general information" which he "had already acquired of the intermediate distance," and such as he "could cursorily obtain, for a description of this part of the route."

As soon as the legislature convened at Augusta, steps were taken to procure a charter, based upon this report, and upon February 7, 1845, John Neal in an article in the Advertiser, joyfully wrote :—

Since my last, the legislature of Maine have granted us a perpetual charter, incapable of being repealed, altered, limited or qualified by legislative power, without the consent of the stockholders; and wholly free from taxation, now and forever, except upon real estate purchased by the corporation; shares, including the right of way, being personal estate, and taxable to the owners where they have their home; not to be tapped on the western side, though it may be sluiced on the east.

Two days before the date of this letter, John A. Poor, knowing that the charter would be granted, started on his famous ride to Montreal in order to lay his plans before the Canadians, and kindle in them an enthusiasm which he hoped upon the arrival of Judge Preble, who was to follow him by express with the charter as soon as it was signed, would increase to a

degree which would insure the construction of the Canadian portion of the road to the Vermont line. The journal kept by him on this journey, undertaken in the midst of a furious storm, begins as follows, on February 5, three days before the final passage of the charter.

JOURNAL OF JOHN A. POOR.

MONTREAL Feb. 12th, 1845.

At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12 o'clock A.M., of Wednesday, the 5th inst., I left the U. S. Hotel. The wind which had been increasing the whole day previous, blew a perfect gale from the N. E. and the snow had commenced falling with great rapidity for about an hour previous. Before setting off alone I thought it prudent to try the storm, & I drove across Green Street bridge. The new fallen snow lay only in drifts & the larger portion of the way was glare ice, over which the wind slewed the sleigh in any direction.

The snow was nearly if not quite a coarse hail, & striking the face with such violence as to prevent not only yourself but the horse from seeing his way, as our way led us to take the whole fury of the storm in the teeth.

Finding it unsafe to proceed alone in the midst of such a tempest on my return to the U. S. I inquired if no one could be found to accompany me, as the driver who brought me the horse, positively refused to stir an inch with me. Mr. Cheney came to my aid & volunteered his services as soon as he could procure a fur coat which he soon obtained. Thus furnished we started & such a night & such a storm I never before encountered. The Drifts were already several feet deep & the residue of the road was full of objects to fright our horse who sheared at every step.

To face the storm with our eyes open was impossible, and the only protection to them was the covering of ice which hung in masses from our eyebrows. Our horse regarded neither highways or byways but climbed stone walls, wood piles, or any thing in the way. To keep the road was impossible & 5 times we called up the people on the way to get our road which as many

times we lost, & finally at the end of three hours we reached Leach's Tavern $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles out where we had an opportunity to thaw ourselves out. Mr Cheney who was less clad than myself was actually suffering from the cold.

At the first dawn we started afresh and ploughed a path through the drifts to Gray Corner. Jack Frost took a nip at my nose and a twist upon one ear. All our arrangements were disarranged, and my worthy friend Barrell remonstrated against an attempt to go further. I soon found Berry who has been a veteran stage driver & he soon put forward armed with a shovel &c. to open the Drifts & with wonderful energy & dispatch he landed me Safe on Paris Hill at 3 oclock, after shoveling and breaking the stupendous drifts nearly hard enough to bear the horse.

To reach Rumford that night Waterhouse pronounced impossible & so I was compelled to lie over till morning & as soon as my dinner was dispatched I went to bed from which I did not stir till daylight. I was soon under way with that prince of stage drivers, Waterhouse, whose tandem team cut through the drifts higher than the horses backs. He sent out "videttes" to break the path, & before one oclock we had reached Wardwells. Dinner was quickly done & with his cousin, Jere Wardwell, we put forward for Andover, the region of snow drifts & northeasters. All along the way we turned out the "videttes" 2, 3 & 4 at a time, who hitched to and dragged us through the drifts to Andover Corner. Mr Purinten was soon ready for the Surplus, & two young men volunteered to break the path on horse back, without this, progress would have been impossible in the dark.

At the Surplus, 6 miles from Andover, we got a change of horses, & Mr. Wallace Abbott of Andover continued to pilot us through the roads. Capt. Brown, who had been in readiness the day before was soon on the ground at B. I despatched Mr. Green across $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to get him, as he was 3 miles off from Braggs. From B. to Errol 9 miles, we could make no faster progress than on a walk about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour. The Snow unbroken lay some 18 inches deep. The cold was most cruel &

intense. We despatched a man ahead of us from B, Mr. Morse, by whom Capt. Bragg was aroused & we found a cheerful fire & hearty welcome.

William Bragg soon was ready to carry me through "The Notch" to Colebrook. Two young men volunteered to go ahead & break the path & as they approached the Notch they started out other horses & riders so that we had 4 horses & 5 men to put us through this wonderful chasm or pass.

This stupendous curiosity of which no adequate description has ever been given seemed more sublime than ever. The perpendicular Walls rising on either side for some 1000 feet hang in frightful masses over head & the narrow path way not more than 30 or 40 feet wide, was piled with the drifted snow. Where our path lay it was a sloping drift at an angle of 45 degrees & no sign of footstep anywhere. We dug a track for the horses & carried our baggage sleighs through by hand. The wind howled fearfully through the chasm & the drifting snow darkened the air, which at the depth of the gorge always seems sombre and blackened. In less than two hours we made our way through the Notch tho one drift as we approached the western entrance seemed to completely bar all approach. We cut a path way into it and by treading the snow dragged our horses through tho they passed out of sight as you looked across the tract.

The daring and intrepidity of the young men of our party was most remarkable. The cold was intense, the air filled with snow & the wind blew with such violence you could scarcely keep on your feet. With the greatest composure and apparently enjoying the sport, these hardy fellows penetrated the drifts with an apparent relish for its excitement & would accept no compensation for their aid. Such a storm as this has not been known here for many years. Had I left one day sooner I should have found a splendid road and could have easily reached Montreal in 30 hours.

From the Notch to Colebrook and Canaan we found the snow less & a path broken for us all the way. I was enabled to reach Compton before 9 o'clock in the evening, though the road from Canaan was much of the way drifted full & without any track.

Here I met Mr Pinney, a most efficient Rail Road man & an accomplished gentleman, who volunteered to carry me on to Sherbrooke in the morning, where I remained the next day & had an opportunity of conversing with our friends.

At 5 o'clock on Sunday Osgood started with me for Granby, 46 miles where we arrived at 5 o'clock p. m., dragging through an untrodden road with 18 inches of snow. From this place I found a better track & at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 a. m. of Monday I was at the Exchange. The cold was intense, some 18 below zero & in crossing the St. Lawrence over 2 miles the mist of frost entirely prevented our seeing three rods ahead.

After 3 hours of sleep I went to meet the Board of Trade, who had the matter of the Rail Road before them. Here I found Galt and Mr Lyford of New Hampshire.

I presented my maps & documents to the Board of Trade & entered into a variety of calculations & Statements showing the advantages of a Rail Road to Montreal & the peculiar claims of the Maine route.

I was happily met with an attentive reception & the idea seemed to take full possession of several members of the Board, that any other route than that of Portland would fail to secure to Montreal the great advantages of the trade of the St. Lawrence Valley.

Upon Mr. Poor's return from Montreal, the greatest enthusiasm in the undertaking was observable. The whole town seemed to take a personal interest in the enterprise. Of course there were some who criticised the undertaking, and to them, lions in the way were numerous. Great snows would prevent the trains from running in the winter, which would greatly restrict the expected traffic between the seaboard and the St. Lawrence. The cost of building and operating such a road would be enormous, and those who invested their money in it would never see it again; but such objec-

tions were without force to the earnest men who had the enterprise in hand. They but served as a gentle stimulus to more energetic effort, if more were possible.

One of the most enthusiastic and voluminous writers on the subject was John Neal, whose trenchant pen did good service to the cause. In a series of articles published in the *Portland Advertiser* during the winter and spring of 1845, he discussed the subject in all its phases, fortifying his arguments by statistics which were so convincing to his readers that nobody attempted to question their accuracy. Really it is instructive to examine these statistics to-day, and the many arguments which Mr. Neal pressed into the service of the projected railroad. Hardly a point possible to adduce in its favor escaped his notice.

In the meantime the people of Canada were being aroused to the importance of a railroad to the Atlantic, and their papers soon began to take up the cry in its favor. The charter of the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railroad was signed on the tenth of February, and on the evening of the eleventh, an immense public meeting was held in City Hall. To quote from the report :—

The City Hall was crammed at an early hour, so that by seven o'clock it was hardly possible to find standing room, and crowds kept coming to the door and going away discouraged. The whole evening through we never saw it so full before. The meeting was called to order by Mr. John Purinton and Eliphalet Greely, mayor of the city, was placed in the chair, and John Neal chosen secretary.

Messrs. Moore and Pennoyer from Sherbrooke, L. C., the

former, at one time a captain in the royal navy, and of late a member of the provincial parliament; and the latter, a thorough-going man of business, were then introduced to the meeting, and received with a hearty and general outbreak of enthusiasm.

Mr. Henry H. Boody moved that they should be welcomed with three hearty cheers, which were given till the house shook to its foundation.

Judge Preble, chairman of the provisional committee, then made his report, commenting at length upon the liberality and the wisdom of the charter, its safety for investment, and its particular as well as general character. He was interrupted again and again by applause, and especially when he complimented the representatives of Portland for their zeal and faithfulness, and the friends of the bill in the legislature of the state for their promptitude and liberality.

Having pointed out the advantages of the charter over all others in our country, and explained certain of the clauses relating to taxation, the right of way, and the purchase of lands for depots, etc., etc., so as to show the property of stockholders to be forever free from possibility of taxation, except under their own laws and at home, and having dwelt upon the fact that the legislature could never interfere with the rights of the corporation so long as they behaved themselves; nor even when they misbehaved, otherwise than by due process of law, he announced his intention to set off for Montreal to-morrow morning at four o'clock (cheers) bearing the charter; and hoped to arrive there on Friday night, by another and longer road, (but more used in winter) than that running through the Dixville Notch; and finished a speech of about an hour in length, by complimenting the gentlemen from Canada, and offering a set of resolutions which were unanimously adopted and readopted with a tremendous roar of applause, and without a single dissenting voice.

After the adoption of the resolutions, which space will not permit to be copied, Mr. Anderson, the collector of Portland, was then called up at the further end of the hall. He said:—

He did not rise, for that were impossible, he and five hundred others having stood the whole evening; that he and they found it harder getting through the hall than through the Dixville Notch, and after treating the subject a few moments in his off-hand way, complimented the gentlemen from Canada for their frankness, discretion and straightforwardness, accompanied by continual cheers, concluded with avowing his belief that a subscription for half a million could be had in Portland; and that if there were those who would not subscribe in fair proportion to their interests and property, lying by to speculate upon the necessities of the more generous, there might be found a way to make them. This intimation was received with shouts of applause.

Mr. Moore from Canada then took the platform, and in a handsome speech thanked the people of Portland for their kind reception, and avowed his intention to tell the people of Canada on his return, that nowhere could they find a heartier coöperation than at Portland. These remarks were received with repeated bursts of applause. Mr. Moore was followed by his colleague, Mr. Pennoyer, who, protesting that he also was unaccustomed to public speaking, and especially before so large and intelligent an audience, thanked the people of Portland for the encouragement they had given to the great enterprise; declared that the arguments in its favor were like the edge of a pair of shears, all on one side; avowed the belief that now it would be carried through, concluded with repeating, I thank you, having been interrupted again and again by the cheers of the meeting.

Both gentlemen were evidently averse to saying much; not from inability, as they had before satisfied all who had seen them; but from a wish to keep free from all 'entangling alliances,' and from a determination to get back to Canada with judgments untrammelled, and with understandings accessible to future evidence, come from what quarter it might. Their admissions, though very guarded, were nevertheless, frank, manly, and full of encouragement.

Mr. Neal was then called to the platform, and after declaring that he would not make a speech, that in his opinion the time for speech making upon this subject had gone by, since the whole

State of Maine was a-fire with it, as had been proved by the legislature having abandoned at once, and he hoped forever, their whole state policy, their self destroying war upon the rights of corporations, he called the attention of the meeting to the fact that he with these two gentlemen from Canada, originated this most magnificent enterprise only about three or four months ago.

After the passage of a vote to publish a certified copy of the proceedings of the meeting in the city papers, the meeting adjourned "with three more hearty and prolonged cheers for the gentlemen from Canada, accompanied by a general wish for their safe return to their families."

The importance of making a good impression upon the Canadian visitors was apparent. Boston, alarmed by the popular demonstration in Portland for a railroad to Canada, was making active efforts to attract the attention of the Canadian people to the superior facilities which it offered for the terminus of a road between the St. Lawrence and the Atlantic, and Portland was alive to the danger. A war with printers' ink soon began. The Portland papers sneered at Boston harbor. It was rapidly filling up, and would soon be unsafe for vessels of large draft to enter; then it was constantly freezing up in winter. If a cold snap came on and ice formed anywhere in Boston harbor, prying eyes discovered the fact, and ready tongues related it to Portland editors, who with attractive headlines informed the world of the unsatisfactory condition of their rival's harbor. The following extracts from the Portland papers of February, 1845 can hardly be classed as cheerful reading to Boston people.

PORTLAND HARBOR NOT FROZEN OVER!

With the thermometer at sixteen degrees below zero on the north side of the ropewalk this morning at sunrise, and at from two degrees to six degrees below zero during the day in different parts of the town, our harbor is not closed; nor has it been closed for a single hour this winter, notwithstanding the terrible weather. Two vessels have gone out to-day from the upper docks. But how is it with Boston harbor? Let the Boston papers speak for themselves.

From the Daily Advertiser, Feb. 3.

Below—Ship Clinton. Two of the Clinton's crew are sick and unable to do duty, and the rest with the crew of the Rochambeau are frostbitten, and both vessels are in want of assistance. Captain Sturgis on the revenue cutter Hamilton, which vessel is anchored in Nantucket Roads, will proceed to-morrow morning and place a fresh crew in each vessel, to assist them up to the city.

From the Boston Courier.

The ice makes in the docks and flats, but the harbor and channel remain unobstructed. It is the anniversary of the cold weather of last year, when the harbor was frozen over, and the passage was cut through the ice for the February steamer.

From the Daily Mail, Feb. 7.

Our harbor is about as good, or rather about as bad as closed up. It is filled with ice and snow, and it is with the greatest difficulty that a passage can be kept open for the East Boston ferry.

The alleged quotations from Boston journals, the Portland editor regarded as "facts which speak for themselves."

These items appeared while Poor was on his way to Montreal. The theory that Boston harbor was rapidly filling up has been alluded to. A single item alluding to this may not be out of place here. It appeared in the Argus and purported to have originated in Boston itself.

It is well-known that the sea during every easterly gale, is making destructive inroads on those outer islands in the harbor which are composed altogether of diluvial materials. The Great Brewster is much exposed to the action of the waves, and unless the government adopts some preventive measures very soon, this great barrier will be removed—washed away, and the ship channel will be filled, and the harbor much injured, perhaps destroyed so far as relates to large vessels, and the formidable and expensive defenses on George's Island will be rendered entirely useless.

These attacks amazed the Boston editors, and they replied sharply to them; but the fact is, that the Boston editors were the aggressors, as may be seen from an article in a Boston paper, published in the autumn of 1844, which is but a single example of the methods which they took to belittle the Portland enterprise.

RAILROAD TO CANADA.

We perceive that some of the Maine papers, among them the Norway Advertiser, are drumming up the Maine people to construct a road to command the travel to Montreal. We would first inform the Maine editors that they and their readers have not sufficient enterprise and public spirit to accomplish such an object. While your people are disputing, we of Boston and neighborhood shall have built a road. We have got it started and nearly finished to Fitchburg, some fifty miles, and have our charter and means raising to extend it to Brattleboro, Vt., forthwith, from which place to Lake Champlain, the hardy and enterprising Vermonters have a charter to extend it, and it will early be built. From thence, the short distance to Montreal the British North American capital, a road will be built even before the other is finished. Thus the little village of Boston is likely to lay in the direct road from London to Montreal, and our road will doubtless have the conveying of the immense travel and trade between the mother country and her North American colonies.

Such articles as this only served to concentrate public efforts in Maine upon the projected enterprise so ably officered by Preble, Poor and their associates.

We have seen that Mr. Poor started for Montreal on February fifth, and that he was followed by Judge Preble on the twelfth. There was another part to the programme prepared by these skillful managers to arouse the sluggish Canadians to action. Upon the arrival of the next English steamer in Boston, an express was to start from Portland with the latest European news, and it was hoped to get this news through from Boston by way of Portland earlier than by the usual Boston route. The steamer *Hibernia* reached Boston on the morning of February nineteen, a week after Judge Preble's departure, and while he and Mr. Poor were still in Montreal, and her news together with the latest European papers which she brought, were at once dispatched by locomotive express to Portland, reaching here between one and two o'clock on that day. These were immediately taken by D. H. Furbish and E. P. Burbank, who at once set out with them for Montreal in a light sleigh. On the evening of the twentieth, Furbish and Burbank drove into Montreal. Judge Preble had just concluded an address to the Mercantile Library Association of Montreal, upon the subject of a railroad communication between that city and the Atlantic, when "a striking incident occurred." There was a bustle at the door and a message was handed to him, announcing the arrival of the express with the latest European news, "which was not expected for a week."

The announcement of this to the audience we are told "completely electrified the assembly, and actually clinched the nail the judge had been driving."

On the evening of the twenty-eighth, Furbish and Burbank reached home and were welcomed with enthusiasm. Mr. Furbish gave the time made by the express as follows. To Gray Corner, sixteen and one-half miles in one hour and two minutes; Norway Village, forty-two miles from Portland, two hours and fifty-five minutes, Bethel Hill, sixty-two miles, four hours and fifty-five minutes. From here the progress was less rapid; but Lancaster, one hundred and ten miles from Portland, was reached in nine and one-half hours, and Canaan, one hundred and fifty-two miles in thirteen and one-half hours; Montreal was reached at twenty minutes before nine o'clock in the evening, just thirty-one hours after leaving Portland.

Certainly this was a most remarkable ride. The express bearing the *Hibernia's* news from Boston by way of Concord and Burlington, reached Montreal sixty-two hours behind the Portland express. From this time meetings were held throughout Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont and Canada, wherever it was supposed the road might be located. Stock subscriptions were started, and preparations were made to begin work at the Atlantic end of the road on July fourth, five months after securing the charter. When the notable day arrived, all Portland was astir, and every citizen seemed to feel that the undertaking was a personal one. Judge Preble began the work with a shovel prepared for the occasion, and which was displayed to admiring eyes for

some days previous to the great event; but space will not permit a description of the ceremonies, which were like those common to such occasions, and familiar to all.

A few words may be said about the financial success of this enterprise. It was predicted by many that Portland would never see any portion of the money it invested in the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railroad back again in its treasury. This prediction, however, was not realized. Portland made loans to the road aggregating two millions of dollars, and just before leasing it to the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada, agreed to loan it three hundred thousand dollars more; but after the lease the money was not required. This loan of two million, with six per cent interest, has all been repaid as well as the considerable stock subscriptions made by our citizens.

When we consider the advantages which Portland has derived from the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railroad, advantages which would have been much greater but for the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty, we must admit that the most sanguine anticipations of its enthusiastic projectors have been fully realized. It has however, been "tapped on the west" in spite of Mr. Neals' confident assertion that it would never be. Although many earnest and able men did noble work in carrying the enterprise forward to success, to John A. Poor must be awarded the honor of having set it in motion.

REVEREND ROBERT RUTHERFORD.

BY JOSIAH H. DRUMMOND.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, January 21, 1892.

BRIEF references to Reverend Robert Rutherford are found in many of the historical works relating to our state, and brief sketches of a portion of his life have been published. But these accounts are so imperfect, that, considering the work he did in the early history of the settlement of the coast between the Kennebec and the Penobscot, and more especially the fact that he was one of my ancestors, I have taken some pains to learn something of his history.

According to the inscription on his gravestone, he was born in 1688 (not 1698, as it has usually been printed). He was certainly of Scottish descent, and probably born in the north of Ireland; but I have not been able to fix the place of his birth. It has been stated that he was a great-grandson of Reverend Samuel Rutherford, the distinguished Scottish Presbyterian divine and author, who died in 1661; but this statement is believed to rest only upon the possibility of his being so, and the possession by him of a volume of the sermons of Reverend Professor Rutherford, which was evidently highly prized by him and has been handed down to his descendants.

Further investigation settles that he was not a descendant of Samuel Rutherford, in the male line, as claimed; for while Samuel had nine children, all save

one died in childhood—a daughter (Anna) alone surviving him. The probability that she was Robert's grandmother, and he a descendant of Samuel in the female line is very remote.

The first definite fact in relation to him that I have ascertained, is that he received the degree of master of arts at Glasgow University, March 9, 1708; in the record he is described as a "Scoto-Irishman."

He was ordained in Ahma Carte, by the presbytery of Monaghan, March 23, 1714. This Ahma Carte was near Kilkenny, Ireland. The record says that a "supplication" from the people in that locality had been presented to the Synod of Ulster, met at Antrim in 1713, praying for "supplies in their pious design of being planted with Gospel ordinances." The congregation was, therefore, a new one; a Mr. Thomas Anderson of Edenderry reported to the Synod, that on the desire of the petitioners he had preached to them; that there were about two hundred hearers, several of whom were Roman Catholics; that the people, he was told, would advance £15 annually to a minister, and that there was a prospect of £10 additional from some well-disposed gentlemen. Upon this showing the petition was granted, and Mr. Rutherford was ordained over the new congregation.

In 1718, Mr. Rutherford attended the Synod of Ulster in Belfast, as a member of the presbytery of Sangford; he attended again in 1720, when, on a petition from the congregation and a letter from the presbytery of Munster, his congregation and himself were transferred to that presbytery.

I have not as yet traced him in the Synod of Ulster. The next that I know of him, he came to this country with Dunbar, as his chaplain, in 1729.

In the meantime he had married and lost his wife, by whom he had at least two children, and had married a second time and had several other children. The published accounts of him make no reference to his first wife or his children by her. It is presumed that his family came in the same vessel with him. I have not been able to find any account of the shipwreck of any of Dunbar's vessels, but it is stated that his two oldest daughters by his second wife, were "drowned, hand in hand, in going ashore from a wrecked vessel."

Mr. Rutherford was the first Presbyterian clergyman who came to Maine. He was Dunbar's chaplain at Pemaquid, and preached there and in that vicinity till the spring of 1735, when he went to Brunswick. I am able to fix this date by a letter (for an extract from which I am indebted to William M. Sargent, Esq.) from Dunbar to him, dated at Portsmouth, February 1, 1734 (1735 N. S.) in which he says, "Knowing you are to remove with your family in the next spring to Brunswick, I have arranged the use of my garden and stable near the fort, to Mr. David Allen and desire you deliver the key and possession."

This letter is the one referred to in the testimony of William Rogers before the "Eastern Claim Commissioners" in 1811:—

"Governor Dunbar, as witness was informed, removed to Portsmouth and his garden and stable were

left in the care of Mr. Rutherford, a clergyman. (The witness remembers Mr. Rutherford.) Dunbar assigned to David Allen, uncle of the witness, his garden.

(The witness here produced an original letter from David Dunbar to Rev. Mr. Rutherford, dated Feb'y 1, 1734, marked S.)"

As Brunswick was not then incorporated, it could not have a "settled" minister. Later in 1735, a petition was presented to the General Court for the incorporation of the town; it recited the erection of a "commodious meeting house" chiefly at the charge of the proprietors and that they had "obtained a pious and orthodox minister to settle" with them; it was signed, among others, by "Rev. Robert Rutherford" and by John Rutherford, his son by his first wife. The legislature granted the petition and passed an act to incorporate the town, but for some reason it failed to receive the signature of the governor. Mr. Rutherford, however, continued to preach, and must have been paid by private subscription. In 1737, another effort was made to secure the incorporation of the town, but it was not until January 26, 1738 (corresponding to February 4, 1739 N. S.) that the object was effected. The preamble to the bill states that one of the objects was "to provide a suitable maintenance for the minister settled among them." The "minister" referred to was Mr. Rutherford.

The town was at once organized, but the record does not show that any money was raised to make provision for preaching. A committee, however, was appointed to make arrangements with Mr. Rutherford,

or if he should decline, to agree with some other minister. At a meeting in July the town voted that he should "preach at the east part of the town as often as he pleases."

In 1740, the town appropriated £150 for Mr. Rutherford's salary and £200 to be raised in three equal annual installments, as a "settlement" "if he lives and dies minister of Brunswick." The next year the same amount for his salary and the second installment of his "settlement" were raised; but in 1742, he terminated his connection with that town. He had preached there seven years, but strange to say he was not settled; and stranger still, so far as ascertained, he never was "settled" in the ecclesiastical sense of the term, after he came to this country.

In 1743, and probably in the latter part of 1742, he preached at Georgetown. It is probable that he remained there a year or two longer, and probably then lived a short time at Pemaquid. After Dunbar's death, his widow in 1746 married Captain Henderson of St. George's fort, now Thomaston, and Mr. Rutherford went there to reside. For eight years he preached at the fort and, as a missionary, in Cushing, Warren and other adjacent places. He died October 18, 1756, and was buried near the tomb of General Knox.

As already stated, he was twice married. In the burying-ground at Brunswick there is, or recently was, a gravestone inscribed to the memory of "John, son of the Rev. Robert and Elizabeth Rutherford, who died, Jan'y 22, 1741-2 in the twenty-fifth year of his age": he had no family. In the old burying-ground

at Arrowsic there was in 1884, a gravestone inscribed "Here lies ye body of Mrs. Susanna Drummond, the wife of Patrick Drummond Esq., Daur of the Rev. Robert Rutherford: died Sep't 12, 1771, in ye 49th year of her age." (The stone has since been removed to the Drummond Cemetery in Phippsburg.) She was the second wife of her husband, who came from the north of Ireland in 1729 and settled in the part of old Georgetown that is now Phippsburg. From his settling in Georgetown and especially from his purchasing land there, it is very apparent that he did not come with Dunbar, though very nearly at the same time. They had seven children, four of whom married and have numerous descendants. In every generation since her own children, there has been at least one namesake of her father—at least one Robert Rutherford (or Rutherford) Drummond. John Rutherford was born about 1716, and Susannah about 1722; whether there were other children between these, I cannot ascertain. In a list of settlers in 1754, in St. George's Lower Town (Cushing) are the names of Reverend Robert Rutherford, Richard Rutherford, and Robert Rutherford Jr. Whether the last two, or either of them, were sons of Mr. Rutherford, or more distant kinsmen, I have not been able to ascertain. The settlers were soon after driven off by the Indians, and, so far as is known, neither of these two ever returned; they passed away "and made no sign."

Mr. Rutherford's second wife survived him: she died February 8, 1780; by her he had seven children, all daughters; three and probably more, were born before

he came to this country: four were married and their posterity is numerous. One married Captain George McCobb of Cushing, one William Farnsworth of Waldoboro, one Captain Jonathan Nutting of Cushing, and the other married (1) McFarland and (2) James Sweetland of Friendship.

Mr. Rutherford sprang from those Presbyterians of Scotland who preferred to emigrate to Ireland rather than change their religion or endure the persecutions to which they were subjected in their native country. They fought behind the walls of Londonderry in that famous siege, which not only decided who should rule Great Britain, but also whether that nation should be intensely Roman Catholic or nominally Protestant—in brief whether Protestants should be allowed to live in it free from fanatical persecution. While these Presbyterians had expected that the success of William of Orange would enable them to live undisturbed in the practice of their religious faith, in the event they were not satisfied.¹ In consequence very many of them came to America; many settled in New Hampshire and founded a new Londonderry there. But many came to Maine and settled along our coast; many had been sea-faring men, and they naturally sought out a locality where they could follow their former calling as well as engage in fishing. The movement started with Temple in 1718, when the ancestors of many of the people of Brunswick and Bath came over; but it seems

¹ A Scottish friend suggests that I have stated this rather mildly, and probably he is correct: there is good reason to believe that they expected to have their turn in having the upper hand and were disappointed because King William had the wisdom and the firmness to prevent oppression by either party in matters of religion.

to have been checked by the French and Indian war which commenced in 1720, and to have been revived at its close, so that in 1729, and the years immediately following, it acquired its greatest importance. When Rutherford came it is quite probable that many of his own congregation came with him, or immediately followed him. The immigrants were not confined to young men: whole families came; the patriarch with all his descendants, the shepherd with all his flock, came together. This is illustrated by my ancestor of my own name. In 1729, Alexander Drummond, an old man, came with his two sons, their wives and children; one daughter, her husband and children; and a widowed daughter with her children—his complete family. Alexander was of Scottish descent, if not born in Scotland; he and his children were Presbyterians and very likely of Mr. Rutherford's congregation.

As is natural, the members of his flock regarded him with feelings almost of reverence; his immediate descendants looked with pride upon their connection with him, for upon one gravestone I found the fact stated that the one buried there was "ye grandson of ye Rev. Robert Rutherford." But the esteem in which he was held was not limited to his family or congregation, but he commanded the respect of the whole community. He was a man of good ability, unostentatious habits and blameless life, was devoted to his duties with all the earnestness, zeal and fidelity then characteristic of his sect—but an earnestness and zeal tempered by toleration as he, at least, had learned in the school of persecution that toleration cannot long exist unless it is

mutual. Perhaps the reason why he never was "settled" in this country was his desire to be measurably free from the strict trammels of his sect: however this may be, his time and work in this country were devoted to the service of his fellowmen without regard to sect and he carried practically into his daily life "charity to all mankind."

In the scenes in which he lived, his name is scarcely remembered; the demands of business have obliterated even the marks of his final resting-place; but the influence of his works, character and example, will go down to the latest posterity.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF WILLIAM D.
WILLIAMSON.

BY HON. JOSEPH WILLIAMSON.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, January 21, 1892.

As in compiling the History of Maine, its author is known to have made a large collection of historical and biographical material concerning our state and her inhabitants, the inquiry is often made, what became of these materials? To answer it is the purpose of the present article.

When Mr. Williamson died, in May 1846, none of his descendants, and in fact, not even a most remote relative remained in Bangor, where he resided, and the administration of his estate appears to have been committed to those who little appreciated that portion which did not possess an immediate pecuniary value; consequently his books became exposed to the curiosity and depredations of strangers. Autograph collectors mutilated many valuable letters, and carried away others. Some manuscripts were disposed of to paper manufacturers, and pamphlets and bound volumes found their way to second-hand bookstores. With a few exceptions, the larger part of his library became scattered.

A search for the lost manuscripts, prosecuted by me for many years, in all supposable places of custody or deposit, has resulted in securing thirty-nine closely written bound books and pamphlets, a list of which is given herewith.

Upon commencing the History of Maine, Mr. Williamson issued printed circulars, embracing numerous inquiries about the different towns—their settlement, Indian relics, lands, wealth, education, religion, literature, political condition, topography, statistics and the like. To these, replies from prominent citizens were secured, relating to a majority of the incorporated towns, many of the letters being complete local histories, and forming an invaluable contribution to our annals.

During the closing years of Mr. Williamson's life, he evidently contemplated the preparation of a Cyclopaedia of State Biography, or an account of all noteworthy persons who were citizens or natives of Maine. To this end, circular letters desiring biographical facts were sent out by him. The answers from many, principally from lawyers, are preserved. These, as well as the answers concerning the History, fell into the hands of Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, recently librarian of the Boston Public Library, by whom they were generously surrendered to our Society as their proper custodian. Increased by recent accessions, both series of replies, historical and biographical, the former numbering one hundred and eight and the latter sixty-two, have been rearranged by me during the past year, and are now returned to our library, classified in two volumes, each of which contains a suitable index. The sketches of one hundred and one Maine ministers, submitted at the last meeting, probably comprised a portion of the first draft of the projected work which I have named.

Nothing has been found indicating a similar collation of his facts concerning lawyers, or other professional men.

The following is a complete bibliography of all the manuscripts which are known to exist, with their titles as inscribed by the author. The manuscript of the History of Maine is in the Law Library of Harvard College. The others are in my possession, and excepting two volumes containing family and personal matters will ultimately be placed upon our shelves.

Collections. Biographical, Historical, Statistical, Documentary, Epistolary, &c., relating to the History of Maine. By W. D. Williamson. Begun A. D. 1832. 1st. Vol. 4o. pp. 146.

A Collection of Patents and Indian Treaties, also Biographical Sketches, and other Miscellaneous Matters relating to the History of Maine. By W. D. Williamson. Begun A. D. 1833. 2d. Vol. 4o. pp. 170. (Pp. 109 to 170 contain sketches and minutes of the Williamson family, revised and corrected in another book. Vol. 6.)

Sketches, Principally Biographical, Historical and Political. By W. D. Williamson. Vol. 3d. 4o. pp. 178. (Several of these sketches have been published in the Bangor Historical Magazine.)

Biographical Sketches of Ministers in Maine, from the first Settlement of the State. General alphabetical index, post. Page 162. By W. D. Williamson. Vol. 4th. 4o. pp. 168. (A type-written copy of this volume and also of volume 5 was presented by me to the Society at the last December meeting.)

Biographical Sketches of Ministers in Maine, from the first Settlement of the State. By W. D. Williamson. Manuscript Vol. 5th Con'd from Ms. Vol. 4th., at the end of which is a general alphabetical index. 4o. pp. 169 to 262.

Williamson. Genealogical and Biographical Sketches of this Family. By W. D. Williamson. Ms. Vol. 6th. 1840-41. 4o. pp. 108. (In 1886 I made a verbatim copy, which is bound and has an index.)

President's Registry of Bank Bills of the People's Bank. 4o. pp. 179. (Mostly filled with historical matter. The only portion relative to Maine, is a list of Maine lawyers, pp. 86 to 99.)

Pamphlet. 16o. pp. 30 containing diary while a member of the 17th congress. 1821-22. (Extracts were published in New England Historical and Genealogical Register. 30: 189, 489. 1876.)

Pamphlet. 16o. about 50 pp. containing alphabetical list of towns and names of the gentlemen to whom circulars concerning history of Maine were sent. Nov. 1819. Also names of lawyers to whom printed letters (for biographies) were sent. Jan. 1, 1840. This contains the following memoranda:—

Began to collect material for a History of Maine about 1816 or 1817.

November, 1819. Sent printed circulars to some gentlemen in every town.

June, 1824. Began to arrange the materials in chronological order and to write the history.

January, 1826. Finished compiling the first volume, and talked about terms with the printers.

January, 1827. Sent 41 circulars to postmasters in the towns.

February 8, 1828. Finished the 26th chapter of 2d volume, including 1820.

1829-30-31. Copied the whole History.

Law and Lawyers. 4o. pp. 13 to 60 inclusive, and pp. 101 to 351 inclusive. (Pp. 60 to 161 missing. Probably the whole is a draft of, or was used in preparing a series of articles upon the same subject which appeared in the American Quarterly Register. Vol. 14: 241, 344. Vol. 15: 31, 253, 397.

Lectural Commentaries on the Laws of Massachusetts. Fol. pp. 979 in pamphlets numbered from 1 to 8 inclusive. (Pamphlet No. 5 is missing)

History of Maine, comprising extracts from records and books and contained in 13 folio pamphlets, numbered from 1 to 13 inclusive, as follows:—

No. 1.	1634-1701.	Extracts from Massachusetts records,	pp 74
" 2.	1702-1739.	" " "	" 55
" 3.	1740-1754.	" " "	" 66
" 4.	1754-1764.	" " "	" 67
" 5.	1764-1775.	" " "	" 62

No. 6.	Eastern Boundaries. Extracts from historical works &c.	pp 58
" 7.	1776-1778. Extracts from Massachusetts records,	" 66
" 8.	Indian Tribes.	" 80
" 9.	Aborigines of Maine.	" 69
" 10.	Extracts from 30 works concerning Maine.	" 105
" 11.	Land titles. Islands. Fol.	" 65
" 12.	Extracts from authors. Fol.	" 60
" 13.	Book of Claims. Eastern Coast and Waters. Fol.	" 76

Geography and Natural History of Maine, about 60 pp. Fol.

Representatives in Maine since 1692. Fol. pp. 44.

Notes concerning Maine. Fol. pp. 25.

A Narrative of the War in Maine, and Events to 1818. Fol. pp. 63. (In 1886 I copied the narrative and gave it to the Maine Historical Society. A copy was afterward made for Reverend C. M. Blake, of San Francisco.)

Annals of Bangor (in an old docket). Fol. pp. 23 to 45. (This was copied by me, and published in the Historical Magazine. New York 1874. A Ms. copy was also made by me for the Maine Historical Society.)

History of Maine, 1808 to 1820. Fol. pp. 113. (A first draft of that portion of the printed work.)

Memoranda as to Ministers of the Gospel and Education in Maine. 4o. pp. 66.

Notes on Law and Lawyers. Small pamphlet. 4o. about 100 pp.

English Laws. Pamphlet. 4o. About 100 pp.

Extracts from History. Ancient and Modern. (Providence College. 1804.) Pamphlet. 4o. About 150 pp.

A Dissertation on the Law of Reality. 1805. Pamphlet 4o. pp. 95.

A short Essay on the Law of Settlement. Amherst, Sept. 12, 1806. Pamphlet. 4o. pp. 24.

Scale of Crimes and Punishments. Amherst, Dec. 16, 1806. Pamphlet. 4o.

Records of W. D. Williamson, as Notary Public. 1821-1834. Pamphlet. 4o. pp. 60. (I have also his notarial seal.)

About 50 pp. miscellaneous Ms. on historical subjects.

LAND TITLES IN MONUMENT SQUARE, PORTLAND.

BY LEONARD B. CHAPMAN.

Accepted at a Meeting of the Maine Historical Society, May 9, 1891.

“Far in the lane a lowly hut he found,
No tenant ventured on the unwholsome ground.”

VERY much has been said and written concerning Market square—now officially called, by an edict of the city government, Monument square—but the story of its history has not yet been completely told. To-day¹ the full round period of time for which the lease of the westerly portion of the lot was given by Captain Samuel Skillings to Enoch Ilsley terminates.

We cleanse anew our spectacles, we fan from our eyes the “dust of ages,” we seek for footprints long ago lost sight of, and labor bestowed in this case brings reward—the way the bounds of the heater-piece at the junction of Congress and Middle streets, where stood the blockhouse, the jail, the jail keeper’s house, the hay-scales in the distant past, and where stands to-day the unfinished monument, were made to lap out onto the Skillings claim is now plain.

When the “gore of land” was conveyed to York county in 1753 it is represented that John Snow and George Berry witnessed the signing of the deed. They were not “paper men” or mythical characters. They had material forms, an earthly existence, and dwelt near Fall brook at Back Cove—places now in

¹ April 10, 1891.

the town of Deering. Of the cellar of the abode of Snow the walls are still standing near high water mark at the foot of George street, the stone doorstep unmoved, and the well near by it; while the grand old mansion house of the last days of Major George Berry, occupied by his son Obediah, is in good repair at this late day of its existence, and owned and occupied by Mr. John J. Frye. Among the descendants of the former we find a worthy member of Cumberland county bar—Virgil C. Wilson, Esq, who has been a Democratic nominee for mayor of Portland; while among the latter we find not only a candidate, but an ex-Republican mayor of the city—Honorable Augustus E. Stevens, deceased; another who is a historical writer and genealogical record maker—Doctor William Berry Lapham of Augusta.

The document we here present to the public furnishes a heretofore missing link in the story of Monument square as publicly told, and illustrates a case where “might is right,” and where the strong coerce the weak. It reads thus:—

To the Honorable Justices of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace next to be holden at Biddeford within and for the County of York on the second Tuesday of October next, viz:

We, the justices of the Court of General Sessions of the peace for the county of Cumberland, which was begun and holden at Portland in said County on the last Tuesday of May, A. D., 1787, send greeting:

Before the said County of Cumberland was set off the County of York — viz: On the 15th of October, A. D., 1753, Jeremiah Moulton, Esq., then Treasurer of the last mentioned County, received from Messrs. John Waite, James Milk, and William Cotton, a deed made and executed to him and his successor in office,

of a certain gore of land for the use of said County for a Prison House situated on the Neck of the Shire Town of said County, between Middle street and Back street, alias Queen street, bounded as follows: Beginning at a stake standing seventy-six Links and a half on a course south sixty degrees west from the south-westerly corner of Mr. Benjamin Larrabee's Dwelling House, as it was first built, then north eighty degrees west, nine rods and six links fronting Middle street, thence north forty-nine degrees, east eight rods and six links fronting Back street, alias Queen street, thence south twenty-two degrees thirty minutes east by Mr. Benjamin Larrabee's land seven rods and fourteen links to the first bounds mentioned.

This land we suppose might forever be held for the use of this county without any interruption or claims from the county of York, but private persons have lately laid claim to a part of it, and may commence an action for the recovery of it. In order therefore that our right to it may be incontestably established, we wish you to give a quit claim of it to us, and as it can be of no use to your county we flatter ourselves you can have no objections to our request.

Wishing you the Blessing of Health and peace, we are, with all due consideration,

YOUR FRIENDS AND SERVANTS.

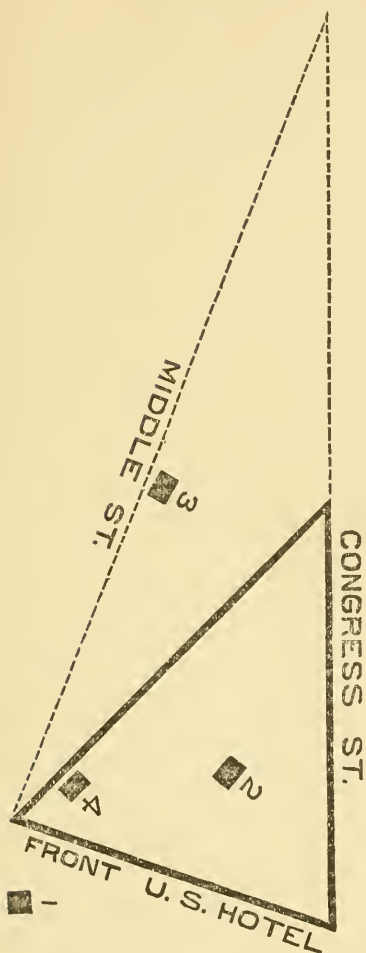
"The Court orders that a copy of the foregoing letter be signed by the President and transmitted to the Justices of the County of York." ¹

In compliance with this request the court of York county quitclaimed its interest, not to the whole lot as then occupied, but its interest in the original purchase, to Cumberland county. The following year the county of Cumberland quitclaimed the portion it had no valid title to—not even a quitclaim deed—to Joseph Noyes, Eben and his brother Woodbury Storer. Then Enoch Ilsley, who had previously purchased the interest of Captain Joseph Bayley, obtained a lease of

¹ Records in office of County Commissioners, Cumberland County.

Captain Samuel Skillings—as will hereafter in this connection be shown—of the part claimed by “private persons” to use the words of the judges as above quoted. Here were three strong, able men, backed by the county court, arrayed against one; the force of the current was too strong—Ilsley went down the stream, under, and out of sight, so far as relates to the early possession of the lot was in dispute, though the wealthiest man of the town, perhaps, and heavily laden with political honors and very influential.

The price paid by Cumberland to York county was five shillings; the price Cumberland received from Noyes and Storers, a year later, was one hundred pounds for twenty square rods. The size of the lot on Middle street received by the county was one hundred and fifty-two feet; on Congress street, one hundred and thirty-five feet; the county sold on Middle street one hundred and forty feet, and on Congress street one hundred and forty-five feet, reserving a sufficient amount to accommodate the jail and jail house, to which part of the lot the hayscales had been moved, between the lot conveyed to Noyes and Storers and the front line of the present United States Hotel building.



That the situation may be more readily understood by the reader we have prepared a diagram as follows:—

The part inclosed with black lines represents the shape and size of the original conveyance by Larrabee in 1736, as compared to the whole claimed in after years.

The dotted lines show the shape and size of the part that was unceremoniously added by Cumberland county, including Bayley's house, as compared with the lot covered by deed represented by the black lines.

1—Represents the site of the Benjamin Larrabee house.

2—The site of the block house built in 1744 by order of the State government, 18x33 feet on the ground, and sold to York county for a "prison house" in 1753, by John Waite, James Milk and William Cotton, who received the lot of Larrabee.

3—the site of Captain Joseph Bayley's house.

4—Hayscales at time of lease by Skillings to Ilsley in 1791.

The communication we have presented from the "Honorable Justices" of one county to the other shows conclusively when the contention between rival claimants commenced.

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January 1891 one of the heirs to the "Skillings claim" was here from Boston, looked the situation over, and the sum fixed by him and others of the heirs

to be demanded of the city of Portland, we are informed, was \$100,000. Shortly after his departure a copy of the original lease appeared in the Boston Globe, the substance of which has appeared in the Portland Argus. The Globe copy reads as follows:—

This Indenture of Lease, made and concluded upon this tenth day of April Anno Domini, One thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, by and between Samuel Skilling of the district of Cape Elizabeth in the County of Cumberland, Gentmn., of the one part, and Enoch Ilsley of Portland in the County aforesaid, Mercht., of the other part, *Witnesseth*: That the said Samuel Skilling, for himself and in behalf of the other heirs of his Father Samuel Skillings, Deceased, for the Consideration hereafter mentioned hath leased and to him Letten, and by these presents doth lease and to him let the said Enoch, his heirs and assigns, all the land lying Between ye South Westerly part of the County Goal Yard and the South Westerly part of the Hay Scales and between Back Street and Middle Street in the said Town of Portland (whereon Capt. Joseph Bayley Now Dwells, and who has been a Tenant at will under us many years, past, and now Hires the House on said land, of the aforesaid Enoch Ilsley,) for the full term of *Ninety Nine* years from the date hereof, to be fully completed, to improve as he the said Enoch his heirs or assigns may think proper and improve th m as he chooses for and During the Term of time aforesaid. And the said Enoch Ilsley doth Covenant and engage to pay unto the said Samuel Skilling for himself and the other heirs aforesaid One Dollar per year yearly for the rent of said land, and at the expiration of said term of *Ninety-Nine* years to yield and deliver unto the said Samuel and the other heirs aforesaid Quiet and Peacable Possession of said land and all the buildings thereon, provided he or they pay the said Enoch his heirs or assigns as much Money as three Indifferent men may Judge said Buildings to be then worth when Delivered up at the end of *Ninety-Nine* Years. To the True performance of each and Every article aforementioned the parties bind themselves, their heirs Executors and

administrators. Each to the other in the Penall sum of thirty Pounds.

In witness whereof, they have hereunto Interchangeably set their hands and seals the day and year before mentioned.

*Signed Sealed and Delivered
in presence of us*

Simeon Skilling
Joseph Skilling

ENOCH ILSLEY [seal]
SAMUEL SKILLING [seal]

1

The services of William M. Sargent, Esq., had been very liberally bestowed upon this matter. He had considered every phase of the situation, not only from a historical but a legal point of view. Our last words with him just before his death was with reference to the question, "Will the Skillings proceed?" He said, "Soon as \$500, or thereabouts, is paid as a retainer fee, a writ of ejectment will be issued against the city. It will be remembered that in 1885 when the project of confiscating the lot for the Monument Association was started, Mr. Sargent served notice upon the city clerk that the Skillings claimants would demand their rights to the lot when the time covered by the lease had expired.

A biographical sketch of Captain Skillings² has been presented to the public, as well as that of Captain Joseph Bayley.³ They both lived at a period of public anxiety, of shedding of human blood and carnage. In the front lines of action we find their footprints when the French and Indians assailed the homes of our ancestors. Their names deserve a place higher up than a low gravestone in a cow pasture at Long Creek

¹ Boston Daily Globe, February 3, 1891.

² Portland Argus, August 19, 1889.

³ Portland Argus, March 15, 1889.

in Cape Elizabeth, though that of Captain Bayley is not so high as that. In our protracted search we find, however, one page of written history relating to the last mentioned, and it is as follows :—

“Articles of agreement indented and made the twelfth day of September Anno Domini, one thousand seven and fifty-seven. By and between Thomas Smith, clerk; Jedediah Preble and Samuel Waldo, Esqs.; Alexander Ross, Benjamin Waite, Thos. Smith Jun., merchants; James Milk, Stephen Longfellow and Benjamin Titcomb, Gents.; William Cotton, tanner; Ebenezer Mayo and John Cox, mariners; Thomas Moseley, cordwainer; and Simon Gookin, housewright, all of Falmouth, suppliers of an intended scout or cruise for the killing and captivating the Indian enemy to the eastward the one part; and Joseph Bayley Jun., Joseph Cox, Benjamin Trot, Benjamin Cox, mariners; Nathaniel Ingersoll, Gent.; William Bayley, cordwainer; Joseph Barber, joiner; William Cotton, Jun., tanner; Houchin Moody, joiner; Harrison Brazier, blacksmith; Andrew Simonton, yeoman; Thomas Bradbury, joiner; Joshua Brackett, yeoman; and Joseph Thomas, Jun., joiner. All of Falmouth aforesaid scouters and cruisers in order to captivate and kill the Indian enemy, on the other part witnesseth: That the said. . . .

It is also agreed between the parties that Joseph Bayley Jun., shall have the command of said scout and cruise.” . . . 1

Several parts of the stipulation we omit because to present them would require too much space.

“Thomas Smith, clerk,” was Reverend Thomas Smith, the town’s expounder of divine law, who, in his journal, alludes to his receipts of the expedition.²

At this period in our history there was a struggle between the rival powers of France and England, and contention between those two nations was sure to bring on a conflict here, the Indians usually uniting

¹ Maine Historical and Genealogical Recorder. Vol. 1. p. 11.

² Willis edition, 1849, p. 173.

with the French against the English. This time the question for dominion in America was the absorbing one and the war is known in history as the "French and Indian war" and was of seven years' duration.

The dwellers upon the very soil upon which Portland and vicinity is located were fully organized and armed. Not only was one expedition under Captain Bayley fitted out, but Captain Samuel Skillings had command of the largest force of any in the town. Since the war of the Rebellion we hear but little of the heroes of the far-off time, and but little of those of the Revolution of 1776. The names of the command of Captain Skillings are as follows:—

Samuel Skillings — Captain.
Joseph Small — Lieutenant.
Richard Nason — Lieutenant.
Chipman Cobb — Sargeant.
Solomon Haskell — Sargeant.
John Wilson — Corporal.
Anthony Brackett — Corporal.

William Slemons,	James Thompson,
James Johnson, Jr.,	John Johnson, Jr.,
Robert Johnson,	William Poterfiela,
Thomas Jackson,	Richard Nason, Jr.,
Isaac Nason,	Jonathan Nason,
Zebulon Trickey,	William Lamb,
Joseph Small, Jr.,	David Small,
Daniel Small,	Nathan Chick,
Abel Gold,	Samuel Conant,
Bartholomew Thompson,	Nicholas Thompson,
Benjamin Haskell,	John Haskell,
Peter Babb,	Thomas Pennell,
Clement Pennell,	John Pennell, Jr.,
Andrew Cobb,	Joseph Riggs,
Jeremiah Riggs,	Stephen Riggs,
Jonah Blethen,	John Thombs, Jr.,
Edward Chapman,	Joseph Mussett,
William Bayley,	David Bayley,
William Wescott, Jr.,	Ebenezer Done,
Richard Wescott,	Nathaniel Done,
Josiah Skillings,	Samuel Skillings, Jr.,

John Warren,
 David Patrick, Jr.,
 Benjamin Godfrey,
 John Green,
 Jacob Dalinge, Jr.,
 Thomas Jones,
 George Knighte,
 Joseph Knight,
 Nathaniel Starbird,
 Nicholas Smith,
 Stephen Sawyer,
 Joseph Frost,
 Edward Done,
 Richard Crockett,
 William Tate,
 Veluis Shier,
 John Gripes,
 James Frances,
 John McDonald,
 Michael Grouse,
 Peter Puff,
 Valentine Skeminel,

Gilbert Warren,
 William Webb,
 William Balden,
 Jacob Dalinge, Sen.,
 Peter Lawrence,
 Nathaniel Knighte, Jr.,
 William Knighte,
 Samuel Knight,
 John Starbird,
 Abraham Crockett,
 James Frost,
 Joshua Crockett,
 Edward Gilman, Jr.,
 Nathan Starbird,
 Elias Hoffman,
 John Green,
 Robert Frances,
 David McDonald,
 Valentine Tilter,
 Nicholas Shoulders,
 Edward Caskallen,
 Phillip Cook,

John Cook.

Imagine a line drawn from Woodfords up round Saccarappa and then down to Long Creek and the persons named on the foregoing list, excepting a few of the latter, permanently lived on the horseshoe shaped piece thus inclosed.

The question as to title of Monument square is not only before the public, but the style and wording of the inscription for the monument. To the careful investigator it is plain one-half of the monument is built on the original claim of Skillings where dwelt Captain Bayley. As both were military characters—we therefore suggest that at the northwesterly corner of the base of the monument there be placed a post, rude in style of design, and inscribed:—

To the memory of Captain Samuel Skillings, and soldiers under him—Indian fighter, sawmill tender,

inn keeper, farmer and office holder, who owned half of the land where this costly monument stands, for which he received nothing in his lifetime, died at Long Creek, Cape Elizabeth, March 12, 1799, at the age of ninety-three years, where his remains repose in an old cow pasture. "Records are kept in Heaven."

Upon a post of the same design erected at the south-westerly corner we would have an inscription as follows:—

To the memory of Captain Joseph Bayley, who lived on this spot, and the several members of the expeditions under his management, enlisted in the cause of humanity to fight the Indians and an invading foreign foe, and who died in a foreign land after his vessel had been seized by a French privateer and condemned by a prize court. "Give honor to whom honor is due."

In far too many cases attempts to perpetuate recollections of the war of the Southern rebellion eclipses all other evidences of suffering, privation and real heroism of those who overcame the many and great obstacles in the way of establishing civilization hereabouts on a permanent basis, the benefits of which we now enjoy.

SKETCHES OF THE LIVES OF EARLY MAINE MINISTERS.

BY WILLIAM D. WILLIAMSON.

*Presented to the Maine Historical Society, with an Introduction by Joseph
Williamson, December 10, 1891.*

[CONTINUED.]

REV. THOMAS JENNER.

A. D. 1641, Reverend Thomas Jenner,¹ U. C., England, came to Saco early in the year 1641, or perhaps before. He emigrated from England to Weymouth, Massachusetts, in 1636, and was admitted a free man the same year. Governor Winthrop says the people "had called him there with intent to have him their pastor." Though there was a difficulty about settling him in the ministry, he was their representative to the General Court in May, 1640; and Mr. Leckford in his "Plain Dealing" says within the following year, "Mr. Ward's son is desired to come into the Province of Mayne; there is one Master Jenner gone thither of late;" and it would seem the purpose of his mission was, in part, to remove some impressions supposed to have been made by Reverend Mr. Gibson, favorable to the Episcopal sentiments and form of worship. For, in his answer, April 2, 1641, to one of Governor Winthrop's letters, he writes:—

Your judicious counsel accords with my own judgment, as I have not troubled the people at all with church discipline, or the constitution of churches, but have made it my study to show them

¹Johnson, in his Wonder-working Providence calls him "Mr. Gennors."

their miserable and lost estate without Christ ; nor have I inveighed in the least against the Church of England, being careful to express no distaste of such things ; altogether seeking to gain them over by conversion to Jesus Christ. True it is, I acknowledge, when I had been here a month or six weeks, and perceived them to be very superstitious, following man's invented formalities in devotion rather than the instituted worship of God, and as I would gain their good esteem of his pure ordinances, and make them see the evil and folly of their superstition and evil worship, I discoursed fully upon the words of the Psalmist. "The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul : the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple : " and in applying the use of the doctrine I descanted strongly against the religion of the Papists, and condemned those practices to which I saw people here superstitiously addicted, consisting either of new-indoctrinated worship not mentioned in the laws of God, or of God's instituted worship, yet abused by their additions or diminutions, distinctly pointing out particulars. I heartily thank God that it made, as I think, a general good impression upon those who heard me, except on Mr. Vines, and one more, who told me I struck at the Church of England, though I made no mention of her. He then pressed me to discuss with him one of the points, which was the baptism of infants, with god-fathers and god-mothers. I strove to avoid an argument upon the subject till I found he had called together his whole family to hear it, and surely, if I may infer the convince effect it had upon his mind by his silence, I have to thank Him, who through His divine mercy strengthened me ; for, since that time, he has manifested more love and respect towards our Divine Master and myself than formerly ; taking notes of the sermons, as I understand, and repeating them very orderly in his family. I would add that I have been solicited both by the inhabitants of Casco and of Stratton's plantation at Black Point to assist them in obtaining a godly minister, and, therefore, I would respectfully solicit your aid to the same end.

It is understood that Mr. Jenner preached with acceptance and success to the settlers at Saco during a

period of two years ; but where he was engaged in the ministry after he left that place we have no satisfactory account. If he were the man of his name, resident in Charlestown in 1649, he probably returned to England the succeeding year. He was a book scholar, indigent and laborious, having probably a greater number of tomes than of talents, for no mention is made of his abilities ; yet he left a library so large as to be particularly noticed ; and so valuable as to have paid to him by Governor Winslow for it, who purchased it, fifty pounds in advance on account of his pressing necessities. Some supposed it was bought for the use of a society formed for educating the Indians by means of established seminaries of learning for their instruction ; others thought it was intended for the enlargement of the college, newly established at Cambridge, an object more immediately important, it was said, than the Indian design itself. Indigence, however, though often exceedingly inconvenient, is not to be mentioned of Mr. Jenner, or any other clergyman, as any disparagement, especially among the common people at large. No, such are their strange notions of different vocations, that they think a minister must be poor to be humble, pious and soul saving. Perhaps the expletive is from the Jewish theocracy, by which the Levites had no territorial inheritance among their brethren ; a doctrine, they would argue, which the great Messiah and his apostles fully confirmed by illustrious example.

The severe strictures of Mr. Jenner upon the Papists, aimed in part at the Episcopal usages and forms, carries

the mind back to Luther and ancient times, in 1517, when all our ancestors were Catholics; and also turns our thoughts upon succeeding events: the marriage of the eighth Henry with a Catholic princess of Spain, afterward surnamed by the Pope in 1521, the Defender of the Faith, because of his book against the Lutheran reformation; the events in the subsequent twenty-five years of his life and government; his break with the holy pontiff, himself made head of the English church; his opposition to the reformers; the translation of the Scriptures into English; the suppression of the monasteries in his realm; the completion of the Reformation under his tolerant son, Edward VI, his successor; the revival of popery, 1553, by Mary, daughter of Henry's first wife, the Spaniard; the rise and progress of Dissenters and Puritans in the reign of Elizabeth, between 1558 and 1603; and, in fine, their growth and strength and boldness in the two subsequent reigns of the first James and first Charles.

In 1630, Mr. Hume, who was no friend to Puritanism, says that though "Archbishop Laud deserved not the appellation of Papist, the genius of his religion, though in a less degree, was the same with that of the Romish." The same profound respect was exacted to the sacerdotal character; the same submission required to the creeds and decrees of synods and councils; the same pomp and ceremony was affected in worship; the same superstitious regard to days, postures, merits and vestments. No wonder, therefore, that this prelate was everywhere among the Puritans regarded with horror as the forerunner of antichrist. How then was

it not meet that a Puritan minister, persecuted by the clergy of the mother church, and so lately from England, should endeavor to remove erroneous impressions which might have been made by Reverend Mr. Gibson; as he would warn with a prophet's fidelity and teach with an apostle's spirit?

REVEREND JOHN WHEELWRIGHT.

1643. Reverend John Wheelwright arrived in Boston in 1636,¹ and, on the twelfth of June in the same year, he and Mary his wife were admitted to the church in that place, soon after arrival; Reverend John Wilson being its pastor and Reverend John Cotton his colleague. He was the brother of William Hutchinson's wife, Anne, the female theologian, who came over two years before, and were members of the same church. Mr. Wheelwright was born in England, and was the classmate of Oliver Cromwell, being educated at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, England, though supposed to be older than that celebrated man.² He was married and a settled minister in Lincolnshire, but being ejected for his Puritan sentiments under the "merciless administration" of Laud, he fled to this country. Doctor Cotton Mather says, "he was always a gentleman of the most unspotted morals imaginable, a man of a most unblemished reputation, whose worst enemies never looked on him as chargeable with the least ill practices."

Mr. Wheelwright first engaged in ministerial services among the settlers at Mount Wollaston, planted some

¹ "May 26," Farmer.

² Cromwell born April 25, 1599.

ten or eleven years previously in that part of Braintree which is now Quincy, the adult people there being members of a "branch" of the Boston church. Governor Hutchinson describes him to have been a "zealous minister, of character for learning and piety," whom, as Mr. Hubbard states, the people of that place "had intended to be the minister thereof." But he had not been in the Colony more than seven or eight months before some of his religious sentiments came under severe animadversion, and on the nineteenth of the succeeding January he delivered at Boston a fast sermon, in which were expressions considered by the magistrates "as tending to sedition," or at least to the disturbance of the churches.

There has always been a disposition among Christians to contrast the subjects of faith and works; to lay a stress on one distinct from the other, and thus to separate what the divine will has joined together. The Puritans meant to respect both as taught by the Scriptures, agreeing fully with St. James, that faith which is pure is to be evinced by works that are good. But the discussion of the old doctrine was now revived in a new form and in a perplexing manner.

At first, the female members of the Boston church, invited by Mrs. Hutchinson, the sister of Mr. Wheelwright, met at her house once a week for the purpose of religious conference on the sermons of the preceding Sabbath. In the course of the first twelvemonth, as she took the lead in the exercises, she was gratified to find that three or four score of the better women were drawn together weekly to listen to her remarks,

soon considered as lectures, and that her abilities, zeal and usefulness were attracting the favorable notice of several Christians, and even of Reverend Mr. Cotton himself. She was well read and expert in the Scriptures, possessed a retentive memory, and like most women conscious of superior knowledge, mind or beauty, she became vain and supercilious. She was a woman of thought and also of good sense, if she had kept it under the control of discretion. But she loved to talk amidst admirers, as she knew hers was the princess of tongues for flippancy and charm. After the arrival of her brother she appeared more free and forward in expressing her sentiments, and asserted summarily that the Holy Ghost dwells personally in every true believer or justified person; that no degree of sanctification can evince to him his justification, and she even distinguished the ministers and church members through the country into two classes, and said a small part of them were under a covenant of grace and the rest under a covenant of works. Accordant with her in sentiment were Governor Vane, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Wheelwright, and most of the ministers in the Boston church. The above doctrines collaterally raised others such as this: faith is no cause of justification; man is justified before he believes; assurance is by immediate revelation only; the letter of the Scripture holds forth nothing but a covenant of works, and the covenant of grace was the spirit of the Scripture, known only to believers. The ministers were generally aroused, and Governor Winthrop with them; for they perceived they and their adherents were virtually denounced as legalists and

secular men. In the midst of the perturbation Mr. Wheelwright imprudently delivered the fast sermon before mentioned, from Matt. 9: 15, in which Governor Winthrop says he "inveighed against all that walked in a covenant of works, as he described them to be, viz: such as maintain sanctification as an evidence of justification, and called them antichrists, and stirred up the people against them with much bitterness and vehemency."

The General Court was then in session, and he, being summoned in, produced his sermon and justified it; confessing "he did mean all that walked in that way," and yet all the elders of the rest of the churches being consulted, said they so walked; wherefore "the court adjudged him guilty of sedition and also of contempt, for that the court had appointed the fast as a means of reconciliation of the differences, etc., and he purposely set himself to hinder and increase them." But Governor Vane and some of the court protested and Boston church remonstrated¹ against the proceedings; therefore, sentence was deferred till the ensuing May session, and again till August, when the court told him if he would retract and reform his views they might show him favor, otherwise he must not expect it. His answer was "that if he had committed sedition he ought to be put to death, but if the court proceeded against him he meant to appeal to the King's Court, for he could retract nothing." He was continued in bonds.

The whole colony now was divided into two parties, and such was the importance and warmth of the con-

¹ See this Remonstrance, 1 Savage, Winthrop, App. page 401.

troversy that a synod was recommended and soon called at Newton, the first in America, to examine the controverted opinions and determine upon them. The assembly, consisting of the ministers and messengers of the church and several of the magistrates, was accordingly convened, and after a session, three weeks from August thirtieth (1637), they condemned eighty-four opinions as erroneous, and all signed the result except Mr. Cotton. This gentleman, however, being one greatly beloved by his ministerial brethren, soon made satisfactory concessions as to the points of faith and works most strongly controverted. Governor Vane returned to England and Mr. Wheelwright had a further respite of his sentence to November.

By this time the sectarian name applied generally to Mr. Wheelwright, to his sister, and those with them in sentiment was that of Antinomian¹ and subject to familistical influences, a name and term, however, which they themselves never adopted or used, and which few understood. The Antinomians, it was said, did not take or observe the law under the gospel dispensation as a rule of duty and obedience, nor hold to good works as the fruits of faith, and, therefore, as they did not take the revealed will of God to be their rule of duty and of life they depended upon new or rare revelations and strong imaginary influences, hence they were denominated familists² from the unity of a fanatical sect "the family of love." But if they are to be credited in what they say of themselves, they believe in substance, that man is saved by grace through faith,

¹ Originated with John Agricola about A. D. 1538, from two Greek words anti-nomos.

² II Col. Maine Historical Collection vol. ii, p. 70-71.

without any deeds under the law, and that he is justified, and at the same instant begins to be sanctified through the merits of the atonement, and that there is a personal unity between the converted soul and the Holy Spirit.

The General Court had, thus far, been severe against the Antinomians, for it had enacted that none should inhabit within the jurisdiction, unless first allowed by a license from some of the magistrates; and at the close of the late synod, the government so much apprehended breaches of the peace by the Antinomians and familists, that they caused fifty-eight persons in Boston to be disarmed, and also several others in the towns of Salem, Newbury, Roxbury, Ipswich and Charlestown.¹

The court at their session, May second, sending for Mr. Wheelwright, was told by him on inquiry that he still justified "his sermon and his whole practice and opinions," and refusing to leave either the place or his public exercises he was disfranchised and banished. He claimed an appeal to the king, which, however, the court disallowed; telling him it did not lay, and only "gave him leave to go to his house, upon his promise that if he were not gone out of the jurisdiction within fourteen days he would surrender himself to one of the magistrates."

Next, Mrs. Hutchinson, being summoned before the court, was charged with reproaching, in her continued lectures, most of the ministers except Mr. Cotton, "for not preaching a covenant of free grace," not having "the soul of the spirit," not being "able ministers of

¹ See a valuable note by Mr. Savage in his Edition of Winthrop, p. 247-48, where are given the names of those disarmed.

the New Testament." She did not deny the charge, "but vented her revelations" stating "that she had it revealed to her she should come into New England, and here be persecuted, and God would ruin her persecutors and their posterity and the whole state for the same." So the court banished her. She was also excommunicated from the church, and the following spring her husband, William Hutchinson, sold his place and removed to Rhode Island. At the end of four years her husband died, and she removed into the Dutch county, westward of New Haven, where she and all her family, except one daughter, being sixteen persons, were within a twelvemonth murdered by the Indians. Of her character, different accounts are given. Her friend Mr. Cotton says, "she was well beloved and all the faithful embraced her conference and blessed God for her fruitful discourses." Mr. Hooker, her foe, calls her a "wretched woman, and believes such a heap of hideous errors at once to be vented by such a self deluding and deluded creature no history can record." Governor Hutchinson, the historian, a descendant, remarks, "No wonder she was immoderately vain when she found magistrates and ministers embracing the novelties advanced by her." At any rate she deserved a better destiny, and posterity will ever regret that persons of spotless fame and acknowledged piety, fleeing from the sword turned against non-conformity, should meet it in the hands of their fellow fugitives, provoking persecution for the same offense.

The month Mr. Wheelwright was banished he gathered a company and, taking a journey eastward,

stopped at Squamscot Falls in New Hampshire ; a beautiful place about eight or nine miles from the sea-board, and about equidistant from the Merrimac and the Piscataqua. Here he purchased a tract of the Indians ; " his wife and family " ¹ soon joined him, and early in the spring (1638) he and his friends began a plantation, since called Exeter, and for their enlargement Governor Winthrop says " they dealt with an Indian there and bought of him Winicowett (now Hampton), and then wrote to the Massachusetts government, stating what they had done, and how they intended to lot out all those lands into farms except she should show a better title ; having written to the planters sent there by him to desist. With this she found fault, and when she was informed that the settlers of Dover and Captain Underhill were assisting the planters of Exeter, the governor at Boston wrote a letter to them stating, " We look upon it unneighborly in you to encourage and advance such as we have cast out for their offenses, before inquiring of us the cause." The altercation, which was between him and Underhill, the new chosen governor, the defection in the Boston church had become assuaged since the banishment² of Mr. Wheelwright and others, and a better state of feeling soon followed, apparently evincive of brotherly kindness.

Mr. Wheelwright and eight other male members of the church in Boston, having obtained a dismissal from it, formed themselves into a church at their new plantation ; and as they were without the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, they, in number thirty-five, combined

¹ Winthrop, 259.

into a separate body politic, the same year (1638) chose their rulers and made several laws. Here Mr. Wheelwright was preacher and prime minister till the end of the combination in 1642. The people finding themselves comprehended within the claim of Massachusetts, on a late survey of her patent, and the most of them being weary of their inefficient plantation polity, petitioned to the General Court of that colony, September eighth, and were received within its jurisdiction and annexed to the county of Essex.

Under these circumstances, it was the imperious duty of that government, unrequested, to have sent Mr. Wheelwright a pardon, or at least, a perpetual safe conduct; but it seems that none was either offered or besought. Hence it was, that he, being still under sentence of banishment, with those who were resolved still to adhere to him, found it necessary to leave their new abodes, as yet hardly comfortable, and they prepared for another removal. Justly might he at this time deplore his fate, as all must lament the ungenerous feeling and unrelenting severity of the Massachusetts rulers. For if they had been under the influence of resentments which could not be repressed, surely after four years they ought to have been extinguished by lapse of time.

It is, however, said of him while at Exeter by another writer, that "a dispute soon arose there between him and Captain Underhill respecting religion, as said by some, and by others respecting which of them should be governor.¹ But be this as it may, the contention was

¹ Sullivan, 233.

so sharp between them that they went asunder, and Mr. Wheelwright removed " to Maine. Here he was first known early in the spring of 1643, when Thomas Gorges was governor of the Province. Finding the lands on the easterly side of the river Ogunquet, and the marsh on the coast, ungranted and unoccupied except by a few scattered beginners, he obtained from Governor Gorges, under a deed dated the seventeenth of April, in that year, a tract there, afterward so enlarged as to embrace perhaps five or six hundred acres. The deed described the land as being in " Wells." Several families removed from Exeter that spring and perhaps before, and settled in the vicinity of Mr. Wheelwright. Among these were Moses Rishworth, Wardwell, Cole, Littlefield, Stover, some two or three of the same name, and others. On the fourteenth of July the governor appointed Moses John Wheelwright, Edward Rishworth and Harry Roads a committee to locate the lots; and on the twenty-seventh of September he chartered the township or territorial plantation to Mr. Edward Hutchinson, Nicholas Needham, and others of Exeter, and described it as lying between the Ogunquet and the Kennebec rivers, eight miles on the seaboard, and extending back the same distance. The committee were vested with full and absolute power to lot lands and assign bounds " unto any man that shall come to inhabit within the plantation " in consideration of five St. paid in annual quitrents on a lot of one hundred acres.

Mr. Wheelwright resided in Wells four years or more, always active in promoting its settlement and prosper-

ity. He dwelt on his purchase, long known as the "Wheelwright farm." Mr. Rishworth afterward removed to York; Mr. Roads settled first in Saco; Mr. Edward Hutchinson, son of the prophetess, was one of the Antinomians who was disarmed, and Mr. Nicholas Needham was one of the rulers in Exeter under the combination. There was probably a church established here by Mr. Wheelwright, as he had always sustained his ministerial character: some of his church had never left him, but accompanied him thither, and the two years afterward when the town submitted to Massachusetts, the commissioners, after hearing disputants about living in a covenant relation, pronounced them no church, implying there had been one, and if so, it was the first and eldest in Maine. Governor Winthrop speaks of Mr. Wheelwright at Wells, "where he was pastor of a church."

At Wells he was well beloved and highly esteemed by his parishioners as a good preacher and an exemplary man; yet an exclusion from the fellowship of ministers and a banishment from the society of many pious people who had been his early friends, were trials of extreme severity to his mind. He, therefore, concluded to write the governor of Massachusetts this letter:—

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL:—Upon the long and mature consideration of things, I perceive that the main difference between yourselves and some of the reverend elders, and me, in point of justification and the evidencing thereof, is not of that nature and consequence as was then presented to me, in the false glass of Satan's temptations and mine own distempered passions; which makes me unfeignedly sorry that I had such a hand in those sharp and

vehement contentions raised thereabouts, to the great disturbance of the churches of Christ. It is the grief of my soul that I used such vehement and censorious speeches in the application of my sermon, or in any other writing, whereby I reflected any dishonor upon your worships, the reverend elders, or any of contrary judgment to myself. It repents me, that I did so much adhere to persons of corrupt judgment to the countenancing of them in any of their errors or evil practices, though I intended no such thing; and that in the Synod, I used such unsafe and obscure expressions; falling from me, as a man dazzled with the buffetings of Satan, and that I did appeal from a misapprehension of things. I confess, that herein I have done very sinfully, and do humbly crave pardon of this honored state. If it shall appear to me by Scripture light, that in any carriage, word, writing or actions, I have walked contrary to rule, I shall be ready by the grace of God to give satisfaction; thus hoping that you will pardon my boldness, I humbly take leave of your worships, committing you to the good providence of the Almighty; and ever remain, your worships, in all service to be commanded in the Lord.

J. Wheelwright.

Wells, September 7, 1643.

This humble and respectful address touched the generous sensibilities of the general court, and the governor offered him a safe conduct, were it his wish to visit Boston. In his reply, dated the eighteenth of March following, he expressed much thankfulness for the kind reception his letter had found, and the safe conduct offered, and felt willing, he said, to state in open court what he had communicated in writing, could an explanation of his meaning and intent be received without offense. Yet, while he would humbly crave pardon for his failings, he could not, he said, "with a good conscience condemn himself for such capital crimes, dangerous revelations and gross errors"

as had been charged upon him — the aggregate of which, in concurrence, he supposed, was the cause of all his sufferings. It is true, he said, I am in duty bound to make my confession where I am convinced of any delinquency; still, if I may be permitted, I must urge my innocence where I am not guilty; otherwise, I may seem to succumb to many heinous offenses, of which my conscience doth acquit me. Should I, therefore, seem to make suit to the honorable court for mercy on the score, solely, of my confession, I must offend my conscience; or should I be pleading for justice on my lawful defense, I fear I should offend your worships; so, I leave all things to your wise and godly consideration, hoping that you will pardon my simplicity and plainness, as they are the dictates of an over-ruling conscience.

These addresses had their desired effect; a safe conduct was immediately transmitted to him, and though he did not appear at court, his banishment at the next session was abolished. This was in May, 1644, and his ministry was continued, as it was, in fact, exceedingly needful and desirable in the neighboring towns, as well as in Wells; for it is believed he was at that time, with the exception of Reverend Mr. Jordan, the only minister in the province. But as he was better pleased with the people and situation of Hampton, New Hampshire, and found the pulpit there vacant, it was not long before he removed to that place; and, as it is stated by Mr. Farmer, he was, in 1647, settled there. He continued to be minister of the church in Hampton, as Doctor Belknap says “for many

years," even until he went to England about the year 1654, and perhaps some five years after the ascendancy and protectorate of Cromwell. As early as 1656, he was certainly in England, and did not return till some time after the restoration.

For several years after Mr. Wheelwright went back to his native country, his enjoyments of life, and religion were probably never greater. The triumphs of orthodox religion, the enthusiasm of the people and the works of thorough revolution, were greeted by him with responsive ardor. In fact, he was then a man of distinction. He was a classmate with the lord-protector, and also a believer in a creed and unity of the spirit with him. Hence, their former familiar acquaintance was easily revived. He had frequent interviews with the ruler of the realm, who, at one time, familiarly remarked, "I can remember when I was more afraid of meeting Wheelwright at foot-ball than of meeting any among nine in the field, for I was infallibly sure of being tript up by him." At another time, he writes to his church at Hampton, under date of April 20, 1658, thus:

I have lately been at London, about five weeks. My Lord Protector was pleased to send one of his guard for me, with whom I had discourse in private about the space of an hour. All his speeches seemed to me very orthodox and gracious; no way favoring sectaries. He spoke very reassuringly to my apprehensions of the works of God's grace; and knowing what opposition I met, withal, from some whom I shall not name, exhorted me to perseverance in these very words, as I remember: "Mr. Wheelwright, stand fast in the Lord, and you shall see that these notions will vanish into nothing." Many men, especially the sec-

taries, exclaim against him with open mouths, but I hope he is a gracious man.

The same year a memorial was sent to the Protector by the provincials of Maine, in which they expressed a strong desire to continue united with Massachusetts; adding in conclusion, "our pious and reverend friend, Reverend John Wheelwright, some time with us, who is now in England, whose thorough knowledge of our affairs, he will, at your Highness' command, be happy to communicate."

After the act of uniformity took effect, August 24, 1662, Mr. Wheelwright returned to New Hampshire, and was installed pastor of the church in Salisbury, where he closed his eventful life. He died Nov. 15, 1679, at an advanced age, probably of more than eighty years. He was the oldest minister in the colony, and one of the worthiest divines of the age. Had there been more of nectar in his disposition, and more of honey on his tongue, he would have avoided many heavy troubles, and his clerical cotemporaries would have awarded him, in their dying breath, the mead due to his merits. He made his will on the twenty-fifth of May before his decease, by which there is developed some particulars of his family; his descendants being "found both in Boston, and in Wells." ¹ His will was proved in the province of Maine, A.D. 1680, and recorded in the registry of York, there, much of his real estate being in that county.

So far as it can be ascertained, he had two sons and five daughters. One daughter married Edward Rishworth, of York, one of the most distinguished men in

¹ Sullivan, 234.

the province. Mary married at Boston, 1660, with Samuel Maverick, whose father of the same name lived and died, 1664, on Noodle Island, near Boston. Samuel, the son, was one of the four king's commissioners appointed April 25, 1664, to settle difficulties in New England. Having, with his associates, met with much opposition in Boston, Portsmouth and York in the execution of their trust, he, himself, brought his family to Wells, and finally left them at Saco, the seat of government appointed by them in Gorges' province. For at that place, a greater part of the inhabitants, including the leading men, had bidden welcome to their arrival. Mrs. Maverick was at Saco in September, 1666, and had a seat assigned to her in the meeting-house, under the appellation of "Mistress Maverick." Of two other daughters of Mr. Wheelwright, one, we suppose, married John White of Wells, and the other, Edward Lyde, and probably the fifth married Thomas Bradbury of Salisbury, New Hampshire; three of whose sons' names being mentioned in their grandfather's will.¹ Samuel Wheelwright, the minister's son, was a worthy and distinguished man. He married and settled in Wells. Affronted, but too justly, with Massachusetts in consequence of the ill treatment his father had received, he would not submit to her commissioners in 1653, when his town came under her government; but afterward, in 1665, he took a commission from Moses Cass, Cartwright and Maverick, the royal commissioners, and manfully resisted the agents of Massachusetts in 1668, when she,

¹ Jeremiah Wheelwright was graduated at Harvard College 1736; and Joseph, 1811; and William W., 1824.

by them, resumed jurisdiction of the province. Nevertheless, he was a man highly esteemed for intelligence and integrity. In 1671, he was the representative of York, at the general court of Massachusetts, though a non-resident; and again in 1677, he was chosen to the same trust, both for that town and Wells. Under the provincial charter of William and Mary, he was a member of his Majesty's Council, in 1694, and in the following five years. Also, from 1693 to 1699, inclusive, he was a judge on the bench of the inferior court, or common pleas, and for five years previous to his death, May 3, 1700, he was judge of probate.

Thomas Wheelwright, his brother, the other son of the minister, also settled in Wells, and in 1653, submitted to the jurisdictional claim of Massachusetts, though with some backwardness. He never signed the Submission, as many of his townsmen did; nevertheless, he was in the first instance appointed one of the town's selectmen, and one of three commissioners invested with authority to try small causes, civil, and criminal, to solemnize marriages, and take the acknowledgement of deeds. As we hear little of him after this period, and as neither he, nor any posterity of his is mentioned in his father's will, it is supposed he died in middle life, without issue.

John Wheelwright, was Samuel's son, and succeeded to the ancient heritage in Wells. He was highly worthy of his parentage, adding to the family surname fresh and well merited honors. He was, in 1692, first representative of his native town to the general court under the charter of William and Mary; and was again

elected in 1699, Wells not being otherwise represented in the legislature for thirteen years, except in the year 1694, when Ezekiel Rogers was the representative of that town and York. He was commissioned in 1709 to the bench of the Common Pleas, where he had a seat many years; and on the twenty-seventh of February, 1715, after the death of Judge Plaisted, he was appointed Judge of Probate, an office he filled and honored to the time of his death in September, 1745. He was also elected into the Council in 1708; and afterward received twenty-four successive annual elections to the same honorable board. In 1715, he was one of the committee of Maine's settlement. He was a gentleman of talents, and great usefulness; always active and benevolent, for he loved to do good. In 1712, Mr. Plaisted of Portsmouth married one of his daughters; and on his wedding day was seized by a party of Indians, who held him a captive till his father paid them a ransom of three hundred pounds, a most extravagant exaction.

His grandson, John Wheelwright, the great, great grandson of the minister, was also an eminent, meritorious man. In the spring before his father died (1745) and on the year he received a degree at Harvard College, he was chosen into the Council for the territory of Sagadahock; and was ten times inclusively and successively elected to the same place. In the beginning of the French, and sixth Indian war, A.D. 1755, he was appointed commissary-general of the Eastern department, and superintendent of the Indian trade; an official trust which required him to take care of the

munitions of war in the Eastern country ; to see that the forts and garrisons were in a defensible condition ; and to provide all extra supplies necessary for the Kennebec expedition. Having discharged the duties of his commission with ability, and to the public satisfaction, and settled his official warrants after the peace, he was returned a representative of his native town in 1766, and every succeeding year to 1772, inclusive, when he retired from public life. Nor do we find any of the name taking a conspicuous part during the whole period of the Revolution.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF THE REV.
JOSEPH MOODY OF YORK, SOMETIMES
CALLED HANDKERCHIEF MOODY.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, May 9, 1891.

AMONG the treasures of the Society's archives is a little, time-stained manuscript volume, measuring five and one-half by three and one-half inches.

It was begun in August, 1720, and ended October, 1724, and is mostly written in a Latin cipher by the Reverend Joseph Moody, who was the eccentric son of the eccentric Parson Moody, the chaplain of Sir William Pepperell's regiment at the siege of Louisburg. He was born in the year 1700, graduated at Harvard in 1718, died in 1753. The Reverend Timothy Alden in his collection of epitaphs published in 1814, has the following:—

Here lies interred the body of the Reverend Joseph Moody pastor of the Second Church in York, an excelling instance of knowledge, ingenuity, learning, piety, virtue and usefulness, was very serviceable as a school master, clerk, register, magistrate and afterwards as a minister was uncommonly qualified and spirited to do good, and accordingly was highly esteemed and greatly lamented.

Although this stone may moulder into dust,
Yet Joseph Moody's name continue must.

In a note it is stated that in consequence of accidentally killing a youth for whom he had a great affection, as a token of his grief he was determined to wear a veil during the remainder of his life, and

accordingly ever after wore a silk handkerchief drawn over his face.

In the biographical sketches of the Moody family, published some years since, this little manuscript journal is alluded to, and the author states that, with the help of President Allen, he was able to decipher some part. He says, I found many curious things, and many eccentric things, savoring of the peculiarly diseased state of his mind, yet mingled with the deepest devotion.

This diary it will be seen was written when Joseph Moody was but a young man. Born of an eccentric father, disappointed in not securing the hand of his cousin, Mary Hirst, in marriage, his eccentricity increased with age, until finally he almost retired from the world, and was seldom seen excepting in the pulpit and then with his face partly covered with a handkerchief. As to his having accidentally killed a friend, this may be a fable circulated among the country people, and believed in process of time to be a fact. It is also reported that Joseph's father, the eccentric parson, compelled his son to sit up all night with the body of his friend as an atonement.

Interesting points in the diary are the records of the first visit of young Pepperell to the Hirst family, also the date of the wedding, August 15, 1723.

In the biographical notices of Sir William Pepperell, the date of his marriage is given as February 21, 1723.

If Mr. Moody referred to this marriage in his entry in August, as we have reason to believe, there is a correction to be made in future notices of Sir William.

Doctor Usher Parsons in his biography of Sir William Pepperell, gives no date of the marriage.

H. W. B.

1720.

- Abig. Curtis died August 26.
 Mr. Lucas died 23.
 Betty Banks, 30.
 Soldiers march Sep. 16 & 17th.
 Moved home from Mr. Harmon's 29th.
 October 1, Father sailed with Young to Cape Ann, arrived
 at sunrise.
 Set out for York Oct. 25, arrived 26. Die Gratia.
 24 captives was redeemed and came through
 this town.
 December 25. Bracy's child died 4 or 5 months old.
 H. Simson married 28th.

1720-21.

- Jan. 25. Mr. Ward ordained.
 2 men accidentally killed at Portsmouth.
 Elder Sayward came to York 31.
 February. My father returned 3d.
 Mr. Wise was here from 6 to 9.
 Began at Capt. Nowell's 13th.
 March 12th. Lord's supper.
 Town meeting 14th.
 April 26. Little Richard Banks died.
 April 12th. Mr. Parker ordained.
 Dismissed at Scotland 7.
 Set out from York 11th.
 A vessel with ye small Pocks 19.
 Capt. Pickerin died 10th April at night.
 Mr. Came chosen deputy 16.
 My Father preached to ye young 21st.
 Report of a burning Irland 13.
 Set out for Boston 22.

- April 12th. Mr. Stone a Date, 22.
 G. P. taken ill 25.
 Madm G——? came 19.
- July 17, 18. 200 Indians in arms at Arowsick Island.
 Mrs. Ruth Meserve died 3.
 Henry Simons son died 10th August.
- October 4, Linscutts child died
 Ramsdels 5th.
 Garrison began 4th
 Moved from Garrison 21st.
 Insign Banes wife a son—Goodwin a daughter.
 Mr. Harmon chosen deacon 29.
 Cap Harmon visited his friends 30.
 Job Banks returned 31.
 Capt Harmon went Eastward again and Free-
 man with him.
 Capt Preble ill 12th.
- November 24. Spurger brot his wife and children.
 Sam Black married 30. Lewis Bane 7.
- December 14. Patience More ill of the Small pox.
- 1722.
- Bradbury married Jan 11th.
 Mrs. Stone taken ill of ye s p 17 died 28th.
 E. Preble died 13th.
- February 1st. 3 children burnt at Saco.
- March 5. Mr Newmarches wife died.
- May 10. Mr. Shaw and wife came to town.
 Capt Pepperell first visited Mr Hirst.
- June 3. Mrs. Bragdon died.
- June 10. Capt Preble's child died.
- August. War proclaimed.
- September. Thomas Adams killed a rattle snake with 9
 rattles 3½ foot long
- September 6. Voluntiers marched to Berwick from thence to
 Pigwocket,
 Absent from my school Sept. 25th to October 2
 a week.

- September 6. John Parson died at Portsmouth 3d.
Mrs Jane Payson Danter to Capt Northend
died very hopefully about the 25th.
December 31. Capt Came &c opened their commissions.
News came that the Governor was sailed for
England.

1723

- Jan. 5. P. Downs died suddenly.
The Voluntiers returned.
Uncles Abraham and Henry and Mr. Stickney
came.
April. Many of the soldiers are sick, Capt Harmon in
particular.
May 7. James Junkins died suddenly
May 25. Tis said that Sergeant Card was beset by two
Indians about 9 or 10 o'clock last night near
Capt Harmon's barn one of which fired on
him and pierced the breast of his Jacket we
scarce know what to think of so strange a
story.
Tis reported that Moses Hubbard of Berwick
was shot yesterday by the accidental firing
of a pistol in the hand of one Pray.
June 3. Old Mrs Moulton died.
July 4. A negro executed at Boston for setting a house
on fire.
July 5. Mrs Plaisted's datr Sarah died at Salem.
July 23. Dummer Sewall began Grammar Cato and
Romend.
Mr Storer brought his wife to town.
No news about the Eastern Indians all is still
and quiet.
August 1. Father Parker died after long illness.
Aug. 15. The Wedding.
Aug. 18. Col Westbrook came to town bound East
22. One Baley killed at Cape Porpus.

- Sept. 5. Old Mr Molton married.
- October 1. Dr Packer died.
3d Mark Shephard married. •
4th the Rev d Mr Rogers of Portsmouth died.
18th Capt Bragdon marched with 30 Volunteers.
- Nov 6. Preached at Glocester.
Saw my friends at Byfield 8.
Pious Deacon Shaw of Hampden departed 10th
or 11th.
Kept Thanksgiving at Malden Nov. 28.
My uncle S. S. married by Justice Hale of
Newbury Mch 29th
- Dec. 10 Capt Harmon returned from ye Eastward.
- December. Mrs Jane Hirst was with us from 17 to 20.
Mr Cutts lost 2 sons in about a week.
29th Mrs. Pepperell a daughter.

1724.

- Jan. 2, 3, 4. Capt Bragdon and his Company dismissed
- February 29. The soldiers march for Norridgewock under
the command of Capt Moulton.
We met the first time in the new meeting house
at Scotland.
- March. Capt Preble was taken ill 12 and died 14 at night,
his grandchild died the same day.
The bearers were Col Wheelwright Major
Hammond Justice Hill & Capt Leighton.
- April 8. Two Indians they say chased one Littlefield at
Wells.
They say the Pirates are on the Coast.
Gloucester vessels have had very bad time
since they sailed.
- April 5. Fast for ye rising generation.
Several vessels lately taken by Nutt ye Pirate
and kindly treated.
Joshua Elwells was taken from him.
- April 19. Jno Carlisle and Mary Junkins were married.

- May. Bartholomew Tomson at Stone's Garrison in Berwick killed by the Indians.
Elder Kusick killed at Oyster River.
We heard of the noble exploit in taking Nutt and Phillips the Pirates.
Stephen Prebles first child died a son of about 2 days old.
- 19th May. Joseph Preble's wife died last night.
24 Mr Mountfort preached his first sermon.
- June 1. A very high N. W. wind our little boats were much exposed some had their sails shattered others were put to leeward to the Isles of Shoals one was foundered in which were lost Elisha Allen who left a wife and many small children extremely poor and Benjamin Smith not 32 years old who left a wife and one child Capt Moulton came up and brought the news of the death of Capt Winslow and 14 of his men.
- August 24. About 9 in the morning I sailed with Capt Harmon in a Marblehead schooner towards Boston, by reason of scant wind we reached not near the Cape before dark. I prayed on board, we turned round (after prayers) against a S. W. wind & got into Gloucester about 3. I went up to Mr Whites and returned again into the harbor & on board the Schooner with Pierpont Tompson & Allen.
- 10th Aug. David Storer came home after he had long been mourned as dead.
Gov r Saltonstall died 20th.
30th The Church Meeting voted my Father should go again and spend 3 or 4 mos at Providence.
Lieut Jaques returned with melancholy news of the armies ill success
Insign Richard Jaques and Mrs Mary Harmon married May 10 1724.

York April 25. There is a purpose of marriage betwixt Isaac Stover and Mary Stover both of this town.

York April 27, 1824. There is a purpose of marriage between Mr Nicholas Winkley of Portsmouth and Mrs Mary Nowel of York.

York, May 1, 1724. There is a purpose of marriage between John Smith and Judith Tompson both of York.

York, July 23, 1724. There is a purpose of marriage between Joseph Plaisted and Mary Craige both of this town.

KITTERY FAMILY RECORDS.

In the year 1875-78, there were published in the *Maine Genealogist and Biographer*, copies of a portion of the first volume of Kittery records, relating to births in that town. With the latter year, the periodical was discontinued, leaving a portion of the records of that volume unpublished, and as they are of interest to several Maine families, they are in part inserted here. They will be completed in some future number.

W. B. L.

Children of Paul and Jane Wentworth : —

Jane and Katherine, b. November 19, 1715.

Paul, b. August 20, 1718.

Child of Elihu and Elizabeth Gunnison : —

Joseph, b. October 14, 1690.

Children of Joseph and Susanna Gunnison : —

Samuel, b. January 27, 1720-1.

John, b. October 21, 1722.

David, b. July 9, 1724.

Children of Joseph Gunnison and Mrs. Margaret Nelson, married at Portsmouth, by Rev. M. Shurtlief, January 18, 1734.

Margaret, b. November 13, 1735, d. 1736.

William, b. June 4, 1737.

Child of Humphrey and Elizabeth Scammon : —

Humphrey, b. May 10, 1677.

Children of James and Mary Spinney : —

Nicholas, b. October 5, 1719.

Eunice, b. January 29, 1721-2.

Eleanor, b. March 7, 1727-8.

Child of Stephen and Anne Seavey : —

Stephen, b. February 26, 1711-12.

Child of Charles and Joanna Kelley : —

Mary, b. December 27, 1699.

Child of Joseph and Lydia Hanscom : —

Joseph, b. May 26, 1733.

Children of William Stanley and Hannah Pope, married
October 20, 1714.

William, b. October 12, 1715, d. October 20, 1715.

John, b. February 5, 1715-6.

William, b. February 18, 1718-9.

Elizabeth, b. April 28, 1722, d. February following.

Elizabeth, b. January 29, 1724-5.

Edward, b. January 25, 1727.

Joseph, b. ——— —, ———.

Children of Stephen Field and Mary King, married June 10,
1717 : —

Joseph, b. May 18, 1718.

Mary, b. September 14, 1720.

Stephen, b. October 16, 1722.

Children of John and Dorothy Watkins : —

John, b. January 19, 1720.

William, b. June 4, 1721, d. June 29, 1728.

Andrew, b. June 14, 1722.

Children of John and Susanna Rogers : —

Timothy, b. September 8, 1721.

William, b. October 1, 1723.

Katherine, b. December 2, 1725.

Nathaniel, b. April —, 1728, d. August 7, following.

John, b. at Ipswich, August 7, 1719.

Nathaniel, b. August —, 1729.

Martha, b. January 14, 1731-2.

Daniel, b. October 6, 1734.

Mary, b. January 4, 1737.

Children of John and Margaret Paul : —

Katherine, b. July 18, 1707.

Amos, b. February 19, 1712-3

Children of Andrew jr. and Dorcas Neal : —

Johnson, b. April 4, 1725.

Hannah, b. November 28, 1727.

Abigail, b. September 6, 1728, d. October 9, 1729.

Katherine, b. July 29, 1730.

Ruth, b. August 12, 1732.

Pheby, b. July 24, 1734.

James, b. July 8, 1736.

Dorcas, b. June 1, 1738.

Andrew, b. September 9, 1742.

Children of John Wittum and Elizabeth Tidy, married January 8, 1707-8 : —

Elizabeth, b. September 13, 1708.

John, b. May 25, 1711.

Zebulon, b. August 8, 1713.

Eleazer, b. December 8, 1715.

Gideon, b. September 21, 1717.

James, b. June 16, 1719.

Nathaniel, b. December 23, 1721.

Katherine, b. November 10, 1723.

Children of William and Mary Kearswell : —

John, b. September 12, 1719.

James, b. June 8, 1721.

Elizabeth, b. October 7, 1723.

Rebekah, b. January 9, 1725-6.

Sarah, b. December 10, 1727.

Hannah, b. September 23, 1730.

Children of Thomas Hutchins and Hannah Hill, married August 5, 1720 : —

Susanna, b. December 22, 1721.

Hannah, b. December 28, 1724.

Thomas, b. December 25, 1726, d. March 28, 1736.

Rebeckah, b. January 11, 1728.

Katherine, b. February 23, 1730, d. March 24, 1735-6.

Rodea, b. August 9, 1733.

Enoch, b. March 10, 1735-6.

Child of James and Elizabeth Emery : —

Daniel, d. October 15, 1722, aged 56.

Children of Noah son of Daniel and Margaret Emery, married Elizabeth Cheek, January 22, 1721-2 : —

Daniel, b. September 24, 1722, d. December 24, following.

Daniel, b. November 19, 1723.

Noah, b. December 23, 1725.

Richard, b. May 9, 1728.

Mary, b. May 12, 1730, d. June 14, 1736.

Japhet, b. July 21, 1732.

Sarah, b. March 10, 1733-4, d. June 15, 1736.

Elizabeth, b. February 1, 1735, d. January 14, 1736.

Mary, b. April 6, 1737, d. same day.

Shem, b. May 6, 1738.

Elizabeth, b. December 11, 1739.

The mother d. December 28, 1739, aged 38.

Children of Roger and Bridgit Mitchell : —

Pheby, b. May 23, 1721.

Jehosaphat, b. October 20, 1724.

Children of Roger and Mary Mitchell : —

Joel, b. May 1, 1729.

Mary, b. August 29, 1732

Robert, b. June 23, 1734.

Child of Edward and Elizabeth Hammons : —

Gehennah, b. April 20, 1701.

Children of Reuben and Mary Mase : —

Mary, b. August 11, 1728.

Margaret, b. June 14, 1730.

Anne, b. June 17, 1732.

Ruben, b. July 17, 1734.

Andrew, b. September 2, 1735.

Eliphalet, b. August 2, 1737.

Philadelphia, b. November 2, 1740.

Children of Joshua Downing jr. and Sarah daughter of Captain John and Sarah Hatch of Portsmouth, married April 28, 1709 : —

Patience, b. February 9, 1709 10.

Sarah, b. January 18, 1711-2, d. October —, 1718.

Joshua the father d. September 18, 1712.

Child of Captain Andrew Pepperell of New Castle : —

Sarah, b. December 14, 1708.

Children of Charles Frost son of Charles Frost Esqr., and Sarah Pepperell above named, married September 12, 1723 : —

Jane, b. July 17, 1724.

Charles, b. January 17, 1725-6.

Margery, b. January 5, 1727-8.

Sarah, b. June 18, 1730.

Mary, b. October 18, 1735.

Pepperell, b. June 21, 1737, d. Thursday following.

Pepperell, b. April 10, 1738.

Meriam, b. May 19, 1743.

Simon, b. June 21, 1745.

Abigail, b. September 10, 1746.

The father d. April 10, 1751, the mother d. January 24, 1797.

Children of David Sayer and Elinor Frost, married February 28, 1711-2.

John, b. March 2, 1712-3.

Mary, b. July 13, 1714.

David, b. December 18, 1715.

Jonathan, b. April 6, 1716, d. March —, 1721.

Sarah, b. July 26, 1719.

Stephen, b. February 26, 1721.

Children of Samuel and Anna Small : —

Samuel, b. May 26, 1718.

Anna, b. September 10, 1720.

John, b. January 30, 1722-3.

Joshua, b. February 26, 1725-6.

Elizabeth, b. February 3, 1727-8.

Children of Joseph Kilgore and Penelope Treworgie, married January 17, 1720-1 : —

Mary, b. February 26, 1721-2.

James, b. April 9, 1724.

Alice, b. April 15, 1726.

Child of Captain Andrew and Jane Pepperell : —

Margery, b. March 25, 1712.

Children of Captain William Wentworth son of Hon. John Wentworth, and Margery Pepperell above named, married October 2, 1729 : —

Andrew, b. September 21, 1730, d. August —, 1751.

Sarah, b. March 30, 1731-2, d. June 3, 1737.

William, b. June 23, 1734.

John, b. February 23, 1736, d. June 9, 1781.

Jane, b. May 9, 1739.

Sarah, b. October 3, 1741.

Abigail, b. November 10, 1743.

Margery Pepperell, b. March 11, 1747-8.

Children of Samuel and Elizabeth Spinney : —

John, b. July 17, 1691.

Elizabeth, b. October 23, 1714.

Anne, b. April, 12, 1719.

Zebulon, b. October 20, 1720.

Johanna, b. November 28, 1723.

Shepherd, b. July 16, 1725.

Child of Margaret Shepherd : —

Pheby, b. August 3, 1701.

Children of William and Abigail Fry : —

Mary, b. July 25, 1725, d. November 16, 1730.

Mary, b. March 7, 1737-8.

Martha, b. November 5, 1726.

Hannah, b. December 6, 1729.

John, b. January 22, 1731-2

Ebenezer, b. August 30, 1734.

Abigail, b. March 26, 1741.

Children of Nathan Bartlett and Shuah, daughter of Captain
John and Pheby Heard, married March 10, 1714 : —

Shuah, b. January 1, 1715-6.

Mary, b. March 1, 1717-8.

Nathan, b. April 30, 1720, d. May 7 following.

Phebe, b. May 8, 1721.

Abigail, b. December 6, 1723.

John Heard, b. April 18, 1726.

Hannah, b. October 29, 1728.

Nathan, b. November 3, 1730, d. May 21, 1736.

James, b. March 24, 1732-3.

Sarah, b. December 25, 1735, d. January following.

Nathan, b. March 31, 1737.

Sarah, b. May 26, 1741.

Child of Thomas and Mary Fernald : —

Bennoni, b. February 17, 172-.

Children of John Leighton and Mary, daughter of John and
Mary Hill, married December 29, 1726 : —

Abigail, b. December 20, 1727, d. June 21, 1737.

Mary, b. April 15, 1730.

Elizabeth, b. — —, ———, d. May 29, 1737.

John, b. — —, ———, d. — —, —.

John and Mary, b. May 18, 1738.

Samuel, b. March 16, 1740.

The father d. April 26, 1768.

Children of Benjamin and Katharine Fernald : —

Joseph, b. May 5, 1719.

Benjamin, b. June 27, 1721

Josiah, b. June 29, 1724.

Mark, b. August 19, 1726.

Katherine, b. July 8, 1738.

Children of Francis and Elizabeth Pettigrow : —

Mary, b. October 12, 1707.

John, b. December 3, 1708.

BIRTHS FROM HALLOWELL RECORDS.

COMMUNICATED BY DR. W. B. LAPHAM.

Children of Samuel and Ruth Dutton : —

Samuel Edwards, b. June 16, 1774.

Jonas, b. January 22, 1776.

James, b. October 23, 1777.

Rhoda, b. August 29, 1781.

Ruth, b. December 15, 1783.

Sophia, b. August 2, 1786.

Children of Ephraim and Mary Butterfield : —

Sarah Ingles, b. October 1, 1756.

Ephraim, b. August 14, 1759.

Rebecca, b. November 26, 1760.

Jonathan, b. February 3, 1763.

Mary, b. September 19, 1765.

Samuel, b. June 26, 1767.

Lucy, b. June 24, 1770.

Ephraim, b. May 1, 1772.

Anne, b. March 3, 1774.

Mary, b. February 28, 1776.

Elizabeth, b. March 19, 1778.

Hannah, b. April 19, 1780.

Children of Thomas and Priscilla Sewall : —

Rebecca, b. September 7, 1780.

Mary, b. August 1, 1782.

Harriet, b. May 20, 1784.

Thomas, b. April 16, 1786.

Samuel, b. at 25 Mile Pond, June 26, 1791.

Children of Abraham and Polly Page : —

Abraham, b. February 4, 1779.

Polly, b. September 25, 1780.

Sally, b. June 19, 1782.

Lydia, b. February 4, 1784.

Dolly, b. September 15, 1785.

John, b. May 12, 1789.

Children of Benjamin and ——— Brown : —

Abigail, b. March 18, 1781.

Charlotte, b. July 16, 1783.

Children of Phineas and Molly Allen : —

Ezra, b. October 23, 1775 in Eastown.

Lewis, b. July 17, 1778.

Daniel, b. June 29, 1781.

Children of James and Rebecca Gordon.

Jonathan, b. August 29, 1779.

Mary, b. August 20, 1781.

Children of Samuel and Ruby Church born in Hallowell.

Isaac, b. September 9, 1789.

Samuel, b. August 26, 1792.

Children of Edmund and Abigail Dana : —

John, b. Newton, Mass., February 8, 1786, d. August 13, 1800.

Edmund, b. May 6, 1787, d. September 23, following.

Richard, b. March 8, 1789, d. November 9, 1825.

Edmund, b. April 12, 1791.

Thomas, b. April 11, 1793, d. Boston, January 24, 1820.

William Jenks } d. Staten Island Hospital.

Almira } twins b. July 2, 1795.

Samuel Barber, b. December 7, 1797, d. in Troy, N. Y.

Mary Ann, b. December 4, 1801, d. February 19, 1805.

Children of Beriah and Sarah Ingraham : —

Elijah, b. March 18, 1782.

Abigail, b. March 9, 1784.

Susanna, b. May 29, 1786.

Luther, b. September 5, 1788.

Tilly, b. July 30, 1791.

Children of Asa and Eunice Williams : —

Susanna, b. May 30, 1785.

Eunice, b. March 1, 1787.

Sally, b. November, 27, 1788.

Ruth, b. December 3, 1790.

Avice, b. July 15, 1792.

Asa, b. October 27, 1795.

Children of Dr. Daniel Cony and Susanna his wife.

Sukey, b. Hallowell, December 29, 1781, between the hours of seven and eight in the afternoon.

Sally, b. Hallowell, July 18, 1784, about one o'clock in the morning, it being the first day of the week, the first hour of the day and the first day of the moon.

Paulina Bass, b. Hallowell, August 23, 1787, about nine o'clock p. m. the 5th day of the week, and the eleventh day of the moon.

Abigail Cony, was born in Hallowell.

PROCEEDINGS.

The annual meeting was held June 21, 1887 at Massachusetts Hall, Brunswick, and was called to order at nine A.M., by the President James W. Bradbury.

The following members were present, Messrs. Baxter, Burrage, J. M. Brown, Bailey, Bryant, Crosby, Cram, Chapman, Dalton, Dike, Elwell, Elder, Gilman, Goold, Hill, Humphrey, Jackson, Little, Pierce, Manning, Morrell, R. K. Sewall, Richardson, C. H. Smith, W. H. Smith, Talbot, Tenney, Thayer and Williamson.

The record of the last annual meeting was read and approved. The annual reports of the librarian and cabinet keeper, H. W. Bryant, of the corresponding secretary, William Goold, of the treasurer, Lewis Pierce, of the biographer, Joseph Williamson, were each read and accepted and placed on file. The annual report of the standing committee was read by the recording secretary, and ordered to be placed on file.

The following board of officers having been nominated by the standing committee were duly elected:—

President, James W. Bradbury; Vice President, James P. Baxter; Corresponding Secretary, John Marshall Brown; Treasurer, Lewis Pierce; Biographer, Joseph Williamson; Recording Secretary, Librarian and Cabinet Keeper, H. W. Bryant.

Standing Committee.—Rufus K. Sewall of Wiscasset, William B. Lapham of Augusta, William Goold of Windham, Edward H. Elwell of Deering, Joseph Williamson of Belfast, Henry L. Chapman of Brunswick, Henry S. Burrage of Portland.

The following were elected resident members of the Society: —

J. W. Dearborn of Parsonsfield, H. H. Cochrane of Gardiner, True P. Pierce of Rockland, William M. Sargent of Portland.

Corresponding members:—

George E. Littlefield of Boston, Joseph E. Davis of Worcester, William C. Manning of Washington, Daniel C. Colesworthy of Boston.

After some remarks by Messrs. John Marshall Brown, George F. Talbot and Hiram K. Morrell, it was voted that hereafter nominations for membership should be made only from the nominations recorded prior to the date of election.

It was voted that the proceedings at the recent complimentary dinner of the Society to Hon. James W. Bradbury be printed.

Mr. Charles J. Gilman requested that a committee be appointed to report upon a plan contemplating an examination of the records of France, Spain and Portugal for documents relating to the colonization of Maine. Mr. James P. Baxter stated that the work was already begun, as a man was employed by the British Museum to tabulate the contents of the archives of the different European nations.

Mr. A. G. Tenney made a verbal report of the Field Day of 1886, and Messrs. Tenney, Sewall, Lapham and Brown were appointed a committee of arrangements for the Field Day excursion of this year, with power to fill vacancies.

Mr. G. F. Talbot reported that Mr. James P. Baxter having generously proposed to give to the Society

ample accomodation for its library and collections in the new building to be erected at his expense in Portland, he had much pleasure in calling the attention of the members present to the architect's plans of the building now on the table. A recess of ten minutes was taken for the examination of the plans. The chair was taken by the Vice President Rev. Dr. Dike, and on motion, it was voted to accept Mr. Baxter's proposed home for the Society, and Mr. Elwell was appointed a committee to prepare a vote of thanks to Mr. Baxter to be spread upon the records. It was voted that the present committee consisting of Messrs. George F. Talbot and George E. B. Jackson having Mr. Baxter's proposition in charge be made a permanent one.

Vote of thanks to James P. Baxter. At the annual meeting of the Maine Historical Society held at Brunswick, June 21, 1887.

It was voted that this Society receives with grateful appreciation as a generous gift from James Phinney Baxter Esquire, the offer of rooms for the free accommodation of its library and collections in the elegant building about to be erected by him for public use in the City of Portland, and that recognizing the public spirit and devotion to the objects of this Society which have prompted the munificent act, it extends to Mr. Baxter its hearty thanks therefore.

February 9, 1888, a meeting of the Society was held at the library in the City Building at 2.30 P.M., and was called to order by the President. A report of the accessions to the library and cabinet was made by the librarian, Mr. Bryant, who reported also the gift of a collection of the reports of claims presented before the

Court of Commissioners on the Alabama claims from Honorable Asa French of Boston.

Doctor William B. Lapham introduced a motion that the limit of membership be increased to two hundred, and after a brief discussion it was laid upon the table for action at the next annual meeting.

A paper on Governor Christopher Gore and his visit to Maine was read by William Goold.

A paper on prehistoric Maine was read by Joseph Williamson.

A biographical sketch of the late Robert Hallowell Gardiner, of Gardiner, was read by the Rev. Asa Dalton.

An account of the Kelley family of Maine, with the gift of two photographs of Daniel Webster, from Edward W. Kelley of Boston, was presented by Joseph Williamson.

The evening session was called to order at 7.30 and a paper on Church and State in Maine was read by Edward H. Elwell.

A paper on a manuscript volume containing John Mason's muniments of title with other important documents recently brought to light by Moses A. Safford Esquire of Kittery, was read by William M. Sargent.

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

HISTORIC HINTS TOWARD A UNIVERSITY FOR MAINE.

BY E. C. CUMMINGS.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, June 10, 1892.

WE are passing through a period of university extension and university foundation. Old institutions are seeking to enlarge their functions and to popularize their advantages. New institutions are established, some of them munificently endowed by rich men. Superfluous millions can hardly be bestowed in a way more likely to secure a permanent memorial to their possessor than that of amply endowing an institution of learning. To found a hospital may possibly be reckoned a greater charity. Still institutions of learning are the products of time. They may be planted to-day, but they have to grow. There is something which millions cannot buy—something which the costliest preparations are set to work out; and that something is experience, history. Hence some rich men like to embark their funds in institutions already established. To endow, for example, a chair in Harvard seems, to such, a more worthy purpose than to name a new university in Worcester; and there is, doubtless, danger that superfluous millions may be thrown away upon superfluous institutions.

For the present, however, Maine is not so abounding in citizens ambitious of building monuments to overshadow Bowdoin College and Colby University,

but that we may take the broadest hint which history gives us : — namely, that as a commonwealth we are entitled to an educational system ; and that our ideal university should signify the unity of all our educational resources, the enlargement and co-ordination of the institutions we have, much rather than the founding of new ones.

The very name university as applied to an institution of learning stands for a history which is substantially the same in all the world and in all time ; a history, therefore, which cannot be foreign to the purpose of this Society. A school is a school, however completely or imperfectly it may organize and express the essential idea of education ; and all schools among men are dynamically one in their intention of putting human beings in possession of such elements of knowledge and discipline as concern their well being in society. The school at the cross-roads is of the same lineage with the learning of Heliopolis, the academy of Plato, the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. We may look upon primitive humanity as containing the potency of all appropriate institutions of instruction or government, but in a state of indefinite diffusion, like untrained cosmical energies. As the dynamo and other apparatus are required to develop and distribute the electric force for enlightening any region, so schools, from the least to the greatest, are necessary for developing and distributing the intellectual energy, on which spiritual illumination depends. And in this process the chief center in any given area is that intellectual dynamo named “ university.”

The university as a center of instruction draws its vigor from society as originally constituted to be self-instructing. In its conventional sense it is the corporate unity, which aims to represent the kinds of learning proper to the human species, together with one whole body of teachers and scholars, to whom such learning in its various degrees is either an attainment or an aspiration; and this corporate university grows out of the larger universities of which Cicero speaks, viz., the university of the human race — *universitas generis humani*, and the university of things — that is things knowable and in part known by study — *universitas rerum*.

This unlimited historic ideal of the university is worthy to be honored by any political community having charge of its own educational institutions.

But the practical economy of education is of necessity limited and selective. The universities of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries developed the type according to which later universities were organized. They grew up as a rule from schools that had come into general usefulness and repute previously; and they acquired their charters or privileges through such services as both announced and supported their claims. They were catholic in distinction from feudal, like the church of that day, and drew together studious youths from all quarters of Europe in vast multitudes, who were grouped in "nations" so called, according to affiliations doubtless natural enough at the time, though they seem somewhat arbitrary now. Hence *studium generale* — a general or unexclusive institution of learn-

ing—was another name for university; and the generality or unexclusiveness had a special reference to persons engaged in studies rather than to subjects studied. For the subjects studied would naturally vary not only as between different universities in different localities, but also according to popular tendencies and demands of the public service in church or State at different periods, while persons in general—persons irrespective of local and temporal distinctions—were made welcome to the pursuit of learning, whether in one general school or another.

Hence, while any university was properly conceived as having the same purpose and meaning as all universities together, the university function was actually distributed, so that the study of medicine became the distinction of Salerno, law the chief pursuit at Bologna, and theology the ruling attraction at Paris. The great schools at Oxford and Cambridge encouraged a broad culture in the arts, without neglecting the higher departments of education, by their system of collegiate foundations, whereby the convenience, coöperation, and seclusion of academic life were secured.

Thus early appeared the general determination to four grand departments of study—arts, law, medicine, theology—and four corresponding faculties of instruction. It by no means followed, however, that every university should always be found sustaining all four in a systematic and recognized efficiency.

Those great democracies of learning, that were such a salient feature of the middle age, gathered about their teachers in thousands, by an inspiration which

no inertness or obstruction could withstand. One thing we half envy them, they were not distracted with optional courses. The very limits of study favored thoroughness and discipline. The reading appropriate to a special calling in life is always apt to be plainly pointed out; but the attainments appropriate to an instructed human being of whatever calling are in our day so various and extensive, that what to study is in some institutions not the least perplexing of undergraduate problems. When the liberal arts were just the number of perfection, exactly as many as the mortal sins, the Christian virtues and the sacraments of the church, the path of the scholar to his earlier degrees was a straight and narrow one. Grammar, logic, rhetoric (the *Trivium*); music, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy (the *Quadrivium*);—if these studies according to the measures of mediæval knowledge were the whole undergraduate curriculum now, we might well expect to see our “young barbarians all at play” in athletics, or making adventurous forays in the fields of professional knowledge.

But institutions of learning are governed not only by the progress of science, but by the progress of civilization also. The development of European nationalities combined with the reforming tendencies in Christianity wrought great changes in educational arrangements. Schools could not lose their dynamic unity, and of necessity served a general purpose. The great centers of mediæval learning, however, did lose their practically unexclusive character. Mediæval “nations,” so called, were represented in the same univer-

sity. The modern nation, on the other hand, brought the university home, and naturalized it in various provinces. The mediæval universities were Catholic. The modern universities became not only national, but denominational in the matter of religion. Thus the general distribution of higher schools took place, according to the demands of sovereign states, and Christian denominations; and this tendency has reached its most extravagant phase in our own national union.

I was struck with a brief statement as to the number of universities in Europe, sufficiently accurate for my purpose, which I met in the Boston Transcript recently. Greece, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Roumania, have each one; Sweden and Ireland have two each; Scotland, England, Belgium and Holland, four each; Switzerland, six; Russia, nine; Germany, twenty; Italy, twenty-one; Austria-Hungary, eleven and Spain, eleven. I shall refer to France further on. Now this distribution of universities suggests that if such institutions are to be strengthened and advanced to the highest common efficiency, the number of them in any particular state should be wisely limited. Why, for example, should Italy need twenty-one institutions of the highest rank, when Germany gets on with the most distinguished scholarship of the world, and requires but twenty? But we, especially, who are still in the period of beginnings, need a judicious moderation in the development of our educational resources, in order to solve the problem of simple sufficiency and useful coöperation.

In this regard, we in Maine may take a salutary

hint from the systematizing genius of France. The Revolution doomed to summary extinction twenty-three venerable universities, and left public education, as a whole, to be reorganized. To accomplish this the first Napoleon, in 1808, instituted his "Imperial University," which, with some modifications, has survived all subsequent changes in the French government. There are, it is true, a few schools in France, which are not in formal affiliation with the system; but, leaving these out, "the University of France embraces the whole system of national education." It includes all the institutions for imparting instruction in the realm, from the lowest to the highest. These institutions—academies, lyceums, communal colleges, normal schools, and so on, are distributed according to demands of territory and population; are duly graded and governed with reference to the progress of learning from lower to higher stages; provided with boards of supervision, and faculties of instruction, under the general direction of the minister of public instruction. This University of France has faculties of letters, sciences, medicine, law and theology; but these faculties are distributed according to the demands of education, not of necessity to every academy or civil department alike. The degrees are those of bachelor, licentiate, and doctor, each degree standing for a definite sum of solid attainments.

M. Victor Duruy, in his *History of France* has this testimony to the university as instituted by Napoleon, namely:—

That it has been possible to modify, but not to overthrow it, for the reason that, what with its members, the public officials con-

cerned in its administration, and father of families, it is the State and society together teaching.¹

We may hope that no change in our commonwealth will destroy or even derange the provisions for schooling already initiated; but that society and government will work together in teaching, until our schools shall together do honor to the wisdom and character of the State. Society and government—not “the State and society;” that old order of terms belonged to the France of history, that now and then threw up a personage of importance, who said, or thought, that he was the State. In the new order society takes precedence. What we want is not any system ready made, but the spirit of system in society; so that out of the best ideas, councils and experiences, we may progressively originate and establish what shall be most becoming and useful to our commonwealth;—following, but not imitating, the great example of France, or of any other political community older than ourselves.

Of all modern examples the most practicably suggestive to us, perhaps, with reference to a fulfillment of our educational beginnings, is that of the University of London. Indeed the establishment of this university marks an era in the history of academical institutions. It is not limited to any particular region by being housed in buildings for the lodging and instruction of its alumni; for it is not a teaching body. It declares a complete separation of the teaching function and the examining function. It is an examining body with authority to confer degrees on the basis of knowledge, no matter when, where, or how attained.

¹ Duruy, *History of France*, Volume II, page 603.

Created by royal charter in 1836, its present charter dates from 1837; but the plans and efforts to which the University of London owes its existence date back to 1825. The movement was initiated, let it be remembered, by Thomas Campbell, the poet, in conjunction with Henry Brougham, afterward Lord Brougham, Mr., afterward Sir, Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, David Hume and some influential dissenters, most of them connected with the congregation of Dr. Cox of Hackney. The original suggestion seems to have come from the fact that dissenters were practically excluded from the older universities; but as the scheme took shape it became distinctly non-theological. The first council was appointed December 1825, and it is interesting to note what names it included. In addition to those just now mentioned there were Zachary Macaulay, George Grote, James Mill, William Yorke, Lord Dudley and Ward, Doctor Olinthus Gregory, Lord Lansdowne, Lord John Russell and the Duke of Norfolk.

Moreover, for a while colleges for teaching were in the plan, but at last the University of London, as before intimated, had its action limited to the institution of examinations and the conferring of degrees.

Its aim as set forth in its charter was:—

The advancement of religion and morality and the promotion of useful knowledge, by holding forth to all classes and denominations of her majesty's subjects without any distinction whatsoever, an encouragement for pursuing a regular and liberal course of education, by offering to persons who prosecute and complete their studies in the metropolis or in any other parts of the United Kingdom, such facilities, and conferring on them such distinctions and rewards as may incline them to persevere in their

laudable pursuits; especially to ascertain by examination the persons who have acquired proficiency in literature, science and art, by the pursuit of such course of education, and to reward them by academical degrees as evidence of their respective attainments, and marks of honor proportioned thereunto.

The domain of the university is not now limited to the united kingdom, but is coextensive with the empire. It is empowered to receive into connection with itself such institutions in the British colonies as shall transmit to the senate sufficient evidence that they furnish to their pupils such a course of instruction in one or more departments of knowledge as shall justify their being taken on examination for degrees. The institutions mentioned in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, eighth edition, as in connection with the University of London make too long a list for me to give. It includes, however, the great universities of England, Ireland and Scotland, most of the dissenting colleges, many universities and colleges in the colonies and especially the Working Men's College in London. Since private students also have their chance, not only academic, but universal society is recognized as having a share in the teaching function.

The university consists at any time of the chancellor, vice-chancellor, and thirty-six fellows, styled the "senate," together with all persons on whom it has conferred any of the degrees of doctor of laws, doctor of medicine, master of arts, bachelor of laws, bachelor of medicine or bachelor of arts. This body of graduates, with certain restrictions as to the period of their accession, makes up what is called "the Convocation," which is convened at the call of the senate, at least

once a year. As I am dealing with hints, I avoid details about working methods. Only it seems desirable to note, with reference to this executive body, the senate, which arranges examinations and confers degrees, that no member is eligible as an examiner; that no examiner is reëlected for more than four years consecutively; and, that for each examination a reasonable fee is exacted. My object is gained, if I have indicated even vaguely how this inexpensive and mobile institution — an institution of mind in distinction from matter — has availed for the correction of scholastic and partizan routine, has turned the United Kingdom into a university of universities, a veritable *studium generale*, and, in connection with the great movement of university extension, has thrown over a world-wide empire the halo of an absolutely unexclusive learning.

The same principles and methods that have secured to the University of London so broad an efficiency, are, of course, applicable in a narrower range, and possibly with some useful accomodations. It was with uncommon interest, therefore, that I read in the last February Nineteenth Century, an article by Mr. J. Churton Collins, entitled "The 'Ideal' University." The article has reference in general to a movement for establishing a teaching university for the whole of London, and the word "ideal" in the title conveys a touch of irony, in as much as it was not the ideal of the original movers, or of the Royal Commission with Lord Selborne at its head, to whom the whole subject was referred, or of Mr. Collins himself, that won its way; but an ideal of a limited and inferior sort. Our con-

cern is always with ideals that wait, and the unrealized university of London is the one of importance in Mr. Collins' article.

What was the "ideal" that seemed most natural and practicable to the prime movers for a new university, and to the disinterested Royal Commission? Simply that of so modifying the present organization of the University of London, "as to make it not merely an imperial center of examination, but the supreme metropolitan center of teaching and of educational legislation." Referring to a large number of distinguished institutions of learning, popular, academic, professional, about which a great deal of evidence had been taken during a long and laborious investigation, the report of the Royal Commission says: —

It can hardly be doubted that if these various institutions could be coördinated under a university as their natural head, which would encourage them to do the work for which they are best fitted, and would reward their work when efficiently done with a public stamp of recognition, the cause of education in the metropolis might gain a great impetus.

This programme of coördination was a complicated one, not confined to ancient schools of law, medicine, science, or to fastidious collegiate institutions of the classical type, but extended to such centers of study as the Birkbeck institution, described as a university for evening students, the number of entries to whose classes for one session was 14,472, — the City of London College, whose students at the same time numbered upward of 2,500; the Working Men's College, whose average attendance is about 700 from October to May, and 250 during June and July, and finally the

University Extension Lectures, comprising, according to Mr. Collins, during the session then just closed, 133 courses, with upward of 8,000 students attending them. Multitudes at these schools are in courses of advanced education. Of the Birkbeck students during the last year, one hundred and six came in for ordinary degrees at the University of London examinations, and twelve obtained honors.

With regard to this movement for reorganizing and combining the institutions of higher education in London, it was remarked that there was a university without colleges, and there were colleges without a university. And this situation in view of English precedents was held to be anomalous. The institutions of the metropolis were having a bitter experience of isolation, obstruction and competition; while the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, especially in recent years, presented a record of youthful vigor, coöperation and extension, because every one of the score, more or less, of colleges in each was sustained, stimulated, and glorified, by the common life of all. The magnificent Congregational institution, recently established in Oxford, Mansfield College, not only ranks proudly with its peers, but shares the university's ancient renown.

It will be enough if this paper can convey the hint of history that there is for society and government in Maine, a problem not merely of common schools, but of higher education. The problem is concerned not with taxation, but with administration. Rich men will endow the University of Maine, as they

have endowed other universities; and they will endow it the more willingly, the more catholic and comprehensive the institution shall be. It is an era of confederation. We have a Theological school, a Medical school, a Law — yes, a Law school, only it is diffused among the men of law in offices and courts, holding by a fundamental and most honorable tradition too important ever to be lost sight of. Yet our Law school has been somewhat concentrated here in Portland, has expressed itself in repeated courses of lectures; just as a popular chair of general literature, anticipating the movement of university extension, has been sustained for many years by our learned associate, the Reverend Doctor Dalton. From such germs institutions grow. We have collegiate schools of excellent character, centers of instruction in the academic arts, each capable of development in the way of special studies and post-graduate courses, as our progress may demand. We have the essential elements of a University of Maine, but not so coördinated as to give them the collective character and efficiency of a university. We have no single intellectual corporation whose trust and responsibility it is to represent the people and government with respect to the sum total of higher institutions, as they are related to all the possibilities of teaching and learning in the commonwealth, and so to quicken aspiration and encourage effort throughout the whole body of society. It may be we have not given due consideration to the European doctrine and practice of separating the examining function from the teaching function — the preparing for degrees from

the conferring of degrees. It is easy to go on as we are going. Conventional methods are provisionally useful — not to be rashly disturbed. But is there not a problem for our teachers and legislators interesting and important in proportion to its difficulty, namely :—

To find that happy concordat and corporate leadership, which shall save our higher institutions of learning, from imitative competition and self-satisfied isolation, relieved possibly by a faint odor of denominational sanctity, — and combine them in one free and coöperative service for the best teaching and the best learning, which the progress of intelligence and legislation may open before them ?

To organize teaching so as to stimulate study by the impartial appreciation of personal acquisitions, whether in the most populous municipality or the remotest cabin of the state, — such is the proper aim of the ideal University of Maine.

SOME HUGUENOT AND OTHER EARLY SETTLERS ON THE KENNEBEC IN THE PRESENT TOWN OF DRESDEN.

BY CHARLES E. ALLEN.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, March 17, 1892.

ON the eastern bank of Kennebec river, in the present town of Dresden, and upon an eminence which overlooks the historic stream, and the present village of Richmond, is a pretty inclosure, some acres in extent, locally known as Forest Grove Cemetery. In

the central part of that inclosure may be seen an obelisk of Quincy granite, on the western polished panel of which is cut the following inscription:—

LOUIS HOUDELETTE

AND

MARY CAVALEAR

his Wife, French Huguenots.

There appears to be a growing interest on the part of the common people in the story of the Huguenots and their migration to America. In my schoolboy days children who studied the history of their country became tolerably familiar with the record of the Pilgrims, at Plymouth, with the story of William Penn and his Quakers, and with the account of the Dutch settlers at New Amsterdam, and possibly they gleaned from the chapters on the French and Indian War some idea of the French settlements in Canada. But far more important than any one of these, in its effect upon the character of our country was that immigration from France, in the seventeenth and eighteen centuries, which gave all the colonies, from Nova Scotia to Carolina, and to Florida, a class which, as Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge remarks, produced for our country in proportion to their numbers, more men of ability than any other people.

The story of the Huguenots—or French Protestants—is a historic tragedy possessing thrilling interest. Their persecution, which led to the exodus of a million or more of the best artisans of France, like all similar persecutions, was incidentally religious, but

chiefly political. The first works on the subject appear to have been written by French authors. Later, English writers produced volumes giving accounts of those who sought refuge on British soil. Dutch and German authorities are also plentiful. But American works on the subject are almost wholly of recent date, of which that by Dr. Baird is perhaps the most important for Americans. With a single exception, however, I have found no attempt to connect the state of Maine with this extraordinary migration to our shores. For although it is the purpose of this paper to present some of the records of a single locality, there are traces of Huguenot settlers in various parts of Maine; and we are surrounded with people who bear the old French names, although sometimes those names have with the lapse of time become very materially changed.

There are those who have questioned the correctness of the inscription on that monument in the cemetery on Dresden neck. Most historians, as North in *History of Augusta*, and R. H. Gardiner, in *History of the Kennebec Purchase*, either affirm that Dresden was settled by Germans, or pass very lightly over the French part of the record. Rufus K. Sewall, in *Ancient Dominions*, comes very near the exact truth when he declares that "the hamlet (then Frankfort plantation) received accessions from French Huguenots." I propose to show that, with the exception of one or two families of earlier date, to be noted hereafter, Frankfort plantation, now Dresden, was settled in 1752 by French Protestants who left their country on account of their religion, and who brought with

them a few of their German brethren. In Baird's work on the Huguenots in America may be seen a picture of Oxford, Massachusetts, the site of a Huguenot colony. I have a picture of the Eastern river valley, Dresden, the site of a Huguenot colony in Maine. On the banks of that beautiful, winding, navigable tributary of the Kennebec, and oftentimes upon lands granted to the wanderers of 1752 by the Plymouth proprietors, may still be found the descendants of our Huguenot settlers in Maine. And in many instances the families still retain those French names which I have been enabled to trace back to a period only twenty-one years subsequent to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, a century and a half ago.

The name of Huguenot was applied to all Protestants in France, of which there were two classes or sects — the Calvinists, whose faith originated on French soil, who were found generally in the South and West of France, and who were by far the most numerous and influential; and the Lutherans, older, and generally confined to the eastern provinces, where at Montbéliard in the present department of Doubs, they had a flourishing college. They imported the Augsburg Confession of Faith from Germany. With a few exceptions, possibly, our Dresden Huguenots were Lutherans. I hope to be able to ascertain the names of them all, but as yet have done so only in part. Silvester Gardiner has a charge against the Plymouth proprietors for supplies furnished forty-six French and Germans at Frankfort early in the year 1752. Of this number, I find twenty-five or twenty-eight French

names and five German names. That makes thirty or thirty-three of the forty-six. A few were accompanied by their families, which possibly made up the forty-six. And this number received accessions at a later date.

Of this number I will mention first the two whose names are chiseled on the Dresden monument. Louis Houdelette was the only son, born in France, of Charles Stephen (Fr. Estienne) Houdelette, the lace weaver whom I mentioned in a paper read before the Society two years ago. Louis was born September 8, 1746, and was nearly six years old when he and his father arrived in Frankfort in 1752. He was the ancestor of most if not all of those who still retain the name of Houdelette in Maine and elsewhere. The name is spelled in various ways. Count Philip de Sagur, in his interesting history of Napoleon's Russian Campaign spells it Heudelet. I believe that Abbott's Life of Napoleon spells it Houdlette, as it is commonly spelled in Dresden to-day. Our old Huguenot's autograph, preserved among the Plymouth papers, is written Charles Estienne Houdelette, and the name of his son Louis Houdelette is written in the same way in Dresden records. Two or three books that were the property of Charles Stephen Houdelette are now in possession of a descendant of his, a lady living in Dresden. One is in old German text, another in French, and its title, translated into English is "Important Advice to Refugees on their next return to France. Given in case of Extremity to one of them, in 1690, Amsterdam." And still another is a book of psalms in French

with music. Our old-time settler was a Refugee himself, but he had tarried in Germany and had some knowledge of the German language. The margin of the title-page to "Advice to Refugees" has the following inscription:—" *Donnez par Pierre Chardon de Boston, 1763.*"

And perhaps it is well to remark here that Reverend Jacob Bailey, the Episcopal missionary who was the much-loved religious teacher of these people for nearly twenty years, in a letter to Reverend Mr. Walter of Boston, dated March 21, 1769, says: "The bearer of this letter, Mr. Ridall, was educated a Lutheran. . . . He cannot read English, but understands German *very well.*" A descendant of this Ridall, now living in Dresden, who writes his name Rittall, and whose wife is a descendant of another Huguenot settler, said to me that the old people told him that his ancestors came from Worms, Germany, but before that they had left France on account of their religion. And Mr. Bailey speaks of himself as acquiring proficiency in the French language. His first parishioners were very largely French. He does not mention German.

Of Mary Cavalier very little is known, although the name is an historic one. It is surmised that Lewis, or Louis Cavalier, to whom the Plymouth proprietors granted land July 16, 1753, may have been her father. She was born November 15, 1748, was married to Louis Houdelette, by Reverend Jacob Bailey, at her father's house, January 31, 1770, and died in Dresden in 1835; and she was the mother of a large family of children, although no one now living seems to know much about

her. Whether Louis and Mary Cavalear were in any way connected with Jean Cavalear, or Cavalier, the noted Camisard leader, who died at Chelsea, near London, in 1740, I cannot now determine. A writer in the Mount Desert Herald a few years since, evidently thinks they were so connected. Jean Cavalier was a Calvinist, and Reverend Jacob Bailey speaks of both Lutherans and Calvinists as among his people. The descendants of this couple are numerous and widely scattered in various parts of our country. Henry Clay Houdelette is captain of J. D. Spreckles & Brother's steamer Australia, plying between San Francisco and the Sandwich Islands. For some attention shown by him to the king of that group of islands, he was knighted, and is known as Sir Harry Houdelette. Louis Houdelette's father, Charles Stephen, was born in France in 1707, and died in Pownalboro in 1784, aged seventy-seven years. Another Huguenot name is that of Pochard, now written Pushard. I present a copy of the baptismal register of the family, written in French one hundred and forty-one years ago. It says:—

The undersigned, ministers and elders of the church of Che-nebie, in the Seigneurie of Hericourt, a dependence of Montbel-liard, and under the government of his most Christian Majesty, having been required by Jean Pochard of the said place to give him a certificate for himself and for his family, to be of use to him in any place where he may be, they assure all those who may see this present certificate that the said Jean Pochard and Jeanne Mounier live in lawful marriage from which have proceeded four sons, who are their legitimate children, and who accompany them. That they and their children have lived up to the present time in a Christian manner, professing the holy religion according to the Confession of Augsburg, having committed no crime, at least that

has come to our knowledge. In testimony of which we have sent him this present certificate to serve him in case of need. All those who may see it are requested to give him help and assistance, promising exchange of the same in their own need to those who may be recommended to us. Made at Estobon the 28th day of May, 1751.

ANTOINE REBUTON, elder.

J. N. DIENY, V. D. M.

DAVID POCHARD, elder.

J. F. DIENY, M. V.

—Jean, son of the Honorable Nicholas Pochard, Mayor of Anne-sur-l'eau, was born the 20th September, 1706, and was presented for the Sacrament of Baptism the 21st of October of the same year, by Sieur Jean Moire, godfather, and by Elizabeth, daughter of Christophile Mounier, godmother.

—Abraham, son of Jean Pochard, weaver, of Chenebie, and of Jeanne Mounier, his wife, was presented for holy baptism by Abraham Mounier, son of Charles Mounier, husbandman, of Chenebie, and by Elizabeth Petilhon, wife of Jean Pierre Bonhotel of Chenebie, for her daughter, Anne Bonhotel, on account of her minority, the 30th July, 1734.

—George, son of Jean Pochard, weaver, of Chenebie, and of Jeanne Mounier, his wife, was baptised in the church of the said place the fifth May, 1737. His Godfather was George, son of Nicholas Pochard, husbandman, of Echavanne: and the godmother Catherine, daughter of the honorable David Pochard, also husbandman, of Echavanne.

—Jaques Christophe, son of Jean Pochard, mechanic, of Chenebie, and of Jeanne Mounier, his wife, was baptized in the church of the said place the 6th May, 1740. His godfather was Jaques Christophe Pochard, represented by his father, Jean Jaques Pochard, weaver, of Echavanne, for his minority, and the godmother, Jeanne, daughter of Abraham Courquin, husbandman, of Chenebie.

—Pierre Emanuel, son of Jean Pochard, mechanic, of Chenebie, and of Jeanne Mounier, his wife, was baptised in the church of the said place the 9th October, 1742. His godfather was Pierre

Emanuel Mounier, represented by his father, Jeremie Mounier, husbandman, of the said place, for his minority; and the god-mother Jeanne Sugéy daughter of Pierre Sugéy, husbandman, of Echavanne, represented by her mother, Henriette Margueritte Racine for her minority.

Extract of the Registry of Baptisms of the church of Chenebie, in the Seigneurie of Hericourt, by the undersigned, minister of the said place, this 28th May, the year of our Lord, 1751.

N. DIENY, V. D. M.

The Governor, President, and Councillor of Regency at Montbelliard, for His Most Serene Higness, Monseigneur the reigning duke of Wurtemberg, declare by this present, to all those to whom it may come, that Jean Nicolas Diény, who has signed the act and extracts herein mentioned, is in fact, minister of the church of the village of Estobon, situated in the county of Montbelliard, and that he also serves the church of the village of Chenebie, which is an adjunct of the former, and thus entire faith can be given to the acts which this minister sends out in this quality, as well in judgment as abroad, as to those given by public and legal persons. In testimony of which these presents have been given under the common seal of the Chancellerie, and the signature of the Secretary of the Council, the 2d of June, 1751.

By order

CROQUET, *Secretary.*



Most of these places were probably small French villages. Hericourt is in the department of Haute-Saone, fifteen miles southeast of Lure. Montbelliard is an important town in the department of Doubs. Louis XV was then his Christian Majesty of France. These places were and are on the banks of the rivers Saone and Doubs, near to the Swiss frontier. Events

of interest may, therefore, be arranged chronologically, as follows : —

Martin Luther born	1483
Martin Luther protested	1520
Augsburg Confession	1530
Massacre of St. Bartholomew	1572
Edict of Nantes, by Henry IV,	1598
Revocation of same by Louis XIV,	1685
Baptism of John Pochard	1706
His departure for America	1751

That is, John Pochard was baptised twenty-one years after the Revocation, and sailed for America sixty-six years after that event, or when he was forty-five years old. I don't know how long he lived in Germany, but no doubt they were all neighbors and went together.

This old baptismal register in French shows evidences of the ravages of time. It was found, torn in strips, with other interesting papers. The old Huguenot had died, and his descendants were careless about preserving the document which he was no doubt at considerable pains to obtain. Just when he left France is uncertain, but it is certain that he with his family sailed from Rotterdam to Boston on the ship *Priscilla*, John Brown master, in 1751, and they reached Frankfort plantation, the first township organized for settlement on the Kennebec after the Proprietors of the Kennebec Purchase organized for business, in March of 1752. Tradition says they tarried for a while at Fort Richmond, because there was fear of the Indians. Indeed, an Indian tragedy on Swan Island was then a very recent event. They very soon built for

themselves log houses on the banks of Eastern river, the sites of some of which are still distinctly traceable. No doubt the passenger list of the *Priscilla* included all of the forty-six.

In 1765 John Pochard mortgaged forty acres of land situated on Dresden neck, to William Bowdoin of Roxbury, in trust, to secure the owners of the ship *Priscilla* the sum of £27, 15s, 6d, the same being the amount of his passage money from Rotterdam to Boston; and in 1773, James Bowdoin, administrator on the estate of William, discharged that mortgage from the record, he having received full satisfaction for the same.

In 1759, with the Houdelettes, the Gouds, the Stilphens, and others, John Pochard, and three of his sons, Abraham, George, and Christopher, were among the petitioners who asked that Jacob Bailey be sent them as missionary. Peter was too young to petition. Abraham worked on Fort Western as a "schorer" or hewer of timber when that defensive work was built. Tradition says that George was killed by the Indians when hunting up river in the vicinity of the wilds of Augusta. Christopher's name may be found in Pownalboro records. Peter was a shoemaker, who married Daniel Malbon's daughter Betsey and settled on the lot of land where West Dresden post office now is. His cellar and well are still to be seen, and some old apple trees, planted by his hand, bore some fruit a year or two ago. Two of his grandchildren are still living in Dresden, at an advanced age, and one great-grandson — the present West Dresden postmaster —

who lives on his old lot of land, preserves the old shoemaker's lapstone and other of his tools. A copy of his will shows that he died possessed of some property. He was a respected and worthy citizen, well remembered by old residents, and his name frequently appears in Dresden records after the incorporation, in 1794. Baptised a Lutheran in France, he attended Episcopal services, until Reverend Mr. Bailey's departure for Halifax, in 1779; and when the Congregational church was erected in 1801, and Reverend Freeman Parker became its minister, Peter became the first sexton, and purchased a gallery pew for eighteen dollars, and a floor pew for forty-seven dollars. I think these people were piously inclined without being narrow. I have copies of old papers which show how the name became changed from Pochard to Pushard, and have seen a petition where one branch of the family asked to have the name changed to Shaw.

Of the other Huguenot names I have only time for the briefest mention, although the records of some of them are very interesting. They were evidently intelligent, earnest, and capable, although poor. A petition from them to the Plymouth Proprietors, through Peter Chardon, a Huguenot merchant in Boston, is interesting and quite pathetic. Its phraseology indicates that the writer, or translator (the original was in French) had a very imperfect knowledge of the construction of English sentences, although his meaning is plain enough. It is entitled "Exact copy of two letters lately received by Peter Chardon of Boston, from the French settlers at Frankfort, at the eastward."

FRANKFORT, Sept. 13, 1752.

Sirs:— We have learnt from James Frederick Jaquin, lately from Halifax and settled amongst us, that all those that arrived there since some short time from Urope, was by means of the letters we wrote to our friends in our country, and instead of their being transported to Boston according to our intentions, was carried to Halifax by the ill conduct of the commissary J. Crelious, which is verified by the wife and children of Malbon being there, and ye mother, brothers and sisters of Daniel Jacob likewise, and generally their own brother and brothers in law, or other relations, which makes us humbly entreat of the honorable company to have the goodness and regard for us, that all those the said Jaquin proposed to the gentlemen he should go and bring to our settlement from Halifax by transporting himself to Boston in the first sloop, the which persones would be very necessary amongst us, some being artist and brought up to such trades as we cant well do without, and it is our generall request to the company to have them if possible, and in particular Malbon and Daniel Jacob; and if these cant have their families with them at Frankfort, they say of necessity though much against their inclination must go to Halifax, not being able to live with any comfort or satisfaction so near them and not be near their dear relatives; therefore further humbly and earnestly intreat of the venerable good company to use their utmost interest to obtain said persones for their friends, and for which favors shall be ever obliged. Signed in behalf of all the French settlers at Frankfort,

CHARLES STEPHEN HOUDELETTE.

Malbon's wife's name is Margaret Humbert. If the gentleman writes to Halifax about the above mentioned persones, he desires they would let his wife know he is in good health, and that he desires nothing more in the world but to have her with him.

TO MR. PETER CHARDON.

The second letter is dated

FRANKFORT, Nov. 2d, 1752.

Sir:— We ask with great humility, pardon for our importunities and trouble we give you, and we take again the freedom to

write praying Almighty God for the preservation of your dear health and of all those that belongs to you. We had great satisfaction in the grant of fourty acres of land each in this place, but at the same time the affliction to see the English quit their first lots and settle upon the French line in such a manner as to oblige some of us to take up with the other twenty acres at a great distance from the first, although we had almost finished our settlements; and further, we are very much troubled to see said persons to our great inconvenience fixt their houses in such forwardness as only to want coverings which would been likewise done if they had the tools necessary for their work.

The most honorable gentlemen of the company promised to settle all the French upon one line near one another, so as to enable them hereafter to settle a minister for Divine Service and a schoolmaster for the instruction of their children. We desire, dear sir, you would be so good as to communicate to the honorable gentlemen of the company our former requests for sundry articles, we are in very great want of, in particular the provision our three men that went to Boston lately desired, not have half enough to carry us through the winter, and as for other necessaries every one asks for himself, besides what each desired some time ago, namely, for George Gout 2 hatts, 1 a half castor, the other a felt, 3 shaves to shave wood, black pepper, smoak tobaca. For John Pochard, 2 hats, 1 shaver for wood, 1 hand saw, 2 gimlets 1 large 1 small: smoak tobaca, black pepper, sewing thread for cloth, 2 chisels, small hatchet. For John Bugnont — barrel vinegar, bushel of onions, black pepper, felt hat, blanket or rugg, thread for clothes, smoak tobaca, barrel of rum for him, George Gout & Peter Gout. For Daniel Jalot, 5 yards middlin coarse cloth for clothes, hats, axe, thread, black pepper. For Peter Gout, hats, sewing thread, hand-saw, chisel, shaver, bushel of onions. For Joseph Bas, shaver, hat, bushel of onions, black pepper, tobaca to smoak, cive for flower. Signed by

JAMES BUGNONT,
PETER GOUT,
JOHN POCHARD &
DENIS JACOE.

I have received 3 barrels, 1 of flour, 1 of Indian corn, & one of pork. I humbly intreat of you, dear sir, to ask the favor of those gentlemen to have the goodness to send me 3 barrels more of flour, 3 of Indian corn, and 2 of pork, 1 of rum, and 1 of molasses, these last two for Daniel Jacob and Joseph Bas; and for me, James Frederick Jaquin, the last comer, a small quantity of the best flax for a piece or two of linen, 10 lbs of tobaca, 1 lb black pepper, bushel of onions, bushel of good peas. This signed only by

JAMES FREDERICK JAQUIN.

The documents which I have presented clearly indicate the character and the nationality of Dresden's early settlers. Dresden traditions, which they verify, always refer to them as French Huguenots. Even the descendants of the Germans admit that the colony was mostly French. They came to a wilderness, and made for themselves farms on which they raised a great variety of products, among which was flax, from which they wove linen fabrics, some of which are still in existence. Here they were menaced by Indians, contended with a rude soil, with snow and ice, with wolves and bears, and other wild animals, and yet in 1759 the colony was reported to be self-supporting, and in 1763, one of their number, Jacques Bugnon, went to Germany and the proprietors voted to grant land to any whom he might bring over with him on his return to America. I have not yet learned who came, but probably they were the "French accessions" mentioned by Sewall. No doubt his recruits were from among his countrymen then tarrying in Germany, for it is not probable that he went to France. The signatures of many of these settlers, affixed to a petition in 1758, show that they were fairly good writers at a time when

the ability to write was not common at least with the English common people. No name that I have found is more poorly written than are many that one frequently collects upon petitions nowadays.

Much has been said connecting religion and education with the Pilgrims who by mistake settled the wilderness of Massachusetts, and yet a little band of French refugees braved the dangers of a Maine wilderness and the terrors of savage warfare after the Indians had received one hundred and thirty years' instruction in the arts of English cruelty and duplicity, and the incident has been almost entirely overlooked; and while Maine granite serves to commemorate the event which has made Plymouth famous, an inscription on a shaft of Massachusetts stone is almost the only public record of an event which should be of interest at least to Maine people.

These people, countrymen, and in essentials of the faith, of those who have bequeathed to our country the honored names of Jay, Laurens, Boudinot, Bayard, Guion, Faneuil, Bowdoin, Ballou, Revere, and many others, were, so far as I have learned their names, Charles Stephen Houdelette, and his son Louis, John Pochard and his four sons, Abraham, George, Christopher and Peter, Jean George Goud, Daniel Goud, James Goud, Jacques Bugnon, Daniel Malbon, Amos Paris, Philip Fought, John Stain, John George Pechin, Peter Pechin, John Henry Lator, Francis Riddle (Ridall), Michel Stilfinn, George Jaquin, James Frederick Jaquin, Jacob Carlor, Lewis (Louis) Cavelear, Joseph Bas, Daniel Jacob, Denis Jacoe, Zachariah Nardling, and possibly Mark Carney and a Segars.

The Pilgrims brought from Holland their idea of free schools ; but it is not probable that our Huguenots tarried sufficiently long in that wonderful north country to familiarize themselves with its institutions. Rotterdam was only their port of departure, as was Delft Haven that of a band of English refugees one hundred and thirty years before. So it is probable that their idea of settling a minister for Divine Service and a schoolmaster for the instruction of their children was brought with them from sunny France. They were of the most intelligent classes the world over, the great middle class in life, without which class civilization itself would soon perish from the earth.

Of the first German settlers I cannot now speak, both because my record is far from complete and for lack of space. So far I have found but five names — John Ulrick, John, George, Philip, and Cassimire Mayer. With the exception of Dr. Cassimire Mayer, who was never married, I think their families came with them, and possibly they were Bavarians. With this I must dismiss them for the present.

Mark Carney was one of the petitioners for Rev. Jacob Bailey in 1759. It is generally supposed by his descendants that he was of Irish extraction, but Dr. Sydney Howard Carney, of New York, examining surgeon for the New York Life Insurance Company, writes me that the family is of French Protestant origin, the name being written in France Carnet, or Carnè, and finally Carney. This is quite probable, but whatever its origin, the history of the family and its connection with the old Carney house in Dresden, is filled with

incidents of great interest. I can best present the story by giving it as written by a member of the family, now Mrs. Julia Fletcher Carney Gorham, of West Dresden: —

One of the most interesting landmarks in the old town of Dresden is the old-fashioned house known as the Carney place, situated on the bank of the Kennebec river, half a mile below the old court house. The house was built in 1765, for the residence of the judges of the District of Maine, and during the sessions of court, John Adams, afterward second president of the United States, occupied rooms there. The building material was nearly all imported from Europe, and the beautiful Dutch tiles which adorned two fireplaces, the hand-carved banisters, wainscottings and mouldings, made it the handsomest house in this part of the country. For the work of building the house, the laborers received only twenty-two cents a day, but that it was well built is proved by the fact that to-day, at the age of one hundred and twenty-seven years, it is a substantial, handsome building, having been kept in perfect repair at a comparatively small expense.

James Carney bought the house May 2, 1805, of Thomas Bowman, and he lived there until his death, March 15, 1858. The old deed is kept in the family Bible, and has the signatures of both Thomas and Sally Bowman. James Carney was born in Dresden (then Pownalboro), June 5th, 1774. His father, Mark Carney, was born about 1740, and married Susannah Goud about the year 1760. She was of French birth, born 1744, coming from Montbelliard, France, and some of her letters, as well as her French prayer book, are still in possession of one of her great-grandchildren in Boston. She remembered that the town in France whence they came was walled. They lived in one of those strongly built log houses so common in those days, which stood on the east side of Eastern river, a short distance below Dresden Mills Village. Mark and Susannah Carney had eleven children. At the commencement of the Revolutionary war, Mark Carney enlisted and was taken prisoner by the English, transported

to Halifax, Nova Scotia, to Dartmoor prison, where he died a prisoner of war, October 17, 1782, aged about forty-two years. His widow, Susannah, died in Boston, March 3, 1799, aged fifty-five years, and was buried in the old burial ground on Boston common. The oldest son, Daniel, went to Boston and entered into the grocery business on the west side of Washington street, near Dover, became quite prosperous, and was one of the first aldermen of Boston. He was twice married, the first wife being Sarah Bell, daughter of Benjamin Bell, by whom he had nine children. His second wife was Mary Wheeler, daughter of Capt. Josiah Wheeler, by whom he had thirteen children, making twenty-two in all. Daniel Carney and his family attended old Trinity church in Boston, and their family vault was there until a few years before the Boston fire, when his grandson, Sydney Howard Carney, of New York city, had the remains removed to Forest Hills Cemetery. Daniel died in Newcastle, Maine, in 1852, aged eighty-seven years.

Mark Carney's youngest son, William Carney, was taken prisoner on a sailing vessel, carried to St. George, Newfoundland, where he died in 1800, aged twenty-two years. His son James, of the Carney house, and the real subject of this sketch, was eight years old at the death of his father, and at an early age he was apprenticed to the blacksmith's trade with Deacon Faxon of Boston, where he worked for over seven years. He then went to the town of Newcastle, Maine, where he had a shop near Sheepscot bridge, and also built himself a fine dwelling house. October 5th, 1799, he was married to Joanna Marson, daughter of Captain Stephen and Jennie Marson of Dresden. In 1804 he removed to Boston and associated himself with his brother Daniel in the grocery business. In those days the large extent of flats on Boston neck rendered the neighborhood an unhealthy one. For the benefit of his health, he took a trip on a Hallowell packet to the Kennebec. He was naturally attracted to the town of Dresden, it being his own and his wife's native place. Learning that the old house of 1765, called the Hancock house, was for sale, he went ashore and negotiated for its purchase, and in the summer of 1805 removed from Boston to Dresden, bringing with his fur-

niture several pieces that had been the property of Governor Bowdoin, such as mahogany chairs, an old fashioned escritoire and a stately eight-day clock, which also told the day of the month and the changes of the moon. Some of these articles are still in possession of his grandchildren. There were no outbuildings when he purchased the place, and he soon erected barns and a blacksmith shop, and earned his living at his trade and on his farm, and raised an old-fashioned family of twelve children, six boys and six girls, and all lived to be men and women. James Carney was a man of temperate habits, and iron constitution, and a hard worker. He took an interest in politics, and was a Whig, or Republican. In 1811 he built at his landing the hull and spars of a brig called Dresden, for Boston parties. She was of one hundred and seventy-five tons, and he received twenty-five dollars per ton for building her.

Of his twelve children, only two settled in Dresden, his sons Mark and William. His oldest son James jr., settled in Richmond, Maine, where he was at first an iron worker, and afterwards the owner of coasting vessels. In 1850 he superintended the erection of a station and other buildings for the Kennebec and Portland Railroad, and was station agent for ten years. For twelve years he was selectman of Richmond, and in 1861 and 1862 representative to the Legislature, and county commissioner of Sagadahoc county. In 1865 he accepted the position of cashier of the First National Bank of Richmond, which position he held thirteen years. He died in Richmond, January 2, 1887, where he had lived an honored life for fifty-four years. His second wife Hephsebeth Howard survives him, and he was the father of seven children. The second son of James Carney sr., Mark, settled at Dresden Mills. The third son, William, was for fifty years a seaman, well-known by shipping men of New England. During his long career as master of vessels, he never lost a life by shipwreck. He died January 21, 1887, having survived his wife, Catherine Morrison, a year and a half. His fourth son, Thomas Johnson, studied theology with James P. Weston, and in 1848 was ordained to the ministry in Philadelphia. In 1849 he married Miss Julia Fletcher of Lancaster, Massachusetts, an

authoress of great popularity, who while a young girl teacher in a Boston public school, wrote the well-known poem commencing

Little drops of water, little grains of sand.

He died May 4, 1871, aged fifty-three, leaving four sons and one daughter. His oldest son Fletcher, educated at Lombard University, is now a prominent attorney in Galesburg, Illinois, being successful as counsel for the city in the celebrated Galesburg Water Works case, which was carried to the Supreme Court at Washington.

Reverend James Weston Carney, youngest son of Reverend Thomas Carney, graduated at Lombard University and from the Divinity School of Tufts College, in 1886. He is now pastor of the "Liberal Congregational" church in Holyoke, Massachusetts. This ends our sketch of the male line of the James Carney branch of the family of Mark and Susanna.

The history of the English family of Goodwin is an interesting one. Captain or Major Samuel Goodwin is well known by his name to all who have had occasion to examine the Plymouth Company records, for he was their agent on the Kennebec, and his deposition, taken at the age of eighty-three, in the year 1800, is written on the large plan of their grant made from surveys by John North in 1750 and 1751. His descendants still occupy the old Court House in Dresden, which the proprietors voted in 1761 to build within the parade of Fort Shirley. Most of that which I shall present concerning the family was read to me from the manuscript record, by Mrs. Rebecca Prescott, a lady living at the Court House, and now ninety-four years of age:—

John Goodwin was born at Savers Dock, near London, England, March 16, 1683, and came to Boston the year after the great fire [in Boston in 1711], his wife, two sons and a daughter com-

ing the next year. The wife and daughter died soon afterwards, and he married Lydia Sprague, daughter of Jonathan Sprague, of Malden, Massachusetts. By her he had one son, Samuel, born near Kings Chapel, Boston, January 27, 1716. His wife Lydia died at Charlestown on a commencement day, 1739, aged fifty-seven years.

February 15, 1739, Samuel married Elizabeth Williard, daughter of Jacob Williard of Salem, and had seven children, all born in Charlestown, the oldest, Samuel jr., born February 16, 1740, being the Sam, who with his father, was the subject of an amusing story related in Willis's History of the Law, Courts, and Lawyers of Maine, where Sam sought to compel his father to give Benedict Arnold his map of the Kennebec river.

Samuel jr. married Anna Goud, the daughter of a Huguenot. By her he had five children, of whom Benjamin, who married Sally Lilly, was the father of the present owner and occupant of the Court House, — Captain Samuel Randolph Goodwin. Major Samuel Goodwin's daughter Rebecca was married in Pownalboro, January 2, 1777, by Reverend Jacob Bailey, to John Johnson of Charlestown. John Johnson's brother Thomas married Major Goodwin's daughter Abigail. Of them hereafter.

The youngest daughter of John and Rebecca Johnson, also named Rebecca, was born May 15, 1798, and is the aged lady who read to me much of this part of my paper, and whom some of you saw at the Court House in September last, and whom you might take for seventy-five, or even less. She married Warren Prescott of New Sharon, and had Rebecca, Caroline Louisa, living in Philadelphia, and Sarah Augusta, wife of Captain Goodwin of the Court House. He was a seaman for thirty years, often accompanied on his voyages by his wife. He was mate of a vessel which took a cargo of grain to Ireland at the time of the famine.

John Johnson, jr., second son of John and Rebecca Johnson, the aged lady of the Court House, married Eliza Rand of Boston. They had eleven children, of whom Martha Ann Twycross Johnson married General James Fowle Baldwin Marshall. The Marshalls died about a year ago, in Weston, Massachusetts. Gen-

eral and Mrs. Marshall were frequent visitors at the Court House; and both were well-known by their work in connection with the Sanitary Commission during the civil war. General Marshall lived many years at the Sandwich Islands. At the age of twenty-four he was their minister to England, and his papers on that group, in Harper's Magazine and other publications, were widely read. During a part of the dark days of the civil war he was on the staff of Governor Andrew. Afterward he became connected with the Indian school at Hampton, Virginia, and after retiring from that position, he was an active member of an Indian association which met at the private office, in Boston, of Hon. H. O. Houghton, of the well-known publishing house of Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The second daughter of Warren and Rebecca Prescott, Caroline Louisa, Mrs. Canby of Philadelphia, is the mother of the young lady artist visitor at the Court House, whose etching of that structure I present with this paper. It is from a pencil sketch made in 1853.

The Quakers, whose history is filled with incidents of tragic interest, also helped settle this historic Maine town. I have not yet obtained complete records of the families. John Barker, with his sons Carr, Caleb, and John, came to the Kennebec from Hanover, Massachusetts, probably as early as 1728, and their descendants, numerous in the vicinity, are scattered from Aroostook county in the east to Washington territory (or rather state) in the west. They were originally workers in iron, or blacksmiths. They built a vessel in a creek which empties into Eastern river, above the village of Dresden Mills, long before there was a custom house in Bath or Wiscasset to register her, and she was lost on a trip to Boston, but of this records cannot now be found. Caleb, from whom are descended our Dresden Barkers, married Illathera Howland, daughter of a

Captain Howland of Scituate, Massachusetts. The origin of the name Illathera, which name is still preserved in the Barker family, involves a simple story of romantic interest.

Captain Howland was wrecked on Eleuthera, one of the group known as the Bahama Islands, and which once became the site of a Huguenot colony which was expelled by the Spanish authorities. The Captain did not succeed in reaching his home for three years, and was given up for lost by all except his wife. Soon after he left home a little girl was born to him, and the mother looked for his return that he might name the child. When he did get home he called his daughter Illathera, for the island which had so long been his home. It is an attempt to unite the words isle and eleuthera. A descendant of the family, Mr. Edward H. Barker, is agent on the Kennebec for the Cochran-Oler Ice Company of Baltimore.

It has been supposed that this Quaker Barker family is connected with that of another Quaker, Jacob Barker, the New York and New Orleans financier, who died in 1871, but the connection is not clear, although the family names are frequently the same in both families. Jacob Barker and Dr. Benjamin Franklin were both descended from John Folger, an Englishman, Jacob having been born on Swan Island in 1779.

Robert Barker married Sarah Folger and settled first in Nantucket. In 1772 they removed to Swan Island, Kennebec river, then part of Pownalboro, and part of Dresden until the year 1847. Robert Barker built a house on the foot of the island, which was destroyed

by fire in February of the present year. Jacob was born there December 17, 1779 (the hard winter). His father died in 1780, and his mother returned to Nantucket when Jacob was six years old. I think it proper to mention him in this paper. The line, as given me by his son, Abraham Barker of Philadelphia, is as follows:— Robert 1, Isaac 2, Samuel 3, Robert 4, Jacob 5, Abraham 6, Wharton 7, Samuel 8.

Jacob's career was an eventful one. He was a very successful Wall street operator, the owner of many ships and steamers, an able advocate, in politics a Democrat and one of the founders of Tammany Hall, and the friend of De Witt Clinton. He was the consignee of the engine which was imported from England to propel Fulton's first steamboat, on the Hudson. He was the friend of Jefferson, and aided in the discovery of Burr's conspiracy. He negotiated a loan of ten millions for the government to carry on the war of 1812. One of his letters to Secretary Campbell commences:— "Esteemed Friend — Inclosed I hand thee a proposal to loan five millions of dollars," and shows that he retained the Quaker form of speech as well as the Quaker garb. A record of his life is filled with interesting incidents, both in New York and in New Orleans.

George Ramsdell was another Quaker who settled on the point where the Cochran-Oler Ice houses now stand, at Cedar Grove. He had a good reputation as a maker of oars. Joseph Bowman Bridge, uncle of General Samuel James Bridge, when once a passenger on an American vessel to England, and in the English

Channel, heard the officers of an English war vessel, which spoke them, inquire if they had any of Ramsdell's oars. The Ramsdells have entirely disappeared from Dresden, together with the little direct foreign trade which the town once enjoyed.

Along our Maine coast, and in many of our river towns may be found many names of Scotch-Irish origin, — that is, people who came from the highlands of Scotland by way of the North of Ireland to America. These names are familiar ones, such as McFarland, McCobb, Campbell, Walker, Baker, McGown, — or McKown, — McFadden, and many others.

Andrew McFadden was born in the highlands of Scotland in the seventeenth century, removed to Ireland, and was with the besieged party at the siege of Londonderry in 1689. After the Battle of the Boyne, in 1690, he married a second wife, by whom he had three sons, — James, Daniel and Andrew. In 1720 the family came to America, settling first at Somerset Point, now Center Point, north side of Merrymeeting Bay. About the same time, probably with him, came the McCobbs, McFarlands, Campbells, Walkers, Bakers, and others.

In 1722 the settlers at Somerset Point were driven away by fear of the Indians, and the McFaddens went to Georgetown. Here I find them petitioners to the Plymouth Company for grants of the land on which they, as was the case with many others, had settled, supposing they were upon land that was not claimed by anybody except the Indians.

Andrew's son James married Rebecca Pierce and

had seven children, of whom Thomas, born in 1740, was the ancestor of the McFaddens in Fairfield. Daniel, son of Andrew, is the ancestor of Charles R. McFadden, late sheriff of Kennebec county. Orrin McFadden, of Dresden, now probate judge of Lincoln county, is descended from Andrew, third son of the Scottish highlander. Colonel Orrin McFadden was a teacher in Georgia when the civil war commenced. To avoid conscription he joined a Georgia regiment, and when on picket duty for the first time managed to escape to the Federal lines near Savannah. Mustered into the United States service in 1863 and discharged in 1867, as Lieutenant-Colonel, his regiment being composed of colored troops which he helped to recruit in Louisiana. Since then he has held the office of collector at Wiscasset, was a member of the Maine Legislature, and has held several town offices in Dresden.

These, my friends, are records of some Frankfort-Pownalboro-Dresden families. Lack of time and present imperfect data prevent the presentation of records of other families equally interesting, such for instance as Lithgow, Bridge, Gardiner, Call (our earliest settlers), Cushing, Doctor Tupper, Twycross, Gorham, Polereczky, White of Cork Cove, Bailey, Theobald, Johnson, Patterson, Bowman, the Scottish Doctor George Morrison, educated in Edinburgh, and his family, once residents of Dresden, now widely scattered, and others. But if more evidence is needed to establish the claim that the first settlers in the present town of Dresden, under the Plymouth proprietors,

were mostly Huguenots, from France, via. Germany it shall be forthcoming. Residents of Dresden who have taken interest in such matters have smiled when they have seen the statement that their ancestors were German, and no mention has been made of their French origin. The baptismal register which I have read presents us with dates which take us back to the time of Louis XIV (Louis the Great), of France, of whose reign Henry Thomas Buckle, in "History of Civilization," writes:—

It must be utterly condemned if it is tried even by the lowest standard of morals, of honor, or of interest, . . . In his reign every vestige of liberty was destroyed; the people weighed down by insufferable taxation; their children torn from them by tens of thousands to swell the royal armies; the resources of the country squandered; a despotism of the worst kind firmly established. At the instigation of a corrupt and tyrannical clergy, he revoked the Edict of Nantes, by which the principle of toleration had for nearly a century been incorporated with the law of the land, let loose upon the Protestants troops of dissolute soldiers, and lost to France thousands of her most industrious and most intelligent inhabitants, who sought refuge in different parts, taking with them that skill which had enriched their own country.

And Buckle bewails the fact that because it was the golden age of French literature, — the age of Pascal, of Bossuet, of Fenelon, of Molière, and of Racine, — there are those who would seek to hide or to apologize for the excesses of a dissolute and tyrannical prince.

Are we of Maine, by indifference, or otherwise, doing in perhaps a less offensive manner that which drives many of our better citizens to seek for opportunities elsewhere, as the victims of French tyranny sought our

shores so long ago? Let us no longer be indifferent to our own advantages, our own history. And I cannot better close this paper than by quoting the words of a native of Dresden, a scholarly man, who comes of a scholarly family. Henry Kirk White, principal of Lincoln Academy, in the town of Newcastle, in an excellent address on Teaching Patriotism, delivered in this city in January last, at a session of a teachers' association, said, among other good things, when speaking of the importance of teaching local history:—

“The children have long enough been taught about the glorious land of somewhere else. I wouldn't teach scholars to sing ‘I love thy rocks and rills’ and then tell them that Maine is a good state to emigrate from. . . . If a man doesn't love his town which he has seen, how can he love his country which he has not seen? Teach the children something of what we have to be proud of, not necessarily in the great West or the sunny South, but what Maine, Portland, Newcastle, [and I add Dresden] have to be proud of.”

THE CONDUCT OF PAUL REVERE IN THE PENOBSCOT EXPEDITION.

BY JOSEPH WILLIAMSON.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, February 26, 1891.

THE entire failure of the Penobscot expedition, in 1779, of which so much had been expected, and upon which had been expended such an amount of money from an already depleted treasury, caused immense

excitement; and the pressure was so great that the General Court of Massachusetts felt called upon to investigate the matter. Accordingly, on the ninth of September following the disaster, a committee was appointed to make inquiry into its causes; to give a more careful examination, and report the result. The committee organized with General Artemas Ward as chairman and, during an exhaustive hearing, examined over thirty witnesses from the naval and military departments of the expedition.

Among the officers whose conduct became the subject of this inquiry was Paul Revere, lieutenant colonel in the Provincial militia, one of the famous Boston tea party, and who, at the age of forty-four, had already seen active service in the French war. The branch intrusted to him at Penobscot was the artillery. He claimed the right of trial by court-martial upon the ground that, under a legislative resolve, his corps was amenable only to the Continental regulations. This position, however, being overruled, he addressed the Council as follows:—

GENTLEMEN:—I feel the highest obligations to your honors for your candor to me when the popular clamor runs so strong against me: had your honors shown as little regard for my character as my enemies have done, life would have been unsupportable. Were I conscious that I had omitted doing any one thing to reduce the enemy, either through fear or by wilful opposition, I would not wish for a single advocate. I beg of your honors that in a proper time there may be a strict inquiry into my conduct, where I may meet my accusers face to face. Gentlemen, I am told by friends that Capt. Thomas Carnes informed your honors yesterday that I did not land with my men the day we took possession of Majabigwaduce: which is so glaring a falsehood that I beg your honors would favor me with an oppor-

tunity of seeing him face to face before your honors: to take off any impression it may have made to my disadvantage.

I am your honors' obt. humble servant,

PAUL REVERE.

This communication resulted in the following charges and specifications by Captain Carnes, who commanded a company of marines on one of the ships belonging to the fleet:—

GENTLEMEN: — Being requested to lodge a complaint against Lt. Colonel Revere for his behavior at Penobscot, which I do in the following manner, viz.:—

First. For disobedience of orders from General Lovell in two instances, viz, when ordered to go on shore with two 18 pounders—and one 12, and one four, and one howitzer, excused himself.

Second. When ordered by Major Todd at the retreat to go with his men and take said cannon from the Island, refused, and said his orders were, to be under the command of Gen. Lovell during the expedition to Penobscot, and that the siege was raised, and he did not consider himself under his command.

Thirdly. In neglect of duty in several instances.

Fourthly. In unsoldierlike behavior during the whole expedition to Penobscot, which tends to cowardice.

Fifthly. In refusing Gen. Wadsworth the Castle barge to fetch some men on shore from a schooner which was near the enemy's ships on the retreat up the river.

Sixthly. For leaving his men, and suffering them to disperse and taking no manner of care of them.

Sept. 6. 1779.

T. J. CARNES.

The deposition of Captain Carnes was adduced before the court as follows:—

Being appointed by the Hon'ble Council to command the Marines on board the ship Putnam, Daniel Waters, commander, for the Penobscot Expedition, after being there some days, I received orders from the Commodore to have my Marines in order to land with the troops in the morning of the 28th of July, — to

land on the right. There were orders issued out the night before for Col. Revere to land with his men as a reserve Corps, and to keep as close to the rear as possible. His Corps landed to the left of the Marines. I supposed him to be with them but did not then see him. Some time after the Marines were engaged they kept on the beach, until the troops had got possession of the heights, and did not come to the top of the heights till some time after the troops had halted and the lines laid out. He, Col. Revere, left his men on shore, and went on board the Transport at breakfast time and dinner time. Towards evening he went on board again and all his men went also. He came on shore the next morning. At evening went on board again, and for several days after could not be found, and more especially the night the battery was erected at the edge of the wood. Genl. Wadsworth asked after him several times, and could not find him, and the General finally requested Captain Cushing to cut out the embrasures. The Captain of the Fleet was obliged to get his cannon on shore and haul them into the batteries. He hardly ever was there to see or to give any orders about them. Several days after, Genl. Lovell inquired after him, and some of the gentlemen answered he never can be found; on which he ordered one of them to issue it in General Orders for him to come on shore and encamp with his men, and likewise ordered a letter written him, which was done and sent him; and whilst I was there I hardly ever saw him in the battery to give any orders. He would be in a breastwork, one or two hundred yards distance, to see where the shots struck. If a good shot, he would say so; if a bad one, he would say so: but never to give them any instructions about the guns. He directed several pieces himself, and I said then I thought it impossible that a colonel of artillery should make such a bad shot, and know no more about artillery.

A question asked by Col. Revere.

Quest. Whether he ever saw any orders directing me to land with my men on the 28th as a *corps de reserve*? Ans. Yes.

T. J. CARNES,

Capt. Marines, of the ship Putnam.

Sworn to before Court, Sept. 29, 1779.

Attest: — O. PEABODY, *Clerk*.

General Peleg Wadsworth, who conducted the retreat of the forces after the siege was raised, testified that in attempting to rescue a small schooner, which carried a greater part of the provisions, he was directly opposed by Colonel Revere, who said that I had no right to command either him or the boat which had been sent, and gave orders to the contrary. He was promised an arrest as soon as the army should be collected.

The reason Colonel Revere gave for the boats not going off to the schooner was that he had all his private baggage at stake, and asked who would thank him for losing that in attempting to save the schooner to the State. I asked him Whether he came there to take care of his private baggage or to serve the State. To the question if, during the siege he discovered any inattention or backwardness to duty in Colonel Revere, the General answered:—"I did not see him so frequently in camp as I expected — this was in my mind at the time of it; his sentiments and opinions where there was a division of voices were always different from mine. I remember that he was against taking port to the east of the enemy's main fort."

General Lovell, the commander-in-chief, testified to Colonel Revere's disobedience of orders in not retreating up the river Penobscot on the fifteenth of August, after the enemy's reinforcements arrived, and that he wrote to the Council to give him a reprimand for the unsoldierlike behavior: that during the siege he had no permission to go on board the transports for meals or lodging, but it was expected that he and every other army officer should be on shore.

After hearing numerous other witnesses in support and in contradiction of the charges, Colonel Revere submitted the following letter of defense:—

GENTLEMEN:— You being appointed by the authority of this State to investigate the causes of the failure of the Penobscot Expedition, and of the behavior of the officers concerned therein, it lays with you in a great measure, from the evidence for and against me, to determine what is more dear to me than life — my character.

I hope and expect, that you will make proper allowance for the prejudices that have taken place, in consequence of stories, propagated by designing men to my disadvantage. I beg leave to mention to your Honors a matter, though at first it may appear foreign to the present case, yet in the end it will give some light why stories have been propagated against me.

Your Honors must remember the difficulties which arose in our Regiment the last February when it was reduced to three companies. Because I accepted the command, (which was by desire of the Council) and did all in my power to hinder men from deserting: And because I would not give up my commission, in the same way the other officers did, some of them propagated every falsehood malice could invent, in an underhanded way.

I shall trouble your Honors but with one fact, which I appeal to the Hon'ble General Ward for the truth of. Not long after the Regiment was reduced, Captains Todd and Gray waited on General Ward, to complain against me. After saying many things to my disadvantage, (as the General told me the same day) Capt. Todd asked the General to go with him to another room. He then told him he could prove, or he believed he could prove, that I had drawn rations at the Castle, for thirty men more than I had there. The General said he told them, if they had anything against me, to enter a complaint to the Council, and I should be called upon. A few days after, I received an order of council to attend them, and was served with a copy of a petition, signed by Capt. Gray, Todd and others wherein they desire to be heard personally on matters set forth in the petition,

and other matters. I appeared at the appointed time, and they never produced a single article against me. I well remember that three of your Honors were in Council at the time. Ever since, they have done every thing in their power to hurt me, by insinuation, though none of them ever charged me to my face.

After I received orders to go to Penobscot, I heard Capt. Todd was going one of Brigade Majors. Some of my officers told me they were going to wait on Gen. Lovell, to inform him what they heard, and to desire he might not go: for he was so very inimical to the Corps of Artillery, he would do everything in his power to hurt them. They came to Boston to see the General, but Doct'r Whipple assured them Capt. Todd was not going, so they omitted waiting on Gen. Lovell.

After that General Lovell engaged him. When I found he was going with the General's family, I represented to the General how disagreeable he was to me and my officers, and that I should never speak to him but in the line of my duty: for which reason I did not go to the General's Marquee as often as other officers; but I always made it a duty to see the General, at least twice a day, morning and evening, — which General Lovell has done me the justice to say on oath, he saw me often.

(I would mention here, that during the whole campaign I never was so much alone with any man; yet he never gave me the most distant hint, that he thought I omitted or neglected any part of my duty: which I am persuaded he would have done, if he thought I had omitted it: as there has been an acquaintance for more than twenty years.)

If what I have mentioned is true, your Honors must be sensible what a situation I was in, with such an inveterate enemy in the Generals family. I have not the least doubt that Capt. Todd procured the order of the 30th of August, and then sent it to Boston. For my friends tell me that they heard of the order before I got home, and they have no doubt it came from him. He swears that I did not land in time, and insinuates it was done with design; that he heard Brigadier Wadsworth say that if the Expedition continued seven years, he would never order me: that I was frequently on board the Transport, by which he would in-

sinuate that I went there to keep out of the way, and that I did not go up the river when ordered by the General the day after the Retreat.

The first of these, to his confusion, was proved to be false, by Capt's Cushing, Lincoln, and Col. Davis. The second by Brigadier Wadsworth, who swears that he never said any such thing; that it never once came into his mind. He says he is sure, if he had said so, some traces of it would be left behind.

The third, by Capt. Brawn, who says I never came on board but to do something for the service, or to shift me,—and that but seldom: and when I was on board I was anxious to get on shore, for fear I should be wanted:—that several times he desired me to stop, to drink coffee, and to dine: that I refused him for the above reasons.

And fourthly, that I did not go up the river, when ordered by the General. This is likewise proved false, by Capt. Lieut. Newcomb, and Lieut. Phillips, who tell you I went twenty miles up the river to Grant's Mills; that I stayed there the whole of that day, and did not leave the river till I was assured they would burn the ships next morning. I am sure that nothing turned up in evidence to show that the General ever carried up my men to fortify as he proposed.

As to the charges brought against me by Capt. Carnes, for which I was arrested by the Council, I expected he would have endeavored to have proved, one by one. But when he found his witness failed, he was suffered to appear as an evidence himself. I say suffered: for it was the first instance I ever heard of in matters of this sort, (in military affairs,) that a man should be accuser and evidence.

After all, what does he swear to? First, that I staid on the beach with my men, and did not go up the steep, till the Marines and Militia had got possession of the Heights. Second, that I carried all my men on board the Transport, and that they lodged there; and that the sailors got my cannon on shore.

The first is proved false by Gen. Lovell and all my officers. For I do not suppose any one will say Gen'l Lovell did not leave the beach, till they had possession of the Heights. Yet Gen'l Lovell swears, I was close in his rear.

Second. That I carried all my men on board the Transport, and that they lodged there till ordered on shore by the Gen'l. This is likewise proved false by several evidences. Capt. Lincoln told you that he kept on shore with his men and encamped in the woods: that the sailors got my cannon on shore is true in part. The two 18 pounders were got on shore by them chiefly: but the 12 pound Howitzer, and heavy field-piece were got on shore by my people. You find all my officers swear, they and all the men were assisting the whole time. (No person in his senses would suppose that forty men could get such cannon as 18 pounders up that bank.) Capt's Williams and Cathcart say, that they had not the assistance from the artillery they expected: which is accounted for this way. There were all the utensils belonging to the cannon, to get up to the Forts. The hammers, sponges, ladles, worms, quoins, powder, horses, linstocks, besides the ammunition, wads, &c. You may depend the artillery officers took care of those, and employed their own men.

The two first charges in Carne's complaint are proved to be groundless. The order I produced proves his malice in the first instance, that he asserted a thing that he knew nothing about, and then attempted to prove it. *Happy for me I did not lose this order.*

The second charge, that I did not go to take off the cannon, &c. The Adjutant Gen'l tells you the General commanded it, and that the men that were ordered never came to me.

Third charge. Disobedience of orders in several instances. Gen'l Lovell swears he did not know of my ever disobeying any order, either verbal or written, except that of the 15th of August to go up the river. I think it is amply proved that I did go up the river, 20 miles, with what men I had: that I stayed there till sundown, when it was determined to burn the ships. If the Gen'l did not see me there it was not my fault, for it is evident thro' the whole inquiry that Gen'l Lovell did not come up the river till night, or one single field officer, except myself.¹

The fourth, for unsoldierlike behavior, &c.

If to obey orders and keep close to my duty is undsoldierlike,

¹ Captain Williams, in his deposition, says he saw me on board the Vengeance the 15th August.

I was guilty. As to cowardice, during the whole expedition, I never was in any sharp action, nor was any of the Artillery. But in what little I was, no one has ever dared to say I flinched. My officers all swear, that whenever there was an alarm, I was one of the first in the Battery. I think that's no mark of cowardice.

The fifth, that I denied the boat to Brig. Wadsworth. I left Capt. Cushing, as he relates. I had not gone far before I met most of my men and some of my officers. I asked them if they had any provisions. They told me, no. There were some sheep that swam on shore, which they threw out of a sloop. I set the men to catch some of them. I was then on the edge of the bank. I saw my boat along-side one of the transports, getting some bread (That day was our drawing day, but by reason of our confusion, we had not a mouthful of provisions) I went down to the river and called them to me, intending to have put all our baggage on board, and sent it up the river, and followed with my men. I called to Lieut. Phillips to take the men and bring my chest. It was a small one which contained my linen, some instruments and things of great value to me, besides what little money I had with me. Just as the boat came Brig'r Wadsworth came along. He insisted they should go on board the schooner. I refused it at first, but afterwards ordered her to go. He and I stayed there till she came back. When she came back, he proposed their going to tow him on shore I told him if he would get another boat she should go. He went to try. We parted good friends, as I thought. I waited half an hour; he did not come. I then went to look for my men. They were gone from where I left them, I supposing they were gone up river, (for it was then sun-down) If your Honors will compare the evidence respecting the situation of Capt. Burke's vessel with Capt. Marrett's deposition, you will find it agrees.

I followed and kept close to the edge of the river, expecting every moment to overtake them. Lieut. Phillips and Capt. Newcomb swear to the rest. I never saw Brig'r Wadsworth after, till I saw him in Boston. If I had, I should have made him some acknowledgment.

The last charge is malicious and false, as has been proved by all my officers.

As to the general matters, you are the judges how far they ought to affect my character. You must have seen what pains were taken to get evidence, and after all, they have not proved a single crime against me.

Gen'l Wadsworth says he did not see me so often as he expected, when they were building the first battery; yet acknowledges I was there next day and laid out the embrasures. One circumstance I forgot to mention to him on the examination, that he asked me about the platforms. I told him, as I was busy about the cannon, I would send Capt. Lincoln, who was a carpenter by trade, and he should see that they were properly laid. He attended there constantly. I was twice in the battery after that, the same day. He says I was always opposite to him, in sentiments on Councils of War. (I never before now heard that an officer was called to account for actions at a Council of War. I believe for the future that officers will be careful how they attend Councils.) Your Honors will see, that he is at least mistaken, if you will peruse the minutes of the Councils. You will find the first was held on board the Warren. The second on board the same ship the 27th. There was no other held at which I was present, until the 6th of August. The 10th another was held on board the Commodore. The 11th another was held at the Generals marquee, These five were all unanimous. I was at but two councils, where there was a division. The first was the seventh of August, when we had been there 12 days.

(It was always my sentiment, that if we could not dislodge the the enemy in seven days, we ought to quit the ground: for where the enemy has command of the sea, and the fate of the expedition depends on the movements on that element, we ought not to risk so much as we did. I know General Lovell was of the same sentiment before we left Boston.)

The other Council was on the 13th the day we retreated at night. It appears to me a little extraordinary that I should be called upon for my sentiments, when there were so many agreed with me: the first Council eight: the second, ten.

Capt. Todd, Mr. Marston and one more swear that the billet sent me by the General was after the 31st. wherein he ordered me to wait on him: which I did: and he says I gave him full

satisfaction for what I had been doing. Major Bromville swears that he delivered it to me on board the Transport late in the evening, and that I was in bed. All the evidences agree that I lodged on shore the 30th, and did not lodge on board till the siege was raised. He, Major Bromville, told you he believed it was the 29th, but Capt. Cushing, who was not there with the Committee when this matter was agitated, says he will swear it was the 29th. Capt. Lincoln swears it was the second day after we landed Mr. Speakman told him of the billet: and it is plain he was asked to carry it. Surely he could not have told of it, if it was not written till several days after.

The reason why I kept on board the Transport, the first two days, was merely for convenience.

(Those who judge it was from fear, judge from their own feelings, not from mine.)

The Gen'l tells you, he directed me to get the cannon on shore with all expedition. I took Capt. Cushing's Company as he and one of his officers were sailors, and several of his men, and the vessel was handy to the shore, and all our baggage on board, and a boat to fetch and carry us, we could have been to our duty much sooner than if we had lodged in the woods. Besides, we had but one field piece on shore, and there was a whole company to take care of that. One of the Hon'ble Committee mentioned there was danger of a sortie from the enemy. If they had sallied, my men could have been but of little service, as their arms were short, and the bayonets not eight inches long, and there were full as many men as were needful for what cannon there was on shore. My particular business was to be where my cannon were. My order from the State was to command the whole Artillery, — as you may see by my instructions in the records of the Hon'ble Council of July 28th.

You will find, by the evidence of Lieut. McIntire, that I gave orders on the 30th in the morning, for Capt. Cushing's Company to encamp on shore that night.

There was something mentioned about a letter, written to the Hon. Council by the General, which reflected on me. The General tells you it was because he thought I did not go up the river on the 15th. when he ordered me, and that I should not have gone home to Boston, with my own men, without his order.

That I did go up the river has been fully proved. That I came home without his orders is true. Where could I have found the General or Brigadier, if it had been necessary to have got orders? The first went 100 miles up Penobscot river, and the other down, and I crossed the woods to Kennebec river. My instructions from the Hon'ble Council, to which I referred above, direct that I shall "obey General Lovell, or other my superior officers, during the Expedition." Surely no man will say, that the Expedition was not discontinued, when all the shipping was either taken or burnt; the Artillery and Ordnance stores all destroyed. I then looked upon it that I was to do what I thought right. Accordingly, I ordered them, my men, to Boston, by the shortest route, and that Capt. Cushing should march them and give certificates for their subsistence on the road. Why such instructions were given me, some of your Honors are the best judges.

As I did not take my minutes on the examination, I have written my defense as my memory served me. If I have made any material mistakes, I hope your Honors will attribute it to my memory. I was in hopes to have delivered it before the last adjournment of the Committee, as I had the substance of it written, but there was not time.

PAUL REVERE,
Lt. Col. Artillery.

The Hon'ble Committee to
investigate the causes of
the failure of the Expedition
to Penobscot &c

The report of the Committee, under date of November 16, 1779, is found in the Massachusetts Archives as follows:—

The Committee of both Houses, appointed to make Enquiry into the conduct of the officers of the Train and the Militia Officers, employed in the late Expedition to Penobscot, have attended the service assigned them; and the opinion of your Committee on the the subject-matter will fully appear, by the following questions and answers thereto, namely.

Quest'n 1. Was Lieut. Col. Paul Revere culpable for any of

his conduct during his stay at Bagaduce, or while he was in or upon the river Penobscot?

Answer. Yes.

2. What part of Lieut. Col. Paul Revere's conduct was culpable?

Answer. In disputing the orders of Brigadier General Wadsworth respecting the boat, and in saying that the Brigadier had no right to command him or his boat.

3. Was Lieut. Col. Paul Revere's conduct justifiable in leaving the River Penobscot and repairing to Boston with his men, without particular orders from his superior officers?

Answer. No, not wholly justifiable. •

4. Does anything appear in evidence to the disadvantage of any of the Militia officers during the Expedition to Penobscot or on the retreat therefrom?

Answer. No, Excepting Col. Jonathan Mitchell, who by his own confession left the River Penobscot without leave from any superior officer, and returned to North Yarmouth, the place of his habitation.

All which is humbly submitted.

ARTEMAS WARD, Pr Order.

In Council, Nov. 16, 1779. Read and committed to Timothy Danielson and John Pitts, Esq's, with such as the Hon'ble House shall join, to take into consideration this Report with the papers accompanying the same, and report what may be proper to be done thereon.

Sent down for concurrence.

JOHN AVERY, Dep, Sec'y.

In the House of Representatives, Nov. 8, 1779. Read and concurred, & Col. Freeman, Col. Brown and Major Dennison are joined.

JOHN HANCOCK, Spkr.

Although several authorities state that the foregoing report resulted in the censure of Colonel Revere by the General Court, the records show no further action concerning him. He retained his military position, and enjoyed public confidence until his death in 1818.



Jonas Kelley

HISTORY OF THE DUEL BETWEEN JONATHAN CILLEY AND WILLIAM J. GRAVES.

BY HORATIO KING.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, December 10, 1891.

[Concluded from page 148.]

MR. CILLEY's death was announced in the House of Representatives on the twenty-sixth of February by the Honorable John Fairfield of Maine, and in the Senate, the same day, by the Honorable Reuel Williams of Maine, and appropriate resolutions providing for the appointment of a committee of seven members to investigate the causes which led to Mr. Cilley's death and the circumstances connected therewith; also to inquire whether, in the matter, there had been any breach of the privileges of the House. The resolutions, after considerable opposition, were passed by yeas one hundred and fifty-two, nays forty-nine, and this committee was composed of the following gentlemen: Isaac Toucey, Connecticut, W. W. Potter, Pennsylvania, George Grinnell, Jr., of Massachusetts, F. H. Elmore, South Carolina, A. D. W. Bruyn, New York, S. Grantland, Georgia and J. Rariden of Indiana. The committee were divided in opinion and made three reports, Mr. Toucey, afterward senator and member of both President Polk's and President Buchanan's Cabinet, presenting that of the majority. It embraces the material facts and circumstances of the duel, and, among other things, declares that, "It is a breach of

the highest constitutional privileges of the House, and of the most sacred rights of the people in the person of their representative, to demand in a hostile manner an explanation of words spoken in debate."

The committee submitted resolutions for the expulsion of William J. Graves, Henry A. Wise and George W. Jones. Finally, after a long debate, the whole subject was laid on the table by a vote of one hundred and two to seventy-six, a vote of censure merely being passed.

High as party feeling ran at the time, indignation and denunciation were by no means confined to one side in politics. "Never," said Charles G. Green, editor of the Boston Post, "was there a more dastardly murder than that of the unfortunate Cilley. . . . The nation should echo with indignation at this horrible outrage—this cold-blooded assassination." Naming two of the principal actors (Webb and Wise) in the affair, the same editor calls the one "the miserable poltroon," and the other "the wretch"—adding, "both of them are equally a disgrace to human nature and will receive the execration of mankind; we hope that the penitentiary or the gallows will soon relieve society of their baneful presence." A Washington correspondent of the Journal of Commerce is quoted as saying that, "After Jones returned, the last time, from the conference, with Wise's reply, Mr. Cilley said, in a calm and collected tone, 'They thirst for my blood!'" In a previous conference, as reported by the seconds, Mr. Cilley said that "in declining to receive the note from Colonel Webb, he meant no disrespect to Mr. Graves,

because he entertained for him then, as he now does, the highest respect and most kind feelings." But, as remarked by the Democratic Review, all this was "without avail."

Making due allowance for poetical license, the following poem, written by the present writer, published in the Eastern Argus near the time of this deplorable affair, expresses what I know was the feeling, particularly in New England: —

WITHOUT AVAIL.

"Without avail!" Infernal plot!
The thirst for blood was there!
Else had the noble-minded lived
The statesman's wreath to wear.

"Without avail!" In hate conspired —
At heart the murderers' aim—
To take his life, or deep disgrace
To stamp upon his name!

In vain avowals of respect—
Of kindly feeling, where
The base intent was fix'd—
The thirst for blood was there!

Revenge and private malice deep,
In hearts as foul as hell,
In open day demanded blood!
Hence Freedom's champion fell!

But though with blood their hands are stained,
Though stiff the limbs and chill
In death the heart of him who fell —
Yet live the murd'ers still!

Strange may it seem — the wretches live!
But on each murd'rer's head
Forever rests a Nation's curse;
A Nation's heart hath bled!

The wretches live, the cause behold :
Stern justice hath decreed
That they may reap in mis'ry long
The fruits of their vile deed.

Aye, ever, wheresoe'er they roam,
In silence awful — dread,
Before their harass'd eyes shall stand
The specter of the dead !

Serene and joyful though the day
To others may appear,
Their ears the aged mother's sighs
In ev'ry sound shall hear !

And ev'ry breeze to them shall bear—
Around them e'er shall rise
The stricken widow's piteous wail
And helpless orphans' cries !

Their way, with piercing thorns hedg'd round,
Shall lead them but to meet
At every step, in hideous shape,
Mad vipers at their feet.

Thus, until struck by death's cold darts,
Their bitter fate shall be ;
And o'er their mem'ry e'er shall roll
The fires of infamy !

Mr. Cilley fought under disadvantages which (says the Journal of Commerce), must have been well known to those on the other side, and which induced some persons to say that his seconds ought never to have suffered him to fight under them at all. These disadvantages were stated to be that Mr. Cilley being (as was personally known to the present writer), very near sighted, could not see to shoot at the distance measured off, which was alleged to be greater by twenty yards

than that agreed on—that his rifle was so light, only about one-half the calibre of that of his antagonist, that it would not carry that distance with accuracy—that he was shooting against the wind, which was blowing a gale—and that he stood on rising ground in open light, presenting a plain mark, while his antagonist was shaded by a copse of wood. Under all these disadvantages, after disclaiming all enmity to Graves, and after every technical requisition preliminary to accommodation in honorable duelling, and even after he had declared that he did not wish to take Graves' life, but entertained for him "the highest respect and the most kind feelings," Mr. Cilley was shot down! "What," asked the *Eastern Argus*, "does this prove but that he was foully murdered?"

At a great public meeting held at the capital of Maine, on the ninth of March, 1838, "for the purpose of noticing in a suitable manner the atrocious murder of Honorable Jonathan Cilley," a series of resolutions were unanimously adopted, declaring, among other things, that the duel was "the result of a foul conspiracy, concerted and approved among a few political leaders to take advantage of Mr. Cilley, and draw him into a quarrel, in order that they might seize upon the opportunity afforded to gratify personal feelings of private malice and revenge, and remove out of the way an opponent every day becoming more and more formidable, whose eloquent appeals and retorted sarcasms it would be more easy to silence by the pistol than answer in debate; that in the course pursued by Henry A. Wise in managing and conducting the inci-

dents of the duel after the first fire there is evidence of deep and vindictive malignity; and that he stands justly chargeable before the world, upon his own showing of having violated every recognized principle of chivalry, by availing himself of his position and the occasion to glut his own feelings of private grudge and ill-will against Mr. Cilley for a former supposed offense given by the deceased, not to his principal, Graves, but to himself, Wise — a course of conduct worthy only of a recreant and a dastard; that the studied attempt made by Henry A. Wise to palliate and gloss over his conduct during the duel, apparent in the imperfect but official account, so called, of the doings, and the special desire expressed in the account, that those who witnessed the scene should make no publication on the subject, afford strong presumptive evidence of a consciousness that there were deeds of darkness and treachery in the history of the conflict which would not bear to be told; while on the other hand, the careful insertion in that account of a statement that Mr. Wise inquired of Mr. Jones, before leaving the ground, ‘whether he could render any service, and tendered all the aid in his power,’ the murder having been already perpetrated, and the lifeless corpse of Mr. Cilley then lying stretched out before him, is a derision and a mockery upon the better feelings of our nature, worthy only of the man who could coolly triumph over the fallen victim of his own foul machinations; and that in the transaction which terminated in the death of Mr. Cilley, considered under the mildest and most mitigated features given to it by those who took part in

it, there is presented to the people of Maine a case of ruthless assassination—of preconcerted and cold-blooded murder of one of their Representatives, for having boldly and fearlessly done his duty, and being resolved to continue to do so.”

The editor of the Democratic Review, in a position to obtain the most correct information on the subject, was very severe in his comments upon the whole affair, and particularly with reference to Wise’s course in insisting, after the second shot, either that Mr. Cilley should “acknowledge Webb to be a gentleman and a man of honor,” or that “blood should flow !”

It is not enough that he (Mr. Cilley) has said nothing to the disparagement of Mr. Webb—that he is free in expression of the highest respect and best feeling toward Graves ; it is not enough that two shots have been interchanged on this flimsy punctilio of honor, in the language of one of the gentlemen on the field in his remonstrance, ‘based on an abstraction and assumed upon an implication ;’ it is not enough that all persons on the ground, the second, the surgeon, and consulting friends of the challenged party, the surgeon, and one at least of the friends of the challenging side (Mr. Crittenden), are unanimous in opinion that all has been done that the most fastidious honor can require ; it is not enough that he (Wise) has put a distinct proposition, in decisive terms, as if an ultimatum, from an anxiety to bring an end to the combat, that acknowledgment shall be made that no disrespect was meant to Mr. Graves, directly or indirectly, and that it was, in terms, answered affirmatively—nothing whatever will suffice but a degrading acknowledgment contrary to the conscience and truth of the party, and to the well-known majority of society, and entirely extraneous to the relation between the parties in the field—an acknowledgment which nothing but a trembling cowardice widely unlike the brave bearing of poor Cilley could yield under such circumstances—an acknowledgment which he knew, and could not but have known, could not and would not be con-

ceded. No, nothing will suffice but this abject and impossible submission — or blood! The spirit of malignant evil that ruled the ascendant of that dark hour triumphed, and the kind-hearted, the generous, the peaceful, the manly, the noble, the true, the brave, lay weltering in his own blood!

The following, says the editor of the Review, are substantially the views of the matter which Mr. Cilley expressed freely to his friends on the morning of the fatal encounter: —

I am driven to this meeting by a positive compulsion. I have done all that an honorable man could do to avert it. Why should I acknowledge that man to be a gentleman and a man of honor? In truth and conscience I could not do so, and still less can I have it so unreasonably extorted from me by force and threat. I have no ill will nor disrespect toward Mr. Graves. He knows it, and I have repeatedly and fully expressed it. I abhor the idea of taking his life, and will do nothing not forced upon me in self-defense. The pretext of the challenge is absurd. I understand the conspiracy to destroy me as a public man. But New England must not be trampled on, my name must not be disgraced, and I go to this field sustained by as high a motive of patriotism as ever led my grandfather or my brother to battle, as an unhappy duty, not to be shrunk from, to my honor, my principles, and my country.

On the evening before the duel he charged one of his lady friends, should he not survive, to say to his wife that he “had endeavored to pursue that course in all things which she would approve and his own conscience dictated.”

In a biographical sketch of Mr. Cilley, published in the Democratic Review for September, 1838, Nathaniel Hawthorne says: —

A challenge was never given on a more shadowy pretext; a duel was never pressed to a fatal close in the face of such open kindness as was expressed by Mr. Cilley; and the conclusion is

inevitable that Mr. Graves and his principal second, Mr. Wise, have gone further than their own dreadful code will warrant them, and overstepped the imaginary distinction which, on their own principles, separates manslaughter from murder.

Mr. Wise was not a man to rest silent under such opprobrium. On the sixteenth of March, 1838, he issued a long address to his constituents, in which he gave his own account of the duel so far as he himself was concerned. He began by saying that "the catastrophe had brought upon him much odium and reproach," but claimed that he was bound to act for Mr. Graves, because, said he : —

I felt obliged to do for him what I would have called on him to do for me. . . . It is said that I myself was hostile to his antagonist. If so, I may have been incompetent, but I solemnly deny that I was hostile to Mr. Cilley. There had been a slight misunderstanding between us in debate which passed off with the moment and left no trace of animosity behind. . . . But hostile to him or not, and though hostility might, perhaps, have incited another to take his life — dark and deadly such hate must have been — yet my conduct proves that I did earnestly endeavor to prevent the shedding of blood by reconciling his difference with my friend; and the history of the tragedy proves that not only I but two other gentlemen of known character and standing, who were never accused of hostility to him, and who might have overruled me by their voices and influence, could not reconcile that difference or prevent its result.

He says, also, that he rebuked Graves for bearing the note from Mr. Webb, and that he told him that Mr. Cilley's reasons, as repeated by Mr. Graves, for refusing to receive the note "were very proper," and his answer, "certainly satisfactory." Here is what he said Mr. Graves represented Mr. Cilley had in substance

verbally declared: That, "in declining to receive the note he hoped it would not be thought disrespectful to him (Mr. Graves), that he declined on the ground that he could not consent to be involved in personal difficulties with conductors of the public journals for what he had thought proper to say in debate upon the floor, and that he did not decline upon any personal objections to Colonel Webb as a gentleman." Mr. Wise appears to have assented to the propriety of Mr. Graves requiring this answer to be put in writing, and so came the challenge, the terms of which Mr. Wise said were regarded as "barbarous and such as might properly be declined; but it was thought they were intended to intimidate; that the distance was so great as in some measure to mitigate the severity of the weapon, and therefore I was advised that they should be accepted." It was likewise suggested that the challenged party might be the first to fly from these terms.

He speaks of his difficulty in procuring a suitable rifle for Mr. Graves, and admits that he had asked Mr. Jones to assist him in that particular. At the same time he says: —

I wished to gain time not only to procure a fit rifle, but to afford an opportunity if possible to prevent the meeting.

He quotes from Mr. Jones' note the passage in which he said to Mr. Wise that "he had the pleasure to inform him that he had an excellent rifle in good order which was at the service of Mr. Graves," and remarks that without waiting for an answer Mr. Jones tendered to him "for the use of Mr. Graves, the rifle referred to," and its appendages. Thus, Mr. Wise says:—

A weapon, not one of a pair, was tendered for the use of Mr. Graves in a manner that was considered taunting.

Leaving it to be inferred, of course, that one preferred to it had been reserved for Mr. Cilley. He contends, too, that Mr. Cilley "precipitated the time of meeting when the second of Mr. Graves was avowing a want of preparation and a desire for delay."

He proceeds to say:—

The distance appointed was eighty yards. It is my firm belief that the distance stepped off by Mr. Jones and myself, which we did, *pari passu*, was nearer one hundred yards than eighty. The ground was measured before the choice of positions, and I believe that we both stepped with a view of preventing the parties from hitting each other. . . . I kept my eye on Mr. Cilley. It was my duty to see he obeyed the rules. At the first exchange of shots I thought he fired, though perfectly fair, too hurriedly, and his ball did not reach Mr. Graves because he did not raise his rifle sufficiently high. Mr. Graves fired after Mr. Cilley.

At the second shot, he says:—

Mr. Graves' rifle went off quickly, and as he told me afterward, accidentally and into the ground. Mr. Cilley drew up very deliberately, aimed, I feared a deadly shot, and fired. I thought he had hit Mr. Graves. . . . It was very apparent to me that Mr. Cilley had shot at the life of Mr. Graves. If when Mr. Graves' rifle went off, without harm to him, he had discharged his in the air or reserved his fire, the fight would have been at an end.

Nevertheless, Mr. Cilley's friends said that, even admitting Mr. Wise was correct in his assertion that Mr. Cilley fired after the discharge of Mr. Graves' rifle, it was equally true, according to his own statement, that Mr. Graves, on the first exchange of shots, had done the same thing toward Mr. Cilley. It does not appear how Mr. Wise could reconcile his allegation in this

regard with his official statement, conjointly with Mr. Jones, that the second shot was exchanged "in a manner perfectly fair and honorable to all parties," and that they bore their unqualified testimony to the fair and honorable manner in which the duel was conducted.

Between the second and third shots, in making the proposition he did, that Mr. Cilley should say that "in declining to receive Colonel Webb's note, he meant no disrespect to Mr. Graves, either directly or indirectly," Mr. Wise says he went beyond his instructions; and that he understood Mr. Jones to say that "Mr. Cilley would not say these words alone, nor without adding words which did away the effect of the word indirectly, and which left the parties exactly where they were when they came upon the ground." He says:—

It was at the instance of Mr. Graves himself that I remarked to Mr. Jones, immediately previous to the last exchange of shots, if this matter is not terminated this shot, and is not settled, I shall propose to shorten the distance.

Later, February, 1839, Mr. Wise availed himself of an opportunity to present his defense before the House of Representatives. I was there and heard it. He was wildly excited and defiant. Said he:—

I am ready to be tried. . . . Put me at your bar and I will plead instantly. I am ready to say on the spot, I did on that occasion just what I will do again under similar circumstances. Let Puritans shudder as they may—I proclaim that I belong to the class of Cavaliers, not to the Roundheads! . . . You shall not taunt me. What are you doing now? You have passed a penitentiary act [the anti-duelling law]. You are then bound to take the defense of character into your own hands, as you have taken arms from the hands of the cavalier. Will you do it? No. . . . I call upon you, I call upon society, either to de-

fend me or give me back my arms. . . . In the face of an approaching election, I say to my good constituents, . . . if you are determined I shall not defend myself when assailed, like a true knight, do not send me to Congress, for I shall just as surely fight, if occasion is given, as you send me; and so I shall ever continue until the holy religion of the cross takes possession of my soul — which may God grant right early.

Up to this time, and for nearly two years afterward, Mr. Wise, in public estimation, stood out prominently as the one individual altogether the most deserving of censure in this matter. As he himself said, in an appeal “to the public,” in March, 1842:—

The whole weight of an almost insupportable odium fell upon my reputation for my conduct in the affair.

But in the winter of that year, or earlier, the relations of some of the parties to the transaction had become changed. Mr. Wise had espoused the cause of President Tyler, thus separating himself from his old friend, Henry Clay, who was a candidate for the presidency, and to whose fortunes Messrs. Graves and Webb, with the Whig party generally, adhered. It began to be whispered about that Mr. Clay had been consulted and exercised a controlling influence in the affair of the duel; and a direct charge to this effect brought out Mr. Graves, on a call from Mr. Clay, in explanation. I will not extend this narrative by going at length into the particulars of the correspondence which followed, and in which Messrs. Wise, Graves, Clay, Reverdy Johnson and Charles King took part. Suffice it to say that, except so far as Wise was concerned, all was said that could be to exculpate Mr. Clay, but, as must be admitted, not with entire success. It came out that he

was early consulted by all of those gentlemen and that he actually "drew the form of challenge which was finally adopted." It was a modification of the form submitted to him by Wise and Graves, and the latter states that "it was rather calculated to soften the language and not so completely to close the door to an adjustment of the difficulty." Mr. Wise says that when he and Mr. Graves called on Mr. Clay, in discussing the terms of the duel, which he (Wise) "protested against as unusual and barbarous, Mr. Clay remarked that Mr. Graves was 'a Kentuckian, and that no Kentuckian could back out from a rifle.' "

Immediately after the duel, Mr. Wise stated that :—

Mr. Clay's friends particularly, were very anxious, for obvious reasons, not to involve his name, especially, in the affair. Thus many confidential facts remained unknown on both sides. Mr. Clay himself, it is true, while all his friends were trembling lest the part he took in it should be disclosed, boldly came to me and said, "Sir, it is a nine days' bubble! If they want to know what I did in the matter, tell them to call me before them and I will tell them." This excited my admiration at the time, and was effectual to prevent me from unnecessarily bringing his name before the committee.

After all, I think public sentiment, as at first expressed, was not materially modified by these later developments, and that it remains unchanged as regards Wise's great culpability, notwithstanding Graves, in the course of their correspondence, declared to him :—

I always have, and now do, most emphatically exempt you from all blame or censure growing out of your connection with the affair. I, and I only, am justly responsible for whatever was done by myself or those representing me as my friends on that occasion.

One of the most stinging accusations against Mr. Wise was made by ex-President John Quincy Adams, in the House of Representatives on the twenty-sixth of January, 1842, when a resolution, offered by Mr. Gilmer of Virginia (killed by the bursting of the "Peacemaker" on the "Princeton," in February, 1844) was under discussion, declaring that Mr. Adams had justly incurred the censure of the House in presenting for its consideration an abolition petition for the dissolution of the Union. Mr. Wise took a leading part in the discussion, in the course of which the venerable ex-president was led to say that, "four or five years ago, there came to the House a man (Wise) with his hands and face dripping with the blood of a murder, the blotches of which were yet hanging upon him." This, in nearly the same language, he twice repeated, and at the same time said: "I never did believe but he (Wise) was the guilty man, and that the man who pulled the trigger was but an instrument in his hands. This was my belief in the beginning."

Of the actors in this deplorable affair, the only survivor (December, 1891), is George W. Jones of Iowa, Mr. Cilley's second. Mr. Graves, after long and intense suffering, both mental and physical, died in Louisville, Kentucky, on the twenty-seventh of September, 1848, aged forty-three years.

Jonathan Cilley was born at Nottingham, New Hampshire, on the second of July, 1802, and was, therefore, at his death in the thirty-sixth year of his age. He was a man of fine personal appearance, in size and weight about medium, and of rather dark complexion. He

was a graduate of Bowdoin College. His friend, Nathaniel Hawthorne, describes him, while at college :—

As a young man of quick and powerful intellect, endowed with sagacity and tact, yet frank and free in his mode of action ; ambitious of good influence ; earnest, active, and persevering, with an elasticity and cheerful strength of mind, which made difficulties easy and the struggle with them a pleasure. . . . In the summer of 1837 I met him for the first time since our early youth, when he had been to me almost an elder brother. In his person there was very little change, and that little was for the better. He had an impending brow, deep-set eyes, and a thin and thoughtful countenance, which, in his abstracted moments, seemed almost stern ; but in the intercourse of society it was brightened with a kindly smile that will live in the recollection of all who knew him.

One who had been a bosom friend and constant companion through an acquaintance of sixteen years says of him :—

He was the kindest and gentlest of human beings, with a constant and happy flow of animal spirits and the innocence of a child, while at the same time as independent, courageous, and firm in his purposes as he was clear in his judgments and upright in his every thought.

Mr. Cilley left a wife and three children — two sons and a daughter — the latter an infant whom he never saw. It is a singular fact that on the Sunday succeeding the Saturday on which he fell, Mrs. Cilley, wholly unconscious of the terrible news already on its way to her, was so impressed from reading the well-known hymn, commencing with the lines :—

Far, far o'er hill and dale, on the winds stealing,
List to the tolling bell, mournfully pealing,

that she was induced to mark it with a pencil. The second and third stanzas read :—

Now through the charmed air slowly ascending,
List to the mourner's prayer solemnly bending :

Hark! hark! it seems to say,
Turn from those joys away
To those which ne'er decay,
For life is ending.

O'er the father's dismal tomb, see the orphan bending,
From the solemn churchyard's gloom hear the dirge ascending :

Hark! hark! it seems to say,
How short ambition's sway,
Life's joys and friendship's ray,
In the dark grave ending.

Alas! the soul-chilling, heart-rending news of the tragic death of the husband and father was soon to place beyond doubt the sad reality of what seemed to have been thus mysteriously foretokened. Mrs. Cilley never entirely recovered from the fearful shock. She died on the fifteenth of October, 1844.

THE PLYMOUTH TRADING-HOUSE AT PENOBSCOT: WHERE WAS IT?

Read before the Maine Historical Society, March 17, 1892.

BY SAMUEL ADAMS DRAKE.

SOME years ago my attention was drawn to the existing confusion as regards the location of this early venture of the thrifty Pilgrim Fathers. From book to book I was led on and on, like a wayfarer who goes from one stepping stone to another, in the river, in the dark, until, after getting in up to his neck, he

finds the water very cold, but no more stones. He is unwilling to go back, yet unable to go on. He is still standing there, wondering to himself which can go farthest from the truth, a guideboard, a gravestone, or a history.

Does anybody know just where this house was situated? Was it at Castine? was it at Thomaston? With wounded Mercutio I could almost find it in my heart to say — perhaps may unconsciously have often said — “a plague o’ both your houses!” and so settle the matter, as he did, by taking leave of it altogether.

But your attention is first invited to what is found in current history.

Williamson,¹ quoting from Douglass’ Summary,² says it stood “on the eastern banks of St. George’s river, five miles below the head of tide waters.” The same authority tells us that the Pilgrims had a trading-house at Castine, in 1626,³ but this date is, of course, an error, as the Pilgrims never had a trading-house on the Maine coast at all, until the one was started on the Kennebec in 1628. Williamson, however, had never seen Bradford’s History when he wrote, although he had seen Bradford’s Letter Book, or so much of it as is preserved.

I do not find the references in Douglass as given by Williamson, though they may be there. He was a most painstaking writer, for whose work as a whole, I have nothing but praise, nor will the people of Maine ever be able to pay the debt they owe him, for putting the state abreast of the historical literature of his time.

¹ History of Maine, 1, 241.

² Pages 385, 466.

³ History of Maine, 1, 71.

Let us now see what has been built upon this foundation. Eaton, in his *History of Thomaston*,¹ repeats both statements, without reserve, though he is patriotically interested in the first, even going so far as to fix the site definitely, as his knowledge of the localities, doubtless, enabled him to do. Wheeler, in his *History of Castine*,² is equally confident in placing the house at that point, at so early a period as 1626, thereby giving us an unmistakable clue to the source of his authority. These statements have multiplied indefinitely in the hands of writers who take no pleasure in original research, but are content with the first authority that comes under their notice. Yet, notwithstanding the double location is thus equally well-supported, the drift of opinion seems to have set in in favor of Castine, possibly because the charms of that delightful spot have brought it into wider notice than the more modest claimant has been able to secure for itself. If deprived of its claim to be the site of the old Plymouth trading-post, Castine would doubtless be shorn of much of the glamour surrounding it to-day. It chiefly concerns us, however, to know which is the true site—the lawful claimant. We can no longer divide the honor between the two in justice to ourselves or to history. There could not have been two such houses at Penobscot; one must resign the honor.

The earliest writers uniformly speak of this house as being “at Penobscot”; and this designation, if taken as we would interpret it today, might seem to remove a difficulty. But does it in this case? Should

¹ Volume 1, page 27.

² *History of Castine*, page 16.

we not rather be guided by what was meant when Penobscot was spoken of in that day, when Saco and Falmouth and Piscataqua, not to multiply instances so familiar to all, indicated in a loose way the region contiguous to a settlement or a river, as well as the settlement itself? An unnamed tract of country, which then formed one of the headlands of Penobscot bay, might well have been called "at Penobscot." But reliance is not now placed on any theory, however plausible or ingenious. Was the region round about Thomaston known as Penobscot before any settlements were begun there? It seems as if Rockland and Rockport and Camden might be so placed to-day, and if so to-day, why not when they were a wilderness, without either boundaries or names?

Be that as it may, the first step toward correction is to show that there never were, and could not have been, in the nature of things, two houses belonging to Plymouth at Penobscot. When that is done we shall be in a position to discuss the question of situation understandingly at least.

To establish this point some citations will now be given, the references being appended to this paper for convenience' sake, in the form of notes.

Writing under the date of 1630, Governor Bradford of Plymouth colony says that "Ashley came to Penobscot in William Pierce's ship."¹ . . . (Ashley will be treated of farther on.) Again, "As soon as he was landed at ye place intended, caled Penobscot, some fourscore leagues from this place"² . . . and again,

¹ Bradford, 258.

² Ibid, 260.

"So they resolved to join with him an honest younge man that came from Leyden,"¹ to wit, Thomas Willett. Next, under date of 1631, Ashley is "sent home to England for selling powder and shot to the Indians"² . . . and "Ashley being thus by the hand of God taken away, and Mr. Allerton discharged, etc. . . . Penobscot being wholly at their disposing, and though Mr. William Pierce had a part there as it is before noted, yet now as things stood he was glad to have his money repayed to him, and stand out. Mr. Winslow . . . sent them over some supply as soon as he could . . . by which their trading was well carried on."³

Another group of entries carries the history of this house still farther on in point of time. "This year, (1632) their house at Penobscote was robed by ye French."⁴ "Allerton . . . being now deprived of Ashley, at Penobscote, sets up a trading-house beyond Penobscote."⁵ (This refers to his venture at Machias, with Vines.) The story of this house culminates in 1635, when, as Bradford tells us, "This year they sustained another great loss from ye French Mons. de Aulny coming into ye harbor of Penobscote . . . took possession of ye house in ye name of ye King of France; and partly by threatening . . . made Mr. Willett (their agent there) to approve the sales of goods etc. They here were much troubled at it having had this house robbed by the French once before."⁶

I think there will be no dispute about all these extracts from Bradford having reference to one and the

¹ Bradford, 260.

² Ibid, 275.

³ Ibid, 280.

⁴ Ibid. 292, 293.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid, 333, 334, 336.

same house. He speaks also of Pemaquid as "the Plantation at Pemaquid, which lies near unto them." Would Pemaquid be considered as lying near Castine? St. George's might. Further evidence to this branch of the subject may be unnecessary, yet one more piece from a different witness may as well be added. This comes from Winthrop, who writes in his *History or Journal*¹ as follows regarding the invader d'Aulnay Charnisé:—"Some experience we have had hereof, in that when our friends of Plymouth hired a ship in our harbor and therewith went and battered his house at Penobscot, yet he took no occasion thereby against us." We find this refers to an application from the Pilgrims for aid to retake their house from d'Aulney. The result of the negotiation is a most emphatic example of the truth of the adage that "the misfortunes of our friends are not displeasing to us." The general prosiness of the topic in hand strongly tempts one to linger over this phase of it, yet the temptation must be resisted and the argument proceed.

Assuming it to be made clear that there was but one house at Penobscot in which the Plymouth Pilgrims had any share, we may now look to its origin as a means of fixing its actual situation; and this well-known chapter in the history of Maine, blended as it is with the romance of family history, too, must be rapidly sketched.

The trading-house of 1629, called Penobscot, was set on foot not in New, but in Old England. When informed by their English partners that it had been determined on, and was in process of execution, the

¹ II, page 133.

Pilgrims justly felt both astonished and aggrieved, because they had only just established a house of their own on the Kennebec, and it was seen at once that this new post would work to their injury. As Bradford puts it, "We were forced to join in it, though we did not much like it (for the person's sake whom we feared was a knave)". Yet, rather than see the house remain wholly in other, if not unfriendly hands, the Pilgrims wisely chose the part of accepting the proffered partnership, though not without some very natural misgivings, which in the end proved only too true. Moreover, Allerton, their trusted agent in England, was discovered to be one with the undertakers of this new scheme, if not the real instigator of it; so the Pilgrims had good reason to be on their guard, when he was found more intent on feathering his own nest than in furthering the interests of his employers. This was the origin of the trading-house in question.

In order to make themselves secure, the adventurers obtained what became known in process of time as the Muscongus grant or patent. Its limits are described in the original rather obscurely,¹ but in a later grant² from John Leverett, great-grandson of Thomas, an original grantee, the language is "on the north side of the said river of Penobscot, toward the west, together with all islands that lie and be within the space of three miles of the said lands, etc." The boundaries are too well known to need discussion; none need be wasted on that feature of the case, or on the other facts that Ashley was employed by the undertakers to come out to New England, and that William Pierce,

¹ Hazard I, 304, 305.

² In possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

who brought Ashley, was himself one of the undertakers or partners. Ample proof as to both has been given in the citations from Bradford, and more may be drawn from the same source, if desired. Ashley was packed off in disgrace, Pierce bought out by the Pilgrims, who eventually became sole owners in the trading-house, and so remained until forcibly dispossessed.

A point is now reached where a definite proposition may be made. As the grant was obtained for the sole purpose of protecting themselves against competition, and as the west bank of the Penobscot formed the eastern boundary of this grant, what object could the patentees, or those holding under them, have had in locating their house outside of their grant? Their privileges could have had no binding force; they would have been mere trespassers upon disputed ground. Like shrewd men they got out their patent before taking any step that would have put them outside the law. The Pilgrims had shown them the way at Kennebec; and that enterprise doubtless inspired their own action.

Furthermore, we know that Sir William Alexander obtained a grant of all Acadia from James I in 1621; sent out a colony in 1622; obtained a confirmation in 1625 from Charles I; and finally sold out to Stephen La Tour in 1630 — his grant certainly reaching as far as the Penobscot. In 1632, by the treaty of St. Germain, Charles absolutely restored all Acadia to France. These facts seem to raise a doubt whether Beauchamp and Leverett would have treated at all for this debatable ground, or any portion of it.

Thus far a good case appears to be made out for Thomaston. All the scraps of evidence we have collected seem to point unvaryingly to this spot, and to no other. The definiteness as to a name which can be clearly traced, and as positively identified, is the only thing lacking. But here an unlooked for obstacle is met with. The course of investigation brings to light the following conveyance from Edward Winslow, governor of New Plymouth, by which the whole question turns upon the identification of a name. The referred-to document runs as follows:—

Whereas about two years since Mouns' D'Aulney under a pretence or color of comerce, did violently and injuriously take a possession out of the hands and custody of the agents and servts. of Edward Winslow, William Bradford, Thomas Prence, and others their partners at Matchebigatus, in Penobscot, together with divers and sundry goods to their great losse, even to the valew of five hundred pounds or thereabout; And forasmuch as no satisfacco' hath ever been made and tendered by the sd Mouns' D'Aulney, for the sd possession or goods by any of his agents; the sd Edward Winslow for himself and partners hath and doth by these ps'ts fully surrender and make over his and their pp rights and title not only to the said possession of lands in Machebiguatus aforesaid, but to their fortificacon, howsing, losse and damages, right and privileges thereunto belonging to Joh Winthrop Junior Esq., Sergeant-Major Edw Gibbons, and Captain Thomas Hawkins, all of New England &c &c¹

This assignment is dated in the "last of August," 1644. The words "two years ago" are clearly either a misprint or misreading for ten years ago, as the seizure was made in 1635.

Where was Matchebiguatus? Does Thomaston claim

¹ Winthrop's New England, II, 221.

it? I think not. Is it the original of that provoking Majorbiguyduce by which Castine is said to have been known before it received its present name? There is an exasperating similarity. Morse, who is a good authority in Indian names,¹ puts Majabagaduce "at the mouth of Penobscot river, on the east side." Will some one learned in Indian nomenclature rise and explain, for Indian the name surely must be. But this Plymouth trading-house has danced before our eyes, now here, now there, long enough for the present. Another stage in the investigation will put the matter, let us hope, beyond the need of such lengthy essays; and if I have thrown in another stepping-stone my purpose will have been accomplished.

LOUIS ANNANCE.

BY JOHN F. SPRAGUE.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, May 28, 1885.

FOR more than forty years there lived at Greenville village, at the foot of Moosehead lake, in Piscataquis county, an Indian, named Louis Annance, who, at one period of his life, was a chief of the St. Francis tribe of Indians, which tribe was once one of the most vigorous and powerful of the Aboriginal tribes of North America.

During the time that his home was at this place, he was known throughout this portion of Maine as a somewhat remarkable character.

He was a man of marked natural ability and supe-

¹ *Gazette*, 1797.

rior intelligence, and was noted for his kind and generous disposition, his genial and pleasant manners, unimpeachable integrity and strict morality.

While possessing all of these traits of a noble and refined manhood, he, at the same time, always retained the natural instincts and peculiarities of his race; for he loved the lone hunting-grounds of his fathers, and devoted many autumns and winters to the adventurous hunt and exciting chase.

He was a true child of nature, endowed with faculties that enabled him to fully appreciate her mysteries, wonders and grandeur.

His stern countenance and venerable and commanding form became familiar to all who visited the lake regions for many summers; for he was a frequent habitue of the haunts of the sportsmen and tourists.

A century or more ago, the St. Francis Indians in the Canadas were a powerful tribe, who were justly proud of their lineage and valor.

For a long series of years, Francis Joseph Annance was their chief and while he was a daring and victorious chieftain in war, he was humane and benevolent in times of peace.

He had two sons: Noel, and Louis who is the subject of this sketch.

Louis was born August 25, 1794, where is now the town of St. Francis, county of Yamaska, Canada East.

He received a Catholic tuition from the Jesuits in his neighborhood, who subsequently procured his admission to a school in Hanover, New Hampshire, where he was prepared for a college course; but as he was about to enter college, the war of 1812 was declared,

and he was summoned to his home in Canada, to serve with his tribe under the British government.

He was engaged in that war three years.

His brother Noel had command of all the Indian forces during that war, and both were noted for their bravery and daring in battle.

At this time his people were all Catholics; but Louis, after devoting considerable thought to the subject, became convinced that the priesthood and Church were serious impediments in the way of any intellectual or moral advancement of his race, and about the year 1817, he publicly renounced Catholicism, severed his connection with that body and joined the Congregationalists.

At about this time, he became by the laws or rules of his tribe successor to his father as chief and ruler; but having become an avowed Protestant, and his religious convictions subjecting him to some persecution and annoyance, he, during the year 1818, removed to Hanover, New Hampshire.

Here he connected himself with the Methodists, and was a member of one of their churches at the time of his death.

He also united with the Masonic fraternity, and was made a master mason by North Star Lodge of Lancaster, New Hampshire, in the year 1834.

The secretary of North Star Lodge, in a communication to Albert F. Jackson, master of Doric Lodge of Monson, under date of November 3, 1876, writes that, "some of our oldest masons recollect Brother Anⁿ nance, who was made a mason here, and say they have sat in a lodge with him."

Not long after, and probably about the years 1835 or 1836, in some of his hunting expeditions, he wandered into Northern Maine as far as Moosehead lake, and was charmed by the solitude of that wild and unbroken forestry, and ever afterward maintained a habitation near its shadowy approaches.

He died at his home in Greenville, December 25, 1875, and the funeral services were conducted by Masonic lodges. His last days were made pleasant and happy by the kind hand of fraternal fellowship.

His remains repose in the Greenville cemetery, under the shade of the maple and the cedar from the woodland which he loved so well, and a monument, erected by his brothers of the mystic tie, marks his grave.

This monument was placed there by Free Masons from the various lodges in Piscataquis county, with appropriate ceremonies, on the fourth day of October, 1876, which were participated in by Doric Lodge of Monson, under a dispensation granted by Albert Moore, grand master of the Grand Lodge of Maine, September 30, 1876.

Honorable Sumner A. Patten, then of Monson and now of Skowhegan, delivered an oration upon this occasion which was an eloquent tribute to his memory.

I subjoin the following extracts from Mr. Patten's address:—

Although belonging to a race for the most part wanting in the grace and polish of education, he availed himself of some opportunities for mental culture thrown in his way in early life, and made no inconsiderable progress in the arts and sciences. . . .

. . . . Many of the characteristics of his race exhibited

themselves in his life, despite the influences of the schools and early associations with the whites, even down to ripe old age. He loved the communion and solitude of the woods, and most of of his time, after abandoning literary pursuits, till the infirmities of age pressed heavily upon him, was spent in roaming the forests in pursuit of game.

For the erection of this monument much is due to the efforts of Captain Abner T. Wade, a prominent member of this order, residing in Sangerville, in Piscataquis county.

In the month of August, in the year 1874, when there was

O'er the sky
The silvery haze of summer drawn,

the writer, with a party of "outers," camped for a few days on the shore, at the head of Moosehead lake, near a primitive abode which, for a few days, was the temporary home of Louis Annance.

An interview with him was easily obtained. And there, in a late hour of "stilly twilight," under aged forest trees and amid the

Music of birds and rustling of young boughs,
And sound of swaying branches, and the voice
Of distant waterfalls,

I enjoyed, for an hour, a communion with this venerable man, and heard his life history from his own lips, and listened with deep interest to his views upon various topics connected with the American Indians.

He stated to me that his brother Noel, at one time, collected records of all the various dialects of the numerous tribes east of the Rocky mountains. Louis

devoted much time to the study of these languages, which led him to the belief that they originally sprung from one source. His theory derived therefrom was, that there once lived upon this continent a different and a more advanced race of people than those whom Columbus discovered, and that the arts once flourished among his distant ancestors.

His idea was that they became corrupt and demoralized, and lost their power in much the same manner as have other nations in other ages, and, with a serious expression upon his countenance, he referred to this as "a warning to the white men's governments on every shore."

And it seemed to me that the spirit of this aged man was weighted with the errors, oppression and sorrows of his race, and that the glimpses which education had enabled him to obtain of the possibilities of a grander and a higher life, had increased this soul burden, as his mind became more potent to realize and appreciate the true condition of his people.

And I was impressed with the thought that as the smoke and flame of the old chief's campfire were blended together in their ascension to the heavens, so in his mind were mingled the joys and griefs of a once strong, proud and manly race—weak only because of their inability to grasp the knowledge of a new and a strange world.

And a phantasm made me see in the weird treetops the spectral forms of departed warriors silently watching over their former comrade, waiting only for the dissolution of mortality to guide him to their eternal and peaceful hunting-grounds.

NOTES CONCERNING ANCIENT AUGUSTA
AT SMALL POINT.

CONTRIBUTED BY REV. HENRY O. THAYER.

IN my note-book of past historical studies of the Sagadahoc region, I find materials which will extend somewhat the history of Small Point and its stone fort. It seems a fitting time to offer them as a supplement to the carefully studied article of Mr. H. W. Wheeler in the July Quarterly.

It is worthy of mention, that John Penhallow of Portsmouth, son of Judge Penhallow, the historian, early began a business career in Boston with James Pemberton. Then as early as July, 1716, he is said to have had "a business connection with Captain Oliver Noyes, Esq., Physician, so styled."¹

This "connection," whatever it was, may be regarded as a main cause for his going to Small Point, where he probably acted as the agent of Mr. Noyes, as well as prosecuted his own aims. We may hesitate to believe it a definite partnership, since at this time he was partner with Mr. John Watts, and engaged in the "down east" trade.

Oliver Noyes, Esq., evidently took a leading part in the Pejepscot Company's operations at Small Point, but he also put forward schemes of his own. For in 1718, April 23, the Company granted him three hundred acres in Augusta township, in consideration of his expenses and loss in settling the town.² Possibly the erection of the stone fort was one large item in the expenditure. Also 1719, November, the Company voted:—"If Mr. Noyes shall gain from the sea by a dam a pond near his house at Harbor Farm on Atkins' Bay, the land shall be his."² I am not assured of the location of this farm, but Noyes had a stone house which stood on the westerly margin of Atkins' Bay over against Point Popham, the site of which can be very nearly determined. He seems to have believed in stone for buildings, which certainly would be proof against both bullets and torches of the savages.

¹ The Penhallow Family, 1878.

² Pejepscot Records.

At what time Penhallow transferred himself and business from Augusta to Arrowsic, does not appear. But as early as 1715 he was partner with John Watts, the leader and promoter of the Arrowsic settlement. As Mr. Watts suddenly died in 1717, we must infer that Penhallow soon took in hand the business of his late partner. We know that he married Watts' widow before the end of 1719, and must presume upon his residence at Arrowsic in that year, or earlier. Still, he remained some part of 1718 at his former post, for the deposition of Samuel Penhallow states respecting that year:—

Went to visit my brother, Capt. John Penhallow at Augusta, *alias* Small Point, Justice of the Peace, and commander of the fort of said town.¹

The General Court voted, 1716, November 22:—

To furnish ten soldiers to cover the settlement that is making at Small Point near Sagadahock, for one year, if the interested can find so many to enlist.²

The men were evidently obtained, for again, 1717, November 16, the record of proceedings reads:—

A petition of the proprietors and inhabitants of Augusta, shewing that the petitioners having erected a fishing town upon Small Point in Casco Bay, under the countenance and protection of an officer and ten men allowed by this court for one year, that they have built stages and store-houses & other accommodations both for the fishery & the dwellings of the inhabitants, & they are about to erect a Stone Fort that may be defensible both by Sea & Land. They pray that the Hon. Court would continue the said Guard of an officer and ten men for one year more, the first year being now expired.

The request was granted and the vote approved by the governor.

We may doubt if the proposed fort was undertaken,—except the gathering of materials,—until the spring months, when mortar could be used in a structure of stone. Hence the fort could not have been built until the early part of 1718.

My memoranda disclose nothing respecting the place for some time after the foregoing action. That year was hardly past when the Indians exhibited a hostile spirit, and began by threats and

¹ Mss. of Me. Hist. Society.

² Records Mass. Gen. Court.

destruction of property to endeavor to drive out the settlers. The government sought to pacify, sent messengers, gave warnings, held conference, exhibited treaties, but could not avert the fierce outbreak of 1722.

That Augusta,¹ — the fort and fishing village, at least, — was deserted for a time in 1721, is manifest, but the precise reasons, — and for how long a time, — lie wholly in obscurity. The threatening attitude of the natives was undoubtedly the main cause. The abandonment, however, was but temporary, and may not have extended to the adjacent farms. Certainly the place was occupied by military forces, and by inhabitants through the greater part of "Dummer's War."²

The Indians entered upon the execution of their threats in their insulting, plundering raid along and below Merrymeeting bay on the fourteenth and fifteenth June, 1722. The settlers were terrified; some fearing worse things to come, abandoned their homes and fled. The military officials consulted for the common security, and their disposition of forces for the effective protection of the inhabitants is shown by a document preserved by Captain Penhallow. Only the following section is pertinent to the case: —

6thly. That Capt. Harmond³ remove to Augusta with 30 men & a Boat, & take care of that Garrison there which is worth keep^g for its Goodness & situation that he may be of security to ye Inhabitants in that township, where there's about 250 head of cattle & in case of a Rupture

¹This name, as also Small Point, was then and subsequently applied often to the whole peninsula, now Phippsburg. Indeed they were even extended over the territory of present Bath. Hence sometimes in early records and documents, these names are indeterminate whether meaning the settlement at Small Point Harbor, or the larger territory.

The fact has misled incautious historical writers, who have asserted that Phippsburg and Bath once belonged to N. Yarmouth. But the tract set off from that town in 1741, comprised only modern Small Point, and a marginal strip along the ocean to Hunnewell's Neck. This section, as also a portion of Harpswell, had been brought within the bounds of North Yarmouth, because by the act of incorporation its easterly line was extended to the ocean.

²The most fitting designation, after the analogy of Queen Anne's, King William's and other wars. Or, if a name might be now chosen, "The Kennebec War" would be appropriate, as there the malign influence was exerted which aroused and kept at fever heat the hostile spirit, and brought hostilities chiefly into the Kennebec valley, though involving adjacent tribes.

Our historian, Williamson, originated the inapt and misleading designation, "Lovewell's War," which has had too ready acceptance. That applauded exploit of Lovewell's valiant band, fell into the last months of the war, when most of the hostiles were cowed, disheartened, and ready for peace. Brilliant for those fighters campaigning for scalps, a telling blow upon the Pequaket tribe, — yet to allow that one bloody fight to furnish the name for a five years' war, and to overshadow the vigilant campaigning of Westbrook, Harmon, Moulton and associates, the destruction of Norridgewock, and other effective strokes upon the enemy, — savors of historical injustice.

³Capt. Johnson Harmon of York. This is the true form of the name as his autograph shows. Penhallow added the *d*. Williamson wrote it John Harman.

may be Driven near the Garrison where there is summer feed enough & hay eno' for Winter in order for their security yt they may not fall into the enemy's hands.¹

It has no date, but the action was taken at once after the destructive raid. The date also is shown by a statement of similar purport in Penhallow's letter to the Lieutenant Governor:—

G. Town, June 18th, 1722.

HONRBLE SIR: — I doubt not you have ere this heard of the Confusion and Distractions in this River occasioned by the Indians & that some are taken captive. . . . Capt. Harmond is posted at the Garrn at Augusta wth 30 of his Compy to secure that place and receive the Inhabitants & creatures in case of a rupture. there being upwards of 300 head on that side. . . .²

It is altogether reasonable to assume that a small number of soldiers had been posted there previously, but now Captain Harmon's company secures the inhabitants and is ready to act wherever the need shall require.

On the twenty-second of August, Captain Penhallow in a report to the governor concerning affairs, states:—

. . . . Am now dispatching three sloops with cattle from hence and Augusta, for those people that have large stocks and have no inclination to adventure 'em here, lest they become a prey to the enemy.³

When the Indians made their fierce assault upon Arrowsic, on September 10, Colonel Shadrach Walton, then chief in command, hastened from Casco with reinforcements. In his report of that sad day's operations he says:—

I brought Capt. Harmon from Augusta wth part of his men, who with the 30 I Brot with me, from Casco wth Capt. Penhallow & Capt. Temple & a detachment from their Garrisons making up in all abt 80 men we attacked 'em & fought 'em for about an hour & half till night came on, . . . its but a few days ago since Capt. Harmon fired upon above 50 Canoes at Auga.⁴

Other reports and records show that this post was maintained subsequently in the critical period of the war. In the next year, 1723, February 25, a letter on military affairs from Harmon, written at Augusta, indicates that he was then stationed there, or in his

¹ The Penhallow Family.

² Do.

³ Capt. Penhallow's Letter-Book.

⁴ The Penhallow Family.

movements tarried there. Colonel Thomas Westbrook, chief in command of the eastern forces, 1723, May 22, ordered Lieutenant Brintnal — at what place is not shown — to take five men and a whale boat and proceed to Small Point garrison and deliver dispatches, which contained orders to Sergeant Card, apparently the officer there in command, to muster his men and to detail nine men to stay at the fort, and to deliver the rest to Lieutenant Brintnal.

Westbrook, on May 23, reports:—

I went to Georgetown. Gave Carlisle his commission & charge of Peckers company, and orders to send men to Richmond.¹

Again on the twenty-eighth, Westbrook sent military orders to Small Point and to North Yarmouth and Georgetown. Under date of August 17, Captain Penhallow at Arrowsic reports:—

My boats returning from Augusta, Bro't me the melancholy news that Capt. Carlisle & a boat's crew (being 6 men) were drowned.

Later he adds:—

Yesterday I bro't into this place & decently buried Capt. Carlisle & 5 men;—ye other man was not to be found.²

This does not assure us that this officer was posted at the stone fort. Probably he was in the general scouting service, and in making a landing was swamped in the treacherous surf about Small Point.

But as the autumn advanced, Governor Dummer found reasons to give orders to Colonel Westbrook, October 1, to draw off the soldiers from North Yarmouth and Small Point, and post them in other garrisons. If this intended all the soldiers, some modification of the plan for the winter season was made, for an order for the disposition of military forces made 1724, January 24,³ assigns to the "Stone House at Small Point, a corporal and four men."⁴

Still the authorities were led to consider the expediency of garrisoning Small Point, and on 1724, March 20, Governor Dummer wrote to Captain Penhallow:—

As to the Fort at Small Point, I am sensible it is of importance and

¹ Mass. Archives—Westbrook's Letters — now published in *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register*, vols. 90, 91.

² Penhallow's Letter-Book.

³ This date cannot be fully certified. It may be 1723. ⁴ Mass. Archives, vol. 72: 152.

should gladly have continued a Garrison there, if there were any provision to support it.¹

Captain Penhallow's views are expressed in a later letter of reply to the above or another of similar import, which is dated April 29, 1724:—

I rejoyce your honor has regard to Small Point, of which I should speak were I not a person interested there, yet would crave leave to say, it's a place of importance, being a cover and security to the fishery, &c. It will be a damage to the government that such a place should be slighted especially, considering there is so good a garrison which every body will say is ye best in ye province save castle William and more easily defended with few men.²

It is therefore manifest that up to the date of this correspondence, the fort at Augusta was unharmed. We may assume that some of the inhabitants in its vicinity still remained.

During the year 1722, the Indians swarmed about the settlements, and the government forces were able to do little more than to defend the inhabitants in the fortified places. In the following year it entered upon a determined, aggressive warfare, and marched its forces into the haunts and attacked the strongholds of the enemy. For this reason, from the opening of 1723 onward, there were, so far as shown, few incursions upon the Sagadahoc territory. But we can fix one inroad by a report of Captain Penhallow from Georgetown, 1724, May 13, to the Governor:—

Three of my men, while driving in the cows were ambushed, were not found dead, and so suppose they were carried off alive. Their names are Miles, Gillis, and Pass. The Indians are about us now.³

An extension of this raid to Small Point is very probable, and in our meager knowledge of events, if the traditional account gathered by Reverend Dr. Ballard is in a measure true to fact, the expulsion can be reasonably assigned to this time. "Lumber Ledge"—a name still preserved in the locality—a slight elevation where the story tells the Indians made their stand, was two hundred yards northeasterly from the fort. Marshy and meadow ground lie between. The fort was situated one hundred feet from the shore on the crest of a ridge, and at an elevation perhaps of forty feet above high water. The outlines of the foundations now indicate by measurement a building of thirty-five, possibly forty feet square. The declivity falls away very sharply from it on the

¹ N. E. Hist. Gen. Register, vol. 91.

² Do.

³ Mass. Archives, vol. 51.

east and north, but with an easy grade on the south, and toward the harbor on the west. The fort did not face the water, but a diagonal from the north to the south corner would be parallel with the shore line. That a stockade inclosed it we do not know, but this was the ordinary method, and only by a very strong inclosure of pickets, or even a high wall of stone surmounted by timber, can the praise of Penhallow be justified, that it was the best garrison in the province. Whether it was sheds or a small wooden building within the assumed stockade, or the wooden roof of the stone fort which was fired by the arrows of the assailants, we cannot know. Indeed were not this tradition so precise in this respect, it would be open to suspicion, but in its particularity it makes no slight claim upon our confidence.

According to it the inhabitants who had sought the defense of the fort walls, retired by compulsion in the very face of the foe. According to Penhallow, the historian, they withdrew because the government neglected to protect them, and presumably at their own option. By the former account the fort was set on fire by arrows while the place was invested. But the latter plainly implies that it was burned after the desertion. Dr. Ballard evidently conformed his narrative to that of Penhallow in respect to this subsequent destruction. Penhallow's very brief statement should have given a true representation of the facts, for he had means to obtain full and accurate information. Further particulars, had he given them, might have reconciled the discrepancy.

It is reasonable to suppose that this known incursion in May, 1724, caused the abandonment of Augusta. Still it may already have occurred, if a garrison could not be furnished, but we cannot be sure but soldiers were sent there subsequently to the above letters, and the settlement for a longer time maintained. The buildings may have been burned, if deserted, in that incursion; or long after, before the close of the war, a single canoe in a stealthy way could have brought a malicious torch-bearer to set them in a blaze.

Undoubtedly Captain Penhallow reported the facts to the government, and possibly the document may yet be brought to light among the State papers of Massachusetts.

KITTERY FAMILY RECORDS.

COMMUNICATED BY W. B. LAPHAM.

(Continued from page 330.)

Francis, b. January 27, 1709.

Thomas, b. September 27, 1713.

William, b. June 29, 1716.

Joseph, b. September 20, 1719.

Benjamin, b. June 9, 1723.

The mother d. March 1, 1725-6.

Child of Job and Mary Hanscom : —

Elizabeth, b. August 16, 1716.

Children of Richard Thurlo, son of Jonathan and May Thurlo of Newbury, married Anne, daughter of Nicholas and Abaga i Gowen, December 9, 1724 :—

Moses, b. September —, 1725.

Jonathan, b. October 7, 1726.

James, b. February 4, 1727-8.

John, b. January 24, 1730; d. February 1, following.

Jacob, b. July —, 1732.

Joshua, b. March 8, 1734; d. October 1, 1736.

Anne, b. December 16, 1735.

Children of Joseph, son of Samuel and Elizabeth Small, and Mary, daughter of David and Elinor Libbey, married April 12, 1722 :—

Joseph, b. January 6, 1722-3.

Mary, b. January 26, 1724.

David, b. June 18, 1726.

Isaac, b. February 28, 1727-8; d. February, 1731-2.

Elizabeth, b. March 18, 1729-30

Daniel, b. November 17, 1731.

Eleanor, b. August 28, 1733.

Elizabeth, daughter of John Leighton, Esq., born May 30, 1691

Mary, b. May 7, 1693.

William, b. Sept. 9, 1696.

John, b. May 27, 1699.

Tobias, b. November 17, 1701.

Samuel, b. November 22, 1707.

The father died November 10, 1724, in his 62d year.

James Treworgie, son of John Treworgie of Dartmouth, married Mary Forguson of Kittery, July 16, 1693.

Penelope, b. June 1, 1694.

John, b. June 1, 1696.

The mother died July 19, 1696.

Elizabeth, daughter of William, Jr., Esq., and Mary Pepperell, born December 29, 1723; died September 4, 1797, in Boston, aged 74 years.

Andrew, b. January 4, 1725-6.

William, b. May 26, 1729; d. February 26, 1730.

Margery, b. September 14, 1732.

Sir William Pepperell, Baronet, the father of the above named children, died at his seat in Kittery, July 6, 1759.

Samuel, son of Joseph Weeks, Jr., and Sarah, his wife, born July 27, 1727; died April 4, 1736.

Elihu, b. September 10, 1729; d. April 5, 1736.

Elizabeth, b. March 10, 1732; d. April 5, 1736.

Josiah, b. April 25, 1734; d. June 2, 1735.

Sarah, b. June 3, 1736.

Samuel, b. January 9, 1740.

Nicholas, b. March 15, 1742.

Molly, b. March 4, 1744.

Lucy, b. March 1, 1746.

John, b. April 8, 1748.

Simon, son of Daniel and Margaret Emery, married Martha, daughter of Nathan, Jr., and Margaret Lord of Berwick, October 21, 1725.

Martha, b. August 6, 1726.

Simon, b. November 26, 1727.

Margaret, b. July 1, 1729.

Stephen, b. — —, 1730.

Samuel, b. — —, 1732.

Mary, b. February 18, 1737-8.

Maribah, b. March 20, 1740.

Sarah, b. September 3, 1742.

Charles, b. August 16, 1745.

John, b. May 15, 1734.

The father died April 10, 1760. The mother died April 29, 1760, aged 58.

John Dinit, Jr., married Mary, daughter of William and Mary Tetherley.

John, b. October 18, 1731; d. January 20, 1736-7.

Eleanor, b. April 28, 1734.

Marcy, b. June 11, 1736; d. December 15, 1805, aged 70 years.

John, b. March 15, 1737-8.

William, b. February 1, 1739-40.

Mary, b. March 7, 1741-2.

Mark, b. November 13, 1744.

Anne, b. November 2, 1747.

Elizabeth, b. February 12, 1750.

Sarah, b. June 8, 1751.

Thomas, b. March 22, 1754.

Hannah, b. August 13, 1756.

Robert Morrill and Sarah, daughter of William and Abigail Roberts, married May 29, 1729.

Abigail, b. January 23, 1731.

Lucy, b. Nov. 2, 1732.

William, b. March 5, 1733-4.

Lydia, b. December —, 1735.

Isaac, son of Robert and Patience Morrill, b. January 31, 1739.

Nicholas, b. Nov. 12, 1740.

Timothy, b. July 16, 1742.

Joel, b. October 28, 1744.

Mary, b. November 12, 1746.

Anne, b. May 15, 1749.

Eunice, b. October 24, 1751.

Jane, b. October 9, 1758.

Miriam, daughter of John, Jr., and Ruth Morrill, born May 25, 1728.

Hannah, b. April 26, 1731.

Peace, b. March 16, 1732-3.

Keziah, b. September 30, 1735.

Peletiah, b. May 8, 1741.

Mary, b. March 1, 1743-4.

Robert Staples and Hannah, daughter of Stephen and Hannah Tobey, married January 7, 1724-5.

Susanna, b. October 19, 1725.

Katherine, b. April 6, 1728.

Hannah, b. January 18, 1730-31.

Eleanor, b. April 4, 1734.

Ruth, b. February 19, 1736-7.

Mary, b. February 3, 1739-40.

Lydia, b. December 20, 1742; d. November —, 1743.

The father died December —, 1743.

William, son of William and Jane Gowen, born March 3, 1726-7.

Nicholas, b. May 4, 1729.

George, b. May 15, 1733.

Mary, b. August 1, 1736.

John, b. May 19, 1740.

Jane, b. March 20, 1742-3.

The mother died September 20, 1750.

Children of Joseph Hammond, Jr., and Mary, daughter, of Jonathan and Ammi Adams, married September 20, 1722:—

Mary, b. October 30, 1723.

Joseph, b. September 15, 1725; d. in London, December 22, 1741.

Hannah, b. September 26, 1727.

John, b. February 18, 1729-30; d. April 7, 1744.

Elisha, b. March 28, 1731-2; drowned in Woolwich, Eng., Aug. 22, 1747.

Thomas, b. December 24, 1739.

Christopher, b. June 26, 1740.

Abigail, b. September 2, 1734.

Thomas, son of Thomas and Sarah Woster, born January 26, 1716-7.

Richard Gowell, son of John and Elizabeth Gowell, born January 18, 1729-30.

Thomas, son of John and Abigail Stephens of New Castle, N. H., born September 11, 1700.

Lydia, daughter of Samuel and Esther Pickernel, born November 13, 1729:—

James, b. September 17, 1731.

Mary, b. January 3, 1733.

Esther, b. December 7, 1735.

Samuel, b. February 21, 1737.

Sarah, b. April 28, 1740.

Betty, b. March —, 1742.

William, b. February 12, 1743-4.

Nelson, b. May 11, 1748; d. September 15, 1749.

Nelson, b. March 8, 1750.

Anna Pickernel, wife of Nelson, above named, born March 29, 1749.

Ruben, son of Andrew and Abigail Spinney, born February 7, 1727-8.

William, b. March 25, 1729.

Abigail, b. March 13, 1730-31.

Edmond, b. April 18, 1733.

Tobias, son of Tobias and Grace Leighton, born July 8, 1728; died October 24, 1736.

Joseph, b. August 29, 1730; d. April 25, 1735.

Mary, b. January 15, 1732-3; d. May 28, 1736.

Susanna, b. June 6, 1737.

The mother died November 7, 1736, in her 27th year.

Children of the above Tobias Leighton and Sarah, daughter of James and Sarah Chadbourn, married June 20, 1738.

Sarah, b. January 31, 1739-40.

Tobias, b. August 31, 1742.

George, son of Tobias, Jr., and Abigail Fernald, born February 8, 1729-30.

Samuel, son of Samuel and Mary Fitts, born April 22, 1728 died May 24, 1729.

Mary, b. November 16, 1729.

Samuel, b. February 19, 1730.

John, b. October 21, 1732.

Henry Miles and Bridgit, a free negro woman, married June 1, 1723.

James, b. March 5, 1726.

Hannah, b. September 10, 1729.

Doctor Edward Coffin and Shuah, daughter of Nathan and Shuah Bartlett, married November 15, 1732.

Edmund, b. November 18, 1733; d. January 17, 1735.

Pheby, b. March 15, 1734-5.

Edmund, b. November 3, 1736; d. May 2, 1758.

Nathaniel, b. August 25, 1738.

Sarah, b. July 1, 1740.

Jane, b. February 13, 1742-3.

James, b. July 11, 1745.

Mercy, b. September 12, 1747.

Nathan, b. August 28, 1749.

Enoch b. June 19, 1751; d. September 14, 1761.

John, b. September 8, 1753.

Shuah, b. May 31, 1756.

Apphia, b. May 17, 1759.

John, son of John and Patience Neal, born August 5, 1729.

Mary b. December 24, 1730; d. August 20, 1736.

Abigail, b. May 23, 1732.

John, b. September 12, 1729.

Rebekah, b. January 6, 1735; d. April 14, 1737.

Mary, b. July 24, 1736.

Patience, b. January 24, 1738.

John, b. August 17, 1741.

Andrew, b. March 12, 1742-3.

Mary, daughter of Richard and Anne Thurlo, born October 17, 1728.

John, b. January 24, 1730; d. February 1 following.

Jacob, b. July —, 1732.

Joshua, b. March 8, 1734; d. October 1, 1736.

Anne, b. December 16, 1735.

Mary, daughter of Eleazer and Elizabeth Sebins, born March 1, 1732-3.

Samuel, son of Samuel and Anne Polly, born August 8, 1738.

Mary, daughter of John and Mary Walker, born August 18, 1736.

Joseph, son of Jonathan and Sarah Damin, born August 12, 1712.

Sarah, daughter of Joseph, Jr., and Isabella Mitchell, born December 8, 1727.

John, b. February 2, 1729.

Jeremiah, b. April 15, 1731; d. October 8, 1735.

Joseph, b. October 31, 1734; d. November 10, 1735.

Isabella, b. August 25, 1736.

Elizabeth, daughter of Samuel and Mary Hill, born November 14, 1717.

Samuel, b. December 12, 1719.

Benjamin, b. March 22, 1721.

Nelson, b. December 31, 1724.

Joseph, b. June 30, 1727.

George, b. May 15, 1730; d. October 23, 1736.

Katherine, b. March 6, 1732.

Temperance, b. December 28, 1735; d. October 25, 1736.

David, son of Richard and Sarah Pope, born November 24, 1727; died December 15, 1798.

Elizabeth, b. April 29, 1729.

Richard, b. April 19, 1731.

Sarah, b. October 7, 1733.

Dorcas, b. October 11, 1736.

Mary, b. April 30, 1740.

John, son of Thomas and Mary Pettigrew, born May 5, 1731.

Joanna, b. October 31, 1732.

Mary, b. February 21, 1733.

Unice, b. August 15, 1735.

Elizabeth, b. March 16, 1736.

Thomas, b. September 9, 1738.

Joseph, b. April 20, 1742.

Eleazer, son of Eleazer and Anne Furgeson, born December 15, 1734.

Mehitable, b. January 24, 1736.

Anna, b. January 5, 1738.

Abagail, b. February 3, 1740.

Susanna, b. February 19, 1742.

Phineas, b. March 31, 1745.

Eunice, b. July 19, 1747.

William, b. July 21, 1749.

Daniel, b. December 14, 1751.

Margaret, b. June 5, 1755.

Hurcules, son of Samuel and Susanna Fernald, born, September 8, 1713; Mary, wife of said Hercules, born March 23, 1719.

Alone, b. May 24, 1737.

Susanna b. July 29, 1740.

Mary, b. October 29, 1742.

Joel, b. February 13, 1745.

Hercules, b. December 4, 1749.

Josiah, b. March 11, 1746-7; d. — —.

Stephen, b. August 21, 1754.

Sarah, b. November —, 1756.

Easter, b. September 5, 1759.

Temperance, daughter of Samuel and Susanna Fernald, born October 5, 1702.

Jagrushen, daughter of Matthew, Jr., and Mary Libby, born March 3, 1730-1.

Matthew, b. February 2, 1733.

George Hammond of Kittery, and Hannah Coburn of York, married November 20, 1730.

Sarah, b. August 27, 1731; d. September 28, 1731.

George, b. January 31, 1732; d. December 5, 1752.

Ebenezer, b. September 16, 1734.

Katherine, b. December 18, 1736.

Hannah, b. December 11, 1738.

Sarah, b. April 13, 1741.

Seth, b. October 7, 1743.

Joseph, b. August 31, 1745.

John, b. May 7, 1747; d. December 9, 1760.

Elizabeth, b. April 22, 1749.

George, b. December 3, 1753.

Robert, son of John, Jr., and Mary Follett, born June 16, 1737; said Robert married Mary Mitchell.

John, Robert, Mary, Joshua and Mercy.

Sarah, daughter of Samuel and Elizabeth Odel, born June 5, 1737.

Samuel, b. December 4, 1738.

James, b. November 12, 1740.

Joseph, b. June 17, 1743.

Mary, b. June 9, 1750.

Lidea, daughter of Samuel and Margaret Libby, born January 16, 1736.

Elizabeth, b. February 20, 1738.

Hannah, b. December 15, 1740.

Samuel, b. January 13, 1742-3.

Seth, b. February 15, 1744-5.

Anna, b. February 6, 1746-7.

Sarah, b. June 19, 1751.

Stephen, son of John and Judith Clark, born August 22, 1723.

Mary, b. February 28, 1725.

Sarah, b. February 16, 1727.

Elizabeth, b. January 28, 1729.

Judiah, b. August 16, 1730.

John, b. April 11, 1733.

Katherine, b. October 19, 1735.

Benjamin, son of Joshua and Mary Black, born April 19, 1719.

Jonathan, b. February 15, 1720.

Mary, b. January 2, 1722.

Joshua and Henry, b. December 27, 1724; Henry d. February following, Joshua d. May 3, 1742.

Henry, b. December 1, 1726.

Thomas, b. August —, 1728; d. August —, 1729.

Sarah, b. May 12, 1730.

Ammey, b. March 5, 1731.

Katherine, b. May 15, 1734.

Thomas, b. October —, 1735.

Margrey, b. July 28, 1738; d. August 9 following.

Margrey, b. August 19, 1739.

Sarah, daughter of Sambo and Amey Marsh, born August 12, 1738.

Lydia, b. April 7, 1741.

Anthony, b. September 14, 1746.

Samuel, son of Ebenezer and Abigail Dinet, born March 19, 1714-5.

Elizabeth, b. October 22, 1719.

Ebenezer, b. October 22, 1722.

Mehitable and Susanna, b. May 23, 1724.

Abigail, b. May 29, 1726.

John, b. May 20, 1730.

Daniel, son of Joseph and ——— Moody, born August 10, 1735.

Elizabeth, b. March 8, 1736.

Sarah, daughter of Thomas and Mary Dennet, born October 16, 1737.

Abigail, b. April 28, 1741.

John, b. August 26, 1743.

Mary, b. November, 7, 1746.

Eleanor, b. July 10, 1753.

John Frost, son of Honorable John Frost of New Castle, and Sarah, daughter of Honorable Timothy Gerrish of Kittery, married October 31, 1734.

Mary, b. October 3, 1735.

John, b. August 15, 1738.

Sarah b. October 5, 1740.

Timothy, b. October 4, 1742.

Abigail, b. October 1, 1744.

William, b. May 26, 1747

Jane Pepperell, b. September 10, 1749.

Elizabeth, b. February 1, 1752.

Nathaniel, b. June 2, 1755.

Samuel, son of Captain Samuel and Elizabeth Mitchell, born August 9, 1730.

John, b. September 16, 1731.

Susanna, b. April 30, 1733.

Margaret, b. July 13, 1736.

Elizabeth, b. October 18, 1737.

Martha, daughter of John and Anne Mireyck, born October 30, 1727.

Jane, b. October 28, 1732.

Isaac, b. August 3, 1738.

John, b. November 6, 1739.

Mark, son of John and Mary Adams, born October 4, 1735.

John, b. February 4, 1737.

Joshua, son of Joshua and Abigail Staple, born December 12, 1738.

Abigail, b. November 29, 1741; d. October 18, 1743.

Stephen, b. April 21, 1745.

Mercy, b. June 18, 1746.

Lydia, b. August 25, 1748.

Nathaniel, b. August 6, 1753.

The mother died August —, 1761.

Children of Joshua Staple, above named, and Margaret Ross, second wife:—

Eleanor, b. December 26, 1765.

Peter, b. September 15, 1768.

John, b. September 7, 1772.

Margaret, b. May 28, 1775.

Hannah, daughter of Joshua and Adah Emery, born March 19, 1737-8.

Margeret, b. October 20, 1739.

Adah, b. June 29, 1741.

Susanna, daughter of Doctor Joseph and Elizabeth Todd, born May 3, 1736.

Joseph, b. December 29, 1738.

John, son of Francis and Mary Winkley, born February 9, 1725-6.

Elizabeth, b. November 7, 1729.

Samuel, b. March 9, 1730-1.

Francis, b. October 25, 1733.

Mary, b. June 21, 1737.

Emerson, b. June 4, 1740.

BIRTHS FROM HALLOWELL RECORDS.

COMMUNICATED BY DR. W. B. LAPHAM.

(Continued from page 332.)

Children of Nathan and Elizabeth Wesson : —

James, b. May 6, 1784, d. June 17, 1788.

Nathau,¹ b. July 27, 1782.

Samuel, b. November 1, 1785.

James, b. November 9, 1791.

Children of Ezra and Mehitable Hodges : —

Mary, b. September 10, 1785.

Joseph, b. September 29, 1786.

Children of Seth and Zilpha Williams : —

Hartwell, b. November 15, 1781.

Reuel, b. June 2, 1783.

Moses, b. July 22, 1785.

Seth, b. November 5, 1787.

Sally, b. May 19, 1789.

Children of Abraham and Rebecca Wellman : —

Abraham, b. Lynborough, N. H., February 20, 1782.

Anne, b. Hallowell, March 31, 1785.

John, b. April 22, 1787.

Children of Henry and Tabitha Sewall : —

William, b. Hallowell, December 31, 1786, d. June 17, 1787.

Abigail, b. April, 2, 1788.

Charles, b. November 13, 1790.

Maria, b. May 11, 1792, d. October 4, 1795.

Susanna, b. April 5, 1795.

William, b. January 17, 1797.

Mary, b.

Children of Joseph and Hannah North : —

John, b. Lancaster, Nov. 1, 1769.

Joseph, b. Harvard, December 9, 1771.

Hannah, b. Pittston, June 29, 1774.

James, b. September 13, 1777.

¹Judge Weston.

Children of George and Experience Read : —

George, b. February 15, 1787.

Luther, b. August 4, 1790.

Betsey, b. May 7, 1792, d. February 2, 1797.

Jason, b. June 28, 1795.

Children of Josiah and Hannah Blackman : —

Henry Bailey, b. November 26, 1786.

Eunice, b. February 19, 1779.

Nathan, b. April 21, 1791.

Hannah, b. October 27, 1795.

Children of Dr. Samuel Coleman and Susanna his wife : —

William Atkins, b. August 27, 1788, d. September 4 following.

William Atkins, b. August 14, 1789.

Nathaniel Thwing, son of Nathaniel and Mary Thwing, b. January 14, 1793.

Samuel Thwing, b. August 30, 1794.

Child of William and Susanna Brooks : —

Eliza, b. Dec. 30, 1789.

Children of James Burn and Polly his wife who were married
at Oxford, Mass., June 25, 1789 : —

James, b. Hallowell, Sept. 23, 1790.

Polly, b. Oct. 25, 1792.

William Eustis, b. Nov. 15, 1794.

Children of Theophilus Hamlin and Sarah his wife : —

Sally, b. March 31, 1789.

John, b. Jan. 30, 1792.

Hannah, b. Dec. 17, 1793.

George, b. Nov. 15, 1795.

Elias Craig and Hannah his wife were married Dec. 21, 1788.

She died April 12, 1790 : —

Hannah, b. March 31, 1790.

Daniel Smith, b. Nantucket, Feb. 2, 1749 ; Abigail Gorham, b. Norwalk, March 10, 1750 ; married Nov. 29, 1769. Children : —

Owen, b. Nantucket, Dec. 12, 1770.

George, b. Kennebec, July 6, 1772 ; d. Aug. 29, 1794.

Anna, b. Feb. 6, 1774.

Gorham, b. Nantucket, Dec. 25, 1775.

Son, b. Barnstable, Jan. 20, 1781; d. same day.

Two daughters, b. Oct. 23, 1781; d. next day.

Abigail Gorham, b. April 17, 1783.

William Allen, b. May 13, 1785; d. Aug. 17, 1786.

Polly, b. Kennebec, Feb. 21, 1787.

Two sons, b. March 29, 1789; d. same day.

Benjamin, b. June 10, 1793; d. two days after.

Apprentices to said Daniel and Abigail Smith :—

Betty Boston, b. Nantucket, Dec., 1782.

Thomas Franks, b. Georgetown, S. C., June 13, 1786.

Children of Roland and Nancy Smith :—

Clark, b. March 7, 1794.

William, b. Dec. 22, 1795.

Anna, b. Feb. 11, 1799.

Martin Brewster, b. Kingston, Mass., Nov. 8, 1758; Sally

Drew, b. same, July 16, 1766; married same, April 22, 1786.

Children :—

George, b. Kingston, July 18, 1787.

Deborah, b. May 29, 1789.

Charles, b. Katskill, Aug. 29, 1792.

Martin, b. Aug. 6, 1794.

Henry, b. Hallowell, July 26, 1796.

Clement Drew, b. Aug. 14, 1798.

Alfred Martin, son of Thomas and Anne Martin, b. Lebanon,

Conn., July 26, 1767, came to Hallowell to settle Oct. 26,

1788, and in 1796 married Lydia, daughter of Isaac and Alice

Clark of Hallowell. Children :—

Maria, b. June 1, 1797; d. March 30, 1807.

Cordelia, b. July 26, 1799.

Alfred, b. Aug. 24, 1802.

Julia, b. Dec. 13, 1804.

Clarissa Maria, b. Aug. 15, 1810.

Joseph Henry, b. July 27, 1816.

William, son of William Morse and Rebecca Bodwell was born in Methuen, Mass., July 22, 1762; married Tryphena, dau.

of Richard and Elizabeth Whitten of Methuen. Came with his family to Hallowell, Feb., 1793, and d. April 17, 1844.

Children :—

Abiah, b. Methuen, April 15, 1786.

Phebe Bodwell, b. Nov. 15, 1787.

Elizabeth Bodwell, b. Loudon, N. H., April 10, 1790.

Henry Bodwell, b. Feb. 15, 1792.

Nancy, b. Hallowell, Jan. 16, 1794.

Billy, b. May 13, 1796.

Mary b. — ; d. Feb. 10, 1803.

The mother d. May 31, 1805, and Mr. Morse married Sarah, relict of Daniel Carr : —

Charles Edward, b. Aug. 18, 1808.

Children of Jacob and Deborah Smith : —

John, b. Epping, N. H., June 9, 1796.

Eliza, b. July 10, 1798.

Dolly, b. Hallowell, July 27, 1800.

Jacob, b. May 15, 1803.

Caroline, b. July 18, 1805 ; d. Feb. 18, 1806.

Nathaniel, son of Samuel and Joanna Floyd, was born in Chelsea, Mass. Came to Hallowell in 1772, and married Sarah Mason of Weston. Children : —

Sarah, b. Aug., 1764.

Joanna, b. June, 1766.

The mother died Nov. 30, 1777, and Mr. Floyd married Elizabeth, daughter of Benjamin and Sarah King, of Ipswich, N. H. Children : —

Samuel, b. Jan. 6, 1782.

Elizabeth, b. Feb. 22, 1785.

Nathaniel, b. Feb. 12, 1787.

Tabitha, b. March 29, 1789.

Noah, b. June 26, 1791 ; d. Sept. 1, 1794.

Polly, b. April 15, 1793.

Hannah, b. Dec. 30, 1795 ; d. Jan. 7, 1830.

Lydia, b. March 2, 1798.

Lemuel Toby and Martha Williams were married at Newton, July 14, 1787. Children : —

Lemuel, b. Sandwich, March 31, 1788.

Robert Williams, b. Sept. 21, 1789.

Charles Henry, b. May 7, 1791.

Martha Williams, b. Sept. 14, 1795 ; d. Oct. 10, 1796.

Thomas, b. May 14, 1797.

Children of Thomas and Elizabeth Fillebrown : —

Eliza, b. Feb. 2, 1792.
 Thomas, b. Sept. 15, 1794.
 William, b. June 11, 1796.
 Caroline, b. March 6, 1798.
 Cheever, b. Jan. 29, 1800.
 Emily, b. Dec. 29, 1801.
 George, b. March 21, 1804.

Allen Gilman of Hallowell, m. Pamela Augusta Dearborn of
 Pittston, Jan. 6, 1799. Mrs. Gilman died Oct. 26, 1799.
 Child : —

Pamela Augusta Sophia, b. Sept. 29, 1799.

Children of Philip and Joanna Norcross : —

Joanna, b. Oct. 2, 1782.
 Elizabeth, b. June 10, 1784.
 Sarah, b. May 30, 1787.
 Abigail, b. April 12, 1789.
 James, b. Jan. 20, 1792.
 Susanna, b. June 9, 1794.
 Seth, b. Sept. 12, 1796.

Children of Benjamin and Rhoda Allen : —

Benjamin, b. Aug. 24, 1798.
 Rhoda, b. —

Mrs. Allen died Oct. 18, 1812, and Mr. Allen then married Mrs.
 Ruth Clifford of Sidney.

Moses Springer, son of John and Hannah Springer, born in
 Georgetown, now Bath, Nov. 19, 1766, came Oct. 1792;
 married Susanna, daughter of Samuel and Mary Norcross,
 of Newton, Nov., 1793. Children : —

Jacob, b. April 12, 1794.
 Moses, b. January 24, 1796.
 Eliza } twins, b. March 11, 1798.
 Sophia }
 Julia, b. Sept., 1800.
 Susanna, b. Dec. 4, 1801.
 Samuel, b. June 25, 1803.
 Mary, b. Oct. 31, 1804.
 William, b. Nov. 6, 1806,
 Albert, b. Aug. 19, 1808.

Addison Trufant, b. Nov. 1, 1810.

John, b. Oct. 22, 1812.

George Atwell, b. May 15, 1815.

Children of Ebenezer Mayo and Sarah his wife : —

Ebenezer, b. Enfield, Conn., March 12, 1782.

Thomas, b. March 2, 1785.

Cynthia, b. Harwick, Mass., Aug. 8, 1786.

Sally, b. Oct. 27, 1787.

Ephraim, b. Oct. 27, 1789; d. 1857.

Obed, b. Jan. 17, 1792.

Rhoda, b. Hallowell, Feb. 3, 1794; d. May 25, 1858.

Sukey, b. April 19, 1795.

William, b. Dec. 2, 1797; d. March, 1863.

Eliza, b. June 10, 1800; d. 1838.

Stephen, b. June 24, 1804.

Solomon, b. Aug. 12, 1799; d. Sept. 14, 1800.

Elias Bond, son of William and Lucy Bond, born at Watertown, Mass., March 14, 1774, married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard and Mary Pappoon of Lynn, Mass., March 29, 1798, who died March 15, 1799, leaving a son : —

William, b. Feb. 17, 1799.

Mr. Bond came to Hallowell, March 19, 1804, and married, Sept. 23, 1804, Rebecca, daughter of Benjamin and Mary Davis of Billerica, Mass. Children : —

Benjamin Franklin, b. July 28, 1805.

Joseph Davis, b. Sept. 27, 1806.

Eliza b. Feb. 20, 1809.

Susan, b. Nov. 17, 1810.

Elias, b. Aug. 19, 1813.

Thomas Spencer, b. June 6, 1819.

Susan Spencer, b. June 10, 1822; d. Feb. 9, 1825.

Child of Jethro and Dorothy Chase : —

Benjamin, b. April 26, 1781.

Child of Calvin and Eliza Edson : —

Martin, b. at Bridgewater, Mass., March 27, 1783.

Child of William and Lucy Mitchell : —

William, b. in York, Sept. 29, 1787; d. May 23, 1814.

Shubael, son of Shubael and Mary Hinckley, was born in Brunswick, Dec. 7, 1736 (O. S.); married Mary, daughter of Prince and Jane Clew of Boston, and came to Brunswick.

Children : —

Jane, b. July 1, 1760.

Stephen, b. Aug. 27, 1762.

John, b. ———

Elijah, b. ———

Mary, b. May, 1771.

Freeman, b. —

Phebe, b. ———

The mother died and Mr. Hinckley married Abigail, daughter of Jonathan and Patty Norcross, and widow of Elijah Robinson, who left one son, Philip Robinson. Children : —

Shubael, b. Oct. 8, 1786.

Harriet, b. Aug. 30, 1788.

Charles Albert, b. Jan. 18, 1792.

Cornelius Thompson, b. Feb. 26, 1796.

Joseph White, b. Aug. 24, 1802.

Mr. Shubael Hinckley the first died Feb. 2, 1798, aged 91.

Thomas Hinckley, twin brother to Shubael, was born at Brunswick, Dec. 7, 1736 (O. S.), and married Elizabeth, daughter of Christopher and Deborah Mitchell of Georgetown, now Bath. Came to Hallowell, Oct. 17, 1773. Children : —

David, b. Georgetown, Jan. 8, 1766.

James, b. Feb. 2, 1768.

William, b. April 2, 1770.

Samuel, b. —

Mrs. Hinckley died and he married Mary, daughter of Elias and Mary Taylor of Readfield. Children : —

Thomas, b. Oct. 26, 1781.

Aaron Taylor, b. April 1, 1784.

Joseph, b. April 30, 1786.

Elizabeth, b. Oct. 6, 1788; d. Sept. 6, 1803.

Ariel, b. Feb. 3, 1791.

Benjamin, b. April 29, 1793.

Elijah Hinckley, son of Shubael and Mary Hinckley, married
Keziah Lewis of Andover. Children :—

Mary, b. Nov. 15, 1796.

Sophronia, b. Dec. 14, 1798.

Lucy Lewis, b. May 15, 1800.

Rebecca Boardman, b. June 22, 1802.

Martha, b. July 30, 1804.

Susan, b. Sept. 23, 1806.

Benjamin Lewis, b. Sept. 26, 1808.

Stephen Hinckley, son of Shubael and Mary Hinckley, married
Lucy, daughter of Elisha and Mehitable Nye of Hallowell.
Children :—

Obed, b. —

Lucy, b. —

Nathan Bachelder, son of Abraham and Anna Bachelder, born
in Loudon, N. H., Oct. 25, 1773; came to Hallowell, Oct.,
1799, and married Nancy, daughter of Moses and Anna Rol-
lins, Jan. 28, 1801, who was born in Loudon, N. H., April
25, 1773. Children :—

George Washington, b. Nov. 13, 1802.

Sarah Elizabeth, b. Feb. 20, 1805; d. March 6, 1816.

Eliza Anne, b. March 31, 1807; d. April 5, 1808.

Charles Greenleaf, b. April 25, 1810.

Lucy Anne, b. Dec. 23, 1812.

Mary Anne, b. Nov. 11, 1815.

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