



HIS EXCELLENCY CALEB STRONG LL.D
elected in 1813
GOVERNOR of MASSACHUSETTS
for the **NINTH** time
by the
FREE SUFFRAGES of his **FELLOW CITIZENS**

Herbert T. Silsby, II

A SECRET EMISSARY FROM DOWN EAST

One of the minor historical mysteries of the War of 1812 is the identity of the emissary sent by Governor Caleb Strong of Massachusetts in the fall of 1814 to Sir John C. Sherbrooke, Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia and Commander of the Castine expedition, for the purpose of ascertaining whether Great Britain would negotiate peace terms with New England separate from the Federal Government. This secret mission was not known by historians until J.S. Martell discovered a dispatch from Sherbrooke to Lord Bathurst, the British Secretary for War and the Colonies, and a copy of the emissary's proposals in the British Archives 123 years later. [1] No great importance has been generally given the documents by historians [2], but perhaps nothing else could indicate the extreme lengths to which Governor Strong felt he was pushed by the political and military situation in New England during the dark days of the fall of 1814 when one-third of Maine was occupied by the British.

The extremity of the venture should not be over-emphasized to the point of treason, however. The issue of the Federal Government having exclusive jurisdiction over the conduct of war had not been resolved at that time. Governor Strong's opposition to President Madison was after all on legal grounds, a jurisdictional dispute. As late as 1816, the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts did not hesitate to ignore a decision of the U.S. Supreme Court at this point. At least the Court felt that its state was its

nation, and in Justice Jackson's words there was not "something noxious and criminal in every kind of intercourse with an enemy." [3]

From Caleb Strong's point of view as Governor of Massachusetts, the crisis in the fall of 1814 was desperate. He was besieged from every side with every shade of political opinion from John Holmes' pro-Madison Republican faction, particularly in Maine, to the disunion extremists led by John Lowell and Timothy Pickering, and in the middle by the moderate views of the powerful Boston group headed by Harrison Gray Otis. The extremists or radicals were supported by a great preponderance of public opinion. [4]

The moderate Federalists, under the leadership of Otis and George Cabot, devised the scheme of calling a convention of the New England states for the purpose of at least attempting to take legal measures to revise the Constitution, rather than follow the avowed policy of the radicals to secede from the Union. The moderates hoped by this means to eventually have a national convention which would revise the Constitution in such a manner that the Federalist's grievances against the Republican war and commercial policies would be remedied. This scheme, which came to be known as the Hartford Convention, was a safety valve, Otis maintained, for the political pressure built up from public resentment in New England against those policies. The first step in the scheme was to call a special session of the General Court of Massachusetts, which only Governor Caleb Strong could legally do.

In every fiber of his being Caleb Strong was a moderate in all things, a noted trial lawyer used to keeping his options open, a man of supremely good judgment, and one of the most popular politicians in American History. [5] He joined with the moderates to promote the Hartford Convention scheme to quiet public feeling as his very nature demanded, and temperately treated the extremists as he always did those with whom he disagreed. Caleb Strong never had any bitter enemies. Without his sanction and support, the moderate policy of calling a special session of the General Court which in turn was to call for the Hartford Convention, could never have gotten off the ground. The public temper was such that action by those in

authority was mandatory. Governor Strong's call for the special session of the General Court in October was action enough to assuage the public feeling temporarily, but to him and the other moderate Federalists, the success of the scheme was very much in doubt at every step, until the Hartford Convention actually met and made its report more or less as hoped for by the moderates, on January 14, 1815. [6] And so no one, even including Governor Strong, could say for certain in October and November of 1814, the time of the secret mission to Halifax, whether the best laid plans of the moderates would succeed or fail. The moderates feared that failure would bring secession and secession would bring civil war. [7]

And the military situation was even worse. There was no uncertainty about it. Neither the general government nor the state governments could defend the coast of New England with Britain using Castine as a base of operations. [8]

Caleb Strong as Governor was in a desperate situation indeed and it is little wonder that he resorted to extraordinary measures. The collapse of the Federal Government seemed to be imminent, leaving the state government to settle the resulting mess. [9] To hedge this political and military situation, Strong agreed to plan for a secret mission: to ascertain the attitude of the British, to lay the foundation for peace talks, to gain time pending the outcome of the Hartford Convention, and to attempt to halt further British depredations along the coast. Canny Caleb's decision was a wise one. The mission inviting a discussion of possible negotiations committed Strong to nothing but talk, and in fact the mission was wholly successful in these preliminary stalling tactics. [10]

And so after the special session of the Massachusetts General Court in October 1814, called to consider the resolutions initiating the Hartford Convention, a man presented himself at Castine to Major General Gosselin, then Commander of the Castine occupation force and said that he had a communication of importance to make to Sherbrooke. [11] General Gosselin permitted the man to go to Halifax to see Sherbrooke. Arriving in Halifax shortly before

November 20, 1814, he told Sherbrooke whom he had known from the previous September when Sherbrooke had been at Castine with the expeditionary force, that he was "Commissioned by the Executive of Massachusetts to communicate with [Sherbrooke] on some very important points." [12] He then told Sherbrooke about the action taken at the special session of the General Court and that the purpose of his mission was to ascertain whether Great Britain would give military assistance to New England if New England attempted to separate from the Union as a result of the Hartford Convention.

The emissary said "he felt awkwardly situated from having no Credentials to shew, As he did not think it prudent to carry any written documents about him lest they should be discovered". [13] Despite this situation Sherbrooke and Admiral Griffith had no doubt of the man's commission to make the proposals, he having been personally known to them both at Castine and from his "respectable Character...& other circumstances". [14]

Sherbrooke asked the emissary to commit his proposals to writing which he did. [15]

Sherbrooke promptly reported to his superior in London, Lord Bathurst, the British Secretary for War and the Colonies. He did not reveal the emissary's identity as requested [16], but Sherbrooke did give several clues. He wrote that the man was "A gentleman who is a most respectable Inhabitant of the Country lying between the Penobscot and The Boundry Line of New Brunswick And who was a Member of the House of Representatives of the State of Massachusetts having lately been allowed to go from Castine to Boston...." [17] And, as already stated, that both he and Admiral Griffith knew him - well enough personally to vouch for him.

There were nine members elected to the House of Representatives during the political year 1814-15 from between the Penobscot River and the New Brunswick line, or what was then Hancock and Washington Counties and what is now those counties plus part of Penobscot County. Eight of the members were Federalist. [18] The nine members were Thomas Adams of Castine, Joseph Lee of Buckstown (now Bucksport), Enoch Mudge of Orrington, George Herbert of Ellsworth, Nathan Ellis

of Blue Hill, George Harmon of Mount Desert, Nathan Haskell and Frederick Spofford of Deer Isle, all of Hancock County, and Ebenezer Inglee, the only member from Washington County. [19] The one Republican was Enoch Mudge. All the rest of the towns in the two counties failed to elect or certify members.

Of the nine members only three actually attended the special session: Mudge, Lee, and Herbert. This conclusion is based upon the votes cast at the special session on the fifth resolve, which initiated the Hartford Convention. Only those three representatives voted upon the fifth resolve, Mudge against and Lee and Herbert for. [20] The inference is about as certain as any inference can be that every Federalist member actually in Boston voted on it. But since the passage of the resolve was a foregone conclusion and the public very much for it, the Republicans were not so anxious about voting against it. [21] The Federalist controlled House was presented the fifth resolve on Thursday, Oct. 13, 1814. It was debated and then the House adjourned without voting on it until the next day at 9:30 in the morning. [22] The next morning it was voted to take the vote by yeas and nays and then the House adjourned until 3:30 that afternoon. At the afternoon session, which lasted long into the evening, the fifth resolve was further debated and passed with 260 yeas and 90 nays. The Maine vote was 34 yeas, 23 nays. [23] On Saturday it was ordered "that gentlemen be allowed to enter their yeas and nays on the journal, who were present at the debate last night, on passing the fifth resolve in the report on the Governor's Message". [24]

After the vote on the fifth resolve, the members who had been pressured to remain in Boston to vote on it and those members who had made a special sacrifice or effort to be present to vote on it, left the special session in droves. On Saturday 113 were granted leave of absence, on Monday 45, and 32 on Tuesday. [25]

The maneuvering of the Federalists in adjourning from morning to afternoon and then to next morning and in permitting the recording of votes after the actual vote and in taking a recorded roll call vote (the only one at the session) shows the pattern of getting every

possible vote for calling the Hartford Convention.

Thus it seems clear that at least every Federalist who attended the special session voted on the fifth resolve. [26] Considering the statement of Sherbrooke that the emissary "was a Member of the House of Representative of the State of Massachusetts having lately been allowed to go from Castine to Boston...", it also seems clear that the emissary must have been either Herbert or Lee. [27] Mudge as a Republican and voting against the fifth resolve can be eliminated without further consideration.

There are, in addition to the clues about the emissary given by Sherbrooke, facts and inferences available relating to the identity of the emissary. First, the proposals written by the emissary reveal a well educated, articulate person, and a radical Federalist. He was well known to Sherbrooke and Griffith. The mission was a delicate one, and if it had ever been found out by the public it would have substantially altered the course of the politics of the time. The mission would have caused a sensation. [28] This was well known by the emissary and by Governor Caleb Strong. Therefore it is clear that Strong would never have allowed the mission in his name unless he had an intimate acquaintance with and great trust in the emissary, his ability, and his devotion to Federalism. Also it is fair to assume that Strong would not have approved the mission unless he had some assurance that Sherbrooke would entertain the overture for negotiations. Only an emissary having a personal acquaintance with Sherbrooke could offer this.

In view of these considerations the issue is which man - Lee or Herbert - is more likely to have been authorized to carry out the mission.

Not much is known about Joseph Lee. He was not a particularly prominent figure in the early history of eastern Maine, not even in Bucksport, although he was Representative to the General Court seven years and was Massachusetts land commissioner in 1818. [29] He was born in Royalston, Worcester County, Massachusetts, August 1, 1773, and died in Bucksport April 21, 1861. [30] He was in Orland adjoining Bucksport in 1797 operating a saw mill at the upper falls for his uncle John Lee, the Collector of Customs in Castine. Joseph

Lee continued this occupation in Orland until 1807 when he moved to Bucksport. He was the first Town Clerk in Orland in 1801. [31] In Bucksport he was an incorporator of the Penobscot bank in 1806, Colonel of Militia, and Town Treasurer in 1822-24. [32] His wife was the sister of Thomas Sparhawk, the first lawyer in Bucksport, a Dartmouth graduate who came from Templeton, Massachusetts, in 1796. Sparhawk died in Bucksport in 1807. Mrs. Joseph Lee had another brother Noah Sparhawk who was a teacher in Bucksport. [33] The only part played by Lee at the special session of the General Court in 1814, was his assignment to the Committee to enquire into the time to which the General Court might adjourn. The adjournment was to the third Wednesday of January, next at 10 o'clock in the forenoon. [34]

In the winter of 1826 Lee moved to Milo, Maine, a town of about 300 population then, where he was a selectman several years and town treasurer one year. He owned a large tract of land in Milo and some of the people wanted to name the town for him. He was said to have been in the small frontier town of Milo "a prominent and highly esteemed citizen". [35]

There is nothing in the record of Joseph Lee indicating that he would have had the confidence of either Sherbrooke or Strong under the circumstances of the secret mission.

On the other hand there is a rather complete record showing that both Sherbrooke and Strong had reason to place such confidence in George Herbert.

George Herbert was born in Deerfield, Massachusetts, August 18, 1778, the son of George and Honor Herbert. [36] George the father was the son of Dr. John Herbert an early and prominent citizen of Orland and Bangor, Maine. Dr. John Herbert came from England in the French and Indian War as chaplain and surgeon of a British regiment. He left the army in 1760 at Deerfield where he preached and practised medicine. [37] In 1774, he came to Bangor, probably as a missionary, as a result of some marital difficulty. He remained in the Penobscot River area off and on until 1779. In Bangor, he kept school, preached and practised medicine. He was said to have been "a Calvinist - a good man, and took the lead in religious meetings" and that



*Captain Thomas Dickinson House, Deerfield.
Boyhood home of George Herbert.*

he "had good learning, was a good physician...an excellent school master and an elegant penman". [38] In 1775 he taught at Orland and was voted to keep school five months at ten dollars per month and "to be paid in any marketable lumber". [39] He died in 1785. [40]

George, his son, married Honor Dickinson about November, 1776. She was the daughter of Captain Thomas Dickinson, "a very prominent man, a noted horseman and hunter". [41] Captain Dickinson's house is still standing in Deerfield, the second house south of the Old Indian House Replica. The house is owned by Deerfield Academy. [42]

George Herbert, a Sergeant in the Revolutionary War, died in September 1778, a month after his son George was born. The child George was brought up by his grandfather Captain Thomas Dickinson. [43] Presumably in his grandfather's house George Herbert came to first know Caleb Strong of Northampton, some sixteen miles from Deerfield. [44]

George Herbert's grandfather sent him to Dartmouth where he graduated in 1800. At Dartmouth he was a

member of the Federal Club and an intimate friend of Daniel Webster, a friendship which continued after college. [45]

After having decided upon a law career Herbert was accepted as law student by Theodore Sedgwick of Stockbridge, just retired from national political office upon the election of Jefferson. [46] Sedgwick was a devoted and leading Federalist in Massachusetts and in 1800 supported his old friend Caleb Strong for Governor. [47] Herbert must have participated in the campaign to some extent. In any event Herbert's political convictions were greatly reinforced by his association with one of the leading political figures of the day. Sedgwick was very fond of Herbert. [48]

When Herbert completed his term of study in Sedgwick's office, Judge Isaac Parker formerly of Castine, advised Herbert to begin his practise in Ellsworth. Herbert accepted the advice and hastened on to Ellsworth in 1803. When he arrived he found his old college friend Nathaniel Coffin already practising law there, but about to leave. [49] Herbert purchased his small office building and was admitted to practise in the inferior courts at Castine. In 1807 he was admitted to the Supreme Judicial Court, having put in the required time practising in the lower courts. On Dec. 4, 1807, he married Charlotte Tuttle of Littleton, Massachusetts. They had six children two of whom died in infancy. [50] John G. Deane, when he came to Ellsworth in 1809 to open a law office had coffee with the Herberts. Deane found Herbert "an intelligent, learned and social man" and Mrs. Herbert, with whom he was much pleased, a "very chatty lady". [51]

Herbert was certainly learned, assuming he read the books in his library. As would be expected he had many law books, but in addition he had numerous volumes in Greek, Latin, German, French and Italian. His library contained several medical books, many histories, philosophical works, religious works, and books on navigation and mathematics. Also there were many musical works and books. [52] Herbert was said to be "fond of music and society, and his literary attainments and tastes were of a superior order". [53]

He was also thought to have been eccentric. He rode on horseback at night when he went from Ellsworth

to Castine to attend court. If he arrived in Castine before the William Abbots were up, his friends with whom he usually stayed, he would sleep in their barn until morning. Abbot found him "firm and undeviating in the pursuit of what he thought right, without regard to private interests; and held in contempt that popularity which was not the consequence of correct views and motives". [54] Judge William Crosby said that if Herbert had any fault "it was an excess of zeal in any cause he deemed just... Although minute in argument, he never discussed without point or object, and never quitted his subject without taking every possible view of which it was susceptible." [55]

Ellsworth was a hot bed of Federalism, and the Democratic policies against the shipping industry were much protested and resented. An address to the people of New England, stated that "By long use, and thoroughly formed habits the wilderness and the ocean had become almost equally our home. Thus we became a lumber manufacturing and navigating people; and until the adoption and enforcement of a system of commercial restriction by our own government, we remained ignorant that the ocean was not our own". [56] Ellsworth thought Madison as bad as Napoleon. [57]

Herbert was a leader in this radical sentiment. On April 20, 1813, he wrote from Ellsworth to his friend Daniel Webster that "the distress of this part of the country is inconceivable - already starving and starved a woman & 2 children are already dead of the famine as I am informed. Many are sick & famishing from want." He then goes on to say "curse this Government!" He then rails against Harrison Gray Otis and his moderate policies. "Otis has overcome all the good sense and humanity of the town of Boston & Boston has depressed the independent feelings of Mass. & Massachusetts not moving - who else could move till she was ready & how could Mass. move till Boston was ready & how could Boston move till Otis was ready! Heaven preserve us! on what a slender thread hang the destinies of nations! The mere breath of that man is a more absolute law with Federalists than the ordonnances of Buonaparte are in Paris." Herbert then threatens that if the Boston Federalists don't change their moderate policies and "intend to force us to live upon air like Chamelions...

they have a right to expect that we shall change the colour of our coats as soon". And then "we will not starve if any nation that has wronged us so little as a certain nation we can mention, will provide for us... I now add my name to this treason". [58]

This letter clearly shows at least the seed of the thought of treating directly with the British.

Soon after the British expeditionary force occupied Castine on September 1, 1814, George Herbert went to see Sherbrooke and Griffith to discuss the occupation. Sherbrooke was much impressed with Herbert as he forwarded to Lord Bathurst his written questions and remarks. [59] In his remarks Herbert argued persuasively that the inhabitants should not be required to give up their arms as "Desporadoes made up of our own people would invade every night our defenceless houses with impunity..." and "The consequences of attempting to enforce the giving up of arms will be, that quiet and peaceable men will give up theirs, while those who design evil will find ways and means of eluding the requisition; that arms will be taken from those in whose hands they might better remain and remain in the hands of those from whom they might better be taken...." [60]

Herbert then takes up the matter of commerce and administration of justice. He argued that if commerce is allowed to be carried on it "will by affording business to all classes of people divert their thoughts from other subjects". [61] On the administration of justice he advised Sherbrooke "there are very few things indeed that would conduce more to promote tranquillity and satisfaction of the inhabitants than to find no great change in their laws, and in the administration of Justice produced by a change of Government". [62]

All these proposals of Herbert were substantially adopted by Sherbrooke. [63] The area occupied by the British became very prosperous and Dalhousie University in Halifax was founded upon the customs duties collected by the British at Castine. [64]

At the special session of the General Court Herbert was far more active than Lee. He was instrumental in getting a resolve passed making writs returnable to Castine at the November term, returnable

at Bangor at the January Term, permitting the Sheriff to adjourn the Court of Common Pleas to Bangor, and permitting deeds to be recorded in Bangor. [65] And he was on a committee to consider supplies to the Penobscot Indians. [66]

After the war ended, Herbert was again elected to the General Court in 1815. On March 2, 1815, he was appointed by Governor Strong agent, at a fee of \$200, for running the lines of the land mortgaged by Leonard Jarvis to the state. [67] In 1816 he was appointed County Attorney for Hancock County, which office he held for the rest of his life. [68] He died at Ellsworth January 2, 1820, from consumption.

The evidence strongly suggests that George Herbert was the emissary. His relationship with Sherbrooke, with the leading Federalists, his political position and attitude, his pre-disposition to treat with the British on separate terms, his zealous nature, and long ties with Caleb Strong, all point towards the identity of him.

The question next comes of who initiated the mission and for what purpose? There had been talk of New England negotiating with the British since 1803. [69] But no one had implemented the idea until Strong. There had never been the pressing need to until the dark days of the fall of 1814, when one-third of Maine was occupied and the rest of New England, particularly Boston, was in great danger from raids or occupation by the British using Castine as a base of operations. There was also great pressure on Strong from the uncertainty of the political situation. If the radical Federalists prevailed, Civil War was more than likely. Governor Strong carried a great burden. I believe that George Herbert sold him the idea of the mission. Herbert, after his success at Castine with Sherbrooke, had every reason to believe that he would be received by Sherbrooke at Halifax. And I believe Strong agreed to the mission as a reasonable hedge against the possibility of Civil War, and in any case it would buy some time for Strong to put his defenses in shape if the British did expand their operations in Maine and the rest of New England. In the fall of 1814 Strong had a lot to gain by the mission, if it were carried out by someone he could trust.

Another question raised is, who else, if anyone, was privy to the secret mission - was perhaps Daniel Webster, an intimate friend and confidant, aware of it?

And lastly if other Americans besides Herbert and Strong were aware of the secret mission what influence if any did the secret mission have upon the Hartford Convention deliberations?

As intriguing as these questions may be, from the very nature of the case no entirely satisfactory answers are ever likely to be supplied.

Fortunately the mission never came to fruition as the treaty concluding peace terms was signed the day before Christmas, 1814, well before Lord Bathurst could get effective instructions to Sherbrooke. The mission turned out to be a might-have-been, a side-light, but nonetheless does reveal much about the attitudes and politics of the time. It is curious too that the destiny of a nation almost turned upon the shoulders of an obscure lawyer on Maine's salt water frontier.

-----NOTES-----

1. J.S. Martell, "A Side Light on Federalist Strategy During the War of 1812," *American Historical Review*, XLIII (1938), 553-566. Martell prints these documents along with Bathurst's dispatches to Sherbrooke in reply. He could not identify the emissary. The only other attempt at identification was by Samuel Eliot Morison in "The Henry-Crillon Affair of 1812," *Massachusetts Historical Society: Proceedings* (Oct., 1947-May, 1950), LXIX, 207-231, in which he states (218, note 25) he believes from internal evidence that the emissary was Thomas Adams of Castine. In his, "Dissent in the War of 1812," *Dissent in Three American Wars* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970) 2-31, Morison notes the lack of a candid history of eastern Maine during the War of 1812 (13-14, note 5) and cites a squib in one of the Republican papers in late 1814 about Thomas Adams crossing the British lines in a double bottomed wagon (18, note 8). But Sherbrooke says

the emissary was permitted to go to Boston (Martell, *loc. cit.*, 559), and the Adams of the double bottom affair was Moses Adams of Ellsworth, a medical doctor, High Sheriff of Hancock County and a smuggler. (Joseph Williamson, "A Nova Scotia University Founded from Duties Levied at Castine," *Bangor Historical Magazine*, III, 175-176.) The next year Moses Adams was indicted for the murder of his wife Mary, tried in Castine, and acquitted, but ruined from popular feeling that he was guilty. (Herbert T. Silsby, II, "A Brief History of Ellsworth," *Historical Record and Program Bicentennial Celebration July 20-27, 1963* (Bangor, Maine, 1963).

2. An exception is Samuel Eliot Morison in *Harrison Gray Otis* (Boston, 1969), 363-364, 397-399, 540.
3. *Coolidge V. Inglee*, 13 Mass. 26, 37 (1816). Mark DeWolfe Howe shows the struggle of court supremacy in "The Creative Period in the Law of Massachusetts," *Massachusetts Historical Society: Proceedings* (Boston, 1956) LXIX, 232-251.
4. Morison, *Otis*, *op. cit.*, 362; Henry Adams, *History of the United States* (N.Y., 1891) VIII, 305.
5. Henry C. Lodge, "Memoir of Hon. Caleb Strong," *Massachusetts Historical Society: Proceedings* (1791-1835), 290-316; Edwin C. Rozwenc, *The Last of the River Gods, the Northampton Book* (Northampton, 1954), 56-74.
6. Adams, *History*, *op. cit.*, 298.
7. Morison, *Otis*, *op. cit.*, 397; the emissary expected Civil War, Martell, *loc. cit.*, 561.
8. Adams, *History*, *op. cit.*, 282-286.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Martell, *loc. cit.*, 560.
11. Sherbrooke to Bathurst, dispatch dated Nov. 20, 1814, *Colonial Office*, 217/93, Public Record Office, London. Microfilm copies are on file in the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. I have a print marked "Colonial Office 217, Volumes 93-95, 1814," which is hereinafter cited as *Microfilm C.O., 217/93-95*. This dispatch is also in J.S. Martell, *loc. cit.*, 559-560.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*

15. This document containing the emissary's proposals was enclosed with Sherbrooke's dispatch dated Nov. 20, 1814, and is printed in Martell, *loc. cit.*, 560-563. It is marked duplicate and is not in George Herbert's handwriting. Another theory of ascertaining the identity of the writer is a comparative analysis of styles. This procedure is risky enough with great writers and a complete morass with non-professionals. See J.V. Cunningham, ed., *The Problem of Style* (Greenwich, Conn., 1966). A comparison of this document with George Herbert's *Questions and Remarks* enclosed in Sherbrooke dispatch to Bathurst, dated Sept. 10, 1814, *Microfilm C.O.*, 217/93-95, leaves one with nothing more certain than that both documents were written by a well educated person or persons who used long sentences containing an interminable series of dependent clauses, and a comparison between Herbert's *Questions and Remarks* and his letters to Daniel Webster in C.H. Van Tyne, ed., *The Letters of Daniel Webster* (McClure, Phillips & Co., New York, 1902), 25, 27, shows only that he used much shorter sentences in his intimate correspondence. But the futility of stylistic comparison does not lessen the importance of the radical Federalist attitude shown and the line of reasoning about the occupation of Maine used in Herbert's known writings and the emissary's proposals made to the British.
16. Martell, *loc. cit.*, 560-563.
17. Martell, *loc. cit.*, 559.
18. Morison, *Otis*, *op. cit.*, 540.
19. "Civil List of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts for the Political Year 1814-15," *Resolves of Massachusetts, 1814; Massachusetts House of Representatives, Journal*, 35, Appendix to Second Session, 1-23, in Massachusetts State Library, Boston. Adams, a merchant, was born in Pembroke, N.H., July 3, 1783 and died in Roxbury, December 31, 1847. He was a member of the General Court only one term, but a selectman many years. He was a founder of the Trinitarian Church in Castine and on the first board of trustees of Bangor Theological Seminary. (Xerox copy of biographical

card of members of General Court: Thomas Adams, furnished author November 23, 1970 by Massachusetts State Library, Boston, Massachusetts, hereinafter cited as *M.S.L. Biographical Card*:

Sprague's Journal of Maine History, I, 187; George Augustus Wheeler, *History of Castine, Penobscot, and Brooksville* (Bangor, 1875), 232-233.

Ellis, a merchant, vessel owner and town clerk, served only one term in the House. He was born in Bellingham, Mass., March 7, 1777, and died at Blue Hill, April 28, 1848. (*M.S.L. Biographical Card*: Nathan Ellis.)

Harmon, a farmer and stone mason was born April 13, 1766 and died at Southwest Harbor, Maine, February 14, 1855. He too served only one term in the House. (*M.S.L. Biographical Card*: George Harmon.)

Haskell, a farmer, settled in Deer Isle prior to 1784. He served three terms in the House and was a Justice of the Peace, held several town offices, and was a deacon in the Congregational Church. (*M.S.L. Biographical Card*: Nathan Haskell; George L. Hosmer, *Historical Sketch of the Town of Deer Isle* (Boston, 1905), 69-70.)

Spofford, a merchant and ship builder, was born at Pelham, N.H., August 26, 1784 and was lost at sea in 1818 in Schooner "Shakespeare". He had a business-partnership with his brother Pearl Spofford. (*M.S.L. Biographical Card*: Frederick Spofford; Hosmer, *op. cit.*, 142.)

Inglee served in the House 1809-18, except 1813. He was born in Halifax, Mass., March 7, 1764, became a saw mill and land owner in Machias, where he died October 29, 1851. He was said to be one of four soldiers who escorted Maj. John Andre to the gallows when Andre was hung as a spy. (*M.S.L. Biographical Card*: Ebenezer Inglee; George W. Drisko, *Narrative of the Town of Machias* (Machias, 1904) 480, 483.)

Herbert, Lee and Mudge are more fully mentioned hereinafter.

20. House, Journal, *op. cit.*, 22-23.
21. James M. Banner, Jr., *To the Hartford Convention* (New York, 1970), 325, note 2.; *cf.* Samuel Eliot

- Morison, *Harrison Gray Otis* (Boston, 1913), II, 104, note 20, in which he says the vote on the fifth resolve of 260 for, 90 against "was probably a full vote of those present...."
22. House, Journal, *op. cit.*, 218.
 23. *Ibid.* 220, 222; Banner, *op. cit.*, 325, note 2.
 24. House, Journal, *op. cit.*, 224.
 25. *Ibid.*, 223, 225, 230, 235.
 26. The House had a committee of the payroll which reported that it amounted to \$16,088. An order was passed that the Governor and Council pay the members the amount reported opposite their names. House, Journal, *op. cit.*, 237, 246. A warrant was issued by the Governor and Council in that amount for attendance and travel, but its whereabouts are unknown. (*Executive Records of the Council*, October 20, 1814, Massachusetts Archives, State House, Boston.) The warrant would of course show who actually attended. The payroll was not printed in the *Massachusetts Resolves*, 1812-15.
 27. Martell, *loc. cit.*, 559.
 28. Even the mere suspicion of the Federalists treating with the British had a profound influence on the politics of the time. Henry Adams, ed., *Documents Relating to New England Federalism, 1800-1815*, (Boston, 1877); Morison, "The Henry-Crillon Affair," *loc. cit.*, 207-231.
 29. Eliza Payne Gross Marshall, *History of Bucksport, Maine*, typescript copy, Maine State Library, Augusta, Maine (1893). She does not list Joseph Lee as one of the men who were instrumental in building up the town since 1806 (26). However he was elected a member of the General Court 1810-17, except for 1815 when the town voted not to send a representative (24). In *Sprague's Journal of Maine History*, III, 23-24 there is an abstract of a broadside issued by the Massachusetts Land Office signed by Joseph Lee of Bucksport as a land commissioner.
 30. *M.S.L. Biographical Card*: Joseph Lee.
 31. Daniel Harriman, "Settlement of Orland," *Bangor Historical Magazine* I, 54-55.
 32. "The Penobscot Bank at Buckstown," *Bangor Historical Magazine* III, 110; Wheeler, *History*, *op. cit.*,

- 225; Marshall, *History of Bucksport, op. cit.*, 160; *Town Register, Bucksport, Orland, Orrington, Verona*, compiled by Mitchell, Daggett, Walton, and Lawton, (Brunswick, Maine, 1907), 160.
33. Marshall, *History of Bucksport, op. cit.*, 31.
 34. House, Journal, *op. cit.*, 243, 247.
 35. Wheeler, History, *op. cit.*, 225; Amasa Loring, *History of Piscataquis County* (Portland, Maine, 1880) 71; Rethel C. West, *History of Milo* (Dover-Foxcroft, Maine, 1923) 28, 29.
 36. M.S.L. Biographical Card: George Herbert, Honor is incorrectly given as Hannah; George Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, (Deerfield, Mass., 1896) II, "Genealogies," 146, 199-200.
 37. Sheldon, *History of Deerfield, op. cit.*, 199.
 38. William D. Williamson, "Annals of the City of Bangor, Maine," *Bangor Historical Magazine* IX, 1-16.
 39. *Sprague's Journal of Maine History* XI, 224.
 40. *Bangor Historical Magazine* II, 43, says he died in 1780, but Sheldon, *History of Deerfield, op. cit.*, 199, says 1785.
 41. Sheldon, *History of Deerfield, op. cit.*, 146.
 42. Bart McDowell, "Deerfield Keeps a Truce with Time," *National Geographic*, 135, No. 6, 780-809 (June, 1969) 791.
 43. Sheldon, *History of Deerfield, op. cit.*, 199-200, and II, 725.
 44. George Sheldon, *History of Deerfield, op. cit.*, II, 810-813. The vote for Governor in 1800 gave 99 for Strong and 1 for Sedgwick. In six elections while the Federalists were in power they got every vote in Deerfield, mostly when Strong was heading the ticket.
 45. "Mrs. George Herbert to Rev. C.D. Herbert, letter dated March 6, 1856," *The Private Correspondence of Daniel Webster*, Fletcher Webster, ed. (Boston, 1857) I, 74-77.
 46. *Ibid.*, 75.
 47. Richard E. Welch, Jr., *Theodore Sedgwick, Federalist: A Political Portrait* (Middletown, Conn., 1965), 219, note 33.
 48. William Willis, *History of the Law, the Courts and the Lawyers of Maine* (Portland, 1863) 429.

49. Mrs. George Herbert, *loc. cit.*, 75.
50. William Willis, History, *op. cit.*, 432; Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, *op. cit.*, "Genealogies", 200.
51. Llewellyn Deane, *Biographical Sketch of John G. Deane*, (Privately Printed, Washington, D.C., 1887), 51.
52. George Herbert estate, Warrant and Inventory, dated March 15, 1820, Hancock County, Maine, Registry of Probate, Case No. 767.
53. Willis, History, *op. cit.*, 432.
54. *Ibid.*, 431.
55. *Ibid.*, 430.
56. Ellsworth Address, adopted at a town meeting May 4, 1812, and ordered printed and distributed to the people of New England, broadside in Maine Historical Society, Portland, Maine.
57. Samuel Eliot Morrison, *Harrison Gray Otis*, (Boston, 1969), 346.
58. "George Herbert to Daniel Webster, letter dated April 20, 1813," *The Letters of Daniel Webster*, C.H. Van Tyne, ed., (New York, 1902) 27-28.
59. *Microfilm C.O. 217/93-95*, enclosed with dispatch, Sherbrooke to Bathurst, dated Sept. 10, 1814.
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*
62. *Ibid.*
63. *Microfilm C.O. 217/93-95*, dispatch Sherbrooke to Bathurst, dated September 23, 1814, and Sherbrooke's Provisional Government Proclamation, dated September 21, 1814.
64. Joseph Williamson, "A Nova Scotia University Founded from Duties Levied at Castine, 1814-15," *Bangor Historical Magazine*, III, 175-176.
65. Resolve of Oct. 19, 1814, *Resolves of Massachusetts 1812-15*; House, Journal, *op. cit.*, 181.
66. House, Journal, *op. cit.*, 177.
67. Executive Records of the Council, March 2, 1815, Massachusetts Archives, State House, Boston.
68. William Willis, History, *op. cit.*, 425-432.
69. Documents, Adams, ed., *op. cit.*, 326.

Herbert T. Silsby II is a member of the Standing Committee of this Society and is Chairman of the Finance Committee. A down east native, Mr. Silsby maintains a busy law practice at Ellsworth where he is also extremely active in municipal affairs. Still he finds time to pursue his keen interest in history and participate in many historical activities throughout the State.

Members attending Annual Meeting this year will be interested in reading a recent article by the principal speaker, Dr. Gerard J. Brault, entitled, "New England French Culture." This article appears in the March, 1972 issue of *The French Review*.

We are happy to learn from the *150th Anniversary Fund Committee* that as of May 30, 1972, 266 members had contributed \$5,815 towards the building fund for the Nichols Hall expansion. This represents nearly a 20% response from the membership. The uncommon loyalty of the members of this Society is an inspiration, and the Committee takes heart that the goal of \$35,000 will be achieved. Chairman of the Committee, Miss Elizabeth Ring, will present an up-to-date report at Annual Meeting on June twenty-fourth. A full report of progress will be printed in the next issue of the *Newsletter*.