



Detail of map of "Small Point Great Marsh," Georgetown, Maine by Mark Langdon Hill, dated 16 August 1792. Image courtesy of Kendrick Daggett with permission from the Lincoln County Registry of Probate, Wiscasset, ME.

RISING IN THE EAST: ORDER AND IDENTITY IN THE MAPPING OF A MAINE TOWN DURING THE FEDERAL PERIOD

BY KENDRICK PRICE DAGGETT

In 1794, the General Court in Boston passed a resolve requiring all towns in Massachusetts and the District of Maine to submit plans that would aid in the creation of an official state map. The legislature's directive was part of the ongoing nationwide quest to establish order and identity in America following the Treaty of Paris and the break with Britain. Never a foregone conclusion, the evolving national identity was born through a process of invention and was the offspring of contention and debate among various segments of society. This article analyzes the map of Georgetown, Maine drawn by Mark Langdon Hill against the backdrop of this formative period. By accepting the commission to produce Georgetown's map, Hill, along with the other creators of the town plans required by the capital, became an active participant in the process of ordering and cultural invention taking place in the Federal period. Showing evidence of both a public and private agenda the landscapes he laid down on his sheets of paper imposed not only a geographic order on Georgetown but also endowed it with a municipal identity based upon class, religion, and economics. The author, who earned his MA in American and New England Studies from the University of Southern Maine, is a retired educator. He has written articles on maritime history and is author of Fifty Years of Fortitude: The Maritime Career of Captain Jotham Blaisdell of Kennebunk, Maine, 1810–1860 (Mystic, CT: Mystic Seaport Museum, 1988).

Order and Identity

Following the American Revolution, order and identity became central issues facing the citizens of the newly formed United States. The emerging republic had successfully broken with its colonial past by repudiating many of the traditional fonts of order and power. The resulting

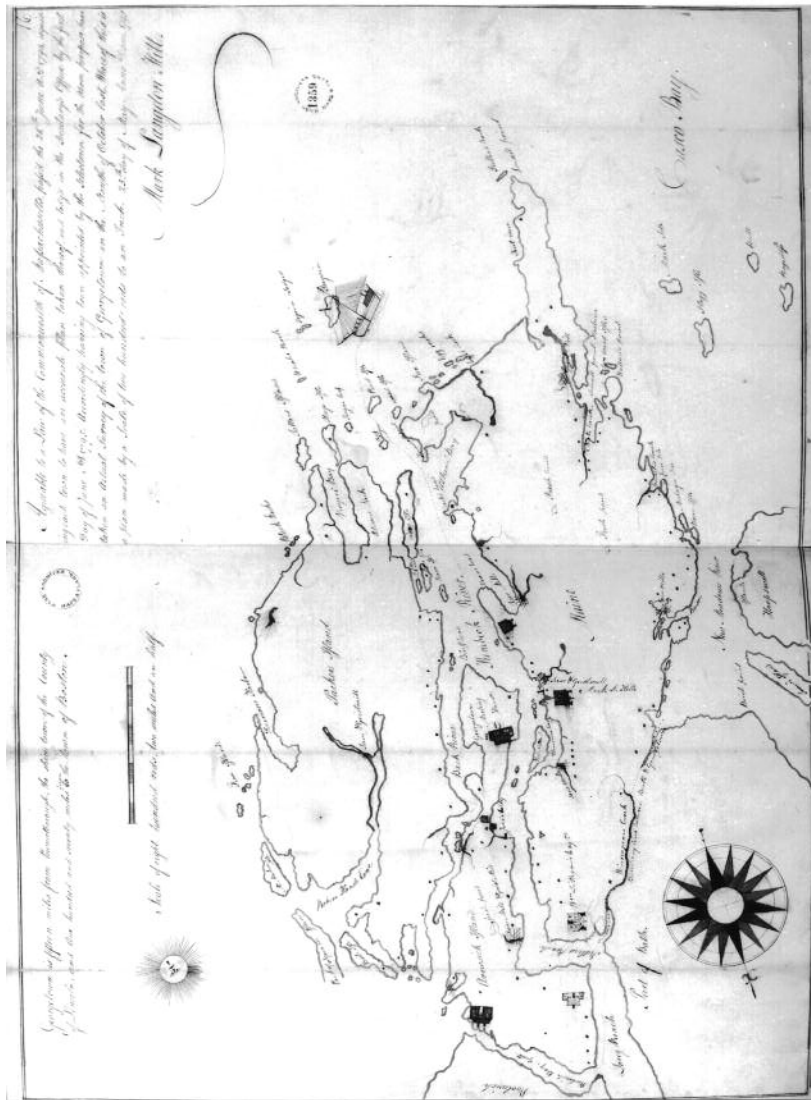
transition from Englishmen to Americans raised questions of identity on a telescoping series of levels that ranged from the national to the regional, from the regional to the state, from the state to the local, and ultimately from the local to the personal. Never a forgone conclusion, the evolving national identity was born through a process of invention and was the offspring of the contention and debate experienced at each level of power.

As Charles Clark and James Leamon point out in their article, "Maine in the New Nation," questions about order and the ramifications of the revolution sprang from the tensions caused by conflicting notions of liberty and authority. Not surprisingly, such notions were often colored by an individual's social or economic footing. In *Liberty Men and Great Proprietors: The Revolutionary Settlement On the Maine Frontier*, Alan Taylor discusses the diverging as well as intersecting interests of the different groups involved.¹

As Taylor makes clear, an ascendant voice in the debate belonged to those who identified themselves as Federalists. Largely conservative and privileged men, they saw the 1788 ratification of the Federal Constitution as a triumph, which had sprung out of a need to stop popular dissent and bring social order. With adherents from mercantile and professional classes as well as the landed gentry, they envisioned a hierarchical society that was at once orderly and prosperous, moral and stable. In their eyes, the guidance of this society was the province of a "natural elite," a role they reserved to themselves by virtue of what they perceived as their intellectual and moral superiority.²

Whether clinging precariously or standing solidly, a large portion of the American population was relegated to the lower rungs of the social ladder by this elitist construction. In response, grumblings of dissent escaped from among those whose livelihoods were actively wrested from the land and sea as they struggled to negotiate their places within the confines of the Federalist cosmos. Not content to live as docile recipients of paternalistic instruction, experience had taught them that heavy-handed guidance from above could be burdensome and even detrimental. For this class of men, the goals of affluent "mercantile capitalists" more often than not stood in stark contrast to their own.³

On the other hand, many of these people, too, had a vested interest in supporting a social order that promoted morality and prosperity. Content to locate themselves within the Federalist order, solid artisans and yeoman farmers willingly granted political leadership to the "gentlemen" in their communities. In return, they expected these men to share with them a common thread of interests and beliefs and to place their loyalties with the local community first rather than some outside interest.⁴



Plan of Georgetown by Mark Langdon Hill, dated 25 May 1795. Image courtesy of the Massachusetts Archives, Boston, MA.

Entwined with the ongoing public preoccupation with social order and identity during the era was the realization of another important area of national need: the basic ordering and inventorying of the territorial holdings that comprised the United States. Across the new nation, the mapping impetus grew during the 1790s. In 1792, following the lead of other states, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts began to investigate the possibility of creating an official state map. In 1794, a resolution was passed requiring each town in the commonwealth proper, as well as the District of Maine, to have a plan drawn up which would be sent to Boston and there compiled into a larger state plan. One of the maps produced under this directive was that of Georgetown in the District of Maine. In addition to fulfilling the mundane task of territorial delineation, Georgetown's cartographer embellished his plan with expressions of particular state, local, and personal points of view, each of which sought to influence the ongoing dialogue of cultural invention.

Georgetown's Cartographer

In August of 1794, prodded by the General Court in Boston, the selectmen of Georgetown entrusted to Mark Langdon Hill the task of surveying and drawing a plan of the town. The map Hill ultimately produced is one of only four created by him that survive. Although never his formal career, Hill evidently had more than a cursory knowledge of surveying. In the inventory of his estate, taken nearly a half a century later, he still possessed a "compass stand & chain & matching instruments" valued at \$15. The extant plans indicated that he also possessed a certain amount of artistic sensibility. Each of the four maps was embellished with an elaborate compass rose accompanied by the full-faced image of a rising sun, which served as Hill's designation of the east.⁵

These wide-eyed countenances staring placidly from their respective pages not only announced the dawn of a literal day, but served as the heralds of a new era. Hill had grown up and come of age during the revolution and its aftermath and was in fact only four years older than the new nation itself. His artistic convention became an apt symbol for the new beginnings, abundant opportunities, and rising prospects entailed in the evolving social, political, and economic institutions of Georgetown, the District of Maine, and even the nation at large.

At the age of twenty-two, Hill was a young man who dreamed great dreams. A neophyte trader of modest personal means, he wasted neither time nor effort in positioning himself within the community's social and

economic hierarchy. Among the credentials he coveted as he worked to consolidate his standing was the badge of public service. In the previous year, although Hill was just over the threshold of legal manhood, the town fathers had nominated him as Georgetown's representative to a statehood convention held in Portland. Other posts would follow. Before the decade was out, and while still in his twenties, Hill would be named an overseer of Bowdoin College, elected to the General Court in Boston, and appointed a justice of the peace. Following the turn of the century, he would go on to fill several other notable offices, including chief justice of the Court of Sessions, Massachusetts state senator, and United States congressman. In 1794, however, those positions were still part of an unrealized future. With the mapping of Georgetown, Hill was embarking on only the second of his public commissions.⁶

By accepting the commission to produce Georgetown's map, Hill became an active participant in the process of cultural invention. By its very nature, a map is an invented document. Drafted for a particular purpose, a map has an agenda and a point of view, which are reflected in the types of information it presents to the viewer. As a metaphor for collected human knowledge, it is a constructed image that exists within a certain social context. There is manipulation of information involved in its creation, and consideration must be given to its author's identity, the reason it was made, and how it was used.⁷

The knowledge Hill brought to the drafting of his plan of Georgetown was gained not only from the land survey he went on to conduct that October, but also from his years of residence within the community. That knowledge was filtered through the prism of his unique perspective, based on his background and his aspirations, to create a document that was more than a geographic rendering. Through the landscapes he delineated upon his sheets of paper, Hill not only imposed a geographic order on Georgetown, but also endowed it with a municipal identity based upon class, politics, and economics. With the same strokes of his pen, and with no attempt at subtlety, he fixed his own personal identity within that framework.

By birth and upbringing, Mark Langdon Hill could claim membership in the upper class. A native of Biddeford, Maine, he had arrived in Georgetown a dozen years earlier as a child of ten, following his widowed mother's marriage to seventy-two-year-old James McCobb. Hill's aged stepfather was Georgetown's wealthiest citizen, and McCobb's imposing mansion overlooking the waters of the lower Kennebec River became his new home. Here young Hill found himself residing in a seat of local power from which McCobb wielded his considerable influence in the civic, ecclesiastic, economic, and military affairs of the town.⁸



Portrait of Mark Langdon Hill by Benjamin Greenleaf, dated April 1818. Image courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library, New York, NY.

While the atmosphere and activity that surrounded Mark Hill in the McCobb home undoubtedly colored his view of the world and influenced the formation of his self-concept as well as his personal aspirations, he also developed under the mantle of an equally significant personal heritage. Indeed, he was christened with a name that served as a memorial to that heritage and proclaimed him the scion of two notable families: the Langdons and the Hills. That Mark Hill was conscious of this is evident from a letter written by his older half-brother, Jeremiah Hill, Jr., in January of 1801. Responding to Mark Hill's request for a family history, Jeremiah, Jr. provided a Hill genealogy and the reassurance that "[their] great-grandfather . . . was a man of note" and "[their] grandfather one of the first men in the town in his day."⁹

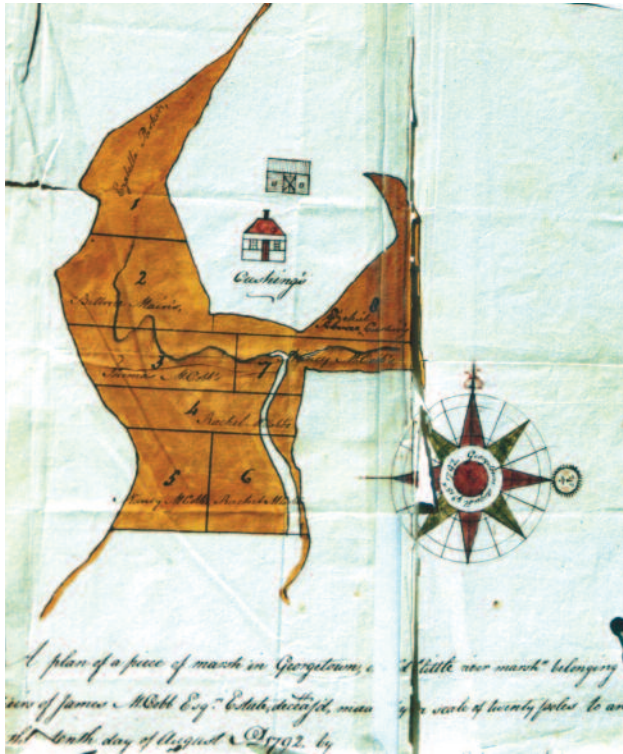
If McCobb was a name of some account on the Kennebec, the Hills were prominent along the banks of the Saco. Mark Hill's late father, Jeremiah Hill, Sr., had served as a justice of the peace and had been active in the affairs of Biddeford. He was six times the town representative to the

General Court, and, with the exception of 1771, had repeatedly served as a selectman from 1759 to 1774. His eldest son, Jeremiah Hill, Jr., continued the family tradition. He attended Harvard, was an officer during the revolution, became a successful merchant, served in the General Court, and was Biddeford's collector of customs.¹⁰

Mark Hill's mother was born Mary Langdon in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Although her father was a prosperous farmer who served in local government, it was her older brothers, John and Woodbury, who raised the family fortunes and status. By the time of the American Revolution both men were wealthy Portsmouth merchants. During the war, the brothers were active patriots. The eldest brother, Woodbury, had served in the provincial assembly and the Continental Congress. In addition to holding government posts, the other brother, John, saw military service and later represented New Hampshire at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. That Mark Hill valued his connection with the Langdons and attached social significance to it is not surprising. His uncle, John Langdon, went on to become governor of New Hampshire in 1805, a post he filled annually, with the exception of 1809, until 1811. A prominent feature in a portrait of Hill painted during this period is the letter in his hand addressed to Governor Langdon in Portsmouth.¹¹

Mark Hill may have sprung from one privileged background and been nurtured within another, but upon coming of age he lacked the economic footing enjoyed by other members of his family. His father, Jeremiah Hill, Sr., had died intestate, i.e., without having made a will, in 1779 at the age of fifty-six. At the time of his death, the considerable assets of Jeremiah Hill, Sr., included a homestead of 340 acres with the house and its furnishings, two barns with stock and tools, a mill interest, and other land holdings. The bulk of the estate was granted to his eldest son, Jeremiah Hill, Jr., while the widow Mary, who was the senior Hill's second wife and junior Hill's stepmother, received lifetime use of half the house and a barn along with parcels of field, marsh, and other acreage. As the youngest son of a second marriage, seven-year-old Mark's portion was two parcels of land, totaling twenty-five acres.¹²

Yet, as he approached adulthood, Mark Hill was not without options. His paltry patrimony was somewhat augmented when, at the age of sixteen, he purchased fifty acres of land in Georgetown from his stepfather. James McCobb's will also held the promise of fifty additional acres in recognition of what he noted as Hill's "kindness and particular attention to [him] in [his] Old Age." However, in the final settlement of McCobb's estate, this last inheritance was not realized. As such, when he approached



Map of “Little River Marsh,” Georgetown, Maine by Mark Langdon Hill, dated 15 August 1792. Image courtesy of Kendrick Daggett with permission from the Lincoln County Registry of Probate, Wiscasset, ME.

his majority, Hill’s holdings consisted of seventy-five acres of land divided between Biddeford and Georgetown.¹³

When the time came, Hill tied his fortunes to Georgetown. In 1793, having turned twenty-one, he sold his land in Biddeford to a cousin for the sum of fifty pounds. In the deed, he styled himself “trader,” a calling that had served other members of his family well. Undoubtedly the cash he raised aided in establishing his commercial venture in the town on the Kennebec.¹⁴

By remaining in Georgetown, Hill could take advantage of a pre-existing network to launch his quest for the material success and social approbation that would secure his claim to the cultural standing that he saw as his birthright. Among Georgetown’s advantages over Biddeford or Portsmouth was the fact that, for over half of Hill’s life, it had been his home, and that, following his stepfather’s death, he and his mother would continue to reside in the McCobb mansion. In the rather convoluted set-

tlement of James McCobb's estate, Hill's mother, the widow McCobb, first gained lifetime use of half the mansion by right of dower. However, within weeks of the final settlement, she consolidated her position by purchasing shares in the house from McCobb's heirs until she owned most of the building outright. Although still a young man, it was in Georgetown that Hill had already established a tentative personal reputation. Growing up as a member of James McCobb's household, he would have become a familiar figure to the fellow townsmen with whom his stepfather had shared local power.¹⁵

The selection, in 1793, of the twenty-one-year-old Hill to be Georgetown's representative at the Portland statehood convention is evidence of the town fathers' perception of his potential ability. When the need arose a year later for a plan of Georgetown to be made, Hill's recent service, coupled with his training as a surveyor, made him an apt candidate. His choice to draw the official town plan may also have been furthered by the quality and detail evident in three maps he had created two years earlier to facilitate the partitioning of James McCobb's marshlands among his heirs.

Boston's Mapping Initiative

The post that Hill was called to fill that August was the direct result of action taken by the state legislature in Boston two months prior. In June of 1794, seeking a means to gather the geographic and economic information that would aid in the production of a state map, the General Court passed an act that required all towns and districts under its jurisdiction to take surveys and create plans. The governing body's justification was clearly spelled out in the opening lines of its resolve: "an accurate Map of this Commonwealth will tend to facilitate & promote such information and improvements as will be favourable [sic] to its growth and prosperity, and will otherwise be highly useful and important on many public and private occasions."¹⁶

Across the new nation, the need for maps grew during the decade of the 1790s. As governments, both state and federal, struggled to meet their responsibilities, it became evident how little they knew about the areas under their control. Maps were needed to clarify and detail information about routes of communication, industry and resources, and the physical aspects of the land.¹⁷

While the need for state maps was self-evident, the mode of their production was not. Formerly, it had been usual for individual cartographers or engravers to bear the costs of map production. However, the amount

of work involved in creating the new state maps often made costs too prohibitive for private resources. The financing of the mapping process became a major stumbling block as different states' cartographers struggled through a number of false starts and delays or outright failures.¹⁸

In 1792, the Massachusetts legislature began to investigate the possibility of creating a state map. Nothing material resulted from that initial consideration, but in January of 1794, a proposal was read before the House of Representatives that led to the passage of the resolve under which Georgetown would later act in August of that year. The proposal was submitted by Osgood Carleton, whose credentials included backgrounds in surveying, mathematics, and education, and who had independently begun the process of gathering information for a map such as the state required. The cornerstone of Carleton's plan to supplement his data was that each individual town be made responsible for preparing and sending a map of its territory to the General Court.¹⁹

After some study, the legislature accepted Carleton's proposal for obtaining the needed plans from the individual towns. In June of 1794, it passed a *Resolve Requiring the Inhabitants of the Several Towns and Districts in the Commonwealth, to Cause to Be Taken by their Selectmen, or Some Other Suitable Persons, Accurate Plans of their Respective Towns, and to Lodge the Same in the Secretary's Office*. The savings in time, and especially cost, were obvious. The resolve stipulated that the plans were to be produced and forwarded to Boston "free of expence [sic] to the Commonwealth, on or before the first day of June in the year 1795." The time constraint was bolstered by a fine of forty pounds for any town that was delinquent.²⁰

By ascertaining the extent and geographic parameters of the towns and territories under its jurisdiction, the Federalist establishment, represented by the General Court, extended its authority. In the act of complying with the resolve, the leaders of Georgetown, and other towns that submitted plans as requested, acknowledged Boston's power. As a political body, the legislature saw the mapping process, in part, as a statement of possession. Through the making of maps, Massachusetts strengthened its control over the District of Maine. Knowing the location and boundaries of the different towns was part of that control. At the same time, the legislation furthered the cause of order by officially establishing those civic boundaries for inclusion on the anticipated uniform state plans.

In order to promote those ends, the resolve gave Hill and the mapping agents of the other towns in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and District of Maine detailed directives for the components of their maps.

The scale was set at two hundred rods to an inch. All plans were to show “the place where any other town or District line meets or joins the line of any Town or District respectively.” Where those lines were in dispute, the plans were to show “accurately & particularly the differences of such claimed lines of boundaries & divisions, in their course & bearing from each other.” With this information, conflicts could be resolved and greater stability given to the landscape. It was also ordered that “the length, and the course by the magnetic needle of the boundary lines of the Town or District, the scale on which such plans shall be taken, & the time when the actual survey was or shall have been made shall be inserted, specified, delineated, or described.”²¹

The information to be placed within the bounds of the plans, which was largely predetermined by the legislature’s resolve, revealed a Federalist agenda. Communication and trade would be served through knowing “the names and course of Rivers, the Bridges over rivers, [and] the course of county roads.” Establishing “the situation of Houses of Public Worship, [and] Court Houses,” could indicate the political and religious leanings of a town’s residents and locate two of the mainstays of Federalist power. Requiring the inclusion of “the reputed or actual known and admeasured distance of the centre [sic] of the Town or district from the shire-town of the county, and from the Metropolis of the Commonwealth” forced towns to acknowledge both literally and figuratively two of the centers of political power championed by the Federalists, who, according to Alan Taylor,



Georgetown Meetinghouse in Detail of Plan of Georgetown, Maine by Mark Langdon Hill. Image courtesy of the Massachusetts Archives, Boston, MA.

“sought to consolidate political decision making as much as possible: in counties rather than towns, in states rather than counties, [and] in a new federal government rather than the states.” A desire to promote mercantile rather than agricultural interests is evident near the end of the resolve, where there appeared the added injunction “that there be inserted[,] delineated[,] or specified in the several plans aforesaid the breadth of rivers, the number and reputed magnitude of ponds, the falls of water, mountains, manufactories, Mills[,] Mines and Minerals & of what sort, Iron Works & Furnaces situated in the said several Towns & Districts respectively.”²²

A View of Georgetown from the State House

Armed with his commission and the directives of the resolve, Hill made his survey in October of 1794 and set about composing the town plan. The resulting contours and lines that he sketched on his paper created an orderly but simplistic geographic landscape that had more to do with bounds and metes than topography. Hill began his map by laying down a guiding grid system, the penciled lines of which, though erased, are still discernible. Running from north to south and from east to west, these lines were oriented by the ornate compass rose he placed in the lower left-hand corner of the map. Over this grid system, first in pencil and later with pen and ink, Hill drew out the profiles of the land areas that made up Georgetown. Parker’s Island, Arrowsic Island, and the peninsula he labeled “the Maine” are surrounded by a multitude of smaller islands. He marked and labeled the shared boundary with the town of Bath, which was formed partly by Winnegance Creek. On his plan, the Kennebec, New Meadows, and Back Rivers flowed their courses in and around the islands and the peninsula of the town; although, contrary to the demands of the resolve, he neglected to indicate their breadth. Hill also drew and labeled four ponds, but without recording their magnitude as the law required. Such lapses are evident on other maps created in response to the resolve and probably reflected the mappers’ incomplete knowledge.

Hill’s geographic rendering of Georgetown, while accurate in what it showed, was only a partial representation. True to the General Court’s request, Hill’s drawing indicated the limits of a territory, but not the features of its land. Boundaries could be subjected to ordering more easily than the actual terrain, and by gaining knowledge of the location, extent, and limits of Georgetown, the governing body in Boston could exert its claims of possession and control. There was no hint of the remoteness or wildness that

still existed in 1794, conditions that were apparent to a contemporary sojourner from southern New England. Two years before Hill was commissioned to create his plan, Jonathan Hyde, a trader from Lebanon, Connecticut, spent the summer in Georgetown and the surrounding area. He would later recall his impressions of that visit:

In 1792, all below Bath on the river, the seaboard, the islands, were all covered with trees; Seguin was like a dark forest standing high in the ocean, and as we first approached it from the sea, it being a little hollow in the middle always appeared like a very great saddle; Wood Island was thickly covered . . . and the same of Stage and Pond Islands. There were but few houses; they were scattered along the banks of the river in little green openings; could see a good many single decked schooners and sloops passing up and down, deeply loaded with lumber; all which, on coming in from the sea, had a very romantic appearance.²³

While, in its own way, Hyde's description was as selective and incomplete as the one Hill produced, it offers another point of view against which to contrast the image produced by Hill under the auspices of the General Court. It also reinforces the notion that a map is not a literal translation of what is on the ground.

The map of Georgetown that Hill produced in response to the resolve of 1794 was one of approximately 128 town plans submitted to Boston from the District of Maine. Originating as they did from the hands of several different creators, all of whom were working independently of one another and had varying backgrounds and levels of skill, the quality of the Maine maps varies greatly. These maps range from fairly simple surveyors' plats to more formal attempts, which mimicked the commercial maps of the day with their ornamental cartouches. Slightly more than half the plans from Maine exhibited a high level of presentation and organization. Polished in appearance, they showed attention to detail as well as concern for aesthetics. The remaining maps that arrived from the District of Maine were surveys that were crudely rendered and either produced by less proficient draftsmen or done in some haste.²⁴

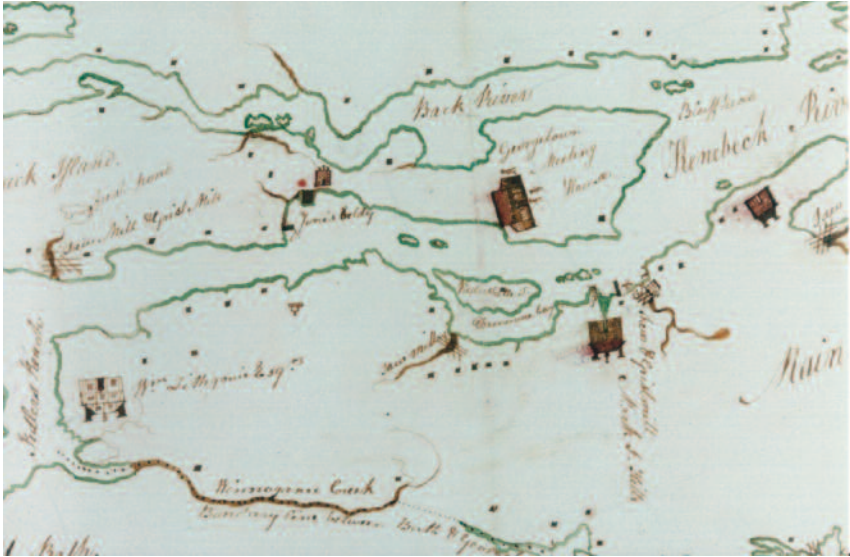
Regardless of their quality, these plans provide landscape images and present views of Maine towns at a particular moment in time. These images are multidimensional and present layered landscapes that parallel and overlap each other. In addition to the expected geographic renderings, the maps to varying degrees also illuminate social, political, economic, and moral points of view, each of which was created through a selective process

of inclusion and exclusion. Legislation played a large and direct role in that process, and the selectmen of the individual towns had the power to appoint surveyors and to approve their plans. However, it was inevitable that to a greater or lesser degree each plan would bear the stamp of the man who made it. As the individuals appointed to do the actual drafting, the ultimate interpretation of the resolve's orders was in their hands.

The draftsmanship and appearance of Hill's plan of Georgetown places it solidly among the higher quality 1794 maps. While fulfilling his commission to the town and state he maintained a standard equal to the majority of the more polished plans submitted by his contemporaries. However, the map of Georgetown is unsurpassed in the extent to which it displays the imprint of its maker. While elites in the General Court saw the mapping process as a way to advance "the reputation & interests of the Commonwealth," Hill took those words to heart on a personal level and embellished Georgetown's map with information that promoted his own reputation and interest. The map became a public document onto which was grafted a personal agenda. As the map was destined for Boston, the audience for Hill's gratuitous display was the membership of the General Court, and its purpose was to establish Hill as a member of their social and political caste.²⁵

Hill's Social, Political, and Moral Views of Georgetown

Hill's completed plan of Georgetown bore the hallmarks of two vantage points: one, the required view, from the distant capital of Boston, the other from the front windows of the McCobb mansion high above the Kennebec. As the most prominent piece of writing on the map, Mark Langdon Hill's signature, appearing in the upper right-hand corner and underscored with a grand flourish, announced that the map was as much about himself as it was about the town of Georgetown. Directly opposite, the rising sun, unfettered from the ornate compass rose, shone forth in all its glory, basking Georgetown in the glow of a dawning Federalist era. Hill's radiant sol spoke of ascendancy within the Federalist constellation: for the town as a whole, for the local gentry, and most certainly for Hill in particular. His personal gambit was embedded within the social landscape he composed upon the town plan. That landscape was characterized by six small buildings, which he carefully placed within the physical bounds of the map. Although these small structures were probably among the final details Hill drew, the resulting social perspective dominates all the other



Detail of Plan of Georgetown by Mark Langdon Hill. Image courtesy of the Massachusetts Archives, Boston, MA.

landscapes on the map and, along with the General Court's resolve, is key to understanding the selection and presentation of their elements.

Despite the fact that the buildings are one of the notable features of the Georgetown map, they were not in and of themselves unique to Hill. About one-quarter of the 128 Maine maps showed buildings in some form. As might be expected, the cruder maps had largely simplistic or merely symbolic renderings. Even on the twenty-two maps of higher quality that displayed buildings, over half showed structures that were drawn in a crude or simplistic style. Only ten of these more sophisticated plans showed buildings with some degree of attention to detail, and three of those—Arundel, Biddeford, and Georgetown—exhibited the highest measure of artistry.

While Hill's relative cleverness with his pen places his map in a small and select group, it is the number and type of buildings he portrayed that is remarkable. Overall, the buildings that appeared on the Maine maps were predominantly meetinghouses. On a small number of the maps, the meetinghouses were coupled with sketches of mills and occasionally a courthouse. Mills by themselves appeared on only three plans, while a lone courthouse was displayed on just one. Clearly, these representations were placed on the maps in response to the General Court's request that the lo-

cation of houses of worship and courthouses as well as “manufactories, Mills [and] Mines” be indicated. It was Hill’s plan of Georgetown alone, which showed intricate drawings of private dwellings in addition to the town meetinghouse.²⁶

Hill’s detailed dwellings were not the homes of simple farmers or fishermen. One of them was a substantial Cape Cod–style house extended by two ells; the other five depicted two-story mansions with double chimneys. The renderings of the Georgetown mansions represent “the square or almost square, formal house” designed according to “strict symmetry” and inhabited by “only the most prominent and prosperous.” Though Maine’s architectural examples were often simpler in detail than those erected by the well-to-do in Portsmouth or Massachusetts, the significance of their appearance on Hill’s map would have been apparent to his intended audience.²⁷

Living in Georgetown as the decade of the 1790s began was a small and select group of men who consistently identified themselves as “gentleman” or “esquire” in land and probate records. Occupying the pinnacle of the social pyramid, they supplied the community leaders of Georgetown. Men of their standing would have the means to construct such houses. Symbolically, these dwellings served to indicate the identity of the ascendant group in Georgetown. The houses dominated the social landscape of Hill’s map just as their occupants dominated most spheres of community life. By giving them such prominence on his plan, Hill served notice to the powers in Boston that Georgetown was firmly in the Federalist camp.²⁸

Even though they represented actual dwellings that stood in Georgetown in 1794, most of the homes on the map remained anonymous to the outside observer and appealed only to a group identity. However, for what appears to be largely personal reasons, Hill chose to identify two of them. Through the act of boldly labeling one with his own name, he both literally and figuratively put himself on the map. This maneuver entailed a certain amount of grandstanding, for his claim to the house bearing his name was by right of residency not possession. Since 1788, Hill had continued to make his home with his widowed mother, who since 1792 had owned most of the house after purchasing a majority of shares from her late husband’s heirs. By attaching his name to the former home of James McCobb, Mark Hill assumed aspects of that wealthy and powerful man’s identity.²⁹

By visually linking his name to McCobb’s foursquare homestead, Hill endowed himself with the rank and privilege it symbolized. He then consciously reinforced that social image through the association he forged in identifying the other residence on his plan. Upstream from the McCobb

home, where the Kennebec bends into Fiddler's Reach, Hill set down a rendering of William Lithgow's "conspicuous" and "spacious" dwelling, which also faced out over the river. The "esquire" appearing after Lithgow's name proclaimed as loudly as the delineation of his house that he was a man "of property and high social rank."³⁰ On Hill's constructed social landscape, his name and that of Lithgow appeared on an equal footing.

While the men of the General Court who reviewed Hill's plan of Georgetown could infer a generic social and political meaning from the houses he drew, the appearance of William Lithgow's name could have potentially elicited a more specific response from the political establishment in Boston. Nearly eighty years old, Lithgow, a contemporary of Hill's late stepfather, was in 1794 Georgetown's ranking Federalist. A man of humble beginnings, Lithgow had followed a military career and had risen to become the commander of Forts Halifax and Western on the upper Kennebec. His military service had brought him to the attention of the colonial government of Massachusetts, and after the incorporation of Lincoln County in 1760, he served as a Justice of the Peace, was named a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and was given the rank of colonel in the county militia. His offices were reconfirmed by the revolutionary government and, after the establishment of the United States, he served in the Massachusetts legislature.³¹

By invoking William Lithgow's name, Hill went beyond merely making a statement of social identity; he had also signaled his political orthodoxy. Lithgow had a reputation for being a staunch supporter of Boston. He held the Federalist view even on the issue of Maine's separation from Massachusetts. Following the pro-separation sentiment evinced by a vote taken in 1786, Lithgow's admonishment to his fellow justices appeared in the *Independent Chronicle*, a Boston newspaper:

May we all unite like a band of brothers, firmly determined to discountenance every attempt that may be made to alienate the people from the constitution and the rulers which themselves have chosen; and as firmly resolved to oppose every hostile attempt to disturb the public tranquility.³²

Lithgow's attitude was not altruistic in any sense. In his worldview, a view that the map would indicate Hill also held, self-interest and public interest were closely aligned if not one and the same. Indeed, Lithgow made the following argument: "By thus seeking our own peace and happiness we shall contribute our share towards maintaining the Commonwealth in

strength and splendor.” This conviction was expressed by others. Coming from a source that in some ways was closer to home than Lithgow, Hill’s older half-brother, Jeremiah Hill, Jr., wrote of the officeholder: “If he don’t take care . . . [of] himself and those of his own household how can the State expect he will take Care . . . [of others]” Mark Langdon Hill’s resourceful self-promotion via Georgetown’s map springs from this same philosophy.³³

Under Hill’s hand, Georgetown’s overarching social landscape was presented as one dominated by a small collection of wealthy men who, as epitomized by Lithgow, were Federalists and loyal to Boston. In their style and manner of living they mimicked their urban brethren to the south, and Hill included himself as a rising member of their group. They were men whose interests were served by the maintenance of “the public tranquility,” a concept that rested on their sense of social and political order.³⁴

The moral underpinning for the social and political order envisioned by Hill, Lithgow, and their associates was provided by the Congregational Church. The civil authorities acknowledged the role the church played in the preservation of order when they called for the town plans to locate houses of worship. As the established denomination, Congregationalism supported the landed and genteel view. Benefiting as they did from the Standing Order, which required towns to provide tax revenue for the establishment and support of a church and minister, Congregationalists promoted material success as a sign of divine reward. They also endorsed the need for the common people to live under “the restraining influence of their superiors.” The alliance between politics and religion is evident in a line taken from another letter written by Mark Hill’s half-brother, Jeremiah, Jr., in 1787. Alarmed by the growing support that York County was showing for separation from Massachusetts, a very definite challenge to “public tranquility” in his Federalist eyes, Jeremiah optimistically wrote: “But as we are very Calvinistic, I have hopes the preaching of the Righteous will convert many from the error of their way.”³⁵

Hill’s plan of Georgetown showed a single meetinghouse, a reassuring sign, given the Standing Order, that Congregationalism formed the basis of the town’s moral landscape. Hill’s drawing of Georgetown’s meetinghouse included three small figures heading toward the building. This could have been done to present a view of Georgetown on the Sabbath. Like the Almighty in the book of Genesis, after having labored to create his little world on paper, Hill showed his work completed on the day of rest. Or perhaps the figures in his map were heading to the building for the more worldly purpose of attending a town meeting. Whatever the reason, the

assumption was that the three little men were orthodox in religion and politics, and by their presence indicated the pull that the building and its attendant ecclesiastic and civic dogmas had on the population.

The moral reality in Georgetown was not as placid as Hill's landscape made it appear. Located at the southern tip of Arrowsic Island, the meetinghouse was physically in the heart of the town, but its message, despite Hill's representation, was not necessarily in the hearts of all the town's residents. A lack of zeal was indicated by the fact that, although construction had begun on the meetinghouse about 1762, its interior was still unfinished in 1794. A permanent minister was not settled in the town until the arrival of Reverend Ezekiel Emerson in 1765. He proved to be a persevering man who preached in Georgetown for nearly fifty years. Despite the Standing Order, during his long tenure, Emerson often found himself haggling with the town over his pay. In 1781, a Baptist preacher appeared in Georgetown and began to make inroads into Emerson's congregation, particularly among the residents of Parker's Island.³⁶

Town records show that in 1784, and again in 1788, the "inhabitants of Parker's Island want[ed] their part of [the] money raised for [the] support of [the] gospel." The same records bear a notation: "Baptists not to have their money." In 1790, twelve men bearing surnames found on Parker's Island petitioned "that [the] town allow them & others in addition to be incorporated into a Religious Society district to raise money [and] to erect a house [of] worship." Once again, their request was denied. However, in 1794, as Hill began to create his map, the tide began to turn. Evidently, the Baptists had gained supporters, for when in that year they again asked "for exemption of taxes" their petition was tabled and not acted upon, and in 1795 a brief notation stated that the town had finally "allowed 17 persons [who were] Baptists to draw [their share of the] Min. tax & use [the money] for [their] own teacher."³⁷

The Federalist façade Hill constructed on his plan of Georgetown showed none of the cracks or fissures that the religious controversy would seem to indicate existed in the fabric of the town's life. The religious malcontents and their destabilizing activities had no place in what Hill was trying to do. Baptists and other evangelicals attracted the poorer sort of people. They appealed not to the intellect, but to the emotions, and with their emphasis on otherworldliness gave the poor a sense of worth. At the same time, their attacks on the Standing Order and centralized power placed them in opposition to the genteel establishment, a stance that would strike a responsive chord with those who struggled for their daily existence.³⁸

As a class, whether religious dissenters or not, the ordinary men and women of Georgetown were either ignored or marginalized by Hill's map. They were taken for granted in the plan's moral landscape and merited only a token presence in Hill's created social perspective. Small shaded squares sprinkled across the map were the only acknowledgment of their existence. These tiny squares, Hill's representation of individual homesteads, were arranged along the shorelines of the town. In their placement, they recalled Hyde's image of the houses "scattered along the banks of the river in little green openings." But while the manner of their location may have reflected the reality on the ground, their number and distribution did not. One contemporary source indicated that the population was distributed fairly evenly among the two major islands and the mainland, while another spoke of sixty families farming the lands of Arrowsic Island. Hill's plan showed nineteen homes located on Arrowsic Island and twenty on Parker's Island. The mainland depicted the largest number with fifty-three.³⁹

By the map's reckoning, the mainland, home to Hill and Lithgow, was the most populous, and, by inference, the most important section of the town. Across the Kennebec, Arrowsic's smaller area appeared well populated, and the island's relative significance within the community was indicated by the presence of the meetinghouse and three of Hill's symbolic mansions. Parker's Island alone bore no Federalist markers. Although its implied population was roughly equal to that of Arrowsic, its larger land mass made the island appear to be the most open and empty part of town. The people residing on Parker's Island, with their Baptist tendencies, were not only the most distant physically from the view out of Hill's window, but they were also the farthest from his philosophical view; consequently, on his map he diminished their importance.

A Competing View of Georgetown

While Hill manipulated the town's population to suit his needs, the reality was that Georgetown in 1790 was home to 1,333 people and ranked third among the towns of Lincoln County in population. The community's inhabitants resided within 206 families, a dozen of which were headed by women. For the men who headed families in 1790, an inspection of existing land and probate records offers a certain amount of insight into the social and economic make-up of the community at large and gives a sense of who and what was missing from Hill's view of Georgetown.⁴⁰

Of the 194 men listed in the 1790 census, about one-fifth left no pro-

bate or land records while they were residents of Georgetown. Many of these men undoubtedly moved on to other towns, and indeed, individuals bearing the same names appeared after the 1790 census as residents of surrounding towns such as Bath, Boothbay, Newcastle, Bowdoin, and Bowdoinham. Others, perhaps, remained in Georgetown but never managed to accumulate any property. Despite the incomplete data and the fact that between 1790 and 1794 there would have been changes in the population due to mortality and mobility, the records provide a general view of Georgetown's society as the eighteenth century entered its last decade. Most men in town maintained some direct connection to the land as their source of living. Over three-quarters of the 152 men for whom documentation exists adopted the title yeoman at some point in their lives, and, for well over half of those individuals, it was the only title associated with their names in the land and probate records. The fact that some of these small independent farmers plied a skill or trade in addition to their agricultural pursuits was indicated by the eight men who used another title, including blacksmith, mariner, tanner, millman, shipwright, or laborer interchangeably with the designation yeoman. An equally small number of men prospered to the point where they aspired to the rank of gentleman.

The eighteen individuals identified solely by a trade followed many of the same callings that were associated with their yeoman neighbors. These men were responding to the town's resources and evolving needs. Iron products from the blacksmiths' forges were always in demand. The encircling waters of the rivers and sea ensured the livelihoods of the fishermen, mariners, and shipwrights. Hides of butchered animals would be processed by the tanners and transformed by the cordwainer into pairs of shoes, while the sartorial needs of those who had the means could be supplied by the tailor.⁴¹

Most likely none of these men was totally divorced from the land, but some were more closely bound to it than others. Daniel Malice and Edward Paine were known in records as mariners. Malice and his wife, Priscilla, appeared to have lived a meager existence on their seventeen acres of land. Their home was sparsely furnished with a table, two chairs, a chest, and a trunk. The only livestock they kept was a lone cow. Edward Paine had been more successful in his life. He owned a sloop of thirty-nine tons called the *Nancy*. A house, barn, and store stood on his fifty acres of land. While he owned no oxen or plow that would indicate he tilled his soil, he did keep two cows, nine sheep, a horse, and a pig.⁴²

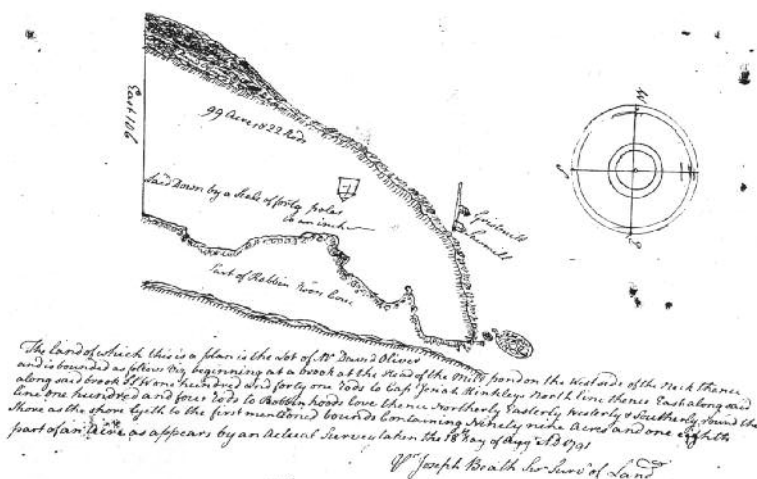
While neither Malice nor Paine seemed to have relied on farming as their economic mainstay, shipwright Benjamin Swett did. Swett resided on his "homestead farm" on Arrowsic Island. While his adze, broadaxe, augers,

and caulking irons represented his work as a shipwright, the bulk of his holdings suggested that farming was important to the support of his family. He owned two yoke of oxen, which were undoubtedly used to haul the timbers required in the construction of vessels, but which also probably pulled his plow. In addition to a horse, his farm buildings sheltered a pair of steers, five cows, four young cattle, and three calves as well as twenty sheep and six swine.

Benjamin Swett's prosperity became diluted in the next generation. At the time of his death, Swett's farm, valued at \$1000, was divided into two equal parts. One half was given to his son, Benjamin. The other share went jointly to his sons, William and James. For a fourth son, John, there was no land, and he was left with \$242, most of which was to be paid by his brothers. The division of Swett's estate highlights a concern of the yeoman. The common man saw the ownership of land as the means to personal economic independence. There had to be enough land for the next generation so that parents could be supported in their old age. When access to land was restricted, the yeoman farmer's livelihood and future security were threatened.⁴³

Georgetown's Economic Landscapes

The livelihoods of the majority of Georgetown's citizens depended to a large extent on an economic landscape that was quite different from the one constructed on Mark Langdon Hill's map. A verbal delineation of that competing landscape appeared in the pages of the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* in 1792. The anonymous author portrayed Georgetown as an agricultural community where the quality of its land could test both the resolution and resourcefulness of the farmer: "The soil of Georgetown is not good for Indian corn; rye yields an uncertain crop there; and wheat is too generally blasted to be depended upon; barley does very well, and potatoes are produced in great abundance there." Apart from the tilling of its soil, however, the land's bounty could be extracted in other ways. The article related: "The lands are very good for grazing. The sheep are well clothed with wool, and the mutton is of a remarkable good flavor. The butter made on the islands is exceeding fine, and produced in greater quantities than can be expended by the inhabitants." In addition to the land, the rivers and ocean, which were such an integral part of the town, had their own harvest to offer, as exemplified in the following statement: "The waters which surround the town of Georgetown, produce a variety



Plan of David Oliver's mill site by Joseph Beath, dated 1792. Image courtesy of Kendrick Daggett with permission from Lincoln County Registry of Deeds, Wiscasset, ME.

of fish, such as sturgeon, shad, bass, and alewives. And contiguity of the sea gives every advantage of the cod-fishery."⁴⁴

It is important to realize that this portrait of Georgetown as the domain of farmers and fishermen was as much a selective representation as the competing economic landscape Hill drew on his map. The membership of the Massachusetts Historical Society was drawn from the same Federalist establishment as the General Court, and their journal would reflect their prejudices and their views. Such men, cosmopolitan and, for the most part, residents of the Commonwealth, would have seen the District of Maine as an outpost or frontier territory of Massachusetts. They were apt to view the region much as Hill viewed Parker's Island, as a sparsely settled land peopled by the poor and discontented. Hill, working to promote himself and his town through the agency of the map, had to suppress such views and construct an image that would counteract it.

The promotion of one economic view over another speaks to the conflicting interpretations of capitalism that were part of the general debate over the destiny of the nation. The farmers and fishermen practiced a limited kind of capitalism. While they willingly played the role of consumers, their idea of capitalism was to sell their extra produce, not their labor. Hill's economic landscape celebrated the interests of the small segment of the population who could be termed "mercantile capitalists." These men com-



McCobb Mansion in Detail of Plan of Georgetown, Maine by Mark Langdon Hill. Image courtesy of the Massachusetts Archives, Boston, MA.

manded wealth or capital, which allowed them to exploit not only natural resources, but human resources as well. It is the voices of these Federalist merchants and speculators that were evident in the language governing the selection of economic data in the General Court's resolve of 1794.⁴⁵

In constructing the map's economic landscape, Hill had to respond specifically to Boston's request for information about the town's commercial development or the potential of commercial development within its borders. No roads or bridges that would aid business and trade cross the surface of the map. While Georgetown did have a system of roads in 1794, evidently none qualified as a county road, which was the type of route that was of interest to the General Court. The legislators were also in search of "falls of water, mountains, manufactories, Mills [,] Mines and Minerals & of what sort, Iron Works & Furnaces," but Georgetown had few of these manufacturing enterprises or resources to add to the cornucopia of the Commonwealth. Under the legislative guidelines, the best Hill could do was to locate eight mill sites where four gristmills and six sawmills were situated. With one exception, Hill designated each mill site by a set of cross-hatched lines that give no indication of the physical operation that was on the ground.⁴⁶

A more detailed glimpse of one site, which Hill located on Parker's Island, survived in a 1791 survey. The island's only commercial venture identified on the 1794 map, the sawmill and gristmill belonging to David Oliver were located near the head of Robinhood's Cove. The surveyor's sketch



Seguin Island and passing sloop in Detail of Plan of Georgetown, Maine by Mark Langdon Hill. Image courtesy of the Massachusetts Archives, Boston, MA.

showed the two mills sitting on a dam that extended out from the shore and crossed a narrow finger of the cove. The majority of the town's other mills were similarly built on dams that stretched across tidal inlets.⁴⁷ The waters of the incoming and outgoing tides powered the mill wheels, which turned the grindstones and operated saw blades.

The only mill site on Georgetown's 1794 plan that merited a relatively detailed representation fell within Hill's appropriated domain. At the mouth of a creek, just below the McCobb mansion, Hill located two mills with framed walls and gabled roofs. The depicted gristmill and sawmill were two elements in a scene that presented the house and its environs as a center of economic activity. A green swath of lawn stretched from the mansion's front door down to the water's edge where there were wharves and a shipyard with a vessel under construction. There was no indication in Hill's portrayal that these commercial ventures actually belonged to the children of James McCobb and not himself; nor did he make it evident that there were other shipyards in Georgetown, although records indicate that William Butler operated one at the same time on Arrowsic Island. Hill, it seems, was determined to make the point that this was his economic niche.⁴⁸

The landscape around the McCobb mansion announced to the viewer that, even if Georgetown did not have "mountains, manufactories . . . Mines and Minerals," it did have the Kennebec River with its access to the sea, and Hill, the budding trader, was expressing his belief that both his

own economic future and that of Georgetown depended on seagoing commerce and its allied industries. Although Hill managed to put himself at center stage in the economic landscape, the plan became more inclusive by showing additional wharves jutting out into the river from the western shore of Arrowsic Island. Hill also drew a trim little sloop making for the river's mouth, which was indicative of the commercial activity Jonathon Hyde had witnessed two years earlier "passing up and down" the Kennebec. Just beyond the sloop, on Seguin Island, a lighthouse stood overlooking the scene.

At the time of Hyde's visit, he saw Seguin as a saddle-shaped island covered in trees. Though it predated Hill's rendering of the island on his map, Hyde's primeval image was probably closer to the truth in 1794. The lighthouse shown on Seguin had not been constructed at the time Hill drew his map. Regional shipping interests, led by William Lithgow, had petitioned the General Court in June of 1786 asking that a lighthouse be built on the island, because its location "at the mouth of the great River Kennebec" made it "well known to Foreigners being pointed out in sea Charts &c," and with "a Light upon this Island Many Vessells [sic] would be saved from Shipwreck, and many Persons preserved from immature [sic] Deaths." Not until May of 1794 was the construction of the lighthouse authorized by the national government, and in June of 1795, when Hill's completed map was sent to Boston, bids were still being sought for its construction. It was not until 1796 that the first keeper was appointed.⁴⁹

Hill's premature inclusion of what would be the second lighthouse in the District of Maine was calculated to advance the prestige of Georgetown and its surrounding region as a center of trade. The government's willingness to expend the funds and energy involved in the construction of the lighthouse was an indication of the large number of vessels that entered and departed the Kennebec River. The increased navigational safety associated with the light would make the towns along the river more attractive as ports of call and could lead to an increase in maritime traffic. The rising silhouette of Seguin Light on the horizon, and its appearance on maps and charts, would grant the town a prominence that, with the exception of Portland, was unmatched among the coastal towns of Maine. As a symbol, the lighthouse served as a validation of Hill's economic hopes for the future.



Map of the District of Maine Massachusetts, Compiled from Actual Surveys made by the Order of the General Court, and under the inspection of Agents of their appointment," by Osgood Carleton, dated c. 1801 (detail from the original in the collections of the Maine Historical Society, Portland, ME.

A Map to the Future

Mark Langdon Hill's dreams and aspirations were woven into the fabric of the map, and the completed plan of Georgetown was as much a vision of the future as it was a representation of the present. Although grounded in reality, the map's selectively composed image showed the town not as it was, but as it would be once it was perfected. The geographic, social, political, moral, and economic landscapes Hill laid down on the plan were idealized views framed within the ideology of the dominant elite culture. The prominent role that Hill assumed within those landscapes was reflective of an elitist tendency to equate individual self-interest with the public good. Having chosen to remain in Georgetown, Hill linked his future to that of the town, and what was good for one became, of necessity, good for the other.

Hill's finished plan bears the date of 25 May 1795 and so presumably was delivered to Boston before the June deadline set by the General Court. Other towns were not as timely. A legislative review following the June 1795 deadline revealed that ninety-six towns had not complied with the mapping resolve. These recalcitrant towns were then served with an extended deadline of January 1796 and the promise of an additional fine if they failed to meet it. Thus encouraged, all but seventeen towns submitted their plans.⁵⁰

In the spring of 1797, the General Court advertised for someone to compile and publish maps of Massachusetts and the District of Maine based on the collected surveys. In June of that year, the legislature chose Osgood Carleton, whose proposal had started the surveying process, and engraver John Norman to produce the maps. The maps Carleton and Norman brought out in 1798 were deemed to be of unacceptable quality by the legislature. The General Court named agents to monitor Carleton as he redrafted the maps. Carleton completed his task in 1800, and the official maps, for which the 1794 surveys were created, were finally issued in 1801.⁵¹

The official maps showed little evidence of Mark Langdon Hill's cartographic contributions to the "reputation and interests of the Commonwealth." Other than its name and the calculated distances to the capital and the shire town, the area within Georgetown's boundaries on Carleton's 1798 map was empty, and when the government sanctioned version appeared in 1801 the only addition was the symbol for a meetinghouse on Arrowsic Island. Although the absence of other information such as mill

sites may have been due to the map's scale and inadequate space, Boston's utilization of the plan of Georgetown as a public document would appear to have been limited. However, Hill's contribution to the state's "strength and splendor" through the pursuit of his own personal goals was more apparent. In 1796, a year after submitting his plan to the General Court, Hill arrived in Boston to take his place as one of its members. He would serve in the state legislature several times in the following years. In 1797, he was commissioned a justice of the peace and could claim the title "esquire" that was seen as the "stamp of a gentleman." During this same period, Hill formed a partnership with his stepbrother, Thomas McCobb, who owned shares in the lands and mills that fronted the McCobb mansion on the Kennebec River. Their firm became one of the three major shipbuilders in Georgetown at that time, and their vessels sailed regularly to the West Indies. In 1797, Hill made another alliance with the McCobb family when he married Thomas's sister, Mary. He would continue with his acquisitions until, by 1805, through marriage, purchase, and bequest he gained full possession of the McCobb mansion and could truly call it his own. This political, social, and economic maneuvering in the years immediately following the production of his map indicates that, for Mark Langdon Hill, the personal and municipal identities he composed upon the plan of Georgetown would continue to guide his quest to locate himself within his world.⁵²

NOTES

1. Charles E. Clark and James S. Leamon, "Maine in the New Nation," in *Maine in the Early Republic* edited by Charles E. Clark et al. (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1988), 2; Alan Taylor, *Liberty Men and Great Proprietors the Revolutionary Settlement on The Maine Frontier, 1760–1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 17, 33–34.
2. Taylor, *Liberty Men*, 17, 33–34.
3. Taylor, *Liberty Men*, 5–7 (quote, p. 7).
4. Taylor, *Liberty Men*, 161.
5. Mark Hill's appointment was found in Samuel D. Rumery and Henry O. Thayer, "Early Records of Old Georgetown," typescript in the collection of the Maine Historical Society (hereafter MHS), Portland, Maine. The actual map that Hill made is located in Town Plans, 1794 Series, vol. 13, p. 16 (SC1/ Series 47X), Massachusetts State Archives (hereafter MSA), Boston, Massachusetts, 13: 6; Lincoln County Probate Records (hereafter LCPR), Lincoln County Courthouse, Wiscasset, Maine, 57: 280–283.

6. Rumery and Thayer, "Early Records," 207; Victoria Bergen Fisher, "Hon. Mark Langdon Hill and His Descendants," typescript in the collections of the Phippsburg Historical Society (hereafter PHS), Phippsburg, Maine, 8.
7. For more on the social function of maps, see Richard V. Francaviglia, *Main Street Revisited: Time, Space, and Image Building in Small Town America* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1996), 159 and D. W. Meinig, "The Beholding Eye: Ten Versions of the Same Scene," in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 34.
8. PHS, *Phippsburg—Fair to the Wind* (Lewiston, Maine: Twin City Printery, 1964), 28.
9. Jeremiah Hill, Jr. to Mark Langdon Hill, Biddeford, January 30, 1801, clipping from *Portland Evening Express*, 1918, no month or day indicated, MHS.
10. George Folsom, *History of Saco and Biddeford* (Saco: Alex. C. Putnam, 1830, reprint Somersworth: New Hampshire Publishing Company, 1975), 239, 284, 312, 322, 324.
11. Fisher, "Hon. Mark Langdon Hill," 8; *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961), 586–588; Illustration facing p. 5 in PHS, *Fair to the Wind*.
12. York County Probate Records, York County Courthouse, Alfred, Maine, 13: 193–194, 225, 226, 227.
13. Lincoln County Registry of Deeds (hereafter LCRD), Lincoln County Courthouse, Wiscasset, Maine, 23: 23; William D. Patterson, *The Probate Records of Lincoln County, Maine 1760 to 1800* (Camden, Maine: Picton Press, 1991), 186, 188.
14. York County Registry of Deeds, York County Courthouse, Alfred, Maine, 57:82.
15. LCRD, 29: 21–22.
16. *Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts 1794–1795*, Republished as *Acts and Laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts*, (Boston: Wright & Potter Printing Company, 1896), 202.
17. Susan L. Danforth, "The First Official Maps of Maine and Massachusetts," *Imago Mundi* 35 (1983), 37.
18. Danforth, "First Official Maps," 37.
19. Danforth, "First Official Maps," 38.
20. *Acts and Resolves 1794–1795*, 202, 203, 204.
21. *Acts and Resolves 1794–1795*, 203, 204.
22. *Acts and Resolves 1794–1795*, 202, 203, 204 (first and third quotes); Taylor, *Liberty Men*, 6 (second quote).
23. Quoted in Baker, *A Maritime History of Bath, Maine and the Kennebec Region* (Bath, Maine: The Maritime Research Society of Bath, 1973), 158.
24. The maps produced in response to the resolve of 1794 are housed in the MSA in Boston in sixteen volumes known as the 1794 Series.
25. *Acts and Resolves 1794–1795*, 203 (quote).
26. Town Plans, 1794 Series, vol. 1–16; *Acts and Resolves 1794–1795*, 204.
27. Denys Peter Myers, *Maine Catalog Historic American Building Survey* (Augusta, Maine: Maine State Museum, 1974), 16.

28. The size of the group calling themselves gentlemen and esquire was gleaned from an examination of Lincoln County land and probate records (with especial emphasis on Georgetown) from this period; For more on the architectural significance of the type of buildings Hill chose to include in his map, see Myers, *Maine Catalog*, 16.

29. PHS, *Fair to the Wind*, 29.

30. James W. North, *History of Augusta* (Augusta: Clapp & North, 1870), 223; Ellen Dunlop Hopkins, "The Lithgow Family," *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 24 (January, 1898), 6 (first quote); Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), 84 (second quote).

31. Henry O. Thayer, "The Lithgow Immigrants," *Sprague's Journal of Maine History* 10, no. 2 (1922), 72–76.

32. Adele E. Plachta, "The Privileged and the Poor: A History of the District of Maine, 1771–1793" (doctoral dissertation, University of Maine, 1975), 81.

33. Lithgow, William, "Speech of the Honorable, William Lithgow, Esq. First Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for the county of Lincoln, delivered to the Grand Jury at the opening of the Court, January Term, 1787," *Independent Chronicle* (Boston, MA), April 26, 1787 (first quote); Plachta, "The Privileged," 124 (second quote).

34. Plachta, "The Privileged," 80 (quote).

35. Taylor, *Liberty Men*, 131, 132, 141; Plachta, "The Privileged," 80 (all quotes).

36. PHS, *Fair to the Wind*, 14, 15.

37. Rumery and Thayer, "Early Records," 235–236.

38. Taylor, *Liberty Men*, 138, 141, 143.

39. A Topographical Description of Georgetown in the County of Lincoln" in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the Year 1792* (Boston: Monroe and Francis, 1806), 251–252; James Sullivan, *History of the District of Maine* (reprint, Augusta: Maine State Museum, 1970), 15.

40. Bureau of the Census, *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States in the Year 1790, Maine* (Washington, D C: Government Printing Office, 1908), 9, 37, 38.

41. LCRD and LCPR. (Land records for 152 individuals living in Georgetown during the period under discussion were consulted as were 43 wills or administrations for Georgetown residents.)

42. LCPR, 8: 190–191; LCPR, 12: 313–315.

43. LCPR, 8: 141–143, 160–162; Taylor, *Liberty Men*, 8, 9.

44. "A Topographical Description," 255.

45. Taylor, *Liberty Men*, 8.

46. *Acts and Resolves 1794–1795*, 204.

47. LCRD, 27: 267; PHS, *Fair to the Wind*, 31–32, 35, 49.

48. Rumery and Thayer, "Early Records," 210.

49. Baker, *Maritime History*, 168.

50. Danforth, "First Official Maps," 38.

51. Danforth, "First Official Maps," 40, 42, 43.

52. Fisher, "Hon. Mark Langdon Hill," 8 (all quotes); *Acts and Resolves 1794–1795*, 203 (first quote); Osgood Carleton and John Norman, *A Map of the District of Maine, 1798*, in Clark et al., *Early Republic*, 27; Plachta, "The Privileged," 124 (second quote); Fisher, "Hon. Mark Langdon Hill," 8; Taylor, *Liberty Men*, 163 (third quote); PHS, *Fair to the Wind*, 78; LCRD, 43: 157.