

JAMIE H. EVES

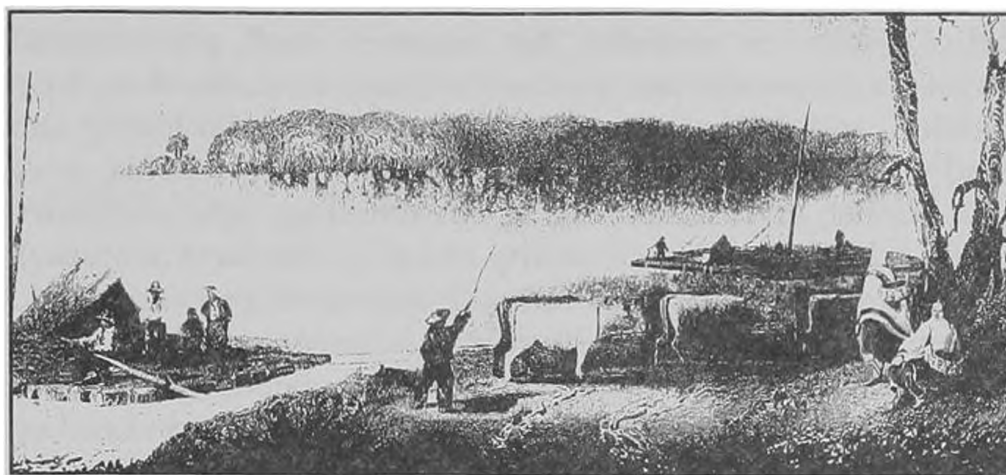
"THE VALLEY WHITE WITH MIST"
A CAPE COD COLONY IN MAINE, 1770-1820¹

The dramatic influx of southern New Englanders into the District of Maine in the 1770s is widely recognized but poorly understood. This article traces migration routes from Cape Cod to the Penobscot River valley. By 1770 farmlands on the Cape could no longer sustain an agrarian way of life that was important to many inhabitants. Choosing to change locations rather than occupations, families moved eastward and on the lower Penobscot River reproduced, as best they could, the world they left behind. This article explores the reasons for the uprooting, and the cultural, ideological, familial, and architectural links that bound the Cape Cod settlers to the "old country". Maps were provided by the author.

Having left the sea behind,
Having turned suddenly and left the shore...
And built me a house on upland acres,
Sweet with the pinxter, bright and rough
With the rusty blackbird long before the winter's done,
But smelling never of bayberry hot in the sun,
Nor ever loud with the pounding of long white breakers,
These hills, beneath the October moon,
Sit in the valley white with mist,...
Wooded with poplar dark as pine...
And I two years, two years,
Tilling an upland ground!

Edna St. Vincent Millay

CAPE COD COLONY IN MAINE



Between 1770 and 1810 the lower Penobscot Valley became home to more than two hundred families from Cape Cod. The rich soils, deep forests, and runs of migratory fish offered a chance to revitalize a way of life that had deteriorated under the stress of environmental degradation on Cape Cod.

Inset Illustration from "History of Acadie," Deering Collection, University of Maine Special Collections Department.

Like the rest of America, Maine is a land of immigrants. The aboriginal Red Paint People and other native Americans, early arrivals from France and England, nineteenth-century Irish, French Canadians, Maritimers, eastern and central Europeans, and twentieth-century suburbanites are among those who have journeyed to Maine. All contributed their unique beliefs and perspectives to help form the mosaic of ideas and values that have defined Maine society and culture. The largest and most sustained migration into Maine was an influx of land-hungry Yankees from southern New England who arrived between the end of the French and Indian War in 1763 and the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825.² Maine's population surged tenfold, from less than 30,000 in 1765 to almost 300,000 in 1820.³ This is a case study of migrants from lower (or outer) Cape Cod, Massachusetts, who founded a "colony" in Maine's Penobscot River valley between 1770 and 1810. More than two hundred families—close to a thousand men, women, and children—left the windswept Cape for the darkly wooded Penobscot Valley.

These Yankee immigrants were primarily small farmers seeking to preserve an agrarian way of life. They adhered to a

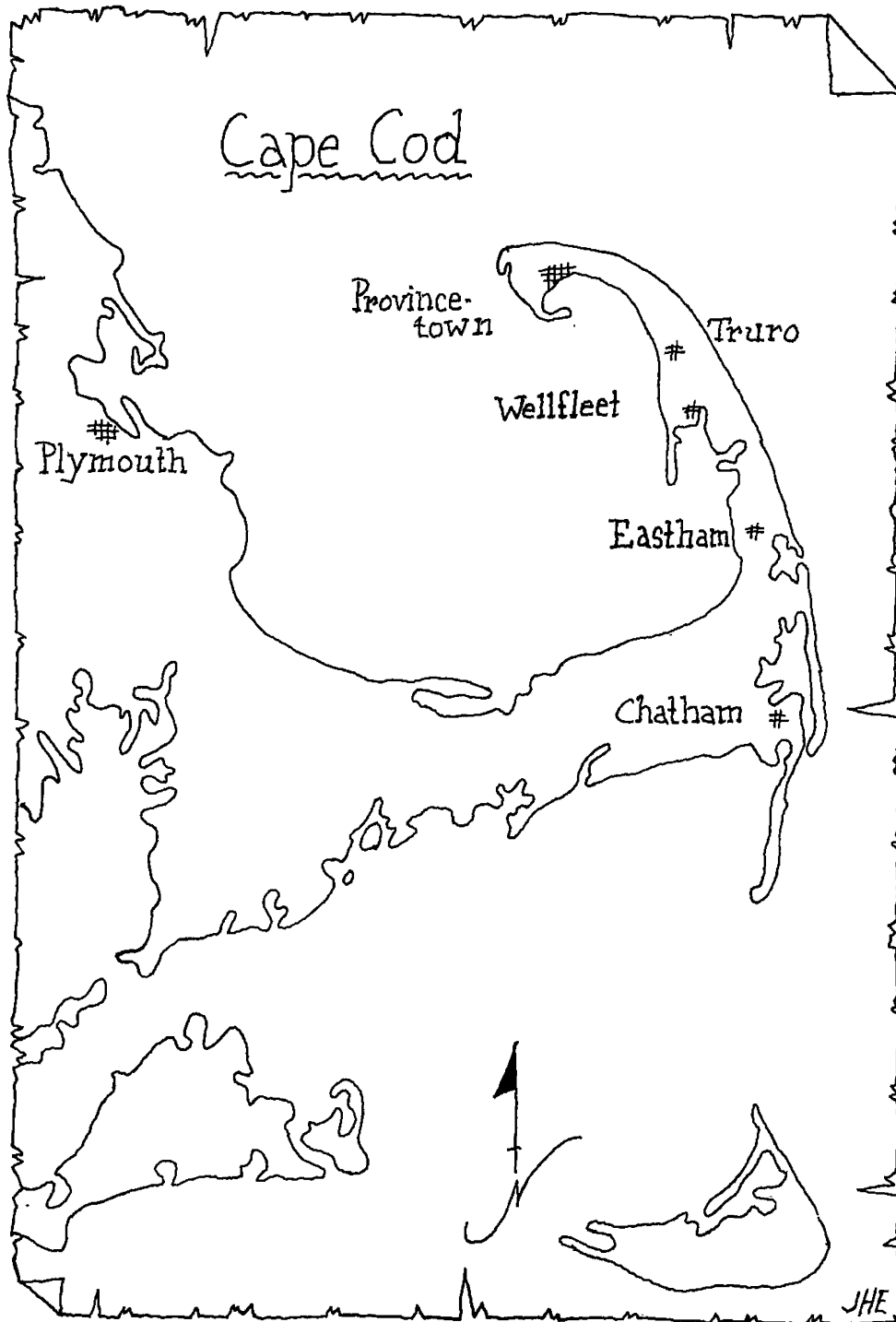
CAPE COD COLONY IN MAINE

belief system, or *mentalité*, that honored small, preindustrial farmers as those who provided useful things for themselves, their families, and their communities. To their way of thinking, the land was “improved” by transforming forests into fields, trees into lumber, and fish into food. The middling, yeoman farmer was the chief agent of such activity, and hence the farm family was considered the bedrock of any well-conceived socio-economic system. Preindustrial agriculture was no longer tenable on lower Cape Cod after 1770, however. Overpopulated, overfarmed, and badly deforested, the lower Cape was nearly a dust bowl by the end of the eighteenth century. Maine by contrast offered a more attractive environment: fertile soil, an abundance of wood, plenty of forage for livestock, and (at least before the bad years of 1816 and 1817) a relatively benign climate. Maine was the kind of place where a preindustrial agrarian *mentalité* — traditional rural beliefs and values — could flourish.

The Yankee colony on the Penobscot reflected the agrarian beliefs of the migrants. They came mostly in family groups and hewed out small, family-run farms. They recreated their agrarian communities, settling near each other in the same rural neighborhoods, and their children usually married other second generation Cape Cod immigrants. Ties were also maintained with friends and relatives on the Cape. Their dispersed farms and small villages were laid out in patterns reminiscent of the Cape, and the migrants brought with them a Cape Cod style of house construction. They sought economic opportunity within a traditional pattern that preserved old values.

THE OLD COUNTRY

Cape Cod had once been a good place for farming. Seafarers and voyagers who saw the Cape almost two hundred years earlier at the beginning of the seventeenth century marveled at its tall trees, fertile soil, and lush salt marshes.⁴ French explorer Samuel de Champlain saw flourishing native American agriculture on the lower Cape when he visited there in 1605 and 1606. It was late summer, and the Indians’ maize “was in flower and was five and a half feet high.” Champlain noticed, too, “a great many



CAPE COD COLONY IN MAINE

Brazilian beans, and squashes of various sizes.” Such native fields, while not vast, were nevertheless sizable, with “much cleared land,” part of which was maintained as fallow.⁵ The Pilgrims, who arrived not long after Champlain in 1620, were impressed by the outer Cape’s abundant forests, productive native cornfields, and fertile topsoil. The Cape, wrote one of their leaders, William Bradford, was “like the downs in Holland, but much better; the crust of the earth a spit’s [spade’s] depth excellent black earth.”⁶

Attracted by its good farming, European Americans began settling the outer Cape in the 1640s. For more than a century Cape Cod farms remained productive. The forests were a plentiful source of firewood and building materials. Ample salt marshes provided plenty of hay for cattle and horses. The waters of Cape Cod Bay, and of the short, lazy creeks and small harbors, teemed with fish. In the last half of the eighteenth century, however, there was a rapid decline. The principal culprit was overpopulation. The five towns on the outer Cape in 1776 — Chatham, Eastham, Wellfleet, Truro, and Provincetown — had a combined population of more than 4,500. All save Provincetown had more than sixty inhabitants per square mile. By 1800 there were more than seventy.⁷ Overpopulation led to the clearing of most of the forest, leaving the land vulnerable to the fierce winds and pounding rain. As the population grew, farms became smaller, and farmers took to pasturing their livestock on the public beaches. The hungry animals devoured the grasses that held the beach sand in place, and mighty Atlantic gales blew the sand into the fields and creeks. Overfishing depleted local waters.⁸

By 1771 the average farm on the lower Cape had only five acres of cropland, much less than the fifteen or more needed for self-sufficiency. Less than thirty percent of the households in Truro owned any tillage at all, although some had salt marsh or upland pasture instead. Nearly sixty percent of the Truro farms with cropland had just five acres or less under the plow, and only one farm in the entire town had more than fifteen. Although 142 of Truro’s 213 families owned livestock in 1771, only about a

third of these also owned vital hay-producing salt marsh, and only a little more than a third of them owned pasture. More than thirty-three percent of the families who owned livestock — fifty-two households — possessed neither salt marsh nor pasture. Most of these were marginal farmers with only a few animals who probably relied to some degree on the fisheries for a portion of their livelihood — those most likely to leave Truro for Maine a few years later. Conditions were similar in other lower Cape Cod towns.⁹ Because farms were small, families were forced to keep most of their land continuously cultivated, thereby rapidly depleting the soil.

Overcultivation, deforestation, and the denudation of the beaches combined to “desertify” the landscape and to create something like a dust bowl. “The land is barren,” one Wellfleet resident remarked in 1794; “The growth of wood is small pitch pine and oak.” Gloomily, he continued: “The inhabitants do not raise grain sufficient for the town.”¹⁰ Another Cape Codder described similar conditions in Truro:

Except the...salt marsh,...the soil of the township is sandy, barren....No part of it produces English grass fit for mowing; and it can scarcely be said to be clad with verdure at any season of the year. The inhabitants entirely depend upon their salt marshes for winter fodder for their cattle, which in summer pick up a scanty subsistence from the fields and swamps....The soil in every part of the township is continually depreciating.¹¹

In Eastham, “what was once a fertile spot, has become a prey to the winds, and lies under a heap of barren sand.”¹² In Provincetown, where in 1620 the Pilgrims had admired park-like woods and loamy soil, an 1805 observer saw only advancing sand dunes:

These hills are white sand, and their produce is whortleberry bushes, and small pitch-pine shrubs. The pines next [to] the village have been cut off for firewood. Cutting away the wood exposes the hills to be torn away by the violence

CAPE COD COLONY IN MAINE

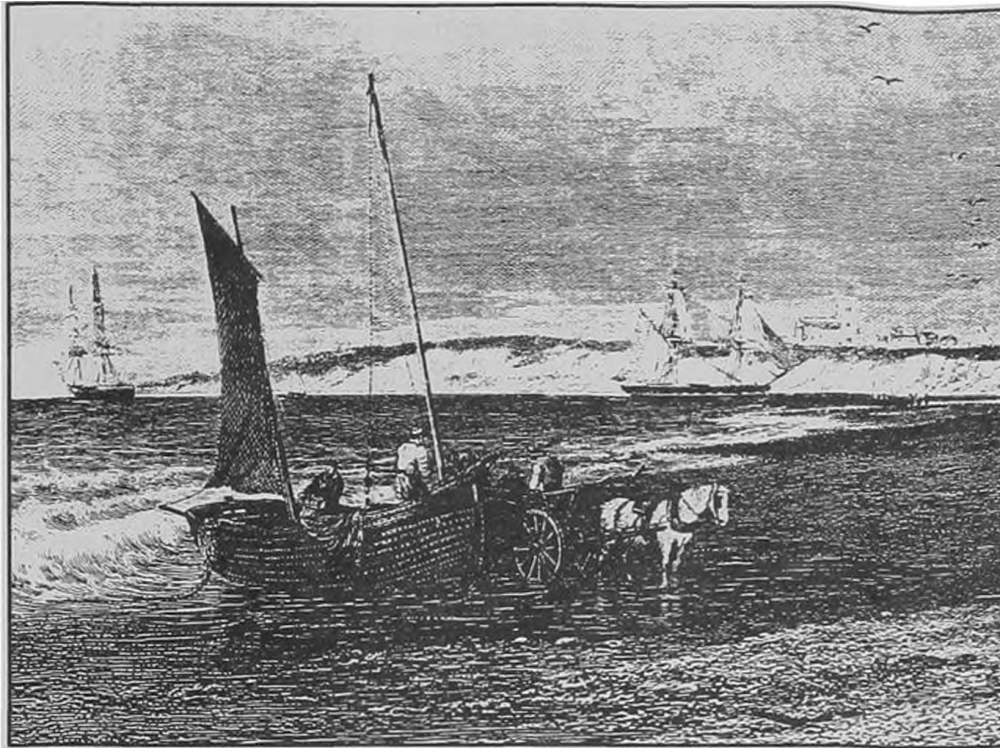
of the winds, and in some instances persons have been obliged to remove their houses to prevent being covered up....This volume of sand is actually rolling into the woods with the winds, and as it covers the trees to the tops, they die [under] a desert of white sand.¹³

Besides deforestation and soil depletion, the salt marshes and fisheries were under siege. Sand blown from the beaches filled up creeks and marshes; fish and shellfish became less plentiful. By the mid-1700s most Cape Cod towns restricted the taking of clams and oysters from the beaches and mud flats and of herring from the creeks.¹⁴ Unfortunately, such attempts proved ineffective, and the onshore fishery (as opposed to the distant, offshore fisheries such as the Grand Banks) declined markedly after 1750. Oysters disappeared from Wellfleet's harbor, forcing the embarrassed town to purchase seed oysters from New York in order to restock the beds. Whales and blackfish entered Cape Cod Bay less frequently after 1770. There was also a drop in the number of cod and mackerel in the Bay, and the sea bass disappeared almost entirely.¹⁵

By 1770 a farmer had a hard time making a living on lower Cape Cod. Although "formerly fifty bushels of Indian corn were raised to an acre," a Truro resident remarked in 1794, "the average at present is not more than fifteen or twenty."¹⁶ In 1800 a traveler discovered an abandoned tract of barren, windblown land in Truro. "Yet the lands," he exclaimed, "are said in ancient times to have produced fifty bushels of maize to the acre, and from fifteen to twenty bushels of wheat."¹⁷ By 1791 Provincetowners raised "nothing from their lands, but are wholly dependent upon [the] Boston market and other places, for every kind of vegetable product."¹⁸ Truro farmers still cultivated maize and rye in the 1790s, but it was only "about half sufficient" to meet the needs of the townsfolk.¹⁹

Cape Codders tried to adapt. There were belated efforts to slow ecological decline by restricting fishing, grazing, and forestry. A new emphasis was placed on offshore fishing as recently built tall-masted sailing ships embarked for the Grand Banks and

CAPE COD COLONY IN MAINE



Faced with the multiple pressures of rising population, thinning soils, waning fisheries, and steady ecological decline, inhabitants on the Cape watched their old forms of livelihood slip away. Some, clinging to their yeoman ideals, chose to migrate.

History of Acadie," Deering Collection.

beyond. New salt works sprung up in Provincetown, Truro, and Wellfleet. Conservation measures, however, were largely ineffective, and non-agricultural pursuits did not always satisfy those who had made an emotional and psychological commitment to farming. Offshore fishing did not fit easily into the seasonal rhythms of agricultural life; seafarers were required to be absent from their crops and livestock for long periods of time. Many, probably those most committed to a preindustrial *mentalité*, chose to leave the Cape to establish new farms elsewhere.

THE JOURNEY

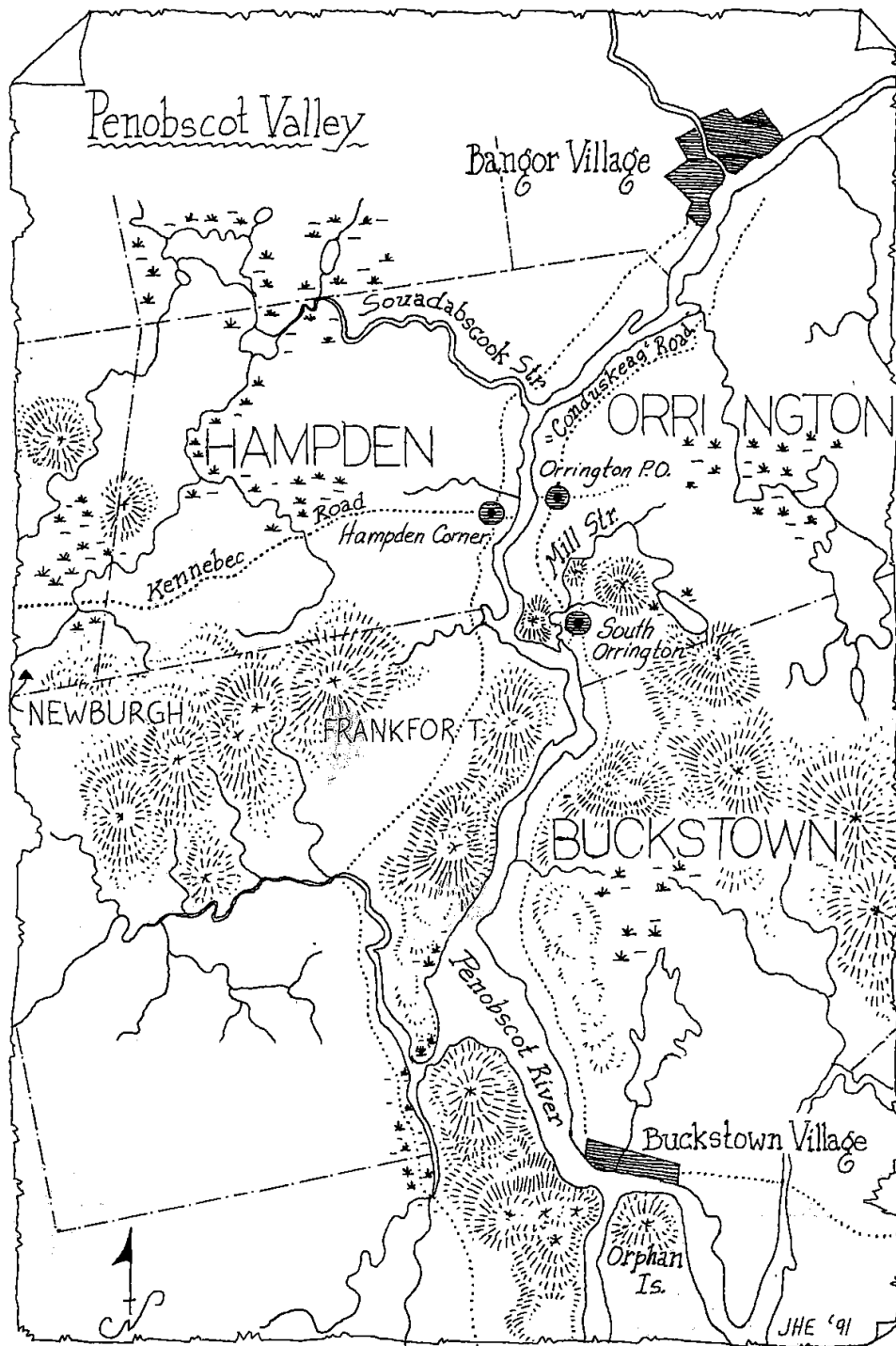
Migration to the frontier began as early as 1733, when a number of families in Eastham acquired shares in Narragansett Township Number Seven, or Gorham, in Maine.²⁰ It continued in the 1750s as several outer Cape Cod families went to Nova

CAPE COD COLONY IN MAINE

Scotia.²¹ The most prolific migration from the lower Cape, however, was between 1770 and 1810, to five towns in Maine's Penobscot River valley: Orrington, Hampden, and Buckstown (now Bucksport), and adjacent slivers of Newburgh and that part of Frankfort that is now Winterport. At least 215 families living in the Penobscot country in 1800 had come from Cape Cod. Most (167) lived in Orrington, Hampden, and Buckstown, and almost all were from the five towns that comprised the lower Cape. They made up a majority in Orrington (63 of 112 families), close to half of Hampden (60 of 139 families), and a substantial minority in Buckstown (44 of 118 families).²² By 1800 the number of Cape Codders living in the Penobscot Valley was equal to almost one fifth of the lower Cape's 1776 population.

Most of the Cape Cod immigrants were farmers. Some had been middling yeomen: they owned modest farms on which they planted maize and some vegetables, and raised small herds of livestock. A yeoman family could usually produce most of what it consumed, and consumed most of what it produced. Others, probably the majority, were more marginal husbandmen, owners of only tiny plots or no land at all, who raised a few table vegetables and kept only a few animals, but who likely aspired to yeoman status. Twenty-eight of the men heading Cape Cod households in Maine in 1800 also appear in a 1771 Massachusetts tax valuation, when they were living on the Cape. Eleven of these were yeomen, each in possession of more than ten acres of "improved," or cleared land. Eight more owned less than ten acres of cleared land, and eight were landless.²³

Among the yeomen were Samuel and Mercy Freeman, husband and wife, who with their five children moved from Eastham to Orrington in 1775. Unlike most of the immigrants, the Freemans had owned a good-sized farm on the Cape in 1771, consisting of thirty-three acres of pasture, about twenty acres of plowland, and nine acres of hay mow. The plowland produced approximately a hundred bushels of grain each year, which, when combined with pasture and hay for livestock, was probably just enough to feed the Freeman family and their eighteen stock animals.²⁴ The Freemans took in boarders, partly as farm help.



CAPE COD COLONY IN MAINE

One boarder was Samuel's and Mercy's orphaned nephew, Timothy Freeman, by 1771 an adult of twenty-four with a wife, Zeruiah, and two children.²⁵ The younger Freemans owned nineteen acres of cleared land of their own, most of which was kept in pasture to provide food for their seven stock animals.²⁶ There was yet another boarder at the Freeman farm: Samuel's and Mercy's future son-in-law Jesse Rogers, who owned six acres of pasture and seven stock animals.²⁷

Pastoralists like Timothy and Zeruiah Freeman and Jesse Rogers, who followed Samuel and Mercy to Orrington, were more typical of the Cape Codders who came to Maine.²⁸ Rogers' brother, Moses, another future Freeman son-in-law, also moved to Orrington, probably in the 1790s.²⁹ Like Samuel Freeman, Moses Rogers was an Eastham yeoman in 1771 who owned nineteen acres of cleared land: eight of pasture, eight of tillage, and three of salt marsh for mowing.³⁰ Two other Eastham yeoman families appearing in the 1771 tax valuation also moved to the colony in Maine.³¹

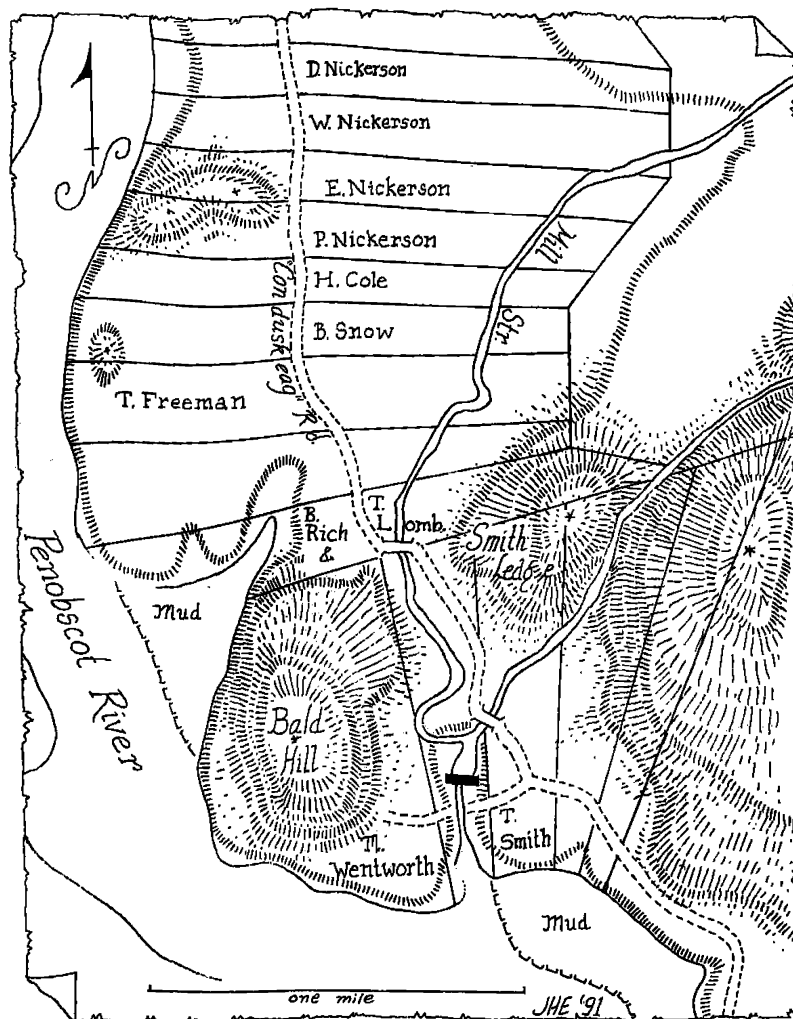
Yeoman farmers were also prominent among those who came from Chatham. In 1771 Joseph Atwood owned sixty acres; Thomas Nickerson, thirty-five; Ebenezer Eldridge, twenty-nine; Josiah Eldridge, twenty-two; and Joseph Eldridge, twenty-one. Only one Chatham immigrant owned less than ten acres of farmland: Hezekiah Eldridge had but nine. He lived, however, on Joseph Eldridge's farm as a boarder. Perhaps he, too, was a relative.³² At any rate, Hezekiah identified himself as a Chatham yeoman in the deed whereby he purchased 100 acres of farmland in Orrington in 1797.³³

Using language in land deeds that identified the parties' occupations (a common practice in eighteenth-century New England) we can determine the professions of seven other Chatham immigrants who were not recorded in the 1771 tax valuation. Five of the seven, Ephraim Doane, Barzillai Hopkins, Dean Smith, John Smith, and Isaiah Nickerson, called themselves yeoman farmers; another, Richard Kent, said he was a mariner; and the seventh, Jonathan Haskins, a physician.³⁴ Although the names and occupations of married women were

not recorded in the tax valuation, yeoman farms throughout southern New England were generally family enterprises; the women, too, were farmers.

Immigrants from Wellfleet, Truro, and Provincetown seem more likely than those from Eastham or Chatham to have been landless or almost landless husbandmen who combined caring for small herds of animals with fishing. None of the fifteen men from Wellfleet and Truro who can be identified in the 1771 Massachusetts tax valuation owned any plowland. Only one possessed more than ten acres of cleared land. Eight owned no land at all. Nevertheless, twelve of the fifteen owned livestock, ranging from Daniel Snow's fifteen pigs to Jesse Atwood's single horse.³⁵ Two of the fifteen who moved their families to the Penobscot country in the 1790s, Benjamin Swett and Joshua Rich, referred to themselves as "mariners" in their deeds, as did another thirteen immigrants from Wellfleet, Truro, and Provincetown who were not recorded in the 1771 tax valuation. Swett and Rich, however, also kept livestock.³⁶ Such mixing of occupations was most likely the consequence of economic marginality. Five of the fifteen families in the 1771 valuation did not even own a house; only one owned a boat, and only one had lent money at interest. It is safe to say that most of the Cape Codders who came to Maine were farmers; some were yeomen, while others were pastoralists at least part of the time.

The first Cape Cod immigrants to venture into the Penobscot country arrived in the 1770s. Eliphalet Nickerson, a pastoralist from Wellfleet who came in 1774, appears to have been the earliest. He was followed in 1775 by yeomen Samuel and Mercy Freeman, and in 1778 by fellow Wellfleeter Jesse Atwood. More came in the 1780s: Jesse Rogers followed his father-in-law in 1784; Edward Snow and Joseph Harding came the next year; Richard Kent arrived in 1787; and Timothy and Zeruah Freeman joined their aunt and uncle in 1788.³⁷ Most, however, came between 1790 and 1810. Twenty-one of thirty-four Cape Cod male heads of household living in Buckstown in 1800, and fifty-two of fifty-nine in Hampden, moved there after 1790.³⁸ Most came as families. Judging from a decline in the number of deeds



filed by Cape Codders, the migration had almost stopped by 1810.³⁹

Most probably made the journey by sea. Coasting vessels carried on a brisk trade in lumber and firewood between the densely forested Penobscot country and the almost treeless, firewood-starved Cape. The coasters would have welcomed travelers as return cargo. William Hammatt, who came to the Penobscot Valley in 1823 from Scituate, Massachusetts, was not a Cape Coddler, but his arrival on the Boston coaster *Herald* was likely typical of their experience. Hammatt described his trek in

a serial letter to his wife, who followed him later. Although seasick for most of the trip, he recovered in time to be on deck for the *Herald's* entrance into the Penobscot River estuary on August 22. "I am able to enjoy the prospect as we sail up the bay, which is picturesque (the bay being broken with many islands) but," he noted apprehensively, "unpromising enough to the farmer, the shores iron bound, & the soil hard & barren in the extreme." Hammatt was quite relieved when fellow passengers told him the farmland was better further upriver. "I find by several gentlemen," he crowed, "that our land is universally consider'd a great bargain."

Maine coastal navigation has always been tricky. The *Herald* was forced to buck a headwind entering the river, and did not reach Buckstown until noon the next day. Then tides slowed its progress. The *Herald* was bound for the lumber port of Bangor, the principal town on the Penobscot, eighteen miles above Buckstown village and a neighbor to Hampden and Orrington. The tides hindered the ship to such an extent that most passengers, including Hammatt, went ashore and traveled the remaining distance overland on rough roads. When they arrived in Bangor the weary travelers found comfortable lodgings in recently erected hotels, a luxury that had not been available to the Cape Codders when they disembarked three or more decades earlier.⁴⁰

NEW LANDS

Buckstown township stretched for seven miles along the rugged east bank of the Penobscot River, about nine miles above where it emptied into the island-dotted Penobscot Bay. Orrington lay immediately to the north, and Hampden was across the river from Orrington. All three towns were inhabited when the Cape Codders arrived. Although most of the Indians who once camped along the river at Orrington were gone, they left some cleared land behind. This amounted to only one or two acres; most of the natives' cornfields had been located further upriver.⁴¹ Other New Englanders, however, had begun to take up homesteads in the area in the 1750s and 1760s, mostly as squatters.

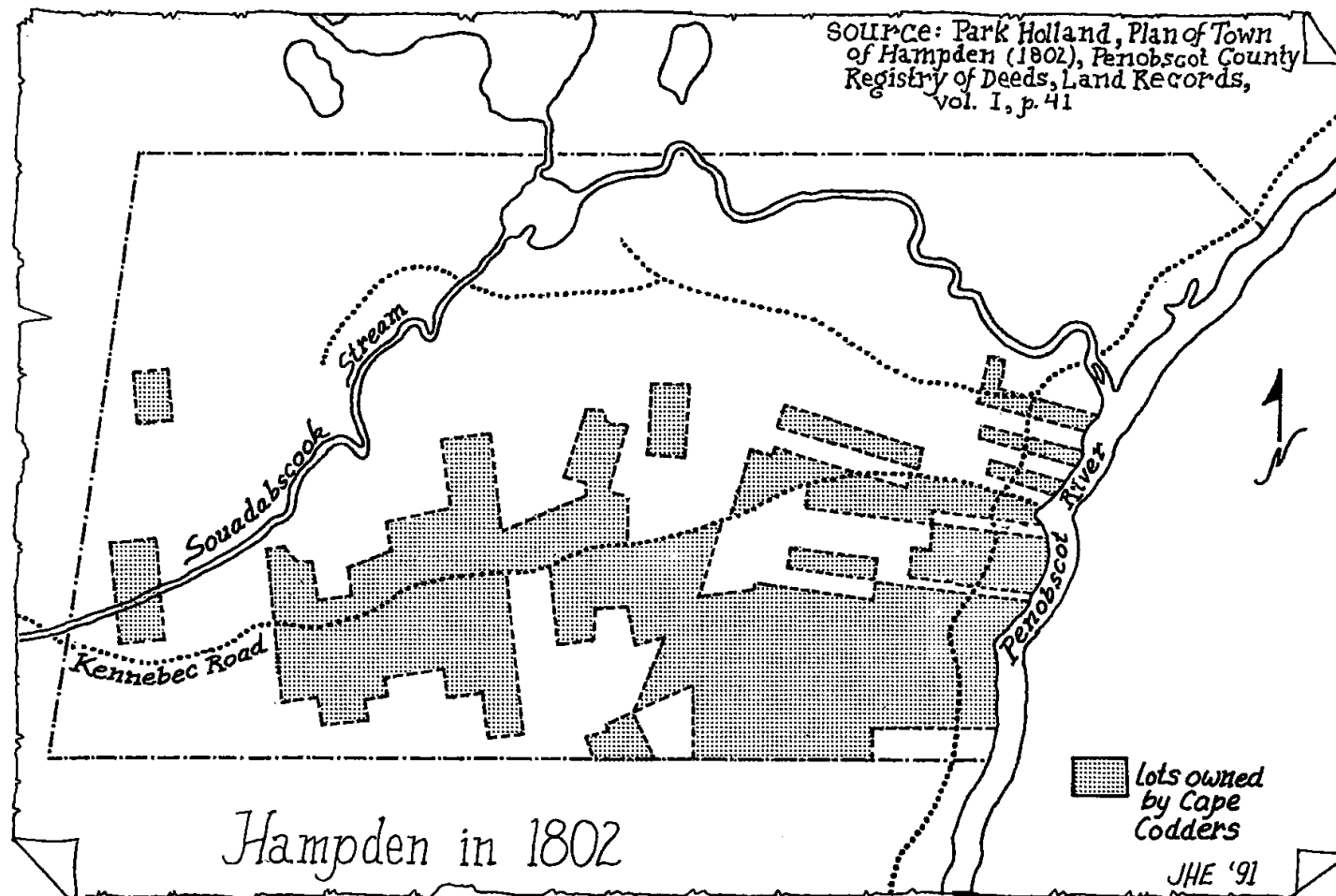
CAPE COD COLONY IN MAINE

Approximately one hundred families lived along the river when Nickerson and the Freemans came from Cape Cod in 1774 and 1775.

As experienced, but unspecialized agriculturalists, the Cape Codders sought out fertile soil on well-drained uplands for growing crops, abundant forests for firewood and building material, and plentiful streams and rivers for water, fish, and transportation. What must have impressed them the most were the steep hills, the wide river, and the endless forest. While Cape Cod was flat and almost treeless, cut only by small creeks, the Penobscot River threaded its way among acclivous, wooded hillsides.

In 1768 surveyor Joseph Chadwick scouted the lands along the west bank of the Penobscot River. On crude maps with laconic marginal notations, he described how the landscape appeared just before the Cape Codders arrived. At Hampden he found a salmon fishery at a falls on the Souadabscook Stream, a tributary of the Penobscot. He remarked on the quality of Hampden's soil: "a Good Tract of Land — Soil, a Yallow loun — Trees Oak pines and a Good Groweth of yong trees for Cord wood &c." He found no salt marsh, so valuable on the Cape, but did discover several fresh-water meadows that he considered good sources of hay, including a "Broken Marsh" in Hampden. Chadwick also noted the locations of several lofty hills directly on the river.⁴² A second surveyor, Jonathan Stone, conducted a more detailed investigation in 1786. By then quite a few settlers had arrived, and Stone reported that almost all the river lots were taken. Beyond the river lots was the forest, which Stone described in detail: "The uplands abound in good white ash, yellow birch, beech, rock maple, and basswood timber, and in some places red oak; the lower lands have a mixture of Pine, spruce, and fir."⁴³

Most New Englanders at this time equated lush forests, especially hardwoods, with fertile soil; hence the well-drained uplands with their oak, ash, maple, and beech trees were especially prized. Stone noted that at Hampden "the...lands are not only good for hay and grazing cattle, but are generally good and



CAPE COD COLONY IN MAINE

easy for tillage.” Lowlands were to be avoided, however. The land at the northern boundary and along the Souadabscook Stream, Stone warned, “is flat and could [cold], timbered with poplar and white birch, with a mixture of black growth.”⁴⁴

During the Cape Cod migration, accounts circulated in southern New England praising the soils of interior Maine. One typical description written in 1795 noted that while “the soil on the sea coast is hard, and reluctant to the plough;...farther back from the sea, it is yielding; and the crops of grain are equal to what can be produced in the western parts of New England.” From sailors on the ships that brought them timber, Cape Codders also heard of Maine’s thick interior forests.⁴⁵ The Cape Codders, believing tall trees grew in fertile soil, accustomed to the desertified, deforested Cape, must have found the hilly Penobscot country, with its abundance of well-wooded, shady uplands, powerfully attractive.

The Cape Codders took vegetation, soil type, drainage, and proximity to the river and its tributary streams into account when choosing farmsites that they hoped would make them self-sufficient. Those settling in Hampden took up lots on the terraces above the Penobscot River and in the rolling uplands in the south-central part of the township, where deep, loamy, relatively stone-free soils were prevalent. They avoided the northern part of town along the Souadabscook Stream where less arable, clayey, boggy soils were more common. Cape Codders in Orrington also selected promising farmsites: river terrace and upland lots in the southerly part of town where good soils predominated. Somewhat stony, but also loamy and deep, the south Orrington soils, although inferior to those in Hampden, were better than the poorly-drained, clayey soils that prevailed in the northern part of town.⁴⁶ Cape Codders in Buckstown, Frankfort, and Newburgh lived in areas with similar soil, although the terrain was somewhat hillier. Altogether, the Cape Cod colony in Maine covered approximately thirty square miles of well-drained uplands mantled with deep, loamy soil and hardwood forests, bordered on the north by boggy lowlands on the south by high, craggy hills.

Another factor that influenced the immigrants' choice of farmsites was proximity to other Cape Codders. Lot maps show that they preferred farms adjoining those of others from the Cape. In this regard they were like settlers from other regions of Massachusetts and New Hampshire who formed small colonies interrelated by kinship or community of origin. By 1810 Cape Codders and their families made up the overwhelming majority in those areas where they settled, while only a few lived elsewhere. In the rest of Hampden and Frankfort, settlers from southern Maine predominated; in northern Orrington immigrants were mostly from Suffolk County in Massachusetts; and most of Buckstown was settled by families from Essex County. Immigrants in this way preserved community traditions.⁴⁷

As surveyor Stone had reported, most of the river frontage in Hampden, Orrington, and Buckstown was occupied by 1786, largely by squatters who came from someplace other than Cape Cod. When the Cape Codders disembarked in Maine, mostly after 1790, they found the choicest sites already occupied. Most therefore purchased already-cleared farms from the squatters, opting to establish legal title later. The first lots they acquired were long, thin plots of about a hundred acres that ran inland from narrow frontage on the Penobscot River — lots that maximized community access to the river for fishing and transportation. After 1795, however, river lots were scarce, and later arrivals bought irregularly-shaped back lots, usually of about forty or fifty acres. In Hampden and Newburgh, back lots generally bordered the muddy Kennebec Road, opened between Hampden on the Penobscot and Vassalborough on the Kennebec River in circa 1800. In Orrington they fronted on the "Conduskeag" Road that ran parallel to the Penobscot River. Cape Codders do not seem to have moved into as many back lots in Frankfort and Buckstown, where the hills were probably too steep for farming away from the river.⁴⁸

Most of the lots purchased by Cape Cod families not only contained cleared land but farm buildings left by the former occupants. When Hezekiah Eldridge moved from Chatham to the Penobscot country in 1797, he bought a 100-acre working

CAPE COD COLONY IN MAINE

farm in Orrington.⁴⁹ That same year Barzillai Hopkins, a former Chatham yeoman who had been squatting on "Orphan Island" in the Penobscot River (now the town of Verona), bought one-half of an Orrington farm that included 50 acres with farm buildings and "improvements."⁵⁰ Hopkins later enlarged his holdings by acquiring another 50 acres from fellow Cape Codder Isaac Hopkins.⁵¹ Two immigrants from Provincetown, Barzillai Rich and Timothy Lombard, together bought a 150-acre farm in Orrington in 1798. This purchase, too, came complete with buildings, as well as fences and "waterways."⁵² In most cases the sellers left town shortly before, or not long after the sale.

Because the Cape Codders bought their farms from squatters, they lacked solid legal title. Settlers in Hampden were distressed to discover that land speculator Henry Knox claimed ownership of the southern part of the township, where most of the Cape Codders lived. This conflict was resolved amicably, however, for by the late 1790s Knox and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts agreed to put the northern boundary of the great proprietor's holdings safely south of the Cape Cod colony. Hampden's "Little Cape Cod" thus reverted to public ownership, and the Massachusetts government eventually agreed to grant title to all settlers.⁵³

There seems to have been an expectation among most settlers living on public land throughout the Maine frontier that they eventually would be given first option to buy their farms from the government for a low price and easy terms.⁵⁴ Such did not always happen, however. Settlers in Orrington, who believed they were on public land and who had earlier submitted a request to the Massachusetts government for land grants there, were surprised to learn in 1785 that the legislature had sold the entire township to a group of land speculators headed by Moses Knapp. The settlers had expected the government to hold the land off the market until some Indian land claims were disposed of, and had never received a reply to their own grant request. The Orrington settlers quickly dispatched two of their peers, early-comer John Brewer and Cape Codder Simeon Fowler, to Boston

to seek whatever redress they could from the government in Boston.

Arriving in the Massachusetts capital, the two settler emissaries again asked the legislature to grant the squatters their lands. After negotiations with both the Knapp group and with government officials, Brewer and Fowler achieved a compromise whereby settlers were permitted to purchase their lots, plus several hundred unlotted back acres, for a total price of £3,000. Brewer and Fowler signed a note for the agreed amount; the settlers were to reimburse them later. The rest of the township went to Knapp and his partners.⁵⁵

Many considered the price too high, and in 1788 the town petitioned the legislature to lower it. "We Would Remind your Honors," wrote thirty-seven residents of Orrington, including thirteen from Cape Cod, "that we are all Poor and hard Put to it for a subsistence for our famileys by Reason of the Newness of the Country and the Scarcity of Money that If we are oblige to Pay for our Lands according to the Deed our families Must Come to Want and the Settlement be broken up."⁵⁶ Despite their plea, the price was not lowered. Some left town as a result, as did Hannah Mann, who bought one hundred and fifty acres upriver in Township Number Ten (now Bradley) for only \$150.⁵⁷ Certainly many of the squatters who had originally settled in Orrington were poor, and it was perhaps the unexpectedly high price of land there that caused so many to sell out to newly arriving Cape Codders after 1790 and leave town.

Besides scattered farms, the Cape Codders also established three villages and one hamlet in their colony. All four overlooked the Penobscot River. None was large, as most Cape Codders lived on their farms. By 1850 the three villages — Hampden Corners, Orrington Post Office, and South Orrington — each consisted of approximately a dozen dwellings, a general store, a sawmill, a blacksmith shop, and wharf facilities on the river. The hamlet, North Buckstown, was even smaller. Each was located at a transportation nexus, and served to connect the Cape settlers to the river and the outside world. Not only did

CAPE COD COLONY IN MAINE

they have wharf facilities, but each was the terminus of a road that struck inland from the river, leading to back-lot farms.⁵⁸

OLD VALUES

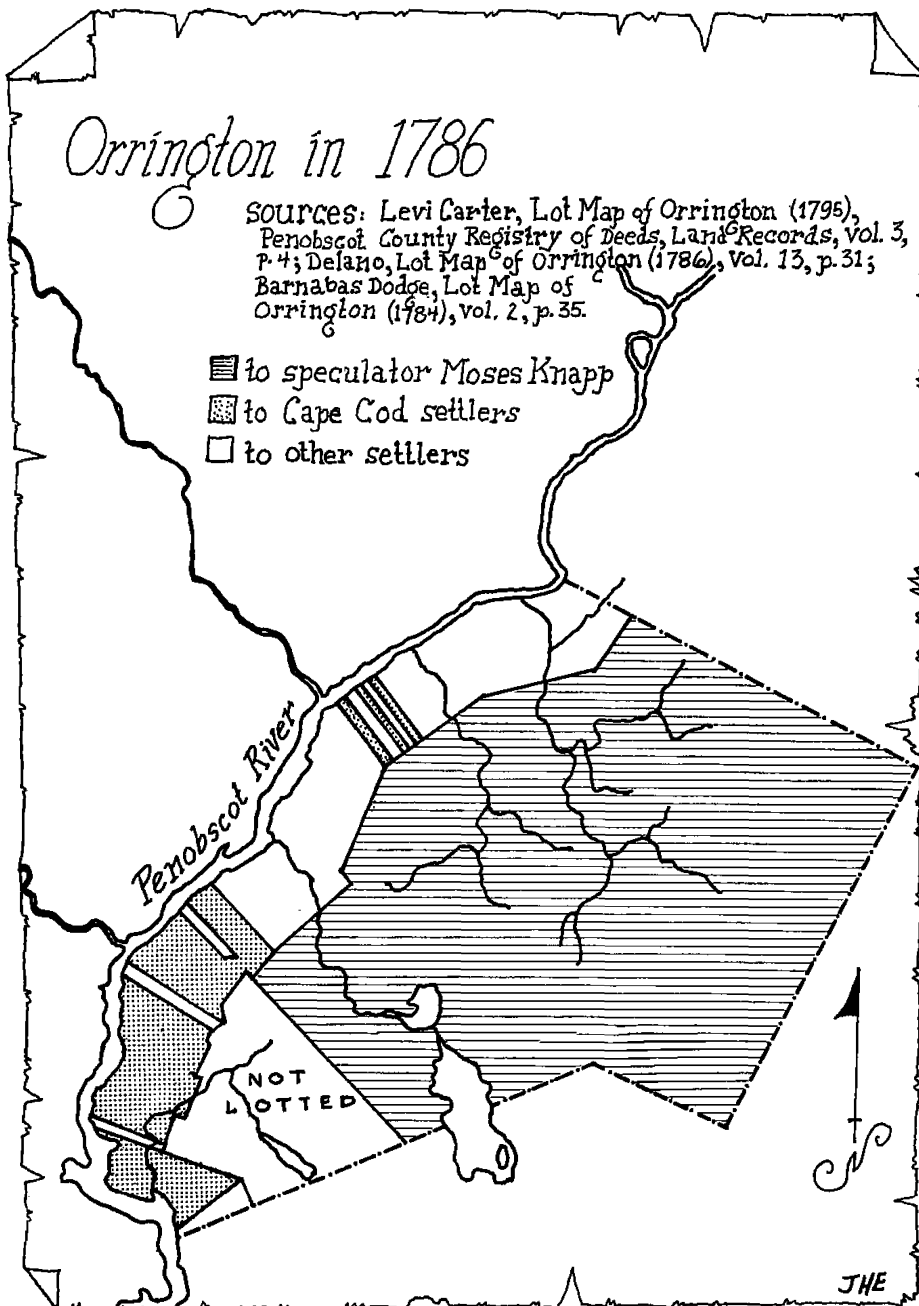
The men and women who left Cape Cod for Maine sought to preserve a preindustrial agrarian way of life that was becoming increasingly difficult at home. While some Cape farmers responded to the emerging dust bowl by taking up new occupations like offshore fishing or salt-making, those who migrated to Maine for the most part remained agriculturalists. Most engaged in an occupational pluralism, as they had on the Cape, that combined harvesting crops, keeping livestock, cutting timber, fishing in the Penobscot River and smaller streams, and doing odd jobs like hauling bricks and timber or hired field work. Moreover, these Yankee immigrants remained committed to the ideological viewpoint that farming was the cornerstone of the Republic, benefiting the entire community by providing food and firewood and by "improving" the landscape by clearing away the forest.

Almost all of the new arrivals from Cape Cod acquired farm lots. At least fifty-eight of the seventy-four Cape Cod men recorded as heads of household in Orrington in the 1800 federal census (78%) were also landowners.⁵⁹ Still others may have been tenant farmers or boarders living with a farming relative. John Rider, Jr., for example, probably lived with his father, John, Sr., in 1800; the elder Rider owned two farm lots. Half of the sixteen Cape Cod male heads of household living in Orrington in 1800 for whom there is no record of land ownership before 1805 shared the same surname with another man who did own a lot, and may have been boarding children or more distant kin.⁶⁰ The situation was similar in Hampden, where thirty-seven of fifty-three (70%) Cape Cod male heads of household in 1800 were landowners. Of the sixteen who did not appear on an 1802 lot map of Hampden as landowners, one, Jesse Arey, owned land but for some reason was not mentioned on the map; at least two (Isaac Hopkins, Jr., and Reuben Newcomb, Jr.) were sons of landowners; and another nine shared a common surname with

Orrington in 1786

Sources: Levi Carter, Lot Map of Orrington (1795), Penobscot County Registry of Deeds, Land Records, Vol. 3, p. 4; Delano, Lot Map of Orrington (1786), Vol. 13, p. 31; Barnabas Dodge, Lot Map of Orrington (1784), vol. 2, p. 35.

- ▨ to speculator Moses Knapp
- ▤ to Cape Cod settlers
- to other settlers



CAPE COD COLONY IN MAINE

a lotholder.⁶¹ As approximately half the immigrants had been landless or almost landless on Cape Cod, the move seems to have resulted in rapid upward mobility and the acquisition of yeoman status.

Most of these landowners called themselves yeomen after settling in Maine. Forty-three Cape Cod immigrant families purchased parcels of land in Orrington between 1790 and 1805 and recorded their deeds in the county registry. Of the men who made the deeds, thirty (70%) identified themselves as yeomen in at least one deed.⁶² A few — Joseph Baker, James Smith, Thomas Nickerson, and Simeon Fowler — also referred to themselves in subsequent deeds for second or third parcels as “gentleman” or “esquire,” further evidence of improved status.⁶³ In Fowler’s case, this was a reference to his position as a Justice of the Peace.⁶⁴ Nickerson became a merchant, one of only two Cape Cod yeomen in Orrington (the other was Samuel Rogers) to make such a transition.⁶⁵ Baker, Smith, and Fowler seem to have remained farmers regardless of their newly affected titles.

Preindustrial farmers typically supplemented their agricultural production with rural crafts, fishing, hunting, and lumbering. A few of the Cape Cod farmers were also craftspeople. Eliphalet and Warren Nickerson were housewrights.⁶⁶ Timothy Freeman and Nathaniel Gould were both cordwainers and farmers; Richard Godfrey was simply a cordwainer.⁶⁷ Archelaus Dean considered himself both a yeoman and a blacksmith.⁶⁸ Although crafts practiced by women were not recorded, many had skills such as spinning and weaving cloth, herbalism, or midwifery.

Others fished (as many had on the Cape) and cut timber. So many settlers fished from the Penobscot River that some began to fear depletion of the fisheries. A 1790 petition to the Massachusetts legislature, signed by 117 Penobscot settlers (including forty-seven Cape Codders) requested that limits be placed on the taking of salmon, shad, and alewives.⁶⁹

One Cape Cod immigrant, yeoman Jesse Arey of Hampden, kept an account book of his economic endeavors. Arey was born in 1760 in Eastham, the son of a mariner. In 1795 he appeared

in Hampden with his wife, Mercy, whom he had married in Wellfleet in 1790, and three small children.⁷⁰ Arey purchased a thirty-eight acre back lot in Hampden on the north side of the Kennebec Road in the summer of 1795, and a second lot of forty-one acres two years later.⁷¹ His oldest child died shortly after the Areys arrived in Hampden, but Jesse and Mercy had five more children between 1796 and 1813.⁷²

Jesse Arey's account book, kept from 1821 until his death in 1836, is a meticulous record of his business transactions. It reveals him as a quasi-subsistence farmer who earned extra income by selling both wood and his labor. His account with a local merchant indicates that Jesse and Mercy raised most of their own food. Purchases included a great deal of fish and lesser amounts of rum, tobacco, buttons, thread, onions, flour, corn, wine, sugar, iron, molasses, tea, honey, rice, and "sunders" — but no meat or vegetables. Arey also sometimes received commodities from his customers in lieu of cash. Fellow Cape Codder Isaac Hopkins (to whom Arey provided firewood, timber, crossbeams, posts, hay, pumpkins, and animal hides) paid him with nails, tea, tobacco, molasses, cloth, salt, flour, liniment, fish, buttons, sugar, shoes, rum, pearl ash, brandy, and rice.⁷³

Arey sold wood he cut on his farm, either in cords for firewood, or rudely hewn into posts, beams, rails, and knees. He sold pumpkins and potatoes when he had a surplus, which was not often. Occasionally he slaughtered a lamb or a calf, usually selling the skin and sometimes some of the meat. He even boarded horses for villagers from nearby Bangor. Mostly, though, he sold his labor, along with that of two of his sons, hauling wood and grain to the mills, clearing roadways, lugging bricks to the wharves on the river to be sold as ballast to shippers, haying, and plowing. Arey had forty-eight different customers between 1821 and 1829, most of them regulars, and traveled to work in Newburgh, Orrington, Bangor, Frankfort, and Belfast.⁷⁴

Arey failed to record anything more than cold debits and credits in his account book. There were no passages in the margins or beneath an account in which he wrote about farming as a way of life or a means of understanding the world. Never-



*History of Acadie, ~
Deering Collection.*

theless, most of the settlers in the Penobscot country — from Cape Cod or elsewhere — shared an agrarian *mentalité* that defined their world. This outlook was expressed in a 1786 issue of the *Falmouth Gazette*, at the time Maine's only newspaper. Appearing in the paper was a verse which extolled the wonders of nature, concluding:

These precious gifts, with numerous more
Which might be added to the score
Were made to serve the use of man,
When first the world and time began.⁷⁵

It was not sophisticated poetry, but it did succinctly sum up the attitude of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century New England farmers about nature. The products of their lands, rivers, sea, and forest were intended to be used, to produce useful things for themselves, their families, and their communities. Farmers were especially valuable members of society because their labor turned raw nature into food, lumber, and firewood — the foundation for civilized society. Maine farmers embraced the age-old image of the yeoman as the bedrock of society.

This *mentalité* was expressed by immigrants from Cape Cod, too — most clearly during the long struggles between settlers and speculators.⁷⁶ During the years between the American Revolution and the War of 1812, more than a score of petitions were sent to the Massachusetts legislature from settler communities in Maine seeking redress against speculators. In these documents the settlers sought to explain what they considered their place in the world and their notion of moral use of the land on the Maine frontier. Repeatedly, petitioning yeomen proffered the idea that land should be owned for use rather than profit, and that ownership of vast tracts for speculation was immoral because it withheld land from those who both needed it to feed themselves and who would use it for the good of the community. The 1788 petition from the settlers in Orrington explained their purpose in life was to create “a subsistence for our familieys.”⁷⁷ Orphan Island settlers, including Cape Codder Barzillai Hopkins, told the legislature they “Came to this Island,” suffering “with Hunger and Coald &... Allmoast Every Opperation But Death in Order to Clear up Land to try to Raise something to Suppoart them selves & families.”⁷⁸

Settlers asked the legislature for help not just for themselves and their families, but also in the name of community. Squatters in Eddy’s Town (now Eddington), only a few miles upriver from the Cape Cod colony in Maine, pointed out that they served the common good by improving the land. “Sundry of us have been upon these lands more than twelve years,” they wrote to the legislature, “labouring (we hoped) for ourselves & children, as well as for the common good of America.”⁷⁹ Orrington petitioners warned the legislature that deeding their town to speculators might break the settlement up, destroying a working community already in place.⁸⁰

The Yankees who settled the Maine frontier considered themselves “useful citizens of the commonwealth.”⁸¹ This conviction was expressed in 1786 in a front-page article in the *Falmouth Gazette* authored by “Scribble Scrabble,” who may have been publisher Thomas B. Waite, later an ardent Jeffersonian. Scribble Scrabble decried speculators on the

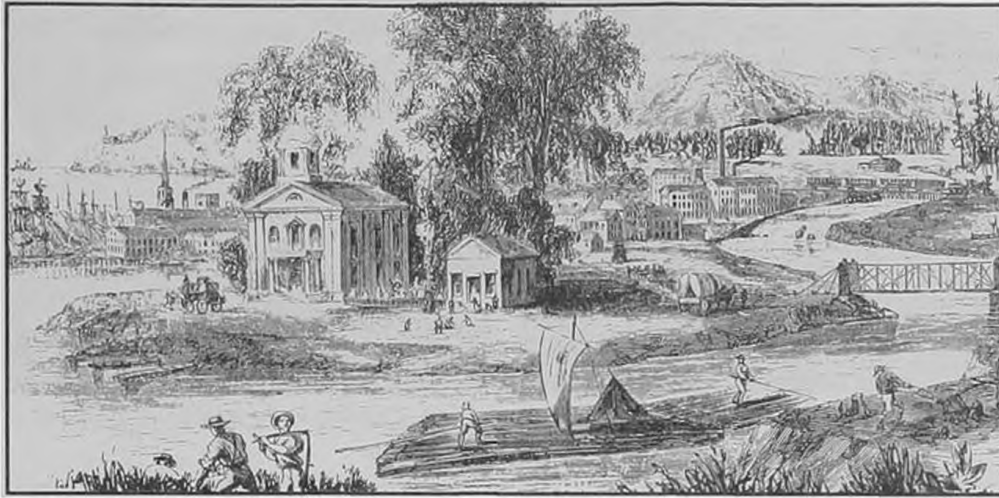
CAPE COD COLONY IN MAINE

grounds that ownership of large tracts of land was unproductive and undemocratic. Comparing the “luxurious, lordly proprietor” to the “honest hard labouring settler,” Scribble Scrabble pointedly used an agricultural metaphor when he wrote that “large tracts of land in the hands of individuals [in Europe]...have proved of the most pernicious consequences. —They have produced lords and barons, with their opposites, slaves and dependents....Political and moral evils of every kind have sprung up like odious weeds from a rich soil lying without cultivation.”⁸²

Scribble Scrabble’s metaphor would have made good sense to the yeoman farmers who left Cape Cod to come to the Maine frontier. Agrarian *mentalité* in late eighteenth-century America exalted agricultural labor and considered non-productive lands a “moral evil.” When the deteriorating ecosystem of the Cape reached the point where it could produce little else but “odious weeds,” farmers there left for more productive soil elsewhere. Their sense of self worth was tied to what they could produce as farmers, and as the productivity of their soil declined, so, too, must have the Cape Codders’ self-image. For both economic and psychological reasons then, they were compelled to leave the Cape.

The Cape Cod immigrants to Maine might have left their old homes behind, but they did not desert the community the Cape represented. We have seen that they settled close together in the same neighborhoods. They voiced their belief in the importance of keeping the community together in their struggle with land speculators. This attachment to community was also evident in their daily patterns of social interaction, and in their maintenance of ties with the “old country.”

While the Cape Codders interacted both economically and politically with their non-Cape Cod neighbors, they seem to have preferred social relationships within their own group. Unlike most frontier townships, Orrington had two Congregationalist churches, one in the Cape Cod section of town and another in the part of town settled mostly by immigrants from Suffolk County.⁸³ Their children often married other offspring of Cape Codders. Of the 654 people (signifying 327 couples) who



Cape Cod migrants found the Penobscot Valley a congenial backdrop for their vision of the yeoman republic. From their point of view, the emerging civilization in the District of Maine rested on the broad shoulders of the yeoman farmer. These ideals, particularly regarding the place of the farm family in the rise of the commonwealth, helped shape the political culture of the Maine frontier in the nineteenth century.

"History of Acadie," Deering Collection.

recorded their intention to marry with the Buckstown town clerk from 1793 through 1819, 510 were Buckstown residents, indicating most Buckstowners found a marriage partner within the town. Over twenty-seven years, only 144 out-of-towners married into Buckstown families. Twenty-eight of the out-of-town spouses hailed from Orland, which bordered Buckstown on the south. Orland, like southern Buckstown, was settled by immigrants from Essex County in Massachusetts, and few of these marriages seem to have involved Cape Codders. Seventy-four of the out-of-town spouses were from Hampden, Orrington, and Frankfort — towns which, like Buckstown, had large concentrations of Cape Codders. We cannot be sure from town records exactly how many of these marriages involved children of Cape Codders, but a comparison of surnames indicates that it was probably most. Furthermore, four marriages were announced between Buckstowners and people still living on Cape Cod, evidence of continued ties between the colony in Maine and the "old country" in Massachusetts.⁸⁴

Cape Codders who came to Maine brought with them a vernacular culture, or a Cape Cod way of doing things, that

CAPE COD COLONY IN MAINE



Patterns of fenestration, Hampden and Orrington. *Courtesy of the author.*

persisted in the new land. With few waterfalls on the outer Cape, millers there used windmills to grind grain. While the steep hills in the Penobscot country made windmills impractical, there were plenty of streams to drive water wheels. Cape Codders, unable or unwilling to make the transition to a new power source, took their grain to millers who migrated from other places. Conspicuously, the one lot at South Orrington village not owned by a Cape Codder was the mill lot.⁸⁵ Cape Codders, though, did bring with them their unique house style. True Cape Cod houses are distinguished not only by their low roofs, large central chimneys, and characteristic shape, but also by their pattern of fenestration, or arrangement of windows. The gabled ends of true Cape Cod houses were built with small windows just under the eaves, as well as large windows in the center. This kind of fenestration can still be found on the Cape. It is also still evident in those neighborhoods in the Penobscot country settled by Cape Codders, although rare elsewhere in Maine.⁸⁶

CONCLUSION

The Cape Codders who, between 1770 and 1810, joined the southern New England migration to Maine, came as immigrants to a new land. They were poor and middling people, seeking to preserve a cherished way of life. They sought fair soils and abundant land, and found them. They also advanced their status in society; most became landowners, and some even acquired the coveted titles of “gentleman” and “esquire.” They brought with

them not only their vernacular architecture, but, more importantly, an agrarian *mentalité*. Their ideas about the importance of the yeoman farmer would contribute to the politics of the Maine frontier in the nineteenth century, when farmers embraced Jeffersonian and Jacksonian ideals. Like all immigrants to Maine, the sum of the Cape Codders' experience joined with that of natives and other immigrants, whether from elsewhere in New England, from Canada, or from abroad, in the complex mixture of values that would define Maine's future.

NOTES

¹Some of the material contained in this article first appeared in Jamie H. Eves, "Yankee Immigrants: Ecological Crisis and the Settlement of Maine, 1763-1825," M.A. thesis, University of Maine, 1988.

²Thanks to two exceptional civil servants, United States 1800 federal census enumerators George Haliburton and Samuel Cony, we know a great deal about from where the Yankee settlers came. Haliburton, who enumerated twenty-six townships and unincorporated settlements along and near the Penobscot River, and Cony, who polled thirty-seven communities in the upper Kennebec River Valley, exceeded their instructions by inquiring as to respondents' place of origin — a question not officially added to the federal census until 1850. Between the two of them, Haliburton and Cony recorded migration data for immigrant families in about half the towns on the Maine frontier. In the upper Kennebec region, 46 percent of all new arrivals were from Massachusetts, 31 percent were from New Hampshire, and 19 percent were from elsewhere in Maine. In the Penobscot Valley, 46 percent were from Massachusetts, 8 percent were from New Hampshire, 35 percent were from elsewhere in Maine, and 11 percent hailed from other places, mostly Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, the British Isles, and British North America (Canada and the Maritimes). Population schedules of the second census of the United States (1800), National Archives, microcopy no. 32, reel 7, (hereinafter U.S. 1800 ms. federal census), (Maine 2): 1-187, 279-459.

³Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington, comps., *American Population Before the Federal Census of 1790* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), pp. 21, 27, 29-30; United States 1820 federal census.

⁴See for example John Brereton, in Warner F. Gookin, ed., *A Voyage of Discovery to the Southern Parts of Norumbega* (Edgarstown, Massachusetts: Dukes County Historical Society, 1950), pp. 12-13; Gabriel Archer, in Gookin, *Voyage of Discovery*, p. 12; Martin Pring, in George Parker Winship, ed., *Sailors' Narratives of Voyages Along the New England Coast, 1524-1624* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1905), p. 54.

⁵Samuel de Champlain, *The Voyages and Exploration of Samuel de Champlain*, ed. by Edward Gaylord Bourne, trans. Annie Nettleton Bourne (Toronto: Courier Press, 1911), pp. 115-17; Samuel de Champlain, *Les Voyages de Samuel de Champlain* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1951), pp. 107-08 (author's translation).

⁶*A Relation or Journal of the English Plantation at Plymouth in New England, by Certain English Adventurers Both Merchants and Others* (New York: Corinth Books, 1963), pp. 15-22. Although the author's name is not given, most was probably written by Bradford. See

CAPE COD COLONY IN MAINE

also William Bradford, *Of Plimoth Plantation* (Boston: Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1899), pp. 95, 97-107, 135.

⁷Shebna Rich, *Truro, Cape Cod; or, Land Marks and Sea Marks* (Boston: D. Lothrop and Co., 1884), p. 259.

⁸For a more detailed account of this process, see Eves, "Yankee Immigrants," pp. 34-91.

⁹Massachusetts tax valuation (1771), in Bettye Hobbs Pruitt, Comp., *The Massachusetts Tax Valuation of 1771* (Boston: C.K. Hall, 1978), pp. 689-93.

¹⁰Levi Whitman, "A Topographical Description of Wellfleet, in the County of Barnstable," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 1st ser., 3 (1794): 117-26.

¹¹"A Topographical Description of Truro," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 1st ser., 3 (1794): 195-203.

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³Jedidiah Morse, *The American Universal Geography: Or a View of the Present State of All the Empires, Kingdoms, States and Republiks in the Known World, and of the United States of America in Particular* (Boston: Thomas Andrews, 1805), p. 375.

¹⁴Massachusetts Archives, 1: 127-28, 158-60, 190-92, 257-59, 409.

¹⁵Whitman, "Topographical Description of Wellfleet," pp. 119-21; Ralph H. Brown, *Historical Geography of the United States* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1948), pp. 116-17.

¹⁶"Topographical Description of Truro," pp. 195-203.

¹⁷Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York*, ed. Barbara Miller Solomon (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), volume 3, p. 59.

¹⁸Morse, *American Universal Geography*, p. 376.

¹⁹"Topographical Description of Truro," pp. 195-203.

²⁰Frederick Freeman, *The History of Cape Cod; The Annals of Barnstable County* (Boston: Geo. C. Rand and Avery, 1860), volume 2, pp. 389-90; Henry C. Kittredge, *Cape Cod: Its People and Their History* (New York: H.W. Blake, 1890), pp. 107-08.

²¹Kittredge, *Cape Cod*, pp. 107-08; Scott Corbett, *Cape Cod's Way: An Informal History* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1955), pp. 28-29.

²²U.S. 1800 ms. federal census, (Maine 2): 1-187.

²³*Ibid.*; Pruitt, *Massachusetts Tax Valuation*, sections 1203, 1207, 1212, 1213.

²⁴Pruitt, *Massachusetts Tax Valuation*, section 1207.

²⁵Account of guardian of Timothy Freeman (1766), in estate papers of Thomas Freeman, probate records, Barnstable County [Massachusetts] Registry of Probate, 17: 254; "Early Settlers in Orrington," *Bangor Historical Magazine*, 5 (1890): 4-19.

²⁶Pruitt, *Massachusetts Tax Valuation*, section 1207.

²⁷"Early Settlers in Orrington," pp. 4-19; Pruitt, *Massachusetts Tax Valuation*, section 1207.

²⁸"Early Settlers in Orrington," pp. 4-19.

²⁹U.S. 1800 ms. federal census, (Maine 2): 1-187.

³⁰Pruitt, *Massachusetts Tax Valuation*, section 1207.

³¹*Ibid.*; U.S. 1800 ms. federal census, (Maine 2): 1-187.

³²Pruitt, *Massachusetts Tax Valuation*, section 1203.

³³Deed of Caleb Severence to Hezekiah Eldridge and Levi Young (1797), Hancock County [Maine] Registry of Deeds (hereinafter HRD), 5: 246.

³⁴Deed of John Stanton to Ephraim Doane and Heman Smith (1749), HRD, 3: 200; deed of William Kent to Barzillai Hopkins (1787), HRD, 6: 402; deed of Joseph Baker, Jr., to Dean Smith and John Smith (1802), HRD, 12: 40; deed of John Rogers to Isaiah Nickerson (1789), HRD, 6: 10; deed of Freeman Cobb and Samuel Holbrook to Richard

CAPE COD COLONY IN MAINE

Kent (1789), HRD, 7: 75; deed of Robert McCurdy to Jonathan Haskins (1794), HRD, 3: 98.

³⁵Pruitt, *Massachusetts Tax Valuation*, sections 1212 and 1213.

36. Deed of James Whalan to Benjamin Swett (1793), HRD, 2: 300; deed of Benjamin Snow to Joshua Rich (1795), HRD, 3: 352; deed of Abner Knowles to Jesse Arey (1795), HRD, 3: 396; deed of Levi Fowler to James Arey (1795), HRD, 3: 431; deed of Joseph Cole to Ezekiel Atwood (1791), HRD, 2: 509; deed of Reuben Newcomb to Lemuel Newcomb (1795), HRD, 3: 151; deed of John Hegan to Nehemiah Rich (1795), HRD, 3: 339; deed of Jonathan Philbrook to Harding Snow (1787), HRD, 14: 420; deed of Jeremiah Holmes to Barzillai Rich and Timothy Lombard (1789), HRD, 7: 275; deed of Moses Wentworth to Samuel Ryder (1799), HRD, 7: 5; deed of Thomas Smith and Jesse Smith to Richard Ryder (1798), HRD, 10: 452.

³⁷"Early Settlers of Orrington," 5: 4-19; Ava Harriet Chadbourne, *Maine Place Names and the Peopling of Its Towns* (Portland: Bond Wheelwright, 1955), p. 191.

³⁸Population schedules (manuscript) of the first census of the United States (1790), National Archives, microcopy no. 637, reel 2 (Maine 1): 51-115; U.S. 1800 ms. federal census, (Maine 2): 1-187.

³⁹HRD, vols. 1-15. Genealogical references confirm this chronology. "Early Settlers in Orrington," 3 (1888): 65; 4 (1889): 211-19; 5 (1890): 4-19; Donald Arey, Comp., *Arey Genealogy* (Hopedale, Massachusetts: n. p., 1982), pp. 30-31.

⁴⁰William Hammatt to Esther Hammatt, August 22-24, 1823, Bangor [Maine] Public Library.

⁴¹Jacob Holyoke, ms. written in 1860 and read posthumously in 1869 at the Bangor, Maine, Centennial Celebration. The clearing was on Holyoke's father's farm when Jacob was a boy. *The Centennial Celebration of the Settlement of Bangor, September 30, 1869* (Bangor: Committee of Arrangements, 1870), pp. 88-90. Thomas Pownall, *A Topographical Description of the Dominions of the United States of America* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1949 [1776]), pp. 71-72.

⁴²Joseph Chadwick, survey map of Penobscot River (1768), maps nos. 1-7 in book of maps of Waldo Patent, Maine Historical Society Library, Portland, Maine.

⁴³Jonathan Stone to Henry Knox, quoted in Hampden [Maine] Historical Society, *Historical Sketches of the Town of Hampden, Maine* (Ellsworth, Maine: Ellsworth American, 1976), pp. 6-7.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*

⁴⁵James Sullivan, *History of the District of Maine* (Augusta: Maine State Museum, 1970 [1775]), pp. 6-7.

⁴⁶I identified the locations of the Cape Codders' lots from: Park Holland, lot map of Hampden (1802), land records, Penobscot County [Maine] Registry of Deeds, 1: 41 and Delano, lot map of Orrington (1786, copied by S.B. Stone in 1845), land records, Penobscot County [Maine] Registry of Deeds, 13: 31. Data on soil types is from Kenneth J. LaFlamme, S. Von Day, and J.S. Hardesty, *Soil Survey of Penobscot County, Maine* (Washington, D.C.: United States Dept. of Agriculture, 1959), maps 239, 240, 246-49, 255-58, 262-64.

⁴⁷Holland, lot map of Hampden; Delano, lot map of Orrington; author's personal inspection of cemeteries in Buckstown, Winterport, and Newburgh; U.S. 1800 ms. federal census, (Maine 2): 1-187.

⁴⁸HRD, vols. 1-15; Holland, lot map of Hampden; Delano, lot map of Orrington.

⁴⁹Deed of Caleb Severance to Hezekiah Eldridge and Levi Young (1797), HRD, 5: 246.

⁵⁰Deed of Joshua Harriman to Barzillai Hopkins and Joshua Hopkins (1797),

CAPE COD COLONY IN MAINE

HRD, 5: 226.

⁵¹Deed of Isaac Hopkins to Barzillai Hopkins (1798), HRD, 6: 402.

⁵²Deed of Jeremiah Holmes to Barzillai Rich and Timothy Lombard (1798), HRD, 7: 275.

⁵³Alan Taylor, "The Disciples of Samuel Ely: Settler Resistance Against Henry Knox on the Waldo Patent, 1785-1801," *Maine Historical Society Quarterly*, 26 (Fall 1986): 66-100.

⁵⁴Robert E. Moody, "Samuel Ely: Forerunner of Shays," *New England Quarterly*, 5 (January 1932): 123. See also David C. Smith, "Maine and the Public Domain: Land Dispersal on the Northeastern Frontier," in David M. Ellis, et al., *The Frontier in American Development* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1969), pp. 113-37; and Margaret F. Wilde, "History of the Public Land Policy of Maine, 1620-1820," M.A. Thesis, University of Maine, 1932.

⁵⁵Resolve of Massachusetts General Court creating the township of Orrington, March 25, 1786, quoted in Mildred N. Thayer, "History," in Brewer [Maine] 150th Anniversary Committee, *History and Families*, pp. 32-35; Petition of inhabitants of Maine's Penobscot River area to Massachusetts General Court, January 7, 1788, in James Phinney Baxter, comp., *Documentary History of the State of Maine* 21 (18__): 423-26; *History of Penobscot County, Maine, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches* (Cleveland: Williams, Chase, and Col., 1882), p. 469.

⁵⁶Statement of John Brewer to Massachusetts General Court, November 7, 1788, in Baxter, *Documentary History of Maine* 22 (18__): 109-10.

⁵⁷Resolve of Massachusetts General Court, November 9, 1787, in Baxter, *Documentary History of Maine* 21 (18__): 391-93.

⁵⁸Land records, Penobscot County [Maine] Registry of Deeds, atlas: 86.

⁵⁹According to names appearing on Holland, lot map of Hampden, and Delano, lot map of Orrington; and who recorded deeds in the Hancock County Registry between 1790, when it opened, and 1805.

⁶⁰U.S. 1800 ms. federal census, (Maine 2): 1-187; HRD, vols. 1-15; Delano, lot map of Orrington.

⁶¹U.S. 1800 ms. federal census, (Maine 2): 1-187; Holland, lot map of Hampden.

⁶²HRD, vols. 1-15.

⁶³Deed of Francis Drew to Joseph Baker (1795), HRD, 3: 152; deed of ? to James Smith (1792), HRD, 1: 486; deed of Isaac Hopkins and Anne Hopkins to Thomas Nickerson (1800), HRD, 7: 411; deed of Joseph Arey to Simeon Fowler (1782), HRD, 3: 518.

⁶⁴Fowler witnessed many deeds in the Penobscot area, identifying himself as a Justice of the Peace. HRD, vols. 1-15.

⁶⁵Deed of Moses Baker to Thomas Nickerson (1801), HRD, 8: 83.

⁶⁶Deed of Simeon Fowler and John Brewer to Warren Nickerson (1796), HRD, 5: 506; deed of Simeon Fowler and John Brewer to Eliphalet Nickerson (1796), HRD, 5: 507.

⁶⁷Deed of Perez Hamlin to Nathaniel Gould (1794), HRD, 3: 122; deed of James Dean to Richard Godfrey (1796), HRD, 4: 467.

⁶⁸Deed of Simeon Smith to Archelaus Dean (1800), HRD, 13: 142.

⁶⁹Petition of inhabitants of Penobscot River area in Maine to Massachusetts General Court, Nov. 23, 1790, in Baxter, *Documentary History of Maine* 22 (18__): 398.

⁷⁰Donald Arey, *Arey Genealogy*, 30-31.

⁷¹Deed of Abner Knowles to Jesse Arey (1795), HRD, 3: 396; deed of Ruth Newcomb, et al, to Jesse Arey (1797), HRD, 5: 310.

⁷²Donald Arey; *Arey Genealogy*, 30-31.

CAPE COD COLONY IN MAINE

⁷³Jesse Arey, business account book (1821-1836), Bangor [Maine] Public Library, unpagel. Mislabeled in card catalog as John Arey's business account book.

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵Falmouth Gazette, January 21, 1786.

⁷⁶For a detailed treatment of these struggles throughout Maine, see Alan Taylor, *Liberty Men and Great Proprietors: The Revolutionary Settlement on the Maine Frontier, 1760-1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990).

⁷⁷Brewer to General Court, *Documentary History of Maine*, 22 (18__): 109-10.

⁷⁸Petition of Inhabitants of Orphan Island, Maine, to Massachusetts General Court (n.d.), in Baxter, *Documentary History of Maine* 21 (18__): 38-39.

⁷⁹Petition of settlers in Eddy's Town, Maine, to Massachusetts General Court, Oct. 16, 1786, in Baxter, *Documentary History of Maine* 21 (18__): 250-51.

⁸⁰Brewer to General Court, *Documentary History of Maine* 22 (18__): 109-10.

⁸¹Petition of settlers on Waldo Patent in Maine to Massachusetts General Court, 1795-96, quoted in Moody, "Samuel Ely," pp. 125-27.

⁸²Cumberland (formerly Falmouth) Gazette, June 8, 1786.

⁸³Levi Carter, map of the town of Orrington (1795), land records, Penobscot County [Maine] Registry of Deeds, 3: 4.

⁸⁴Bucksport, Maine, vital records, typescript copy, Bangor [Maine] Public Library.

⁸⁵Information on millers based on local histories, deeds, and lot maps.

⁸⁶Based on an automobile canvass of the Penobscot area conducted in 1987.

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