The Tory Lover

Part 3: Related Materials

by

Sarah Orne Jewett

An Annotated Edition

by

Terry Heller

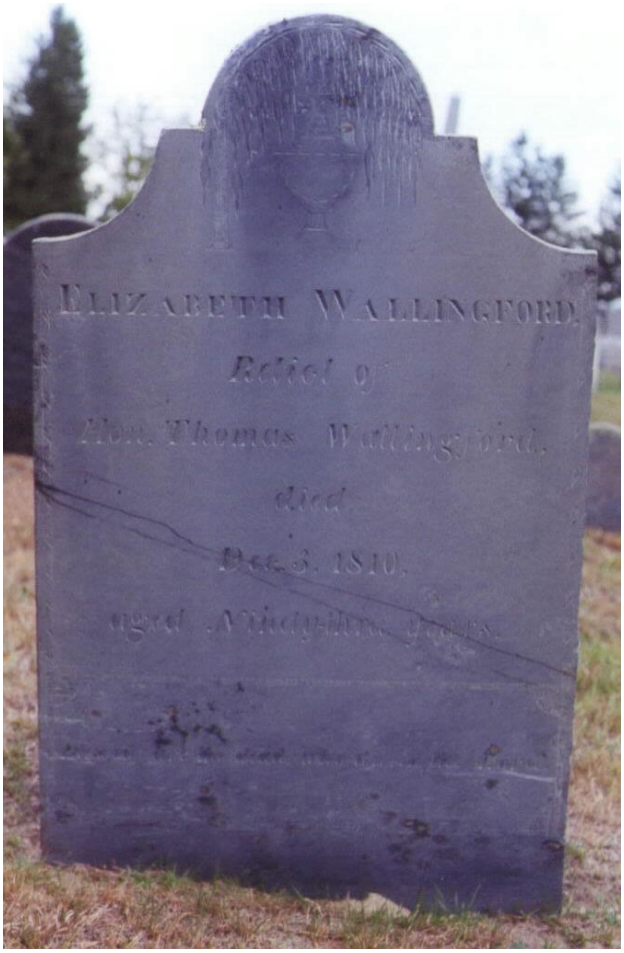
Coe College

Sarah Orne Jewett Press

2023

Front cover: Hamilton House view of the east side.

Elizabeth Wallingford's Grave
Somersworth, NH



Across the Piscataqua from the west side of Hamilton House,
Madam's Cove, former site of the Wallingford home.

The Tory Lover

Part 3: Related Materials

by

Sarah Orne Jewett

An Annotated Edition

by

Terry Heller

Coe College

Sarah Orne Jewett Press

2023

From the Sarah Orne Jewett Press

Paperbacks

Printed on Acid-Free Paper

Celia Laighton Thaxter: A Bibliography of Published Writing

Dunnet Landing: Three Papers on Sarah Orne Jewett

Poems of Sarah Orne Jewett

Sarah Orne Jewett: A Bibliography of Published Writing

Sarah Orne Jewet,: Nordicism and Race

Sarah Orne Jewett Scholarship 1885-2018: An Annotated Bibliography

The Story of the Normans: A Critical Edition -- 2 volumes

The Tory Lover: A Critical Edition -- 3 volumes

"Unguarded Gates" by Thomas Bailey Aldrich: A Critical Edition

Copies of all paperback titles may be purchased.

Mail $15 / copy to

Sarah Orne Jewett Press

1296 30th St. NE

Cedar Rapids, IA 52402

Free digital PDF versions of all titles may be downloaded and printed:

http://www.sarahornejewett.org/soj/1-jewettpress.htm

Notes and supplementary materials

Contents

Introduction

This final part of the annotated edition of Jewett's *The Tory Lover* (1901) presents reference materials relevant to the novel.

"Persons and Places" is an annotated alphabetical list of characters and locations that appear in the novel. It provides brief identifications, allowing the reader to begin learning about an individual character or place and, in the case of characters, to know whether they are based on historical persons or wholly fictional.

"The Crew of the *Ranger*" provides an annotated list of those known to have served under John Paul Jones during the voyages depicted in the novel. Jewett's knowledge was limited in several ways, not least by the fabrications of biographer Augustus Buell. This list helps to show how Jewett used her sources.

"Extended Notes on Historical Characters" provides more detailed information about a selection of personages listed in "Persons and Places," mainly people local to the South Berwick and Portsmouth area.

"Jewett's Revisions of *The Tory Lover*" shows in table form the changes Jewett made to her text between the serial publication and the appearance of the first edition of her novel. In *Sarah Orne Jewett Letters* (1967), Richard Cary's notes on Sarah Orne Jewett to Marie Thérèse de Solms Blanc of February-March 1903, point out that Jewett made a few further revisions in "the 1901 reprint (second state of text, blue binding)."

Persons and Places

Among the related materials for *The Tory Lover*, there are two documents listing characters.

This document contains an alphabetical list of the characters and places mentioned in this novel, with brief descriptive notes. Main purposes are to separate fictional characters from historical characters and to indicate briefly, the degree to which historical characters may have been fictionalized.

The second document, "Extended Notes on the Historical Characters" provides a more thorough examination of the main historical characters, detailing ways in which they have been fictionalized.

- Numbers in parenthesis after the names indicate the first chapter in which the character or place is mentioned.
- Unless otherwise indicated, all of the crew members of the *Ranger* have the names of actual people who served on the ship. See Crew of the *Ranger* for more information.

A

John Adams (7): John Adams (1735-1826) was an important political figure in the American Revolution, serving in the Continental Congresses and in diplomatic positions. He helped draft the "Declaration of Independence." In 1777-8, he served with Benjamin Franklin as a commissioner to France. He eventually became the second President of the United States (1797-1801).

Sam Adams (2): Samuel Adams (1722-1803), sometimes, Mr. Adams, of Massachusetts, was a major figure in many aspects of the American Revolution.

Agamenticus (and the Three Hills) (7): In *Piscataqua Pioneers* (2000) Sylvia Getchell says Agamenticus was the Indian name for the York River (11). In histories of Maine, the whole area that now comprises York County in Maine is sometimes called Agamenticus. The settlement area of Agamenticus was renamed Gorgeana when chartered in 1642 and then renamed York in 1652, when it was reorganized as a town. (See *Maine: A Guide 'Down East,'* 1937.) Mt. Agamenticus is about mid-way between South Berwick and Ogunquit. A little northeast of Mt. Agamenticus is Second Hill, and somewhat further in the same direction is Third Hill.

Ajax (2): Negro servant of Judge Benjamin Chadbourne. See Cæsar below.

Alençon (21)**:** On a route from Brest to Paris, Alençon is about 3/4 of the way. In the 18th-century the town was known for its lace and textiles.

Apollo (8): Haggens family slave. See Cæsar below.

Arbigland (6,22): The fishing hamlet where John Paul Jones was born in the western lowlands of Scotland on the north shore of Solway Firth near the present-day village of Kirkbean. The village is across the firth from Whitehaven.

Le petit Arouet: See Voltaire below.

B

Bath (34): East of Bristol, England, on the Lower Avon River. Graham Frater writes: "Modern roadmaps show that the city of Bath is some 13 miles to the south east from Bristol city centre. Bath was developed by the Romans for its hot springs; much of the eighteenth century city that Jane Austen described still survives (see: www.janeausten.co.uk), as do many Roman remains, including their baths. Jewett refers to no specific locations within Bath; this may argue that she did not visit the city, but her appreciative

descriptions of the countryside on the journey to Bath do perhaps suggest first-hand observation; they certainly invoke the links between England and America that Jewett had emphasised in her conclusion to *The Story of the Normans*, and in her childrens novel with an English setting *Betty Leicester's Christmas*."

Badger Island (29): See Langdon's Island

the Banks (12): This could be Georges Banks, a fishing ground off the coast of Cape Cod in Massachusetts, or the Grand Banks, another fishing ground south of Newfoundland, Canada.

Bantry (3,17): On the southern coast of Ireland, on Bantry Bay.

Praise-God Barebones (8): The "Barebones" parliament, called by Oliver Cromwell in 1653, was so named derisively, according to the *Encarta Encyclopedia*, because one of its Puritan members was named "Praisegod Barbon or Barebone, a leather merchant."

Barrington (36): William Wildman Shute, 2nd Viscount Barrington (1717-1793) began government service in the Irish House of Lords in 1745. He became a member of the British Parliament in 1754 and then served in the Exchequer and other offices. During the American Revolution, he was Secretary of War (1765-1778). For details see: Shute Barrington, *Political Life of William Wildman, Viscount Barrington* (1814). Lossing characterizes Lord Barrington as strongly opposed to the American rebellion: "In the upper House, Lord Barrington called the Americans "traitors, and worse than traitors, against the crown -- traitors against the legislation of this country. The use of troops," he said, "was to bring rioters to justice" (vol. 2; ch. 6).

Barvick (2 and several other chapters)**:** See Berwick.

Basilica of St. Denis: See Paris.

Beare (3 and others): The area of southern Ireland over which the O'Sullivan family (Master Sullivan's ancestors) ruled prior to the 17th century.

Abbé de Beaumont (17): Master Sullivan says he knew the Abbé, a nephew of Fénelon, and with him visited Fénelon at Cambrai. In Butler's *Life of Fenelon*, de Beaumont is mentioned as a friend and subordinate teacher under Fénelon to the royal dukes, and as his nephew (p. 112). In *The Age of Louis XIV*, Voltaire mentions him as "the king's tutor," who helped to insure that plays were performed at court despite Jansenist objections (Ch. 25).

Bedfords (32): Mme. Wallingford "hates" these people for their treatment of American Loyalists. Probably she refers to John Russell, 4th duke of Bedford (1710-71), a leader of the "Bedford Group" of Whigs who were conciliatory toward American colonials. Her use of the plural in Chapter 32 suggests she is referring to the group as well as to John Russell, who had been dead for about 7 years when she made her statement.

Beech Ridge (9): There is a Beech Ridge in DeLorme's *The Maine Atlas* (2001), about 2 miles west of York Village, and another, more likely to be the location Jewett refers to, northeast of Berwick, nearly half way to Sanford. This location along with Tow-wow/Lebanon would indicate the length of Colonel Hamilton's journey - more than 20 miles round trip - the day after the *Ranger* sails. It would be convenient for Hamilton to stop as expected for dinner with Master Sullivan at Pine Hill, though he does not on this day.

Belle Isle (18): In France; see Breton coast.

Berwick (1 and many other chapters): On the Salmon Falls River in southern Maine, sometimes referred to as "Old Barvick." Since 1814 the original Berwick has been divided into the three neighboring towns: Berwick, North Berwick and South Berwick, the home of the Hamiltons. South Berwick, Jewett's birthplace and home, was the original settlement, and it is divided into regions that have been centers of commerce during the town's history.

South Berwick landmarks and locations

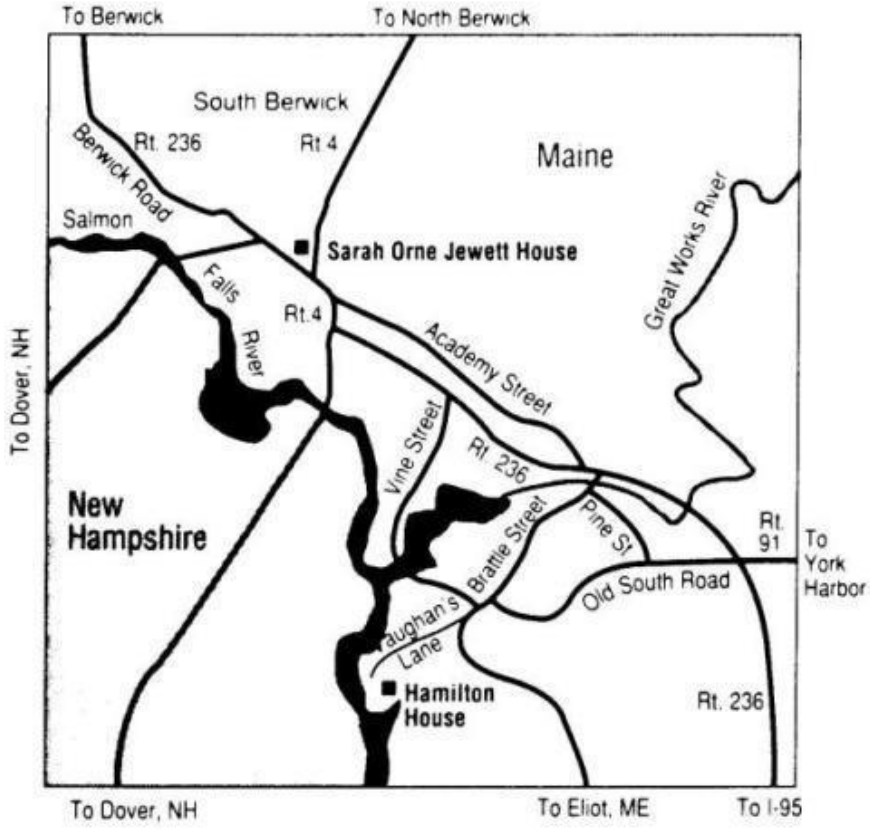
Upper Landing (28 and others): At the head of the tidewater, sometimes called Quamphegan, the last place at which boats could land going up river, just below Salmon Falls. Today this location

remains a landing for small boats, and is the site of the Counting House Museum of the Old Berwick Historical Society, with exhibits open on weekends and by appointment, and with reference, document, and artifact collections for research in local and regional history.

On the map, it is north of the river and to the right of the road from Dover, N.H.

Lower Landing (8,29): About one mile down river from the Upper Landing, in deeper water near Hamilton Brook, where Hamilton House is located. Also known in early settlement times as Pipe Stave Landing, because barrel staves, called pipe staves, were an important local export in the Caribbean trade.

Great Works (2): From the 17th through the 19th century, Great Works referred to a mill area -- first lumber, later wool processing -- on the Great Works River in South Berwick. This area along with Old Fields, was the earliest settled part of the town. During the 1770s, the village center was moving westward, to the location near Jewett's home, the house where Tilly Haggens is said to live in the novel. (See Tilly Haggens's House below).



Map of South Berwick

Butler's hill (8): Tilly Haggens could see this hill on his left while sitting on the front porch of the Jewett house in November of 1777 at the beginning of Ch. 8. This is now known as Powderhouse Hill; it is the site of the Berwick Academy. Source: York County Atlas of 1872. The Butler family, in their genealogy at the Old Berwick Historical Society, believes the hill was named for Thomas Butler (b. 1674), who settled in Maine around 1695, and whose homestead was at the foot of this hill.

Tilly Haggens's House (8):
This house is now known as the Jewett House, where Sarah Orne Jewett was born and where she lived after the death of her Uncle William Jewett in 1887. Wendy Pirsig points out that the "broad space" in front of the Haggens house was a watering place for animals for many years -- a

spring/cistern was below the street. Jewett describes the front porch as having Corinthian columns, but this seems to be an error. It is possible that Jewett did not distinguish the styles of classical columns; in "The Old Town of Berwick" she says the First Parish Church once had Corinthian columns, but this church actually has relief decorations representing Doric columns.

Whether the historical Tilly Haggens actually built or lived in this house is a contested issue; see Tilly Haggens in Extended Notes.

Old Fields (28,31): Everett S. Stackpole in "South Berwick: The First Permanent Settlement in Maine," locates Old Fields at the southern end of the current village of South Berwick. He says this was originally the location of the Spencer Garrison, built before 1675 a site associated with the northernmost limit of Old Fields Road, and with the Ichabod Goodwin house, 1 Old Fields Road. It includes the site of the Old Fields Cemetery, where several of the local historical characters of this novel are buried. Hamilton House stands on the river in the Old Fields area. See "The Old Town of Berwick" for a photograph. On the map, this area is northeast of Hamilton House.

The Old Vineyard (28,32): Everett S. Stackpole in "South Berwick: The First Permanent Settlement in Maine," locates the old vineyard just north of the mouth of the Great Works River in South Berwick. What remains of this area now faces Leighs Mill Pond on Vine Street in South Berwick.

Plaisted[1]s Hill (8)**:** Probably this is the site of a Plaisted farm on the Berwick Road about half a mile from Haggens house. In the 17th century, a Plaisted family owned one of the earliest farms along the Salmon Falls River, scene of an Indian raid in 1675. See Jewett's "The Old Town of Berwick" and also Hertel on the list of People.

Pound Hill/ Pound Hill Farms (28): No map has been found identifying this area. Jewett says that when the bringers of news from Portsmouth leave the Lower Landing, "The messengers were impatient to go their ways among the Old Fields farms, and went hurrying down toward the brook and around the head of the cove, and up the hill again through the oak pasture toward the houses at Pound Hill." This would seem to place Pound Hill east of Hamilton House. Norma Keim of the Old Berwick Historical Society has located the actual hill on what is now Fife's Lane, which once was part of the main road from Old Fields to York. This location is just east of Old Fields. See *The Maine Spencers, A History and Genealogy* by W. D. Spencer (Concord: Rumford Press, 1898) p. 108. It is quite likely that the name derives from the location of the village livestock pound. In the colonial period, many New England villages had pounds where strayed livestock would be kept at village expense until the owners claimed them and payed their fine or pound fee. (See John R. Stilgoe, *Common Landscape of America 1580-1845*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1982, p. 49).

Duke of Berwick: The Duke of Berwick is not referred to in *The Tory Lover*, but Jewett meant to include him. See Duke de Sully below.

According to the web site of the Wild Geese Heritage Museum and Library in Galway, Ireland, by Sean Ryan, the Marshal Duke of Berwick (1670-1734) was James FitzJames, Marshal of France. He "was born at Moulins in the Bourbonnais, France, on August 21 1670. He was the son of Arabella Churchill and James II. His mother was a daughter of Sir Winston Churchill, descended from the Councils of Anjou, Poictou and Normandy. His uncle was the famous John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough."

King James II prepared his son for a military career. After the Glorious Revolution of 1688, which deposed James, the King and his son fled to Catholic Ireland to lead the resistance to Protestant English rule. There, the Duke distinguished himself in battle and became acquainted with Patrick Sarsfield and Master John Sullivan's father. He eventually married Sarsfield's widow. After the failure of the Irish resistance, he joined the French army as a volunteer, where he continued to support the Jacobites [supporters of James II], and he again distinguished himself, rising to the position of Marshal of France.

Blunt family of Newcastle (45): Friends of Mary and the Wallingfords who welcome them home. This passage from Charles Hazlett, *History of Rockingham County, New Hampshire* (1915), chapter 39 (placed on the Internet by Claudia Menzel), gives a sense of the consequence of the Blunt family in 18th-century Newcastle:

Hon. John Frost and his lady were early established at Newcastle, where he soon rose to eminence. He was a member of his Majesty's Council, at one time commanded a British ship of war, afterwards pursued the profession of a merchant, and was much distinguished and highly useful in civil life. His place of residence was on an eminence westerly of the Prescott mansion, commanding a view of the spacious harbor, the river and its table-lands, with the lofty Agamenticus in the distance. Some remains of his extensive wharf may yet be traced. His family was numerous and highly respectable, one of whom was **Madame Sarah Blunt**, born in 1713, consort of Rev. John Blunt, third pastor of the church in Newcastle, and after his decease the wife of Hon. Judge Hill, of South Berwick, Me. Hon. John Frost died February 25, 1732, in the fifty-first year of his age. In the cemetery is a moss-covered monument, which bears unmistakable evidence that the same poet who sketched the above chaste epitaph has also, in as smooth and as strong lines, drawn another marked portraiture : "To the memory of Rev'd JOHN BLUNT, Pastor of the Church of Christ of this Town who died Aug. 7, 1748, in the 42d year of his age, whose body lies here interred, this stone is erected. "Soft is the sleep of saints, in peace they lie, They rest in silence, but they never die; From these dark graves, their flesh refined shall rise And in immortal bloom ascend the skies. Then shall thine eyes, dear Blunt! thine hands, thy tongue -- In nicer harmony each member strung -- Resume their warm devotion, and adore Him in whose service they were joined before."

Bordeaux (23): A major fishing port in southwestern France.

Boston (2 and many others): in Massachusetts, a center of revolutionary activity.

Duke de Boufflers (16): This boy, who was a fellow-student of Voltaire (and according to this novel, of Master Sullivan) in Paris, probably was the grandson of the military hero who gained the title for his success as Marshal of France during the War of the Grand Alliance (1689-1697; see Voltaire, *The Age of Louis XIV*, Ch. 16). Parton's *Life of Voltaire* (in Related Materials) tells this story about the boy at the Collége Louis-le-Grand: "It was while Voltaire was a pupil that the Duke de Boufflers and the Marquis d'Argenson conspired with other boys to blow a pop-gun volley of peas at the nose of the unpopular professor, Father Lejay, and were condemned to be flogged for the outrage. The marquis, a boy of seventeen, the son of a king's minister, managed to escape; but the younger duke, though he was named 'Governor of Flanders' and colonel of a regiment, was obliged to submit to the punishment" (v. 1, 31-2).

Boutineaus (34): George A. Ward in *Journal and Letters of Samuel Curwen* (1842) identifies James Boutineau (d. after 1777) as a Boston attorney, the "father-in-law of John Robinson, commissioner of customs, who made a personal attack on James Otis, Esq., [1725-1783] which produced so great a derangement of mind in the latter, as to lead to his withdrawal from the public service" (492-3, See also Sabine, *American Loyalists*, 168-9).

Of the Otis incident, Lossing says:

"The public career of Mr. Otis was ended before the tempest of the Revolution which he had helped to engender, burst upon the colonies. In 1769, his bright intellect was clouded by a concussion of the brain, produced by a blow from a bludgeon in the hands of a custom-house officer whom he had offended. Ever afterward he was afflicted by periods of lunacy. At such times, thoughtless or heartless men and boys would make themselves merry in the streets, at his expense. It was a sad sight to see the great orator and scholar so shattered and exposed" (*Our Country* V. 2, Ch. 7).

Brest (21 and others): A major French port and naval base on the Penfeld River at the western end of the Breton peninsula. See Quiberon.

Breton coast (15 and others): The coast of Brittany in France. On a trip by sea from *Nantes*, a port in the mouth of the River *Loire* to *Brest* a port at the western tip of the Breton peninsula in France, one may sail along the southern coast of the peninsula. *Paimbœuf* and *St. Nazaire* are also in the mouth of the Loire, west of Nantes. Presqu'ile de *Quiberon* is a small peninsula about half way along this journey. Off the end of this peninsula is Belle Île (*Belle Isle*). Lorient (*L'Orient*) is a port west of Quiberon.

Bristol (2 and others): A major seaport in southwestern England, where the Lower Avon flows into the Severn and then into Bristol Channel. Research on the locations in the Bristol vicinity is by Graham Frater, who provides these acknowledgments: For help and guidance on gathering local evidence for the Bristol sections of the *The Tory Lover*, warm thanks are due to Mr John Penny of the Fishponds Historical Society: Ms Madge Dresser of the University of the West of England, Mr and Mrs T. Ross [the owners of

Old Passage House, Aust, formerly the Old Passage Inn), Ms Sheila Lang of the Bristol Records Office, Jan Wood, archivist of the Devon Records Office, Mr and Mrs R. Ebbs of Littleton-upon-Severn, Joy Coupe, Administrator at Bristol Cathedral.

Bristol Landmarks and Locations

The **abbey church of St. Augustine** (38) in Bristol in the 18th Century would have been what remained of the Abbey of St. Augustine.

The present Cathedral Church of the Holy and Undivided Trinity was founded as St Augustine's Abbey in 1140. The Chapter house and Abbey Gatehouse survive, as do several of the side chapels, and the night stairs, but the uncompleted nave was demolished when the abbey was dissolved in 1539. The remaining portions of the abbey became the new cathedral (1542), or formed parts of Bristol Cathedral School, next door. The cathedral was further developed in the nineteenth century. See also: www.bristol-cathedral.co.uk.

Since this was the site of the original abbey, and since some of those original buildings remain, including the gatehouse, (where Mary passed 'two forlorn Royalists' just before she went in), it seems most likely that this is the church referred to in the novel. However, there was also a church of St Augustine the Less, of which Sheila Lang writes: 'Before the creation of Bristol Diocese the Abbey of St Augustine was a major landowner, situated in the city centre. At the Dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII, all the lands and property of the Abbey went towards the endowment of the new Diocese of Bristol in 1542. Near the Cathedral stood the church of St Augustine the Less in the 18th century. It was damaged in the blitz, and demolished in the 1960s, and a hotel [the Swallow] now occupies the site."

Before he was translated to St Paul's in London, The Reverend Sydney Smith (1771-1845), whose biography Kate and Helen mention as a favourite in the last chapter of Jewett's *Deephaven*, was a prebendary canon of Bristol Cathedral. He was a prominent reformer, and the founding editor of the highly influential Edinburgh Review. He mischievously preached a sermon on Catholic toleration to the burghers of Bristol on 5th November 1828 (Nov 5th is commemorated to this day with fireworks to celebrate Britain's 'salvation' from Guy Fawkes's pro-Catholic Gunpowder Plot, 1605 -- intended to blow up King and parliament).

Joy Coupe of the Bristol Cathedral points out that the monument Mary views in Chapter 38 is the Newton monument in the Newton Chapel. The parents shown died in 1599, so they died in the reign of Elizabeth I, but the monument probably is Jacobean. The parents, Ms Coupe points out, are lying down rather than kneeling. The children are kneeling in the height order described in the text.

Bristol Quay (33): Not a single quay, but a cluster of wharfs and quays in Bristol harbor, close to the city center. Sheila Lang writes: 'There are several quays within the city, as two rivers flow through the city centre, the Avon and the Frome. Broad Quay and Narrow Quay are still in existence, but the Quay itself is now known as Quay Street, and the river has been culverted in this area, so the Quay has gone; [the] reference to Bristol Quay could be to any of these."

Clifton Downs (32 and others)**:** Clifton Downs is now a large public common, high above the city near to the University of Bristol, and Brunel's suspension bridge. The Downs still afford fine views of the city just as Davis suggests, and the Dundry Hills can be seen from there too.

Mr. Davis's house (33)**:** The text suggests that this was close to the waterside, the wharves where the ships were unloaded, and the warehouses where their cargoes were stored. Bomb damage in World War II left few such merchants houses standing. If the house was indeed close to the quayside, it would have been only a short walk to Bristol Cathedral, (the Abbey Church of St Augustine).

Dundry (43): The Dundry Hills lie some six miles to the south of Bristol, and may be seen from several parts of the city, including Clifton Downs.

King or King's Road: King's Road: the stretch of water close to the village of Pill where the River Avon, (along which Bristol grew up), joins the Severn Estuary. From this point it was customary for the men of Pill to pilot ships into Bristol's wharves and docks (source: John Penny). Sheila Lang of the

Bristol Record Office writes: "King Road and Hung Road are areas in the River Severn estuary, near to where the River Avon flows into the Severn from Bristol."

St. Mary Radcliffe (43): St. Mary Redcliffe (not Radcliffe) remains a sizeable and prosperous city church in Bristol. See also www.stmaryredcliffe.co.uk.

Burgoyne (6 and other chapters): The British general, John Burgoyne (1722-1792) was an important figure in the American Revolution. According to the *Encarta Encyclopedia*, he became dissatisfied with British conduct of the war; "he won official approval of his own campaign strategy to invade New York from Canada and combine his troops at Albany with a force of British and Native Americans under Colonel Barry St. Leger. In May 1777, Burgoyne replaced Carleton in command and in the early summer moved southward with almost 9000 men. He captured Fort Ticonderoga on July 6, but thereafter his advance toward Albany was slowed. He reached Saratoga in September, fought an indecisive battle with the Americans, and retreated. On October 7 he again made contact with the Americans at Saratoga but, lacking reinforcements and supplies, surrendered ten days later to Major General Horatio Gates. The American victory is generally regarded as the turning point of the war."

Butler's Hill: See Berwick.

C

Cæsar (2): A servant of Mary Hamilton's family. In Chapter 35, Cæsar is referred to as "their own old slave." See "Cæsar" in Extended Notes for more on slaves in Old Berwick.

Cambrai (17)**:** An agricultural and industrial region, specializing in textiles in northern France, southwest of Lille, along the Escaut River. This is the town where Fénelon resided at his death, hence Master Sullivan's travels there with Fénelon's nephew, the Abbé de Beaumont: (Research assistance: Travis Feltman)

Cambridge (2): In Massachusetts, west of Boston, the location of Harvard College, now Harvard University.

Carrickfergus (27,31): In northeast Ireland, on the Belfast Lough, north of Belfast.

Carnac/Mont St. Michel (23)**:** Carnac is a village near the Atlantic coast of Brittany (Bretagne) in northwestern France, famous for its prehistoric stone monuments known as menhirs and dolmens (sometimes associated with Druids), which seem to be linked historically to the nearby Mont St. Michel off the coast of Normandy. (Research: Travis Feltman; Source *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*)

Carsethorn Bay (2,6): The port town of Carsethorn in Scotland is down river from Dumfries on the River Nith, near J. P. Jones's birthplace at Arbigland.

Judge Benjamin Chadbourne (1): Benjamin Chadbourne (1718-1799), from one of the leading families of South Berwick, served as a soldier and politician as well as a judge. See Extended Notes.

Channel (12 and others): The English Channel, between England and France.

Duke and Duchess of Chartres (23, 39): Louis Philippe Joseph (1747-1793) was Duke of Chartres and then Duc d'Orléans, a French nobleman, cousin of King Louis XVI. See Extended Notes.

Chase, James (12): Jewett identifies him as an old Nantucket seaman, who served with Jones on the *Alfred*.

Abbé de Châteauneuf (17): According to Parton's *Life of Voltaire*, the Abbé de Châteauneuf was Voltaire's godfather and tutor. He is characterized as a freethinker and epicurean, and a lover of the dramatist, Racine (25). He recognized young Voltaire's talents and in various ways furthered his early successes, such as introducing him to influential patrons like Ninon de Lenclos, mistress of several powerful men, including the Abbé de Châteauneuf. (Research assistance: Travis Feltman)

Earl of Chatham (23): William Pitt, 1st Earl of Chatham (1708-1778), was the prime minister of Great Britain (1766-1768) who led the country to victory over France in the Seven Years' War. He also was

known for his defense of the rights of the American colonies at the beginning of the Revolution. (Source: *Encarta Encyclopedia*)

Monsieur Le Ray de Chaumont (22): Jacques Donatien Le Ray de Chaumont, says, S. E. Morison, "was a bourgeois who, after making a fortune in the East India trade, bought the sumptuous Hôtel Valentinois.... Having Dr. Franklin and the other Commissioners and their secretaries live on the grounds of his splendid residence was a convenient means for conducting Franco-American relations informally and discreetly." Morison also says that Mme. de Chaumont became Jones's mistress. (*John Paul Jones*123-5).

Chippenham (43,44)**:** A town east of Bristol, in England.

Christian Shore (10): Now in northwest Portsmouth, N.H., across from the western part of Kittery, on the Piscataqua River.

Clifton Downs: see Bristol.

Collége Louis-le-Grand (17): A prestigious Jesuit school in Paris, where Voltaire received his formal education during 1704-1711, and where Jewett says Master Sullivan studied in France. No documentary evidence has been found to show that Sullivan actually studied at this school, though it is clear he received a fine education in France. Indeed, Parton's *Life of Voltaire* suggests it is unlikely Sullivan could have received an education in multiple languages at Louis-le-Grand, which taught mainly Latin and a little Greek.

Concord, Massachusetts (2,34): West of Boston, this town, along with Lexington, was the site of the first battle of the American Revolution on April 19, 1775.

Prince of Conti (3): See Duke of Sully.

Cooper (12): Cooper would appear to be an entirely fictional character, though Cooper is a common name, and there were many living in the Piscataqua region during the American Revolution. Jewett identifies him and Hanscom as from the South Berwick area. In 15, Cooper and Wallingford are said to be old friends who share many memories, and Jewett identifies the Wallingford servant, Susan, as Cooper's older sister.

An Alexander Cooper (b. 1746) resident in South Berwick 1818, is listed as having served in the Revolution in Fisher & Fisher.

Mrs. Craik (22): John Paul Jones's father worked as a gardener for William Craik, a landowner at Arbigland, Scotland.

Cranberry Meadow (9): A rural area east of Berwick, Maine; now it has become mainly woodland. See "The Old Town of Berwick" for a photograph.

Cuffee (8): Haggens family slave. See Cæsar.

Cumberland (6,24): Now part of Cumbria, Cumberland was a northern border county in England, divided from Scotland by Hadrian's Wall.

Judge Curwen (1,2,38): Samuel Curwen (1715-1802) was American-born and a judge of Admiralty in the British colonial administration of the American colonies, a loyalist with a complex attitude toward his homeland, and an American refugee in England from 1775-1784. See Extended Notes.

D

Lord Darwentwater (36): James Radcliffe, 3rd Earl of Derwentwater (1689-1716), was a cousin and childhood companion of James III (the "Old Pretender") and became involved in the 1715 Jacobite uprising. He was captured and executed in 1716. His younger brother, Charles Radcliffe, led troops in this rebellion. See Charles Radcliffe.

In a letter of 21 November 1901 to Roger L. Scaife at Houghton Mifflin, Jewett requested a number of final corrections to the novel text. Possibly because it was by then too late for alterations, they were not made. One of these was to change the spelling from Darwentwater to Derwentwater.

Davis, John (32): Bristol (England) merchant; helper of Mary Hamilton and Mme. Wallingford. Almost certainly this is a fictional character, though the name of John Davis is common enough to appear in Bristol records of the 18th century that one finds on the Internet. However, no particular John Davis has been found on whom Jewett may have based her character. See Extended Notes.

Mr. Deane (22): Silas Deane (1737-1789), along with Benjamin Franklin served as an American commissioner to France during the Revolutionary War.

Denny Delane (30): Dennis Delane (1700-1750) was a celebrated Dublin and London actor, remembered for his parts in Elizabethan plays, such as Shakepeare's *Henry V*.

Dickson (12): He is said to be an officer in Ch. 24 and later, but which office is not specified. A Stephen Dickson is listed as an apprentice boy from Boston in Buell, but clearly this boy is not the model for Jewett's villain. Sawtelle lists no Dickson. However, it is possible that Jewett used this name because it was familiar to people in late 19th-century South Berwick, Samuel Dickson / Dixon. Samuel Dickson was a somewhat shady operator of a liquor shop in mid-century Salmon Falls. His shop is associated with an 1854 murder, in which Dr. Jewett examined the body, and he was involved in local conflict over prohibition of alcoholic beverage sales in Maine in the 1850s. He is remembered for identifying a group of arsonists who motivated, apparently, by their opposition to prohibition. (Research: Wendy Pirsig)

Dilston Hall (36): The seat of the Radcliffe family, until James Radcliffe, Earl of Derwentwater, was executed for treason in 1716, and his brother Charles was condemned, but escaped. Then the estate was confiscated and turned over to the Royal Hospital at Greenwich. The mansion, near Hexton, Northumberland, is now a ruin, but the chapel remains intact. (Research assistance: Graham Frater)

John Dougall (12): Dr. Green reports that a John W. Dangle was killed on 24 April 1778 in the capture of the sloop of war, *Drake*, near Carrickfergus, and Jones reports in his own narrative of the events that John Dougall died in the capture of the Drake (Sands 85).

Johnny Downes (12): Named as a ship's boy in *The Tory Lover*.

Dover (4 and others): On the Cocheco River in New Hampshire, Dover is about 10 miles northwest of Portsmouth. A farming and fishing village when originally settled at Dover Point in 1623, within two decades, there were sawmills along the river, beginning the town's history as a manufacturing center. Dr. Ezra Green, ship's doctor of the *Ranger*, is from Dover.

Dover NH Locations and Landmarks

Dover Landing (4): Also known as Cocheco Landing, below the falls on the Cocheco River in what is now the town of Dover, NH. Gulf Road would have begun at Dover Landing in 1777.

Dover River (6): This is now the Cocheco River.

Dover Point (6): About 5 miles down the Cocheco from Dover, Dover Point is the site of the original settlement of Dover.

Garrison Hill (8): This high point in Dover was the site of several garrisons used mainly for defense against hostile Indians in the various Indian wars. From a tower on the hill one commands a view of the Salmon Falls/Piscataqua valley that includes the area from South Berwick to Portsmouth.

Research assistance: Wendy Pirsig. Sources: *New Hampshire: A Guide to the Granite State* by the Federal Writer's Project (1938); Robert A. Whitehouse and Cathleen C. Beaudoin, *Port of Dover: Two Centuries of Shipping on the Cochecho* (1988).

Dublin (30): The capital of Ireland

Trinity College (30): Now the University of Dublin, founded by Elizabeth I in 1592.

Smock Alley Theater (30): Margery Sullivan remembers her father telling of the collapse of the gallery in this theater, which took place in 1672.

Dumfries (2)**:** On Solway Firth in Scotland, on the River Nith, northeast of Arbigland, and north across the firth from Whitehaven.

Dundry: See Bristol.

E

Young Earl (31): Earl is mentioned once as imprisoned in the Mill Prison in Chapter 31, but he is not on Charles Herbert's list of prisoners. In the March of 1779, Jones helped to negotiate a prisoner exchange in which over 200 American prisoners were released. Many of these then joined Jones as crew for the *Bon Homme Richard*; John Earl is listed by the unreliable Augustus Buell as among the petty officers and able seamen on the *Richard*. See William Earl below for information about the Earl family.

William Earl (19): Acts as secretary for Captain Jones on the *Ranger* on the night that Wallingford notices Jones is wearing Mary's ring. Earl is not on Buell's list of the crew. According to the Chadbourne Family Association web site, the Hearl (sometimes spelled Earl) family had several members residing in the area of South Berwick during the era of the American Revolution.

Earl of Halifax Tavern: See Portsmouth.

Lord Mount Edgecumbe (34): George Edgecumb (1721-1795), became 1st Earl of Mount Edgecumbe in 1789. He "was a naval officer who saw a great deal of service during the Seven Years' War. Succeeding to the barony on the 1st baron's death in 1761, he became an admiral and treasurer of the royal household; he was created Viscount Mount-Edgecumbe in 1781 and earl of Mount-Edgecumbe in 1789." The family possessed estates near Plymouth, notably the extensive residence at Mount Edgcumb, and the first Earl also held the appointment of Lord-Lieutenant of Cornwall.

In Chapters 34-7, he is said to be concerned about his oaks going down, is criticized for his oversight of the prison, and is said to be the master of Plymouth. None of these assertions has yet been verified. (Research assistance: Graham Frater; additional sources: Duprez's *Visitor's Guide to Mount Edgecumbe*, 1871, "Historical Sketch of the Edgecumbes" and L. Jewitt and S. C. Hall, *The Stately Homes of England*.).

Eppin' (12): Epping, N.H. is about 15 miles west of Portsmouth on the Lamprey River. It is one of the oldest settlements in the state and was originally a part of Exeter.

Exeter (2,22): On the Exeter River in Rockingham County about 10 miles southwest of Portsmouth, Exeter was the capital of New Hampshire during the American Revolution. The town was notably rebellious against British rule in the years preceding the Revolution: "In 1775, the capital was removed to Exeter from Portsmouth, there being too many Tories at Portsmouth, while Exeter was almost wholly Revolutionary" (*New Hampshire: A Guide to the Granite State* by the Federal Writer's Project, 160).

F

Mr. George Fairfax, of Virginia (35): The Fairfax family were prominent Virginia landowners, and included, as well-known loyalists, Lord Thomas, whose estate was thought to be the largest in America at

the beginning of the revolution, Bryan (1727-1802) and George (1724-1787). Bryan and George were brothers, the sons of Colonel William Fairfax.

George Fairfax was British born, immigrated to Virginia and served in various official positions until he inherited property in Yorkshire in 1773 and returned to England to manage it. He did not return to Virginia. In *American Loyalists* (1847), Lorenzo Sabine says:

"He fixed his residence at Bath.... During the war he evinced much kindness to American prisoners who were carried to England. A part of his Virginia estate was confiscated, by which his income was much reduced. Washington esteemed him highly, and they were ever friends" (277).

Falls (12): A gunner who plays fiddle.

Dr. Green reports that James Falls was wounded on 24 April 1778 in the capture of the sloop of war, *Drake*, near Carrickfergus.

Falmouth, Maine (29,34): In 1787, the city name was changed to Portland. This was the site in 1775 of a British bombardment that burned the town. According to Amory in *The Life of James Sullivan*, the attack took place after Captain Mowatt, a commander under Admiral Greaves, was captured by American forces. He was released in response to a threat of bombardment, but "Irritated at the indignities to which he had been subjected during his detention and at the opposition manifested later by the inhabitants to a proposed supply of spars and other materials for the fleet, under the sanction of the admiral ... he bombarded and destroyed Falmouth" (I, 59-60). Amory reports that news of this attack on a civilian population spread panic through sea coast towns and villages from Falmouth to Boston. See also Williamson, *History of the State of Maine*, v.2, Chapter 16.

Faneuils (34): In *Journal and Letters of ... Samuel Curwen*, Ward describes Benjamin Faneuil as a Loyalist, "a merchant of Boston, and with Joshua Winslow, consignee of one-third of the East India Company's tea destroyed in 1773; was a refugee to Halifax, afterwards in England" (492). The Faneuil family had been prominent in Boston in the 18th century, Peter Fanueil building and giving to the city the famous Fanueil Hall, which became a noted meeting place of American rebels.

Fénelon, François de Salignac de la Mothe (17). Fénelon (1651-1715) was a French writer, theologian, and bishop. Having served as tutor to Louis XIV's grandson, the Duke of Burgundy, Fénelon was intimately connected with the French court, even after he fell out of favor with the king. He submitted to the Church's condemnation in 1699 of his *Maxims of the Saints*, and continued as Archbishop of Cambrai (1695-1715) - in exile from the court - until his death. He is well-remembered in part for his great acts of charity during the War of the Spanish Succession. (Sources: "Life of Fénelon," by Lamartine, in Fénelon, *Adventures of Telemachus*. O. W. White, editor, 1886; and Voltaire, *The Age of Louis XIV*, Ch. 38).

Joseph Fernal (12): Named as an old Portsmouth sailor.

Hezekiah Ford (41): One of Arthur Lee's private secretaries. Buell charges that he, like Thornton, was involved in revealing U.S. secrets to the British and in encouraging Lieutenant Simpson to mutinous actions (1;105, 2;43), but this has not been confirmed in reliable sources. Indeed, biographer Louis W. Potts in *Arthur Lee* (1981), says that Ford was not a spy, but that "Governor Patrick Henry and the Council of Virginia considered Ford an enemy to the American cause of independence," because he had opposed a militia draft in North Carolina and engaged in counterfeiting. Potts says virtually nothing is known of Ford's movements after he returned to the United States in August, 1779, on a mission to vindicate Arthur Lee of charges made against him by Silas Deane (222-3).

Fox, Charles James (23): Fox (1749-1806) was a "British statesman, one of the principal leaders of the Whig Party in the period of the American and French revolutions. The son of Henry Fox, 1st baron Holland, a Whig politician of the previous generation, Fox was born in Westminster on January 24, 1749, and was educated at Eton and the University of Oxford. He entered Parliament at the age of 19, obtaining a seat through his father's influence, and was initially a supporter of the Crown. He held minor posts in the ministry of Lord North between 1770 and 1774, until King George III had him dismissed because of his open sympathy for the American colonists. He then joined the Whig opposition and quickly became one of its leaders, showing great skill as an orator." (Source: *Encarta Encyclopedia*).

Benjamin Franklin (22): Franklin (1706-1790) was a major figure in the American Revolution. In addition to serving as a commissioner to France, Franklin was an active revolutionary in a variety of other

capacities, including signing the Declaration of Independence and serving as a delegate to the U. S. Constitutional Convention.

French Minister of Marine (22): Antoine de Sartine (1729-1801) was French Minister of Marine (1774-1780). He also served as master of requests for the city of Châtelet, lieutenant general of the police in Paris, and as state counselor. (Research: Travis Feltman)

G

Gardner (23): a sailor on the *Ranger*.

Garrick (11)**:** David Garrick (1717-1779): English actor, producer, dramatist, poet, and co-manager of the Drury Lane Theatre. He was best known for his roles as King Lear, Macbeth, and Richard III in Shakespeare's plays as well as Abel Drugger in Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist*. His reforms of the Drury Lane Theatre made him highly successful from the years 1747 to 1775. (Research: Travis Feltman)

Garrison Hill: See Dover.

George III (12): King of England during the American Revolution, George III (1738-1820) was determined to retain the American colonies and that they should submit to Royal rule.

Mr. Nicholas Gilman, of Exeter (2)**:** Belknap in *The History of New-Hampshire* identifies Nicholas Gilman (1731-1783) as a counselor and then a senator from New Hampshire 1777-1783. He was treasurer of New Hampshire during the Revolution. His eldest son Nicholas (d. 1814) was a delegate to the second constitutional convention and also served as a senator from New Hampshire, and his second son, John Taylor (d. 1828) was governor of New Hampshire (262). His third son, Nathaniel, a New Hampshire state legislator, was Sarah Orne Jewett's great-grandfather on her mother's side. See also, Paula Blanchard, *Sarah Orne Jewett* (12). "Master Tate's Diary" gives the death of the wife of Nicholas Gilman (Sr.), Molly, 28 December 1777. Molly was the daughter of Rev. James Pike; this would suggest that Rev. Pike was Jewett's great-great-grandfather (See Parson Pike below).

General Goodwin (2): In Chapter 2, he laments the decline of law and order, referring to slavers, the minister guesses, and so leading Jones to raise an issue over which the community is divided. In Chapter 29, he leads in breaking up the mob that attacks Mrs. Wallingford. This is General Ichabod Goodwin (1743-1829) of Old Fields, grandson of Hetty Goodwin. See Extended Notes.

Old Mrs. Hetty Goodwin (32): Mehetable Goodwin was one of the early settlers of Berwick, famous in the area for the story of her Indian captivity during the French and Indian wars. See Extended Notes.

Lord Gormanstown (30): The Lords Gormanstown, Howth, and Trimlestown are all remembered by Master Sullivan in Chapter 30 as fancy dressers when attending the theater in Dublin during Sullivan's youth, probably in about 1720. All three families were prominent among the nobility in Dublin in the 18th century. See Extended Notes.

Thankful Grant (4): Grant is a common name among the sailors who served with John Paul Jones, and there was a large Grant family living in South Berwick during the Revolutionary era. They intermarried with the Wentworth and Ricker families, among others according to John Wentworth, (1815-1888) *The Wentworth genealogy: English and American*. According to various family web sites, there was a Thankful Grant born in Westfield, MA in 1776, but the date and the distance suggest that Jewett was not thinking of this particular person as the young woman who fears for her "young man" who has joined the mob from Dover that plans to question Roger Wallingford about his loyalty in Ch. 4. "Thankful" also was a name known to Jewett, and probably would be associated in her mind with Quakers. See Mary Rice Jewett's "Recollections of Whittier," (in Biography) for Thankful Hussey.

Grant (12): probably Ephram, a sailor on the *Ranger*.

Gray (2): Harrison Gray (1712-1794), according to Ward, was a merchant and receiver-general of Massachusetts before the Revolution. Ward describes him as a particularly able, honest and faithful

public servant who had the bad fortune to be appointed to the position responsible for tax collection for the Crown in 1774, shortly before Royal government ceased to command authority. Ward says, "Perhaps no man among the many excellent persons who went into exile at that time, was more beloved and regretted by his political enemies; for a more genuine model of *nature's* nobleman never lived" (*Letters and Journals of ... Samuel Curwen* 506-7).

Great Bay (1,6): Great Bay and Little Bay open into the Piscataqua estuary between Dover and Portsmouth, N.H.

Great Falls (9,16): Between present day Somersworth and Berwick on the Salmon Falls River, just downstream from the Highway 9 bridge. In the early 19th century, the village of Somersworth was often called Great Falls, though according to Peter Michaud, this was not the name of the village but of "the Great Falls Mfg. Co., the textile factory that was developed on its shores in the early 1820's. The prevalence of the name Great Falls in the 19th and early 20th century stand as testimony to the dominance and power held by the 'corporation.' The name "Great Falls" slowly drops out of usage when the company folds in the 1920's." The falls themselves were used by various mills from settlement through the 19th Century.
(Research Assistance: Peter Michaud and Wendy Pirsig)

Great Works: See Berwick.

Dr. Ezra Green (1746-1847), ship surgeon (13): After five years service in the American army and navy, Green became a merchant and public servant in Malden, Massachusetts. For details and pictures, see *Diary of Ezra Green* in Related Materials.

[John] Grosvenor (12): a sailor on the *Ranger*.

H

Old Master Hackett (12): Two Hacketts, William and James, were well-known ship-builders in Portsmouth, NH, prior to and after the American Revolution. See Extended Notes.

Major Tilly Haggens (1) **and Nancy, his sister** (8)**:** Tilly Haggens (d. 17 August 1777), though Jewett pointedly gives him and his sister a French ancestry, was actually an Irish immigrant. So far as has been discovered, he had no sister Nancy, though his daughter Nancy became the owner of the Jewett house in South Berwick and sold it to Thomas Jewett, Sarah's great uncle, in 1839. See Extended Notes.

Haggens family servants named in the novel (all slaves) (8)
Cuffee
Apollo
Phoebe

In Tilly Haggens's will, he bequeaths a Negro man "named Seaser" to his son, John, and "a Negro boy called Sandy" to his son Edmund.

Tilly Haggens's house: See Berwick.

Halifax (29,32): Halifax, capital of Nova Scotia, was founded as a military base in 1749. When the British army evacuated Boston in 1775, many of the Loyalist refugees went to Halifax, a center for Tory exiles. When the *Golden Dolphin* sails from Halifax, the ship becomes liable to capture by American privateers as engaged in trade with England.

Lieutenant [Elijah] Hall (24): Dr. Green reports that Lieutenant Hall and he signed a petition for the release of the imprisoned Lieutenant Simpson on 29 May 1778. Sawtelle notes that Hall's biography appears in G. D. Foss's *Three Centuries of Free Masonry in New Hampshire* (1972): "Lost sight of an Eye and taken prisoner in battle off Charleston, S.C. He returned to Portsmouth and married Elizabeth Stoodley, daughter of the owner of Stoodleys Tavern (moved to Hancock Street in Strawbery Banke Museum in 1964.) After the war Elijah purchased the tavern and made it his residence for the remainder of his life. He was elected to the state senate in 1807-09, the Governors council in 1809-17. Died June

22, 1830. Was an incorporator of the Portsmouth Savings Bank. The Halls had three sons who were all killed in the War of 1812."

Colonel Jonathan Hamilton (1)**:** Jonathan Hamilton (1745-1802) was the builder of Hamilton House in South Berwick, ME. His wife, not his sister, was Mary Hamilton. Both were born near South Berwick. Hamilton became a prominent merchant and ship-builder after the American Revolution. See Extended Notes.

Mary Hamilton (1): Mary Hamilton (1749-1800) in history was Jonathan Hamilton's wife. She was born Mary Manning in the Pine Hill area north of South Berwick, where Master Sullivan was schoolmaster. See Extended Notes.

Hamilton family servants named in the novel

Caesar: see above.
Peggy (4)

Spinners (28):
Hannah Neal
Phebe Hodgdon
Hitty Warren

Hamilton House (1 and many other chapters): This colonial mansion was actually built in 1785-88, after the war, and restored during Jewett's lifetime. It overlooks the Salmon Falls River in the southwestern part of South Berwick, once known as the Lower Landing in Old Fields. There were wharfs, stores, and warehouses at the Hamilton House landing site in the 1770s. Today the house and grounds are maintained by Historic New England.

Paula Blanchard in *Sarah Orne Jewett* suggests that Jewett may not have known the date of the house's construction, though by the time she completed *The Tory Lover*, she had helped to arrange for Emily Tyson and her step-daughter, Elise, to purchase and restore the property (See Alan Emmet, *So Fine a Prospect: Historic New England Gardens* and the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities guidebook, *Hamilton House: a Quintessential Colonial Revival Summer House in South Berwick, Maine*. In "River Driftwood" (1881), Jewett imagines John Paul Jones visiting the house (342).

Various sources affirm that David Moore's mansion, which occupied the site before Hamilton House, was equally impressive, but that it burned between 1777 and 1783. The "gossipy" Goodwin Diary by Mrs. Ichabod Goodwin (Sophia Elizabeth Hayes) from 1885 (Old Berwick Historical Society) reports this as heard from Mrs. Raynes, July 31, 1884, "On the place where the 'Hamilton House' now stands was a house built and occupied by David More, which was burned, there was also another large house built by Wm. Rogers ... nephew of Mrs. More. Both of these houses were finer than the Hamilton House." She goes on to report that the Rogers house was eventually moved without damage to Portsmouth by gundalow. Even if John Paul Jones did not visit Hamilton house itself, he could well have visited a similar house at the same site. However, I have found no documentary evidence that he traveled this far up-river from Portsmouth, where he oversaw the completion of the *Ranger*.

The following in *Cross-Grained & Wily Waters,* edited by W. J. Bolster (2002) draws upon Marie Donahue in "Hamilton House on the Piscataqua," *Down East (1*975): "During the American Revolution, Jonathan Hamilton of South Berwick went privateering and amassed a fortune. With peace he purchased thirty acres of land along the eastern shore of the Salmon Falls River from Woodbury Langdon. There, on a high bluff, Hamilton built a Georgian-style mansion in 1785 that, he boasted, would be a 'finer house than Tilly Haggens's'...." (178).

In the opening chapters, Jewett refers repeatedly to the sound of a nearby falls, giving it significance as a voice of Nature that speaks to Mary and Roger of things that seem more serious than the gay party that opens the novel. At that time, the nearest falls of any size would have been where the Great Works River flows into the Salmon Falls River; today this is dammed to form Leighs Mill Pond.

In contemporary Berwick, falls are difficult to hear in the busy village, except perhaps at the Upper Landing, but in earlier days, it was apparently different. For example, this is a letter of June 20, 1900 to Mrs. Henry Parkman from *The Letters of Sarah Wyman Whitman* (pp. 126-7): "All the stars are shining in this quiet town and peace lies like a mantle over the hill. The rivers which gird in South Berwick have

seven falls within a mile, and a sound like that of some mysterious sea comes on the air; and after you know, you always, a little, hear it, and there are many things here which give a sort of mystic quality to this old simple New England village."

In Chapter 28, Peggy at Hamilton House looks up the fields to a row of elms at General Goodwin's house and watches traffic on the Portsmouth Road. See General Goodwin on the list of People. The Portsmouth road is now known as Oldfields Road.

(Research assistance: Wendy Pirsig).

Hampton Roads (4)**:** A channel in southeast Virginia between the mouth of the James River and Chesapeake Bay. Though Jewett follows Augustus Buell in having J. P. Jones meet Kersaint at this location, there is no evidence this meeting ever took place.

John Hancock (2): John Hancock (1737-93) was the first signer of the Declaration of Independence in 1776. In 1775-7, as presiding officer of the Second Continental Congress, he was called President Hancock. He chaired the Marine Committee during the American Revolution, and he was the first governor of Maine under the Constitution of the Commonwealth (1780-1785). He also signed the incorporation papers for the Berwick Academy. (Research assistance: Wendy Pirsig.)

[Reuben] Hanscom (12): Jewett indicates that he is a "river" man, like Cooper, from the South Berwick area. Fisher & Fisher list a Reuben Hanscom (1754-1831) who enlisted at Kittery, who married Lucy and then Alice, and who died in North Berwick (337). There is no indication that this Reuben Hanscom served on the *Ranger*.

David Hartley (22): Son of the philosopher David Hartley, Hartley studied medicine, became a noted scientist and a friend of Benjamin Franklin (See Chapter 22). He served in the British Parliament during the American Revolution and was associated with the Rockingham Whigs. He developed an expertise in finance and opposed British war policies during the Revolution. In "Letters on the American War" (1778), he argued for accepting American independence and pursuing friendly policies toward the new nation.

Charles Herbert, of Newbury, in Massachusetts (31): Jewett presents him as a scribe at the Mill prison. He is sometimes said to be from Newburyport. Herbert (1757-1808) is remembered for his narrative of his experiences when the American privateer on which he served, the *Dolton,* was captured and its crew imprisoned at Plymouth. In *A Relic of the Revolution: Containing a Full and Particular Account of the Sufferings And Privations of All the American Prisoners Captured on the High Seas, and Carried into Plymouth, England, During the Revolution of 1776;With the Names of the Vessels taken -- the Names and Residence of the several Crews, and time of their Commitment -- the Names of such as died in Prison, and such as made their Escape, or entered on board English Men-of-War, until the exchange of prisoners, March 15, 1779* (1847), Herbert narrates the capture of the *Dolton* in December 1776 and tells of his experiences as a captive in the Mill Prison at Plymouth. His narrative contains the details Jewett presents about him, including his falling ill with smallpox. Herbert later served under John Paul Jones on the *Alliance* (1779-80).

Hertel and his French and Indians (16, 32): François Hertel (1642-1722), was a French-Canadian. He and his sons eventually served the French military in a series of raids on English colonies during several periods of warfare. In 1690, in King William's War (1689-1697), Hertel led Indian warriors into Maine and New Hampshire. In this raid, Mehitable Goodwin was captured and taken to Canada (see Chapter 32).

See Extended Notes and Photographs for Chapter 16.

Major Hight (8): Tilly Haggens notes Major Hight's new house on a ridge visible from the front porch of his house. Though it is difficult to be sure who this Major Hight is, the most likely candidate is William Hight, father of Temple Hight. See Extended Notes.

Midshipman [Benjamin] Hill (26): Buell lists Charles Hill of Barnstable as a midshipman, and notes that he also served with Jones on the *Providence* and the *Alfred* (1;51). Buell also says that Hill authored "The Song of the Ranger" quoted in Chapter 12, but S. E. Morison indicates that Buell made up this document (427). Sawtelle lists Benjamin Hill, but not his position.

Dr. Green says that Mr. Hill accompanied Lieutenant Wallingford in the Whitehaven attack. Sawtelle lists Benj. Hill, and S. E. Morison points out that during the Whitehaven attack, Benjamin Hill, a friend of Jones, also was serving as a volunteer officer on the *Ranger* (119).

Mr. Hill (2): Jewett may be referring to either of two John Hills of South Berwick. See Extended Notes.

Martha Hill (5): A young woman friend of Mary Hamilton; she is among the young people who attend the party for Jones the day before he sails. No record of a Martha Hill fitting this description has been found in the South Berwick area of this period.

Humphrey Hodgdon (28): This is one of the local men mentioned as killed in New Jersey battles of 1778 (Ch. 28). Hodgdon/Hodsdon is a prominent name in Maine, in which a county and a town are so named. However, it has not been confirmed that a specific Hodgdon from Berwick died in the Revolution. He is not listed in Fisher & Fisher. W. D. Spencer's "A List of the Revolutionary Soldiers of Berwick" (1898) lists Daniel Hodsdon as serving nine months in 1778, and being a prisoner.

Sir William Howe (32): William Howe, 5th Viscount Howe (1729-1814), according to the *Encarta Encyclopedia* was "British commander in chief in North America (1775-78) during the early years of the American Revolution. See Extended Notes.

Lord Howth (30): See above, Lord Gormanstown. The Howth family name is St. Lawrence; Howth Castle remains a landmark in Dublin. Samuel Fitzpatrick in *Dublin: A Historical and Topographical Account of the City* (1907) give this description from the 1780s:

"The North Circular Road now became a fashionable driving resort, where the beautiful Duchess might be seen in the magnificent viceregal equipage. Here, Lord Cloncurry tells us in his *Personal Recollections,* 'it was the custom, on Sundays, for all the great folk to rendezvous in the afternoon, just as, in latter times, the fashionables of London did in Hyde Park; and upon that magnificent drive I have frequently seen three or four coaches-and-six, and eight or ten coaches-and four passing slowly to and fro in a long procession of other carriages, and between a double column of well-mounted horsemen.'

"Here O'Keeffe saw Lord Howth with 'a coachman's wig with a number of little curls, and a three-cocked hat with great spouts,' while the 'horsey' character of the St. Laurence family was further evidenced by the 'bit of straw about two inches long' which his Lordship carried in his mouth" (Chapter 6).

Solomon Hutchings (13): Named by Jewett as the first victim of voyage -- a broken leg; This also is in Buell (1;86), but not, as one would expect, in the *Diary of Ezra Green*. Sawtelle notes that Solomon Hutchins "came down with smallpox, recovered" (194). Fisher & Fisher list Solomon Hutchins (b. 1760) as a navy sailor from Kittery serving on the *Ranger* (400).

Thomas Hutchinson (10): Hutchinson (1711-1780) was the last civilian Royal Governor of the provinces of Maine and Sagadahock (1769-1774). He was replaced by a military governor-general, Thomas Gage, in 1774, who was soon replaced in 1775 by a rebellious Provincial Congress. Williamson in *The History of the State of Maine* says, "Not succeeding in his commercial pursuits, though it seemed to be the most ardent desire of his soul to acquire wealth; he applied himself indefatigably to the study of history, politics and law. He was early elected by the inhabitants of Boston into the House of Representatives, and in 1747, he was Speaker. By his industry, eloquence, and knowledge of public affairs, he acquired great influence and distinction. Besides being Lieutenant-Governor he was a Councillor, Chief Justice of the Superior Court in 1760, and also Judge of Probate for Suffolk" (v. 2, ch. 13). As a former Royal Governor, Hutchinson was sympathetic to Tory refugees in England.

I-J

Irish Sea (12,23,30): Between England and Ireland.

Island of Guernsey (41): One of the British Channel Islands, at the west end of the Channel, south of Bournemouth in England.

Isles of Shoals (7 and other chapters): Off the coast of New Hampshire, near Portsmouth, these islands are divided between Maine and New Hampshire. See Williamson for a description.

King James (3): James II (1633-1701), King of England 1685-1688. He was deposed in 1688 and replaced by his daughter, Mary II and her husband, William of Orange (William III). James's Catholic son, Francis Edward Stuart became the Old Pretender, James III, whom Irish and French Catholics, among

others, wished to make King of England. James II's grandson, Charles Edward, became known as the Young Pretender.

Mr. Jenkins's (8): An 1805 survey map, at the Old Berwick Historical Society, of part of the village of South Berwick shows a Junkins house across the road (east side) from the John Haggens house, and just south of this house a store is shown. This may have been the store of Mr. Jenkins that Tilly is curious about in Chapter 8, but this has not been confirmed.

The store on this map would be almost directly in front of Haggens, and seems to correspond to the location of Jewett's grandfather's West India store, opened after Captain Jewett came to South Berwick around 1819-1821.

The Old Berwick Historical Society has identified Jedediah and Jerusha Jenkins / Junkins as the owners of an orchard on property at 105 Portland Street, up the street to Tilly's left as he sits on his doorstep. Jedediah Jenkins (1767-1852) would have been somewhat young to own the orchard and business in 1777, but Jewett may have shifted him in time, or perhaps she refers to his father.

John Paul Jones, Jr.: Captain of the *Ranger*.

John Paul Jones (1747-1792) was an American naval officer during the Revolutionary War. He was born John Paul on July 6, 1747, in Kirkcudbright, Scotland. He began his sailing career at the age of 12 as a cabin boy, and served on a slaver and then as captain of a merchant ship. According to the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, "In 1773, as commander of a merchant vessel in Tobago in the West Indies, he killed the leader of a mutinous crew. Rather than wait in prison for trial, he escaped from the island and later returned to Fredericksburg, [Virginia]. The British thereafter considered him a pirate and a fugitive from justice. To hide his identity he added the surname Jones." At the beginning of the American Revolution, Jones joined the Continental navy. *Britannica* says "He was commissioned a lieutenant and attached to the first American flagship, *Alfred.* In 1776 he was promoted to captain and given command of the sloop *Providence.* During his first cruise on the *Providence* he destroyed the British fisheries in Nova Scotia and captured 16 British prize ships. In 1777 he commanded the sloop *Ranger,* and after sailing to France, he cruised along the coast of Britain, destroying many British vessels." See More Materials on John Paul Jones, for materials available to Jewett and for illustrations.

K

Kendal (27): Between Carlisle and Liverpool on the west coast of England.

Keays (16)**:** In the histories of Maine, this name is sometimes spelled "Keys." This family is listed in Chapter 16 among those who were early settlers in Berwick and who had members captured by Indians and taken to Canada. See Hetty Goodwin in Extended Notes.

Kersaint, the French commodore (14): Buell reports a meeting at Hampton Roads, Virginia, of John Paul Jones and Capitaine de Vaisseau de Kersaint, the senior officer of two French frigates - one of which was the new *Le Terpsichore* - in May 1775. The Duke of Chartres was second in command. According to Morison, this meeting never took place (426).

Hate-Evil Kilgore (8)**:** This child is an unfortunate South Berwick neighbor of Major Haggens, from down the Landing Hill, whose name reflects the ideas of "Roundhead days," the Puritan revolution in England (Ch. 8). Though the historical existence of this person has not be verified, Internet accounts of Kilgore and Brackett family history indicate that the Kilgore family had a branch in Kittery during the revolutionary period. John Kilgore came from Scotland before 1764 to live in Kittery, Maine; there he married Elizabeth Brackett in 1756. Their son Samuel was born in 1777. However, no Kilgores are buried in South Berwick cemeteries. See "Barebones" above.

Kittery (6 and other chapters): A coastal Maine town just across the Piscataqua River from Portsmouth, N.H.

Kittery Point (7)**:** East of Kittery, across the mouth of the Piscataqua from New Castle. In Kittery Point stands "**Sir William Pepperrell's stately gambrel-roofed house**." The William Pepperrell home, built in 1682, is an imposing house on Pepperrell Cove. *Piscataqua Pioneers* (2000) says, "The Pepperell Mansion should not be confused with the Lady Pepperell Mansion ... which was built by Lady Mary Pepperell in 1760 aft. the death of her husband, Sir William Pepperell" (337). Sir William, hero of the

capture of Louisburg during King George's War in 1745, was the son of Colonel William Pepperell, builder of the Pepperell Mansion. See *Cross-Grained and Wily Waters* (2002), pp. 190-92.

L

the Lake (9): Mrs. Wallingford says men are coming down from the Lake, which requires that she fill in for her absent son in managing the estate. What lake this is is not clear, though local historians speculate that Lake Winnepesaukee in New Hampshire is the most likely location, noting that most nearer bodies of water were called ponds, and that the more northerly Maine lakes were not important sources of lumber for the Piscataqua mills and ship-building in the 18th Century.

For example, Robert A. Whitehouse and Cathleen C. Beaudoin" in *Port of Dover: Two Centuries of Shipping on the Cochecho* say: "In 1824, a local [Dover] group was formed to petition the State Legislature for two major [Cochecho] River improvements: first the digging of a canal from Dover to Lake Winnepesaukee so that trade routes could be facilitated to the north country,...The prohibitive $700,000 estimated cost of such a canal led quickly to the demise of that idea..." (17).

(Research assistance: Paul Colburn, Brad Fletcher, and Wendy Pirsig).

Colonel John Langdon: (5,22): Langdon (1739-1819), of Portsmouth, N.H., served in the American revolutionary army and in the Continental Congresses. He was navy agent in 1776 and used his own wealth to help outfit the army. After the war, he served in the Constitutional Convention, and then as a United States senator -- administering the oath of office to Presidents George Washington and John Adams --, and as governor of New Hampshire. His cousin, Samuel Langdon, also was an active revolutionary. Sources: Amory, *The Life of James Sullivan* and *New Hampshire: A Guide to the Granite State*.

S. E. Morison reports that Jones and Langdon got along badly because of the difficulties in outfitting the *Ranger* (106-111).

Langdon's Island (12): According to *The Diary of Ezra Green*, the *Ranger* "was built 1777, on Langdon's Island, Portsmouth Harbor, by order of Congress, under the direction of Colonel James Hackett." Jewett presents the same basic information. John Langdon was a governor of New Hampshire and the first president of the United States Senate.

This island's name proves somewhat problematic in the novel, however. In Ch. 29, Madam Wallingford refers to **Badger's Island** as the embarkation point for the Golden Dolphin, and according to *New Hampshire: A Guide to the Granite State*, the *Ranger* was built on Badger Island (236). In fact, Langdon's and Badger are the same island.

Williamson in *The History of the State of Maine* lists the following Islands in the Piscataqua river as one enters Portsmouth from the north: "On the N. and E. side of the channel, in proceeding to the sea, are *Rising Castle, Furnall's* or *Navy, Seavey's, Bager's Trefethin's*, and *Clark's Islands*, all of which are small except Seavey's, which lies opposite Spruce creek and may be 3-4ths of a mile across either way; and Furnal's, or NAVY ISLAND of 58 acres, which has been purchased by the United States ... for a ship-yard, in which several war ships have been already built" (v. 1, Introduction). In *New Hampshire: A Guide to the Granite State* by the Federal Writer's Project (1938), Badger's Island is identified as the site of "the earliest shipbuilding in Portsmouth" (244).

It appears that during the Revolutionary War, the island was called Langdon's Island, the location of Langdon's shipyards. The most illustrious of William and James Hackett's apprentices was William Badger (d. 1829), who apparently married into the Rice family (see Rice's Ferry) and eventually built ships at the Langdon Island shipyards. Ray Brighton in *Port of Portsmouth Ships and the Cotton Trade* (1986) suggests that the island was renamed for William Badger (146). In *Piscataqua Pioneers*, Sylvia Getchell says the island was originally Wither's Island, then Berry and Langdon, before becoming Badger (11).

Today, one finds Badger Island at the eastern end of the Memorial Bridge connecting Portsmouth and Kittery; the island is bisected by Route 1. It remains the site of a boatyard, though now for yachts and lobster boats instead of ocean ships.

(Research Assistance: Wendy Pirsig)

Lebanon (8): A town in Maine on the Salmon Falls River, northwest of Berwick. James Sullivan says this town was originally Tow-woh (264). See also Williamson (v. 2, ch. 6). As Haggens says in Chapter 8, the town's name is in the process of changing from Tow-wow in the 1770s. Now there are several towns in the area, with Lebanon as part of their name. Colonel Hamilton's lumber interests in this area take him about 10 miles north from South Berwick.

Arthur Lee (22): The *Encarta Encyclopedia* identifies Lee (1740-92) as an "American statesman and diplomat, born in Stratford, Virginia. In 1766 he began the study of law and became interested in politics. As a secret agent of the Continental Congress in London during the American Revolution, he negotiated with several European governments and helped conclude a treaty with France. He served in the Virginia assembly in 1781 and in the Continental Congress from 1782 to 1785." In Chapter 19, Jones makes an enemy of Lee, one of the U.S. commissioners to France, by expressing his anger at the loss of *L'Indien*, and he comes to suspect that Lee is in private contact with Dickson.

Buell says that Arthur Lee was surrounded by British spies in his employ. He names Ford and also Stephen Sayre, saying they betrayed U.S. secrets and manipulated Lee to Britain's advantage (1;97-103 and 2;43). Jones learned some of these facts shortly after arriving in France in 1777, when he investigated Lee's charging Jones's friend Dr. Edward Bancroft with using knowledge in secret dispatches for personal profit. Jones's distrust of Lee apparently began early and grew during his time with the *Ranger* (Buell 1;88-90).

Buell asserts that Ford, Thornton, and Sayre were active in disrupting the activities of Jones and the *Ranger*, notably in encouraging Lieutenant Simpson to mutinous behavior that nearly led to his court-martial (Buell 1;130-40).

While this version of events corresponds with Jewett's, it is not fully confirmed by other biographers and historians. Morison sees Lee as mentally unbalanced and a bitter enemy of Jones, and his view of Stephen Sayre is similar, but neither is described as a traitor or spy. He affirms that Dr. Bancroft - Benjamin Franklin's confidential secretary - was, indeed, a spy. Nor does Morison discuss a connection between Lee and Lieutenant Simpson (See Chapter 7. See also Evan Thomas, Chapter 5).

Lee (2) An officer, Jewett says, General John Sullivan replaced on Long Island. The Battle of Long Island took place in 1776. General Charles Lee (1731-1782) was second in command of the Continental Army when he was captured by the British late in 1776. He remained a prisoner until 1778. After his capture, according to Jewett, General John Sullivan replaced him. *The Treason of Charles Lee*, George H. Moore's revelation that General Lee betrayed the Americans after his capture, appeared in 1858. (Source: *Encarta Encyclopedia*).

Leith (25): The old port of Leith in Scotland has been absorbed into Edinburgh.

Lejay (17): In his *Life of Voltaire*, James Parton says: "In a large school there must be, of course, the unpopular teacher, who is not always the least worthy one. Father Lejay, professor of rhetoric of many years' standing, filled this 'rôle' in the Collége Louis-le-Grand. He was a strict, zealous, disagreeable formalist; 'a good Jesuit,' devoted to his order, who composed and compiled many large volumes, still to be seen in French libraries; a dull, plodding, ambitious man, with an ingredient in his composition of that quality which has given to the word *Jesuit* its peculiar meaning in modern languages." Parton goes on to tell of a famous "collision" between Voltaire and Lejay, in which Lejay is supposed to have said to young Voltaire: "Wretch! You will one day be the standard-bearer of deism in France" (37-9)!

Lexington, Massachusetts: See Concord, above.

Little Harbor: See Portsmouth, N.H.

London (2 and many other chapters): The capital of England.

Covent Garden (30): Now called the Royal Opera House, this theater in London was opened on Bow Street in 1732. The area of Covent Garden was originally a convent vegetable garden, and in 1632 was designed as a garden by Inigo Jones. (Source: *Encarta Encyclopedia*).

Long Island (2,9): The island east of New York City, where several important battles of the American Revolution were fought, notably the Battle of Long Island, in August 1776.

Billy Lord (28): Jewett lists him as local man killed in New Jersey battles of 1778.

Whether Jewett had in mind a specific William or Billy Lord is difficult to determine. The Lord family web site offers these possibilities. William Wentworth Lord (b. 1761, m. Mary Allen in September 1783 *Vital Records*) of South Berwick, was the son of Ebenezer and Martha Lord. William Lord (b. about 1744) of South Berwick, was the son of Moses Lord. William, the son of William and Patience of Kittery, was born in about 1720. W. D. Spencer's "A List of the Revolutionary Soldiers of Berwick" (1898) lists many of the Lord family serving in the war, but no William who dies during the war.

William Lord, Jr. (b. 1760, probably the son of Samuel and Mary, m. Dorcas Faul 1784 *First & Second Churches*) of Berwick and later Lebanon, is listed in Fisher & Fisher for serving in the Revolutionary War.

Cato Lord (9)**:** Black servant of the Lord family. See Cæsar above.

Humphry Lord (6): A young man who boards the *Ranger* as it is about to embark. The Lord family history web page lists a person who might fit this description, Humphrey Lord (c. 1744 - c. 1797) of South Berwick, Maine. He married Olive Hill in 1772. Not on rosters of Buell or Sawtelle. Fisher & Fisher list a Humphrey lord of Berwick serving in the militia (487).

Ichabod Lord (31) Shown at the Mill Prison. In March of 1779, Jones helped to negotiate a prisoner exchange in which over 200 American prisoners were released. Many of these then joined Jones as crew for the *Bon Homme Richard*; *Ichabud* Lord is listed among the petty officers and able seamen. Charles Herbert indicates that Lord, from Berwick, served with him on the privateer *Dolton* and later with John Paul Jones (See Herbert above). Two Ichabod Lords who might be this person, are listed at the Lord family web site. One was the son of Aaron and Amy Lord, born at South Berwick, Maine in 1750. The other was the son of Nathan Lord and Elizabeth Shackley, born at South Berwick in about 1758. The *York County Atlas* of 1872 says Ichabod Lord served with John Paul Jones, but doesn't list him as one who was captured.

Ichabod Lord of Berwick also is listed in Fisher & Fisher as serving on a privateer, *Dalton* or *Charming Polly* (487).

John Lord (1): John Lord is presented as a young business partner of Jonathan Hamilton, and as in love with Mary Hamilton. His older brother is one of the more famous of the Nathan Lords -- see below. There were several John Lords in the Berwick area during this period, but the correct one seems to be John Lord (1764 or 1765-1815) who married Mehitable and fathered the Nathan Lord (b. 1792) who became president of Dartmouth College. See Extended Notes.

Miss Lords of the Upper Landing (29): As the other entries on the Lord family indicate, there were many Lords living in South Berwick in 1777-78, and Jewett is not always perfectly clear which ones she means. This makes it almost impossible to positively identify these Miss Lords. However, we can be reasonably confident that there were at least some young unmarried female Lords living at the Upper Landing at this time. One of these might have been Esther (b. 1758), the older sister of the John Lord who is Hamilton's business partner and who is enamored of Mary Hamilton in the novel. It is helpful to keep in mind that Jewett has shifted time and other details in re-creating the Hamiltons -- making Jonathan and Mary siblings instead of spouses, moving their early adulthood to the 1770s instead of 1780s. John Lord becomes several years older in the novel than he was in historical time, while his older sister may remain her historical age or become younger.

These likely also would be the Lords of the Upper Landing who welcome Mary, Roger, and Madam Wallingford home at the end of the novel.

Nathan Lord (6)**:** There were several Nathan Lords in the South Berwick area during the revolutionary era. Fisher & Fisher list nine Nathan/Nathaniel/Jonathan Lords from Berwick and York who served in various capacities in the American Revolution (488-9). See Extended Notes.

Louisburg (17,34): The siege of Louisbourg took place during King George's War, one of several clashes between the English and the French 18th Century. The *Grolier Multimedia Encyclopedia* says: "New England's relative security ended in 1744 when France entered the war as an ally of Spain in what was to become known as King George's War. After their loss of Nova Scotia in 1713, the French had constructed the large fortress of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island at the southern entrance to the Gulf of Saint Lawrence. From Louisbourg, French sea raiders could prey upon New England shipping. In 1745, Gov.

William Shirley of Massachusetts decided to capture Louisbourg; he appointed William Pepperrell of Maine to command a New England army in that venture. Pepperrell also gained the invaluable assistance of a squadron from the Royal Navy. Cooperation between these ships and Pepperrell's army of relatively inexperienced New Englanders resulted in the surrender of Louisbourg in June 1745 after a 7-week siege." Jewett discusses Pepperrell and some of the history of this siege in "The Old Town of Berwick."

Note: During the 18th-century English and French conflicts, the French fortress at Louisburg was captured twice, once in 1745 and again in 1758. Tilly Haggens's military experience, for example, includes participating in the 1757-8 expedition during the Seven Years War, also called the French and Indian War.

Louis Quatorze (3, 23): King Louis XIV of France (1638-1715). He presided over "the golden age of France," and supported a policy of restoring a Catholic ruler in England after the Glorious Revolution of 1688. See Voltaire, *The Age of Louis XIV* (1756).

Louis XVI was King of France (1774-1792) when France and the United States formed a Treaty of Alliance in February 1778.

Lower Landing: Location of the Hamilton House in South Berwick, ME. See Berwick and map above.

Lyman family of old York (45): Friends of Mary Hamilton and the Wallingfords. Among the prominent members of the Lyman family in the village of York, ME during the American revolution were Dr. Job Lyman (1737-1791) and Rev. Isaac Lyman (d. after 1802) of the First Parish Church. The Lyman family became connected with the Wallingford family in 1793, when Job's daughter, Hannah, married Thomas Wallingford, a grandson issuing from Colonel/Judge Thomas Wallingford and his second wife, Mary Pray.

M

Jean MacDuff (3): Though Jones calls her "Auntie," Jean Macduff was Jones's mother. Jones in the novel suggests she is related to the Scots clan of Macduff. The Macduff clan of Scotland was memorialized in William Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, where Macduff leads in the defeat of Macbeth, usurper of the Scottish throne. This play is based on historical events of the 11th century.

Madam's Cove (10): Everett Stackpole in "South Berwick: The First Permanent Settlement in Maine" locates Madam's Cove on the west side of the Salmon Falls River between the mouth of the Great Works River and Hamilton House. (See also, Thompson 134 and Catalfo 257). Stackpole adds in "Sligo and Vicinity" that deep water in this cove was called "Hobbs' Hole" and that Thomas Wallingford's house stood "about two or three rods from the river and near a wading place close to the foot of Little John's Falls. After Wallingford's death, in 1771, his widow lived here many years and the cove in the river near by took the name of 'Madam's Cove'" (31). See Berwick map. (Research assistance: Wendy Pirsig).

Madeira (15): The Madeira islands are an autonomous region of Portugal, about 700 miles to the southwest. One important export is wine.

Malaga (15): A city and seaport on the Mediterranean coast of southern Spain.

John Marr (28): This local man is reported missing in New Jersey battles of 1778 (Ch. 28). In fact there was a John Marr of Kittery (1720 - c. 1778), though it has not been confirmed that he died while serving in the Revolutionary Army. See Extended Notes.

McIntire of York (3): The McIntire family of York (Ch. 3) were Royalist exiles of the old Cromwell times who took in Master Sullivan when he came to Maine. Though it seems clear that Jewett consulted Thomas Amory's biography of John Sullivan for much of her information about Master Sullivan, here she seems to depart from that source, which says that Sullivan went to work for a Mr. Nowell. The McIntire family of York, however, would be a good choice to associate with Master Sullivan. Several McIntires, according to family histories on the Internet, were deported by Oliver Cromwell after the Battle of Dunbar in 1650. These included Micum (Malcolm) McIntire who settled near York, Maine in the 1660s.

The Mill Prison (27,31 and other chapters): The infamous Mill Prison was used mainly to imprison captives from privateers and Navy craft during the American Revolution and the War of 1812. During the

later war, the prison could hold 3000 prisoners. It was a dangerous place, though, with poor sanitation and generally unhealthful conditions. During the Revolution, escape attempts were frequent and fairly successful. Graham Frater's examination of *Plymouth Records* indicate that between 1777 and 1779, 734 Americans were held here. Other sources indicate that about 1500 Americans spent time here during the full course of the Revolution, until 1783.

Frater writes:

> The account of the condition of the prisoners is so detailed and convincing that I wonder if Jewett might be transposing oral evidence from her grandfather's accounts of his own imprisonment by the British in the War of 1812. Paula Blanchard (*Sarah Orne Jewett*, 1994, p.8) records that Theodore Furber Jewett was held on the infamous Dartmoor prison ship at Bristol. In addition to Plymouth's Mill Prison, American prisoners were held in Bristol (in the Stapleton Prison, now Blackberry Hill Hospital, source: John Penny), and in Dartmoor Prison in Devon (still in existence). John Frost's *Sarah Orne Jewett,* (1960, p.13) records that 'During the War of 1812, [T. F. Jewett's] brig was seized, and he was placed in Dartmoor Prison in England, and forwarded to the prison at St George's, Bermuda, before he could be exchanged with a prisoner of equal rank.' Grandfather Jewett might have been held first in Bristol, forwarded to Dartmoor, and thence to Bermuda.
>
> Dartmoor Prison is located at Princetown in Devon (Some 16 miles or so from Plymouth's crowded Mill Prison); Jan Wood, Archivist of the Devon Records Office writes: "Princetown St Michael and All Angels Parish Church [now deconsecrated] is a listed Grade II building, now under the care of The Churches Conservation Trust. It was built in 1814 by the prison inmates. The French Prisoners-of-War started the project by digging the foundations and erecting the stone walls. Later, it was completed by the American prisoners, who built the roof and fitted all the internal woodwork and fixtures. The prisoners were paid 6d (2 1/2 new pence) a day for their labours, and the magnificent east window of the church is a memorial to the 1200 French and 200 Americans who died whilst at the prison." A window commemorating the American prisoners of Dartmoor was dedicated in 1910 by the Daughters of 1812 Society.

And see:

Francis Abell, *Prisoners of War in Britain, 1756 to 1815*. (In Related Works, *Tory Lover* Contents)
Charles Herbert, *A Relic of the Revolution*

Mr. Moody (3): Probably the minister who helped Master Sullivan to his first teaching post after his arrival in America is the Reverend Samuel Moody, who was minister of the first parish at York, from 1700 to 1747, according to James Sullivan, *The History of the District of Maine* (238-9). See Extended Notes.

Robert Morris (22): The *Encarta Encyclopedia* identifies Morris (1734-1806) as an "American financier, born in Liverpool. Morris went to America in 1747 and soon attained a prominent position in American commerce. He became politically active in the period before the American Revolution. As a member of the Continental Congress from 1776 to 1778, he signed the Declaration of Independence. From 1781 to 1784 Morris supervised the finances of the war, a task he fulfilled largely on the basis of his personal credit. In 1781 he established, in Philadelphia, the Bank of North America, the oldest financial institution in the United States. He was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1787 and served (1789-95) in the U.S. Senate. Having lost his money in land speculation, Morris spent three years in a debtors prison, and he died in comparative penury in Philadelphia."

Captain Moulton (6): In Chapter 6, Captain Moulton leads a troop of men from Old York to serve in the Revolutionary Army. An Internet history of the York Militia confirms this: "On April 21, 1775, Captain Johnson Moulton's York Minutemen Company mustered sixty-three men on the Village Green and marched to the aid of the Middlesex farmers who had "fired the shot heard 'round the world." The York Militia was, therefore, the first organized military company from Maine to answer the "call to arms" in the Revolutionary War."

See also the *York County Atlas for 1872*, p. 114.

Fisher & Fisher lists Johnson Moulton as achieving the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. He was twice married and died in York, 1793 (564).

Mrs. Mullet (36): housekeeper for Mr. Fairfax at Bath. No information has been found to suggest she is based on an historical person.

N

Nantes (2, 15 and other chapters)**:** A city of western France at the head of the estuary of the Loire River at the juncture of the Erdre and the Sèvre rivers 35 miles from the sea and southwest of Paris, which has remained as a center of commerce since the Roman invasion up until present. (Research: Travis Feltman; Source: *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*)

Lord Newburgh (35-6)**:** James Bartholomew 3rd (or 4th in some sources) Earl of Newburgh (1725-1786) was the son of Charles Radcliffe by his second wife, Charlotte, Countess of Newburgh. James Radcliffe, Earl of Derwentwater, was Newburgh's uncle. Newburgh married Barbara Kempe in 1749; she received the estate at Slindon from her father as a wedding gift.

Newbury and Newburyport (31): Both of these towns are in northern Massachusetts. Newburyport is at the mouth of the Merrimac River; Newbury is south of Newburyport, on the Parker River.

Newcastle (7 and other chapters): Now New Castle, a town eastward across the harbor from Portsmouth, N.H., on an island previously known as Great Island. *New Hampshire: A Guide to the Granite State* says, "... in the years preceding the Revolution it was alive with intrigue and excitement. Here lived the Governor and his officials; here were held the councils and courts of law. The prison for the whole province was at New Castle.... Its taverns were crowded with gay, philandering soldiers of fortune, and its prisons were full of traitors and ministers in danger of the Tower of London, or of the gallows" (266). Fort William and Mary (later Fort Constitution), located here, was the site of an early American success when in 1774, the Sons of Liberty and local patriots under the leadership of the future General, John Sullivan and John Langdon captured the fort and removed a large store of gunpowder that was then used by American forces at Bunker Hill (*New Hampshire* 266-7).

Newcastle in Northumberland (24): an English port on the northeast coast known for shipping coal.

Newington (7): A town just northwest of Portsmouth, NH.

Northwood (7): Northwood is west of Dover, NH. The Northwood hill visible as Roger sails out of Portsmouth is likely to be Saddleback Mountain. This hill would, in fact, be very difficult to see from Portsmouth harbor.

Notre Dame: See Paris.

O

Old Fields (28,31): Everett S. Stackpole in "South Berwick: The First Permanent Settlement in Maine," locates Old Fields at the southern end of the current village of South Berwick. He says this was originally the location of the Spencer Garrison, built before 1675. See Berwick.

The old Indian (10): Jewett says this last descendant of the chief Passaconaway made Mary's birch canoe and taught her to use it well. In this way, Mary's inheritance of the best of the past is extended to include native wisdom. The historical existence of this descendant has not been established. In *Changes in the Land* 1983, William Cronon indicates that Native Americans in southern Maine made dug-out canoes from chestnut, while further north, where paper birch trees were available, they made lighter birch-bark canoes (45-6). See below for Passaconaway.

Old Passage Inn: see Severn below.

old Pretender (3): James Francis Edward Stuart (1688-1766) was the son of King James II (Deposed in 1688 in the Glorious Revolution, and replaced by the Protestants William and Mary of Orange). He held court in exile sometimes in Spain, sometimes in France, and was recognized by both as King James III of England. He was called "The Old Pretender" for this and to distinguish him from his son, Charles Edward Stuart, "The Young Pretender" or "Bonnie Prince Charlie."

In the 1745 Jacobite uprising, Charles Edward and his Irish friend, John William O'Sullivan, attempted

and failed to restore the Old Pretender to the throne. O'Sullivan is a cousin of Master John Sullivan. (Research assistance: Gabe Heller).

Lorient/L'Orient (23)**:** A town in western France, west-southwest of Paris, in Brittany (Bretagne) on the right bank of the Scorff River at the juncture of the Blavet River on the Bay of Biscay. The fishing port remains one of the most important in France, and its reputation as a center of commerce with the eastern world is the source of its name. (Research: Travis Feltman; Source: *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*)

Orléans (21)**:** A city of north central France on the right bank of the Loire, 77 miles southwest of Paris; a center of communication and transportation between Paris and the Loire basin. Research: Travis Feltman; Source: *Encyclopedia Britannica 11th Edition*)

mountains of Ossipee (16,32): Now known as the White Mountains in New Hampshire, northeast of South Berwick.

P

Paris: Capital of France (2 and many other chapters).

Landmarks and Locations in Paris

Research by Travis Feltman

The Basilica of Saint Denis (17)**:** Within this church north of the city of Paris are sarcophagi for the remains of a martyred bishop, Saint Denis, and all but three of the kings of France.

Bastille (22)**:** A medieval fortress on the east side of Paris. A prison in the 17th and 18th centuries, it was emptied at the beginning of the French Revolution in 1789. (Source: *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*)

Louvre (22): In the 17th-century, this royal palace was converted into an art museum; it is now the national art museum of France.

Notre Dame (17,22)**:** A Gothic cathedral in Paris, accentuated by two towers. This popular tourist attraction stands on an island in Seine River, known as Île de la Cité. (Source: *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*)

Place du Palais Royal/pleasant courts (22)**:** A town square along the Avenue de l'Opéra in Paris. Opposite the middle of the Louvre, it leads to the palace of Cardinal de Richelieu, occupied by several kings and accentuated with magnificent gardens, galleries, and a theatre. (Source: *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*)

Passy (15,22): Now characterized as an expensive residential and commercial district on the right bank of the Seine near the Champs-Élysées. The American Commissioners to France during the American Revolution resided in this area.

Tour St. Jacques/St. Jacques bell tower (17,22)**:** The remnant of an old church standing on the Rue de Rivoli in Paris at the head of the Rue St. Jacques, an ancient Roman road running south. It was a source of pilgrimage during the 10th century, for those traveling to the tomb of the apostle, St. Jacques (James) in Spain. The church was demolished in 1797. (Source: *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*)

Passaconaway (10): In "The Old Town of Berwick," Jewett identifies Passaconaway as "the great sachem" of the Berwick region when the first English explorer, Martin Pring, visited the site of the town in 1603. Sullivan in *The History of the District of Maine* summarizes Dr. Belknap's history of New Hampshire on Chief Passaconaway, "who presided over a number of lesser sachems" (92). See also Williamson's *The History of the State of Maine* and Extended Notes.

This image of Passaconaway is from Chandler Eastman Potter's *History of Manchester* (1856), reproduced from Charles E. Beals, *Passaconaway of the White Mountains* (1916).

Passy: See Paris.

Mr. Paul (13): The lame fiddler and neighbor of the woman Dr. Green goes to visit on Sligo Point before leaving Dover. Dickson also has heard the story the doctor tells of the woman's auctioning off her neighbors. In 1839, according to Stackpole's "Sligo and Vicinity," there were people named Paul living in the area (41).

Peggy (4): main female servant in the Hamilton House. No information has been found to suggest she is based on an historical person.

Sir William Pepperrell / Pepperell (1696-1759) (1, 7, 38):
"American merchant, statesman, and soldier, born in Kittery Point, Massachusetts (now in Maine). Largely self-educated, he was appointed chief justice of Massachusetts in 1730, where he served on the governor's council from 1727 to 1759. See Extended Notes.

Phoebe (8): Haggens family servant.

Mr. Philpot (10): Old Mr. Philpot compliments Mary on her handling of her boat in Ch. 10. Though it seems impossible to identify this particular Mr. Philpot, there was indeed a Philpot family prominent in the Somersworth and South Berwick area during the American Revolution. Internet family histories identify Captain James Philpot (1699-1747), his son Richard (1738-1766), and Richard's son John (1757-1841). None of these three could easily have been called Old Mr. Philpot in 1777-8, but there were a number of other men in this family for whom life dates are not available. See Catalfo on the James Philpot House (240-5).

During Jewett's lifetime, there were at least two gundalow captains named Philpot operating on the river between Portsmouth and South Berwick. Captain Charles Philpot owned the "Weston"; his daughter's birth is recorded in *Berwick Vital Records*, 7 September 1887. Captain Hiram (Hypie/Hype) A. Philpot owned a traditional gundalow, "Tippecanoe," and later a steam-powered gundalow, the "Fannie P." He was a well-known local captain during Jewett's lifetime. See also Richard E. Winslow and Robert A. Whitehouse, *Piscataqua Gundalow Log of Newspaper Clippings.*

Parson Pike (29): In "The Old Town of Berwick," Jewett identifies Mr. James Pike: "the first grammar school master of Berwick (Harvard, 1725), was called as minister to Somersworth in 1730; and it may possibly have been not until then that [Master] Sullivan took his place." This Parson Pike might seem rather old to take such an active role in rescuing Madam Wallingford; but since James Pike (1702-1792) lived ninety years, he may well have been able to help defend Madam Wallingford at the age of about 75.

In Master Tate's diary, Parson Pike is performing local marriages in 1777. "Tuesday evening, August 1777, Mr. David Hanson of Dover married to Mrs. Mary Roberts of Somersworth by the Reverend James Pike." "Master Tate's Diary" also gives the death of the wife of Nicholas Gilman, Molly, 28 December 1777. Nicholas Gilman was Jewett's great-grandfather on her mother's side. Molly was the daughter of Rev. James Pike; this would suggest that Rev. Pike was Jewett's great-great-grandfather.

Pine Hill (3,9,16): Named as the location of Master Sullivan's school, this Pine Hill is just north of the village of Berwick, about seven miles from Hamilton House. A fort built on this hill was called Hamilton's garrison; Williamson reports it was still standing in 1750 (v. 2, ch. 3). The John Sullivan farm was located here, and this was the original burying place of John and Margery Sullivan. See John Sullivan in "People," and photographs for Chapter 16.

La Motte Piqué (23): When Jones arrived at Brest, he met a French escort commanded by Chef d'Escadre La Motte Piquet (Morison 129-30).

Piscataqua (1 and other chapters): (See Berwick map above and Portsmouth map -- Photographs for Chapter 7) This name refers to the region of southern Maine and eastern New Hampshire through which the Salmon Falls and Piscataqua Rivers flow. Though names have varied in the past, on modern maps, the Salmon Falls River ends when it meets the Cocheco east of Dover. From this meeting to Portsmouth, the river is called Piscataqua. Different interpretations of the word include: "right angles" (Williamson) and "dividing point of waters" (*New Hampshire: A Guide to the Granite State*).

It is important to keep in mind that up to Salmon Falls, the Piscataqua/Salmon Falls River is tidal. Even at the tide-head, the variation between low tide and high tide is several feet, enough to make it possible to

bring large sailing ships to the Lower Landing at high tide. This fact also contributes to dangers on the rivers as the water level changes quickly when the tide flows in and out of the valley; and in shallower areas, parts of the river became rapids as the tide flowed out, before some rocky areas were blasted out in the 19th century. In this area tidal currents flow as fast as seven miles an hour and are among the swiftest in the United States, posing a great challenge to sail-powered ships, even at Langdon's Island, near the mouth of the Piscataqua, from which the *Ranger* sails. References in the novel to coordinating river travel with the tides reflect this situation,

Another important aspect of the tidal river for this novel is that there were few bridges on the river in the 18th Century. Mary takes a boat to visit Madam Wallingford on the New Hampshire side; there is a ferry between Kittery and Portsmouth. At low tide, however, there were at least two "wading places" in the South Berwick area. It seems clear these are used regularly in the novel to cross the river at South Berwick, for example, on November 1, 1777, when Jonathan Hamilton rides to his northern property, crosses the river at Great Falls on his return, intending to visit Madam Wallingford, and somehow gets his horse back across the river to his home at Hamilton House in the evening. Presumably, he knew he'd be returning at low tide, when he could easily wade his horse across the river.

Points that are named along the Salmon Falls and Piscataqua Rivers.

These appear in their rough order along the rivers. Most of these locations were determined by looking at maps and local records at the Old Berwick Historical Society, with the essential assistance of Tim Benoit, Brad Fletcher, Norma Keim, and Wendy Pirsig. An essential source is Mary P. Thompson, *Landmarks in Ancient Dover* (1965).

Some of these identifications are uncertain, being mainly local names mentioned once or twice in documents that indicate their locations. I have tried to describe them so they may be found on contemporary maps, such as those in DeLorme's state atlases.

Madam's Cove (10): Upriver and on the NH side, just above Hamilton House. See above for details.

Hamilton House and wharfs: see Hamilton House above.

Stiles's / Style's Cove (6): Now known as St. Alban's Cove, about 1/2 mile downstream from Hamilton House on the NH side. Style's (now St. Alban's or sometimes Sligo) Brook empties into the cove according to Catalfo (265-6).

Pine Point (8): This point on the NH side forms the southern end of Stiles's (St. Alban's) Cove (Thompson 205). Hamilton reports in Ch. 8 that he watched his brig sail from his wharf down the river to this point Mary Thompson locates another Pine Point in Newington, but this would be too far away for Hamilton to see his brig.

Devil's Reach (6): No records of this name have been found, but the other locations Jewett mentions suggest strongly that this is the straight portion of the Salmon Falls River from St. Alban's (Stiles's) Cove to what is now Eliot Bridge (Gulf Road / Rte.101).

Wendy Pirsig has speculated about applying this name to this part of the river:

> "The term *reach* typically refers to a long stretch of straight sailing, but it also has another sense. In sailing, *reach* also refers to the relationship between the boat, the sail and the wind. Usually everybody loves a reach, because the wind is coming across the beam of the boat, about 90 degrees to your forward direction; a *close reach* is when you are pointing a bit more than that, into the wind, and it's a *broad reach* when you have a bit of the wind behind you. The boat sails efficiently that way, without a lot of crew work.
>
> "Because the Salmon Falls is a north-south river and prevailing winds are westerly, the river men sailed on a reach for much of the upstream journey, much more than on an east-west river; whether they were sailing a gundalow up to Berwick or sailing a newly built ship down from Hobbs' Hole to Portsmouth, they would be on a reach in a westerly wind. However, if you know rivers, you also know that their narrow shape tends to distort land breezes, by channeling them along the direction of the river, as though the banks and trees along the water grabbed the air and pushed it down a chute.
>
> "I noticed when kayaking this stretch we think is Devil's Reach that even in a very light the

breeze the wind would shift around whimsically, and I had to push against much of the way upstream, at least till I reached Hamilton House.

"What likely happened frequently in the old days was that a crew sailing home on a nice reach would round the bend at what is now Eliot Bridge and bring Hamilton House into view, and then the wind would 'diabolically' turn against them. The Lower Landing would be a mile and a half ahead of them at that point, but it would look so close, and their suppers would be waiting, and maybe the sun sinking, and -- most importantly -- a tide that had been favoring them would be changing against them, meaning the opposing currents could slow them further, and they'd be so late they wouldn't clear Littlejohn's falls (low water below the mouth of the Great Works) at all that night and instead of reaching Quamphegan (Upper) Landing, they would have to spend the night waiting out the tide at the Hamilton House or Madam's Cove.

"So, I can imagine them cussing about Devil's Reach all the way along that part of the river.

"Another point to consider is that this kind of sailing -- with changing currents and fluky wind -- is so difficult that no one is capable of it any more. You will never see anyone sailing any distance on the Piscataqua/Salmon Falls now, not even in a modern rig that sails more efficiently than the old gundalows and ships ever did. Today, whenever the local Piscataqua gundalow replica moves on the river, or tall ships visit, heaven forbid that anybody puts a sail up and threaten the safety of everything in sight. The gundalow people charter a tugboat to motor it safely from place to place. The skills the old river people have are just gone along with the circumstances that forced them to move by wind on this river."

Sligo Point beyond the Gulf Road (13): This is the area Dr. Green reports visiting his eccentric patient, telling a story he and Dickson share. Almost certainly this is on the NH side, and may be the curve in the Salmon Falls River just before the Eliot Bridge. Green indicates that he takes Gulf Road from Dover to reach Sligo Point; today Gulf Road leads to Eliot Bridge (Rte 101). However, we have no authority for this location, and some local scholars believe Sligo Point was below Eliot Bridge, perhaps after High Point, being the name for the triangle of land at the confluence of the Salmon Falls and Dover (now Cocheco) Rivers.

High Point (6): Mary Thompson says High Point is "the first point on the Rollinsford (NH) shore ... below the Eliot Bridge (99). In "River Driftwood" Jewett says High Point is one of the limits of her own boat navigation on the river.

old Hodgdon Farm and Hodgdon's Landing (6): The 1872 *York County, Maine Atlas* shows that two Hodgdons owned land on the Maine side, where Quamphegan Brook flows into the Salmon Falls River just past the Eliot Bridge. This might well be the area to which Jewett refers. Thompson says there was a Hodgdon's Point just down river from Bloody Point, which is across from what is now Dover Point. This name appears in documents as late as 1770 (104).

Rice's Ferry (28): This refers to the ferry between Market Street in Portsmouth, NH and Kittery in Maine, across the Piscataqua River. Until 1822, there were no bridges between Portsmouth and the Maine side (Brighton, *They Came to Fish* v. 2, 141). The following information indicates that the ferry would have been called Rice's Ferry in the 1770's.

According to Nathaniel Adams in *Annals of Portsmouth*, the city obtained the rights to the ferry in 1722 and began to lease these to individuals (142). In 1822, when the first Portsmouth bridge was opened to traffic, the city compensated the ferry operator, Alexander Rice, for his loss of the ferry (383-4). John E. Frosts's *Maine Probate Abstracts* offers this account of the ferry in an entry on Alexander Rice (1760-1836): "Until the Piscataqua was bridged in 1822, Rice's Ferry was the principal point of entrance to and departure from Maine. To this lucrative monopoly at the end of Ferry Lane (now Rice Avenue) the Rices added a commodious tavern at the Maine end of the crossing. Alexander inherited from his father the ferry and tavern and further increased his comfortable income by bridge construction ...." (v. 2, p. 235).

In *Witch Trot Land* by Anne Mountford and Katherine Marshall, 1937, appears a picture of the Rice Tavern: "The Old Rice Tavern stands where Thos. Whithers' ferry used to dock, daughter Mary later marrying Thos. Rice. The ferry finally quit for the new (now old) wooden toll bridge up river, at present being used by the railroad, hence the Inn was no longer needed" (6).

Piscataqua Pioneers tells about Thomas Trafton, ferryman and innholder from about 1688 to 1700,

who died by 1707. He lived near the Rice's Bridge site, where he owned the ferry. His son Zacheus, a blacksmith, succeeded his father at the ferry, married Annabel Allen first, then Mary Bickford Walker in 1748 (426-7).

Also of interest may be that Jonathan Hamilton was the partner of Samuel Rice (d. 1791, father of Alexander) in the ownership of two trading vessels operating after 1785.

Whether this Rice family is related to Sarah Orne Jewett's family through her grandfather Theodore's third marriage has not been determined. Further information is welcome.

Research assistance: Mary Ellen Robertson

Plaisteds (16): The Plaisted family was well-known for establishing one of the early garrison farms among "the Plantations of the Piscataqua and the Salmon Falls Rivers." Roger Plaisted and his son, Roger, died in a fight with Indians in October 1675; their graves on the farm are marked by a well-known Plaisted stone. The Plaisted Garrison, says Jewett, was "occupied later for several generations by the Wallingford family." (*The Old Town of Berwick*). Jewett lists the family among those who were early settlers in Berwick and who had members captured by Indians and taken to Canada. See Hetty Goodwin.

Plaisted's Hill (8)**:** Site of the Plaisted Garrison, an early colonial farm, where several of the Plaisted men, including Roger Plaisted and his son, also Roger, were killed in a memorable fight with Indians. (*The Old Town of Berwick*).

Plymouth (14 and other chapters): On the south coast of England, this is the location of the Mill Prison, where American naval prisoners were kept during the Revolution.

Plymouth Hoe (37): In archaic usage, a hoe is a promontory or point of land. The *Oxford English Dictionary* points out that the word is preserved only in a few place names, such as the hoe at Plymouth, where the point extends into the sea.

Mill Prison: See above.

Plymouth (16): in Massachusetts; site of the first permanent English colony at Plymouth Plantation, characterized by Puritan Protestantism.

Convent of Port Royal (17): The Convent of Port-Royal-des-Champs was a center of Jansenism in France. It was closed and razed in 1709 by order of King Louis XIV.

Portsmouth (1 and many other chapters): (See Portsmouth map) This New Hampshire port town in Rockingham County is at the mouth of the Piscataqua River. Before the Revolution, Portsmouth was the capital of the New Hampshire province. Made prosperous by fishing, ship-building, and West India trade, in the 18th Century, Portsmouth was one of the main ports north of Boston. (Main source: *New Hampshire: A Guide to the Granite State*).

Jewett saw Portsmouth as a secular colony that reflected the interests of the English aristocracy, in contrast to Plymouth, MA, a settled that emphasized otherworldly goals and reflected the interests of religious dissenters from the English establishment.

Landmarks and Locations in Portsmouth, NH

Earl of Halifax Tavern (2): General Goodwin says about Roger: "I am afraid that we can have no doubt now of the young man's sympathy with our oppressors .... I hear that he has been seen within a week coming out of the Earl of Halifax tavern

New Hampshire: A Guide to the Granite State says: "The *Pitt Tavern* ... cor. Court and Atkinson Sts... was originally called the 'Earl of Halifax Tavern,' and during the early part of the Revolution was a meeting-place for the Tories. When the Patriots attacked it in 1777, the penitent host immediately changed its name to the William Pitt Tavern, in honor of the great friend of the Colonies.... Among those entertained at this tavern were John Hancock, Elbridge Gerry, General Knox, Lafayette, the three sons of the Duke of Orléans, Louis Philippe and his two brothers, and in 1789 George Washington." This tavern is now a part of the Strawbery Banke historical museum.

However, the date of the name change is problematic. Drawing upon Brewster's *Rambles About Portsmouth*, Raymond Brighton, in *They Came to Fish* (1973), offers much colorful history of John Stavers's management of the Earl of Halifax and of the incidents that led Stavers to change the name,

but he does not give a precise date. The Strawbery Banke Museum says the riot took place on January 29, 1777, but suggests that the name change did not take place until after May of that year. In any case, it was not safe for known Tories to frequent the tavern after January 1777, and at the end of October 1777, Roger would not have been seen within the last week at the Earl of Halifax, unless General Goodwin (accidentally?) calls it by its old name.

(Research Assistance: Don Fancy and Richard Winslow)

Little Harbor (7)**:** The southern shore of the mouth of the Piscataqua River. On the harbor stood the **Benning Wentworth Mansion** (7), begun in 1695 and added to until it became a "rambling, huge old mansion," with a council chamber, billiard room, and 30 other rooms, including card rooms. *New Hampshire: A Guide to the Granite State* says that Royal Governor (1741-1767) Benning Wentworth "held court in high-spirited style, keeping up the aristocratic tradition of beeswing port and high play at cards" (265). The guide also points out that Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's poem, "Lady Wentworth," describes the mansion, and that Jewett's acquaintance, historian Francis Parkman, spent his summers in the mansion. From 1886 to 1945, Boston arts enthusiast J. Templeman Coolidge turned the mansion into the center of a summer arts colony at Little Harbor (*Crossed Grained and Wily Waters*, 64), and Jewett probably was aware of this. The house today is known as the Wentworth-Coolidge Mansion and is open to the public during the summer.

(Research Assistance: Wendy Pirsig)

old North Church (7): The old North Church at Pleasant and Congress Streets was built in 1712, with a bell added in 1764. The church was replaced in 1854.

Portsmouth Parade (2 and other chapters): This open area in the center of old Portsmouth was used for military exercises and town gatherings. Brighton says that when the State House was built in about 1758, it included a balcony that faced onto the Parade across from North Church and from which public documents were read to gathered citizens (*They Came to Fish* v. 2, 24). This space remains in Market Square, where it is a local transportation hub and a place to gather for shopping, eating, and socializing.

Queen's Chapel (10)**:** According to *New Hampshire: A Guide to the Granite State*, Queen's chapel was built in 1732 "in honor of Queen Caroline, who furnished books for the pulpit, two mahogany chairs and the plate, all bearing the royal arms" (238-9). The chapel stood on Strawberry Bank, but was replaced in 1807 by St. John's Church, on Chapel St.

Spring Market (7): Located on Bow Street, this was called Spring Market because there was a spring at the corner of Bow and Ceres Streets. Today, the spring can be seen downstairs in the bar of the Dolphin Striker Restaurant. (Research Assistance: Wendy Pirsig and Don Fancy)

St. John's steeple (7): Jewett would seem to be in error in Chapter 7 about the ringing of the bells in St. John's steeple when the *Ranger* sails out of Portsmouth. According to *New Hampshire: A Guide to the Granite State*, St. John's church was not built until 1807. Its bell, however, is noteworthy, "taken from the French at the siege of Louisburg in 1745" (238-9).

Portsmouth Parade: See Portsmouth.

Pound Hill: See Berwick above.

Quiberon (18 and other chapters): a peninsula and town on the southern Breton coast. See Breton coast.

R

Racine (17): Jean Racine (1639-1699), a French playwright; one of his best-known plays is *Phèdre* (1677).

Charles Radcliffe (30): Charles Radcliffe (1693-1746), brother of James Radcliffe, Earl of Derwentwater, and a cousin of James III, took part in the Jacobite rising of 1715, commanding the Earl of

Derwentwater's troops at a young age (See Earl of Derwentwater, above). Taken prisoner at the battle of Preston, he was convicted of high treason, but escaped from Newgate prison in December of 1716. He continued his Jacobite activities in his European exile, becoming well-known at the "court" of James III. He married "the wealthy Charlotte Maria Livingstone, the Countess of Newburgh, in Brussels in 1724." He returned to Scotland for the uprising of 1745, but was captured at sea and beheaded on Tower Hill -- under his previous sentence of treason -- in December 1746.

For a detailed reconstruction of the life of Charles Radcliffe, see Anya Seton's novel, *Devil Water* (1962).

Rennes (21)**:** A city in western France in Brittany (Bretagne), located at the confluence of the Ille and Vilaine rivers from which canals branch throughout the city. (Research: Travis Feltman; Source: *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*)

Rice's Ferry: See Piscataqua above.

Corporal John Ricker (28): This is local man named as killed in New Jersey battles in 1778. There was a prominent Ricker family in the Berwick area during the Revolution. In 1790, Captain Ebenezer Ricker, a Somersworth merchant captain, built a house that remains today in Rollinsford and that came to be known as the Ricker Inn. During the Revolution, a John Ricker actually lived in the Somersworth, NH area, according to a Ricker family web site. He was married to Eleanor (1733-1805). John Drew Ricker, son of Joshua and Bettey was baptized in July 1760. James & Reuben Ricker, according to Buell, served under Jones on *The Ranger*. W. D. Spencer's "A List of the Revolutionary Soldiers of Berwick" (1898) does not list a John Ricker as serving from the Berwick area, but Fisher and Fisher list a Jonathan Ricker who performed political service (660). They also list a Reuben Ricker of Berwick as serving on the *Ranger* (660). (Research assistance: Wendy Pirsig).

It appears that Jewett took care in naming local casualties of the Revolution to use family names that are familiar to South Berwick, but to choose given names that did not belong to people known to have died in the war.

Rockingham, Charles Watson-Wentworth, 2nd Marquess of (1730-82) (32): He served as prime minister of England for several periods. *Encarta Encyclopedia* says "His government is best known for its repeal of the Stamp Act and its passage of other measures to conciliate the American colonies. In 1766 he resigned the ministry; for many years Rockingham was an opponent of the policies of Lord North (prime minister from 1770 to 1782) and King George III. These policies were antagonistic to the American colonies and provoked the American Revolution (1775-83). Throughout North's ministry Rockingham showed friendship for America."

Rockingham towns (2): Exeter and Portsmouth are in Rockingham County, in the southern part of the New Hampshire.

Rocky Hills (9): The Rocky Hills stretch from south to east of South Berwick. Jewett describes a ride into this area in her story, "An October Ride" in *Country By-ways*.

Rodney (10): Chief house servant (Negro slave) to Madam Wallingford.

Catalfo notes that the town of Rollinsford attempted to purchase the services of Madam Wallingford's "Negro slave" for a maximum of $50, to serve in the Revolutionary army (161).

Mr. Rogers (8): Mr. Rogers is identified as a neighbor of Tilly Haggens. "The Diary of Master Joseph Tate" says: "Mr. John Higgins raised a new house at the turn of the ways near Mr. Robert Rodgers on Berwick side on Thursday, April 7, 1774." This seems likely to be Haggens's elderly neighbor. *Vital Records of Berwick ...* records the marriage of a Robert Rodgers with Mrs. Esther Lord, daughter of Nathan Lord Jr. and Mrs. Ester Lord of Berwick on 26 February 1771, and records several children born thereafter, suggesting that this Mr. Rogers was not so old (283). There are other candidates for this Mr. Rogers, e.g., Captain William Rogers, a somewhat older man, but Tate's statement would seem to carry a good deal of weight.

Mr. Rollins (29): Rollins is identified as Parson Pike's chief parishioner, presumably in Somersworth, where Pike was serving. This is likely to be Ichabod Rollins. See Extended Notes.

Roscoff (39, 41, 44): A fishing port on the north Breton coast, northeast of Brest.

Monsieur Rousseau (17): Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) is best known for his contributions to political philosophy, notably in his *Social Contract* (1762). Born in Geneva, Switzerland, Rousseau lived much of his life in France. (Research: Travis Feltman)

Russells (34): In *Journal and Letters of ... Samuel Curwen*, Ward says the Loyalist, Dr. Charles Russell: "son of Hon. James Russell, of Charlestown, succeeded to his uncle Judge Chambers Russell's estate at Lincoln; graduated at Harvard College, 1757; married Elizabeth, only child of Col. Henry Vassall, of Cambridge; sailed for Martinique in April, 1775; was proscribed in the Massachusetts banishment act of 1778; was a physician at Antigua, where he died in 1780" (514). His uncle Chambers (d. 1767) was not a Tory refugee, but he was a prominent legislator and judge in colonial Massachusetts. Sabine in *The American Loyalists* lists other Massachusetts Russells who were Loyalists: Ezekiel Russell, a Boston printer; James Russell, a judge.

S

St. Augustine's church: See Bristol.

St. Bees Head (24): Southwest of Whitehaven, this is a projection of land into the Irish Sea.

St. John's church: See Portsmouth.

St. Mary Radcliffe: See Bristol.

St. Nazaire: See Breton coast.

Saco (2 and other chapters): A Maine town near the coast on the Saco River, about 10 miles south of Portland. James Sullivan is said in Chapter 3 to live in the village "at the falls of the Saco," which would be either Saco or Biddeford.

Salem (4 and other chapters): In Massachusetts, north of Boston, famous for the Salem Witch Trials of 1692.

Salmon Falls (12 and other chapters): Between Rollinsford, NH and South Berwick, ME on the Salmon Falls River. The name also was given to Rollinsford's 19th century textile mills at the falls, and for a century denoted the mill village there. (Research Assistance: Wendy Pirsig)

Lord Sandwich (32): Mme. Wallingford scorns this peer in Chapter 32 for his mistreatment of American Loyalists. She probably refers to John Montagu (1718-1792), 4th Earl of Sandwich.

Lord Sandwich served in the government as Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty, First Lord of the Admiralty, and Secretary of State. He was First Lord of the Admiralty during the American Revolution, when he was notorious for scandal in the Admiralty and was considered responsible for failures of the British Navy during this war. (See: George Martelli and Jemmy Twitcher, *A life of the Fourth Earl of Sandwich*, 1962.)

[Daniel] Sargent (21): Nathan Sargent served on *The Ranger* as Master at Arms according to Buell. In Fisher & Fisher, Daniel Sargent / Sargeant (b. 1749) is listed as serving with John Paul Jones, but the *Ranger* is not specified (689). The entry appears scrambled, but he seems to have married several times and to have died in 1828.

Patrick Sarsfield (3), the great Earl of Lucan, at Limerick: According to *The Catholic Encyclopedia* the Irishman, Patrick Sarsfield (1650-1693) fought in the cause of King James II of England, a deposed Catholic trying to regain the throne. For his defense of Limerick - where Master John Sullivan's father fought - against King William of England, James II named him Earl of Lucan. He later commanded the Irish Brigades in France under King James II. (Research: Gabe Heller.)

Sayward family of old York (45): Friends of Mary and the Wallingfords who welcome them home. In the sketch of Madam Wallingford in Extended Notes, one sees that her mother was Hannah Sayward. This family is represented still in York by the Sayward-Wheeler house (SPNEA) which was the home of Jonathan Sayward (d. 1797), soldier, merchant, and local leader. SPNEA says "Sayward participated in the attack on the French fortress at Louisbourg, Nova Scotia, in 1745 [King George's War], served in the

Massachusetts legislature, and despite outspoken Tory views, retained the respect of his neighbors during the Revolution."

A Noble and Dignified Stream" (York Historical Society 1992) says that the Sayward-Wheeler house in York, Maine, was built in about 1720 and owned by Jonathan Sayward from about 1735 until his death in 1797. The house was left to his oldest grandson, Jonathan Sayward Barrell, a merchant like his grandfather. Upon his death in 1857, the house passed to his unmarried daughters, the Barrell sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, then in their fifties (64-66). They were friends of Jewett, and are thought by some to be the models for the sisters in Jewett's story, "The Dulham Ladies."

Lord Selkirk and the Countess of Selkirk (2,22):

Lord Selkirk was the local peer and member of the House of Lords from the neighborhood of John Paul Jones's birth. Most accounts of Jones's life give considerable attention to his plan of capturing Lord Selkirk and holding him hostage for the release of captured American sailors. The attempt takes place April 24, 1778, immediately after the attack on Whitehaven. S. E. Morison discusses this event in Chapter 8 of *John Paul Jones*. He points out that St. Mary's Island is actually a peninsula. He says, "Dunbar Hamilton of Baldoon ... became the fourth Earl of Selkirk in 1744. His wife, whom he married in 1758, was Lady Helen Hamilton." Morison argues that Jones's plan to use Lord Selkirk as a hostage was naive (143-4). In *Diary of Ezra Green* is an eye-witness account of John Paul Jones's unwilling plundering of the Earl of Selkirk's plate and his extraordinary efforts to return it. See also Evan Thomas, *John Paul Jones*, Chapters 6-7.

the Severn, above Avon mouth (41-43): Research on the Severn and Old Passage Inn is by Graham Frater. The Severn is the principal river that flows into the Bristol Channel. It is tidal for a good deal of its length, the Severn bore being a particularly strong seasonal tide with a fearsome reputation. Avonmouth is a town west of Bristol, where the Upper Avon flows into the Severn.

Old Passage Inn (42)**:** The Old Passage, was at Aust some 14-15 miles north of Bristol city centre as measured on a modern roadmap. Just as Jewett suggests, there was a ferry that crossed the river to Beachley in Gloucestershire. After the crossing, travellers would have gone on to Chepstow (Wales), and thence perhaps to crossings for Ireland. A dramatic modern suspension bridge close by replaced the ferry in 1966.

Walking the ground today, Jewett's descriptions seem strikingly accurate. A road does run up to the site of the Old Passage Inn from the Bristol direction, much as described, and it does lie below the remains of a dyke, which also runs up to the house. The former inn was indeed on a headland, also as described, and was of gray stone (though this is now covered with render). The land is flat along the Severn, and the dyke would have been a flood protection just as the text suggests. However, the dyke and the surrounding landscape, at least as seen today, are a good deal less dramatically gothic than the Woodbury illustration in *The Tory Lover*.

The Old Passage Inn survives as a much expanded private house, currently owned by Mr and Mrs T. Ross, who kindly permitted a visit and photographs. The inn did indeed have a number of outhouses and stables to support a constant stream of ferry passengers, as shown in a print from the 1790s.

From Wales and Ireland to English markets, the Old Passage seems to have been a favourite route for drovers who were such regulars at the Old Passage Inn that the present owners can still point out the 'Irish room' at the top of the house, where drovers were customarily lodged. Wallingford's arrival at the inn disguised as a drover travelling from Chippenham, a market town some 30 miles to the south east of Bristol (as measured on a modern road map), is, therefore, entirely in keeping with the character of the location. It was common for both Irish and Welsh cattle to be driven across country to English markets.

Though no evidence has been found to show that Jewett visited the part of England, her descriptions of the inn, the surrounding area, and the route from Bristol suggest that she was familiar with this setting.

Marchioness de Sévigné (22): Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, marquise de Sévigné (1626-1696). Her correspondence with her daughter, more than 1500 letters, was published between 1725 and 1734.

Sewalls (34): This prominent Boston family included merchants, professors, judges, and government officials. In *Journal and Letters of ... Samuel Curwen*, Ward gives particular attention to the Loyalist, Jonathan Sewall (1728-1796), a Harvard graduate (1748), who went into teaching and then law, serving as attorney general of colonial Massachusetts. By marriage, he was related to John Hancock. Ward reports that Jonathan Sewall brought the first successful case of Negro slave suing his master for his freedom. He left America in 1775, was proscribed in the Conspirator's Act of 1779, and resided in Bristol during the Revolution (463-4). Ward also mentions Samuel Sewall (1745-1811), a friend of Jonathan in exile. Samuel was a Harvard graduate (1761) and a lawyer. He was banished in 1778, lived part of his exile in Bristol, and forfeited a substantial estate in Massachusetts (506).

Elder Shackley (9, 29): Mary visits him in Rocky Hills, having heard he was ill. He is among Madam Wallingford's defenders when the mob attacks her house. In "The Old Town of Berwick," Jewett quotes a description of Elder Richard Shackley, "ye last of ye Elders": "He was a man of very grave countenance of the old Puritan stamp (which does not seem to appear very often in the Piscataqua plantations), sound in the faith, and very tenacious of his Hopkinsian opinions. He used to wear a red cap in church, and when he heard a minister whose preaching he relished, he would rise in his seat, which was beneath the pulpit, and stand there looking intently at the preacher. When not pleased, he would keep his seat."

A Hodsdon family web site shows two men named Richard Shackley in the South Berwick area during the Revolutionary era. The elder married Hannah Hodsdon on 17 Nov. 1709. Richard Shackley, Jr., was a witness of Margaret Goodwin's will in 1794.

Sherburne (8): According to Nancy Haggens, family friends of the Wallingfords, it would seem in Boston, but possibly in Portsmouth. This family has not been identified. Assistance is welcome.

[Daniel] Sherburne (12): Named as an old Portsmouth sailor on the *Ranger*. Buell, Sawtelle. Fisher & Fisher list Andrew Sherburne as having served on the *Ranger* and moving to Ohio after the war (708).

Simpson, Lieutenant Thomas (12): Molly Elliot Seawell's biographical essay -- which probably isn't to be relied upon wholly -- says "Simpson was cousin to the Quinceys, the Wentworths, the Wendells, and, above all, to President Hancock, who had it in his power to remedy that burning injustice of rank which Paul Jones declared to be 'no trifle.'" She goes on to say that Jones was less insistent upon disciplining Simpson because of the mate's influence ("Paul Jones," *Century* 49:6 p. 879). S. E. Morison confirms that Simpson was Colonel John Langdon's brother-in-law, and points out that most of the officers appointed to serve under Jones were friends and relatives of John Langdon and William Whipple, both of whom were Portsmouth politicians and businessmen. None of these officers had naval experience. Simpson was experienced in the merchant marine and was nine years older than Jones (107-8). Such factors led to conflict between Jones and his men and to Simpson's eventual arrest for mutiny.

This arrest is mentioned in Green's diary notes; Green took Simpson's part and later served under Captain. See Sawtelle and also Morison Chapter 10 for a detailed accounts of this affair.

Skibbereen (17): Near the southern tip of Ireland, south of Bantry.

Sligo Point ... Gulf Road: See Piscataqua above.

Slindon (36): Lord Newburgh's wife, Barbara Kempe, received the Slindon estate as a wedding present from her father. See Dilston Hall above.

Smock Alley Theatre: See Dublin.

Somersworth (2 and other chapters): A town in New Hampshire, northward from Dover, today, it is just across the Salmon Falls River from Berwick, Maine. *New Hampshire: A Guide to the Granite State* says, "Originally a part of Dover, Somersworth was set off as a parish in 1729 and became a separate town in 1754. Its name was first spelled Summersworth and was probably derived from 'summer-town,' the name given by the Rev. John Pike when he spent his summers preaching here. Originally it was known as Great Falls, a name it retained until it was incorporated as a city in 1893" (273). However, since we are told Mrs. Wallingford lives in Somersworth, we need to revert to 18th-century usage, when Somersworth included what is now the village of Rollinsford, just across the Salmon Falls from *South* Berwick, and the shore opposite Hamilton House. Madam's Cove is in what is now known as Rollinsford, but in her time

was called Somersworth.
(Research Assistance: Wendy Pirsig)

Spencers (16): This family is listed in Chapter 16 among those who were early settlers in Berwick and who had members captured by Indians and taken to Canada. See Hetty Goodwin.

Simon Staples (12): Jewett implies that he is a Berwick area sailor on the *Ranger.*

[Owen or Matthew] Starbuck (12): Both are on the list of petty officers and able seamen from Nantucket in Buell, but not on Sawtelle's list. Buell says that Owen Starbuck served with Jones as well on the *Providence* and the *Alfred* (1;51).

Bailli Suffren (21): Pierre André de Suffren de Saint-Tropez (1729-1788) was a French admiral who served under C. H. d'Estaing during the American Revolution, and afterwards in India in 1781 against the British. Remembered for his daredevil maneuvers in battle, he was an Alderman of the Knights of Malta, as indicated by his title *Bailli*. (Research: Travis Feltman; source: *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*)

Master Sullivan and his family (2)**:** John Sullivan (1692-1796) and his wife Old **Margery** (c. 1714 - 1801), settled in the Pine Hill area of Berwick, where Master John taught school for many years while Margery managed the farm. Two of their sons, **John** (2) **and James** (2), achieved fame as soldiers and politicians. See Extended Notes.

Duke de Sully, Marshal of France (17):
After the publication of *The Tory Lover*, Jewett expressed the wish to change her reference to the Duke de Sully, making him the Duke of Berwick. In a letter to Marie Thérèse Blanc, dated February-March 1903, Jewett wrote: "I wonder if it is too late to make a change or two in the French edition of my *Tory Lover*? On the 23rd page [Chapter 2], for example, where (3rd line from the foot) I say *Prince of Conti*, I should like to say *Duke of Berwick*, and on p. 154 [Chapter 17] is a gap in the edition I sent Mlle Douesnel [her translator] and in your first edition a great mistake on the middle of the page! I said *Duke de Sully* at a venture and never corrected it until the second edition where the whole phrase was cut out. *That* should be *Duke of Berwick* too or read thus: 'added the old Irish rebel, who had been like a son to his father's friend the great Duke of Berwick, Marshal of France." (Cary, *Letters*, 153).
According to Parton's *Life of Voltaire*, both the Duc de Sully and the Prince of Conti are described as among "the Epicureans of the Temple," a part of Paris made up of the remains of the monastery of the Templars, known in Voltaire's time as a center of pleasure for intellectuals and artists (vol. I, 53-5). The actual Duke de Sully was served by Voltaire's father, who was a notary, and acted as Voltaire's protector on several occasions when his writing got him into trouble at court. This relationship ended when the Duke refused to take Voltaire's part after he was assaulted by an enemy outside the Duke's house (Parton I, 185).

Susan [Cooper] (10): Woman servant of Madam Wallingford. No information has been found to indicate she is based on an historical person.

T

Le Tellier, the king's confessor (17): Michel Le Tellier (1643-1719), the confessor to Louis XIV, was a Jesuit who fought vehemently against Jansenism. Having served as a professor and rector at the Collége Louis-le-Grand, he was appointed to the position of Louis XIV's confessor in 1709, succeeding Father La Chaise. He used his influence to convince the king to persecute Protestants as well as Jansenists. According to James Parton's *Life of Voltaire*, Le Tellier was mainly responsible for the destruction of the Jansenist convent at Port Royal in 1709 (see Places). In *The Age of Louis XIV*, Voltaire characterizes Le Tellier as "son of an attorney of Vire in Lower Normandy, a melancholy, fervent, and obstinate man, who concealed his passions beneath a cold exterior; he did all the harm that is possible to do in such a post, where it is but too easy to urge what one desires oneself and ruin those that one hates" (Ch. 37). Voltaire says that as King Louis aged, Le Tellier gained more influence, and his vindictiveness led to importuning the king even on his death bed. (Research assistance: Travis Feltman).

Ben Thompson (13): Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford (1753-1814). According to the *Grolier Multimedia Encyclopedia*, the American born scientist left the colonies in 1776, because he opposed the American rebellion, and was knighted for service to England in 1784. He then "became aide-de-camp to the elector of Bavaria. During his 11 years in Bavaria, Thompson reorganized the Bavarian army, abolished mendicancy in Munich, and established workhouses for the poor. In 1791 the elector made Thompson a count of the Holy Roman Empire." See Extended Notes.

John Thornton (20, 41): One of Arthur Lee's personal secretaries, the one who, according to Buell, betrayed the secret of the building of *L'Indien* and, thus, insured its loss just as Jones was about to take command (1;99). It appears that already in Chapter 20 of *The Tory Lover*, Jones suspects Thornton. Louis W. Potts in *Arthur Lee: A Virtuous Revolutionary* (1981) affirms that in the summer of 1778, it came out that Thornton was paid to inform the British of "movements of the French fleet" (204-5). This revelation was part of a very complex conflict between Arthur Lee and Benjamin Franklin. When Thornton was exposed, he was replaced with Hezekiah Ford (see above). Part of the complication was that Dr. Edward Bancroft, Franklin's secretary, was the "master spy" for the British on the American Commission, and that he was manipulating people and events to preserve his valuable position. See also Evan Thomas, especially Ch. 7.

Titcomb (31): Jewett describes Titcomb as a sailor in the Mill Prison in Chapter 31. She says he had served on the *Yankee Hero* (captured June 1776) and was impressed on a British man-of-war before being delivered to the prison. Charles Herbert writes in April 1778: "Also, this afternoon William Titcomb, a Newbury man, came to see us, about half an hour, and very glad was I to see him. He was taken in the Yankee Hero, by the Milford. He informs us that he has belonged to the Milford ever since he was taken, and he has been present at the capture of four American privateers. Upon their passage home, they took a vessel, which was one of the Civil Usage's prizes. The Milford arrived about three weeks ago. Titcomb has been unwell, and has been in the royal hospital most of the time since he arrived. He told us that he had rather be in our situation than his" (Chapter 11; See Charles Herbert above).

Parson Tompson (1): Rev. John Tompson (1739-1828). See Extended Notes.

Tow-wow: Also Tow-Woh. See Lebanon.

Lord Trimlestown (30): See above, Lord Gormanstown.

U/V

Upper Landing: See Berwick.

Valley Forge (16,32): George Washington's Continental Army made its winter camp at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania in 1777-8, during what is described as the darkest period in the military campaign for American independence. The army was inadequately clothed, sheltered and fed; many died of disease and exposure.

Old Vineyard: See Berwick.

Vitré (21,22)**:** A town of northwestern France on the left bank of the Vilaine, 24 miles east of Rennes. (Research: Travis Feltman; Source: *Encyclopedia Britannica 11th Edition*)

Voltaire ... Le petit Arouet (17): Voltaire, (François-Marie Arouet, 1694-1778), according to the *Grolier Multimedia Encyclopedia*, "was the most influential figure of the French Enlightenment." He is best known, perhaps, for his novella, *Candide* (1766). See notes to Chapter 17.

W

Madam Elizabeth and Judge Wallingford (2)**:**

The Wallingford family website says "Elizabeth was born 15 September 1718, in Hampton, Rockingham County, New Hampshire. Her parents were from Hampton Falls, N.H. before moving to York,

Maine around the time Elizabeth was born. Elizabeth was the daughter of Joseph Swett and Hannah Sayward.

Thomas Wallingford (1697-1771) lived most of his life in Somersworth, N.H. and was buried in the Salmon Falls old town cemetery in Rollinsford, N.H. Having lost his first two wives, he married Elizabeth Swett (1718-1810) in about 1754.

Wallingford family servants named in the novel:

Susan (Cooper in ch. 15)

Rodney (ch. l, slave) . See Extended Notes.

Roger Wallingford (based on Samuel) (2): **Roger Wallingford**: Lieutenant of Marines, **Samuel** Richard Wallingford, whom Morison characterizes as "courteous," served on the *Ranger.* He appears on Buell's "Roster of the Ranger" as from Philadelphia.

Wallingford was killed during the capture of *The Drake* on 24 April 1778, the day after the attack on Whitehaven. The historical Wallingford was not left behind at Whitehaven, though another sailor was. See David Smith, below.

According to Walter Green, son of the ship's doctor, Samuel Wallingford was a Lieutenant of Marines, and he left an infant son at his death, George Washington Wallingford, who was born at Somersworth, N.H. and became a distinguished lawyer (Preble and Green, *Diary of Ezra Green*, 1875).

William H. Teschek's biographical sketch of Samuel Wallingford can be found at the Wallingford family web site. The following summary is based on this web page.

He was born in Berwick, York County, Maine on February 4, 1755, the son of Judge Thomas Wallingford and his third wife, Elizabeth (see below). He died in battle on the *Ranger* on April 24, 1778. He married Lydia Baker (1759-1828) at First Church in Dover on July 22, 1775, when he was 20 and she was 15. Their only child, George, was born 19 February 1776, seven months after the wedding.

According to this web site, Samuel's "military service during the Revolutionary War began in 1775. On 5 November 1775 Samuel was 1st Lt. in Capt. Moses Yeaton's 12th Co., stationed on Pierce's Island amongst forces guarding Portsmouth's Piscataqua Harbor from attack by sea. On 2 December of that year General John Sullivan, who was stationed at "Winter Hill" in Charlestown, Mass., asked for reinforcements to his force surrounding the British in Boston. 2058 men from N.H. went down, including now 2nd Lt. Samuel Wallingford, part of Capt. David Copps' 25th Co. They remained at Winter Hill until the British evacuated Boston the following March." Since his marriage took place shortly after hostilities commenced at Concord and Lexington in April 1775, and he was already a first lieutenant by November of that year, it would appear that Wallingford was a reasonably willing soldier rather than a reluctantly converted Tory as Jewett presents him.

By December of 1776, Wallingford was a captain in the fourth company of a regiment under Colonel David Gilman.

"On 15 July 1777 John Paul Jones wrote to Samuel from Portsmouth the following: "Sir You being nominated as Lieutenant of Marines in the Service of these States, are hereby Authorized and directed forthwith to Enlist as many Able Bodied Men as possible to Serve in the Navy under my Command -- You are to enter All the good Seamen who present themselves -- as Sundry petty Warrant Officers will be Appointed from Among them. I will shortly send you with hand Bills for your Government -- and in the Meantime the men will be intitled to wages from the date of Entry -- their reasonable Travelling expences will be Allowed -- and a bounty of Forty Dollars for every Able Seaman will be Paid on their Appearance at the Ship."

Wallingford sailed with the *Ranger* in November of 1777 and remained in this service until his death the following spring. One account of the attack on Whitehaven that probably was familiar to Jewett suggests some opposition between Wallingford and Jones, mentioning Lieutenant [Samuel] Wallingford as a crew-member who opposed the attack and resisted setting the fires as ordered: "Lieutenant Wallingford thought it wrong to destroy the private property of the poor people...." ("John Paul Jones." *Harper's Monthly*, July 1855, 152).

See Thomas and Elizabeth above.

See also The Crew of the Ranger for information on other characters connected to Roger Wallingford but not mentioned in the novel.

Mr. Warner (22) This mutual acquaintance of Benjamin Franklin and Roger Wallingford is Colonel Jonathan Warner (1726-1814), whose Warner family mansion remains in Portsmouth, N.H. Colonel Warner was a prominent citizen of Portsmouth, serving on the King's Council. He married Mary Macpheadris, daughter of the house's builder and grand-daughter of New Hampshire's Royal Governor, John Wentworth, in 1754. According to Charles Brewster's *Rambles About Portsmouth #25*, the Warner house "is provided with a lightning rod, which was put up in 1762 under the personal inspection of Doctor Benjamin Franklin -- and was probably the first put up in New Hampshire."

Gideon Warren (31) a Berwick sailor in the Mill Prison. In March of 1779, Jones helped to negotiate a prisoner exchange in which over 200 American prisoners were released. Many of these then joined Jones as crew for the *Bon Homme Richard*. Warren is not on Buell's roster of this crew, but he does appear on Herbert's list of prisoners taken from the Brigantine *Dolton*.

"The Diary of Master Joseph Tate" records the death of a Gideon Warren's son in the Somersworth area on 4 May 1773, by drowning "in the Tan pit."

Mrs. Patricia Boddy Tharp, while researching her family genealogy, has uncovered more information about Gideon Warren. He died in the Mill Prison before the conversation Jewett presents in Chapter 31, which takes place upon Roger Wallingford's arrival at the Mill Prison: "Gideon Warren died with a putrid fever and smallpox" on September 3, 1777, according to "The Journal of Mr. Samuel Cutter Captured in the Brig *Dalton* of Newburyport," reprinted in *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 32 (Boston, 1878), p. 395. He had been captured on May 16, 1777 when the sloop *Charming Polly* was commandeered by the British, his name appearing in "A List of the Americans Committed to the Old Mill Prison Since the American War," (*New England Historical and Genealogical Society* 19 (Jan. 1865, p. 75). Mrs. Tharp also notes that Charles Wilson Peale's portrait of William Stone (1775), shows him pointing to the sloop *Charming Polly* in the background.

George Washington (1732-1799) (2): Commander of the American Revolutionary Army and first President of the United States (1789-1797).

Mr. Wentworth (1): The Wentworths were a prominent family in this region and among the original settlers. It is likely the somewhat impolitic Mr. Wentworth is Joseph Wentworth, whose 1750 house stands in Somersworth, N.H. (*New Hampshire: A Guide to the Granite State*, 273). However, "Master Tate's Diary" mentions Colonel John Wentworth of Somersworth as a slave owner, January 17, 1775, and the death of his wife in July 1775 . He also records on June 19, 1775, that "Captain Jonathan Wentworth's company of Somersworth marched for Cambridge."

Wentworth Mansion: See Portsmouth.

Westbury on Trym (35,41,43): Westbury is southeast of Bristol, England, in the direction of Salisbury. Graham Frater writes: "Westbury on Trym is now a dormitory village to the north of the Bristol city centre lying within the greater Bristol conurbation. The parish church remains; it is placed on a hill, from which its pretty chimes would have been widely heard."

Whitehaven (24 and other chapters): See Chapter 24 for photographs and illustrations. A port on the northwestern coast of England, across the Irish Sea from Belfast and Carrickfergus. Whitehaven was an important port across Solway Firth from Jones's birthplace, Arbigland in Scotland. It was from Whitehaven that Jones, when 13, began his apprenticeship under Mr. Younger on the *Friendship* in 1761 (Morison 11).

White Hills (8 and other chapters): The White Mountains, northwest of Berwick in New Hampshire.

Windsor (34): Private residence of the English royal family.

Witchtrot road (31): Witchtrot Road runs north from York Woods Road to Emery's Bridge Road, east of South Berwick. In "The Old Town of Berwick," Jewett says: "There is one incident connected with the Salem witchcraft delusion which has given an unforgetable name and association to a certain part of the present town of South Berwick, in connection with the summoning of the Rev. Stephen Burroughs, of Wells, to appear before the judges in Danvers [Massachusetts]. The whole history of Burroughs is most interesting and perplexing. He was a man of amazing strength and a curious knowledge of woodcraft, but was accused of cruelty and various misdeeds. An enemy of his in Danvers, where he had formerly

preached, was despatched to Wells on the welcome errand of bringing him to justice, with the help of two constables, - the strength and cleverness of Burroughs being quite enough to found the charge of witchcraft upon, and cover the desire of revenge for a private grudge. They found the man at his parsonage; and, sure of proving his innocence, he readily agreed to accompany them, but suggested that they should take a shorter path than by the road they had come, -- round by the old coast or post road through York. They pretended afterward, or perhaps believed, that he cast a spell on them, and led them into a gloomy forest, presently coming out on a high, strange ridge, like a backbone to the country. As it grew dark a great thunder-storm gathered, but Burroughs alone seemed to know no fear, and kept on his way. The messenger and his two constables nearly perished with fright, and believed the whole situation to be diabolic. The horses seemed to fly, and the lightning flashed blue and awful gleams about Burroughs, as he rode ahead; and so things were at their worst as they hurried up and down the steep hills of what has ever since been known as the Witch Trot Road. Suddenly the storm ceased, as thunder-storms will, and the moon shone out; and they found themselves near the calm water of the river, near Quampeagan. This was proof enough in that moment of Burroughs's evil powers, and his fate is a matter of history. The Danvers men told the story of their fearful ride, with great glory to themselves no doubt, for many years; and though those who were familiar with the country insisted that the road to the river was shorter by half than the long way through Cape Neddick and Ogunquit, it was easier to accept the marvellous than the reasonable."

Jewett reports this story as "oral history," and historians have questioned some aspects of it.

Wooster's river (16): This stream flows into the Salmon Falls River downstream from Great Falls, between South Berwick and Berwick. It became significant in local history because of a skirmish fought there in 1690 between local settlers and a band of Indians, led by a Frenchman, who had staged an attack on the Salmon Falls settlement. (See Hertel).

Miss Elizabeth (Betsey) Wyat (4): In "The Old Town of Berwick," Jewett says: "I remember in my childhood a low headstone near by, which bore the name of 'Elizabeth Wyat, 18 years.' It has quite disappeared with the old apple-tree that it leaned against, but I remember my father's telling me that he had heard from very old people that Elizabeth Wyat was a most beautiful and lovable young creature, whose early death had given the deepest sorrow to all her friends. I somehow take unreasonable pleasure in writing here this brief record, which perhaps no one could write but myself. Her dust long years ago was turned into pink and white apple blossoms against the blue sky, and these, in their turn, faded and fell on the green grass beneath." Blanchard in *Sarah Orne Jewett* points out that Miss Wyat (Wiatt) died in 1713 (343). Judge Benjamin Chadbourne's "History of the Town of Berwick," reports that this date appeared on the headstone: "Eliza Wyatt, age 18 died March 15, 1713." *Vital Records of Berwick ...* says "Elizabeth Wyatt, daughter of John & Elizabeth, aged about 18 years, 15 March 1713" (306).

York (2 and other chapters)**:** This Maine costal town is near Berwick. The following information about the historical York Garrison is from the *Michelin Guide to New England* (1993). "In 1624 the Pilgrims established a trading post at Agamenticus, the present-day site of York. The small settlement that grew up around the trading post was chosen by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the proprietor of Maine, as the capital of his vast New World territory. In 1641, Sir Gorges gave the village a city charter and renamed it Gorgeana in his honor." Gorges plans for the area failed, and the village was reorganized as York by the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1652. In the 18th century, York was the provincial capital, where terms of court were held. Old York Village is a museum today, where one can visit several preserved sites and buildings, including the old York jail. York Garrison, officially known as McIntire Garrison, was built in about 1665. This photograph of the restored building was taken in September 2002.

The Crew of the *Ranger*

Introduction

There is no official list of the sailors, marines, and others who sailed with the *Ranger* upon its departure from Portsmouth in 1777 or of those who remained with or joined the ship after its various landings and encounters. Augustus Buell (1900) provides the list upon which Jewett probably relied, though he subsequently proved so unreliable that one dare not trust his list. For example, he appears unaware of Ezra Green's published diary. A more authoritative list appears in Joseph G. Sawtelle, editor, *John Paul Jones and the Ranger* (1994, pp. 193-7); this list is based on primary documents, and so lists only part of the crew of about 140.

The list below names the crew-members included in Jewett and a few who do not appear in the novel, then indicates which ones are listed in Buell and in Sawtelle, along with other information that has been found about them. Those who appear in neither Buell nor Sawtelle seem likely to be the ones Jewett intended to be fictional, not based on any historical model.

The *York County Atlas* of 1872 says Ichabod Lord and Aaron Goodwin from South Berwick served with John Paul Jones, and that Goodwin and seven others were captured and imprisoned in England (102). Both of these men appear in Charles Herbert's list of Berwick men captured with the Brigantine *Dolton* and committed to the Mill Prison in June 1777. It would appear, therefore, that they were among those released in the trading of prisoners in 1778 and that these two men served with Jones on the *Bon Homme Richard*.

Chase, James (12): Jewett identifies him as an old Nantucket seaman, who served with Jones on the *Alfred*. Buell, Sawtelle.

Cooper (12): Not listed in Sawtelle or Buell, Cooper would appear to be an entirely fictional character, though Cooper is a common name, and there were many living in the Piscataqua region during the American Revolution. Jewett identifies him and Hanscom as from the South Berwick area. In 15, Cooper and Wallingford are said to be old friends who share many memories, and Jewett identifies the Wallingford servant, Susan, as Cooper's older sister.

An Alexander Cooper (b. 1746) resident in South Berwick 1818, is listed as having served in the Revolution in Fisher & Fisher.

Dickson (12): He is said to be an officer in Ch. 24 and later, but which office is not specified. A Stephen Dickson is listed as an apprentice boy from Boston in Buell, but clearly this boy is not the model for Jewett's villain. Sawtelle lists no Dickson. However, it is possible that Jewett used this name because it was familiar to people in late 19th-century South Berwick, Samuel Dickson / Dixon. Samuel Dickson was a somewhat shady operator of a liquor shop in mid-century Salmon Falls. His shop is associated with an 1854 murder, in which Dr. Jewett examined the body, and his name is mentioned in relation to the arson of a barn. However details about the extent of his involvement have not yet been discovered. (Research: Wendy Pirsig).

John Dougall (12): Dr. Green reports that a John W. Dangle was killed on 24 April 1778 in the capture of the sloop of war, *Drake*, near Carrickfergus, and Jones reports in his own narrative of the events that John Dougall died in the capture of the Drake (Sands 85). Dougall is on the list of petty officers and able seamen from Boston in Buell, but Dangle is not. Sawtelle list Dougall.

Johnny Downes (12): Named as a ship's boy in *The Tory Lover*. On the list of apprentice boys in Buell. Sawtelle lists John Downs.

William Earl (19): Acts as secretary for Captain Jones on the *Ranger* on the night that Wallingford notices Jones is wearing Mary's ring. Earl is not on Buell's list of the crew. According to the Chadbourne Family Association web site, the Hearl (sometimes spelled Earl) family had several members residing in

the area of South Berwick during the era of the American Revolution. Fisher & Fisher list two William Hearle's from Berwick as serving in the Revolution (358), but neither is listed as a sailor.

Falls (12): A gunner who plays fiddle.

Dr. Green reports that James Falls was wounded on 24 April 1778 in the capture of the sloop of war, *Drake*, near Carrickfergus. Sawtelle.

Thomas M. Falls is listed by Buell as a gunner from Salem, but no James Falls appears on Buell's roster.

Joseph Fernal (12): Named as an old Portsmouth sailor in *The Tory Lover*. Buell, Sawtelle.

Gardner (23): Sawtelle lists a John Gardin.

Grant (12): Buell [Ephraim], Sawtelle [Ephram].

Dr. Ezra Green (1746-1847), ship surgeon (13): After five years service in the American army and navy, Green became a merchant and public servant in Malden, Massachusetts. For details and pictures, see *Diary of Ezra Green*.

[John] Grosvenor (12): Buell.

Lieutenant [Elijah] Hall (24): Dr. Green reports that Lieutenant Hall and he signed a petition for the release of the imprisoned Lieutenant Simpson on 29 May 1778. Listed in Buell. Sawtelle notes that Hall's biography appears in G. D. Foss's *Three Centuries of Free Masonry in New Hampshire* (1972): "Lost sight of an Eye and taken prisoner in battle off Charleston, S.C. He returned to Portsmouth and married Elizabeth Stoodley, daughter of the owner of Stoodleys Tavern (moved to Hancock Street in Strawbery Banke Museum in 1964.) After the war Elijah purchased the tavern and made it his residence for the remainder of his life. He was elected to the state senate in 1807-09, the Governors council in 1809-17. Died June 22, 1830. Was an incorporator of the Portsmouth Savings Bank. The Halls had three sons who were all killed in the War of 1812."

[Reuben] Hanscom (12): Jewett indicates that he is a "river" man, like Cooper, from the South Berwick area. Buell, Sawtelle. Fisher & Fisher list a Reuben Hanscom (1754-1831) who enlisted at Kittery, who married Lucy and then Alice, and who died in North Berwick (337). There is no indication that this Reuben Hanscom served on the *Ranger*.

Midshipman [Benjamin] Hill (26): Buell lists Charles Hill of Barnstable as a midshipman, and notes that he also served with Jones on the *Providence* and the *Alfred* (1;51). Buell also says that Hill authored "The Song of the Ranger" quoted in Chapter 12, but S. E. Morison indicates that Buell made up this document (427). Sawtelle lists Benjamin Hill, but not his position.

Dr. Green says that Mr. Hill accompanied Lieutenant Wallingford in the Whitehaven attack. Sawtelle lists Benj. Hill, and S. E. Morison points out that during the Whitehaven attack, Benjamin Hill, a friend of Jones, also was serving as a volunteer officer on the *Ranger* (119).

Solomon Hutchings (13): Named by Jewett as the first victim of voyage -- a broken leg; This also is in Buell (1;86), but not, as one would expect, in the *Diary of Ezra Green*. Sawtelle notes that Solomon Hutchins "came down with smallpox, recovered" (194). Fisher & Fisher list Solomon Hutchins (b. 1760) as a navy sailor from Kittery serving on the *Ranger* (400).

John Paul Jones, Jr.: Captain of the *Ranger*.

John Paul Jones (1747-1792) was an American naval officer during the Revolutionary War. He was born John Paul on July 6, 1747, in Kirkcudbright, Scotland. He began his sailing career at the age of 12 as a cabin boy, and served on a slaver and then as captain of a merchant ship. According to the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, "In 1773, as commander of a merchant vessel in Tobago in the West Indies, he killed the leader of a mutinous crew. Rather than wait in prison for trial, he escaped from the island and later returned to Fredericksburg, [Virginia]. The British thereafter considered him a pirate and a fugitive from justice. To hide his identity he added the surname Jones." At the beginning of the American Revolution, Jones joined the Continental navy. *Britannica* says "He was commissioned a lieutenant and attached to the first American flagship, *Alfred.* In 1776 he was promoted to captain and given command of the sloop *Providence.* During his first cruise on the *Providence* he destroyed the British fisheries in Nova

Scotia and captured 16 British prize ships. In 1777 he commanded the sloop *Ranger,* and after sailing to France, he cruised along the coast of Britain, destroying many British vessels." More materials on John Paul Jones.

Humphry Lord (6): A young man who boards the *Ranger* as it is about to embark. The Lord family history web page lists a person who might fit this description, Humphrey Lord (c. 1744 - c. 1797) of South Berwick, Maine. He married Olive Hill in 1772. Not on rosters of Buell or Sawtelle. Fisher & Fisher list a Humphrey lord of Berwick serving in the militia (487).

[Daniel] Sargent (21): Sawtelle

Nathan Sargent serves as Master at Arms according to Buell. In Fisher & Fisher, Daniel Sargent / Sargeant (b. 1749) is listed as serving with John Paul Jones, but the *Ranger* is not specified (689). The entry appears scrambled, but he seems to have married several times and to have died in 1828.

[Daniel] Sherburne (12): Named as an old Portsmouth sailor in *The Tory Lover*. Buell, Sawtelle. Fisher & Fisher list Andrew Sherburne as having served on the *Ranger* and moving to Ohio after the war (708).

Simpson, Lieutenant Thomas (12): Buell and Sawtelle. Molly Elliot Seawell's biographical essay -- which probably isn't to be relied upon wholly -- says "Simpson was cousin to the Quinceys, the Wentworths, the Wendells, and, above all, to President Hancock, who had it in his power to remedy that burning injustice of rank which Paul Jones declared to be 'no trifle.'" She goes on to say that Jones was less insistent upon disciplining Simpson because of the mate's influence ("Paul Jones," *Century* 49:6 p. 879). S. E. Morison confirms that Simpson was Colonel John Langdon's brother-in-law, and points out that most of the officers appointed to serve under Jones were friends and relatives of John Langdon and William Whipple, both of whom were Portsmouth politicians and businessmen. None of these officers had naval experience. Simpson was experienced in the merchant marine and was nine years older than Jones (107-8). Such factors led to conflict between Jones and his men and to Simpson's eventual arrest for mutiny.

This arrest is mentioned in Green's diary notes; Green took Simpson's part and later served under Captain. See Sawtelle and also Morison Chapter 10 for a detailed accounts of this affair.

Simon Staples (12): Jewett implies that he is a Berwick area sailor. Buell, Sawtelle.

[Owen or Matthew] Starbuck (12): Both are on the list of petty officers and able seamen from Nantucket in Buell, but not on Sawtelle's list. Buell says that Owen Starbuck served with Jones as well on the *Providence* and the *Alfred* (1;51).

Roger Wallingford: Lieutenant of Marines, **Samuel** Richard Wallingford, whom Morison characterizes as "courteous," served on the *Ranger.* He appears on Buell's "Roster of the Ranger" as from Philadelphia. He appears on Sawtelle's list.

Wallingford was killed during the capture of *The Drake* on 24 April 1778, the day after the attack on Whitehaven. The historical Wallingford was not left behind at Whitehaven, though another sailor was. See David Smith, below.

According to Walter Green, son of the ship's doctor, Samuel Wallingford was a Lieutenant of Marines, and he left an infant son at his death, George Washington Wallingford, who was born at Somersworth, N.H. and became a distinguished lawyer (Preble and Green, *Diary of Ezra Green*, 1875).

William H. Teschek's biographical sketch of Samuel Wallingford can be found at the Wallingford family web site: http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~teschek/wallingford/i0000113.htm

The following summary is based on this web page.

He was born in Berwick, York County, Maine on February 4, 1755, the son of Judge Thomas Wallingford and his third wife, Elizabeth (see below). He died in battle on the *Ranger* on April 24, 1778. He married Lydia Baker (1759-1828) at First Church in Dover on July 22, 1775, when he was 20 and she was 15. Their only child, George, was born 19 February 1776, seven months after the wedding.

According to this web site, Samuel's "military service during the Revolutionary War began in 1775. On 5 November 1775 Samuel was 1st Lt. in Capt. Moses Yeaton's 12th Co., stationed on Pierce's Island amongst forces guarding Portsmouth's Piscataqua Harbor from attack by sea. On 2 December of that year General John Sullivan, who was stationed at "Winter Hill" in Charlestown, Mass., asked for reinforcements to his force surrounding the British in Boston. 2058 men from N.H. went down, including

now 2nd Lt. Samuel Wallingford, part of Capt. David Copps' 25th Co. They remained at Winter Hill until the British evacuated Boston the following March." Since his marriage took place shortly after hostilities commenced at Concord and Lexington in April 1775, and he was already a first lieutenant by November of that year, it would appear that Wallingford was a reasonably willing soldier rather than a reluctantly converted Tory as Jewett presents him.

By December of 1776, Wallingford was a captain in the fourth company of a regiment under Colonel David Gilman.

On 15 July 1777 John Paul Jones wrote to Samuel from Portsmouth the following:

"Sir You being nominated as Lieutenant of Marines in the Service of these States, are hereby Authorized and directed forthwith to Enlist as many Able Bodied Men as possible to Serve in the Navy under my Command -- You are to enter All the good Seamen who present themselves -- as Sundry petty Warrant Officers will be Appointed from Among them. I will shortly send you with hand Bills for your Government -- and in the Meantime the men will be intitled to wages from the date of Entry -- their reasonable Travelling expences will be Allowed -- and a bounty of Forty Dollars for every Able Seaman will be Paid on their Appearance at the Ship."

Wallingford sailed with the *Ranger* in November of 1777 and remained in this service until his death the following spring. One account of the attack on Whitehaven that probably was familiar to Jewett suggests some opposition between Wallingford and Jones, mentioning Lieutenant [Samuel] Wallingford as a crew-member who opposed the attack and resisted setting the fires as ordered: "Lieutenant Wallingford thought it wrong to destroy the private property of the poor people...." ("John Paul Jones." *Harper's Monthly*, July 1855, 152).

Buell and Jewett Exchange Information on Wallingford

Jewett writes in a letter to Annie Fields:

I wish to tell you one thing, dear, that I knew Lieutenant Wallingford was killed, none better, but how could I write about him unless I kept him alive? -- There is something so strange now, that I can hardly believe it myself. I thought about him and his house and the members of the family whom I have known, and made him a Tory and had Mary W. -- challenge him to his duty, all out of my own imagination; and on Saturday I got a package of notes from Mr. Buell in which it is proved that Wallingford was a Tory and his lady love declined to marry him for that reason; at last he took her challenge and went to sea. He confessed to Paul Jones that he had come for a lady's sake and not from his principles. Part of this is told almost in my words of the story, as you shall see. Now how could I have guessed, at his character, and what was likely to happen, and better? Imagination is the only true thing in the world!

Jewett's correspondent was Augustus C. Buell (1847-1904), author of *Paul Jones, Founder of the American Navy: a History* (1900). And it is probable that Buell fabricated the documents he sent Jewett -- as is indicated by the information in Green's *Diary* above and the Wallingford Family web site -- and that he based his inventions upon her own words.

See selections from Buell in Related Materials for more information on how Buell influenced Jewett's telling of this story.

William Young (12): a Dover man according to *The Tory Lover*; he appears on the list of petty officers and able seamen from Portsmouth in Buell. Sawtelle lists a Jonathan Young, Armorer.

Crew members not mentioned by Jewett, but important to her novel

David Freeman / alias David Smith: Walter Green, in his notes to Ezra Green's *Diary*, says that David Smith was the man left behind at Whitehaven. He says "In the Ranger's logbook the man left on shore is named David Smith, and it was thought he remained on shore voluntarily, and that under the name of Freeman, he gave information at several houses that fire had been set to the ships." Sawtelle lists David Smith. Freeman / Smith does not appear on Buell's "Roster of the Ranger"; indeed, he seems to have made up a completely different version of this story involving Jonathan Wells, whom he lists as on the crews of both the *Ranger* and *Bon Homme Richard*.

Jonathan Wells: He is on Buell's list of the *Ranger's* petty officers and able seamen from New Bedford. Buell also asserts that Wells was really the man left behind at Whitehaven, but that he remained loyal to the U.S., and by a kind of romantic adventure returned to Jones's service on the *Bon Homme Richard*, where he is listed as a crew member by Buell. However, Dr. Green reports in his *Diary* that Nathan Wells from Portsmouth, N.H. died of wounds on 4 May 1778, and Jones confirms his death in his narrative, calling him Wills (Sands 85). Sawtelle lists Nathaniel Wells based on these authorities. Buell also lists as a crew-member, Nathaniel Willis, but as from New Bedford; Willis is not mentioned in Sawtelle.

Extended Notes on Historical Characters

For a number of the local South Berwick characters and a few others, extended information may be useful to scholars and other readers. This document contains biographical sketches and notes on these characters.

Cæsar

Slaves in colonial South Berwick.

In "The Old Town of Berwick," Jewett remembers the arrangement of a church that included places for slaves: "I remember that the unpainted woodwork had taken a beautiful brown tint with age, and that it used to be a vast pleasure in my childhood to steal into the silent place, and to sit alone, or with small, whispering friends, in one of the high, square pews. The arrangement of the pews and benches reminded one of the time when there was such careful attention paid to social precedence, and provision made for the colored people, of whom there were formerly a large number in Berwick, and many of them have been excellent citizens. Most of the prominent families in this part of New England, near tide water, possessed one or more African slaves in the last century; and one may still hear delightful stories of their strange traits of inheritance and their loyal affection to the families which they adopted as their own, and were always ready to champion. A little sandy hill, just below the Landing, and above the old river path that leads to Leigh's, now Yeaton's mills, still bears the name of Cato's Hill, from the fact that the sunny sand bank near the top was the favorite retreat of an ancient member of the household of Gen. Lord (see below). Cato was a native Guineaman, and the last generation loved to recall the tradition of his droll ways and speeches."

Also in local church records Negroes, slaves, and servants known by first name only are baptized and accepted into membership, but none are recorded that correspond to slaves or servants mentioned in *The Tory Lover*, except for Cato Lord.

See also, William Lord, "Black Sara."

Judge Benjamin Chadbourne:

From Chadbourne family genealogy:

JUDGE BENJAMIN 5 CHADBOURNE (41. William 4 Humphrey 3-2 William 1), born Berwick 23 July 1718; baptized 15 Feb 1718/9; died Berwick 16 Mar 1799, age 82 (Young's Index, 4); married first Berwick 21 July 1742 (BVR, 113) SARAH HEARD, baptized Berwick 17 June 1722 (BVR, 212), died 23 Nov 1750 (ibid, 212), daughter of James 4 (Capt John 3 Ens James 2 John 1) and Mary (Roberts) Heard (BVR, 212); married second 10 Oct 1751 (BVR, 113) MARY CHESLEY, daughter of Jonathan and Mary (Weeks) Chesley of Durham NH BVR, 212; Leonard Weeks and Family of Greenland NH). He was commonly referred to as "Judge Benjamin."

Benjamin probably served as captain in Col Jonathan Bagley's regiment at Louisburg 1745 and with Col Nathaniel Sparhawk in 1762 (American Officers in French and Indian War, NEHGS). He was called Colonel as well as Judge, was an attorney and counselor at law, a colonel in the militia, and a judge of the Court of Common Pleas. He was representative from Berwick for fifteen years from 1756 to 1771, elected by the legislature to serve as Senator to the Massachusetts Legislature from York Co in 1780 (H-Saco & Biddeford, 290). He was a member of the Governor's Council and one of the founders of Berwick Academy, established in 1791. For the Academy he gave ten acres of land in the finest possible situation, and a sum of money besides, to begin the subscription.

Judge Benjamin had purchased much of his brothers' and sisters' share of the family homestead and, therefore, owned much of the original acreage along the Salmon Falls River. In 1761 he purchased from his uncle Humphrey

land in S Berwick. He lived there, in a humbler house built after 1720 at 30 Liberty St, [page 84]courtesy of Howard Kaepplein [page 86] while building his mansion house at Liberty and Vine Sts. In a letter dated 26 June 1768, Mary Chesley was admitted from Durham to South Berwick church (Libby's handwritten note in copy of Old Berwick).

Benjamin raised a new house and barn 12 June 1770. In addition to his Berwick properties, he received liberal grants of land in Lebanon. He wrote about 1791 that "no house stands between here and Canada not built within my memory" (probably due to Indian attacks).

Rev John Lord, in his historical address on Berwick Academy, refers to Judge Chadbourn as:
"a veritable patrician, with a great landed estate which his ancestors purchased from the Indians. He lived in a fine colonial residence, surrounded by noble elms. He sent John Hancock a large number of elms from his Berwick estate, to be planted on Boston Common, where some still exist."

Sarah Orne Jewett has made Judge Chadbourn one of the characters of her historical romance The Tory Lover, picturing him as an "old man of singular dignity and kindliness of look." These biographical details are from William M Emery's Chadbourne-Chadbourn Genealogy. The 1790 Census lists 2 males over 16, none under 16, and 2 females in Benjamin's household.

William Williamson in *The History of the State of Maine* writes of Benjamin Chadbourne (sometimes spelled "Chadbourn"): "*Mr. Chadbourn* represented Berwick, his native town, 16 years in the General Court. He was elected into the Council, for Sagadahock, in 1774, and for Maine the two succeeding years. He was likewise a member of the Executive Council several years under the Constitution [of the Commonwealth, after 1780]; and a Judge of the Common Pleas. He was the great grandson of Humphrey Chadbourn, who came and settled at Newichawannock in 1636; and it is believed, his father, of the same name, was a member from Berwick several years in the General Court" (v. 2, ch. 17).

In "The Old Town of Berwick," Jewett writes: "I shall take the liberty of quoting from the historical address given at the celebration of the academy's hundredth year, by Rev. John Lord, LL. D., one of the most gifted and best known pupils of the old hill school.

'The founders,' says Dr. Lord, 'were all honorable men, at least they were all respectable citizens in this prominent village, or were distinguished clergymen or lawyers in the neighboring towns. *Primus inter pares*, there was old **Judge Benjamin Chadbourne,** a veritable patrician, with a great landed estate, which his ancestor purchased from the Indians." Here we find the great-grandson of that Humphrey Chadbourne who came with the earliest settlers, and was for many years their leader. The late President Chadbourne of Williams College belonged to a later generation of the same family. "Judge Chadbourne lived in a fine colonial residence surrounded by noble elms, not far from the Vineyard, and was a great lover of trees. He gave to his friend, John Hancock, a large number of elms from his Berwick estate to be planted on Boston Common, where some of them still exist.'

Duke and Duchess of Chartres

Louis Philippe Joseph (1747-1793) was Duke of Chartres and then Duc d'Orléans, a French nobleman, cousin of King Louis XVI.

According to *Encarta Encyclopedia*, during the French Revolution, he "adopted the name Philippe Égalité. Before the Revolution, he distributed books and papers throughout France advocating liberal ideas. In June 1789, during the meeting of the Estates-General summoned by the king, he led the 47 nobles who seceded from their own order to join the revolutionary third estate. He was elected to the National Convention and voted for the death of Louis XVI. In 1793, during the Reign of Terror, he was guillotined. His son Louis Philippe became king of France in 1830.

In *Paul Jones*, Buell identifies him as "the Sailor Prince," and says that he was "selected in 1774 to succeed the Duke de Bourbon-Penthievre in the office of High Admiral of France.... He had a few years before married Mary Adelaide de Bourbon-Penthievre, daughter of the High Admiral. She was one of the most beautiful and accomplished women of her time; granddaughter of the Count de Toulouse, High Admiral of France at the beginning of the Eighteenth Century, Commander of the French fleet in the great battle of Malaga in 1704.... The Count de Toulouse was a son of Louis XIV. by Madame de Montespan ...." (1;25-6). S. E.

Morison and Evan Thomas generally corroborate this account. Morison identifies the Duke's father-in-law as Grand Admiral of France (173). Evan Thomas notes that the duke was "Grand Master of all the Masonic lodges in France," an important connection between him and John Paul Jones (142).

Jewett says the Duchess of Chartres was Jones's "good angel" in France (Chapter 39). Thomas suggests that Jones's relationship with the Duchess was quite limited (145).

Judge Curwen

Samuel Curwen (1715-1802) was American-born and a judge of Admiralty in the British colonial administration of the American colonies, a loyalist with a complex attitude toward his homeland, and an American refugee in England from 1775-1784. *Journal and Letters of the Late Samuel Curwen* (1842) -- edited by George Atkinson Ward (1793-1864) -- indicates the complexity of the positions of some loyalists. On the title page of his book appears this quotation from 1780: "For my native country I feel a filial fondness; her foibles I lament, her misfortunes I pity; her good I ardently wish, and to be restored to her embraces is the warmest of my desires."

During his period as a refugee in England, he traveled widely, recording his impressions in his journal. These, along with his letters, offer a good glimpse of the thoughts and feelings of a principled Tory and of the difficulties such refugees faced. Following is a sample letter of June 1776 to Charles Russell.

> TO DR. CHARLES RUSSELL, ANTIGUA.
> *London, June* 10, 1776.
>
> DEAR SIR:
>
> I congratulate you on your retreat from the land of oppression and tyranny; for surely, greater never appeared since the days of Nimrod. I sincerely wish well to my native country, and am of opinion that the happiness of it depends on restraining the violences and outrages of profligate and unprincipled men, who run riot against all the laws of justice, truth and religion. Sad and deplorable is the condition of those few that like Abdiel, amidst hostile bands of fallen spirits, retain their primitive loyalty. So strangely unprosperous hitherto have been the measures of administration in America, that the active provincials have taken courage, and accomplished what in contemplation would have appeared morally impossible. Gen. Burgoyne sailed from hence ten weeks ago for Canada with four thousand Brunswickers and seven or eight regiments; Lord Howe in the Eagle about a month, and the first division of Hessians, consisting of eight or ten thousand, about a fortnight before him. Gen. Howe, his brother, with nine thousand was at Halifax the beginning of April. The second division, ('tis said,) will sail this week, consisting of four thousand, which completes the whole number of foreign troops. The whole of the regular army on the continent will not be short of forty thousand men. It is surprising what little seeming effect the loss of American orders has on the manufactories; they have been in full employ ever since the dispute arose; stocks are not one jot lessened, the people in general little moved by it; business and amusements so totally engross all ranks and orders here that administration finds no difficulty on that score to pursue their plans. The general disapprobation of that folly of independence which America now evidently aims at, makes it a difficult part for her friends to act.
>
> By letters from Salem to the 16th April I find they were in a quiet state there, and hugging themselves in the fatal error that government had abandoned the design of reducing them to obedience. Six vessels laden with refugees are arrived from Halifax, amongst whom are R. Lechmere, I. Vassal, Col. Oliver, Treasurer Gray, etc. Those who bring property here may do well enough, but for those who expect reimbursement for losses, or a supply for present support, will find to their cost the hand of charity very cold ; the latter may be kept from starving, and beyond that their hopes are vain. "*Blessed is he* (saith Pope) *that expecteth nothing, for he shall never be disappointed;*" nor a more interesting truth was ever uttered.
>
> I find my finances so visibly lessening, that I wish I could remove from this expensive country, (being heartily tired of it,) and old as I am, would gladly enter into a business connection anywhere consistently with decency and integrity, which I would fain preserve. The use of the property I left behind me I fear I shall never be the better for; little did I expect from affluence to be

reduced to such rigid economy as prudence now exacts. To beg is a meanness I wish never to be reduced to, and to starve is stupid; one comfort, as I am fast declining into the vale of life, my miseries cannot probably be of long continuance.

With great esteem, etc.

S. CURWEN.

Mr. & Mrs. John Davis of Bristol, England

It is not clear to what degree this couple is based on historical persons. Graham Frater's research in Bristol provides this information: Responding to the suggestion that John Davis might have been based on an historical figure, Sheila Lang of the Bristol Records Office writes 'I have found references, including letters, relating to a Captain John Davis who was voyaging to Barbados in 1723, in a Bristol Record Society publication: *The Trade of Bristol in the 18th Century*, edited by W. E Minchinton, (BRS Vol 20). There is no John Davis in our lists of Aldermen of the city for the 18th century.'

In Chapter 32, Jewett establishes a series of relationships that are complicated and that tie Mrs. Davis, Mary Hamilton and Madam Wallingford together in a common ancestry with one of the great heroines of the Piscataqua settlement, Hetty Goodwin, whose story is given in Jewett's version, in the entry on Hetty Goodwin. Mrs. Goodwin's captivity story is itself complicated, and much might be said about what it means to connect Mary and Madam Wallingford with Hetty.

Jewett indicates that Mrs. Davis is the youngest daughter of Hetty Goodwin and is kin to Mary's own people as well as to the Wallingfords. This daughter of Hetty has married the son of a wealthy Bristol merchant, older than she, who is called "Sir" in Chapter 33 and who is an alderman. He is supercargo of the beautiful ship, *The Rose and Crown*, when he meets and courts his wife. He promises her that she will visit home every other year -- because she is so attached to her mother -- but fails to keep this promise. What basis is there in fact for these characters and their relationships?

The Wallingford - Hetty Goodwin Connection

This is quite complicated. The Chadbourne family web site provides this sketch of Mehitable and Thomas Goodwin's family (I have put some key parts in boldface):
http://www.chadbourne.org/Gen4.html

20. THOMAS C4 GOODWIN SR (5. Margaret C3 Spencer, Patience 2 William 1), born Berwick circa 1657; died before administration of his estate was granted to widow Mehitable 26 Mar 1714 (*MPA* 2/141,188, 3/64); married 1685 MEHITABLE PLAISTED, born 1670, died after 2 June 1740 (*YD*), daughter of Roger and Olive (Coleman) Plaisted.

He and his wife and infant son were captured by Indians at William Love's Inn at Salmon Falls ME.

"Thomas and Mehitable were separated after capture and each believed the other dead; indeed a local tradition says that "Hetty" took to herself a new husband in Canada and left him when she learned that Thomas was living. This seems doubtful, as no record of the marriage has been found. Mehitable's story has been printed in the Magnalia and elsewhere.

She had a cruel captor who was disturbed by the wailing of her young baby. To quiet the child she would sit for hours in the snow far from the fire, but the Indian, impatient of her slow progress, snatched it from her arms and killed it.

Three years later, at Montreal, on Monday, 11 May, 1693, there was solemnly baptized an English woman, called in her own country, Mehetabel and by the French, who captured her in war 18 March 1690, Esther, who, born at Barwic, in New England 30 April (old style or 19 May new style) 1670, of the marriage of Roger Pleisted, Protestant, and of Olive Colman, of the same religion, and married to Thomas Gouden, also Protestant, living since nearly three years in the service of Mademoiselle de Nauguiere. She was named Marie Esther... "
(Coleman, *New England Captives Carried to Canada* I:185-186).

"Hitobl Goodin" was one of those redeemed in Oct 1695 by Mathew Cary (ibid, I:74). She and Thomas settled at Old Fields, S Berwick. In Feb 1726, widow Mehitable sold land in Berwick which had been sold to Daniel Goodwin in 1674 from Moses Spencer (*YD*). Her handmade gravestone is in the Old Fields burying ground in Berwick (Coleman I:186).

Children, surname GOODWIN:

i. son C5, killed by Indians 1690 (Cotton Mather: *Magnalia Christie Americana*).

ii. THOMAS JR, b Kittery 29 July 1697 (*KVR*, 11); living Oct 1755; m 2 Dec 1722 ELIZABETH BUTLER, b & bpt Berwick 22 Sep 1699, dau of Thomas and Elizabeth (Abbott) Butler and niece of Sarah Abbott who m Thomas Wills (*LND*, 57-8). Children, surname Goodwin: 1. Elisha, bpt S Berwick 9 Oct 1726, m Sarah _____, at Blueberry Hill, 10 ch. 2. Thomas, bpt 9 Oct 1726, m1 Mary Hicks, m2 Eunice Lord. 3. Olive, bpt 26 July 1728, m 19 Dec 1745 S Berwick Nathan Lord Jr, 4 ch. 4. Moses, bpt 27 Oct 1728, d 1766, unm. 5. Elizabeth, bpt 9 Aug 1730 or 6 Sep 1730, m1 29 Mar 1752 Alexander Shapleigh who d 1762, she m2 Samuel Jenness of Rye NH, 4 ch. 6. Mary, bpt 15 Apr 1733, d 18 July 1736. 7. James, b 17 Mar 1735, d 18 July 1736. 8. Capt James, bpt 15 May 1737, m Sarah Griffith. 9. Mollie, bpt 25 Jan 1740, unm 1766.

iii. ICHABOD, b Kittery 1 June 1700 (*KVR*, 11); d 27 Oct 1777 (*Master Tate's Diary*); m 25 Aug 1729 ELIZABETH SCAMMON, d 8 Feb 1774 (*NH Gazette*, 60), dau of Capt Humphrey of Saco. He was a blacksmith of Berwick 1728/9. 10 children, surname Goodwin: 1. Hannah, b 24 July 1730, m 23 Nov 1749 Tristram Jordan who d 1821, age 90, 3 ch. 2. Ichabod, b 17 Aug 1732, d 1732. 3. Humphrey, b 24 Dec 1735, d 26 Aug 1736. 4. Mary, b 24 Jan 1736/7, d 16 Apr 1774, age 37 (*NH Gazette*, 60), m1 Blackberry Hill, Berwick, Foxwell Curtis Cutts, son of Richard Cutts, m2 S Berwick 1762 Rev John Fairfield, son of William Fairfield, 5 ch. 5. Ichabod, b & d 1739. 6. Dominicus, b 24 Apr 1741, m1 Hannah Hill, d Berwick 10 Mar 1772 (*Master Tate's Diary*, 183); m2 Elizabeth (Littlefield) Perkins. 7. Ichabod, b 14 May 1743, m Mary Wallingford. 8. Samuel, b 17 Aug 1745, unm. 9. Elizabeth, b 25 Dec 1748, unm. 10. Sally, b 21 Apr 1754, m1 S Berwick 24 Apr 1772 Temple Hight, son of William Hight, m2 Rishworth Jordan, son of Judge Rishworth Jordan, 5 ch.

iv. **MEHITABLE**, b ca 1702; d 1761 (*GDMNH*); m before 1758 THOMAS BUTLER, b Berwick 6 Mar 1698 (*KVR*, 17), d between 12 Feb 1759 (date of will) and 4 Apr 1759 (date of proving; *MW* 864-5), son of Thomas and Elizabeth (Abbott) Butler (*KVR*, 17). They lived in Portsmouth. She is probably the Bial who owned the covenant on 20 May 1716, name shortened by Rev Wise. Children, named in father's will, surname Butler: 1. Moses. 2. Thomas. 3. Olive. 4. Elizabeth. 5. Mary. 6. Samuel. 7. (*LND*, 124, says 7 children).

v. **OLIVE**, bpt Berwick 14 Mar 1707/8 (*NEHGR* 82[1928]:75); d 12 May 1772 (LND, 188) or 10 June 1774 (*Master Tate's Diary*, 189); m by 1758 **TIMOTHY DAVIS of Berwick**, bpt 25 Dec 1715, d 10 June 1774 (ibid), possibly son of James and Susanna. Child, surname Davis: 1. perhaps Timothy who m Margaret _____ and had children bpt at 1st Congregational Church of Biddeford in the 1750s (*MHGR* VI & VII).

vi. **MARY**, b 1708, bpt 18 June 1710; m1 Portsmouth 1729 RICHARD LORD JR, b ca 1708, d ca 1735 (*MPA* 16/241, 275, 473), son of Capt Richard and Mary (Goodwin) Lord **(The supposed marriage to John Davis as reported in *NEHGR* 25:395 is incorrect);** m2 ca 1740 (*KVR*, 13, *MPA* 16/241,275,473) JOHN COOPER JR, b 7 Oct 1702, d 1792. Children, surname Lord: 1. Daniel, dy. 2. Richard, dy. 3. Olive, m 25 Aug 1750 Jonathan Abbott Jr (*MPA* 9/54, 12/376), son of Jonathan and Bathsheba (Brackett) Abbott. Children, surname Cooper: 4. Sarah, bpt 14 Feb 1741/2. 5. Alexander, bpt 18 Aug 1745, m 31 Dec 1756 Patience Goodwin. 6. Mary, bpt 21 Mar 1746/7, m 27 Nov 1765 Moses Warren, son of James. 7. Daniel, bpt 25 May 1749, m 2 Dec 1773 Mary Warren, dau of William. 8. John.

vii. JAMES, m MARGARET WALLINGFORD; both alive 1756. Children, surname Goodwin: 1. Margaret, bpt Berwick 27 Feb 1741/2, m 30 Oct 1763 Thomas Hodgdon Jr, bpt 10 June 1739, will Apr 1810, resided Cranberry Meadow, 5 ch. 2. Mehitable, b Berwick 24 Apr 1744, m 22 Oct 1767 Thomas Chadbourne, b 30 Apr 1743, son of Joseph (see Thomas for 5 ch). 3. Major Jedediah, bpt 18 May 1746, m Hannah Emery. 4. Olive, bpt 28 May 1749, m S Berwick 19 Mar 1770 (*BVR*) Nehemiah Gray, lived in Coxhall/Lyman, bur Elder Grey Cem, N Waterborough, at least 1 ch. 5. Mary, bpt 4 Feb 1753, m Somersworth 1 Apr 1772 (*Master Tate's Diary*) Dr Ebenezer Hall. 6. Silas, bpt 8 June 1760, m1 Isabella Bragdon, m2 Anna Clements. 7. Amos Wallingford, bpt 13 Apr 1755, m Eunice Getchell. 8. Thomas, b 14 Jan 1763, m Anna Goodwin. 9. James, taken prisoner in Revolution

and d in Halifax prison. 10. Silas, taken prisoner in Revolution and d in Halifax prison.

We can note that none of Hetty's daughters married John Davis of Bristol, though some people thought Mary married **a** John Davis. And we see, of course, that Hetty's youngest son married into the Wallingford family. According to the Wallingford family web site, the children of Judge Thomas Wallingford (see below) by his first wife, Margaret Clements, were:

Hannah born 5 May 1720
Judith born 25 Mar 1722 Dover, Strafford County, New Hampshire
Ebenezer born 21 Jul 1724 died 15 May 1777
Margaret
Abigail born 30 Sep 1726 Dover, Strafford County, New Hampshire
Rachel.

Though this has not been established beyond doubt, it appears that James, the son of Hetty Goodwin married Margaret, the daughter of Thomas Wallingford by his first wife. Their dates correspond well, and despite appearances, they lived close to each other and were children of powerful and important members of the community. This would make Madam Wallingford kin -- though seemingly fairly distant -- to Hetty Goodwin, in that Madam Wallingford's step-daughter marries Hetty Goodwin's son.

Furthermore, according to the Wallingford family web site, General Ichabod Goodwin (grandson of Hetty through her son, Ichabod) also married into the Wallingford family (Molly) in 1768. Molly/Mary was a granddaughter of Judge Thomas Wallingford, the daughter of Captain Thomas Wallingford (the judge's son by his second wife, Mary Pray). This Mary/Molly was Madam Wallingford's step-granddaughter.

Where John Davis of Bristol comes in

The Goodwin family web site lists the children of James Goodwin (c. 1658-1697), half-brother of Thomas Goodwin (husband of Hetty). James married Sarah Thompson (1652-1714) in 1686. Their fourth child is:

MARY, (**niece of Thomas & Hetty)** b 23 May 1691; d between 11 Mar 1756 when she wrote her will and 5 Apr 1763 when Joseph Lord admin it (MPA 11/101); m (*NEHGR* 25:395) **JOHN DAVIS or m ca 1707 (*YD* 37:225-6) Capt RICHARD LORD, b Kittery 1 Mar 1684/5 (*KVR*, 29), d before 21 May 1754 when admin granted to Mary (*MPA* 7/27, 9/229), son of Nathan and Martha (Tozier) Lord of Berwick (LND). Mary may have married second John Davis** (*LND*, Barry Goodwin). Children (*MPA* 9/53, 11/101), surname Lord: 1. Richard, b 1708, m Mary Lord (#20.vi). 2. Annah, m _____ Shackley. 3. Keziah, m _____ Nason. 4. James. 5. Aaron. 6. Joseph. 7. Jabez.

The condition of this list indicates that this family is not well-represented in the records; hence this site is not very sure about Mary's marriage to John Davis. But if the site's guess is correct, then a niece of Hetty Goodwin -- rather than a daughter -- seems to have been married to John Davis, either as a first or last marriage, or perhaps both. Another genealogy web site http://www.weymouthtech.com/Genealogy/ps35/ps35_065.htm) adds the following information:

The *NEHGR*, Vol. 23 or 24, says "John Davis, of Bristol in Great Brittaine, and Mary Gooding, of Neckswamick, were married 23rd of October, 1718."

The author of this web site is persuaded that this Mary Gooding is in fact, James Goodwin's daughter, Mary, and therefore, a niece of Hetty Goodwin. "Neckswamick" or Newickawanock was an earlier name of South Berwick. While this is murky, especially when considering the dates of Mary's marriages and death, and does not square exactly with Madam Wallingford's account of Mrs. Davis's parentage, it is remarkably close. It would make sense for Jewett to possess a version of this story because of her friendship with Madam Wallingford's granddaughter, Mary Cushing Hobbs, daughter of Olive Wallingford Cushing, who was Madam Wallingford's daughter. A glimpse of this friendship appears in "The Old Town of Berwick."

This information makes it probably impossible to determine whether Jewett was fictionalizing identities and relationships she was aware of or reconstructing them from what her friend gave her as oral history and family lore.

Mary Hamilton's kinship with Hetty Goodwin, Madam Wallingford, and Mrs. Davis

Keeping in mind that we are to see Mary as Jonathan's sister, this is simpler than discovering Mrs. Davis's historical model, but still it has its complications. There are several Hodsden, Hamilton and Goodwin genealogical web sites available on the Internet; these and other sources agree that Goodwins and Hamiltons intermarried in the 18th Century, but they don't exactly agree on who married whom.

To summarize, Hetty Goodwin's brother-in-law was Daniel Goodwin. His daughter married a Hodsdon, and their daughter, Abigail Hodsdon married either Bial or Abiel Hamilton (See Jonathan Hamilton's entry below). Sources seem to agree that Abigail Hodsdon was Jonathan's (and so in the novel, Mary's) grandmother, though his grandfather's identity is unclear. In either case, Mary's grandmother probably was Hetty Goodwin's grand niece.

There is a bit more, as well. Everett Stackpole in *Old Kittery and Her Families* (1903) says that Margaret Hodsdon (Abigail's youngest sister) married Gabriel Hamilton, Bial's younger brother (489). If this is correct, then there is another small connection between Jonathan Hamilton and Hetty Goodwin, his uncle having married one of her grandnieces.

A Sarah Orne Jewett Connection

This is not quite the whole story of the connections between Mary Hamilton, Mrs. Davis, Mary Wallingford, and the historical matriarch and heroine, Hetty Goodwin. We need to keep in mind that for Jewett's purposes in this novel, a "step-relationship" seems as weighty as a "blood" relationship, as we see in tracing how Elizabeth Wallingford is related to Hetty Goodwin.

By a similar relationship, Jewett herself is related to Jonathan Hamilton, and so to her fictional Mary, Jonathan's sister, and the historical Mary, Jonathan's wife. Jonathan's second wife was Charlotte Swett of Exeter (See Jonathan Hamilton's entry below). After his death, Charlotte married Governor John Taylor Gilman of Exeter, a great uncle of Mrs. Theodore Jewett (Sarah Orne Jewett's mother).

General Goodwin

In Chapter 2, he laments the decline of law and order, referring to slavers, the minister guesses, and so leading Jones to raise an issue over which the community is divided. In Chapter 29, he leads in breaking up the mob that attacks Mrs. Wallingford.

This is General Ichabod Goodwin (1743-1829) of Old Fields, grandson of Hetty Goodwin, according to Jewett in "The Old Town of Berwick"; she also reports that he was the father of Ichabod Goodwin who became governor of New Hampshire. At the beginning of the Revolution, the elder Mr. Goodwin served in the Provincial Congresses of 1775. Williamson reports in *The History of the State of Maine* that Goodwin was put in charge of one of the state's two divisions of militia in 1783 at the rank of Major-General. (v. 2, ch. 18). It would appear, therefore, that he did not receive the title of "general" until after the Revolutionary War. This has not been verified, however, and further information is welcome.

This anecdotal legend of General Goodwin is reported in *Maine: A Guide 'Down East'* by the Federal Writers' Project (1937):

At one time a band of thieves lived in the near-by Negutaquit Woods. A favorite local folktale tells how the General left for church one Sunday morning with an admonition to his small daughter, who was remaining at home with a servant, to be courteous to any guests who might arrive during his absence. Shortly after his departure, the thieves approached, and the child, unaware of their identity and mindful of her father's orders, importantly assumed her rôle as hostess and asked the maid to prepare food for them. The visitors accepted the hospitality without comment, eating their fill; then they began to collect the family silver and other valuables, packing them in bundles. The child was puzzled and frightened, torn between a suspicion that something was wrong and a fear of violating the laws of hospitality; after she had seen one treasured object after another snatched up, she came forward timidly, offering her own silver cup as a substitute for her mother's possessions. The leader stared at her, abruptly told his men to leave the bundles and led them away. The story is that sometime afterward, when the thieves had at last been jailed, the General, in talking with them, asked the leader why he had failed to take anything of value from the Goodwin home; the answer, according to the old wives, was that he could not do it after the little one had treated him 'for the first time in his life like a gentleman.' (337-8).

According to the Wallingford family web site, Goodwin married into the Wallingford family (Molly) in 1768. Molly was a daughter of Captain Thomas Wallingford (son by an earlier marriage) and granddaughter of Colonel Thomas Wallingford.

Hetty Goodwin (1670-1740):

Described in Chapter 32 as the mother of all the Goodwins and as being a Plaisted of the Great House. Judge Benjamin Chadbourne's "History of the Town of Berwick" at the Old Berwick Historical Society, indicates that the Great House was built by the Plaisted family, started by Colonel Ichabod Plaisted around the beginning of the 18th Century. Chadbourne reports that the Great House was burned in January 1738.

In "The Old Town of Berwick," Jewett says:

> "Among these unfortunate captives was Mrs. Mehetable Goodwin, who may be called the mother of all that representative widely scattered Berwick family, which has shown in different generations so much ability and such marked traits of character. Hetty Goodwin, as she has always been called, was taken by the Indians, with her husband and baby. The man and wife were separated by two parties of the savages, and set forth on their long and suffering journey to Canada, each believing the other to be dead, and leaving behind them their comfortable farm on a beautiful hill above the river, near the Plaisted garrison. In the early part of the march one of the Indians snatched the baby from its mother's arms and dashed its head against a stone; and when the poor mother dragged her weary steps behind the rest and could not still her cries, they threatened if she did not stop weeping to kill her in the same way. At nightfall she was stooping over a brook trying to wash a bloody handkerchief, and her tears were falling fast again. She forgot the threats of her captives. Suddenly, a compassionate squaw, pitying the poor, lonely mother, threw some water in her face, as if in derision. The tears were hidden, and no one else had noticed them. "This squaw had a mother's heart," the old people used to say, in telling me the story. In Canada the captives underwent great hardships, and "Hetty Goodwin, a well-off woman," was so hungry that she sometimes stole food from the pigs. She was bought at last by a Frenchman; and, supposing herself to be a widow and despairing of ever reaching home again, she married him and had two children. Their name, corrupted probably from the French, was Rand; and the Portsmouth family of the name is said to be descended from them. As I was once told, the captive husband "was a Goodwin, and smart"; so after a while he outwitted the Indians in some way and gained his liberty; and, coming to his home, found that his wife was still alive. He went back to Canada and found her and brought her back; after which they managed to live unmolested and were the parents of many children. Hetty Goodwin's half-buried little headstone may still be seen in the Old Fields burying ground. I never can look at it without a thrill of feeling, or pass the pleasant place where she lived without remembering that she knew that lovely view over hill and dale, up the river, and must often have dreamed and longed for the sound of the river falls, in the far country to which she was carried a lonely captive, in the northern wilderness of Canada."

Marion Rust points out that Jewett drew upon Francis Parkman's *Count Frontenac and New France Under Louis XIV* (1880), and that this story also was told by Cotton Mather in *Decennium Luctuosum: An History of Remarkable Occurences in the Long War....*(1699). See Rust, ed. "'The Old Town of Berwick' by Sarah Orne Jewett." *New England Quarterly* 73:1 (March 2000), 122-158.

Mrs. Mehetable Goodwin's stone in the Old Fields cemetery bears only her name, without dates.

See also: Mr. and Mrs. John Davis.

Problems with Jewett's Version of Hetty Goodwin's Captivity

Jewett's story of Hetty Goodwin appears in at least three of her texts: *Betty Leicester* (1890), "The Old Town of Berwick" (1894), and *The Tory Lover* (1901). As she explains in "The Old Town of Berwick," she knows the story from local oral history, but she also points out that probably the first printed account appears in Cotton Mather's

works. She mentions *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702); the story also appears in *Decennium Luctuosum* (1699). Significant parts of Jewett's version of the story cannot be verified, and probably are legendary, notably the story of the kindly Indian woman and the story of Hetty's second marriage.

In all three of the above versions, Jewett relates that after her captors killed her son, they threatened to kill Hetty as well if she would not control her grief. Seeing that she could not keep from weeping, a kindly Indian woman with "a mother's heart" splashed water in her face, creating -- through an apparent act of cruelty -- a rationale for Hetty's tears, and saving her from her captors' wrath. Useful as this story is to Jewett in her two novels, it is unlikely to be true. The multiple accounts we have of Hertel's raid indicate that there were no women among the raiders. The situation differs from captivities in King Philip's war (1675-6), such as that of Mary Rowlandson, when the raiders were exclusively Native Americans with some local camps, through which prisoners could be passed on their route to Canada. Hertel's raiders came from Three Rivers, in Canada, and were made up of French soldiers and an Indian force, mainly Sokoki, who would be familiar with the Salmon Falls area, but not recently residing there. The raiders had to move quickly through rough terrain in the winter. At his website, historian Emerson Baker reprints a transcription of an eye-witness account: "French Captive Examination from Piscataway 19th March 1690" (http://w3.salemstate.edu/~ebaker/chadweb/raiddocs.htm). Failing to mention any women traveling with the raiders, this account confirms the military nature of the raid: "yt they came by ordr of the french Govr at Canada & that both french & Indians are in pay at ten Livers p month."

Though it is not impossible that women accompanied this group, it is unlikely, and there is no mention of Indian women in written accounts from Mather through Parkman to more recent summaries, such as that in Chester B. Price's description of "Historic Indian Trails of New Hampshire" of the Newichwannock-Sokoki trail, which the raiders followed in their escape (reprinted in *The Indian Heritage of New Hampshire and Northern New England*. McFarland: Jefferson, NC, 2002, pp. 160-162). Colin Calloway's account emphasizes the arduous military character of the raid: " … twenty-four French, twenty to twenty-four Sokokis, and five Algonquins -- led by François Sieur d'Hertel -- left Three Rivers, crossed Lake Memphremagog to the Connecticut River, and, after three months hard traveling, attacked Salmon Falls on the New Hampshire frontier" (*The Western Abenaki of Vermont 1600-1800*. Norman: U Oklahoma P, 1990, pp. 94-5). A. T. Vaughan and E. W. Clark say that Governor Frontenac, who ordered the raids, had recently lowered the bounty on scalps and raised it on prisoners, thus encouraging the raiders to bring more prisoners to Canada (*Puritans among the Indians*, 136). In *The Captor's Narrative*, William H. Foster points out the need for captive labor in the developing French colony.

We may also notice another difference between early accounts of the captivity and more recent accounts of the raid. Mather and Parkman focus on the prisoners, emphasizing that they were "given to the Indians," and as a result suffered special cruelties, such as the killing of children and various tortures. Both, of course, are making cases against the Indians. Mather wishes to persuade readers that Indians are bestial minions of Satan, to be either converted or extirpated from the Christian colonies. Parkman wishes to persuade readers that Indians are a savage race, generally incapable of civilization, and, therefore, those who cannot convert to Protestant Christianity are doomed to extinction by historical forces represented by America's Manifest Destiny. More recent accounts, such as Calloway's, emphasize the conditions of international warfare between France and England, and the military character of this and other raids. It was the French intention to terrorize English colonists on the frontier and drive them out. The British had the same intentions toward the French. Both used Indians in warfare in part because they could do what "civilized" soldiers were not allowed to do, ruthlessly kill prisoners who proved incapable of keeping up with the necessary pace of the raiders as they struck and retreated. Calloway, for example, emphasizes that the Frenchman d'Hertel was in command, while earlier writers, whom Jewett follows, typically name the Indian, Hopehood, as a co-commander.

The second element of Hetty Goodwin's story that probably is legendary appears only in "The Old Town of Berwick," the assertion that Goodwin, believing her first husband dead, remarried while held prisoner in Canada.

In *Old Kittery and her Families*, Everett Stackpole, doubting the marriage, provides this account:

Other captives were Thomas Goodwin and his wife, who was Mehitable, daughter of Lieut. Roger Plaisted. The husband and wife were assigned to different bands of Indians and so remained apart. After his escape he is said to have returned to Canada for the ransom of his wife. An account of her sufferings was written by Rev. Cotton Mather in his Magnalia, and has been often republished. Her son, about five months old, was barbarously murdered before her eyes and hanged by the neck in a forked bough of a tree. After terrible sufferings from grief, cold and hunger, she arrived at Montreal. The record of her baptism, written in French, has been kindly furnished me by Miss C. Alice Baker, who has published much about the captives taken in the French and Indian Wars. The translation is as follows:

"Monday, 11 May, 1693, there was solemnly baptized an English woman called in her own country Mehetabel, and by the French who captured her in war, 18 March 1690, Esther, who was born at Barvic, in New England, 30 April (old style, or 19 May new style) 1670, of the marriage of Roger Pleisted, Protestant, and Olive Coleman of the same religion, and was married to Thomas Gouden [Goodwin] also Protestant. She has lived for about three years in the service of Mademoiselle de Nauguiere [written also de la Naudiere]. She was named Marie Esther. Her godfather was Messire Hector de Catlieres, Chevalier, Governor for the King in the Isle of Montreal and its vicinity. Her godmother was Damoiselle Marguerite Renee Denis, widow of Monsieur Naugiere de la Perade, during his life Captain of the Guard of Monsieur le Conte de Frontenac, Governor of New France. The baptism was performed by M. Francois Dolie de Casson, Grand Vicar of the most Illustrious and most Reverend Monscigncur Bishop of Quebec." (Signed)
Chevalier de Catlieres,
Marguerite renee denis,
Fran. Doelier,
E. Guyoth, Cure.

I have heard the tradition from one of her descendants that Mehitabel Goodwin was married in Canada to a man named Rand (some say Pain) and that descendants are living in Portsmouth. This is highly improbable. She was baptized in May, 1693, and could not have been married before, and she was ransomed in October, 1695. The Rands of Portsmouth are all, doubtless, descended from the Francis Rand who came over in the company of Capt. John Mason. (*Old Kittery and Her Families*, 1903, pp. 165-6).

Again, it remains possible that Hetty remarried in Canada and perhaps even bore one or more children while there, but the marriage would have had to take place, as Stackpole points out, after May of 1693. C. Alice Baker's inquiry elicited no record of a marriage, and Foster's research for *The Captor's Narrative* turned up no evidence that Hetty married in Canada. He discusses her as among two married English women who converted to Catholicism during their captivities (144).

One wonders about how the story of this marriage made it into the oral history of South Berwick and, so, into Jewett's account of Hetty in "The Old Town of Berwick." It certainly adds to the pathos of the 5-years separation of the young married couple, but it also adds complications that beg for deeper exploration. How did Hetty feel about leaving her second husband to return with her first? How did her children by the second marriage end up in nearby Portsmouth, NH? What relationships did they sustain with their mother?

Jewett does not mention Hetty's supposed second marriage in either of her novels, probably because it would have seemed inappropriate and would have worked against her reasons for bringing Hetty's story into her narratives. Indeed, in *The Tory Lover* (Chapter 32), Madam Wallingford emphasizes her ancestor's extreme reticence about her trials, suggesting that Hetty was not herself the witness who provided Cotton Mather with his account of Hetty's captivity. Possibly, C. Alice Baker, Jewett's close friend according to biographer Paula Blanchard (*Sarah Orne Jewett*, pp. 225-6), told Jewett about the baptism between 1894 and the publication of *The Tory Lover* in 1901. Baker did not retell Hetty's story in *True Stories of New England Captives Carried to Canada During the Old French and Indian Wars* (1897), but she may have completed her research on Hetty Goodwin before 1897.

Though this detail seems less important to Jewett's work, there also is lack of clarity about how Hetty was rescued and returned home. Jewett indicates that Hetty's husband, Thomas,

personally undertook the redemption, but Emma Lewis Coleman says, "'Hitobl Goodin' was one of those redeemed in Oct 1695 by Mathew Cary" (Coleman, *New England Captives Carried to Canada* I [1925]: 185-186). Vaughan and Clark in *Puritans among the Indians* indicate that Hetty Goodwin was among the twenty-two prisoners brought back to Boston from Canada by Matthew Carey/Cary aboard the *Tryal* in October-November, 1695 (157).

Finally, whether Three Rivers in Canada would be seen as a "northern wilderness" in comparison to the Goodwin farm at Berwick is a subjective judgment. Certainly Berwick was home to Hetty and her husband was there, and she seems to have been eager to return, in comparison to other captives from King William's War (1689-1697), who voluntarily remained behind when Matthew Carey offered an opportunity to return. Still Three Rivers, as a frontier village, was not unlike Berwick.

Lord Gormanstown

The Lords Gormanstown, Howth, and Trimlestown are all remembered by Master Sullivan in Chapter 30 as fancy dressers when attending the theater in Dublin during Sullivan's youth, probably in about 1720. All three families were prominent among the nobility in Dublin in the 18th century.

Samuel Fitzpatrick describes brilliant social gatherings a few years later at the New Gardens of the lying-in hospital in St. George's Lane. The decoration of the assembly room, ... left nothing to be desired. Adorned with fluted Corinthian pilasters, with a handsomely decorated ceiling, bright with gilding and brilliantly lighted, when filled with a motley throng including the *elite* of the nobility and gentry attired in the gorgeous and picturesque costumes of the period, it must have presented a striking spectacle.

"There was to be seen the portly figure of Lord Trimleston dressed in scarlet, with full powdered wig and black velvet hunting-cap; the elderly, middle-sized Lord Gormanston in a full suit of light blue; Lord Clanrickard in his regimentals; while Lord Strangford wore under his coat his cassock and black silk apron to his knees, and the clerical hat peculiar to these times, and Lord Taaffe appeared in a whole suit of dove-coloured silk. (Chapter 6)

Old Master Hackett

Two Hacketts, William and James, were well-known ship-builders in Portsmouth, NH, prior to and after the American Revolution.

According to *The Diary of Ezra Green*, The *Ranger* "was built 1777, on Langdon's Island, Portsmouth Harbor, by order of Congress, under the direction of Colonel *James* Hackett." Langdon's Island is now known as Badger Island. S. E. Morisson says that the *Ranger's* designer was *William* Hackett and that Hackett's son-in-law, Tobias Lear was in charge of construction. Morison also points out that there is no surviving picture or plan for the *Ranger*, so that all illustrations of the ship are reconstructions (104).

Ray Brighton, *Port of Portsmouth Ships and the Cotton Trade: 1783-1829* (1986), says that William Hackett (b. 1739) of Portsmouth was the master builder, and that his cousin, James Hackett, "master-minded construction of the Continental warships *Raleigh* and *Ranger*" (145). William and James operated a shipyard together beginning sometime prior to 1774. They worked on the *America*, which was promised to Jones later in the war but given to France, and also were responsible for building the *Caroline* in 1800. James's last commercial vessel was completed in 1811 (190). George Henry Preble, *History of the United States Navy-Yard, Portsmouth, N.H.* (1892) lists the company building the *Ranger* as Hackett, Hill & Paul, Shipwrights (12-14). Other sources indicate that James served in the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War, fighting at the Battle of Saratoga, among others. See: *Naval Documents of the American Revolution* 1775 v. 2, (616-7), Charles H. Bell, *History of the Town of Exeter, New Hampshire* (Exeter: The Quarter-Millennial Year, 1888), and *State Papers of New Hampshire: Rolls of the Soldiers in the Revolutionary War. May 1777 to1780. v. 15*.

Major Tilly Haggens and Nancy, his sister
(Haggins / Higgins)

Though there is at least some basis in history for Jewett's protrayal of Tilly and Nancy Haggens, Jewett has created versions of them that are almost completely fictional. It is not clear why she has done this, whether because she lacked information about them or because she particularly wanted them to have the features she gives them. Since she presents Tilly as an old-fashioned, admirable, and somewhat wild action hero, her portrait at least suggests the features she believed made up such a figure.

The following entry will review what Jewett tells about Tilly in the novel, provide background on what we are told, and finally present information about the problems raised by these materials.

Jewett's Tilly Haggens

In Chapters 1 and 8, Jewett presents Tilly as the builder of the house that became her family's home and eventually her own home, the Jewett House at the corner of Portland and Main in South Berwick. She attributes his rank of major to participation in the Indian Wars. In Chapter 2, he says that he brings several strains into "our nation's making," suggesting that he might have become a parson because of his inheritance from his grandmother, "a saintly Huguenot maiden," except that his grandfather "a French gallant" had run away with the maiden. He sees himself as divided between these two heritages. This division is reflected in his account of his name: "My family name is Huyghens; 'twas a noble house of the Low Countries. Christian Huyghens, author of the Cosmotheoros, was my father's kinsman, and I was christened for the famous General Tilly of stern faith."

In Chapter 8, Jewett shows Tilly in what is now the Jewett house, with his older sister, Nancy, living out his old age as a successful gentleman in the large new house he has built.

Christian Huyghens, also Huygens or Christiaan Huyghens, (1629-1695) was a Dutch astronomer, mathematician, and physicist. His *Cosmotheoros* appeared in 1698. Johann Tserclaes Graf von Tilly (1559-1632), according to *Encarta Encyclopedia*, was a "Flemish field marshal, born in Brabant (now part of Belgium). At the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War in 1618, he was made commander of the armies of the Catholic League. He won (1620) the Battle of Wiesserberg (White Mountain) near Prague; defeated (1622) the Protestant forces at Wimpfen (now Bad Wimpfen, Germany); and conquered (1623) the Lutheran prince Christian of Brunswick at Stadtlohn, Germany. He was then created a count of the Holy Roman Empire." In the history of Tilly's name and ancestry, we see reflected both sides of the Catholic-Protestant conflicts that form a main feature of the background of the European colonization of North America and that, to some extent, are playing out in the American Revolution.

The Historical Tilly Haggens and his family

(Special research assistance: Norma Keim, Connie Higgins Smith, Glen Corbin, Martha Sulya)

Tilly Haggens's (d. 17 August 1777) actual ancestry is Irish. So far as has been discovered, he had no sister, Nancy, though his daughter Nancy became the owner of the Jewett house in South Berwick and sold it to Thomas Jewett, Sarah's great uncle, in 1839. It was Tilly's son, John Haggens, who built (beginning in 1774) and occupied the house where we see Tilly and Nancy in the novel. Tilly's military background in recent colonial wars is correct, and his love of spirits may derive from the indication in local records that he was the first tavern-keeper in South Berwick in 1767. The historical Tilly had been dead about 6 weeks when *The Tory Lover* opens.

According to 21st-century descendants, Fergus O'Hagan and his brother, Tilly, arrived in America around 1740 and settled in Maine. With them was Fergus's small son, Edmund. They are thought to have come from County Tyrone in Ireland. According to Willie O'Kane's "Surnames of County Tyrone" (tyrone.local.ie.content/31100.shtml/genealogy), the O'Hagans were one of the principal families, the founder of which was named Fergus.

G. T. Ridlon, in *Saco Valley Settlements and Families*, says "Tilly Higgins came from Ireland and sat down in Berwick; his brother Fergus settled in Scarborough" (727).

The Woodsum Family in America by Joseph C. Anderson II, with Maine Research by Lois Ware Thurston (1990), describes Tilly's family (19-20):

Mary [Woodsum], born by 1725 as she "owned the covenant" on 16 February 1742/3 indicating she was at least 18 years old (NEHGR, 82 [1928]:214) and baptized 16 April 1732. She

was alive on 13 June 1781 when a debt was paid to her from the estate of her sister, Sarah (York County Probate #20796). She married TILLY HIGGINS (NEHGR, 74 1777 [1920]: 194) who died Sunday morning, 17 August 1777 (id., 74 [1920]: 192). Higgins, the first tavern keeper in Berwick, Maine, was also "an importer and trader in South Berwick, Maine in 1744. He planted some of those now beautiful elms in South Berwick; particularly those in front of the house which he built next to the Congregational Church..." (John Wentworth, LL.D., *The Wentworth Genealogy: English and American*, 2 [Boston MA, 1878): 40-41). It has been claimed in at least two publications that Tilly Higgins married Mary, daughter of John and Mary Woodsum (*ibid*.; G. T. Ridlon, Sr., *Saco Valley Settlements and Families* [Portland ME, 1895] 1209 in footnote). The only John and Mary Woodsum to whom these sources may be referring are John2 and his wife Mary (Brackett) Woodsum who were married in 1747. However, it is impossible that John2 and Mary (Brackett) Woodsum were the parents of "Mary wife of Tilly Higgins" since Mary had a first child in 1742 and was old enough to "own the covenant" in 1742/3. Therefore, it is judged that Tilly Higgin's wife was actually Mary2, daughter of Joseph1 Woodsum.

The Woodsum Family in America provides a good deal of information about Mary Woodsum's family, since her father is the founder of the line explored. It is noteworthy that this family was involved in a good deal of sexual scandal in Berwick before 1725, including adultery and producing children out of wedlock.

The Wentworth Genealogy by John Wentworth (1878) has this note on Tilly: "Tilly Higgins was an importer and trader in South Berwick, Me., in 1744. He planted some of those beautiful elms in South Berwick; particularly those in front of the house which he built (next to the Congregational church), which place is still owned by his descendants" (40).

Probably it should be noted that the Congregational Church located near what is today the intersection of Rts. 4 and 236 in South Berwick, was built *after* Tilly built his house, but presumably, they did stand next to each other.

The Woodsum Family in America lists Tilly's children; [I have added death dates for John and the second Edmund]:

Children (HIGGINS) of Tilly and Mary2 (Woodsum) born at Berwick, Maine (Tilly Higgins will, York County Probate #7983; NEHGR, 74 [1920]: 42, 184, 194; NEHGR, 82 [1928], 214, 216,218,325):

1. John, born 19 September 1742, baptized at Berwick, Maine 16 February 1742/3, married Lydia Chadbourn. [John died before 29 March 1822, when an inventory of his property was completed].
2. Abigail, baptized at Berwick, Maine 8 July, 1744. Probably died young as she is not mentioned in her father's will.
3. Edmund, baptized at Berwick, Maine 30 March 1746 Probably died before 1760 when second child named Edmund was born to Tilly and Mary Higgins.
4. Anna, baptized at Berwick, Maine 6 March 1747/8, probably died young, as she is not mentioned in her father's will. [Note that John S. H. Fogg in "Graveyard Inscriptions from South Berwick" (NEHGR 10, Jan 1856, p. 58) records "Here lyes the body of Ann Haggens, died Jany 26th 1748 aged 4 years and 6 months." While it is possible, it is not certain this is the same Ann / Anna.]
5. Mary, born 23 March 1750, died 15 January 1777, married Paul Wentworth.
6. Sarah, born 23 December 1752, married Captain James Holland of Portsmouth, N.H.
7. Daniel, born October 1755, baptized at Berwick, Maine 9 November 1755.
8. Elizabeth, born 8 July 1757. Unmarried on 16 July 1777 when Tilly Higgins made his will.
9. Edmund, born 16 January 1760, married Susanna Hamilton. [Died 29 November, 1827, according to his stone in the Portland Street Cemetery in South Berwick. Major Edmund Haggen's family plot stands next to the Theodore H. Jewett plot].

Though it is not yet known when Tilly Haggens achieved his rank of major, he is listed as private Tilly Hagins in "The Blue Troop of Horse," William Pepperell's regiment from "Barvick" that went to Louisburg in 1757. *Old Eliot* 2 (February 1898) 28.

There is confirmation of Tilly's children in *Records of the First and Second Churches of Berwick, Maine,* which shows the baptisms of Abigail, daughter of Tilly Higgins, July 8, 1744; Edmund, son of Tilly Higgins, on March 30, 1746; Anna on March 6, 1747; Mary on April 1, 1750; Sarah on January 28, 1753. Tate has

Daniel Higgins "raising a grist mill at the foot of the lower mill at Salmon Falls, Berwick side," March 23, 1775. And he records the marriage of "Sarah, a daughter of Tilly Haggens to Captain John Holland" on Thursday 21 May, 1772; and the death of "Mary Wentworth, the oldest daughter of Tilley and Mary Higgins and wife of Lieutenant Paul Wentworth" on Wednesday, January 15, 1777 [Note that her older sister Abigail seems to have died before 1777 -- see above list of children of Tilly and Mary]. Captain Nathan Lord marries an Elizabeth Haggens in 1784, and this is likely to be Tilly's daughter.

This last marriage may be of some significance to Sarah Orne Jewett, for it appears that Nathan and Elizabeth's daughter, Elizabeth (March 31, 1791-1867), in 1816 married Thomas Jewett, Sarah's great uncle, and became her great aunt; she also became the mother of another Sarah Orne Jewett, who died apparently as a result of childbirth in 1864.

The above records suggest that Tilly moved to South Berwick at about the time of his marriage, since we have found no record of his presence in South Berwick before 1743, when he purchased land from "William Lord of Berwick" (York Deeds Book 24 p. 279). In this transaction, he is listed as a shopkeeper, as he is again in several other records of purchases in York Deeds books. He chaired the December 25 town meeting in 1755, suggesting that by that time he had become a person of influence in the community.

The Chadbourne family genealogy (available on CD) provides this basic information about Tilly's first son:

"JOHN HAGGINS, b Berwick 19 Sep 1742, d 1822, son of Tilly and Mary (Woodsum) Haggens. John was likely a trader of S Berwick. In 1744 his father may have planted many of the elms in town. He or his father built the Jewett house in 1774."

The Chadbourne genealogy lists the 12 children of John and Lydia Chadbourne Haggins (1746-1815), married in Berwick 1 May 1765, daughter of Judge Benjamin Chadbourne -- see above:

1. Lydia, b 17 July 1766, d 25 Aug 1787.
2. Anne or Nancy, b 16 Apr 1768, d 1847, unm resident of Boston when the house was sold to Dr Thomas Jewett in 1822. [Presumably this should read Thomas Jewett in 1839.]
3. Mary (or Martha), b 15 Mar 1770, prob m Isaac C Pray of S Berwick and Boston, 3 ch. [*Berwick Vital Records* shows the marriage of Polly Haggins and Isaac C. Pray on 18 January 1809].
4. John, b 18 Feb 1772, d 7 Sep 1778.
5. Benjamin, b 6 June 1774, d ca 1816 (Chase Charts, 1858), unm.
6. James, b 16 June 1777, d by 1839, m 14 Apr 1819 Eunice Marsh (or March), d a widow 1839.
7. Sarah, b 24 June 1778 (Chase Charts), d Wells 4 Sep 1810, m 24 Nov 1807 Tristam Gilman Jr, b 25 Feb 1780, d Wells 25 Mar 1828, at least 2 ch.
8. Edmund, b 7 Oct 1780, m Elizabeth Rollins, d 16 July 1809, 1 ch.
9. Patty, b 8 Feb 1783, d 9 Jan 1834.
10. Tilly, b 23 Mar 1785, living 1822.
11. Betsey, b 25 Feb 1787, d 28 Apr 1809.
12. Daniel, b 25 Aug 1789, d 23 Sep 1801.

(From *Chadbourne Family Genealogy*: Information on this family written by John Frost and Dotty Keyes).

Who built the Haggens / Jewett House

Partly because of Jewett's vivid portrayal of Tilly as builder and occupier of what became the Jewett house, some people have believed that he rather than John was the first builder and occupier. However, there is ample evidence that Tilly's residence was at what is now the intersection of Routes 236 and 4, near the current Federated Church.

We can see that in 1878, the lawyer, John Wentworth, believed that Tilly had built his own house next to the Congregational church in South Berwick, though the church was built some time after Tilly would have built his house.

Alfred Catalfo's master's thesis, "History of the Town of Rollinsford" includes "The Diary of Master Joseph Tate," who was a schoolmaster in Rollinsford, when it was known as Somersworth. In this diary appears this passage: "Mr. John Higgins raised a new house at the turn of the ways near Mr. Robert Rodgers on Berwick side on Thursday, April 7, 1774." Tate also records Tilly Higgins's death on Sunday, August 17, 1777.

Master Tate distinguishes Tilly from John, and in *Records of the First and Second Churches of Berwick, Maine*, Tilly and John are separate persons as well, father and son. This is important because Jewett seems to conflate

father and son into a single character, and a number of writers have accepted this conflation as fact, seeing Tilly as the builder and later a benefactor of the Berwick Academy. Tilly's son, John, was 15 years old when the siege of Louisburg took place, and he almost certainly did not become a major during the French and Indian wars, as Jewett tells us Tilly did. Tilly himself was dead for more than a decade before the Berwick Academy was founded.

Where Tilly lived when he wrote his will seems clear. A transcript of his will -- proved 9/16/1777 in York Probate -- in the possession of the SPNEA Jewett House, shows he left his son Edmund "all my land on which I now dwell at Quampegan in Berwick on the E side of the main road w/ new road thru it. Btwn Nathan Lord and Robert Furness w/ bldgs & appurtenances on land ....."

A copy of a road survey map at the Old Berwick Historical Society, dated 1805, shows two Haggens dwellings in what is now the town center of South Berwick, the current Jewett house is called Mr. John Haggen's house, and at what is now the intersection of Routes 4 and 236 is "the elm in Majr Haggen's old garden." The *York County Atlas* of 1872 shows a house at this location marked as belonging to E. Haggens (presumably, Edmund's son, Edmund), though we cannot be sure this is the same house in which Tilly lived and which he willed to his son, Edmund. This location would, however, place it next to the Congregational church, as does Wentworth's note. Tilly's son, Edmund, died intestate. The inventory of his property (Inv 39-342; 2 Feb, 1829, York County Probate v. 39 p. 341-2) includes two houses: "Homestead in South Berwick. A dwelling house, and buildings and 12 acres 40 rods of land on easterly side of the road" and "Old house and 96 acres 150 rods on the westerly side of the road." The second house may still be standing, but this has not been determined.

It would appear that the house Tilly left to Edmund was magnificent in its day, whether it was the "homestead" or the "old house," standing above and commanding a view of the Upper Landing with its wharves and mills. In the entry on Jonathan Hamilton, Hamilton says that he expects his new house to be a "finer house than Tilly Haggens's." That the 1805 map speaks of the elm in Major Haggens's old garden suggests that perhaps by that date the original Haggens house was gone. However, John Wentworth implies in 1878 that at least one house remains occupied: Tilly "planted some of those now beautiful elms in South Berwick; particularly those in front of the house which he built (next to the Congregational Church), which place is still owned by his descendants" (John Wentworth, LL.D., *The Wentworth Genealogy: English and American*, 2 [Boston MA, 1878): 40-41). It is somewhat puzzling that such a house could have disappeared since 1878 without some commentary in town history, but this has not yet been found.

There also remains confusion about the history of ownership of the John Haggens house that became the Jewett house. Stories vary from the observable facts, probably because it appears that from 1819 (according to SPNEA) or soon after 1821 (according to Paula Blanchard) Sarah's grandfather, Theodore F. Jewett, began to occupy the John Haggens house. Since John died in 1822, this would be a good possible date for the new occupancy, but we have little hard information about what happened and why.

Though this is difficult to determine with exactness, it appears that the ownership of the land on which the house and its outbuildings stood became unclear when John and Edmund (sons of Tilly) died intestate between 1822 and 1827. The estates were settled by 1830, and it seems that Nancy Haggens became the main owner of the Jewett house and lands.

Blanchard states that Theodore F. Jewett moved into the Jewett house with his second wife, Olive Walker, soon after their marriage in 1821. Though Blanchard states that T. F. Jewett bought the house at that time, in fact the purchase was not completed until 1839, and SPNEA research suggests that Theodore Furber Jewett rented the property from John Haggens's estate at first. The house did not change hands legally (by deed) until 1839. On May 27, 1839, Thomas Jewett purchased from Nancy Haggens and the estate of John Haggens several parcels of property (York Deeds 164:267). On the same day, Thomas sold the "mansion house" and lot to his brother, Theodore (York Deeds 164:269).

The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities is responsible for the Jewett house. SPNEA believes the house was completed in about 1778 in its original form, but that a new kitchen appeared as the Haggens family grew, before it was sold to the Jewett family. When Haggens raised the house in April 1774, Lydia was pregnant with their fourth child. By the time it was completed there were probably 7 children living at home.

It would make sense for Tilly's son John to be building a good-sized house and eventually contributing to the Academy, given that his family was expanding and that he and his family were major property holders in the northern parts of South Berwick. According to tax valuation information in Hamilton genealogy documents at the Old Berwick Historical Society, "Tilley Higgens" was about in the middle of the seven wealthiest men in South Berwick in 1771. In 1798, his son, John, is about the second wealthiest after Jonathan Hamilton.

Jonathan Hamilton (1745-1802)

In the novel, Hamilton is presented as a serious businessman and an active patriot, seemingly involved militarily, but in a vague way, in the Revolution. For example, in Chapter 35, he is said to be serving in General Washington's own regiment. He is unmarried and deeply involved in his work. In Chapter 18, she has Dickson say that Hamilton began his career as an itinerant shoe repairer, but this has not been confirmed in research.

Jewett clearly has fictionalized Hamilton in some key ways. He had no sister, Mary, but in fact, had married Mary Manning in 1771. He had three sisters, according to a family genealogy kept by the Hamilton House in South Berwick: Elizabeth (bpt 1742), Sarah (bpt. 1744), and Deborah (bpt 1744). Details of his military service have not been found. Hamilton was an astute businessman with far-flung trading interests.

Jewett also shifts time a little, presenting Jonathan Hamilton and his business associate, John Lord (see below), in 1777 as they were, financially and in business terms, in 1787, about the time Hamilton House was completed.

In "The Old Town of Berwick," Jewett says: "The richest founder of Berwick Academy, the oldest literary incorporation in the state, was Col. Jonathan Hamilton, a shipowner and merchant, who from humble beginnings accumulated his great fortune in the West Indian trade. He was born on Pine Hill, in the northern part of the town; but built later the stately old house at the Lower Landing, and lived in it the rest of his life, with all the magnificence that was possible in his day. On his archaic looking tomb, in the Old Fields burying ground, the long high-sounding inscription ends with the solemn words, 'Hamilton is no more.'"

There is disagreement among sources about Hamilton's ancestors. Margaret Kugelman Hofer's informative essay, "Citizen, Merchant, Community leader: A New Interpretation of Jonathan Hamilton" in the files of Hamilton House (SPNEA) includes a "Genealogy of the Hamilton Family." Following is a summary of Jonathan's ancestry as reported by Hofer, and a discussion of the confusion over the identity of his grandfather.

Paternal Great-Grandparents:
David Hamilton (d. 28 Sept. 1691) and Anna Jackson, married 1662.
David Hamilton was deported in chains from Scotland, settled on what is now Sligo Road, southwest of South Berwick in New Hampshire, where he was eventually killed by Native Americans.

Grandparents:

The Hamilton House genealogy lists Bial and Abigail as Jonathan's grandparents, but this turns out not to be clear. Two of David Hamilton's sons were Bial (b. 1676) and Abiel or sometimes Abel (b. 1680). Everett Stackpole in *Old Kittery and her Families* (1903) is a main authority on this topic; he says that Bial Hamilton married first Mary Hearl sometime before 1715 and then later married Abigail Hodsdon (daughter of Joseph Hodsdon and Margaret Goodwin) in 1721. By this second marriage, he became the father of Joseph Hamilton who was Jonathan's father.

However, the town records of Berwick at the Berwick Town Hall, near the end of volume 1, list the marriage of Abial Hambleton and Abigail Hodsdon on December 26, 1721; here also are listed the births of two children to Bial and Mary Hambleton: Keziah on 30 March, 1715, and Solomon on 6 June, 1716. (Stackpole also indicates that Abiel was first married in 1705, to Deborah, and that there is evidence they had some children.)

So, it seems uncertain whether it was Bial or Abiel whose second wife was Abigail and who became Jonathan's grandfather, since it seems agreed that Abigail was Jonathan's grandmother.

Parents: Joseph Hamilton (bpt. 1726) and Elizabeth.

Jonathan was the youngest of four children, baptized in 1745 or 1746.

Though Joseph's death date is not known, he received a jury appointment from the town of Berwick on March 12, 1749, so his death was after that date.

Jonathan married twice: Mary Manning 8 February 1771, and Charlotte Swett of Exeter 4 April, 1801. These marriage dates are confirmed in *Vital Records of Berwick ...,* Mary (118) and Charlotte (47). However, Stackpole has him marrying three times. This has not been confirmed; and it is useful to know that two Jonathan Hamiltons appear active in Berwick affairs after 1770, and Stackpole's list of the third generation of Hamiltons includes several Johns and Jonathans (488-491).

Jonathan and Mary had nine children; there were no children by the second marriage.

Hofer also reports on Hamilton's ships and wealth, beginning with his operating two privateers in 1780, and then 12 brigs, ships, and schooners from 1785 until his death. In 1771, Hamilton's net worth for tax valuation was 9 pounds, compared to 94 pounds for the leading businessman of the area, Benjamin Chadbourne. In 1798, Hamilton was one of the two leading property holders, with a tax valuation of about $6200, about the same as John Haggens at $6300. However Hamilton held considerable property outside Berwick, including the sea-going vessels, a wharf and warehouse in Portsmouth, and plantations in the Caribbean.

The stately Hamilton house was completed after the Revolution in about 1788 -- various dates in the 1780s are given in different sources. Paula Blanchard in *Sarah Orne Jewett* suggests that Jewett may not have known the date of the house's construction, though by the time she completed *The Tory Lover*, she had helped to arrange for Emily Tyson and her step-daughter, Elise, to purchase and restore the property. In "River Driftwood" (1881), Jewett imagines John Paul Jones visiting the house (342).

Various sources affirm that David Moore's mansion, which occupied the site before Hamilton House, was equally impressive, but that it burned between 1777 and 1783. The "gossipy" Goodwin Diary by Mrs. Ichabod Goodwin (Sophia Elizabeth Hayes) from 1885 (Old Berwick Historical Society) reports this as heard from Mrs. Raynes, July 31, 1884, "On the place where the 'Hamilton House' now stands was a house built and occupied by David More, which was burned, there was also another large house built by Wm. Rogers ... nephew of Mrs. More. Both of these houses were finer than the Hamilton House." She goes on to report that the Rogers house was eventually moved without damage to Portsmouth by gundalow. Even if John Paul Jones did not visit Hamilton house itself, he could well have visited a similar house at the same site. However, I have found no documentary evidence that he travelled up-river from Portsmouth, where he oversaw the completion of the *Ranger*.

Drawing upon Marie Donahue in "Hamilton House on the Piscataqua," *Down East* (1975), this account appears in *Cross-Grained & Wily Waters,* edited by W. J. Bolster (2002): "During the American Revolution, Jonathan Hamilton of South Berwick went privateering and amassed a fortune. With peace he purchased thirty acres of land along the eastern shore of the Salmon Falls River from Woodbury Langdon. There, on a high bluff, Hamilton built a Georgian-style mansion in 1785 that, he boasted, would be a 'finer house than Tilly Haggens's' ..." (178).

In *The Old Academy on the Hill: 1791-1991,* Donahue says of Berwick Academy's founders: "Probably the most affluent of these gentlemen was Colonel Hamilton, a merchant and shipowner, whose great gray house standing on a knoll high above the broadest reach of the Newichawannock River reflected not only his wealth but his superb taste. Born in Berwick in 1745, he grew up in the Pine Hill section of the town, where his companions included the Sullivan brothers, John and James. Though, like the Sullivans, Hamilton sprang from humble beginnings and had little formal education, he had a shrewd business head and an eye for a sharp deal. In a letter dated December 27, 1790 to Captain Nathan Lord, who was commanding Hamilton's brig *Betsey,* Hamilton urged him to "shorten your tarry in Tobago" in order to take advantage of the high prices prevailing in the Portsmouth market. "If you leve a Small part of your affects behind for the Sake Gutting away befor any other Vessell you Will Leve it in Such a Way as that the first Vessell after you may bring it -- but keep that From your Merchant untill you Gut all that you can." A low C in spelling, perhaps, but an A+ in economics. By the time he was thirty, Hamilton was a rich man, had acquired the honorary title of Colonel, and was able to contribute substantially to the subscription fund of five hundred pounds raised by the founders for the erection of the first Academy building" (23).

The Goodwin diary transcript at the Old

Berwick Historical Society provides interesting testimony about Hamilton, from Mrs. Raynes, July 31, 1884:

"Col[.] and Mrs. Hamilton came from Pine Hill. They had several sons and daughters, one daughter married John R. Parker of Boston, another married Joshua Haven of Portsmouth. The second Mrs. Hamilton was Mrs. Swett of Exeter, a cultivated lady. Mr. Hamilton's daughters wore full mourning when she appeared as a bride. Mr. Hamilton lived only 18 months after this marriage....

"Mrs. Swett of Exeter outlived him and received $60,000 of his property. She afterward married Gov. Gilman of Exeter, a great uncle of Mrs. Theodore Jewett, and received a large share of his property.

"Col. Hamilton died very suddenly. He had be[e]n walking in the field with his wife and complained of not feeling well, and died soon after entering the house. His sons were very dissipated and soon spent their patrimony...."

The full inscription on Hamilton's tomb reads:

In memory of
JON HAMILTON Jn.r Esq.
Who departed this life Sept.r 26th 1802
Ætatis 57
Possessing those qualities which always ensure esteem:
of pleasing deportment
a firm, vigorous & enterprising mind,
a tender Husband
a kind & anxious Father
His zeal for order in Church & State, extensive business,
and publick spirit, rendered him a blessing to the community
a friend to religion & religious men
an agreeable companion
and a sincere constant faithful friend
As a merchant
extensively known & respected
his strict probity & exact punctuality secured him
the entire confidence of all that knew him;
the smiles of Heaven on indefatigable industry & the best
œconomy rendered him eminent as a man of property
But alas, neither wealth nor merit can bribe or evade
the grim tyrant death
nor repel the fatal shaft.
Hamilton is no more.
(signed) S.C.W.

below the signature is this sign

In the holograph of "The Old Town of Berwick" (edited by Marion Rust), Jewett speculates about the composition of the epitaph: "one of the daughters was the wife of Dr. (afterward Bishop) Parker, of Trinity Church in Boston, and the composition may be his." Jewett also points out here that the 2nd Mrs. Hamilton married Governor Gilman of NH. All of this is cut from the published version of the essay.

Note on the Hamilton Tomb

It is notable that the Hamilton tomb is unique at the Old Fields Cemetery, and virtually so in Berwick area cemeteries. The large horizontal tablets with their long inscriptions were not typical in South Berwick in the 18th Century. Among the few later tombs of similar design are those in which Jewett herself presumably had a hand, those of her immediate family, except for her father, at the Portland Street Cemetery in South Berwick. However, as Melissa Scott, Hamilton House guide points out, such tablets were more common among the gentry of Portsmouth and Boston, and indeed, one can find examples of similar tablets in various cemeteries in Portsmouth, e.g., the South Cemetery.

Mary Hamilton

Mary Hamilton, presented in the novel as Jonathan's younger sister, was modeled upon his wife, Mary Manning. In Ch. 30, Jewett implies Mary lost her father early. This and most other information presented about Mary in the novel presumably is based on the assumption that she is Jonathan's sister.

Mary Manning was the daughter of Patrick Manning, about whom a number of basic facts are recorded in *Records of the First and Second Churches of Berwick, Maine*: Patrick transferred

his membership from the church at Cocheco, NH on July 3, 1743 (59). He married Mary Dyer on February 9 in 1748 or 1749. (141). He had three children baptized at the church:

Mary on 12 November 1749 (75);
John on 14 June 1752 (80);
Samuel on 30 June 1754 (84).

And Mary's marriage to Jonathan Hamilton is recorded on 8 February 1771. It is possible that there was another brother, since a Patrick Manning marries Mary McIntire on 13 November 1788 (262).

Of course, in the novel, Mary is a Hamilton by birth, and her being orphaned early would mean that Jonathan also lost his parents early. This has not been substantiated. No one seems to know when Jonathan's father Joseph or his mother Elizabeth died. Elizabeth's maiden name is not known, either.

The announcement of Mary Hamilton's death in the Sunday Dover *Gazette* of Wednesday 3 December 1800 reads:

On Sunday morning, 23 ult. took her flight for the world of Spirits, Mrs. MARY HAMILTON, the excellent and amiable consort of JONATHAN HAMILTON, Esq. of Berwick, in the 52nd year of her age.(*Vital Records 1790-1829 from Dover, New Hampshire's First Newspaper*, W. E. Wentworth, 1995, p. 52).

Mary and Jonathan share a sarcophagus near the center of the Old Fields Cemetery in South Berwick, with large inscribed stone lids, Mary on the left, Jonathan on the right. Mary's stone reads:

In Memory of
M.rs Mary Hamilton
The amiable and virtuous consort of
Jonathan Hamilton Jun.r Esq.
Who departed this life Nov.r 23d 1800 Aged 51 years
She was endeared to her friends and acquaintance.
By those virtues which adorn human nature
And secure esteem and affection
A prudent, dutiful, & affectionate Wife,
A peculiarly kind & tender Mother,
A pleasing companion,
A faithful friend,
A compassionate benefactress to the poor
Afflicted and distressed,
Often caused the widow.s heart to sing for joy,
But alas! she is no more
Here her frail body sleeps in the dust
The spirit has returned to its God
We trust
To be ever with the Lord.

The Hamiltons' oldest son, Joseph, a drowning victim according to Master Tate, is buried with them. His stone, next to Mary's side of the tomb reads:

In memory of
Joseph Hamilton J.r
Son of Jonathan
Hamilton Jun.^{r} *Esq*.^{r}
who died July 15th 1788
Æ. 15 years

Hertel and his French and Indians

François Hertel (1642-1722), was a French-Canadian. He and his sons eventually served the French military in a series of raids on English colonies during several periods of warfare. In 1690, in King William's War (1689-1697), François led Indian warriors into Maine and New Hampshire. In Chapter 11 of *Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV* (1877), Parkman gives this account.

> Through snow and ice and storm, Hertel and his band were moving on their prey. On the night of the twenty-seventh of March, they lay hidden in the forest that bordered the farms and clearings of Salmon Falls. Their scouts reconnoitred the place, and found a fortified house with two stockade forts, built as a refuge for the settlers in case of alarm. Towards daybreak, Hertel, dividing his followers into three parties, made a sudden and simultaneous attack. The settlers, unconscious of danger, were in their beds. No watch was kept even in the so-called forts; and, when the French and Indians burst in, there was no time for their few tenants to gather for defence. The surprise was complete; and, after a short struggle, the assailants were successful at every point. They next turned upon the scattered farms of the neighborhood, burned houses, barns, and cattle, and laid the entire settlement in ashes. About thirty persons of both sexes

and all ages were tomahawked or shot; and fifty-four, chiefly women and children, were made prisoners. Two Indian scouts now brought word that a party of English was advancing to the scene of havoc from Piscataqua, or Portsmouth, not many miles distant. Hertel called his men together, and began his retreat. The pursuers, a hundred and forty in number, overtook him about sunset at Wooster River, where the swollen stream was crossed by a narrow bridge. Hertel and his followers made a stand on the farther bank, killed and wounded a number of the English as they attempted to cross, kept up a brisk fire on the rest, held them in check till night, and then continued their retreat. The prisoners, or some of them, were given to the Indians, who tortured one or more of the men, and killed and tormented children and infants with a cruelty not always equalled by their heathen countrymen.

Jewett also knew James Sullivan's and William Williamson's accounts of these events, which she read while writing "The Old Town of Berwick." She may also have read Francis Parkman's *The Old Régime in Canada* (1893) which shows sympathy to the French point of view. Eye-witness accounts differ in some details. See Emerson Baker's web site for an eye-witness account: http://www.salemstate.edu/~ebaker/chadweb/raiddocs.htm.

James Sullivan says:

"In the year 1690 a party under the command of one Hertel, a Frenchman, and Hopegood, a sachem, assaulted the plantation of Newichawanick [Salmon Falls River]; they killed thirty men, and the rest of the people, after an obstinate and courageous defence, surrendered at discretion. The captives were fifty-four, the greater part of whom were women and children. The enemy burned all the houses and mills, and taking with them what plunder they could carry, retreated to the northward. A party of one hundred and forty men collected from the neighbouring towns, pursued and came up with the Savages on Worster's River, at a narrow bridge. Hertel had expected a pursuit, and had placed his people in a posture of defence. The engagement was warm, and continued the whole of an afternoon; but as the men on both sides were shielded by the trees and brush, there was no great slaughter; four or five of the English, and two of the Savages were killed, a Frenchman was wounded and taken prisoner" (*History of the District of Maine*, 250-1; See also William Williamson, v. 2, ch. 2).

Francis Parkman says, in *The Old Régime in Canada* (1874),

"When ... a band of French and Indians issued from the forest and fell upon the fort and settlement of Salmon Falls, it was François Hertel who led the attack; and when the retiring victors were hard pressed by an overwhelming force, it was he who, sword in hand, held the pursuers in check at the bridge of Wooster River, and covered the retreat of his men. He was ennobled for his services, and died at the age of 80, the founder of one of the most distinguished families of Canada. To the New England of old he was the abhorred chief of Popish malignants and murdering savages. The New England of to-day will be more just to the brave defender of his country and his faith" (Library of America edition, 1152-3).

Norma Keim of the Old Berwick Historical Society has written:

In 1688 a series of French and Indian Wars began, making life in our area unsettled and often dangerous. Some of these wars were extensions of war in Europe between France and England. In the New World, the French had the support of displaced natives from western and eastern Abenaki tribes as well as Indians from Canada; the English had their native allies as well. The French and Indians made numerous attempts to disrupt English settlements in New England, lasting well into the 1700s. It was to the benefit of France that English settlements failed, for settlements like Salmon Falls and Quamphegan were providing masts for the English navy in Europe.

"Salmon Falls, Quamphegan and Old Fields felt the effect of King William's War (1688). Salmon Falls was all but destroyed in the surprise attack of March 18, 1689. A group of French from Canada and their Indian allies burned homes and mills, killed many settlers and captured others, a young woman named Mehitable Goodwin among them. This attack may also have been responsible for the burning of the Humphrey Chadbourne homestead.

This raid of 1689/90 (both dates get used because of the change in calendar), as Keim recounts, swept through the Upper Landing area; Emerson Baker believes this attack destroyed the Chadbourne house at the mouth of the Great Works River.

(Research assistance: Emerson Baker, Norma Keim, Wendy Pirsig).

Major Hight

An Internet genealogy shows Temple Hight (b. 1749), son of William (1707-1782), who married Sarah Goodwin in Berwick on 24 September 1772. Temple and his father were important businessmen in 18th-century Berwick; they are known to have built in the Great Works area of the village. William owned land on the mill pond where the Great Works River flows into the Salmon Falls River; he and his son both had houses on this land in the late 18th Century, according to a 1764 Chadbourn estate map at the Old Berwick Historical Society. Two sisters of Temple Hight, Mary (1745-1770) and Frances (1748-1816) both married Dr. Ivory Hovey of South Berwick. Jewett tells something of their story in "River Driftwood."

In *Records of the First and Second Churches of Berwick, Maine*: Rev. E. W. Allen notes: "Major Wm. Hight lived in a house built by Judge Benjamin Chadbourne for his son Benjamin. Maj. H. died April 18, 1847. The house is now occupied by John H. Burleigh and is the last upon the right of ye road leading by ye Portsmouth Cotton Mill toward Great Works, before you come to the road leading to Yeaton's Mills." This house is still standing on the west (river) side of Liberty Street, up the hill from the Counting House Museum, which stands next to the Rte. 4 bridge at the Upper Landing.

William Hight (1707-1782) is buried at Old Fields Cemetery with his wife, Elizabeth, who died in 1776 at the age of 63. Master Tate says that on Thursday, April 18, 1776, "Elizabeth Hight, wife of Mr. William Hight of Berwick died." This is Temple's mother. Fisher & Fisher list a William Hight of Berwick who did political service in the Revolution (365), which could account for his having a rank.

Temple's son, William, (1773-1847) also became Major Hight, but clearly he was too young to have built a large house in 1777.

(Research Assistance: Norma Keim and Wendy Pirsig)

Mr. Hill

It is possible but not very likely that Jewett refers to Deacon John Hill (1738-1810), who is buried at Old Fields Cemetery, with his wife, Elizabeth (d. 1822); he was a prominent citizen of Berwick during the American Revolution, and after the war he seems to have been a Justice of the Peace, performing marriages in Berwick (*Vital Records of Berwick...* 134, for example).

However, Jewett seems to have kept another John Hill alive past his historical death date in order to present him as a character. Especially as he appears in Ch. 29, Mr. Hill seems like the John Hill (1703-1772) Jewett describes in "The Old Town of Berwick."

Jewett presents this John Hill's obituary in her notes:

"On Monday last, March 2d, died at Berwick the Hon. John Hill, Esq., *Ætatis suae* 69: a Gentlemen much improved in public offices and Betrustments. He was early in Life appointed one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace, and elected to represent the Town where he dwelt; and soon after was elected into His Majesty's Council, and continued to enjoy a seat at the honorable Board for twenty-eight years successively, and about two years since, honorably resigned. He was also improved for many years one of the Justices of the Inferiour court in the County of York and for several years as the Chief Justice. And also, for some years, Judge of Probate of Wills. In all which public characters, as well as those in more private life, he discovered himself to be what the Poet calls: --

' -- The noblest work of God --
An honest man.'

He made public profession of the Christian Religion, and appeared to enjoy the comforts of it in his last sickness: he often exprest his longing to depart and be with Christ." -- *New Hampshire Gazette*, Friday, March 6, 1772. (See also William Williamson, *The History of the State of Maine* v. 2, Appendix #1). "The Diary of Master Joseph Tate" records the death of Major John Hill of Berwick on March 2, 1772. Tate also says that his wife, Elizabeth had died in 1763 at the age of 55, and that his second wife, Sarah, died on August 13, 1772.

Sir William Howe

William Howe, 5th Viscount Howe (1729-1814), according to the *Encarta Encyclopedia* was "British commander in chief in North America (1775-78) during the early years of the American Revolution. Born in London he entered the army in 1746 and gained distinction as one of the most brilliant junior officers in the service. In 1775 he was second in command under General Thomas Gage in Boston and commanded British troops in the Battle of Bunker Hill. Later in that year he succeeded Gage as commander in chief. In 1776 he defeated the Americans on Long Island, took the city of New York, and won the battles of White Plains and Brandywine. During the winter of 1777-78, when George Washington had set up quarters at Valley Forge, Howe stayed in Philadelphia with his troops. He was severely criticized for this inactivity, and in the spring of 1778 he resigned and returned to Britain, claiming that he had not received sufficient support from the home government. Four years later he was commissioned lieutenant general of ordnance and in 1793 was made a full general. He was a member of Parliament (1758-80), retaining his seat while in North America."

Mrs. Wallingford's disapproval of Howe stems from his harsh treatment of American colonials and rebels. In *Our Country*, Lossing offers this characterization of Howe's actions after he accepted leadership of British forces:

Howe strengthened his defences, and increased the number of British cruisers sent out to harass the coast towns of New England, hoping thereby to cause Washington to weaken his besieging army by sending detachments for the relief of the distressed regions. Falmouth (now Portland, Maine,) was burned in October, and other towns were sorely smitten by the marauders. These acts failed to draw a regiment away from Cambridge, but caused a swarm of American privateers to appear upon the waters. Captain Manly, in a vessel sent out by Washington to intercept supply-vessels bound for Boston, maintained a position off the harbor of the New England capital for some time, and made three important captures. One of his prizes contained heavy guns, mortars, and intrenching tools; the very things most needed by the Americans at that time.

Howe imitated Gage in treating the open whigs and suspected persons in Boston with harshness. His excuse was that they were active, though secret, enemies, keeping up a communication with the "rebels" either by personal intercourse, or by signals from church steeples and other high places. He forbade all persons leaving the city without permission, under pain of military execution; and he ordered all of the inhabitants to associate themselves into military companies (V. 2, ch. 18).

John Lord

John Lord is presented as a young business partner of Jonathan Hamilton, and as in love with Mary Hamilton. His older brother is one of the more famous of the Nathan Lords -- see below.

There were several John Lords in the Berwick area during this period, but the correct one seems to be John Lord (1764 or 1765-1815) who married Mehitable and fathered the Nathan Lord (b. 1792) who became president of Dartmouth College. He achieved the rank of brigadier general in the American Revolution. Marie Donahue identifies this John Lord clearly: "A business partner of Colonel Hamilton's in the West Indies trade, John Lord had been a brigadier general in the militia during the Revolution. General Lord lived at the Upper Landing in a handsome three-storied house and rode a magnificent gray horse at general muster. Historian John Lord recalled that his grandfather was a very hospitable man, 'a good liver,' whose sideboard always held decanters of Madiera, brandy, and rum. ...." (*The Old Academy* 25).

The *York County Atlas* of 1872 offers this sketch: "Gen. John Lord was a prosperous merchant, and was a representative and State senator. He was the father of Nathan Lord, D.D., ex-president of Dartmouth College. He had five children, John P., ... still residing in town,

Samuel, Nathan, Augustus, and Susan. Augustus died young; Susan married Judge Hayes; Samuel became a cashier in the bank at Portsmouth, which position he held uninterruptedly for a period of fifty years. John P. studied law, but engaged in mercantile pursuits. For a number of years he occupied a position in the custom-house at Boston. He has been the father of nineteen children; best known among them is Rev. John Lord, LL.D., of Stamford, Conn., who has made himself eminent as a lecturer upon history. Also Rev. Chas. Lord, an author of some note" (102).

Jewett sketches him as well in "The Old Town of Berwick" as one of the academy's founders. Jewett says, "Another of this interesting group of the first trustees of the [Berwick] academy was Mr. John Lord, the young partner in business of Col. Hamilton, afterward Gen. Lord, and the successor to Judge Chadbourne's and Col. Hamilton's pre-eminence and authority in town affairs. He lived at the Upper Landing, in another fine old house, which was long ago destroyed; and died when hardly past middle age, leaving a large inheritance to his family and generous gifts to the church and academy, beside a fund to the latter, from which each student is given a copy of the Bible. Among his children and grandchildren have been many distinguished men and women." Jewett says more about the influence of the Lord family in the region. William Williamson lists a John Lord as a senator from Maine, first elected in 1801 (*The History of the State of Maine*, v. 2, Appendix 2; see also *Berwick Vital Records*).

Nathan Lord

In Chapter 6, Jewett refers to the Nathan Lord who, along with Eben Sullivan, and then Captain Moulton, marched to Boston for the Battle of Bunker Hill in 1775. Amory points out that Eben Sullivan was captain of a company in the American revolutionary army raised in Berwick, Maine, and that Nathan Lord was a lieutenant in this company (I, 84).

Almost certainly the "right" Nathan is the one born in 1756, who married Tilly Haggens's daughter, Elizabeth, in 1784. His parents were Nathan Lord and Elizabeth Shackley (m. 1754). One of Nathan and Elizabeth's daughters, Elizabeth/Betsey (1791-1867), married Thomas Jewett, brother of Sarah Orne Jewett's grandfather. (Research: Wendy Pirsig).

Another of the more famous of the Nathan Lords appears in Jewett's "Looking Back on Girlhood," where she tells the legend of his being captured in the American Revolution and winning a fight with a future king of England. In *The History of the Town of Rollinsford, New Hampshire: 1623-1973*, Alfred Catalfo writes of the Nathan Lord who married Esther Perkins of Ipswich, Massachusetts on June 30, 1748:

"From this couple were born four children. Nathan Lord [b. April 14, 1758] was the third child, and he was the builder of the Captain Nathan Lord's House.... He was only 16 years old when he entered the Revolutionary Army under General John Sullivan, and went to Fort Ticonderoga and Canada." If the birth date is correct, Nathan would have been 16 if he joined the army before April 14 of 1775. Catalfo goes on to tell the story of Nathan's capture and escape during this campaign, because Nathan or another captive gave a Masonic sign to a British officer, leading to their being ransomed rather than executed. Catalfo continues: "In the same Revolutionary war Nathan Lord served under Captain John Paul Jones on the privateer, 'The Ranger.' He was captured by a British man of war." Catalfo then narrates the story Jewett repeats of Nathan responding to a British insult by offering to fight the officer. The officer accepting, Nathan beats him and is congratulated by the Duke of Clarence, his antagonist, who later became King William IV of England (247). Catalfo also reports that Nathan Lord eventually married Betsey Brewster in South Berwick in 1785 and built his mansion on Somersworth Hill (247). He died in 1807 (248).

Clearly the fight story leaves something to be desired for its basis in fact. No one was captured from the *Ranger* while Jones was in command. King William IV (the Duke of Clarence, 1765-1837, reign 1830-1837) was younger than Nathan Lord, just 12 or 13 in 1778, when he might have encountered Lord on the *Ranger* under Jones's command; though he did begin service in the Royal Navy in 1779, he did not become Duke of Clarence until 1789.

This Nathan Lord (1758-1807), the husband of Betsey Brewster (m. 25 August, 1785), sometimes was called "Capt. Nathan Lord 3rd"

(*Berwick Vital Records* p. 24). This Nathan's younger brother was John Lord, who became Jonathan Hamilton's business partner and was eventually known as General John Lord. See above. One of Nathan's descendants was the painter, Edwin Lord Weeks (1849-1903) -- http://www.artcyclopedia.com/artists/weeks_edwin_lord.html).

(Research assistance: Wendy Pirsig).

John Marr

This local man is reported missing in New Jersey battles of 1778 (Ch. 28). In fact there was a John Marr of Kittery (1720 - c. 1778), though it has not been confirmed that he died while serving in the Revolutionary Army. According to Marr family web sites, this John Marr was the son of John Erskine, of Scotland, who changed his name upon emigrating in 1717, taking the name from the man the family believes to be John Erskine Marr's father, John Erskine, Earl of Mar.

W. D. Spencer's "A List of the Revolutionary Soldiers of Berwick" (1898) lists a William Mars, who served in 1777 under Captain Hodsdon, and in 1780 at Falmouth. Fisher & Fisher lists a John Marr of Kittery as serving in the American Revolution (505).

In 1901, Jewett was in correspondence with a John Marr of Rochester, N.Y. In a letter of 22 May, Marr indicates that he is sending Jewett a book containing information about Thomas Johnson, the last survivor of the *Bonhomme Richard*. He also explains that one man who was confined in the Mill Prison and later served under Jones was Thomas Hammett, the brother of Sarah Hammett Marr, his great-grandmother (Houghton bMS Am 1743 (146)).

Vital Records of Berwick ... (362) lists Mr. John Marr of South Berwick and Miss Elizabeth E. Perry of Keene, N.H. 15 January 1848, marriage certified 22 January. If Elizabeth Perry is related to Jewett's mother, Jewett may be related to this John Marr. In his 22 May letter, Marr shows familiarity with South Berwick and says he is now the second oldest man still living who was born in his "section."

Mr. Moody

Probably the minister who helped Master Sullivan to his first teaching post after his arrival in America is the Reverend Samuel Moody, who was minister of the first parish at York, from 1700 to 1747, according to James Sullivan, *The History of the District of Maine* (238-9). His son, Reverend Joseph Moody was the first minister of the second parish at York, and it is likely that another Mr. Samuel Moody, the first master of the Berwick Academy (Founded, 1791), was the son of Joseph. William Williamson in *The History of the State of Maine* says of the elder Samuel Moody, "He was a graduate of Harvard, in 1697; and in 1700, received his ordination. He declined a settlement upon a stipulated salary; choosing rather to live through faith, dependant upon his Divine Master, and the voluntary contributions of his people. He continued in the ministry 47 years; when he died, -- greatly endeared to his charge, and highly regarded by his country. His praise is in all the churches of this region, as a godly minister and useful man. Amidst his pastoral zeal, many of his eccentricities afford curious anecdotes, which will be related in story to a succession of listening generations." This biographical sketch is followed by a note with further information: "His wife was the daughter of John Sewall of Newbury. He had two children, Joseph and Mary. The latter married Rev. Mr. Emerson of Malden. [See above for his son's career]. Mr. Moody died, Nov. 13, 1747, Æt 72. An ingenious epitaph on his gravestone, near his meeting-house, shews where his relics are deposited" (v. 2, ch. 3).

Passaconaway

(c. 1580 - 1666)

We are told that Mary has her birch bark canoe, her canoe-handling skills, and other less specified knowledge of her landscape from an Indian tutor who is a last descendant of the old chief, Passaconaway.

Passaconaway became the leader of the Pennacook Confederacy, an organization of Abenaki tribes and bands (of the Algonquin language group) living in what is now New Hampshire, Southern Maine, and Northeastern Massachusetts. This included two groups residing in the area of South Berwick, Maine: the Piscataqua, who lived on the east side of the river; and the Newichewannock, who lived on the upper part of the Piscataqua and within the Piscataqua territory.

The Pennacook was one of several 17th-

century confederacies of Native Americans in New England. The main purpose of the Pennacook Confederacy was to maintain unity among its groups by holding regular councils, and, in this way, to secure peace within the confederacy. It became especially important to maintain peace with the British settlers who began pouring into the region after 1620, because an intertribal war and then the European disease plagues of 1617-19 had reduced the native population by about 75-90%. The Confederacy was not in a strong military position at the moment when European settlers began establishing colonies in New England.

Largely as a result of Passaconaway's leadership, the confederacy maintained peaceful relations with English settlers, despite many provocative incidents, including requirements of submission by English authorities and various other humiliations forced upon him and his family. He ceded large amounts of land to colonists, and his people helped them adjust to and make use of local crops and resources. In *The Indian Heritage of New Hampshire and Northern New England*, Piotrowski says:

> The Indians taught the settlers to place small fish in each hill of corn for fertilizer. They taught them to grow squash and pumpkins within hills of corn; to trap the wild animals of the forest by means of snares, log traps, and pits; to fish effectively in the rivers and streams; to make and store maple syrup and sugar; to make and use snowshoes; to preserve fresh meat; to catch ducks; to tan hides; to dye hair; to raise, prepare, and eat corn; to clear potential farm land by girdling trees; to safely use herbs, roots, and bark; and to prepare antidotes for snake bites. (14)

Historians such as Morton, Belknap and C. E. Potter confirm and elaborate these contributions and list many others.

Passaconaway's peace lasted reasonably well during his lifetime, though this was difficult. The suspicious English colonists repeatedly tried to undermine his power, and they were notoriously bad at keeping the agreements they made with him. According to Colin Calloway, keeping peace was complicated by the fact that the Pennacook Confederacy was in contact with French colonies on the St. Lawrence River and, in 1650, had helped the French in their military actions against the Iroquois Confederacy. The English were suspicious that the Pennacook would ally with the French against the English colonists.

In the year Passaconaway is believed to have died, the English encouraged the Mohawks (of the Iroquois Confederacy) to attack the Pennacooks. At the battle of Fort Eddy in 1666, the English and Mohawks broke the power of the Pennacook Confederacy (Piotrowski, 15).

In 1689, Passaconaway's grandson, Kancamagus, allied with the French in King William's War, the first of the French and Indian wars. They joined the French after the March raids by French and Indian military units that included the Salmon Falls raid, that became so important to Jewett's sense of South Berwick's history. They were defeated a year later.

Historians have considerable difficulty separating fact and myth in Passaconaway's life. His name is said to transliterate as "Child of the Bear." One can gather from contemporary sources that he was significantly taller than the average, that he was admired for courage and wisdom, by the English and his enemies, as well as by his own people. His people are said to have loved him. He was widely reputed to be able to perform magical deeds, such as producing ice in summer and bringing a dead leaf to life.

Though he was suspicious at first of Christianity, he eventually allowed John (the Apostle) Eliot to preach to his family. Eliot affirms that Passaconaway and his family converted to Christianity. Though there is no evidence to challenge this, it was sometimes the case that Indians would seek to conciliate colonists by diplomatically "pretending" to adopt their religious beliefs. David Stewart-Smith, in his Ph.D. dissertation, *The Pennacook Indians and the New England Frontier, circa 1604-1733* (1998), suggests that Passaconaway may have seen conversion as an effective tool for maintaining peaceful relations with the English, but remains skeptical of the reality of this conversion, pointing out that "there is really no further record or tradition of Passaconaway attending to the religion of the white man" (UMI reprint, 139).

In Jewett's time, Passaconaway's life was apparently adapted to create the legend of St. Aspinquid, who is said to be buried atop Mount

Agamenticus. Jewett mentions this legend in "A Winter Drive" in *Country By-Ways*.

Mary's belief that her old Indian friend and tutor is a last descendant of Passaconaway probably is mistaken. Passaconaway had many children. Among the better remembered is a daughter, whose marriage provoked a contest of honor between Passaconaway and his son-in-law, out of which John Greenleaf Whittier made his narrative poem, "The Bridal of Pennacook" (1844).

Mary probably would have been interested to know that among the descendants of Passaconaway was his grandson, Kancamagus. David Stewart-Smith, in *The Pennacook Indians and the New England Frontier, circa 1604-1733* (1998), explains that when the Pennacooks divided over whether to fight the English in the Second Abeenaki war (King William's War) in 1689, one of Passaconaway's several sons, Wonalancet, led those who wanted to remain neutral, while his nephew, Kancamagus, led those who wanted to fight the British and who planned the June 1689 raid on Dover. Their purpose was to kill Major Waldron, who had caused them a good deal of trouble (Stewart-Smith, 224-231). One of Kancamagus's close friends and allies was Hopehood, "or Wahowah, son of the Androscoggin sagamore Rawandagon or Robin Hood" (228). This is the Hopehood who was co-leader with Hertel of the military raid on Salmon Falls, in which Hetty Goodwin was made a captive (See Chapter 32).

Sir William Pepperrell / Pepperell

(1696-1759

"American merchant, statesman, and soldier, born in Kittery Point, Massachusetts (now in Maine). Largely self-educated, he was appointed chief justice of Massachusetts in 1730, where he served on the governor's council from 1727 to 1759. In 1734 he inherited his father's estate and became one of the richest men in New England. His experience as a colonel in the Massachusetts militia led to his command in 1745, during King George's War, of a colonial land and sea force that captured the French stronghold at Louisburg on Cape Breton, in present-day Nova Scotia. He was made a baronet the following year, the first American-born person to be so honored. In 1754, during the French and Indian War, he raised a regiment of 1000 men and commanded the military forces of Massachusetts. After 1756 he served as acting governor of Massachusetts. He was commissioned a lieutenant general shortly before his death." *(*Source: *Encyclopedia Britannica*). Jewett discusses Pepperell in "The Old Town of Berwick."

In Ch. 38, we learn that people of this name are friends of Madam Wallingford and come from London to visit her, while she is in England. *The American Loyalists* by Lorenzo Sabine (1847) makes clear that this would have been the grandson of the hero of Louisburg, William Pepperell Sparhawk (about 1746-1816), who by the terms of his grandfather's will, changed his name to Pepperell and inherited the baronetcy. A graduate of Harvard (1766), he was appointed to the Council of Massachusetts by Act of Parliament and against the colony's charter in 1774. This led to various reprisals from patriots, ending with his banishment and the confiscation of his vast property, mainly in Maine. He took up residence in London, where he received an annual stipend from the Crown that kept him in comfortable circumstances. He is remembered for his kindness to colonial exiles in England and for his leadership in attempting to gain relief for people who had lost their property as a result of remaining loyal to the king (518-28).

Mr. Rollins

Rollins is identified as Parson Pike's chief parishioner, presumably in Somersworth, where Pike was serving. This is likely to be Ichabod Rollins.

Master Joseph Tate offers these clues to Mr. Rollins's probable identity:

July 6, 1774, an Esq. Rollins' negro slave, Jack, falls in a mill.

Sept. 24, 1774, Ichabod Rollins is a partner in raising a saw mill "at Quamphaggen, Somersworth." and on Friday 10 March 1775, "Captain Ichabod Rollins and Mr. Daniel Ricker raised a new grist mill at Somersworth." And he appears again in later entries.

Stackpole in "Sligo and Vicinity" notes that Ichabod Rollins may also have been a judge, since he is identified as Judge Rollins in documents of the 1770s (45).

Catalfo says that Ichabod Rollins served on a committee to provide troops and supplies during the war (157). And he places Rollins first on lists of those purchasing pews at the new Rollinsford

meeting house in 1772 and again in 1780 (177-9).

Marie Donahue in *The Old Academy on the Hill*, points out that one of the academy's founders was Judge John Rollins, who was the "oldest of the children of Judge Ichabod and Abigail Wentworth Rollins, represented the town of Rollinsford, named for his family, and practised his profession there until his untimely death at thirty-three (29).

Some have speculated that the town of Rollinsford (then Somersworth) in NH combines the names of Rollins and Wallingford, the two richest families in the town in 1849.

Master Sullivan and his family

John Sullivan (1692-1796) and his wife Old **Margery** (c. 1714 - 1801), settled in the Pine Hill area of Berwick, where Master John taught school for many years while Margery managed the farm.

Their Children.

[Benjamin, not mentioned in *The Tory Lover*. Served in colonial navy; lost at sea before 1775.] Catalfo, following Scales *History of Strafford County* (236) gives his birth date as 1736 and his death date as 1767.

[Daniel (1738 -1782), not mentioned in *The Tory Lover*.]

John -- General Sullivan. (1740-1795).

James -- Judge Sullivan. (1744-1808)

[Mary (c. 1752 - ?), the only daughter, mentioned but not named in *The Tory Lover*, and only mentioned by Amory.]

Eben (c. 1753- after 1778).

Biographical Sketches

Master John Sullivan was born in Limerick, Ireland, the son of Major Philip O'Sullivan, who, after the surrender of Limerick to King William of Orange in 1691, chose exile in France, where he died soon afterwards of a wound received in a duel. Because Irish universities were closed to Catholics, John was educated in France. According to a family tradition, after his return to Ireland, he became connected with his cousin, a leader in attempts to restore the Catholic Stuarts to the English throne. Coming under suspicion, he was forced to leave Ireland for the American colonies. However, Amory believes he left after a break with his mother over his wish to marry a woman she considered unsuitable. Sullivan emigrated in 1723.

The following provocative information appears at a Stanford University Web page, The Book of Sullivan:

1743: New Hampshire Wife Seeks Husband, Begs for Return
From the July 25, 1743 Boston Evening Post, following an advertisement for the return of "an escaped negro fellow, lusty, stout, and comely," the following: My dear and loving Husband,

--Your abrupt Departure from me, and forsaking of me your Wife and tender Babes, which I humble acknowledge and confess I was greatly if not wholly on the Occasion of, by my too rash and unadvised Speech and Behaviour towards you; for which I now in this publick Manner humbly ask your Forgiveness, and here-by promise upon your Return, to amend and reform, and by ny future loving and obedient Carriage towards you, endeavour to make an Atonement for my past evil Deeds, and manifest to you and the whole World that I am become a new Woman, and will prove to you a loving dutiful and tender wife.

If you do not regard what I have above written, I pray you to hearken to what you Pupil, Joshua Gilpatrick hath below sent you as also to the Lamentations and Cries of your poor Children, especially the eldest, who (tho' but seven Years old) all rational People really conclude, that unless you speedily return will end in his Death, and the moans of your other Children are enough to affect any humane heart....And why, my dear Husband, should a few angry and unkind Words, from an angry and fretful Wife (for which I am now paying full dear, having neither eat, drank nor slept in quiet, and am already reduced almost to a skeleton, that unless you favour me with your Company, will bereave me of my Life) make you thus to forsake me and your Children? How can you thus for so slender a Cause as a few rash words from a simple and weak Woman, chuse you to part from your tender Babes, who are your own Flesh and Blood? Pray meditate on what I now send, and reprieve you poor Wife and eldest Son (who take your Departure so heavily) from a lingering tho' certain Death, by your coming home to them again as speedily as you can, where you shall be kindly received, and in the most submissive Manner by your Wife, who is ready at your Desire, to lay her self at your Feet

for her past Miscarriage and am with my and your Children's kind love to you, your loving Wife,

Margery Sullivan

Summersworth, New-Hampshire. July 11, 1743

Other glimpses of the Sullivans at Pine Hill appear in William F. Lord, "Black Sara" (1897) at the Old Berwick Historical Society. Sara (c. 1720- after 1775, but before 1801) was a slave of Captain Samuel Lord, who for most of her life worked for the captain's son -- a farmer and miller -- in a variety of capacities, and who lived near Master Sullivan at Pine Hill. This account emphasizes the comparative density and activity of the population at Pine Hill after the establishment of the Second Parish Church at adjacent Blackberry Hill in 1755. This is of some importance because in the novel and in other sources, the Pine Hill area often is spoken of as "backwoods" in comparison to Berwick village around the Upper and Lower Landings. While the Pine Hill and Great Falls neighborhood (now Berwick) may not have been as cosmopolitan as the Berwick and Somersworth area (now South Berwick and Rollinsford), it was not without its basic amenities of church and school.

Master Sullivan's Grave

Lists of the inscriptions in Berwick cemeteries appear on the Internet. Here is the inscription on Master John Sullivan's stone as recorded at this site. The author notes that the stone is no longer in Berwick, but was moved to Durham, New Hampshire.

Here are buried the Bodies of John Sullivan &
Margery his wife. He was born in Limeric in
Ireland
in the year 1692, & died in the year 1796.
She was born in Cork in Ireland in the year 1714
&
died in 1801.
This marble is placed to their memory by their
son
James Sullivan.

The Sullivan Children from "Black Sara"

"John Sullivan was her master's nearest neighbor, she being twenty-four years of age when his oldest child was born, and frequently visited their humble dwelling and cared for the children while that energetic Irish woman drove the oxen to plough and otherwise assisted the energetic husband in cultivating the farm. For many years she fondled in her sable arms those children, who, in her life time became illustrious in the Commonwealth."

The Revolution

"When it was learned that John, Daniel and Ebenezer Sullivan had gone to the front .... it was determined in the council of the household that Nathan and Samuel Lord should go to the war. Sara had for some time anticipated this event and applied herself to the wheel and loom and furnished them with serviceable suits of homespun. They started on a bright morning in July after the battle of Bunker Hill in June. While the boys were taking leave of the family, Sara had gone up the road and seated herself on the great rock; when they came along she joined them on their way. The new mown hay in the field perfumed the air and bright red cherries hung in clusters on the trees by the road; red roses and peonies were blooming in the garden of the farm house. They stopped at the school house where their school days had been spent, looked into the window to get a view of Master Sullivan's chair and the rude benches where they sat so many days and passed over Worster's River to the top of Hodsdon's Hill...."

Sara's Death

"The women of the neighborhood quickly gathered at the [Lord] homestead and kindly offered aid and sympathy. Mrs. Sullivan boisterously extolled her virtues and said, 'the like of her will never be seen again.'"

Margery Brown was a nine-year-old passenger on the ship that brought Sullivan to York, Maine. Both were obliged to enter service agreements to pay the cost of their travel. Sullivan applied to a Dr. Moody (probably the Reverend Samuel Moody) for help and was given a loan to pay his debt and also Margery's, and he then opened a school in Berwick. He raised Margery as his adoptive daughter; they married in about 1735. While John taught, Margery became the manager of their small farm, and was remembered for having a quick temper, but also for her kindness and generosity.

Daniel Sullivan (not mentioned in *The Tory Lover*) In 1765, he established a saw-mill near the town of Sullivan (then called Frenchman's Bay). In the American Revolution, he became a captain of minute-men, was involved in several battles, and in 1781 was captured in his home by British soldiers and confined to the Jersey prison-ship in New York harbor, which led to his death in 1782. Catalfo says, "In the defense of Castine, Maine, a British fleet sent a party of marines to the head of Frenchman's Bay where they captured him and burned his house. He refused to take oath that he would not re-enter the Continental Army, so he was imprisoned in New York in the Jersey Prison Ships. After fourteen months and through the intercession of his brother, General John Sullivan, he was released, but he died a day or two after leaving New York" (144).

General John Sullivan. He practiced law prior to the American Revolution. According to the *Encarta Encyclopedia* General Sullivan was an "American military officer and statesman, born in Somersworth, New Hampshire. During the American Revolution, as brigadier general and later major general in the Continental Army, he held important commands at the siege of Boston from 1775-76; the battles of Long Island and Trenton in 1776; and the battles of Princeton, Brandywine, and Germantown in 1777. In the following year he headed the American forces that besieged Newport. Sullivan is particularly noted for his leadership, together with General James Clinton, of an expedition that decisively defeated a strong combined force of British Loyalists and Iroquois warriors at Newtown (now Elmira), New York, on August 29, 1779. He resigned his commission in November of that year and served (1780-81) in the Continental Congress. He later served also as New Hampshire's attorney general (1782-86) and president (1786-87, 1789) and as U.S. district judge of New Hampshire (1789-95)."

Judge James Sullivan. After studying law under his older brother, John, James became active in politics, serving in several provincial government posts and then as a judge, continuing on the bench through the Revolutionary War. After the revolution, he served in Congress and in the Constitutional Convention. He served as Attorney General of the United States in 1790-1804 and as governor of Massachusetts. He is author of *The History of the District of Maine* (1798), on which Jewett drew for *The Tory Lover*, and of other works. His biographer, Thomas Amory, explains that James was lamed by a tree-cutting accident in his youth.

Mary Sullivan (30, where she is mentioned, but not named)**.** Catalfo says, "... their only daughter (Mrs. Mary Hardy) lived in Durham, New Hampshire, most of her life. She, like her father, became a famous schoolteacher at a time when women were rare in the field of education" (145). In "The Old Town of Berwick," Jewett gives her name as Mrs. Margery Hardy.

Eben Sullivan. He served as a captain in the Revolutionary War, was captured and made a hostage to guarantee a prisoner exchange. Upon his eventual release, he served as an aid to General Sullivan in 1778. Catalfo says he was present at the Battle of Bunker Hill, and that he practiced law after the war.

Main Sources:

Thomas Amory, *The Life of James Sullivan* (1859). See selections from this book for further details.
Alfred Catalfo, Jr. *The History of the Town of Rollinsford, New Hampshire: 1623-1973*. (master's thesis)
Also of interest: *Materials for a history of the family of John Sullivan of Berwick, New England, and of the O'Sullivans of Ardea, Ireland* (1893), by Meredith, Gertrude E. (Gertrude Euphemia), b. 1852; Burke, Bernard, Sir, 1814-1892; Amory, Thomas C. (Thomas Coffin), 1812-1889.

In "The Old Town of Berwick," Jewett writes:

> Two of the most interesting figures of the last century, however, who must by no means be forgotten, were John (or Owen) Sullivan, always called Master Sullivan, and his wife, Margery, who came over to New England from Ireland about 1723. They first landed at York, and spent some time there on the McIntire farm, still occupied by descendants of the royalist exiles. Master Sullivan always surrounded himself with more or less mystery, but insisted that he had "four countesses to his mother and grandmothers, which has been proved true." He feigned great ignorance at first to match his poverty;

but at last, tiring of his humble position, tradition says that he wrote a letter to Parson Moody, of York, in seven languages, and presently removed himself to the upper part of Berwick, a few miles above Quampeagan, to the neighborhood of the Great Falls, and opposite the present city of Somersworth. Here he kept a school for a great number of years, and owned a small farm. He is reported to have been indolent according to the standard of his contemporaries, but to have been always reading and a man of great wit and natural powers of mind. His wife was a woman of quick temper, but great tenderness of heart, joined to all the practical ability which master Sullivan seems to have lacked, except that most noble gift of awakening young minds. Margery Sullivan, -- "the small, beautiful, energetic, courageous woman, who worked in the fields, so that her thoughtful and studious husband might not be obliged to do it; who drove a cow some thirty miles through woods and along bad roads for her son; who nursed the neighbours when they were ill, and quarrelled with them horribly when they were well; who gloried in her sons' careers, boasting that she never did anything contrary to the will of her husband. He was her father in age, her master in knowledge, and her husband by marriage." The writer has heard another boast of Margery Sullivan's repeated: that she had dropped corn many a day with two governors: a judge in her arms and a general on her back. Old Master Sullivan died in 1796, at the great age of nearly one hundred and five years, keeping his love for books until the last. His wife died in 1801. Two of their sons, Daniel and Ebenezer, were captains in the Revolutionary army: the first dying on his way home from a captivity in the Jersey prison ship; the second was a lawyer at South Berwick, but died at Charleston, S.C. John Sullivan, the younger, was one of the distinguished officers of the war, major-general by rank, and afterward first president or governor of New Hampshire. James lived at first in Saco (it was to him the cow was driven), and later he became a citizen of Boston; a judge of the Superior Court, attorney-general, and in 1808 governor of Massachusetts.

There is a charming story of his being on circuit in the District of Maine, and going out of his way to pass the night with his old father and mother at Berwick. In the evening he and his father lost their tempers over some political argument and parted in anger. The judge was obliged to leave the house very early in the morning before day, but he was so troubled as he rode away by the thought that he had been disrespectful, that he turned his horse at last and rode back again several miles to beg his father's pardon.

This was the author of the "History of Maine," so often quoted; a delightful work, eloquent at times, and naturally very full of interest when its author touched at any point the history or traditions of his native town. Berwick has had few sons of whom she has such good reason to be proud. The family burying place, at the old farm on Pine Hill, was unfortunately destroyed by the laying out of a road; and the graves of the father and mother being disturbed, the poor ashes that were left and the stone erected by their son James were removed by a descendant to the burial ground of their son and daughter, Gen. John Sullivan and Margery (Mrs. Hardy), at Durham, N. H.

Ben Thompson

In Chapter 13, Dickson accuses Thompson of being a Tory who, like Wallingford and the Wentworths, only pretended to be patriots when their lives & property were threatened. This is Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford (1753-1814). According to the *Grolier Multimedia Encyclopedia*, the American born scientist left the colonies in 1776, because he opposed the American rebellion, and was knighted for service to England in 1784. He then "became aide-de-camp to the elector of Bavaria. During his 11 years in Bavaria, Thompson reorganized the Bavarian army, abolished mendicancy in Munich, and established workhouses for the poor. In 1791 the elector made Thompson a count of the Holy Roman Empire."

In *Journal and Letters of ... Samuel Curwen*, Ward points out that Thompson served in the British army: "Towards the close of the war he was sent to New-York, and raised a regiment of dragoons, of which he was the colonel. He commanded at Huntington, Long Island, in 1782-3, where he caused a fort to be erected in the church-yard, contrary to the wishes of the inhabitants" (497-8).

Jewett was particularly interested in Rumford and may have written an unpublished piece about his daughter, Countess Rumford, who led in establishing an institution for destitute children in Concord, N.H., where Thompson had been a teacher before the Revolution. According to Belknap, Thompson was among those proscribed after the Revolution from returning to New Hampshire without permission of the state (381). See also George E. Ellis (1814-1894), *Memoir of Sir Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford* (1871).

Paula Blanchard quotes from Jewett's notes for her piece on Countess Rumford: "His fellow New Englanders could not then believe in the honest opinions of those who sided with the mother country. It is only of late years that we have begun to understand the deep sorrow which that great war made in many a loyal conservative heart whose every instinct flew toward patience and delay and the interference and pacification of statesmanship rather than the provocation of such a bloody quarrel" (345).

Parson Tompson

Rev. John Tompson (1739-1828) . He attends the feast in Chapter 2, indicating that he is a Cambridge College (Harvard) graduate. Paul Blanchard points out that "Parson John Thompson," one of the founders of the Berwick Academy, did not become a minister in Berwick until after the Revolution (342).

In "The Old Town of Berwick," Jewett says:

> There followed him [the previous parson] a man who is still remembered by some of my older friends, the Rev. John Tompson, who was a far more worthy successor of Parson Wise. He, too, was a college-bred man, of Harvard, 17-, and a descendant of the Parson Tompson of Braintree, so celebrated by Cotton Mather, in his "Magnalia," for his "constellation of converts." Mr. Tompson evidently plucked up his courage in accepting the call to Berwick. It was not only that he succeeded his predecessor, but the call was given in the darkest days of the Revolution, by a poor and anxious parish, with whom he frankly condoles upon its divided and languishing state. Berwick, as neighbor to her parent town of Kittery, had shared in the glorious successes of Pepperell in the siege of Louisburg; and no doubt some of her men marched with the company, formed about Saco, that was present at the fight on Bunker Hill. There is a devout assurance of Mr. Tompson's "Requests at the throne of Grace, that the God of Peace may be with us and bless us," as he ends his letter of acceptance.

Rev. John Tompson (1739-1828) is buried in Old Fields Cemetery, with his wives, both named Sarah. The first died August 30, 1788 at the age of 35, the second on 24 August 1825 at the age of 83. The Goodwin Diary, perhaps quoting from the Judge Benjamin Chadbourne's "History of the town of Berwick" (1792), indicates that Parson Tompson began his service in 1783, after the Revolution, and continued until 1824.

Madam Elizabeth and Judge Thomas Wallingford

The Wallingford family website says "Elizabeth was born 15 September 1718, in Hampton, Rockingham County, New Hampshire. Her parents were from Hampton Falls, N.H. before moving to York, Maine around the time Elizabeth was born. Elizabeth was the daughter of Joseph Swett and Hannah Sayward.

"Elizabeth died 3 December 1810, in Berwick, York County, Maine, at 92 years of age. Elizabeth Wallingford, 'relict of Hon. Thomas', is buried in the Salmon Falls old town cemetery in Rollinsford, NH."

Elizabeth married twice. Her first husband was Dr. Mark Prime. Stackpole's "Sligo" says: "Joseph Prime was the son of her [Dorcas Wallingford's Stacpole's] step-mother, Elizabeth Wallingford, and he married, Molly, daughter of Andrew and Betsey (Abbot) Stacpole" (42).

Elizabeth had two children with Thomas: Samuel Wallingford, born 4 February 1755, and Olive Wallingford, born 29 May 1758 and died 1853. Olive married John Cushing of Boston on Tuesday 6 April 1773 ("The Diary of Master Joseph Tate"), and her son eventually inherited Madam Wallingford's homestead farm. In "From a Mournful Villager," Jewett tells of childhood visits to the elderly Widow Cushing, who then lived not far from the Jewett home, at the site where South Berwick's Central School now stands. The Widow Cushing would be a likely source for Jewett's knowledge of the Wallingford family history, being a near neighbor and friend

of the Jewett family. See also the Charles Cushing Hobbs Talk.

Elizabeth Wallingford's gravestone in the Salmon Falls Old Town Cemetery in Rollinsford, NH reads:
ELIZABETH WALLINGFORD,
Relict of
Hon. Thomas Wallingford,
died Dec. 3, 1810,
aged Ninety-three years.
Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.

In Chapter 10, we learn that Madam Wallingford has at least one patriot brother, in Boston. In Chapter 8 Nancy Haggins says she has young cousins there, too. Whether these are a factual assertions has not been determined. Stackpole below identifies Wallingford's brothers; two possibly surviving blood brothers are John and Samuel Swett.

From ***Descendants of John Swett of Newbury, Mass*., by Everett S. Stackpole, no date, published by The Journal Printshop, Lewiston, ME. Copied by Elaine Merrell.**
http://users.rcn.com/lmerrell/swett.html

LT. JOSEPH SWETT (Joseph 3, Benjamin 2, John 1), born in Hampton, N. H., married Hannah, dau. of John and Mary (Rishworth) Sayward of York, Me. She was born 21 June 1688 and died 15 Nov. 1761. He lived a few years at Hampton Falls and removed thence to York, Me. The church record at Hampton Falls says, "Hannah Swett wife of J. S. Jr. Dism. York (gone this region)." Three children recorded at Hampton, the rest in York. He married (2) 26 June 1762, Patience, widow of Ebenezer Nowell of York. Tate's Journal says that he died 2 Aug. 1776.
MARY b. 5 March 1715; m. 22 Nov. 1730, Dr. Alexander Bulman of York.
SUSANNA b. 7 May 1716; m. 12 June 1736, John Hovey.
ELIZABETH b. 15 Sept. 1718; m. (I) 12 April 1735, Dr. Mark Prime, (2) Capt. Thomas Wallingford of Somersworth, N. H. She d. 3 Dec. 1810.
43. JOHN b. 31 March 1719; m. Sarah Plaisted.
JOSEPH b. 3 Feb. 1723; drowned 12 June 1750.
ESTHER b. 3 Aug. 1725; m. James Arbuckle. Pub. 18 Jan. 1755.
44. SAMUEL b. 8 March 1728-9; m. Lydia Moulton.

Joseph Prime, who appears to be Elizabeth's son by the first marriage to Mark Prime, is listed in *Soldiers, Sailors, and Patriots of the Revolutionary War: Maine*, compiled by Carleton E. Fisher and Sue G. Fisher. National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, 1982. He was born in York 1739, married Lydia, and died in Berwick 1789.
Thomas Wallingford: According to a Wallingford family web site, Thomas Wallingford (1697-1771) lived most of his life in Somersworth, N.H. and was buried in the Salmon Falls old town cemetery in Rollinsford, N.H. Having lost his first two wives, he married Elizabeth Swett (1718-1810) in about 1754. He served in the Royal Provincial Assembly and held other local offices in Dover. He became a Judge of the Superior Court of the Province of New Hampshire in 1748 and served in this position until his death. He was a colonel in the Royal Colonial Militia. The site says,
He was an extensive landowner, being one of the original Masonian Proprietors, a group of wealthy seacoast area merchants who purchased claim to ownership of all wastelands within sixty miles of New Hampshire's coast. It was through land sales, township grants and the reservation of much land for their own use that these Masonian Proprietors gained such immense wealth .... Like many of the rich families of early New England, the Wallingfords were slave-owners. In the inventory of Thomas's estate four slaves are mentioned -- a woman named Phillis, a girl named Dinah, a man named Richmond and a boy named Cato. Cato is likely the one who served in the Revolutionary War. Phillis died 18 February 1773, but before she died she had been offered to Thomas's son in law Capt. William Pearne, who married the daughter Mary. The girl Dinah was described as 'disordered in Mind & body of no value'.

"The Diary of Master Joseph Tate" has this entry for Sunday, August 6, 1771: "Colonel Thomas Wallingford of Somersworth died at Captain Stoodley's at Portsmouth, was carrd [carried] up to Somersworth in the evening and buried on Tuesday, August 6. Aged 74 years the 28th day of July last."
Thomas Wallingford's grave stone in the Salmon Falls Old Town Cemetery in Rollinsford, NH reads:

Here lies interr'd the mortal part
of THOMAS WALLINGFORD ESQ.R
Colonel of a Regiment, and an
Honorable Judge of the Superiour
Court in this Province
Who Departed this life
Augst the 4.th 1771

Aged 74 Years.
Princes the clay must be your bed
in spite of all your powers
the tall the wise the Reverend Head
must be as low as ours

Jewett's Revisions of *The Tory Lover*

Comparison of the First Edition with the *Atlantic Monthly* Serialization

This document presents tables of changes Jewett made to her serialization of *The Tory Lover* as she prepared it for publication as a book in 1901. Her substantive changes were fairly extensive, in part as a result of reading Augustus Buell's largely fictionalized biography, *Paul Jones: Founder of the American Navy* (1900). Buell corresponded with Jewett after installments began to appear in *Atlantic Monthly*, moving her to read his volume as she was working on her own. Buell's inventions, so far as is known, never came to Jewett's attention, though he was exposed as early as 1906, in a New York *Times* article by Mrs. Reginald De Koven. (See "Selections from Augustus Buell.") By 1906, Jewett was no longer writing for publication, having suffered a debilitating accident in 1902.

The tables are organized in 3 columns:
1 -- First line of the relevant paragraph in the First Edition Text.
2 -- a piece of text from that paragraph as it appears in the first edition
3 -- that text as it appeared in the *Atlantic* installment.

- The *Atlantic Monthly* text has no chapter titles or epigraphs. These were added to the First Edition text.
- The first word of each section in the *Atlantic Monthly* text appears in "small caps" font.
- "Gundelow" in the *Atlantic* text becomes "gundalow" in the first edition text.

Google Books Text of the First Edition:

https://www.google.com/books/edition/The_Tory_Lover/oP8YAAAAYAAJ?q=&gbpv=1#f=false

Entry from *A Bibliography of the Published Writings of Sarah Orne Jewett.* Compiled by Clara Carter Weber and Carl J. Weber. Waterville, ME: Colby College Press, 1949.

The Tory Lover. By Sarah Orne Jewett. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1901.405 p. 20 cm. Red cloth with gilt lettering and decoration on front cover and on spine. Copyright page has notice: "Published September, 1901." Four illustrations: frontispiece by Marcia O. Woodbury; three others by Charles H. Woodbury.

In the first printing, the quotation on page 278 reads: "Lackynge, my love, I goe from place to place." Dedicated "To T. J. E." (her nephew, Theodore Jewett Eastman).

Before the appearance of this novel in book form, it was serialized in the Atlantic Monthly (ten installments), November 1900 through August 1901.

Reprinted in 1901, omitting the comma after "Lackynge" on page 278. British edition: London, Smith, Elder & Co., 1901.

Installment 1 -- Chapters 1-5

The *Atlantic Monthly* Serialization
November 1900 -- 86:590-606

***Atlantic* text, Hathi Trust Location**
https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924080779014&view=1up&seq=598

Chapter 1

The last day of October in 1777, Colonel	worn red morocco leather. The sun had just gone dip of long oars,	worn red morocco leather. The sun had just gone dip of the long oars,
Beside the master of the house was Judge	with plenty of well-plaited ruffles the most impressive figure among them was of fixed Arminian opinions.	with plenty of well-plaited white ruffles the most impressive figure of all was of fixed Arminian opinions. Here was a figure that could dignify the best occasions.
As for Colonel Hamilton, the host, a strong-looking,	counted him a second Sir William Pepperrell	counted him a second William Pepperrell
The broad green fields of Hamilton's estate	a long hill behind the house its deep channel over noisy falls	a long slope behind the house its deep channel and over noisy falls
The opposite shore was high, with farmhouses	down toward the water, long stretch of water was greater as if restless with unspoken jokes.	down toward the river, long stretch of the water was greater as if with unspoken jokes.
In the meantime the boat had taken its shoreward curve	to the landing-place with	to the landing place with
Captain Paul Jones of the Ranger bowed as	by boat-cramp, as he now seemed not to observe things	by boat-cramp as he now seemed not to notice things
It was growing dark as they went up the long	the door of the dining parlor.	the door of the dining room.

Chapter 2

The faces gathered about the table were serious	sat in Parliament at Westminster self-furtherance in public matters,	sat in the House of Parliament at Westminster self-furtherance in high matters,
"To-morrow morning!" they exclaimed	best of news; there wealth of the town were	best of news, and there wealth of Berwick were
Colonel Jonathan Hamilton could entertain like a prince.	guest of honor was not unmindful of excellent claret	guest of honor was keen for his claret
You live like a Virginia gentleman	your Northern home. They little know in Great Britain what stately	your Northern house. They little know in Great Britain what stately

	living is among us. The noble Countess of Selkirk thought	living is among us. My friend, the Countess of Selkirk, thought
They affect to wonder at the existence	the colonies, it would	the colonies it would
In Virginia they consider that they	be amused, at first,	be amused at first,
You will remember that Don Quixote speaks	and the Court for his Spanish gentlemen," said now; there is the cause of all our troubles. Norman and Saxon have never yet learned to agree."	and the Court," said now; 't is the cause of all our troubles. Norman and Saxon never yet have learned to agree."
"For me," explained the major, "	"For me," explained the major been a parson myself Huyghens, author of the Cosmotheoros my father's kinsman, and Tilly of stern faith	"For me," continued the major been a minister myself Huyghens, the author of the Cosmotheoros my father's cousin, and Tilly of the stern faith
"I must beg your reverence's kind pardon if I contradict you," said Paul Jones, with scornful bitterness.	"I must beg your reverence's kind pardon if I contradict you," said Paul Jones, with scornful bitterness.	"I must beg your reverence's kind pardon," said Paul Jones, with scornful bitterness. "When I was first aboard the Two Friends, slaver, I took the work like any other, and did my poor duty to my owners like any thoughtless sailor. We bought our freight when we must, and stole it when we could, – most of them were poor, gay-hearted children pleased with their beads and trinkets, and when we easily coaxed them on board they sang their foolish songs and played their tricks for us, and laughed until the very last; 't was a place where slavers had never come before. We weighed anchor, but they had no thought we should not bring them back. There was a mother with a good human face, who tended a hunchbacked boy that could not step alone; she had brought him, a heavy weight in her arms, to get some gifts with the rest. The captain had them take him from her to carry to the last boat that went ashore to fetch some sailors off; she stood on the deck, laughing, for to wait her own turn, but the light went out of her eyes; she stood like a stone, and saw them throw the poor creature upon the beach . . . they took her down quick between decks, and

		she shrieked all night above the rest, and in the morning she had bit the cords in two that bound her, and flew to the deck, leaped over the side and sank; we were almost out of sight of land. ‘God helping me, a sinner,' says I, ‘I shall never set my foot on board a hellish slaver again.' I had supped too full of horrors. I left the Two Friends when we came to Barbadoes, and forfeited all my share of gain."
There was a murmur of protest	the table; the captain's reply was Miss Hamilton standing near the open smiled at him as she colored deeply	the table, but the captain's anecdote was Mary Hamilton standing in the open smiled at him through the shining tears that filled her eyes; then colored deeply
The moment seemed peculiarly unfortunate	a good country house of Queen Anne's time	a good house of George the First's time
I shall hereafter make some discrimination against men of color.	some of our Berwick elms lends to our high ridges from court, I missed a well-started row of young elms down river by the packet	some of our strong young elms lends to the high ridges from court I missed a well-started row of elms down river by Varney's packet
General Goodwin at once dropped his voice	I am afraid that we can the Earl of Halifax tavern A friend of mine old Rumford had been unfairly driven says Wallingford in a loud voice	I am afraid we can the Wentworth mansion And a friend of mine old Rumford had been fairly driven says he in a loud voice
They have little to risk, some of the loudest of them,	Boston have often made	Boston have sometimes made
You must remember that many discomforts	homespun shirt-sleeves	homespun shirt sleeves
You mistake us, sir,	General George Washington	General Washington
Some of our leaders in this struggle make	"Some of our leaders in	"Some of our partners in
We are in the middle of a great war now,	the part of their Rockingham towns his wife saw Adams's great anxiety When the good lady told it is men like Sam Adams	the part of New Hampshire Madam Gilman saw his great anxiety When Madam Gilman told 't is men like Sam Adams
'T is a very genteel company now at Bristol	had sense enough to lift the tax and give us liberty for our own trade,	had sense enough to lift the tax,
The captain could not resist a comprehensive glance	stately dining-room of his host	stately dining room of his host

This is the first time that we have	our ancient Berwick traditions	our Berwick traditions
'T is true. James Sullivan is right	house in old Barvick and a mug This summer has found take their old swords again	house in old Berwick and a mug This season has found take the old swords again
War is but war," said Colonel Hamilton	startled; as if the war might really end without having served his own ambitions.	startled; the war might really end without having served his own purpose.

Chapter 3

Your friend General Sullivan	to-night. Sullivan is a soldier born.	to-night. Yes, Sullivan is a great man and soldier.
Commend me to your ancient sage	he talked not only of our unfortunate King James, but	he spoke not only of our unfortunate King James the Third, but
They say that he had four countesses	the best Frenchmen of his time his coming here, there are and some that 't was for	the best men of his time his coming here there are and some say that 't was for
"No," said the major, stopping to fill his own glass	great lack of classical teaching in all this region for	great lack in all this region of classical teaching for
The master can rarely be tempted	a pretty boy busy with	a pretty man busy with

Chapter 4

While the guests went in to supper,	opened the door the large room	opened the door, the large room
"Oh, you are here!" she cried	hear the men's voices	hear the gentlemen's voices
Mary looked at her friend's face	beauty as Miss Hamilton	beauty as Mary Hamilton
'T was our own maids talking,"	said she fronted him but in breaking his own colt on a Sunday. Yet nothing	said she had fronted him but breaking his own colt on a Sunday. But nothing
Oh, how cruel! when nobody has been so kind	so full of kind thought	so full of thought
"What can be done? It may be this very night," said Mary, in a voice of despair.	said Mary, in a voice	said Mary in a voice
"He must prove it to the doubting Patriots, then; so my father says."	to the doubting Patriots, then	to the doubting patriots, then

But not to a mob of rascals	Oh, Betsey, what in the world	Oh, Betty, what in the world
But he was safe in Portsmouth to-day;	spoken long ago, if only	spoken long ago if only
Get ready now, dear Betty,	ready now, dear Betty, and make with our beaux all gone to the army	ready now, and make with all our beaux gone to the camp at Cambridge
"My heart is stone cold with fear	come to-night, there may	come to-night there may
There was a silence between the friends	across the water. "We must make us fine	across the water. "We must make us fine

Chapter 5

The young mistress of the house leaned	young peach-trees	young peach trees
I must speak with you," said he,	I must speak with you	I must talk with you
The girl had started as one does when a face comes suddenly	the window-sill	the window sill
I cannot talk with you now.	I hoped that you were still in Portsmouth. Go, – it is your	I hoped you were still in Portsmouth. Go, – 't is your
"What has happened?	come out to me for a moment	come out for a moment
She nodded and warned him back	and tossed aside the curtain, turning again	and, tossing aside the curtain, turned again
There were several guests coming in	outside in the moonlight	out there in the moonlight
The dancing went on	The dancing went on;	The dancing went on,
"Let us go farther down," she said	see the moon;" the elm-trees' her dancing-shoes	see the moon," the elm trees' her dancing shoes
"What do you want, Roger?"	and life-long habit	and life long habit
"You shall not speak to me of love,"	bringing sorrow and danger to In another hour your mother's scruples any more; and	bringing danger and sorrow to In another night your mother's scruples any more, and
My love has come to be the whole of life	Mr. Langdon and his officers gave it me, though your noble captain my peace with the commander, if it	Mr. Langdon and the officers gave it me, but your noble captain my own peace with the commander, if 't is your pleasure

	is your pleasure	
"Stop; I must hear no more!"	my guests;" but	my guests," but

Installment 2 -- Chapters 6-9

The *Atlantic Monthly* Serialization
December 1900 -- 86: 738-754

***Atlantic* text, Hathi Trust Location**
/babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924080779014&view=1up&seq=748&q1=the%20tory%20lover

Chapter 6

At this moment the drawing-room was lively	A fine group of elderly gentlewomen the doorway as Miss Hamilton	This fine group of elderly gentlewomen the doorway as Mary Hamilton
There was still an anxious look on many	There was still an anxious	There were ladies of every age in this large evening company, and plenty of elderly gentlemen, although it might be thought dull for want of beaux. In the smaller northwest parlor, and easily seen and heard through the open door, was a smiling posse of boys, the escorts of their mothers or pretty sisters, -- half-grown young persons, who were at one moment in devoted attendance, sobered with a dread of being mistaken for anything but men of forty, and at the next chuckling and pushing one another with a distinct air of schoolboy indifference. They gave little promise of ever rivaling their elders in any distinction of looks or behavior: but while the ladies now and then bestowed a withering glance, the men, recognizing that there must be lapses in the process of development, seemed to view these future citizens with a kinder tolerance. There was still an anxious
The simpler figures of the first dances	and Miss Betsey Wyat favorite of the old Judge.	and Betsey Wyat favorite of Judge Chadbourne.
Mary looked at him with most straightforward earnestness	most straightforward earnestness	most straight-forward earnestness

"You shall have our hopes and prayers,"	You shall have our hopes and prayers	You shall have my prayers
I have changed my mind.	And I shall endeavor to remember	And I will endeavor to remember
"No," said the girl, whose awakened feeling assured her of his own.	I shall give you mine	I will give you mine
Something stirred now in Mary Hamilton's breast	in Mary Hamilton's breast that	in Mary Hamilton's heart that
These friends of his and mine	These friends of his and mine	Many friends of his and mine
There was a sudden shout in the hushed house	regretful look at her happy face lookout of the housetop within the	regretful look in her happy face lookout of the housetop, within the
There was a sudden shout in the hushed house	hail and farewell. The whole countryside	hail and farewell. The whole countryside
The whole countryside was awake	sea chests and sailors' bags the far heights of the Cumberland	sea chests and sailors' kits the heights of the Cumberland
The whole river country was up	Lord's Berwick men had reached	Lord's Berwick company had reached
The boat now felt the swift seagoing current	taken off young Humphry Lord	taken off young Ichabod Lord

Chapter 7

It was a gray, cold morning, windy and wet	a clumsy trading-vessel	a clumsy trading vessel.
At that early hour there was a continual	had come out of the houses	had come out of their houses
The anchor broke ground at last	on the seaward forts at Newcastle	on the forts at Newcastle
Sir William Pepperrell's stately gambrel-roofed house	and handsome card-rooms	and handsome rooms

Chapter 8
In this chapter "breakfast-room" becomes "breakfast room,"

The Haggens house, with its square chimneys	Dover; to the south was the dark pine-forested region of the Rocky Hills. wind, wrapped in his red cloak and either carriages or foot-travelers	.Dover, and the blue heights of Deerfield and Nottingham; to the south was the dark pine-forested region of the Rocky Hills. wind wrapped in his red cloak, and either carriages or travelers

The busy, quick-enriching days of the past	for giving a farewell feast	for giving a parting feast
The major's sound but lately unpracticed	pushed the ferule of his stout old ivory-handled cane	pushed his stout old ivory-headed cane
I've got no gout to send, nor any stomach to send it to	a man can get nothing decent	a man can buy nothing decent
Suddenly there was something moving	and hope filled the major's once sorrowful mind. "Jack Hamilton, by zounds!" laughed the old gentleman.	and hope filled the major's once sorrowful mind. "Jack Hamilton, by zounds!" laughed the old gentleman.
Hamilton presently declared	tracts of woodland; he really must not vex his conscience by loitering.	tracts of land; he really must not vex his conscience enough to dismount.
Here, you, Cuffee! here, 'Pollo	voice might reach round Hamilton dismounted unwillingly	voice might better reach round Hamilton threw his leg over the saddle and dismounted unwillingly
"Keep her here; I shall not stop long,"	breathless, began to walk	breathless, had begun to walk
You'll be just far enough	Lebanon, as the new folks want	Lebanon, as the good folks want
Mr. Hamilton turned, and she dropped	a plain turban which	a plain turban twisted high, which
Hamilton, following, seated himself slowly	its rise of temperature	its rise of temperature all the more
I like to have the water boiling hot	the flavor's well brought out	the flavor's brought out
You've set your turban all awry, sister,	set your turban all awry	set your turban awry
'T was in my mind, too," agreed the colonel.	counting-room	counting room
I have not seen my sister,	past Pine Point	past High Point
The major made a sound which was meant for sympathy	warm and peaceful now before	warm and peaceful again before
She must go at once to see his mother	She has great reserve	Mary has great reserve
"We must leave all to Time,"	fire, at thinking I was too old	fire, with thinking I was too old
"Brother Tilly!" Miss Nancy was crying	breakfast-room	breakfast room

Chapter 9

That same afternoon of the first of November,	the first of November	the 1st of November.
To his blank surprise, his young sister	Ranger must be safe off	Ranger must be well off
I thought you would be like	a half amused, half curious glance	a half-amused, half-curious glance

Niobe		
You are cold and tired, my poor old man!	she slid away the ledger	she pushed away the ledger
Oh, Peggy, what a cross old thing you are!"	spatter of mulled wine for him. Come, find	spatter of hot water to mix him a posset. Come, do find
We might finish the pigeon pie	cheese afterward and plenty of bread	cheese afterward and plenty of cakes
Mary Hamilton stood leaning against the Russian stove	in the dining parlor to-night	in the dining room to-night
Hamilton nodded amiably	weigh his spirit down	weigh him down
Yes, on my way this morning.	tell her if I had stayed	tell her if I stayed
Very absent-minded, and reading	she thanked me ‘Now, he has nothing tell others what's in them	she loudly thanked me ‘Well, he has nothing tell others what's in 'em
She was in my mind, too.	say no more. . . .	say no more.

Installment 3 -- Chapters 10-12

The *Atlantic Monthly* Serialization
January 1901 -- 87: 90-104

***Atlantic* text, Hathi Trust Location**
https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924097287043&view=1up&seq=98

Chapter 10

There was a heavy gundalow floating down	but Miss Hamilton, without	but Mary, without
Folks all thinks, down our way, she'll take it	our way, she'll take it master hard	our way, she's took it master hard
I don't know nothin' 't all about it;	for general conversation. Mary Hamilton paddled steadily	for general conversation. Mary Hamilton paddled steadily
Mary Hamilton paddled steadily	wind was driving the ebbing tide	wind had driven the ebbing tide
The river broadened now at Madam's Cove	the landing-place	the landing place
They drew nearer: the large coffin	the President of the Province and many of the chief men	the President and many of the chief men of the Province
The tears rushed to Mary's eyes	in the Queen's Chapel at Portsmouth Mary Hamilton prayed	in old St. John's at Portsmouth Mary Hamilton had prayed

The great door of the house opened wide	Rodney, the chief house servant	Rodney, the house servant
He disappeared at the turn of the staircase	carefully down the steps again;	carefully down the stairs again,
He disappeared at the turn of the staircase	the familiar house. Once Rodney	the familiar house. Once Rodney
You'll be monst'ous gentle to her dis day	gentle to her dis day	gentle with her dis day
Then he shuffled away	the dining-room	the dining room

Chapter 11

The low afternoon sun slanted its rays	white knitting-work She had manner rather than manners	white knitting work She had manners rather than manner
She motioned toward a chair	Madam Wallingford. The march of events	Madam Wallingford. The march of events
I did not know his plans until that very night	so nothing could be done	so that nothing could be done
"He has put his country above his King	could go on: yet something	could go on; yet something
Let us not quarrel," answered the lady	this change until he said	this change till he said
You do me wrong; you would wrong both your son and me!"	the Loyalists had frightened him	the Loyalists had frighted him
They were facing each other again.	sudden knowledge of new happiness	sudden happiness
And now Madam Wallingford must talk of him with Mary	and with dull candlelight in his best characters, when	and with dullest candlelight in his best plays, when
Mary could not understand that strange moment	Mary could not understand	Mary did not understand
It was dark when they parted	The candlelight in the upper	The candle-light in the upper
"'T is a wild night, Susan,"	I called to them from the door to come	I called from the door to them to come
The very shadows grew stiller	as if to listen, as the patient	as if to listen as the patient

Chapter 12

The Ranger was under full sail,	cleared the Banks with such thorough-going sailors	cleared the Banks, with such thoroughgoing sailors
It takes but little while for a good shipmaster	in this surprising moment	in that surprising moment

	it was the time	't was the time
This bad weather's all along o' Dickson	see him get a black stripe when he seen Mr. Wallin'ford for pity of his folks	seen him get a black stripe when he see Mr. Wallin'ford for pity o' his folks
He looked about him as he sat	crumpled clothing hanging out	crumpled cloth hanging out
Yet this new ship, so fast	It was a manly crew	'T was a manly crew
Hunscom, I be ashamed of you	pleasant countenance unaltered	pleasant countenance, unaltered
The forecastle was a forlorn abiding-place	forlorn abiding-place	forlorn abiding place
He'd best not carry so much sail	close hauled to lay her clear down	close-hauled to lay her down
What in time's been the matter amongst ye	appeared to be surly	appeared surly
He worked as handsome a pair o' man-rope	said Cooper, compassionately	said Cooper compassionately
'Here's mine,' says he, 'but	pass me his linning handkicher	pass me his linning hankicher
Lord sakes! don't you bluster no more!"	ain't had three hours sleep through the sky-light	ain't had three hours' sleep through the skylight
You keep 'em dowsed;	mouth o' hell."	mouth o' hell!"
What a farmer you be," he exclaimed.	"What a farmer you be,"	"What a farmer you be!"

Installment 4 -- Chapters 13-16

The *Atlantic Monthly* Serialization
February 1901 -- 87: 180-194

***Atlantic* text, Hathi Trust Location**
https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924097287043&view=1up&seq=188&q1=tory%20lover

Chapter 13

On this dark night, after the terrible sea	ready, as usual, for	ready as usual for
Green was writing, -- he kept a careful journal	Green was writing	Dr. Green was writing
Yes, it is a very difficult crew to command	he agreed; "we	he agreed: "we

Dickson laughed back;	no one likes being laughed at.	no one likes to be laughed at.
The surgeon did not offer to get the cards	current of general interest	current of their general interest
I was called to a patient down on Sligo Point	on Sligo Point beyond the Gulf Road no common-place fancy	on Sligo Point, beyond the Gulf Road no commonplace fancy

Chapter 14

The process of this evening meal	added a handful of pipes	added a handful of cigars
I despised the fellow from the first	that it is to Simpson they must to look	that 't is to Simpson they must to look
Dickson took his commission for the sake of prize money	brother's groans!' "There's a hymn for him!"	brother's groans!' "There's a hymn for him!"
"There's a hymn for him!"	see it for yourself, Mr. Wallingford."	see it for yourself, Mr. Wallingford?"
Paul Jones blazed with sudden fury.	sudden fury. He sprang	sudden fury, and he sprang
I think we have it in our power to intimidate	no Captain Kidd, nor am I another Blackbeard.	no Captain Kidd, nor am I another Tench or a Blackbeard.
"We may be overheard, sir," pleaded Wallingford.	a life at sea, like yourself. you commanded that we should speak	a life at sea, like yourself, sir. you commanded we should speak
I must make my confession	Since I came on board this ship	Since I came on this ship

Chapter 15

After reflecting upon these things, Paul Jones	"At setting day and rising moon,"	"At setting day and rising moon," --

Chapter 16

There was no snow on the ground	the flag-stoned court	the flagstoned court
There, there, darlin', somebody'll see you	don't you take notice ‘bout	don't you care nothin' ‘bout
The road was up and down all the way	Goodwins, Plaisteds, Spencers, Keays army's strength and fury of firebrand	Goodwins, Plaisteds, Keays army's strength and fury, of firebrand
"Goin' up country to stay with my folks,"	he last sent me word	he sent me word

This piece of country had, years before	a rough, ledgy bit	a rough ledgy bit
On the heights of the great ridge	They were monarchs of the whole landscape	They were masters of the whole landscape
What's all that thromping?	Keep away wit' yourself keep back now	Kape away wit' yourself kape back now
"It is I, Mary Hamilton	"It is I, Mary Hamilton	"It is I, -- Mary Hamilton
Get out of me road, then,	Get out of me road, then	Get out of my way, then
An' to-morrow indeed!" cried the master's wife,	indeed!" cried the master's wife, bursting brownie and half a tame enough grandmotherly	indeed!" cried Mrs. Sullivan, bursting brownie, and half a tame enough, grandmotherly
Thank God, 't is yourself, Miss Mary	don't know, have ye brought	don't know have ye brought

Installment 5 -- Chapters 17-21

The *Atlantic Monthly* Serialization
March 1901 -- 87: 373-389

***Atlantic* text, Hathi Trust Location**
https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924097287043&view=1up&seq=381&q1=tory%20lover

Chapter 17

"Oh, the men I have known!"	sticking out of his pocket; I often hid	sticking out of his pocket, on his way to hear music with Madame de L'Enclos, once mistress to the great Cardinal. I hid
Ecce Deus fortior me qui veniens	excuse for staying home? Our Roger is born out	excuse for staying at home? But Roger is born out
I am glad when I think that now Roger will see France,	that now Roger will see France, again, can even stumble through the orchard ground and	that our Roger will see France again, can also stumble through the orchard ground, and
They said you danced all night with the little captain	They both laughed,	And they both laughed,
'T is said everywhere that your great captain	Horace fell from his lap	Horace fell heavily from his lap
His heart is set upon the future of our country,"	ourselves, and he has new ideas; I heard	ourselves. And he has new ideas. I heard

Chapter 18

Dickson came along the deck,	destructive, crafty, and evil-minded	destructive, crafty and evil-minded
There had been men of the crew within hearing	He had already set them	He had now set them
Poor little girl! O God, how I love her!"	O God, how I love her	My God, how I love her

Chapter 19

As soon as the Ranger was at Nantes	his own arrival. It was understood	his own arrival. It was understood
It was in every way a most difficult situation.	American ship of war. There was nothing	American ship of war. There was nothing
All the captain's high hopes and ceaseless industry	since the world began. Dickson stood	since the world began. Dickson stood
Gentlemen, I have much to tell you,	I own that it is a great disappointment	I own that 't is a great disappointment

Chapter 20

Something has touched your happiness.	hand; it is long	hand; 't is long
I have always known it," answered Roger	Roger Wallingford; "we were	Roger Wallingford: "we were
Later that night, before they turned in	pacing the deck together. They come to naught; he had	pacing the deck. They come to naught: he had
The only thing was to rouse public opinion	It were easy enough the quarterdeck	'T were easy enough the quarter-deck

Chapter 21

The captain was dressed in his best uniform	fresh from its tailor's wrappings	fresh from the tailor's wrappings
Take hold now and stow these things	boots in my clean linen	boots in my clean shirts
I expect old Madam, your lady mother	last ones to pack your gear for you	last to pack your clothes for ye
Don't fear!" cried Wallingford gayly	If anything should happen to me	If anything happens to me
The wind was fresh; the waves splashed	her mother's feet by the great Renaissance tomb	her mother's feet in the great Renaissance tomb

The two travelers, in their bright uniforms	much spending-money had made most	much spending money had made most
I must order a couple of suits of new	next one saw him thus; frank	next one saw him thus: frank
There were others of my officers	explained the captain with frankness distresses, though I had longed	explained the captain, with frankness distresses, and I had longed
T is some years since I lived there	I lived there for a month	I lived there for a while
I wish that I could have fallen in with their great admiral,	where he sails the sea; but as for Bailli Suffren, he has wide they tread from	where he sails the seas; but as for Bailli Suffren, himself, he has wide they tread, from
'T is either a dainty, or a cedar shingle	must now deal with their best French dishes	must deal with their best French dishes
'T was Poor Richard himself said	great man for the proprieties	great man for all the proprieties

Installment 6 -- Chapters 22-25

The *Atlantic Monthly* Serialization
April 1901 -- 87: 539-556

***Atlantic* text, Hathi Trust Location**
https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924097287043&view=1up&seq=547&q1=tory%20lover

Chapter 22

'T was the chapel of Madame,"	was long ago one of her head foresters	was one of her head foresters
Mr. Benjamin Franklin was in the midst of his morning affairs	rest of the diplomats, having to his majesty the King	rest of the diplomatic corps, having to the King
You are very good to remember me	still in place on the house	still in place on his house
And my friend Mr. John Langdon?	letter from Robert Morris And my friend Langdon?	letter from Morris And my friend Mr. Langdon?
You have spoken him, sir," acknowledged Captain Paul Jones	Wallingford, too, was conscious	Wallingford too was conscious
You may say what you have come to	trust Mr. Wallingford, you see	trust Mr. Wallingford, and you see

The trouble has come in great measure from an open understanding	worse man on board than Simpson Simpson himself, bewail their Their ignorance of statecraft	worse man than Simpson on board Simpson himself, bewails their And their ignorance of statecraft
I come to ask you, Mr. Commissioner	home, and the interference	home, the interference
We have good friends in England still,"	said the Commissioner slowly.	said the Commissioner quietly.
I have to confess that England has been	help me to get my opportunity	help me to win my opportunity
"Quel plaisir!"* said the little captain bitterly, under his breath	said the little captain bitterly, under	said the little captain under
Wait a few moments, Captain," said the Commissioner.	"Wait a few moments, Captain," said	"Sit ye down again, gentlemen," said
There was a happy consciousness in the hearts	few minutes of delay; and while	few minutes of waiting; and while

Chapter 23

The wind had not fallen at sundown	boat to the King's fleet	boat to the French fleet
The boat was long gone.	swarthy little man who got	swarthy little man, who got
The bay was now alive with small Breton traders,	already in the last fluster and the sea was going down	already the last fluster and the sea going down
We hardly know what this day means	"I believe we are at the christening of the greatest nation that was ever born into the world." The captain lifted his hat, and stood looking up at the Flag.	"I believe we are at the christening of the greatest nation that was ever born into the world." The captain lifted his hat, and stood looking up at the Flag.

Chapter 24

The Ranger sailed out of Brest on the 10th of April.	The Duchess of Chartres had listened	Madame de Chartres had listened
The Ranger headed past the Channel	At last she stood over from the Isle of Man until the shores of England ships when the fog lifted, though it	At last the rich shores of England ships, when the fog lifted here and there, though it
Wallingford stood long on deck	in some country houses and women of the world	in some great country houses and a few women of the world

	heavier with the thought down at the solid deck planks	heavier for the thought down on the good pine planks
The light began to fade, and evening to fall	told their soundings	told the soundings
Wallingford did not speak,	something of sad patience in the eyes	something of wistfulness in the eyes
Wallingford did not speak,	they are being led. The wind was down,	they are being led. The wind was down,
On the south side of the harbor,	gateless poultry-yard	gateless poultry yard
"Nancy, Nancy, my dear!" said the captain	ye'll not be frightened; 't is no thief	ye'll not be frighted; 't is no thief
They all gathered to the boat	one terrible minute, till all	one terrible minute till all
The flames were leaping up the rigging	with anxious eyes	with his anxious eyes
"The alarm was given just after we separated,"	treachery; our fine lieutenant has stayed	treachery, and Wallingford has stayed

Chapter 25

"You have only my word," said Dickson.	clothes are dripping here	clothes are still dripping here
The bravery of the hypocrite counted for much	Then, "You sneaking thief!" he	Then, "Leave me, you sneaking thief!" he

Installment 7 -- Chapters 26-30

The *Atlantic Monthly* Serialization

May 1901 -- 87: 645-666

***Atlantic* text, Hathi Trust Location**

https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924097287043&view=1up&seq=653&q1=tory%20lover

Chapter 26

While Wallingford insisted that he must carry	Wallingford insisted that he must carry out the captain's plain instructions	Wallingford coldly insisted that he should carry out the captain's instructions
Wallingford was light-footed, and as he ran he plainly heard	he plainly heard Dickson's voice once more,	he heard Dickson's voice once more plainly,
Then Dickson, though sick and heavy	waked the town; he must have found the guardhouse at once, for the watch	waked the town, and had found the guardhouse at once; for the watch
Now they could see the shipping all afire	running and crying confusion, and boats	running and crying, and boats

Chapter 27

At first they climbed long hills	wind on the fells blew	wind on the raise blew
The quick bracing of the morning air	her satin gown and her laces and	her black satin gown and her best lace and
"He's cheated justice, then, curse him!"	old corporal, who had	old corporal who had
"Poor lad!" he said compassionately.	nowt for 't now but a litter, an'	nowt for 't but a litter now, an'
"Get him a-horse again!" jeered another man.	"Get him a-horse again!"	"Get him ahorse again!"

Chapter 28

There were several low buildings to the east	spinning room in the second story her handmaidens one warm spring	spinning room in its second story her handmaidens, one warm spring
There was an outside stairway,	seat of the young maids great house; also the shipyard	seat of those maids great house, also the shipyard
They sat side by side on the doorstep	could look across the river comfort in watching for each	could see across the river comfort in looking for each
It was Peggy's habit to sing softly	"O Death, rock me asleep" sang Peggy dolefully; –	"O Death, rock me asleep," sang Peggy dolefully.
The girls had seldom heard their old tyrant	At last the poignancy of feeling	At last her poignancy of feeling
My grandmother was said to have the best voice	announced Peggy with she sings right on inside me	announced Peggy, with she sings right on inside of me
She stopped to tie a careful weaver's knot	She stopped to tie young caroling voice, – "Two pence ha'penny is his rent, And he cannot come every day to woo!"	She now stopped to tie young caroling voice, "Two pence ha'penny is my rent, And I cannot come every day to woo!"
They kept it going over and over	she had felt some dim foreboding that full of spring-time calls	she had felt, too, some dim foreboding, that full of springtime calls
Go to your wheel, Hitty Warren,	torn in strips for them that's wounded	torn in strips for those that's wounded

Peggy was only aware of a daring persistence	as the eager girls dropped and workmen from the wharves	as all the girls dropped and some workmen from the wharves
"There's news come!" exclaimed Peggy,	in New Jersey. The messengers stood	in New Jersey. The messengers stood
Our side have beat the British	John Ricker's dead, and John Marr and Billy Lord's and young Mr. Wallingford's deserted	John Ricker's dead, and Billy Lord's and young Wallingford's deserted
The heralds recited their tale	at every stopping-place for miles	at every stopping place for miles
There fell a silence upon the company	young mistress turned away	young mistress of the house turned away

Chapter 29

The twilight lasts very late to-night	lasts very late to-night; you have	lasts very late to-night, yet you have
'T is a new-moon night	It will soon be dark	'T will soon be dark
'T is the only thing to do	mind, before I heared folks Cæsar felt bad when he was but he's got his proper feelin's	mind, an' then I heared folks Cæsar felt so bad when he was but he's got proper feelin's
"Yes," assented Mary impatiently, "Cæsar is a good man	she had been long alone	she had been very long alone
You must go straight away and fetch Madam	see things their proper size at first. I'd put on my big caldron I nodded my head and let	see things their proper size. I'll put on my big caldron I nodded and let
"I shall go at once," she insisted. "Will you bespeak the boat?"	Will you bespeak the boat?	Will you bespeak a boat?
"Everything's all ready, darlin',"	there's our own watermen ready a can o' mulled port, an'	there's all our own men ready a glass o' port juice, an'
"Darlin', listen to me; she *must* come,"	listen to me; she *must*	listen to me: she *must*
The large boat which was Hamilton's river coach	The pairs of rowers were	The four rowers were

	mounted their liveries, such desire for display, but a plainer	mounted their livery, such desire for display. A plainer
Old Cæsar handed Miss Hamilton to her seat with all the more deference.	handed Miss Hamilton to her seat with	handed Miss Hamilton into her boat with
"I go to Madam Wallingford's," said Mary	They had thought it lucky that swore under their breath for large house on the hill. As Mary passed the girl felt no fear now something to be done. There was no light	They had thought it well that swore under their breaths for large house on the hill. As Mary passed the girl felt no fear now that there something to be done. There was no light
Again she struck the heavy knocker,	unbarred the door. "They tell me there	unbarred the door. "They tell me there
They tell me there is some danger of a mob	that danger already hemmed them in	that danger hemmed them in
I fear that this house may be burnt and robbed	I need my son – oh, I have had	I need my son – I have had
"Good Peggy!" exclaimed Madam Wallingford	was now rallying all her forces.	was rallying all her force.
In Salem they took an old man from his dying bed	if they are strangers, we	if they be strangers, we
Mary was already at the window	sight of her they gave	sight of her figure they gave
My son has put his name to your oath	you should know that he has not broken	you know that he has not broken
"Burn the old nest!" cried an impatient voice.	done with their Royalties," and sound of heavy trampling, all	done with their royalties," and sound of heavy treading, all
Mary put herself before Madam Wallingford	I am Mary Hamilton of the Patriots, and	I am Mary Hamilton, and
Suddenly there was a new confusion,	midst, with friends behind him Shackley in his scarlet cloak; Parson were all there together. They	midst, with others behind him Shackley in his scarlet cloak, Parson were all there too. They
We are Patriots and Sons of Liberty	will not see a Christian woman and kind	will not see a Christian gentlewoman and kind

Madam Wallingford's friends stop here	["]You may tell	"You may tell
Major Haggens was panting for breath	You may fetch me a little water you can help me get to the dining	You may bring me a little water you must help me get to the dining
Early in the morning, Judge Chadbourne	window still glittered on the floor	window still glistened on the floor
I must go away, my good friends,"	friends in peril," she said, "but my sad situation.["]	friends in peril," she added, "but my sad situation."
We wait upon you to say that it would be best	has in consideration an act of great severity against If he be still living now	has an act of great severity in consideration against If he still be living now
Madam Wallingford sat pondering the matter	pondering the matter with her eyes	pondering, with her eyes
I do acknowledge the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	"I do acknowledge the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA to be free, independent; and sovereign states, and declare that the people thereof owe no allegiance or obedience to GEORGE THE THIRD, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN; and I renounce, refuse, and abjure any allegiance or obedience to him; and I do swear that I will, to the utmost of my power, support, maintain, and defend the said UNITED STATES against the said KING GEORGE THE THIRD, his heirs and successors, and his or their abettors, assistants, and adherents,	"I do acknowledge the United States of America to be free, independent and sovereign states, and declare that the people thereof owe no allegiance or obedience to George the Third, King of Great Britain; and I renounce, refuse and abjure any allegiance or obedience to him; and I do swear that I will, to the utmost of my power, support, maintain and defend the said United States against the Said King George the Third, his heirs and successors, and his or their abettors, assistants and adherents,
As he finished he looked at the listener	Chadbourne half rose in his eagerness great land-holder, and and it were better if	Chadbourne half rose, in his eagerness great landholder, and and 't were better if
"I cannot sign this," she said abruptly	Is this the oath that Roger	Is that the oath that Roger
"I must make me ready to go,"	and all our fortunes in your hands	and all his fortunes in your hands
'T was most brotherly, what you did for me	last night. You must thank the other good men who	last night, dear friends. You must thank the other gentlemen who
I am going to England," explained Madam Wallingford	and Mr. Hill have both told a month's waiting and uncertainty here;	and Mr. Hill both told a month's waiting and uncertainty
I have always been well enough on the sea.	It was thought a useless venture	It is thought a useless venture

	went last to Virginia I thought	went to England last I thought
I have always been well enough on the sea.	and a good sailor too.	and a good sailor.
"No, no, dear child," she whispered. "I shall not think of it."	she whispered. "I shall	she whispered, "I shall
"No, no, my dear," said Madam Wallingford again	Your young heart speaks now, and own; it would make you	'Tis your young heart that speaks, and own; 't would make you
I told my brother that I should not leave home	will build a hundred houses Yet, you must always	will build a dozen houses Yes, you must always
Go now, my dear child; send me Susan	she even smiled as she spoke	she even laughed as she spoke
She stood at the window to look down the river	as if the last night's peril The fruit-trees were coming into bloom: a young cherry-tree the pear-trees were ready	as if last night's peril The fruit trees were coming into bloom: a young cherry tree the pear trees were ready
She is ready to sail now, and only waits her clearance papers;	waits her clearance papers	waits her clearing papers
To-night. I have already ordered my provision	shall send many other things by boat	shall send down many other things by boat

Chapter 30
In paragraph 4 of the *Atlantic* text, "Charles Radcliffe" appears. Elsewhere in the *Atlantic,* the name is "Ratcliffe"

"Well, may God keep us!" she exclaimed, at the end of the story. '"	she exclaimed, at the end	she exclaimed at the end
Master Sullivan was pleased with his success	was pleased with his success frankly expressed amusement.	was pleased by his success frankly expressed amusement:
One night there was a long-legged apprentice boy	apprentice boy to a French upholsterer; this ghost of Hamlet at Covent Garden. Well, it was and parading in his pasteboard armor	apprintice boy to a French upholsterer: this ghost in Hamlet at Covent Garden. Well, 't was and paradin' in his pasteboard armor
T was like the time poor Denny	like a last year's bird's nest	like a bird's nest

	officer out of his uniform or a doctor wanting self that ever belonged to my	officer out of his uniform, or a doctor wanting self that was ever belonging to my
You look at a poor man as if he were the front of a cathedral	"You look at a poor man as if he were the front of a cathedral," he chided her, again trying to be merry.	"There, don't look at a poor man as if he were the front of a cathedral," he begged her, trying again to be merry.
A moment later, her faithful friend, Mr. John Lord	old people started back, they believed	old people started back, as if they believed
Dear friends, it is not so bad as you think	I am so full of hope that I have come	I was so full of hope that I must come
There is bad news," replied Mary;	the quick firelight, sprung afresh, made her look like a bright flame	the bright firelight, sprung afresh, made her look like a red flame
"You may bring the horses at once,"	wrap you well and hold	wrap you and hold
Mary felt for that one moment as if Hope	from its unconscious clinging	from her unconscious clinging
"I am an old man," he said gently.	I have heard of the fray last night, but you will find letters here that will be of service.	I heard of the fray last night. You will find letters here that will serve you.
The girl's face was full of a sweet relief;	The girl's face was full being safely done.	Mary's face was full being safely done. So she sprang to her feet.
"Why should you not come to me?"	he added with a smile. "You do not know your Rabelais	he added, with a smile. "You have not learned your Rabelais
I know that you said last night,	that you had been prevented	that you were prevented
They are heaving up the anchor now,	I must not lose this fair wind to get	I do not like to lose this breeze to get
"Dear friend," cried Mary then	I stay with you and Phebe with me, and Susan	I stay with you, and Susan

Installment 8 -- Chapters 31-34

The *Atlantic Monthly* Serialization

June 1901 -- 87: 801-817

***Atlantic* text, Hathi Trust Location**

https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924097287043&view=1up&seq=809&q1=tory%20lover

Chapter 31

One morning late in spring	half-clad man to shivering. The dreary place	half-clad man to shivering. The dreary place
"Harbert said 's how I should have it next,"	how I should have it next	how I should take it next

There were many faces missing now from the crew	man off The Yankee Hero	man off the Yankee Hero
Who's this new plant o' grace	trying his sea legs, like an eel	trying his sea legs like an eel
No place for gentlemen here	don't know who it is.	don't know who 't is.
The other men looked on, and, any excitement	heavily built, kind-faced old mariner	heavily-built, kind-faced old mariner
"Git him some water, can't ye?"	some on ye caw-handed cutters, an' keep	some on ye, an' keep
T is an officer from one o' our own Congress ships	any way they could," said young Earl angrily.	any way they could."
"What d' you know o' them high affairs?"	returned Warren with indignation.	returned Warren indignantly.
When we come away, folks was all certain	the old Lower Landin' an'	the old Landin' an'
These last words came straight from the depths	were all thought guilty of treason	were all guilty of treason
There was a faint flicker of color now	while some one else rubbed	while some else rubbed [probable error]
Good God! we had news at home	said with wide-eyed bewilderment	said, with wide-eyed bewilderment
Well, I *bain't*" repeated Warren, as soon as he could be heard	"Well, I bain't"repeated Warren, and it's a good deal worse 'n layin' at home right in sight o' the river 'n all 's a-goin' on. We get no sort of news	"Well, I bain't,"repeated Warren, and 't is a good deal worse 'n layin' at home right in sight o' the river 'n' all 's a-goin' on. We get no sort o' news
"If I had not come the last of my way by sea,"	count upon good friends," but some	count upon good friends." But some
'T was true enough, too," said Roger	it is by no fault of mine	't is by no fault of mine
"I knew there was business afoot"	I knew there was business afoot!	I knew there was such business afoot!

Chapter 32

The sea was calm, and the May winds light	ever a final certainty in her breast force of love. Love itself had	ever a certainty in her breast force of love. Fate itself had
Often they sat pleasantly together	a warmer head-covering, or	a warmer head covering, or
It is like to be anything but gay in Bristol,	it was a fit town	't was a fit town
"Oh, dear child, if we were only there!"	the Halifax friends. But I saw one stranger shake	the Halifax folks. But I saw one man shake

I was but a girl of seventeen when I first saw Bristol	said the older woman. of a courting man, he was older heart, which lives by longing,	said the elder woman. of a courting man. He was older heart, that lives by longing,
"Oh, yes. I always wish I could remember her,"	"Oh, yes. I always	"Oh yes. I always
She had great beauty, too, even in her latest age	"She had great beauty	"Then she had great beauty
I remember when some of our old men still brought their guns	our river neighborhoods their name. Peggy says there were other white people in Barvick long ago; the old Indians had some strange legends of a folk who had gone away.	our river neighborhoods their name. Heaven knows who cleared and planted them; 't was no Indian work. Peggy says there were other white people in Barvick long ago; the old Indians had some strange legends of a fair-haired folk who had gone away.
No, no, she would never talk of her trials;	to forget such things. I can see her sitting in the sun with a fescue in her hand, teaching the little children. They needed bravery in those old days; nothing can	to forget such things. They needed bravery in those old days; in our time nothing can
Mary's cheeks grew red at the offensive word	"Do not say 'rebels'!"	"Do not say rebels!"
She checked herself quickly	upon these! and we have Mr. Franklin let us agree, if we can	upon these; and we have Mr. Franklin let us agree if we can
Mr. Franklin will ever be as young at heart	hopes and quick intuitions	hopes and its intuitions
Mary smiled again and kept silence	captain was a staunch Royalist	captain was a stanch [probable error] Royalist
Yes, no doubt; they had the same brave eyes	'T is a delicate, frail, spirited face. seems but the other day a Goodwin look, small featured	'T is but a delicate, womanish face. seems but t' other day a Goodwin look, small-featured
"'What, what?' says Peggy.	she meant,' Peggy declared next off to the kitchen with	she meant,' says Peggy next off to her kitchen with
"I can hold myself to silence,"	as if it were but a holiday	as if 't were but a holiday

Chapter 33

Miss Mary Hamilton and the captain of the Golden Dolphin	the long landing-stairs. after their four long weeks at sea	the long landing stairs. after their six long weeks at sea

Here we are at last!" exclaimed the master	There it is, the large house	There 't is, the large house
The shy and much occupied captain now made haste	shy and much occupied captain	shy and much-occupied captain
I am Mary Hamilton, of Berwick," said the guest,	"I am Mary Hamilton, of Berwick,"	"I am Mary Hamilton, of Barvick,"
"From Madam Wallingford?" exclaimed	in her half familiar face off the sea by your fresh looks. I was thinking of cousin Wallingford	in her half-familiar face off the sea, by your fresh looks. I was thinking of Mistress Wallingford
There was a quick shadow upon the hostess's face	pride of my dear old Barvick	pride of my old Barvick
This is Miss Mary Hamilton, of Barvick	and your old friend Madam Wallingford	and our old friend Madam Wallingford
Why, no, these be both of them your own kinsfolk	you must bid your maids	you may bid your maids
"So you sailed on the Golden Dolphin?"	a small, old vessel, but she wears	a small vessel, but she wears

Chapter 34

The rich oak-paneled room was well lit	cause to be grateful for old friends. It was the threshold	cause to be so grateful for old friends. 'T was the threshold
The voyagers had been listening to sad tales	and many others. The Sewalls and Russells, the Faneuils, and the Boutineaus, who were still in Bristol, had already sent living in the Davises' house; came in; it was a heavy charge the heavy box with brass scutcheons a proper English waiting-maid chosen did not wish to bring a weight	and of many others. The Sewalls, the Faneuils, and the Boutineaus who were still in Bristol had already sent living in the Davis's house; came in; 't was a heavy charge the small, heavy box with brass scutcheons a proper waiting maid chosen did not wish to be a weight
Mary remembered the burning of Falmouth* in her own province, and was silent. [,]	own province, and was silent, [error in this edition]	own province, and was silent.
"Well, we are not here to talk politics,"	all along the sea-coast by	all up and down the coast by
If you had lived on our river	would soon know," Mary answered	would soon know," replied Mary.

instead of here	him.	
It is Parliament that has been blind	You are so kind and I am so	You are so kind, and I am so
Mr. Davis, you have seen something	stood straight, and dropped whatever sat at home and grieved.	stood straight and dropped whatever sat at home at first and grieved.
Our hearts are wounded to the quick	only have security for its continuance. We did not wish to separate from England, and if the separation has come, it is only from our sad necessity. Cannot you see	only have security enough for its continuance. We did not wish to separate from England. If it has come, it is only from our sad necessity. But cannot you see
"My Lord Newburgh?" repeated Mr. Davis	son of that Radcliffe who was a Scotch rebel in '45,	son of that Ratcliffe who was a Scotch rebel in the year '45,
Mary gave a startled look, and drew back a little.	and drew back a little. "I hear the King	and drew back a little. "I hear the King
"Oh, sailors are sailors!" grumbled the old man.	loyal to the King, however If her foolish son had been in a gentler tone: –	loyal to our government, however If her son had been in a gentler tone:

Installment 9 -- Chapters 35-39

The *Atlantic Monthly* Serialization

July 1901 -- 88: 66-85

***Atlantic* text, Hathi Trust Location**

https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.b000737772&view=1up&seq=82&q1=tory%20lover

Chapter 35

They were quick outside the town	brave colt again. The old merchant looked	brave colt again. The old merchant looked
The dreary suspense and anxiety of six long weeks	know the reason.	know the reason why.
Roger Wallingford had lived in England.	Wallingford had lived in England. She suddenly understood against her will why those sad, familiar prejudices faded away	Wallingford had been in England. She suddenly understood this new reason why those sad, unwelcome prejudices faded away

	bewildered her; it was like some	bewildered her; 't was like some
'T is a fine ride indeed," said Mary,	It was a sharp touch	'T was a sharp touch
Mary eagerly protested, and patted the old horse	it would be pleasant This was a fine day	't would be pleasant 'T was a fine day
They stopped at last before a handsome lodging	the Ministers of His Majesty	the ministers of his Majesty
Mr. George Fairfax bowed ceremoniously,	she faltered for one moment	she faltered for a moment
"But we do not ask for these kind favors,"	he took instant refuge in reading the letter	he took refuge in reading the letter
The young gentleman in question also appears to be a Patriot	I must drop our usual term the terror of all our ports now distressed parent, indeed!	I may drop our usual term the terror of our ports now distressed parent indeed!
You have the right of it," said the old British merchant	You know that we captured a sorry house of correction	You know we captured a sorry place of correction
"It is not true!" interrupted Miss Hamilton	she repeated more calmly	she repeated, more calmly
We must think of his mother	she would have her way	she would have her own way
I have some letters, given me by an old friend	"The writer was very sure	"He was very sure
"What noble Jamaica spirits!"	the ceiling with affected indifference as his glass long ride back again to Bristol at good Peter's hands	the ceiling as his glass long ride back to Bristol at our good Peter's hands
The door was thrown open and Mr. Fairfax made	door was thrown open and	door was opened wide, and
"I was afraid that I should miss this noble friend,"	You must have heard of the Honorable Mr. Davis, of Bristol, my lord? – one of their great merchants. I have told you had brought such a letter	You may have heard of Mr. Alderman Davis, of Bristol, my lord? I have told you had such a letter

Chapter 36

'T is like one risen from the dead,"	and of State too, why, beyond this	and of state too, why beyond this
Do you know the writer of this letter,	his history is known."	his history is well known."

Mary smiled then, and answered gently	her life-long acquaintance she knew more than	her lifelong acquaintance she herself knew something more than
He has followed the great Example,*	though Barrington is a narrow soul	though 't is a narrow soul
"I shall do my part of this business at once,"	He fears again that his great The Earl is an old sailor before I speak with the Earl	He fears that his great The earl is an old sailor before I speak with the earl
It was near an hour later when Mr. Fairfax fumbled	table with emphatic approval, as he rose	table with emphatic disapproval, as he rose
I shall first take Miss Hamilton to our good housekeeper	A second glass may be better	A second glass is always better
I shall speak with my friends as to these Plymouth affairs	It has touched my heart to think	It touches my heart to think
" I must see you again," he continued,	when Miss Hamilton had mounted	when Miss Hamilton was mounted
The alderman was warmed by Mr. Fairfax's hospitalities	gentlefolk; it was a lovely day This was a fine sight It was a pretty thing good news to Bristol; Lord Newburgh from captivity, but, unknown to her, they had won	gentlefolk; 't was a lovely day 'T was a fine sight 'T was a pretty thing good news to Bristol, Lord Newburgh from captivity, but they had won
The alderman was warmed by Mr. Fairfax's hospitalities	easy promise of freedom. "She's a rebel	easy promise of freedom. "She's a rebel
She's a rebel indeed, but God bless me	for her concerns. "I'll make him ride	for her concerns. "I'll make him ride

Chapter 37

"We shall not be long away,"	sit at table. The alderman was irresolute	sit at table. The alderman was irresolute
No, no, my dear; 't is a good bit	"I fear that I am spent to-night	"I fear that I am well spent to-night
"Get me a fresh horse and a man to follow,"	face the room. The landlord	face the room. The landlord
I have none I can let you to-night	The three best horses are returned	The three best are returned

"When can we have the answer back?"	he had already told her	he had told her
You may send the answer	the innkeeper's face. When Mary waked	the innkeeper's face. When Mary waked
Matthew's own horse and another	which she had planned	which she had earlier planned
There was long delay; the guards pushed	slid heavily to the ground as if he were dead	slid heavily to the ground, as if he were dead
"I must go, too," said Mary	Now that they stand away I wish we had brought more wine and food to these poor fellows! Let us go in at once," she cried again, and was in a passion of pity and terror at the sight.	Now that they are away Let us go in at once. I wish we had brought more wine and food to these poor fellows!" she cried again, and was in a passion of pity and terror at the sight.
The guard now returned with a message	"And if you're once in,	"And if you're in,
The governor was in his room	his early guests entered had decent supplies for the prison, and	his early guests came in had decent supplies, and
"Show them in, then, these people,"	and her escort appeared.	and her escort entered.
I am fearful of your sad disappointment,	"I am fearful of your sad disappointment	"I am afraid of your sad disappointment
No, he is not dead to any certain knowledge	turned to some records, and	turned to some papers, and
No, he is not dead to any certain knowledge	came away. "You brought	came away. "You brought
No, he is not dead to any certain knowledge	the governor then asked brusquely should soon look again into the note that she had written	the governor asked brusquely should soon look into the note she had written

Chapter 38

The town of Bristol was crowded with Loyalist refugees	had left behind. Something to Mary's wonder	had left behind. Something to Mary's wonder
The Bristol streets were busy	wavered on the ground and hid them	wavered on the ground to hide them
There was no longer much use in riding abroad	even Lord Mount Edgecumbe himself	even the great Lord Mount Edgecumbe himself
The abbey church of St.	church of St. Augustine	church of Augustine

Augustine was cool		
The abbey church of St. Augustine was cool	the lofty roof. There was no one	the lofty roof. There was no one
The abbey church of St. Augustine was cool	many ancient tablets covered	many ancient mural tablets covered
"They have all won through," whispered Mary to herself.	of old Peggy and the young maids the wide doors shut	of old Peggy, and the young maids the wide doors all shut
"They have all won through," whispered Mary to herself.	could not stop her tears. There came the sound	could not stop her tears. There came the sound
There came the sound of footsteps up the nave:	up the nave: it might She noticed, then, in a dull way	up the nave of the abbey: it might She noticed then, in a dull way

Chapter 39

The captain's eyes were full of tears;	tears; it was no sign but he stood ready	tears; 't was no sign but he at once stood ready
The captain waited until her passion of tears	Queen: it was a record	Queen: 't was a record
Mary lifted her head; for a moment the sight of his face	Now more than ever he might easily	More than ever now he might easily
Tell me what has brought you here,"	brought you here," he answered.	brought you here," he answered her.
Sometimes God wills that we shall be sorry-hearted	but when He sends the comfort	but when he sends the comfort
But why are you here? You must indeed be bold	be bold, my lord captain	be bold, my-lord captain
"I do my own errands, -- that is all,"	There is a well-manned, able fish-boat out bring the worst of my ship's company with me;	There is an able, well-manned fish boat out bring with me the worst of my ship's company;
"How should I know?" asked Paul Jones	If you were only in France, with my dear ladies there, they would love and cherish you with all their kind hearts!	If you were only in France, with my dear ladies there! They would love and cherish you with all their kind hearts.
I am thankful you have such friends as these	sure that you have been a good friend	sure that you also have been a friend
I do not believe that he is guilty	is done; I have known him	is done; but I have known him
"I am sure that you are mistaken	in hand; it would make you	in hand; 't would make you

	dead on the great moors, or	dead on the great moor, or
If I have been wrong," exclaimed the captain	I should give my life	I shall give my life
Did you never think that Dickson could put	't is his bad use of it	't is his use of it
The captain moved restlessly	some word to me, if he were innocent.	some word to me.
Alas for my own happiness!"	"Oh, that I had only spoken!	"Oh that I had only spoken!
One of the great bells began to ring	to ring in the tower, and	to ring in the tower above, and
He placed her gently on the stone bench	alone with strangers; she forgot	alone with strangers; and she forgot
He kissed her hand and let it go	full of most tender pity for things: it was not alone	full of tenderest pity for things: 't was not alone
She watched him as he went	and was gone. The old verger crossed	and was gone. The old verger crossed
'T was some one I had known at home	"He is a good man." And she smiled where the captain left her	"He is a good man," and she smiled where the captain had left her
She walked slowly, and stood still once in the street	and once stood still in the street	and stood still once in the street

Installment 10 -- Chapters 40-45

The *Atlantic Monthly* Serialization
August 1901 -- 88: 179-196

***Atlantic* text, Hathi Trust Location**
https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.b000737772&view=1up&seq=199&q1=tory%20lover

Chapter 40

The mermaids they beneath the wave	The mermaids they at the bottom of the sea, began the song again	The mermaids they at the bottom of the sea began the song once again
Mary kept silence; her heart began to beat	the broad window-sill where	the broad window sill where
She gave a little cry, and leaned far out	back to the water-side down	back to the water side down

Chapter 41

The Roscoff lads looked at their true captain	pillow of his arm and fell sound asleep	pillow of his arm, and fell sound asleep
Come below; I wish to speak with you	the air of a kingbird which	the air of a king-bird which
The news was given me by a man who	and I shall leave you here to-night	and I must leave you here to-night
I shall pass the day in fishing	over the downs into Bristol	over the downs by Redlands into Bristol
That night, -- you remember, sir	that it was not yet day, – and	that it was not yet day? – and
"Never mind your return," urged Paul Jones	morning, it was almost	morning, 't was almost
Wallingford may never turn up	Plymouth; it would be	Plymouth; 't would be
"Old Passage!" repeated the happy Dickson	the inn is no doubt near!"	the inn is no doubt near."
He stepped softly to the cabin hatchway	slip of paper, Dickson would be rich enough at that day's end.	slip of paper Dickson would be richer at that day's end by one hundred pounds.

Chapter 42

Just before nightfall, that same day,	ancient ferrying-place where travelers the road-bed was worn	ancient ferrying place where travelers the road bed was worn
As the travelers rode up to the Passage Inn	It was a poor tired country nag as if she harbored no ill will in spite of hardships.	'T was a poor tired country nag as if in spite of hardships she harbored no ill will.
The small kitchen windows were dimly lighted	a squeal from crowded horses	a squeal of crowded horses
"We must trouble you for supper and a fire,"	We must trouble you for supper some brandy at once for my comrade	We must need trouble you for supper some brandy for my comrade
The innkeeper saw that he was much moved	waiting for Mr. Davis, there was	waiting for Mr. Davis there was

Chapter 43

Early in the morning of that day, when Mr. John Davis	visit to his counting-room a disreputable looking fellow	visit to his counting room a disreputable-looking fellow
"Dear Sir," he read slowly,	to Roger W — , of Piscataqua	to Roger W — d, of Piscataqua

"It was a poor sailor who brought me word,"	Perhaps we shall hear from Roger.	Perhaps we shall hear that Roger's alive.
Oh no," said the girl wistfully	we may have news of him	we may have word from him
"I suppose that we can make shift to ride to Passage,"	in danger of the gout	in danger of my gout
The weather looked dark and showery	St. Mary Radcliffe stood like gray rocks close to the water-side	St. Mary Redcliffe stood like gray rocks close to the water side
The great dike was like one of the dikes of Holland	with a little gable window offered a resting-place to	with one little gable window offered a resting place to
Now and then the horses must be made to leap	on the window-sills, and	on the window sills, and
Half an hour later Mr. John Davis dismounted	noisy Welsh pack men and drovers	noisy Welsh pack-men and drovers
Mr. Davis, after having warmed himself	tray with the desired refreshments.	tray with his desired refreshments.

Chapter 44

The two men shrugged their shoulders	You have this document o' one	You have this paper o' one
"Give us the paper," said the other; "'t is our honest right."	our honest right." There was a heavy tramping	our honest right." There was a heavy tramping
"She is lying in the port of Brest,"	answered the trapped adventurer	answered the gentleman adventurer
"None of your damned business!"	yelled Dickson, like a man suddenly crazed bid him pay and begone	yelled Dickson, who was like a man suddenly crazed bid him pay for what he had and begone
They looked at each other and at Dickson	at Dickson; it was a pretty encounter	at Dickson; 't was a pretty encounter
"I have got proof enough myself now	said Captain Paul Jones quietly, standing	said Captain Paul Jones, standing
"Oh, have pity on my sick wife and little family!"	pity on my sick wife and little family	pity on my sick wife and my little family
They glanced at each other in dismay.	poured some of the yellow gold	poured out some of the yellow gold
"Look there, my lads!"	Forgive me if you can	Forgive me, if you can
"Put this man out!" said the captain loudly,	loudly, turning to his sailors Take him down to the boat and put off.	loudly, calling to his sailors Take him down to the boat, and put off.

Dickson, wretched and defeated,	his poor revenge; he sent the crumpled sailors kicked him before	his poor revenge: he sent the crumpled sailors pushed him before
Wallingford, still possessed by his astonishment	he was a free unchallenged man	he was a free, unchallenged man

Chapter 45

No modern inventions of signals of any kind	signals of any kind, or	signals of any sort, or
The story flew through the old Piscataqua plantations	these tales, of the lieutenant's forced leave of absence, some said his discharge, by reason of his wounds and	these tales of the lieutenant's forced leave of absence; some said his discharge, by reason of his wound and
The evening shadows had begun to gather at	On the terrace by the southern door black, Major Haggens, with his red cloak and Master Sullivan, with his stately white head	On the flagstones by the southern door black, Major Haggens with his red cloak and Master Sullivan with his stately white head
Within the house were many ladies	friends: Miss Betsy Wyat	friends: little Miss Betsy Wyat
The rowers did their best; the boat sped	garden to the water-side	garden to the water side
"Oh, Mary, Mary," Roger Wallingford	home together; we did not know he said with sorrow	home together. Thank Heaven; we did not know he said, with sorrow
"Oh, look, Madam!" she cried then,	your good Rodney!["] Oh, [Erroneous quotation mark in this edition]	your good Rodney! Oh,

Jonathan and Mary Hamilton tomb in Old Fields Cemetery 2002.

Looking northwest from near the crest of Pine Hill

"The road still led northward along the high uplands above the river;
all the northern hills and
the mountains of Ossipee looked dark now, in a solemn row."