COLLECTIONS

OF THE

PEJEPSCOT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME I. PART I.

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CONTENTS.

PEJEPSCOT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

On the 10th of January, 1888, a public meeting was held, in the office of the Selectmen of Brunswick, for the purpose of organizing a local Historical Society. There were present: Professor H. L. Chapman, Professor Henry Johnson, Rev. E. C. Guild, Rev. W. P. Fisher, H. W. Wheeler, Theodore S. McLellan, L. E. Smith, John Furbish, Weston Thompson, Esq., Barrett Potter, Esq., G. L. Thompson, E. P. Pennell, D. D. Gilman, F. E. Roberts, I. P. Booker, and C. S. F. Lincoln. H. W. Wheeler was chosen chairman, and I. P. Booker secretary of the meeting. A code of by-laws was adopted and officers were elected.

The objects of this Society are: To obtain and record matters of local history, including biographies of early citizens of note, and (after their death) of prominent citizens of the present time; to publish from time to time such historical collections as have been made by the society; and to establish and maintain an Antiquarian Museum for the preservation and exhibition of relics of the olden time.

The officers of the Society are a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary, Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three, who are elected annually in January. Special committees are also appointed by the Executive Committee when occasion requires.

Any citizen of Brunswick, Topsham, or Harpswell may become a member by vote of the Society and the payment of an annual assessment of one dollar. Honorary members are elected by vote of the Society and are not required to pay any fee or assessment.

Regular meetings of the Society are held on the first Tuesday in January, April, and October of each year, and special meetings may be called by the President or by the Executive Committee.

In September, 1888, a room was secured in Storer's Block, showcases were procured, necessary shelving put up, and the collection of antiquities was begun. At the present time (February, 1889,) there are nearly five hundred articles given or loaned by seventy-seven different persons. The room is open to the public without charge once a week.

OFFICERS AND MEMBERS.

1889.

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HENRY JOHNSON, ... Vice-President.
IRA P. BOOKER, ... Secretary and Treasurer.

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SPECIAL COMMITTEES.

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THEODORE S. MCLELLAN, HENRY L. CHAPMAN.

Biography.

ALBERT G. TENNEY, LYMAN E. SMITH,
IRA P. BOOKER, BARRETT POTTER.

Museum.

JOHN FURBISH, GEORGE L. THOMPSON,
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Publication.

EDWARD C. GUILD, GEORGE T. LITTLE,
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JOHN S. CUSHING, ... Augusta.

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Prof. Chas. C. Everett,	Cambridge, Mass.
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James McKeen, Esq.,	New York City.
J. Appleton Melcher,	San Francisco, Cal.
Miss Mary J. Merrill,	Topsham.
Chas. A. Packard, M.D.,	Bath.
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Miss Sarah A. Thompson,	Topsham.
Chapin Weston,	Brunswick.
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EARLY MOVEMENTS TO SEPARATE THE DISTRICT OF MAINE FROM MASSACHUSETTS; AND THE BRUNSWICK CONVENTION OF 1816.

Professor Henry L. Chapman.

The separation of the District of Maine from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and its erection into an independent State, is naturally a subject of considerable interest to those for whom the history of our own State has attractions. The project of separation was agitated, vehemently discussed, made the subject of petitions to the General Court of Massachusetts, and more than once submitted to the votes of Maine people, during a period of about thirty-five years before it was finally accomplished. But the special reason for bringing the subject before this society is the fact that at one stage of the protracted agitation Brunswick comes into prominence as the seat of a Convention formally appointed by the General Court of Massachusetts, respectably attended by delegates from the several towns in the District, and considerably heated by the diversities of opinion that prevailed among its members. Before speaking in detail of this Convention, however, it may be well to refer briefly to the efforts that had previously been made to effect a separation.

The first agitation of the subject, at least in any general and systematic way, seems to have arisen in the latter part of the year 1784. There is reason to believe that there had been considerable private and local discussion of the measure before that time, though it had not issued in any public movement. Mr. Williamson thinks that the want of a distinct government had been often felt by the people of the District during the Revolutionary War, and if so the recollection of that feeling may have been one of the impulses that led to the renewed and more decided advocacy of the measure in 1784–85. At all events it became, at that time, a topic of absorbing interest. Says a writer for the Massachusetts Historical Society in

1795: "Clergymen, physicians, lawyers, and farmers seemed engaged in accelerating the event. They all employed both their pens and their private influence, in convincing their fellow-citizens of the propriety and advantages of becoming a distinct member of the Union." The opinion, however, was not all one way. If it had been, the discussion of the measure would probably have been less heated than it was, and the separation would have been sooner effected. There were not a few respectable and influential opponents of the popular demand, and they did not suffer their voices to be drowned. Some of these gentlemen in the opposition were engaged in trade, and, with the proverbial timidity of business, they feared the effect of separation upon their commercial enterprises and connections. Some of them were office-holders under the Massachusetts government, and they prudently preferred to hold on to the bird in the hand, rather than look for two in the inviting bush. And some, doubtless, were actuated by the spirit of conservatism or sentiment that always shrinks from change. Still the party of separation was aggressive, and it showed its enterprise and its appreciation of modern methods of political warfare, by establishing the *Falmouth Gazette*, the first newspaper in the district, to advocate its cause. The first number of the *Gazette* appeared January 1, 1785, and on the 17th of September following it contained this notice:

Agreeably to a request signed by a large number of respectable gentlemen, and presented to the printers of this *Gazette*, the inhabitants, in the counties of York, Cumberland, and Lincoln, (these were then the only counties in the District) are hereby notified, that as many of them as can conveniently attend, are requested to meet at the Rev. Messrs. Smith's and Deane's meeting-house in Falmouth (which was the name at that time of Portland), on Wednesday, the 5th day of October ensuing, to join in a *Conference* upon the proposal of having these counties erected into a *Separate government;* and if thought best, to form a plan for collecting the sentiments of the people upon the subject, and pursue some peaceable and proper method for carrying the same into effect.

This notice, printed first in the *Gazette* of September 17th, and repeated in the issue of October 1st, brought together on the appointed day at Messrs. Smith's and Deane's meeting-house about thirty persons from the town of Falmouth and its vicinity. The result of their Conference was the adoption of the following circular letter, which was sent to the several towns and plantations in the District:

At a meeting of a number of respectable inhabitants of the counties of York, Cumberland, and Lincoln, at Messrs. Smith's and Deane's meeting-house, in Fal-

mouth, on the 5th of October instant,—agreeable to a notification published in the *Falmouth Gazette* of September 17th, and 1st October instant, in order to form some plan for collecting the sentiments of said inhabitants, on the subject of said counties being formed into a separate State—

Voted—That the subscribers be a committee to apply to the several towns and plantations, in said counties, requesting them to send delegates to meet at said meeting-house, on the first Wednesday of January next, at ten o'clock A.M., to consider the expediency of said counties being formed into a separate State; and if, after mature consideration, it should appear to them expedient, to pursue some regular and orderly method of carrying the same into effect.

This circular was signed by the committee of seven, of which Peleg Wadsworth, the maternal grandfather of the poet Longfellow, was Chairman, and Stephen Longfellow, Jr., the poet's paternal grandfather, was Clerk.

It might be expected that such proceedings as these would attract some attention from the officials of the Commonwealth, and they did. James Bowdoin, for whom our college was worthily named nine years later, was at that time Governor, and in his speech to the General Court, October 20th, he noticed and deprecated the assembling of the Conference and the action it had taken. He spoke of the "great number of publications in the *Falmouth Gazette*, calling upon the people in the counties of York, Cumberland, and Lincoln, to assemble together for the purpose of separating themselves from the government of this Commonwealth, and of withdrawing the duty and allegiance they owe to the State. In consequence of these calls," he continued, "about thirty persons, as I am informed, assembled at the meeting-house in Falmouth, on the 5th instant, and sent out a circular for another meeting in January."

The General Court also, in view of what had been done, solemnly expressed the opinion that "attempts by individuals, or bodies of men, to dismember the State, were fraught with improprieties and dangers."

Nevertheless the circular letter was sent out through the District, and a Convention assembled January 4, 1786, according to appointment, in Messrs. Smith's and Deane's meeting-house. This Convention was composed of thirty-three gentlemen, representatives or delegates from twenty towns in the three counties. Ten gentlemen from the County of York represented the four towns of Brownfield, Buxton, Fryeburgh, and Wells; twelve gentlemen from the County of Cumberland represented the six towns of Cape Elizabeth, Falmouth, Gorham, Gray, New Gloucester, and Scarborough; and eleven gentlemen from the County of Lincoln represented the ten

towns of Bristol, Georgetown, Hallowell, Lewiston, Newcastle, Pittstown, Topsham, Vassalborough, Winslow, and Winthrop.

It will be noticed that Brunswick was not represented in this Convention; but our neighbor Topsham sent as a delegate Samuel Thompson, Esq., who was a native of Brunswick and one of the Brunswick Board of Selectmen in the years 1768, 1770, and 1771. He removed to Topsham about 1783, and afterwards represented that town in the General Court for twelve terms. He was a member of the Convention that met in Boston in 1788 to ratify the Federal Constitution, the ratification of which he steadfastly and strongly opposed. From Wheeler's History, which contains a very interesting account of Mr. Thompson, I take the following paragraph:

> As throwing some light upon the probable reasons for Mr. Thompson's negative vote we quote an extract from a letter of General Knox, bearing date New York, January 14 (1788?): "The second party in the State are in the province of Maine. This party are chiefly looking towards the erection of a new State, and the majority of them will adopt or reject the new Constitution, as it may facilitate or retard their designs, without regarding the merits of the great question."

It is likely, therefore, that Mr. Thompson, who was a man of strong convictions, eagerly seized the opportunity to meet men like-minded with himself in the Convention at Rev. Messrs. Smith's and Deane's meeting-house.

The thirty-three gentlemen thus assembled in convention organized by the choice of William Gorham, of Gorham, as President, and Stephen Longfellow, Jr., also of Gorham, as Clerk. It was then voted that "a committee of nine be chosen to make out a statement of the grievances the three counties labor under; and also an estimate of the expense of a separate government, and compare the same with the expense of the government we are now under."

On the second day of the Convention the committee reported a list of *nine* grievances, which was certainly not extravagant, considering that it was but one grievance to each member of the committee. They set forth in this list (1) the different interests of the widely separated parts of the Commonwealth; (2) the inconvenient distance of the seat of government from the people of Maine; (3) the expense involved in attendance upon the General Court and the State Treasury; (4) the difficulty of securing a prompt administration of justice; (5) the unequal operation of the existing regulations of trade; (6) the practical lack of representation in the General Court; (7) the mode of taxation by polls and estates; (8) the

burden of excise and impost acts; (9) and the injustice in a new country of the act imposing a duty on deeds, etc.

The committee, however, did not report an estimate of the comparative expense of remaining with Massachusetts and setting up an independent State; but they did recommend that the list of grievances be signed by the president of the Convention, "and transmitted to the several towns and plantations in the counties of York, Cumberland, and Lincoln, requesting them to choose a delegate or delegates, at their annual meeting in March next, or at such other meeting as they shall think proper, to meet in Convention on the first Wednesday of September next, at the meeting-house in the first parish of Falmouth, at 10 o'clock A.M., to consider of the grievances the inhabitants of said counties labor under, and to adopt and pursue some orderly and peaceable measure to obtain relief."

The Convention adopted the report and the recommendation of the committee, made provisions for sending it to all the towns and plantations in the District, and then adjourned to the first Wednesday of September following, the same day that had been fixed for the new Convention. Accordingly, when the first Wednesday and 6th day of September came round, the meeting-house of Messrs. Smith and Deane witnessed the embarrassing phenomenon of two Conventions, one an adjourned one and the other newly called, assembled at the same place. But as both Conventions were met in the interests of *separation* they resolved to *unite*. It was easier to accomplish this feat from the fact that many of the gentlemen present were members of both Conventions. The union was brought about in this way: The new Convention elected the president and clerk of the former Convention, and then without delay it was voted to "coalesce." After the coalescence it was found that the Convention was composed of thirty-one delegates representing twenty-two towns. And now Brunswick was represented in the person of Aaron Hinckley, a man of probity and influence, who had been a Judge of the Court of Sessions for Lincoln County, and repeatedly a selectman of Brunswick.

The Convention re-affirmed, in general, the list of grievances formerly adopted, affirmed that there were also other grievances, but that they could not "undertake to enumerate the multiplicity of them," and then, through a committee, prepared a petition to the General Court, and an address to the people, which were to be sent, together with the list of grievances, to the several towns and planta-

tions, for their consideration. These towns and plantations were also asked to take the votes of their citizens for and against separation, and to send the results to the adjourned Convention, and also to choose delegates to attend upon the adjourned Convention.

The adjournment was to the January following, 1787. Before it re-assembled the opposition to separation made itself heard in many ways. A protest from Machias, the leading town in a section always unfavorable to division, argued very strongly that the alleged grievances were only inconveniences incidental to all governments and States, and that relief would be more easily secured by maintaining the connection than by dissolving it. When the Convention came together again in January, 1787, it was found that of the ninety-three towns and plantations in the District only thirty-two had made returns of votes, and of the thirty-two, twenty-four were in favor of separation and eight opposed. The whole number of votes returned was nine hundred and seventy (970), of which six hundred and eighteen (618) were in favor of separation, and three hundred and fifty-two (352) were opposed.

The question whether the proposed petition for separation should be presented to the Legislature, was at first decided in the negative by the Convention, but after considerable heated argument the vote was reconsidered, and the committee were directed to use their discretion in the matter, and in their discretion the petition was presented the next year, but without effect. The Convention adjourned from January to the following September, and this adjournment was followed by several others, until finally only three members were present. One of the three was chosen president *pro tempore*, a second was made clerk, and the third offered a motion to adjourn; but as there was no one to second the motion the Convention dissolved without the usual formality.

After the conspicuous failure of the Portland Convention to accomplish the object for which it was called, and partly, perhaps, on account of the disturbed and depressed state of affairs in Massachusetts proper, culminating in what is known as Shay's Rebellion, the project of separation slumbered for some years, so far as public and general movements were concerned. It was still discussed, and after a few years made the subject of town votes and petitions and protests. These things were mere ripples, and there was no wave. In 1791 an address in favor of separation was put forth by the Senators and Representatives of the District, and this address was

read in the Brunswick town-meeting that year; after which the town voted in favor of separation, by a vote of 71 to 25. In 1792 Brunswick took another vote on the subject, and this time voted *against* separation by a vote of 61 to 16. In 1795 she again recorded her vote against the project, 35 to 4. In 1795 she continued of the same mind, by a vote of 63 to 23, against separation; and this decision was re-affirmed in 1797. This is a sample of what was going on in the way of voting, with varied results, in many of the towns in the District. In 1803 sixty-four towns petitioned the General Court in favor of separation, and yet of the votes taken that year three-fourths were opposed to separation.

Without delaying longer upon the intervening years, I will come to the year 1816, which witnessed another general and important movement upon the subject. When the General Court assembled in January of that year, petitions began, as usual, to be received from towns and individuals in the District of Maine, praying for separation. These petitions were referred to a committee of the two Houses, of which Harrison Gray Otis was chairman. This committee reported a resolve to the Senate, February 3d, requiring the citizens of the District of Maine to give in their written votes at town-meetings to be held for the purpose May 20th, upon the following question, viz.: Shall the Legislature be requested to give its consent to a separation of the District of Maine from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and that the said District may be erected into a new State?

This resolution was adopted by the Senate, February 6th, and by the House in concurrence, February 9th.

On the 16th of February the same committee reported the number of applications that had been received during the session for the separation. According to this report forty-nine towns, with a population of 50,264, had sent petitions. From forty-seven other towns, with a population of 54,372, individuals to the number of 2,936 had petitioned. The population of the District was 228,705, and there were 210 towns, exclusive of plantations. It was estimated by the committee that the petitioners for separation embraced one-fifth of the legal voters of the District.

This action of the General Court appointing town meetings on the 20th of May to ascertain the sentiment of the District upon the question of separation, invested the subject with a new and greatly increased interest. As the time for voting drew near, Conventions

were held in various towns throughout the District, and these Conventions gave a formal voice to the differing opinions of the people. Such a Convention was held at Augusta, May 2d, composed of delegates from Lincoln, Kennebec, and Somerset Counties; and it resolved, "that the period has arrived when the best interests of Maine would be promoted by a separation from Massachusetts proper, and that we will individually use all fair and honorable means to effect this object." This Convention at Augusta was characterized by a discontented correspondent of the *Columbian Centinel* as a caucus of office holders, office seekers, and their friends.

A Convention assembled at Warren voted that it is inexpedient to adopt any measures with a view to separation.

The town of Nobleborough had two Conventions on successive days. The first, May 7th, with an attendance of 200, endorsed the report and action of the Augusta Convention in favor of separation. The second, May 8th, took the opposite view. The concourse was so numerous that the votes against separation were not counted: the votes in favor were 38. This Convention resolved, "That the separation of Maine from Massachusetts at the present time is altogether inexpedient, and would be extremely injurious to the best interests of the people."

Amid these diversities of opinion and utterance the town meetings of May 20th were held. The town of Brunswick voted against separation by a majority of 22, but in this vote Brunswick did not reflect the sentiment of the District. It was reported to the General Court, June 13th, by the committee in charge of the business, that there were 10,584 votes in favor of separation and 6,491 against, while the whole number of qualified voters in the towns which furnished the returns was 37,938. It seemed to the committee an obvious inference, from a comparison of the number of votes cast with the whole number of voters, that the great majority of the people in the District were in a state of indifference in relation to the question. But, as there was a clear majority of the votes cast in favor of separation, and to remove any sense of injustice or ground of complaint from the friends of the measure, the committee reported a Bill which provided for giving the consent of Massachusetts to the separation of the District and its erection into an independent State if the people of Maine should consent to the conditions prescribed in the act. This Bill was necessarily long, and was carefully drawn to provide for the division of the public lands and other

property of the Commonwealth, for the division of the public debt, for the validity of privileges and contracts, and for the due administration of justice until the laws of the new State should be in active operation. Especially it provided that, in town-meetings held on the first Monday of September following, the inhabitants of the several towns, districts, and plantations in the District of Maine should give in their written votes on the question, "Is it expedient that the District of Maine shall be separated from Massachusetts and become an independent State?" and that at the same meetings they should elect delegates to a general Convention. The said Convention, composed of delegates from the several towns of the District, was to assemble on the last Monday of September at the meeting-house near the college in Brunswick to receive and count the votes on the question of separation; and if it should appear that a majority of *five to four* at least of the votes returned were in favor of the District's becoming an independent State, the Convention was to proceed to form a constitution or frame of government for the said new State, and to determine the style and title of the same.

It was provided in this Bill that all the public lands in Maine should be equally divided between Massachusetts and Maine, and that the part belonging to Massachusetts should be free from taxation. This condition seems to have been very distasteful to some, at least, of the citizens of Maine. The *Portland Gazette* spoke as follows concerning it: "It is well known that the statesmen who made the report are all citizens of Massachusetts proper, and that the western part of the State dictated their own terms. They are such as appear, even to many who have been in favor of separation, as altogether inadmissible. It would be to raise the value of an immense tract of land at the expense of Maine for the benefit of Massachusetts proper. There has been no example of a similar bargain, nor indeed as we know of, one State's permitting another to hold a large tract of land within its limits."

Another utterance of like purport came from the eastern part of the District. On the evening of the 22d of June, a meeting of gentlemen from the counties of Lincoln, Hancock, Washington, and Penobscot assembled at Castine, and after discussing the Act and the terms of separation, resolved, with only one dissenting voice, "That the terms imposed in the Act passed in the Legislature of Massachusetts, and acceded to by the Senators and by a majority of the Representatives of the District of Maine, providing for the

separation of Maine from Massachusetts and the erection of the same into a separate and independent State, are incompatible with the interest, and highly derogatory to the honor of Maine."

This dissatisfaction with the terms of the Separation Bill was taken advantage of by the opponents of separation, as a means of increasing the *negative* vote at the approaching town-meetings. They made a *handle* of these terms, as one writer expressed it, in order to prejudice those who had not had an opportunity to attend to the subject, against a separation. Considerable satisfaction was expressed, therefore, when, at a Convention of York County, held at Alfred on the 5th of August, the Hon. George Thacher of Biddeford, himself an opponent of separation, said, concerning the terms of separation, that "they were such that a shadow of objection could not lie against them. They were altogether equitable and liberal—they were extremely generous and honorable,—no man who knew anything about the matter could lisp a syllable against them."

A Convention was also held at the meeting-house in Brunswick, on the 1st of August, composed of delegates from a great number of towns in Cumberland, Oxford, Lincoln, and Kennebec Counties, to consider the important question. This Convention prepared for circulation a statistical exhibit, founded upon public documents, showing the financial loss to the District and the great increase of taxation involved in a separation. It is to be observed that though, in general, the Democrats favored separation and the Federalists opposed it, yet the division of sentiment by no means coincided with the party lines.

And so with Conventions, reports, and addresses representing both sides of the question, the first Monday of September drew near, and passed, on which the several towns in the District received the votes of their citizens on the momentous question and chose delegates to the Brunswick Convention. Brunswick voted against separation by a majority of 51 (144 to 93), and chose Robert D. Dunning, Joseph McKeen, and Jonathan Page as delegates to the Convention. Harpswell threw only two votes in favor of separation and eighty-seven against, and chose Rev. Samuel Eaton as delegate to the Convention. Topsham also, contrary to her previous action on several occasions, voted against separation by a vote of 86 to 31; and chose Benjamin Hasey delegate to the Convention.

The Convention assembled at Brunswick according to appointment, on Monday, the 30th day of September, in the meeting-house

near the college. This meeting-house stood on the site of the present Congregational church. It was built in 1806, and in 1845 was taken down for the erection of the present structure. The delegates came together at two o'clock, those in favor of separation having previously held a caucus to select their candidates for officers. It was evident from the outset that the Convention was practically in the hands of those who were favorable to separation, and among them the controlling spirit was Mr. John Holmes of Alfred. He was a man of great determination and force, and with considerable experience in public affairs, being at the time a Senator from the District in the General Court, where he had been an outspoken and zealous advocate of division.

Upon the nomination of Mr. Holmes, Mr. William Widgery of Portland called the Convention to order and acted as temporary chairman. A committee of eight gentlemen was appointed to examine the credentials of the delegates and report the duly accredited members of the Convention, after which the Convention adjourned to the next day. The next morning, October 1st, the committee reported the names of one hundred and ninety-five (195) properly chosen and certified delegates, representing one hundred and thirty-seven (137) towns. The Convention then proceeded to complete its organization by electing Hon. William King, of Bath, as President, and Samuel K. Whiting, Esq., not a delegate, as Secretary. A committee was appointed to request the attendance of President Appleton of Bowdoin College, to open the proceedings with prayer. In acceding to their request President Appleton asked for Divine guidance in the affairs of the Convention, "to prevent animosity and strife from predominating, and that wisdom instead of cunning intrigue should be their guide; so that the proceedings should allay party spirit, and give to the people universal satisfaction."

The temper of the Convention soon made it evident that party spirit ran high, and that "cunning intrigue" was likely to direct the proceedings quite as much as wisdom. The principal business transacted on the second day was the appointment of a committee to count and declare the votes on the question of separation. This committee, of which Mr. John Holmes was chairman, consisted of thirteen gentlemen, nine of whom were in favor of separation, and four opposed. This inequality in the representation of the two parties on the committee occasioned some spirited protests on the

part of the minority, especially as one of the four appointed to represent the minority, Mr. Dummer Sewall, of Bath, was deaf, and could not, therefore, "be expert to do business or correct mistakes." Finally, as a sort of compromise, to guard against any possible dishonesty on the part of the committee, a resolution, offered by Mr. Josiah Stebbins of Alna,—who supported it in part by a reference to the petition in the Lord's Prayer, "Lead us not into temptation"—was adopted, providing that the votes should be announced in open Convention and recorded by the secretary, before being delivered to the committee. Even this was not entirely satisfactory to the opposition, and a motion was accordingly made that two more gentlemen should be added to the committee. This motion was violently opposed by several gentlemen; among them Mr. Widgery of Portland, who said: "We hear from *one* side that men are to be judged by their actions, and not by their professions; while another talks about stolen goods; and keeps *shrugging* and saying actions speak louder than words! Now what do these men want? Why, they would be contented for us to yield to them in *one* thing, and as soon as we, for peace sake, have given them one privilege they will ask for another; and yet actions speak louder than words. They asked to have the returns announced publicly, and we gave them the privilege. Now they ask for an addition to the committee; and if we grant that request they will ask something else. No! it will not do; we must put down these things and go on as we please." And this Napoleonic programme of Mr. Widgery's was carried out.

The next question to provoke controversy arose on the fourth day of the Convention, October 3d, and had reference to the counting of the votes of the town of Lyman, in York County. That town had thrown a heavy majority against separation, the vote being 6 for, and 179 against. Such a vote was naturally distasteful to the majority of the Convention, and a pretext was not wanting for throwing it out. A remonstrance was presented to the Convention, signed by John Low, Jr., and others, protesting against the proceedings of the town of Lyman because, on the question of separation, the voters were *polled* before their written votes were received. John Low was the delegate from Lyman, presumably the father of John Low, Jr., the first signer of the remonstrance, and he arose in the Convention and defended the action of his town, affirming that "nothing was intended or done to discourage men

from acting their principles without division, as stated in the remonstrance, but all was peace and harmony through the day." The question was finally referred to the committee appointed to count and declare the votes. But the attitude of John Low and John Low, Jr., is interesting as showing that the party line on the question of separation ran through families, setting the son against the father.

On the seventh day of the Convention, Monday, October 7th, the committee appointed to count the votes reported the result of its labors through its chairman, Mr. Holmes. This report had been eagerly awaited, and it contained matter which provoked earnest and even acrimonious debate. With regard to the memorial from John Low, Jr., and the votes of the town of Lyman, which had been specially referred to the committee, the report announced the following decision:

> It appears to your committee that, after the meeting (at Lyman) was opened, a motion was regularly made, put, and carried that the voters be polled, that though this course was objected to, it was carried into effect. Thus, in a town where a majority was decidedly against the separation, were its advocates designated and pointed out before they were allowed to carry their written votes. Thus were a portion of citizens deprived of the privilege of exhibiting their opinions without inspection, and subjected to disapprobation by a *vindictive* majority. Your committee have, therefore, rejected the return from the town of Lyman.

The opposition to this decision of the committee immediately expressed itself in the motion of Mr. Lathrop Lewis, of Gorham, that the report of the committee be so far amended as to restore the votes of Lyman to the list. In supporting this motion Mr. Low, the delegate, again insisted that there was no *vindictive* majority at the Lyman meeting, and that the business was conducted with the utmost harmony.

Mr. Holmes rather loftily refused to answer Mr. Low's observations, because he regarded them as made with a spirit of contention, and were, therefore, beneath his notice. He reiterated his opinion, however, that the votes ought to be rejected. The debate was continued with a good deal of warmth, the motion to count the votes of Lyman being advocated by Messrs. Ladd of Minot, Stebbins of Alna, Whitman of Portland, and Thacher of Warren; the only speakers in opposition being Messrs. Holmes of Alfred, and Widgery of Portland. The question was finally decided by a yea and nay vote, and the Lyman votes were rejected by a vote of 97 to 80. Messrs. Dunning and McKeen of Brunswick, Eaton of Harpswell,

and Hasey of Topsham voted *nay* with the minority; and Mr. Page of Brunswick voted *yes*.

Upon this point, therefore, the committee were sustained by a majority of the Convention. But the most important and most questionable part of the report was that which dealt with the returns of the votes on the question of separation. The Bill under which the Convention was assembled provided that if it was found that a majority of five to four at least of the votes returned were in favor of separation, then the Convention should proceed to form a Constitution for the new State. It was evidently the intention of the framers of the Bill and of the Legislature that enacted it, that five-ninths of the votes casts should be in favor of separation. No other interpretation had been entertained or even hinted at before the assembling of the Convention. But of the votes that were cast there were not five-ninths in the affirmative. It became necessary, therefore, for the committee, or its chairman, Mr. Holmes, who was zealous, not to say headstrong, for separation, to devise some new interpretation by which the Convention should appear to be authorized to proceed in the preparation of a constitution. This new interpretation, and the sophistry by which it was maintained, must be exhibited in the language of the committee. After reciting the provision that a majority of five to four at least of the votes returned must be in favor of separation, the report continues as follows:

> The meaning of the word *majority* is doubtful. This word is sometimes understood to mean the excess of one number over another, and sometimes the excess over half the whole number. Exclude the words "a majority of" in the 2d and 3d sections of the Act, and no doubt remains but five yeas to four nays, or five-ninths of the votes returned would be requisite. But your committee do not feel authorized to say that these words have no meaning. . . . . .
>
> It appears to have been the intention that the expediency of separation should have been decided by an assembly of men charged with the most solemn duties; meaning, no doubt, a Convention of delegates chosen by the towns: these delegates would have been in proportion to the number of majorities in each corporation, and not in proportion to the aggregate majority of all the votes returned. It is understood that the Bill, as first reported to the Legislature, authorized the delegates to decide on the expediency. It was, however, so far amended as that on the day for the choice of delegates the inhabitants of the towns, districts, and plantations qualified to vote for Senators were to give in their written votes on the question proposed in the Act, and a majority of five to four required. As the delegates must be apportioned according to the respective majorities of their towns; so on the question of separation the majority of *yeas* in the towns and plantations in favor must be to the majority of *nays* in those opposed, as five to four of the votes returned.

The corporate majorities of *yeas* must be placed in one column and those of the *nays* in the other and each added. Then, as five is to four, so is the aggregate majority of *yeas* in the towns and plantations in favor to the aggregate majority of *nays* in those opposed. In this way only can your committee give meaning to the word *majority* as contained in the 2d and 3d sections of the Act.

The whole number of votes returned is, .	23,316
The *yeas* are, ...	11,969
The *nays* are, ...	10,349
The whole aggregate majority of *yeas* in the towns and plantations in favor is, .	6,031
The whole aggregate majority of *nays* in the towns and plantations opposed is, .	4,409

Then as five is to four so is 6,031 to 4,825, the nays required. But the majority of *nays* is 4,409 only.

Hence it appears that, upon this construction of the Act, there is a majority of five to four at least of the votes returned in favor of the said District's becoming an independent State.

Your committee are aware that it has been the popular construction that five-ninths of the votes returned are necessary; but they apprehend that this construction has prevailed rather from the use of an expression not contained in the Act, than from any necessary import of the words themselves. Where this Act is doubtful it should receive such an interpretation as will best comport with the public will. This will has often been decidedly and unequivocally expressed. . . . . It is expedient, therefore, that this Convention should give such a construction to the Act as shall best effectuate the hopes, and gratify the expectations of the people of Maine.

The committee appended to its report certain resolutions which were recommended for adoption; and among them that several committees should be appointed for the following purposes: first, to apply to the Legislature of Massachusetts to give its consent that the District of Maine should be a separate State; second, to report a constitution for the Commonwealth of Maine; and third, to apply to Congress for the admission of Maine into the Union.

This report, and these recommendations of the committee, provoked bitter opposition, and became the subject of prolonged debate. One of the delegates from Freeport, Mr. Josiah W. Mitchell, opened the campaign against the report by remarking, among other things, that he should consider the acceptance of the report "dangerous to our liberties, and attended with many evils which might otherwise be avoided. . . Any school-boy in Maine might easily prove our dishonesty should we accept this report. I cannot, and I trust *no* delegate actuated by a due sense of his duty can, return home to give any honest answer to his constituents without manfully giving his negative vote on the acceptance of this report."

Mr. Nathan Weston, Jr., a delegate from Augusta, favored the acceptance of the report. He confessed that the committee's con-

struction of the Bill appeared novel to him at first, but on further consideration it seemed plausible, and he felt that Massachusetts was virtually pledged to give her consent whenever a majority of the people of Maine desired it. He thought it was not always expedient to adhere rigidly to severe, abstract principles.

One of the Portland delegates, Mr. Nicholas Emery, while admitting that the committee had executed their difficult task with ability, observed, very justly, that "*ingenuity* may defeat its object by the manner in which it is displayed on paper; it is not sufficient that the report is *ingenious*, it must also be *true*." He trusted that the members of the Convention had too much pride "to consent that twenty years hence their children should be able to rise and, turning to the records of this Convention, declare, *at such a time you told a deliberate lie*."

The debate was continued by speeches from Mr. John Davis, of Augusta, and Mr. Albion K. Parris, of Paris, in favor of the report, and from Mr. Isaac Adams, of Portland, against it. Then Mr. John Holmes, of Alfred, the chairman of the committee, and the originator of the report, rose to defend it. "I, sir," he said, "am not at all ashamed of the report, but consider it the work of candor and deliberation. The *people* of Maine, I know, are not afraid of being cheated by the Convention; although gentlemen may rage and oppose our independence, yet we are traveling swiftly to that pitch of honor and prosperity as soon to rank ourselves among our sister states. The construction of the Act is a most noble one, although gentlemen say it was not so considered; but where is there any room to oppose the method of placing the majority of *yeas* against the majority of *nays* and reckoning the five to four from the majorities? Gentlemen may say this is a deliberate lie; but I say *this report is true as God himself is true*." Hon. Mr. Holmes was called to order by several gentlemen, but he insisted that he was as much in order as Mr. Emery had been in his speech, and that as the *lie* had been thrown at him he would throw it back again. In concluding his speech Mr. Holmes remarked: "Our report is correct, and when we are accused of falsehood I shall treat the accuser with sentiments very different from those of profound respect. The people *must* and *will* be separated notwithstanding office-holders may object, and the gentleman from Portland may think he has made himself popular by his *maiden speech*."

This vigorous and caustic speech of Mr. Holmes did not intimi-

date the opposition, and the debate continued with unflagging earnestness, but with little that was either new or notable, until after the usual dinner hour. Then Mr. William Ladd, of Minot, having tried in vain to secure an adjournment for dinner, addressed the Convention, saying among other things the following:

The Convention seems determined to deprive me of my dinner, yet I feel disposed to speak my mind with freedom. I am a sailor; was bred a sailor, and continued in this employment till "free trade and sailors' rights drove me ashore." Consequently I am more acquainted with the noise and tumults of the ocean, than with a deliberative assembly; for this is the first body of that description I ever addressed. But, sir, I confess that I cannot understand this report; I cannot catch the points of it. I might as well chase a mosquito into the Pacific ocean. I wish the report was made as plain as a pikestaff, and as straight as a handspike and easy of demonstration to every hand before the mast. There is something that appears like deception in this work. It looks like a number of serpents laying with one's head to the other's tail; if you attempt to take hold of one's tail the other is ready to bite you; and even if you change sides the effect is the same. . . . . It reminds me of the philosophers of the dark ages who decreed there was no motion, while their tongues moved incessantly to prove it. We now look on them and their arguments with contempt. But a set of modern philosophers, by jumbling logic with mathematics, come to a result still more contemptible. They are not to be argued against. If I hold in my hand a straight wire, can I make it straighter by handling it? Sir, the motives of the majority are to be found in the deception of the human heart. The heart is deceitful above all things, and I might add, desperately wicked.

Here Mr. Holmes called the speaker to order for using unparliamentary language. Of course the sailor from Minot did not feel like arguing the parliamentary point with the senator from Alfred, but that he was not completely crushed is shown by some sentences in his peroration. "Our conduct," he said, "shows a rottenness in the very bud, which, like original sin, will stick to posterity. If this Convention proceed to usurpation, their acts will be resisted. Now while pale famine is treading on the heels of pestilence and war, why add the demon of discord to the train?"

Whether it was Mr. Ladd's allusion to "pale famine," or the result of some more simple and natural impulse, the Convention thought it wise upon the completion of Mr. Ladd's speech to adjourn for dinner. When the Convention re-assembled it was evident that the intermission had not allayed the strong feeling that existed during the forenoon. Vigorous speeches were made by Messrs. Widgery, Whitman, and Hall of Portland, and by Mr. Holmes.

Mr. Whitman, speaking against the report, said:

A calculation is made by which we are enabled to make out that five-ninths are obtained. A majority of majorities is taken instead of a majority. The Leg-

islature would be made to say in effect that if a majority of the majorities in the towns and plantations heard from should be a majority of five to four of all the votes returned, then you may proceed. This is of itself an absurdity, besides being nothing like the obvious import of the language used by the Legislature. The language used by the Legislature is a majority of five to four of all the votes returned. A majority of majorities is not a majority of all the votes returned. It is well known to everybody, and by no one better than a gentleman here (referring to Mr. Holmes) that this was not the intention of the Legislature. It was opposed by the opposers of separation that a bare majority should decide a matter of such importance. This gentleman (Mr. Holmes) readily acceded to this and proposed that a majority of five to four should decide the affair of separation. Did he then believe that any other than the "popular construction" was to be affixed to these expressions? Did any other man ever believe that any other sense would be affixed, until it was found that the "popular construction" would not answer the purpose? One gentleman (Mr. Widgery) has remarked that as five is the majority of one more than four, so if there is a bare majority it is a majority of five to four of the votes returned, and that he has as good right to construe the Act *his way* as any other man. He also took occasion to say that conscience has nothing to do with these things. I have no right to doubt *his sincerity in this particular;* but my desire to God is, that our constituents may not be of the same opinion.

With such a sensible and wholesome statement of the case as this we can afford to let the rest of the discussion pass without special notice, and come at once to the vote of the Convention on the acceptance of the report. The question was taken by *yeas* and *nays*, and was decided, as was doubtless expected, in the affirmative; the *yeas* were 103, the *nays* 84. One of the Brunswick delegates, Mr. Page, voted *yes;* Messrs. Dunning and McKeen voted *no*, as did also Mr. Eaton of Harpswell, and Mr. Hasey of Topsham.

On the ninth and last day of the Convention a Protest was presented and read, signed by seventy-one of the minority, among whom were Messrs. Dunning, McKeen, and Eaton. This paper, which was a dignified and forcible statement of fact and opinion, protested:

1st. Against the separation of Maine from the existing government, by any means whatever, without the consent of the people, which consent had not been given according to the terms of the Separation Act.

2d. Against the reference of the subject to the General Court as proposed.

3d. Against the proposed application to Congress for the admission of Maine to the Union.

4th. Against the report, as indecorous; as not expressed in

terms suitable to the respect which this Convention owes itself, nor to the honor due to the Legislature.

The Protest closes with these words:

> Impressed with the presence of Him who knows our motives, and will judge them, we declare that we offer this protest, not from a wish to discountenance a faithful and liberal discharge by this Convention of all the duties confided to them; but from a conscientious belief that the measures against which we protest are mistaken in principle, and dangerous in their tendency; and, if effectuated, will be subversive of the rights and destructive to the liberties of the citizens. And we request that this dissent may be entered on the journal, and remain a witness for us, that we seasonably and solemnly give our voice and offer our reasons against them.

A committee was then appointed, consisting of thirty-five gentlemen from the several counties of the District, with Mr. Holmes as chairman, to form a constitution, and report at an adjourned meeting of the Convention. Committees were also appointed to apply to the General Court for its consent to the separation; and to apply to Congress for the admission of Maine to the Union.

The Convention then adjourned to the third Tuesday of December following, at the same place. Before the time for the adjourned meeting came round, however, the General Court had met, and had taken action upon the proceedings of the Convention, terminating its official and organic existence. The proceedings of the Convention, including the Protest of the minority, were presented to the General Court, November 20th, read in both Houses, and referred to the Joint Committee, of which Mr. Harrison G. Otis was chairman. In the meantime remonstrances were received from thirty-two towns in Maine, protesting against the action of the Brunswick Convention, and against separation. On the 3d of December the Joint Committee made their report to the General Court, in the course of which they said:

> The committee have no hesitation in expressing their full conviction that the Convention have misconstrued the Act by which their powers were defined; that the word "majority" refers to the majority of votes returned, and not to the aggregate of local and municipal majorities; that this is a self-evident position resulting from a perusal of the Act, and not susceptible of illustration or contravention by any argument; that of consequence, the contingency provided by the Act as prerequisite to the formation of a constitution, and as a condition of the consent of this Legislature to the separation of Maine, has not occurred, and that the powers of said Convention are at an end.

The report throughout was a candid and just statement of the case, and concluded by recommending the adoption of two resolutions:

1st. That the contingency upon which the consent of Massachusetts was to be given for the separation of the District of Maine has not happened; and that the powers of the Brunswick Convention to take any measures tending to that event have ceased.

2d. That it is not expedient for the present General Court to adopt any further measures in regard to the separation of the District of Maine.

The Report and the Resolutions passed both the Senate and House of Representatives without debate; and the Brunswick Convention became a thing of interesting if not altogether creditable history.

BRUNSWICK AT THE TIME OF ITS INCORPORATION.

HENRY W. WHEELER.

For us who live to-day in this pleasant, thriving village, with its large and varied business interests, its beautiful streets and handsome buildings, and amid all the comforts and luxuries of modern civilized life, it is difficult to form an adequate conception of the hard conditions which surrounded that little band of early settlers who were residents of the town at the time of its incorporation. I shall endeavor, in what follows, to show who those residents were, and to give an account, so far as I am able, of their character, their mode of life, the difficulties under which they labored, and the hardships which they endured.

Previous to the incorporation of the town in 1739, there had been two attempts to establish a permanent settlement upon the Pejepscot territory, one in 1628 and the other in 1714. The first attempt began in 1628, at which time Thomas Purchase settled at Pejepscot. In 1632 he and George Way, of Dorchester, England, procured a patent of what is known as the Pejepscot Tract, of which the present town of Brunswick forms a part. Between 1632 and 1675, when King Phillip's war commenced, quite a settlement was established here and on the Sagadahock.* The war, which lasted three years, drove many of the settlers away. Some few remained, and, after peace was declared, it is probable that others came in. But peace was not of long duration, and, during King William's war, 1688 to 1699, the settlement was completely broken up and the settlers driven off. Four years later Queen Anne's war commenced and lasted until 1713, and no renewed attempts at a settlement were made until after that time.

In 1714, a year after peace had been declared, the Pejepscot Tract was purchased by Adam Winthrop, Stephen Minot, Thomas Hutchinson, Oliver Noyes, John Ruck, David Jeffries, and John

*This name was applied to what is now the Kennebec river, between Merrymeeting bay and the ocean.

Watts, of Boston, and John Wentworth, of Portsmouth, N. H. These gentlemen constituted the company known as the Pejepscot Proprietors. They immediately laid out their territory into lots and took measures to encourage settlements upon them. Few settlers came in at first, owing to the disturbed state of the Province consequent upon the long-continued troubles with the Indians. In a few years, however, they came in quite rapidly and, in 1717, Brunswick was incorporated as a *township*. This gave the settlers municipal rights similar to those of plantations at the present time. They held town meetings, elected town officers, and raised money for the general welfare, but they were not entitled to take any part in the affairs of the commonwealth. Between that time and 1722 forty-one persons, most of whom were heads of families, are known to have settled in Brunswick, and there were doubtless others whose names have not been preserved.

In 1722 the fourth Indian, or Lovewell's, war commenced, and the situation of the settlers here became so disagreeable that they nearly all abandoned their homes. Those who are known to have remained are Andrew Dunning, William Woodside, Ebenezer Stanwood, and David Giveen, with their sons, and John Minot, William Simpson, Wymond Bradbury, and James McFarland. Most of these had garrison houses, and were enabled successfully to resist the attacks of the Indians. The war closed in 1726, but it was not until about 1730 that the settlement was renewed.

In 1735 the inhabitants, who then numbered upwards of thirty families, petitioned the General Court for an Act of Incorporation as a town, and such an act was passed, but, as it failed to receive the signature of the Governor, it did not take effect. Another petition for incorporation was presented in 1737, and at the next session of the General Court, January 26, 1738, an Act of Incorporation was passed and received the approval of the Governor.

The date here given, January 26, 1738, was correct according to the Julian Calendar which was then in use. The legal year then began March 25th, so that January 26th was near the close of the year and not at the beginning. The Gregorian Calendar, which was subsequently adopted and is now in use, deducted eleven days from the Julian year, which practically placed the date eleven days ahead, and it also put the New Year back to January first, so that, according to our present method of reckoning time, the date of the incorporation was February 6, 1739.

There were at that time about forty families in town, and during the following year a considerable increase in the number of settlers took place. The first town meeting was held March 28, 1739, old style. At this meeting a full list of town officers was chosen, and an appropriation of £153, 15s. was voted for town expenses.

Mare* Point at the time of the incorporation was a part of North Yarmouth, but it was annexed to Brunswick in the fall of the same year.

The lots for the settlers were laid out in three sets, or divisions, which for convenience may be designated as the Central, the Middle Bay, and the New Meadows lots. They were, with a few exceptions, laid out long and narrow, in order to bring the houses of the settlers near together, and thus enable them to aid each other in case of an attack by the Indians.

The Central lots began near the falls and extended to Maquoit. The first ten lots were each twenty rods wide and of sufficient length to embrace within their limits about ninety-five acres each, exclusive of the twelve rod road which ran through the centre, dividing them into two parts. These lots, which extended from Mill Street to McKeen Street, are sometimes designated as the village lots. From the tenth lot to Maquoit the lots were wider and were laid out wholly on one side or the other of the twelve rod road, those on the west side being thirty rods wide and those on the east side forty rods wide, each embracing one hundred acres within its limits.

The Middle Bay lots were twenty-one in number, of various shapes, but each containing about one hundred acres.

The New Meadows lots, fifty-eight in number, began at what is now known as Prince's Point, which was lot number one, and continued in regular order up the New Meadows river nearly to Merry-meeting bay. Most of these lots were of a uniform width of thirty rods and of about two miles in length, and comprised one hundred acres each. A few of the lower lots were of different sizes and shapes, and the upper lots were shorter and varied in size from fifty-six to ninety-seven acres.

Besides these three divisions there were a few lots of different dimensions and value between Maquoit Landing and Bunganock.

The first settlers paid £5 each for their lots regardless of location.

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*This name is frequently misspelled "Mere." "Mare" is the spelling used in the Act of Incorporation and other old documents, and there are no good and sufficient reasons for changing the spelling to "Mere."

In 1737, however, the proprietors fixed the price of the central lots at £10, those at Middle Bay at £16, and those at New Meadows at £25. At this time great embarrassment was experienced in the Province for the want of money. The state of trade and of the currency was very much disordered, and great distress affected the whole community. In consideration of this fact the Pejepscot Proprietors agreed to receive their pay for lots in wood or timber, or in such farm products as could be spared.

A plan of Brunswick made in December, 1738, bearing the signature of Belcher Noyes, Clerk of the Pejepscot Proprietors, shows fifty buildings in the town at that time besides the fort and the meeting-house. The map was drawn about two months previous to the incorporation, and it is probable that it was done for the use and information of the General Court. There are, however, several inaccuracies in it which leads to the supposition that it was drawn from memory. But it is fair to assume that the number and location of the buildings, as shown upon the map, are substantially correct, and it is to be regretted that the names of the owners or occupants of the buildings are not given.

With the aid of various documents in the Pejepscot Collection, the records of the town, and such family traditions as I have gathered I am able to locate quite definitely and positively most of the inhabitants of the town at that time. In several instances, however, there are buildings shown upon the map of which I have no knowledge, and the records furnish the names of several citizens, the location of whose residences I cannot determine.

At the end of what is now Main Street, where two of the factory boarding houses are, stood Fort George, a large stone fort with a two-story dwelling inside, which was, at that time, occupied by Captain Benjamin Larrabee, who came from Portland, then Falmouth, in 1727, to assume command. The fort had been dismantled a short time previous to the incorporation, but Larrabee continued to live in it for some years. He was the agent of the Pejepscot Proprietors, a member of the first board of selectmen, and was otherwise prominent in town and church affairs until his death in 1748. He was a very worthy man, much beloved by those intimately acquainted with him, and, as a business man, was much respected for his integrity and faithfulness to various trusts. He was the ancestor of all the Brunswick Larrabees.

A little east of the fort, where is now a cottage at the top of the

hill leading to the bridge, was a small house owned and occupied by Wymond Bradbury, a boat-builder. He was one of the few settlers of 1717, who remained. His house was not a fortified house, but it was in close proximity to the fort and was fully under its protection.

Where Day's block now is, on the corner of Main and Mason Streets, was a two-story block house owned and occupied by James McFarland. It was built of hewn timber, and was forty feet long by twenty feet wide. McFarland was also one of the settlers of 1717. He owned fifty-six acres of land east of the twelve rod road, and one hundred and thirty-five acres on the west side. He married Mary Forsaith. He was killed by the Indians in 1742, at the age of sixty-eight years, while crossing the river at the Narrows in a canoe. His son John married Jane Lithgo, and lived somewhere in the vicinity of the present residence of Hon. Charles J. Gilman. He died only a few months after his father's death.

John Malcom, who came in 1728, lived about where Doctor Palmer now resides. As he came to Brunswick in a time of peace it is probable that his house was not fortified. He owned thirty-five acres on the east side of the road and sixty-eight acres on the west side. He died in 1753, and his property was appraised at £238–18–10.

Near the present town building, about where is the cottage occupied by Mrs. J. B. Stone, David Dunning had a strong timber garrison, or block house. It was two stories high, forty feet long and twenty-two feet wide. The second story projected over the first, and the walls had loop holes to enable the inmates to fire upon the Indians when necessity required. There was a tower on top from which teams could be watched on their way to and from the Merriconeag Marshes. David Dunning was the eldest son of Andrew Dunning who came from Ashburton, County of Devon, England, in 1717, and settled at Maquoit. Andrew Dunning was a man much respected for his integrity and uprightness of character. He died in 1736, leaving five sons, who were all born before he emigrated here. His son William is said to have settled in York. Andrew and Robert were killed by the Indians while crossing the Androscoggin river. James settled on the homestead. David bought four of the village lots, his estate comprising one hundred and forty-eight acres east of the twelve rod road and two hundred and twenty-five acres on the west side. He was a member of the first board of selectmen and was Representative to the General Court of Massachusetts in 1742 and 1743.

These five buildings and the fort were all the buildings within the present village limits. A little later, in 1747, it is said that there were but *two* buildings to be seen from the fort. All around, on both sides of the road, were dense woods with only here and there a piece of land under cultivation. Within the territory bounded now on the north by Pleasant Street, on the east by the eastern line of the mall, on the south by Noble Street, and on the west by Spring Street, was a swamp having for its outlet a brook which flowed northerly and emptied into the river where the cotton factory now stands.

About one hundred and twenty rods south of what is now McKeen Street, on the west side of the twelve rod road, lived Doctor William Spear, Brunswick's first physician.

A short distance beyond, in front of the old grave-yard which is still to be seen, stood the meeting-house. It was erected directly in the road as laid out, that is, within the twelve rods, but the traveled way was narrow and passed by the western end of the building. It was a large two-story unpainted building with a large porch on its eastern end. The east end of the building rested directly on the ground while the centre and west end, owing to the unevenness of the land, rested on stone supports. The dimensions of the building are not known, but it cost about £200. A part of the material used in its construction was sawed in Topsham, at a mill on the Cathance, and the remainder was brought in boats from North Yarmouth to Maquoit.

Nearly opposite the meeting-house, on the west side of the road, was a garrison house built by William and Robert Spear, and occupied by Robert. It consisted of a timber wall sixty or seventy feet in circumference and ten feet high, inside of which was a one-story gambrel-roofed house which faced east, and the back of which formed a part of the wall. Here Robert kept an inn for many years. Here also town meetings were held in cold weather. Very little is known about the Spears, except that they came to Brunswick shortly before the incorporation, and are supposed to have been grandsons of George Spear, of Braintree, who was made a freeman in 1644. They owned quite a large tract of land on the west side of the twelve rod road. Robert died in 1763, aged eighty-one years.

A short distance south of the meeting-house, on the east side of the road, lived the pastor, the Rev. Robert Rutherford. He was born in 1688, and was of Scottish descent. He received the degree of Master of Arts from Glasgow University in 1708. He was

ordained as a Presbyterian preacher in Scotland. He came to this country in 1709, and was the first Presbyterian clergyman in Maine. He was at Pemaquid with Colonel Dunbar, the celebrated surveyor of the king's woods in 1729. He came to Brunswick in 1735 and preached for seven years, but was not formally settled. In 1742 he went to Georgetown and, later, returned to Pemaquid, where he died in 1756. He was a man of very respectable literary attainments, and was noted for his earnestness and zeal, tempered with toleration. He was a man of exemplary character, and was held in reverence by his people.

Farther down, on the same side of the road was Ebenezer Stanwood, or Standwood, as he spelled his name. He was born in Ireland in 1695, and came to Brunswick in 1718. He was the ancestor of all the Stanwoods in this vicinity. The family is of English descent, but the parents of Ebenezer lived in Ireland at the time of his birth. He came to this country in company with the Woodsides. He owned two hundred acres of land on the east side of the twelve rod road. His house stood a short distance westerly from the present residence of Mr. Patrick McManus, near the creek, and near the ship-yard where Colonel James Dunning built vessels about 1830. The cellar is still to be seen. He was a Lieutenant in the Indian wars, and a selectman in 1743 and 1745. His sons at a later period were prominent in town affairs.

Adjoining Stanwood's land on the south was that of James Dunning, who lived in the house erected by his father, Andrew Dunning. It was on the east side and in close proximity to the twelve rod road. He kept one or two slaves who were originally owned by his father. His estate comprised one hundred and fifty acres on the east side of the road and a like quantity on the west side. He died in 1752 aged sixty-one years.

Nearly opposite Dunning, on the west side of the twelve rod road, on the knoll just this side Maquoit brook, lived Captain William Woodside, who came from England with his father, the Rev. James Woodside, in 1718. His father bought from the Pejepscot Proprietors, for sixty pounds, a quantity of land on either side of the road and "their dwelling house," called "Maquoit House," upon which he expended a considerable sum of money to make it secure against attacks from the Indians. The house was fortified with palisadoes and two large bastions. In this garrison the Rev. James Woodside lived with his sons William and James until 1723,

when he and James returned to England. William continued to live in the garrison until the close of Lovewell's war in 1726, when he built a house one hundred and thirty feet beyond the garrison toward the bay, which he occupied till the time of his death. He continued in command of the garrison until the reduction of Quebec in 1760. He bought, at an early date, from the original owner, Thomas Wharton, what is known as Wharton's Point, and subsequently, a lot of one hundred acres west of Maquoit Landing, and the old church lot adjoining it, making a total of six hundred and fifty-two acres. Esquire Woodside, as he was usually called, was the ancestor of all the Woodsides in this vicinity. He was an active, energetic man, of large, well built frame, though somewhat corpulent. He traded much with the Indians and, it is alleged, usually got the best of a bargain. He had numerous encounters with them but always managed to escape, and sometimes inflicted severe punishment upon those who attempted to molest him. The Indians generally stood in fear of him. He was with the expedition to Louisburg in 1750, and received a commission as Chaplain from Lord Loudown. He was twice married. His first wife was Ann Vincent, by whom he had four sons, James, Vincent, William, and Anthony, and five daughters, one of whom died in infancy. His first wife died December 1, 1745. He married for his second wife Jean Christy, of Boston, April 30, 1747, or at least their intention of marriage at that date is recorded. He died in 1773, aged seventy-five years. Concerning his son James I have been unable to obtain any definite information. About 1750, or a little later, Vincent built a house near the water on the farm now owned by Mr. Anthony F. Bradley. In 1754 or 1755 William built the house known as the Polly Woodside house, now occupied by Elder Hiram Campbell. Anthony lived on the homestead for some years after his father's death, subsequently building a house on or near the site of the garrison house.

Near Bunganock lived Samuel Woodward who, in 1734, bought one hundred acres of land, for which he paid £5 at the time of purchase, and agreed to build a suitable dwelling house on the lot and to clear and inhabit it by the last of the following May (1735), and to pay £13 additional or forfeit the £5 already paid. He was the progenitor of the families of that name now living in Brunswick.

On Mare Point was a garrison house occupied by John Minot. It stood on the high land just above the old barn on what is known as the Perkins farm, now owned by Mr. Frank Hill. It commanded

a view of Maquoit Bay and Flying Point opposite. The cellar is still to be seen. Near the water there was a store-house from which the inhabitants obtained their supplies. Judge Minot was a son of Stephen Minot, of Boston, one of the Pejepscot Proprietors. He came to Mare Point in 1730, when it was a part of North Yarmouth. He was appointed Magistrate and Chief Justice of the Court of Common Sessions under George II., about the year 1732. He was a useful citizen, and was always active in support of religious institutions. He was distinguished for the mildness of his manners, the benevolence of his disposition, and his anxiety to promote the peace and happiness of all around him. His courteous manners won for him the love of all, even of the Indians. It is related that once, when he was passing Mare Brook on his way home from Fort George, two Indians, who were concealed behind a tree, were just in the act of shooting him, when one of them recognized him and exclaimed: "Justice Minot! me no shoot him; he too good man." Not long after, however, this same Indian went to Minot and wanted some rum as a reward for having saved his life on that occasion. Judge Minot was in comfortable circumstances and was one of the very few in Brunswick who owned slaves.

At Middle Bay, near what is now known as New Wharf, lived William Simpson. His house stood a few rods north of the present Chamberlain house. He came from the southern part of Ireland with the Woodsides in 1718. He came alone, but subsequently returned to Ireland and brought back his wife and two daughters but left one son there. He had six sons born in America, all but two of whom settled in Sheepscot. Lewis and Josiah remained in Brunswick, the latter settling upon the homestead.

Adjoining Simpson's land on the east was that of Samuel Clark, who lived a short distance northerly from what is known as the Giveen homestead, now owned and occupied by Mr. Rufus Merrill. Clark and his wife were both born in Ireland, she being a daughter of Deacon David Giveen. On the knoll southerly from his house he and his father-in-law Giveen erected a garrison house, the cellar of which is still to be discerned. Mr. Clark was at one time a deacon in the church.

A short distance east from Clark's lived Deacon David Giveen, the ancestor of all the Giveens and Givens in this vicinity. He came with his wife and three sons from Coleraine, County of Lon-

donderry, Ireland, in 1718 with the Woodsides. He settled first on Mare Point. In 1735 he bought three hundred acres at Middle Bay for £48, and soon after moved there. He was a deacon in the church and was held in considerable esteem. His house was situated near the shore, at the bottom of the field, on the farm which is now owned by Mr. Hubert Knox.

On the farm now owned by Mr. Wm. M. Pennell lived Hugh White, a son-in-law of David Giveen. His house stood on the point of land nearly half a mile south of Mr. Pennell's residence. He was drowned in 1750, and his wife afterwards married Dr. William Spear.

On the upper part of Harpswell Neck, within the limits of Brunswick, and near the present residence of Mr. Peter Woodward, lived Thomas Skolfield. His house was a garrison house. He came to town a short time before the incorporation. He was a son of Thomas Skolfield, of England, who was an officer in King William's army in 1690, when King James was driven from Ireland. He received a liberal education at Dublin University and, shortly after graduating, emigrated to America with the Orr family, one of whom (Mary) he married. His brother George came over with him and settled in Philadelphia. Thomas Skolfield was a very prominent man in town affairs. He was a member of the board of selectmen for nineteen years and a great part of the time he was its chairman. He was also town clerk for eleven years and, during the revolution, he was on many committees to draw up resolutions, affix prices of commodities sold in town, and so forth. He was the ancestor of the Brunswick and Harpswell Skolfields.

East of Skolfield's, and directly opposite, about midway of what is now known as Prince's Point lived Nathan Adams, and near the upper end of the Point was John Adams. They came to Brunswick in 1737. Besides several lots in Brunswick they owned land in Harpswell.

On the farm now owned by Deacon Gilbert Woodward lived Captain John Gatchell, the ancestor of all the Gatchells of this vicinity. He was of Welsh origin, came here from Spurwink* about 1736, and took up four of the New Meadows lots. His house was situated a short distance below Deacon Woodward's, and quite near the river. A little farther down, near the head of the inlet

*The ancient name for a part of Cape Elizabeth.

which makes up into the end of the point, he had a garrison house. It had two chimneys, the foundations of which remain. Captain Gatchell was a member of the first board of selectmen, and was also the first captain in the militia organization, which was instituted in 1750, and he served in that capacity for many years. He was a large, portly, venerable looking old gentleman, especially on the Sabbath when he wore his white wig and triangular hat.

On the lot next above Gatchell's lived Israel Mitchell, but the location of his house is not known.

Thomas Berry, who is said to have been a hatter, lived near the New Meadows river about one hundred rods above Captain Gatchell's.

On the next lot above, near what is now known as the Given house, lived George Coombs.

Peter Coombs, the father of George Coombs, lived on Howards' Point, below the Adams house. He afterwards moved to the Freeman Gross place near Harding's Station, where he remained till his death. He was of French descent, and came here from Newburyport about 1730. He brought with him four sons, George, Peter, Samuel, and Caleb. He was chosen at the first town meeting one of a committee to lay out highways, and he was a selectman in 1744. His brother John settled on Great Island, Harpswell, and was the ancestor of the family in Harpswell.

Jacob Eaton lived on the second lot above Peter Coombs, but the location of his house is not known. He purchased his lot in 1737. Nothing is positively known concerning him, but he was probably a son of Samuel Eaton, who came to Brunswick in 1717 from Salisbury, Mass., and who is said to have been the ancestor of all the Brunswick Eatons. (The Harpswell Eatons had a different ancestry.)

John Barrows lived next north of Eaton, on the lot now owned by Mr. John Larrabee. His house stood near the head of what is still known as Barrows' Cove. Very little is known concerning him. He was one of the constables elected at the first town meeting.

A short distance above Barrows was Deacon Samuel Hinkley, who came to Brunswick from Cape Cod in 1736, bringing with him six sons and four daughters. His house stood on the site of the present Adams House. In 1747, during the last Indian war, he and his son-in-law Thompson built a garrison house, which stood just north of the Adams House barn, the foundation of which is still

visible. Deacon Hinkley was one of the first board of selectmen, and was reëlected in several subsequent years. He represented the town in the General Court of Massachusetts in 1747, and was highly esteemed as a citizen. His son Seth was married and lived where Mr. Chapin Weston now lives. Shubael was also married and lived in Brunswick for nearly fifty years, when he moved to Bluehill, Maine. He probably lived with his father, as his name does not appear as a householder on the maps or records of the Pejepscot Proprietors. Edmund and Aaron also probably lived with their father at the time of the incorporation, as they were both single at that time, but were subsequently married and had homes of their own. Aaron became a man of considerable influence in town and church affairs. He was a selectman for five years, and was one of the Judges of the Court of Sessions of Lincoln County. He was a Congregationalist, and was very severe in his opposition to Presbyterianism. Samuel, Jr., was married and lived some distance above his father. There was also a son Isaac.

Captain James Thompson, who married a daughter of Deacon Hinkley, lived next above him, his house being nearly opposite the barn connected with the present Adams House, on the east side of the road. The cellar is still plainly discernible. Captain Thompson was a grandson of James Thompson, who early came to this country from Ireland and settled in York. He came here in 1738 from Biddeford. He was the first town treasurer, and was a member of the committee to lay out highways. He was the father of Brigadier Samuel Thompson.

His brother, Cornelius Thompson, who came at the same time, was his nearest neighbor on the north. His house, which was in existence only a few years ago, stood on the southwest side of the present road to Harding's Station, nearly opposite the Riding Park. The ruins are still to be seen. He was the ancestor of Weston Thompson, Esquire.

Next above Cornelius Thompson was Samuel Whitney, who bought lot number thirty-nine a short time previous to the incorporation. He lived quite near Cornelius Thompson, but on the other side of the present highway, and a little farther north. The highway was not then in existence, and Whitney and Thompson had a private way to the New Meadows river.

In the house now owned and occupied by Mr. Chapin Weston lived Seth Hinkley, eldest son of Deacon Samuel Hinkley. The

house was built by him, and is over one hundred and fifty years old. It is the oldest house in town. It is in a good state of preservation, and is well worth a visit, and visitors will receive a cordial welcome from Mr. Weston.

About sixty rods above Seth Hinkley, on the top of the hill, on the east side of the road, lived Benjamin Parker, who came to town just before the incorporation, and was one of the committee chosen at the first town meeting to lay out highways.

Next above Parker was John Whitney, who lived about twenty rods southwest from what is known as the Stephen Larrabee house, recently occupied by Mr. John Rideout.

Samuel Hinkley, Jr., lived on the next lot, his house being on the east side of the road.

Joseph Thompson lived on the second lot above Hinkley, on the western side of the road, and his brother, Benjamin Thompson, lived a few rods above him. They were cousins of Cornelius and Captain James Thompson.

In addition to those who have been named the following persons are known to have been residents of the town at the time of the incorporation: Jean Brown, James Howe, John McGregor, William Vincent, and Thomas Washburn. The latter lived somewhere at New Meadows.

Among those who came to Brunswick immediately after the incorporation may be mentioned James and John Jordan and Isaac Snow at New Meadows; Tobias Ham at Ham's Hill, and Joseph Smith just above him.

Nearly all of the settlers were poor, and often suffered for the necessities of life. They had to work hard for their living and dress in the plainest manner. Their chief employment was agriculture, and it was pursued under difficulties that would seem almost insurmountable to the farmers of the present day. Although the incorporation took place during a time of peace with the Indians, yet there was a constant feeling of insecurity. No one could tell how soon another war might break out. Even then the Indians would mingle with the inhabitants and were apt to take offense and revenge themselves by committing indiscriminate depredations. The only time the settlers could attend to their business without fear of molestation was in the winter when the Indians usually retired into the interior. At these times they employed themselves in getting lumber and firewood to the landings ready to be sent to Boston as

soon as the spring opened. In the summer they cultivated their fields, but always with their guns within easy reach.

It is said that the cattle were afraid of the Indians, and when they were feeding on the plains or in the woods, if they caught sight of Indians they would immediately run for home. The settlers availed themselves of this instinct of fear in their cattle, and when they were at work in their fields they would place their oxen between themselves and the woods for the purpose of having warning of the approach of Indians.

Their knowledge of farming was limited, and they had neither the time nor the inclination to experiment or seek out new principles to be applied to practical farming. They adhered obstinately to their prejudices. They did not believe in innovations. The son must plant just as many acres of corn as his father did before him, and that too "in the old of the moon"; and he must sow just as much rye to the acre, and get in his crops on the same day. They knew nothing of a rotation of crops, and the use and value of manures were not appreciated. They raised corn year after year on the same land till the soil became too poor, and then they sowed barley, or rye, or flax, and so on to beans.

Their farming utensils were very crude and consisted almost wholly of the axe, the plow, the spade, a clumsy wooden pitch fork, and now and then a harrow. These utensils were all home-made. Plows were made of wood, the mould board being sometimes plated over, in a rough manner, with pieces of tin or sheet iron. The handles were upright, and it required the strength of a powerful man to hold them. Harrows were made wholly of wood. Axes were made of wrought iron by the nearest blacksmith.

The culture of potatoes was introduced into New England by the Scotch-Irish in 1718, some of whom settled in Brunswick. Their method of cultivation was to break up the ground with the plow but not to harrow it. A large hole was then made by cutting out a piece of the sod the whole depth of the plowing. Into the bottom of this hole was thrown a scanty portion of seed, which lay far below the surface of the ground, over which was made an enormous hill which must receive considerable addition at hoeing. In this way, with double the necessary labor something like half a crop was raised.

It was the custom throughout New England, at that time, to pasture cattle, horses, sheep, and hogs in the woods, and in the larger towns a herdsman, and sometimes a shepherd, was employed

by the town to look after the cattle and sheep. There is no evidence that either a herdsman or a shepherd was employed in Brunswick, and it is not probable that there was enough live stock in town to warrant such employment. The proprietors, however, recognized the custom of providing a common pasturage, and when they laid out their territory into lots, they set apart one thousand acres for a town commonage, and there is little doubt that it was used for many years for pasturage for cattle, horses, and hogs. Sheep were, however, kept on the home lots for greater protection from wild beasts.

The Indian custom of setting fire to the underbrush in the woods in November, when the grass was withered and the leaves were dry, was kept up by the settlers for many years. The fire killed the young trees, but did not seriously injure the old ones, and it gave the grass a better chance to grow in the spring.

Almost the only hay that was cut and stacked for winter use was salt hay from the marshes, and it was not unfrequently the case that the cattle were obliged to browse in the woods to sustain life. The cultivation of forage grasses had not then been introduced.

There was no newly imported stock in this region at that time. The cattle were natives, derived from the Danish stock introduced into New England a century previous by Captain John Mason. They were large, coarse animals, of a uniformly light yellow color, and were well adapted to endure the severity of the climate and the hardships to which they were subjected. They were seldom or never housed at night during the summer and fall months. It was thought necessary to let them run at large till very late in the fall and to stand exposed to the severe cold of a winter's day "to toughen." Calves were taken from the cows at eight or ten weeks old without any previous care to introduce a substitute for milk, and turned out to hay or grass, to rend the air with their cries until starvation should teach them the use of such coarse food.

Every family raised sheep because their wool was needed from which to make clothing, but they raised no more than were needed for that purpose. There was no imported stock and the native sheep were coarse-wooled, long-legged, unprofitable animals.

Hogs were generally kept over two winters and at two and a half years old would generally weigh over two hundred pounds, but seldom weighed over three hundred.

No fruit was cultivated excepting a few seedling apples that were fit only for cider, and, in fact, they were raised only for that purpose.

A few of the settlers hunted in the wilderness and traded in furs and peltry, and, during the fishing season, the catching of salmon, shad, and sturgeon, was an occupation pursued by others, the Androscoggin, at that time, abounding in those fish. It was fortunate for those early settlers that game and fish were so abundant that the poorest need rarely lack for food; but, on the other hand, the fascination of the chase was destructive to habits of industry, and it doubtless led some to neglect the cultivation of their fields and to live in the hand-to-mouth way of the Indians.

The work of the women was scarcely less arduous than that of the men. They had large families and none of the labor-saving inventions of modern times. They not only had to perform the ordinary duties of a housewife, and to make all the articles of clothing worn by the family, but they had to card, and spin, and weave the wool and flax into cloth from which to make them. They also had to grind the rye and corn with which to prepare food for the table, for there was not a grist-mill in town, and the grain had to be ground by hand in a corn-mill which it required the united strength of two women to turn. The soap used in the family was made by the women, and it was a tedious and often vexatious process. When wool was to be braided the women collected in groups for the purpose, for it was a hard and laborious work.

Houses were built for convenience and without any attempt at architectural display. Little was expended for ornamentation, and there was not a painted house in town. The shape of the houses was that which generally prevailed throughout New England at that period. They were nearly square on the ground, two stories high in front, and one story in the rear, with a long sloping roof behind and a narrow roof in front. The frame was of massive timber; sometimes the walls were bricked between the studs to the height of the ceiling of the first story to keep out the cold. Large sheets of birch bark were also placed between the boarding and clapboarding as a further protection against cold. Chimneys were very large and were topped out quite near the ridgepole. Bricks were generally laid in clay.

The front door opened into an entry of rather small proportions, from which ascent was made to the garret generally by steep and winding stairs, but not infrequently by means of a ladder. On one side of the entry was the best room or parlor, used only for company and upon solemn occasions, and on the other side was the

kitchen. Back of the huge chimney, which was always in the centre of the house, was a sleeping-room for the parents. The rest of the family slept in the garret, which was seldom partitioned. Clothing was suspended from nails or wooden pegs driven into the rafters. The poor slept on beds of straw, but feather beds were quite generally used.

The walls of the parlor were wainscotted to a height of four or five feet and finished with coarse plaster above. Sometimes the panel work was carried up to the ceiling. In one corner was generally a buffet with shelves and panel door neatly moulded by hand. The windows had wooden shutters which were always closed excepting when there was company. The glass in the windows was quite small, seldom being larger than 7 by 9 inches. The floor was painted, if paint could be afforded, but there was not a carpet in town. The furniture consisted of a few wooden or flag-bottomed chairs, a table for the Bible, which contained the family register, and a bed for guests.

The kitchen was similar to the parlor except that the floor was unpainted, and was daily sanded with white sand; and the wainscotting was of a less elaborate character. The flooring boards were very wide, frequently sixteen to eighteen inches in width, and they were trenailed instead of nailed. The fire-place was from seven to nine feet between the jambs, and would receive a log which it took two men to handle. This was done with comparative ease, however, as the sills of the house were laid close to the ground and the logs were brought in on a good strong hand-sled. Very few cranes were then in use, fire-places being provided, instead, with a strong lug-pole* about four feet up, from which hung long iron trammels to hold the pots and kettles.

Ceilings were just high enough to clear a tall man's hat, for it was necessary to save all the heat possible. The heads of families had chairs, and sometimes there was a large settle with a solid wooden back higher than a person's head. This was usually drawn up before the open fire and the high back shielded the occupants from the cold air behind them. Blocks of wood were generally considered good enough for the children to sit upon. In extreme cold weather one or more coverlets would be taken from the beds and stretched across the room, forming a semi-circle completely shielded

* The name given to a wooden pole which was suspended from the top of the fire-place over the fire.

from the cold air which forced its way through doors and windows, and which the open fire was unable to warm sufficiently in the coldest weather. The coverlets which were used for this purpose, and also to cover the beds, were woven in two or more colors, generally blue and white, and often in somewhat artistic figures, and were considered very handsome.

On the wall were shelves upon which were displayed the pewter dishes which were in common use. If nicer dishes were owned they were carefully kept in the closet or chest for special occasions. Not infrequently the dining table was so constructed that, when not in use, the cover was tipped up and formed the back of a large and not uncomfortable chair in which one could sit before the fire.

Door hinges were of wrought iron, large, clumsy, and of curious construction. Latches were of wood, with a string running through a hole above, by means of which the latch could be raised from the outside. At night the latch-string of the outer door was pulled in and intruders were thus effectually locked out.

The kitchen was the living room. Here the good-wife cooked, and washed, and ironed, spun and wove. Here husband and wife and a bevy of little ones sat before the open fire on the long winter evenings, without books or papers, and generally without light, save that which shone forth from the blazing fire. Oil lamps had not then come into use and some of the poorer class did not even use candles to light them from room to room, a good pitch-pine knot furnishing them with sufficient light for that purpose, notwithstanding the black smoke it gave forth. These pine knots were commonly called candlewood, because they were substituted for candles. Great care had to be taken not to let the fire go out upon the hearth, for there were no matches in those days, and it was a deal of work to kindle a new fire with flint and tinder.

The only house in town that was in existence at the time of the incorporation is that now owned and occupied by Mr. Chapin Weston.

The food of the people was chiefly rye and Indian bread and hasty pudding and molasses. The dough for bread was mixed quite stiff, placed in pewter plates and stood up slantingly before the fire until baked through. No wheat flour could then be obtained, and there was little if any sugar, molasses being used to sweeten everything. A great deal of salt pork was used, and a favorite method of preparing it was to salt it in large pieces and then smoke it in the great kitchen chimney. These smoked sides were called "flitches of

bacon." They had very little fresh meat. When they had any it was suspended before the fire, and a child was set to watch it and turn it around from time to time so that it might be equally roasted on all sides; or, if the meat was to be boiled, it was put in an iron pot and hung over the flames. But salted meats and stewed beans constituted their chief hearty food. Game and fish, however, afforded an occasional variety.

There was no open store in town. Judge Minot had a storehouse near his residence at Mare Point from which the inhabitants procured their supplies of the necessities of life—rum and tobacco constituting, however, a large part of their purchases. These supplies were brought from Boston in a sloop which was owned by the Pejepscot Proprietors, and which plied regularly between Boston and Brunswick.

Among the articles supplied by Judge Minot was a cotton-and-linen cloth, the warp being of linen with cotton filling. This sold for sixpence per yard. Homespun cloth sold at sixpence per yard, and there was a cloth called Osnaburg, a coarse linen cloth which was originally imported from Osnaburg, in Germany. It was used for making pants, overalls, and jackets for laborers, and was an article of commerce up to about fifty years ago. It sold for fourpence per yard. Yarn hose sold at fourpence per pair. No flannels, or calicos, or ginghams, or goods of a finer texture were to be had.

All, both men and women, wore home-made garments. The noise of the spinning-wheel and the huge timber loom was rarely silenced. If linens were wanted the flax was sown, and weeded, and pulled, and rotted, and broken, and swingled, nearly a year being required before the fibre was ready for spinning, and bleaching, and making and wearing. If woolens were wanted, the sheep were sheared and the wool dyed and got in readiness, and months were often required before the completed articles were ready for wearing. No cotton had then been grown in the United States, and scarcely any was imported. Even as late as 1790 it was worth fifty cents a pound. Shirts, breeches, gowns, aprons, etc., were made in blue-and-white checks or stripes. In every kitchen a dye-pot stood near the great fire-place, and being covered it made a seat for a child. Indigo and a strong lye were used, and when stirred gave forth a very offensive odor.

The clothes of the men were generally of a light blue color. Knee breeches were generally worn, and they had not the advantage

of being kept up, as in modern times, by suspenders. They were not infrequently made of buckskin instead of cloth. Not one man in ten wore shoes. In winter buskins, which hauled up over the knees of the breeches were worn.

Generally the men, and even boys, wore their hair long and done up in a queue behind. The pride of caste was, however, even then maintained, and the cocked hat, the bush wig, the brass knee-buckles and shoe-buckles were the envied marks of distinction. The fashionable color of clothes among this class was drab. The coats were made with large cuffs reaching to the elbows, and low collars. The means of none were, however, sufficiently ample to enable them to live without employment, and the coats, wigs, and buckles were laid aside while pursuing their daily avocations, but were scrupulously worn on Sundays and at all public gatherings. Wigs were expensive articles of dress and had to be renewed about as often as the coat and breeches. Those who wore wigs had their heads shaved. In the larger towns children from seven years of age upwards had their heads shaved and wore wigs, but it is not probable that the custom prevailed in Brunswick.

The dress of the women was very plain, being made of coarse heavy material. Dresses were composed of but two breadths, one in front and one behind, with a small gore on each side. Skirts were very short and the waists short and full. The hair was generally combed on top of the head and confined with a large comb. The wives of a few were able to wear, upon special occasions, dresses of a finer texture and more elaborate style, and, with their towering head-dresses and high-heeled boots, were the envy of those less fortunate.

Many of the common articles now used by ladies were then unknown or very costly. Even pins were used sparingly. They were made by hand and were sold in rows of about a dozen pins, and cost two cents a row. They were larger and longer than the pins of to-day and the heads were made of twisted wire. Many of the poorer class used thorns to fasten their garments.

Nearly all travel and transportation was carried on by water. There were few roads in existence, and they were in poor condition. By land the inhabitants traveled on foot, or on horseback. There was not in town at that time a vehicle of any description that was drawn by horses. Whatever could not be carried in the hand, or over the shoulders, was deposited in saddle bags, which were made

capacious enough to hold produce of all kinds. A man and his wife and one or two children would ride on one horse. The man sat on a saddle, his wife behind him on a cushion, or "pillion" attached to the saddle, and the children in front. When a saddle could not be had a sheepskin or a bearskin was used instead. If quite a number of persons were going a long distance and there was but one horse for the party, two or three would ride a mile or two and then dismount and proceed on foot, leaving the horse tied by the wayside for those who followed on foot, and they, in their turn, would ride ahead an equal distance and leave the horse for those whom they had overtaken and passed. In winter the men quite frequently walked on snow-shoes, or "rackets" as they were then called.

With a few exceptions the early settlers were ignorant and superstitious. Many could not read and a large proportion could not write. This was particularly the case with the women, many of whom could not sign their names. Every worthless old woman was reputed a witch, and ghosts were frequently seen and much feared, children having heard their parents and others tell ghost stories during many an evening's conversation. Music was, however, a lullaby which calmed all their fears and expelled all thoughts of ghosts and goblins, and the singing of psalms, or stories in doggerel rhyme was a general practice.

But, while there was much ignorance among the common people, the prominent men of the town were fairly educated for the time in which they lived; and the inhabitants did what they could to provide for the education of their children. They were poor, and scattered, and they had but one teacher for the whole town, and he divided his time between the east end and the west end. There were no school-houses, and schools were generally held in some unoccupied, unfinished room in a private house. The year following the incorporation, Richard Flaherty, an Irishman, was employed as school-master for the town, and in 1740 the town paid James McCashlin £40 for his services as school-master.

While it is doubtful if there was a more truly religious feeling in the community than there is to-day, yet nearly everybody went to meeting, and at what a sacrifice to personal comfort! Very few lived near the meeting-house, and it was a long, hard walk for a majority of the citizens, particularly in winter, and then they were obliged to sit on hard seats, in a cold meeting-house, and listen to a sermon an hour long, and to prayers of nearly an equal

length. What wonder that they frequently fell asleep and had to be awakened by a rap from the deacon or a shout from the parson! After morning service was a lunch in the meeting-house and grog at the inn opposite, and then another two-hours' service, and then the long walk home. There might have been, there probably was, much pleasure in these Sunday meetings in the warm summer days, but to modern church-goers there seems something almost heroic in the sacrifices which these early settlers made to attend public worship in the winter.

Tradition does not tell us how they knew when it was time to go to church. There were few clocks, and probably no watches in town, and there was no bell on the meeting-house. In the neighboring town of North Yarmouth a man was hired "to beat a drum on the hill behind the meeting-house every Lord's day, morning and noon, to notify the time of public worship." Here, however, the settlers were too far away to hear either bell or drum, if there had been one, and it is probable that those who owned clocks sounded a horn or fired a gun to let their less fortunate neighbors know that it was time to start.

One of the customs of the times was to help along every undertaking by a deluge of ardent spirits. If a burial was to take place, a town committee to meet, or a barn to be raised, the men must be stimulated by rum to a performance of their duties. Flip and punch were the indispensable accompaniment of every social meeting, and of every enterprise. Flip was the favorite winter beverage. It was made of spruce beer, rum, molasses, and water. The beer was first drawn, into which a red-hot poker was plunged, the sweetening and water were then added. Half a pint of rum to a quart of beer was the usual proportion. People for miles around turned out to a "raising," and a merry time it was, where flip and cider flowed like water. "Huskings" brought together quite a party of neighbors, and the same favorite drinks did much to enliven a long autumn evening; and the "spinning bees" afforded a time for talk, and song, and riddles. In the winter, when lumbering was going on, the lumbermen liked above all things to match their great yellow oxen, yoke against yoke, in drawing loads as a test of strength. There were also wood chopping matches, and, in summer, reaping matches with the sickle. It was customary on certain days in the year to haul wood to the minister, in return for which he was expected to "stand treat," and a merry time was made of it. The set-

tlers were inclined to boisterous demonstrations, and the firing of guns was the common practice at weddings, at "merry-meetings," and on every special occasion of rejoicing, and not infrequently at funerals.

As in all new countries women were scarce. The demand was greater than the supply, and it was a very ugly and unattractive girl who passed the age of twenty without a husband. The slow process of making clothing and housekeeping linen, however, necessitated long courtships, and two years was about as soon as a betrothed daughter could get ready to be married. Courting was always done after nightfall and often extended till midnight, and it is probable that the mode of courtship which was prevalent throughout New England, known as "bundling," or "tarrying" was also practiced here. When a young man was accepted by a girl it was said that he "staid" with her. If he was refused he was "shabbed."

Marriages were occasions of great joy and merriment. There was no end of eating, and drinking, and dancing, and the festivities were sometimes kept up for several days. The early settlers were very fond of dancing and fiddlers were sure of employment at such times. If none could be obtained the dancing would go on just the same, some one of the company guiding the dancing by whistling or humming the tunes. Every newly married couple was expected to appear as such at meeting on the next Lord's day. The custom was termed "Coming out groom and bride."

In the larger towns of New England funerals were very expensive affairs, gloves, scarfs, and mourning rings being distributed in large numbers among the mourners, and to the minister and bearers; and wine, meats, and funeral cakes were freely provided. Here, however, there was no such display. Cakes and beer, or ardent spirits were doubtless provided, but the people were too poor to indulge in extravagance even at a funeral. The coffin was borne on a stretcher by four underbearers. A pall, covering the heads and shoulders of the underbearers, was held up at the corners by pall-bearers. When the remains were to be carried a long distance the underbearers and pall-bearers changed positions at convenient intervals.

At the time of the incorporation but few burials had been made in the grave-yard near the first meeting-house. It was then a comparatively new burying ground. Most of those who had died previous to that time were buried in a grave-yard which was situated

on the fort land, a little north of Mill Street. The ground is now covered by buildings, and nothing is left to mark the last resting place of Benjamin Larrabee and other early residents who were buried there.

There was probably greater mortality among children than at the present time, owing to their greater exposure and the want of intelligent care on the part of mothers. But the men and women of the time were generally very robust and hardy. The occupation of the men was chiefly out of doors in the fresh air. The very hardships which they experienced gave them great powers of endurance. There was none of the high pressure of modern life. They were never in a hurry. They had plenty of time to eat, drink, and sleep; and although they had large families, and all lived in one room, the huge fire-place gave them the best of ventilation, a blessing which is denied to the poor of to-day.

Great changes have taken place in the physical features of this region since the days of Thomas Purchase. The early settlers of the last century are said to have found decayed and partly burned logs of hard wood where now are pines and spruce, and tradition tells us that a beech forest once covered our plains and was destroyed by fire about the time of the first Indian war, and that the land in the vicinity of the railroad station was once covered with an oak growth. However this may be, there is little doubt that the soil was more fertile then than now.

Tradition says that there was formerly a much larger body of water in the river than now, and the late John McKeen stated in his lectures that at the time of the Pejepscot purchase quite large vessels could come up to the falls. An entry on the Plymouth Company's map, made in 1752, would, however, seem to disprove this statement. Referring to Merrymeeting bay, it says: "The S. W. branch of this bay is all sands and shoals. No navigation for vessels." The south-west branch of the bay was the mouth of the Androscoggin, and if it was not then navigable for vessels it probably was not thirty or forty years earlier. There is, however, no doubt that the Androscoggin, which is narrow and rapid, has by its periodical freshets altered its banks and channels very materially, and that hundreds of acres of land may be found along its banks below the falls, and in and about Merrymeeting bay, which were once covered by water. A noticeable instance, because so near, is that on the Topsham shore in the vicinity of the town landing. It is known

that the water once covered all the low land in that vicinity, and that a large and deep cove extended nearly to the rear of the present Congregational church.

Having now learned somewhat of the character and surroundings of the men and women who lived in Brunswick one hundred and fifty years, ago and having noted some of the changes which have taken place since they passed from the field of action, it is pertinent for us to ask what changes will the next one hundred and fifty years produce? It is a question that we cannot answer with any degree of assurance. It is, however, reasonable to believe that Brunswick will largely increase in population, and that it will then have become a large manufacturing city, stretching out for a long distance in either direction. And, perhaps, our town commons, which now lie useless, will then have been transformed into a beautiful and attractive public park.

It is not so easy, however, to foretell under what improved conditions the people of that period will live. We cannot even guess what will be their mode of communication, of travel, of warming and lighting their buildings; what advances will have been made in the arts and sciences; or what will be their social, moral, and religious condition. But we may well believe that they will look back upon us and our times with much the same feelings that we look back upon the people and times which have preceded us. They will wonder how we could live in poorly-ventilated, coal-heated houses; they will laugh at the illustrations in our books, and drop a tear as they read of the sufferings we endured because of our ignorance of the laws of health.

But, if we cannot enjoy the blessings they will enjoy, and if we have not the knowledge and the wisdom they will have, we yet have reason to be thankful that we live in the *nineteenth* century rather than in the eighteenth.

REMINISCENCES OF A FORMER RESIDENT OF NEW MEADOWS.

My father purchased a farm of one hundred acres at New Meadows in April, 1780. His family then consisted of my mother, my older brother, and myself, then only five months old. The farm was in but poor condition, the former owner having stripped it of all the most valuable timber which was convenient to the river, and had not improved the land or the buildings. The house was only slabbed, or battened with slabs, both roof and wall outside, while the inside had nothing but rough boards for doors, ceiling, and floors. Here, my mother said when she first entered she thought she should have fainted. Here she shed tears in abundance in remembrance of the tight, warm habitation and the friends she had left to take up her abode in the wilderness and in such a cabin. But the die was cast; she could not, if she would, return.

My father was quite an invalid, having injured his health, and broken down his constitution, by being wrecked when on a whaling voyage. But he was industrious and economical, the latter from necessity. He had the means to pay for his farm and but little more, and his health was so impaired that he was unable to work constantly on his farm, and he could not make very rapid improvements.

When he was a young man he learned the trade of a cooper, and this he turned to very good advantage in the then new settlement by making wash-tubs, pails, churns, meat barrels, leach-tubs, etc., for his neighbors, in payment for which they labored in his fields, or brought him produce from their own farms.

But my father was subject to spells of hypochondria, which would render him for weeks together utterly unfit for any business. These were sore trials to my mother, particularly during the infancy of her children, before they were old enough to be of comfort and assistance to her. I can remember when I was six or seven years old, in the planting season, my mother, after getting breakfast for

herself and children, going into the field to order and regulate about the planting, and placing the seed in the drills with her own hands while her husband was in bed, in his usual health, but so under the influence of hypochondria as to seem the most wretched being in the world, utterly given up to despair and feeling assured that his whole family would die of starvation. He would often come suddenly out of these spells and be so happy that he could not sleep, although perhaps he had not a dollar in the house, and knew not where the next bushel of corn was to come from for bread for his family.

I had a brother born when I was five years old, and I remember that mother's nurse was Sarah Cotton, the maiden daughter of an old man and woman who lived in an old gambrel roofed house on the spot where John Peterson subsequently built the large house owned and occupied by the Adams family.

I remember being sent to school about 1782 to an old widow woman, Madam Morey, in the north chamber of the house that was, a year or two later, purchased by Jacob Weston, and which has remained in that family ever since. I have no recollection of going to any other school until I was seven or eight years of age, perhaps older, for our schools were few and school seasons few and far between. Of school-houses we had none. Schools were held only in the winter, often two or three miles off, in some unfinished, unoccupied room at some private house whither the distance was too great, particularly in inclement weather, for small children to attend, But this deficiency my father made up in a great measure by teaching his children at home the first rudiments of education. But so limited were my father's circumstances of living and supporting a young family that when he was able to lift a hoe, or any implement of husbandry, he could not afford to devote much time to our instruction. Thus you see how limited were our opportunities for obtaining an education.

During the planting and harvesting seasons, for a few weeks, father had a hired man. The rest of the time the work was all done by himself and boys, or went undone, which was not unfrequently the case when he was attacked by hypochondria, and at such times my mother's situation, which was always hard and laborious, was exceedingly trying. I well remember seeing her tears flow when I was too young to discern the cause. As she had no help and her oldest children were all boys, I, being the second boy, was detached

to assist mother washing days, to bring water, wood, etc., also in baking, when the oven was to be heated, for, having no help, she would set me to do many things that would have devolved upon a female servant if we had had one. I learned at this early age the secret of making pumpkin pies, and although the materials were coarse we used to think them great delicacies. Our only flour in those days was obtained from rye raised on the farm, the bolting of which was assigned to me to be done with a hand-seive. Sweetening was also a scarce and a dear article, and used with the most rigid economy. We hardly had more sugar and molasses in the house in a year than has sometimes been used in my own family in a week. The children all lived on bread and milk or hasty pudding, or milk porridge when milk or meal was short. Father and mother, I believe, almost always had tea or coffee, but frequently it was drank without sweetening. When I got to be one of the great boys, say ten or twelve years old, I had the privilege of eating at the same table with my parents Sabbath mornings, and having coffee, if they had it, while the smaller fry took their "spoon victuals" at another table.

The mode of preparing pumpkin pies was to select the best pumpkins that contained the greatest quantity of saccharine matter, peel and stew them down dry, then press the remaining juice out by pressing through a cloth. This liquor was then boiled down to make a substitute for sweetening. The pumpkin was then rubbed with the hand through a hair seive, and thus prepared, mixed with milk and eggs; then the boiled down syrup was added, and a little allspice, if there was any in the house. Having thus brought these materials to a proper consistency by mother's direction, she having in the meantime prepared the paste and placed it in such earthern dishes as she had, I filled them up ready for the oven, while younger brothers and one sister stood by ready to lap out, with a spoon or their fingers, the mixture that adhered to the large vessel in which it had been prepared, and not infrequently got a box on the ears from me, for I felt my authority extended over these youngsters.

I had a sister born when I was about seven years old. My father was confined to his bed with a lame leg that nearly cost him his life, in the only comfortable room in the house, and mother was confined in a corner of the unfinished kitchen partitioned off with rough boards. I remember perfectly well, while my father was thought to be on his death-bed, seeing my mother sitting in that old kitchen

weeping in view of her sick husband and four little children around her, and her approaching crisis, with my aunt trying to comfort her. I had often seen her in tears when my father would give himself up to hypochondrical delusions, and the whole care of the family devolved upon her, but this was a peculiar case which excited my sympathy so as to make a lasting impression on my youthful mind.

I was now old enough to be called up early in the morning to drive the sheep to pasture. We had a small flock of these animals, as did every family, principally for the wool, which was manufactured in the family into clothing for the winter. In those days it was not safe to let the sheep remain in the pasture during the night on account of wolves, and oh, how sleepy I used to be when following the sheep with bare feet through the cold dew, and hardly awake when I returned to the house to devote the remainder of the morning to assisting mother until breakfast time, after which I would have to assist my father and older brother in the field. Here I learned early to drive the oxen at the plow or harrow when I was too small to do anything with the hoe. My father would hold the plow and I would drive. I also assisted at making fences by steadying the post in the hole while father or brother put in the rails and drove them up. Then it was my job to fill the hole and secure the post while they dug another for the next. I was also entrusted with the team, only one yoke of oxen, in the winter to haul home fire wood when I was so young I could not unload the sledge without mother's assistance, father and brother, meantime, cutting more fuel in the woods. Or, perhaps, my brother had gone to school, for there was usually a school in winter for two or three months in the district, which was three or four miles in extent, and one of us would go one term one year and the other the next, and by these means we picked up what little education we have, with father's assistance at home.

Nothing of material importance occurred that I can remember until the time of my brother's first voyage to sea, in 1793–4. The summer was spent in cultivating such part of the farm as we had strength to manage, for, as I have said, father's health was poor and he was often obliged to work at cooperage to obtain the necessaries of life, as the summer was spent in striving to raise food for the family. But a sterile soil, drouths and early frosts would often cut off the hopes of the husbandman, and to remedy this, recourse was had in winter to lumbering, getting out mill logs to be sawed

into boards for sale, and by this time my father's farm was well stocked with timber.

I remember that one winter my uncle united with father, they putting their teams together, father cutting down the trees with some help from uncle's boys, they being older than I, and uncle driving the team. I have known this lumber they got out in winter, one-half of which was given for sawing, to be sold for twenty pence or $3.33 per thousand feet to buy corn at one dollar per bushel. These were hard times indeed, for, even in a good season, we seldom raised bread enough for the family, and money must be had for taxes, and if anything was left over a few groceries would be bought.

About this time, say when I was seven or eight years old, we built a new barn. This was a great undertaking for father in his poor circumstances, but he accomplished it the same year.

A few years later than this, I think about 1790 or 1791, there was a famine throughout the land and the whole region of country where we lived. A cold backward season, a severe drouth, and early frost cut off the food from both man and beast. We did not get a single bushel of Indian corn ripe to grind. A few bushels of rye and barley were all the breadstuffs we had. The potato crop also failed. I well remember that we had only thirty or forty bushels, a few bushels of which had been buried in the ground to preserve as seed, but such was the distress of the family that we were obliged to dig them up in midwinter and eat them to preserve life. The famine being general, bread could not be had before the river opened in the spring, and the logs sawed into boards and sent to Boston. This was when one thousand feet of boards would only bring three bushels of corn.

Many and many a day that spring we did not have a mouthful of bread in the house. As soon as the ice was gone recourse was had to the clam banks. Providentially there was no lack of clams, and many a time early that spring, the only dinner we had was clams stewed up with the inside of potatoes, the eyes of which had been carefully cut out for seed. No meat save a little piece of pork perhaps to season the stew. This was the dinner, and milk porridge made the breakfast and supper. Mother was an excellent manager and knew how to make a little go a great way in feeding her hungry children.

Providentially this distress did not last long, for during the spring father obtained from some friends in Boston a good supply of corn and rye, with potatoes for planting and, I believe, some groceries.

From this time forward we never suffered want in the family from a lack of the necessaries of life. The season following the famine was a very fruitful one, and from that time our family affairs began to brighten. My older brother was now able to work more on the farm and younger ones began to help, and when my older brother went to the West Indies (1793–4) he was fitted out with an "adventure" of potatoes, fish, and shingles, so that when he returned in the spring of 1794, he brought an ample supply of coffee and sugar, and some money, which helped us on well. Still we were what would now be called poor folks, living in a one-story house with only two rooms on the floor, and only one of these partly finished. But we had a good barn, and about 1795 father commenced to build a larger house and finished it, I think, about 1800, at which time I was twenty-one years of age.

Books were very scarce in my boyish days and my thirst for reading was very great, and, for want of more interesting matter, I read the Bible much more than I should probably have done had light and vain reading been as easy of access as at the present day. By this means my mind was early stored with Bible history. I became familiar with every part of the Bible except the minor prophets. The history of Noah, Abraham, and the patriarchs, and especially that of Joseph, was delightful to me; and those of Moses, Joshua, Gideon, Samuel, David, and the good kings; whilst the histories of the sage prophets Elijah and Elisha, contrasted with the idolatrous kings of Israel made a deep impression on my mind. Elijah's interview with Ahab during the three years' famine, and his subsequent appearance after Ahab's death; his calling the fire of heaven down upon the soldiers of Ahaziah, with the entire destruction of Achan's family by Joshua, was all committed to memory and remains there still, so that I believe I could sit down now and re-write, with very little help, the history of those times almost from memory.

My older brother went to sea in the fall of 1793, as cook of a little hermaphrodite brig called the "Speedwell," about one hundred and twenty-five tons, captain, Thomas Jones of Bath. Her voyage was to Berbice and Demerara and return home in the spring. Father had, by permission of the captain and owners, put on board a little "adventure" of a few barrels of potatoes, a small quantity of scale fish, and perhaps one or two thousand shingles. These were sold at a good profit and invested in coffee, sugar, and cotton, for at that time not a pound of cotton had been grown in the United States,

and it was worth fifty cents a pound. This my mother was glad to have as it helped out her scanty material of flax and wool in making clothing for her now numerous family (eight children), for all the clothing was made in the family except milling and dyeing. No factories then, nor carding machines; all was done by hand. Mother used to hire an old widow woman to card and a girl to spin about three months of the year, until her own girls were grown, soon after which, however, carding machines and factories began to be in use. My sister well remembers running threads at the spinning wheel, side by side with Polly Michaels, when she was only twelve or thirteen years old.

In the fall of 1794 the "Speedwell" was fitted out again for another voyage, and I was accepted as cook and steward. Captain Jones commanded, and we had a Mr. Woodness for mate, a Newburyport man and a great drinker, and it is a wonder that we were not all drunkards for every man and boy had a gallon of West India rum given out to him as an allowance for the passage. At this time I was fifteen years of age. I can assure you that I felt proud to have as much rum locked up in my chest as any of the men, and had my bottle of bitters, but at that time I did not drink much grog. Full sailors' wages at that time were but $15; but my brother, who had only been one voyage, and that as cook, received but $10, and my noble self, who filled both offices of cook and steward, received only $5. But this gave father an income of $15 per month, for we did not then, as now, ask for money to spend in a foreign port; it was all brought home.

(The writer then goes on to describe his first experience at sea which, while interesting in itself, has no particular reference to Brunswick. Of his return he says:)

There was great joy at our return, as well there might be, for we brought home our chests full of coffee and our bed sacks full of cotton, worth fifty cents a pound, besides sugar in all sorts of packages in which it could be smuggled. Besides, as we had been absent five or six months, we brought home fifty or sixty dollars in hard cash, a sum father had not had at one time for many years.

I was not allowed to go to sea again for four years, and was kept plodding on the farm. In the fall of 1795 we cut down and hewed timber for the house and frame, and in the winter hauled it out near the house, as also logs to make boards to cover it, and during the next summer (I think it was 1796,) we raised and

framed it. It may have been 1797. I think the frame stood one year without boarding, but am not certain. I know it was boarded and roofed and shingled one season, and clapboarded a year after, and I suppose glazed. My brother and I, with some assistance, made the bricks for the chimneys. William B. Larrabee was the joiner. Previous to the spring of 1799 the north part was finished with the chamber over it. That spring my parents again yielded to my solicitations, and I went to sea.

(The rest of the paper relates chiefly to the writer's seafaring life, in which he was quite successful. It closes by telling of his marriage in Boston, his journey with his wife to Portland by stage, occupying two days' time, and their pleasant reception at his father's home at New Meadows.)

THOMAS CROWELL.

SUMNER L. HOLBROOK.

The subject of this sketch was of Irish descent. He came to this country at the time of the Revolutionary War as a soldier in the English army. He was attached to Burgoyne's command, and fought at the first and second battles of Stillwater. When Burgoyne surrendered his army to General Gates on the 18th of October, 1777, Mr. Crowell decided to unite his fortunes with the American people. He worked his way North, came to Brunswick soon after the war ended, and settled near Cook's Corner.

It appears that he must have belonged to a family of some note, as he was a man of quite a good education. Soon after his arrival here he engaged in teaching school, and for more than a score of years he taught in the eastern part of this town. Until the time of his death he always went by the name of *Master* Crowell.

He taught reading, writing, arithmetic, and navigation to a limited extent. Arithmetic was his forte. He took great pride in teaching his scholars that branch of study, arithmetic being an important study for the young men of that day. Many of Mr. Crowell's pupils became leading business men, and some of them famous shipmasters. Among them we find the names of Capt. John Woodward, Capt. Charles Thomas, Capt. Jordan Snow, Richard Melcher, and others.

He also taught his scholars good manners, a virtue we fear somewhat neglected under our more modern improved school system. On one occasion, knowing that Parson Eaton was to pass by the place whereh e was teaching, he kept one of his scholars on the lookout for him, and when the signal was given Mr. Crowell arranged his school on both sides of the road, the boys on one side and the

girls on the other, bowing to the man of God as he passed by. In recognition of this token of respect, the venerable man, with uncovered head, passed through the lines, bowing to the right and left.

Master Crowell married Betsey, the daughter of Caleb Coombs. His wedding suit was made by Colonel Charles Thomas's mother, and was of copperplate. The figures on it were very large sheep, and when Mrs. Thomas cut it out, he told her to be very careful not to cut the sheep in two. She told him that it would not set well. He said that he did not care for that, he would have a whole sheep or none. The wedding took place at the house of the bride's father, which stands in a field now owned by the writer of this sketch. In the field near the house, Mr. Coombs had a buck sheep tied, and when the marriage ceremony was being performed some boys, who felt that they were slighted by not being invited to the wedding, took the old sheep and threw him right through the window, taking glass, sash, and all, and landing him very near the officiating clergyman. It was said that the old buck stood up along side of him with an apparent air of great dignity, and witnessed the remainder of the ceremony. Then followed an exciting race; the invited guests, bride and groom, and minister, all joined in the chase to hunt down the rogues.

He had two children, Fields and John. The former went to sea and died quite young. John married and settled near his father, and raised a large family of children who all went West. At about the age of sixty years his wife died. As a token of respect to her, he wore a very elaborate weed, which more than covered the seal-skin cap he always wore. He visited his wife's grave regularly for one year every Sunday afternoon. At the end of that time, as he stood at the head of the grave, he said in an audible voice: "My dear wife, you have been dead one year. I have been to your grave every Sunday. I shall come no more, for to-night I am going a courting." And he did; and soon married the widow Cripps, who treated him very unkindly in his last days.

He was a man of not very commanding appearance, being small in stature, and always wearing a surtout which covered his whole person from head to foot. His political inclinations were strongly Democratic, he being a staunch supporter of General Jackson and his administration. He used to urge upon his fellow-citizens the importance of rallying around the Democratic standard as the only

safeguard of the nation. He composed the following lines as a sort of campaign song:

Jackson is the man,
Adams is the mouse,
Jackson is the man
That shall sit in the president's house.

Also the following during his administration:

General Jackson is the man,
And for America he is doing all that he can.
And when for him the bell doth toll,
May the Lord have mercy on his soul.

He was a political aspirant and was an applicant for the Brunswick post-office, urging his claim on the grounds of his good penmanship. But when the political waters were troubled, some more favored one would step in before him, so his aspirations in that direction were never realized.

He could not be considered a church-going man, for it is said that he only attended church for one summer. Some one had prophesied that a very hot day was coming, and it would be so hot that all animals would die and many human beings would perish in consequence. Master Crowell took warning, and was a regular attendant at church at New Meadows, where the Rev. Mr. Marriner was preaching at that time; but the day passed with the usual temperature and Mr. Crowell came no more.

The home of Master Crowell was a great place of resort for the young people of that day. Dancing was the amusement that they most frequently indulged in. Miss Nemmie Coombs, a maiden lady, a sister of Mr. Crowell's wife, used to furnish the music. She had a good ear for music, a sharp, shrill voice, and would sit and sing for hours for them to dance. The boys used to say that they had rather have Nemmie sing than to have a fiddle, because her strings never broke. Nemmie was a fortune teller, and it was said that she also possessed the power of witchcraft.

In his later days Mr. Crowell opened his house as a sort of a wayside inn, hanging out in a conspicuous place a signboard with the following inscription on it: "Beer, Cider, Oats, and Cigars for Horses." In his time all keepers of public places, or all those that sold liquors were required by law to take out a license, so on one day, just before the Fourth of July, Mr. Crowell started for the village to get a license. On the way to town he met Mr. Wads-

worth, a rival inn-keeper, who asked him where he was going. Mr. Crowell very honestly told him. Mr. Wadsworth said to him that it was of no use for him to go any further, for he had just been up to town and got the last one there was to be had. Mr. Crowell turned about and went back with Wadsworth.

On one occasion his wife was taken very suddenly ill; so much so that some of the neighbors had to be called in. They told him that he must go for a doctor at once. Mr. Crowell started with great dispatch, as they all supposed. They waited a long time for the doctor but he did not come. They went to the door to listen for him, and there they found Mr. Crowell asleep on the banking of the house. They asked him if he had not been after the doctor. He said no, it was so very dark it did seem as if the old woman might put it off until morning.

Mr. Crowell was the author of many things which would plainly betray his nationality. Among them we find the following. He said that he could walk from Brunswick to Portland in two hours, by starting early. He had some powder in the house. He said it caught fire and nearly half burned up before he could put it out. He said that he was up to the village one time and lost a five dollar bill and went back to look for it and all he could find of it was seventy-five cents.

He owned a few acres of land, and kept a cow, horse, and a few sheep; and late in the fall, when it was time to house the sheep, he used to go down among the farmers of New Meadows inquiring for stray sheep, and when asked what his mark was, his answer would be: "A crop off the right ear and several other marks." He was almost always successful in finding his sheep. The horse that he used to ride was not very spirited, but was made quite noticeable because some mischievous boys one night caught him and cut his ears and tail off.

Mr. Crowell probably never owned bank stock, bond, or mortgage; was never called to fill positions of what the world calls honor or trust. Yet the universal verdict of all his neighbors was that his life was a success rather than a failure. And why? Because he filled his place in the world to the best of his ability. The poor in him ever found a friend; the afflicted a sympathizer; the sick a helper; the young an advisor; the whole world a well-wisher; and the idle, wicked, selfish, covetous man, a constant, living reproof. He died at the age of ninety-three; was buried at New Meadows, in the old marsh grave-yard, and his grave is yet unmarked by any tombstone.

JAMES CARY.

IRA P. BOOKER.

The lives of individuals who have no great place in the affairs of men, who are not pre-eminently brilliant or aggressive, who are not so distinguished above their fellows as to achieve a broad reputation in any of the remarkable movements of the period in which their activity is passed, may at first be thought to furnish material too limited and unimportant to justify the effort of putting on record, even an unostentatious biographical sketch. But when we consider that the every-day life of such persons goes very largely toward determining the trend of the moral thought and action of the community in which they live, we are inclined to fear that these lives, in the importance of their influence, are underestimated, and that they deserve more frequently to be noted and written, not only to keep their memory green, but as an example and incentive to those coming after, in whatever direction they shall have habitually thought and spoken, and acted, in advancement of the general good, and in the promotion of a higher moral standard for those of us who are not candidates for the great and conspicuous places among men. When a man goes in and out before his neighbors for a long series of years, naturally and unavoidably a concurrent estimate of that man comes to be common stock, and, as a rule, he gravitates into his own proper place in their opinion, whether this formulated measure of him is a flattering one or otherwise; and this average opinion of the average community is very likely to be a reasonably just one.

In attempting to pen a brief biography of James Cary, there will be no intention of indulging in undue eulogy, but rather a purpose to note and record some of the traits so well known to the people among whom he for so many years lived. The parents of Mr. Cary came to Brunswick from Boston, soon after the Revolutionary War, and lived in a house on the corner of the "twelve rod road" (or Main Street) and Mason Street, where the brick building, which was

in his later days occupied by Mr. Cary as a place of business, now stands, and it is quite notable that during his whole business life, his work was done on the same spot, and, until 1837, in two—perhaps three—wooden buildings.

In that year he built there a three-storied brick building, Noah Hinkley, a prominent business man of that time, erecting a corresponding block where the "Day block" now stands. Before the time of the erection of the brick buildings, Mr. Hinkley had a large wooden structure on the present "Day" lot, the corner store of which he occupied as a dry goods store, with Mr. John S. Cushing as an assistant. Between Mr. Hinkley's wooden building and Mr. Cary's, there was a passage way, which was built over when the brick building was put in the place of the wooden ones. In January, 1853, the block, including Mr. Cary's store was burned, and later, he built the two-storied brick store now, in 1889, standing. It is not clear how it came about that in the later days there was a lot in front and westerly of the Cary lot, which it is supposed was originally the corner lot.

Mr. Cary was born July 22, 1790, in the house mentioned, at the corner of the twelve rod road and Mason Street, and having been given the name of his father, was known as James Cary, Junior. The schools of the time afforded but the most meager opportunities for an education, and the other advantages for improvement were likewise extremely limited, but those who knew Mr. Cary in later life, were assured that whatever was available, he made use of so far as circumstances allowed.

It is written in Wheeler's History of Brunswick that "In 1805, Robert Eastman established himself in the clock-making business, with James Cary, Jr., as his apprentice; in 1806 Mr. Cary became a partner with his former employer, and the firm was 'Eastman & Cary.' Three years later Mr. Cary bought out the interest of Mr. Eastman, and carried on the clock, watch, and jewelry business for many years." There would seem to be some doubt about the authenticity of this account, as to dates, for Mr. Cary would have been unusually young for a business partner at that date, but nothing has been found to disprove or to verify this account and we set it down as written. It is probable that young Cary was for a time with a man named Bisbee, prior to his apprenticeship with Eastman.

The imprint, "J. Cary," was familiar in many households in the old days, on the faces of the tall clocks, the always excellent

product of his hands, and on the silver spoons which graced the tables of our grandmothers and mothers, and not a few of which may now be found in service, testifying to the then well-accepted truth, that the name of J. Cary on clock or spoon was a guaranty of the highest excellence. In the earlier days of his business the manufacture of clocks, made wholly of brass, was a specialty, and the "movements" of those bearing his name were entirely the work of his hands, the wooden cases being the product of other workmen. These clocks had a very ready sale, and as there were not makers of clocks everywhere, they were frequently sold to go to places quite remote from Brunswick. An informant of the writer remembers very distinctly seeing one of Mr. Cary's tall clocks set into a sleigh, and with him for driver, started on its way to a Bangor customer. Could Mr. Cary have known how much these ancient and valuable clocks would be sought after and prized in these later days, what a gratification it would have been.

The silver spoons of the present time are made, in their elaborate and varied designs, by appliances that enable the manufacturer to produce them very rapidly, and of great artistic excellence. In the days of yore, Mr. Cary patiently wrought them out with the simplest tools, and they were literally handiwork, and there are those who well remember noting the labored process of compelling the Spanish milled dollars gradually to take shape of the plain and substantial solid silver spoons, so indispensable to the furnishing of the table, and to the happiness of the housewife of that time.

In later years, and before they were made in this country, Mr. Cary imported watches directly from manufacturers in Europe. Mr. Aaron L. Dennison, who devised the manufacture of watches by machinery, learned his trade of Mr. Cary, and went out from Brunswick to inaugurate an industry that employs thousands of wonder-working machines, and tens of thousands of men and women to direct them, turning out daily such numbers of watches, as that he might have been deemed daft who, fifty years ago, prophesied a thing half as improbable.

For many years Mr. Cary was the principal, and probably for much of the time the only, dealer in the line of goods mentioned in Brunswick. As late as 1820 it is found by advertisements in a paper then published in Brunswick, he kept for sale some of the medicines most in demand. This was most likely before any regular apothecary store was opened. Javan Knapp, in 1819 and for a few years

subsequently, kept a jewelry store on "Cove Hill," and sometime after 1840 Mr. Charles Swift, who had learned his trade of Mr. Cary, opened another store in the same line.

Mr. Cary's attention to business was constant, and the necessary trips to Boston in its furtherance were substantially the limit of his recreation. "His was the old-fashioned thrift of honest and diligent striving to accumulate means of comfort for his family; and for his means he was generous and public spirited." He was desirous that his children should have the advantages of their day, and to his efforts to that end they cheerfully and gratefully testify. His integrity was unquestioned. When he made a statement it was accepted, and, says a member of his family, "Many have gratified us, in speaking of his integrity in business, *sure*, as they said, of an honesty in dealing that they could depend upon."

The firm of Bigelow Bros. & Kennard, of Boston, with whom he dealt many years, manifested their high regard for him in many ways, especially during his last sickness; and, after repeated evidences of their kind thought of him, Mr. Kennard came to Brunswick expressly to see him, and evinced his sorrow at his then hopeless condition. Such a tribute to his worth from a business acquaintance expresses much, as it is popularly supposed that "there is no friendship in trade."

Mr. Cary had a remarkably pleasant disposition, patient and forbearing, and, says the member of his family before alluded to, "in only two or three instances do I ever remember seeing him in the least ruffled, and then when forbearance had ceased to be a virtue." He despised shams and "shoddy," and if he ever spoke contemptuously in the writer's hearing, it was when some exhibition of this character was the inciting and sufficient provocation.

His bent was towards those things that elevate and refine. His love of music and pictures was marked through all his life. He was a great reader, and was much in the habit, in the evenings at home, of reading aloud such books as the "Spectator," "History of England," "Vicar of Wakefield," etc. With his always keen sense of humor he greatly enjoyed the reading of "Irving's History of New York," and indulged in many a hearty laugh at its quaint wit. Books were not so abundant and varied and easily reached as now, but he read many of those available, and kept himself well informed in current events, and possessing a retentive memory, could usually be relied on to speak correctly respecting matters and dates that had come to

his knowledge, and about which others in his family or among his friends might be uncertain.

He was a markedly unassuming man, and was never in danger of being directed otherwise than "to go up higher." He was a notably genial man. Persons of all ages were his companions and enjoyed his companionship. He heartily relished a good joke or an amusing story, and the cheerfulness and mirthfulness supposed to belong to youth belonged always to him. The writer has spent many a spare hour with him in his place of business, going out always reluctantly; that he belonged to an earlier generation having been lost sight of by his younger visitor, as the talk flowed pleasantly and healthfully on, always engendering the desire for an early repetition of the visit.

Mr. Cary was an active member of the Masonic Order, having been made a Mason in United Lodge, then located in Topsham, September 24, 1811. He was Secretary of this Lodge in 1813 and 1814, and held every office in its gift, for no less than nine years filling the second place, and December 17, 1822, was elevated to the Worshipful Master's chair. He did not retain this place through the year, resigning it, as those who knew him could easily see, because of his extreme modesty, which made him shrink from the conspicuous position of presiding officer, and from the responsibility and exercise of authority which peculiarly rest on the Master of a Masonic Lodge. That this was his reason for declining to remain in that honorable station, is manifest from the fact that he afterwards did faithful and continuous duty for several years in the second place, which requires vigilance and intelligence in no small degree, but demands little exercise of authority; and he also subsequently served in other official positions, the record showing that he was an active and useful member of the Order. The estimation in which he was held by his brethren as a safe and careful counselor and custodian, is shown by his being for twenty-five years annually elected a member of the board of trustees of the Lodge, in whose charge was the charity fund, and whose province it was, not only to keep intact its capital, but to dispense its income for the purposes indicated by its name, as well as to have supervision of the financial operations of the officers of the Lodge.

His moral tone and temperance principles were shown in connection with the Order by the recorded report of a committee, of which he was a member, advising strongly against the use of liquors

at "refreshment," even putting under ban cider, that they might, as reads the report, "avoid even the appearance of evil." This was in 1823, when the average sentiment was more lenient than now on such practices, and the word "refreshment" carried with it the presumption of a social glass. It was characteristic of him to be, as in this case, on the right side, and his utterances were always for propriety, temperance, truth, morality, and justice.

July 16, 1816, he was married to Mary Oakman, of Pittston, Maine, and of their five children, three, one daughter and two sons, died very young. Two daughters survive, the elder, Mrs. Mary Ann Kendrick now living in Brunswick, widow of the late Rev. Daniel Kendrick, Jr., of Dayton, Nevada, and Mrs. Hannah Elizabeth Taylor, wife of John J. Taylor, Esq., of Fairbury, Illinois. In 1820 Mr. Cary built the house on the east side of Federal Street, in which he always after lived, and in which he died, August 25, 1865. This house is now occupied by his daughter.

The large elm tree standing before the McManus house (next north of the Cary house) was, as he related to a friend, the writer's informant, transplanted from Cow Island, he having brought it to its present place on his shoulders, and set it out with his own hands, sometime about the year 1820. It now measures, four feet from the ground, ten and seven-twelfths feet, and is the largest tree on the street, standing a notable monument to the memory of him who so long ago planted it. Other trees were at that time set out by Mr. Cary and Mr. Ezra Drew, presumably working together, but this is thought to be the only survivor, those now standing before the Cary house certainly having been put there much later, after repeated attempts and failures.

In politics he was a Whig in the days of Henry Clay, and later a hearty Republican. His loyalty to the Union during the dark and anxious years of rebellion and war was of the most pronounced type, his being a nature that did not underestimate the value of good government, or the services of those who went forth to preserve it with the force of the strong arm.

Wheeler's History of Brunswick mentions his name with others as one of the signers, January 20, 1812, of a profession of belief in the doctrine of universal salvation, and his proclivities in these early days were evidently toward the denomination teaching that doctrine. He was, however, so far as the earliest recollection of the living members of the family reach, a member of the first

parish, and a regular attendant on the service of the Congregational church, of which his wife was a member. Whatever may have been his doctrinal religious belief, he was one of the most constant in attendance on church service, and his many virtues, his patience under trials, his genuine integrity and nobility of character justified one who knew him well in saying that "if ever there was a Christian, he was one."

As was said at the outset, his was not a remarkable life, but one of those lives, for which the community is the better, and whose example of patient industry, unwavering morality, and genuine wholesomeness of soul, is well worth recording as replete with those sterling qualities that go to the making of the foundations sure, on which to build up a community or a nation in stability and justice. It was also said that there was no intention of indulging in undue eulogy, and if on a review there shall seem to be a savor of eulogy, we still find nothing that a strict adherence to the truth requires us to modify.

Mr. A. G. Tenney, in the *Brunswick Telegraph* of September 1, 1865, in recording the death of Mr. Cary, says: "James Cary lived an honored and a useful life. He died with never a whisper breathed against his business integrity, never a doubt expressed of his thorough sincerity of purpose, lending a brightness and a glow to age, which enshrines for aye his memory in the affections of not only his most intimate friends, but of his large number of acquaintances; and in the soundness and completeness of that life as business man, companion, and friend, he presents an example eminently worthy of imitation by the young just entering upon the stage of active duty;" and this summing up by Mr. Tenney seems to the writer an appreciative and just tribute to the memory of the good citizen whose brief biography has in this paper been attempted.