

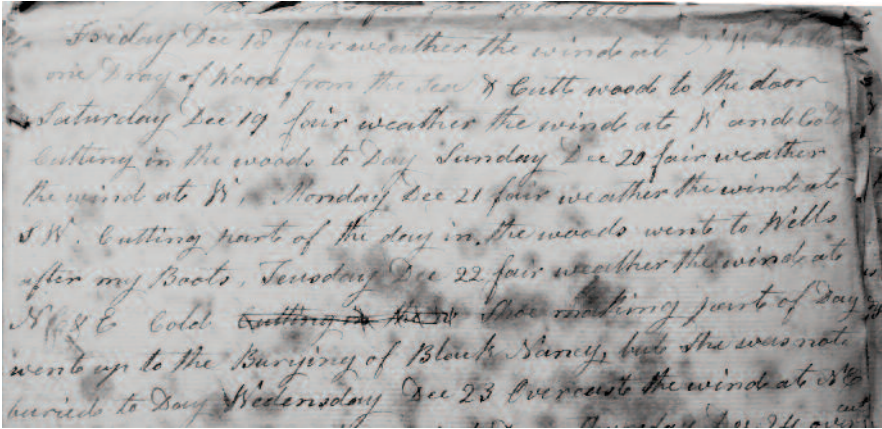
SLAVES AND FREE BLACKS IN MID-EIGHTEENTH TO MID-NINETEENTH-CENTURY CAPE NEDDICK, MAINE

BY BRYAN C. WEARE

In coastal southern Maine, a number of townspeople enslaved others in the years through the end of the American Revolution. The height of slavery in the region was the period just before the American Revolution. During the revolution, attitudes changed dramatically leading to emancipation in Massachusetts and what is now Maine. This article explores the lives of Cape Neddick's early black community, before and after freedom, using sparse public documents, contemporary newspaper accounts, local histories, and the unpublished diary of farmer Joseph Weare. The diary provides evidence of how a prominent slaveholder's grandson frequently cooperated with a neighboring free family over more than forty-five years. That black family has disappeared along with most other vestiges of slavery and early free blacks in rural coastal Maine. Bryan Weare grew up in Cape Neddick and attended York schools, after which he graduated from Bates College with a degree in physics and received his PhD in biophysical sciences from the University at Buffalo. He is currently a professor emeritus of atmospheric science at the University of California at Davis. Inquiries are invited at bcweare@ucdavis.edu.

Introduction

On December 22, 1818 in Cape Neddick Maine, diarist Joseph Weare wrote that he “went to the burying of Black Nancy, but she was not buried today.” Anyone interested in local history could not help but be tantalized by the meaning of this diary entry, especially if the diarist is one’s great-great-great grandfather, as is the case, for the author, in this instance. Who was “Black Nancy”? How did she fit into this village, which most would say was exclusively white for centuries? What was her relationship to the diarist Joseph Weare that led him to attend her funeral? These questions have led to a broad inquiry as to the extent and

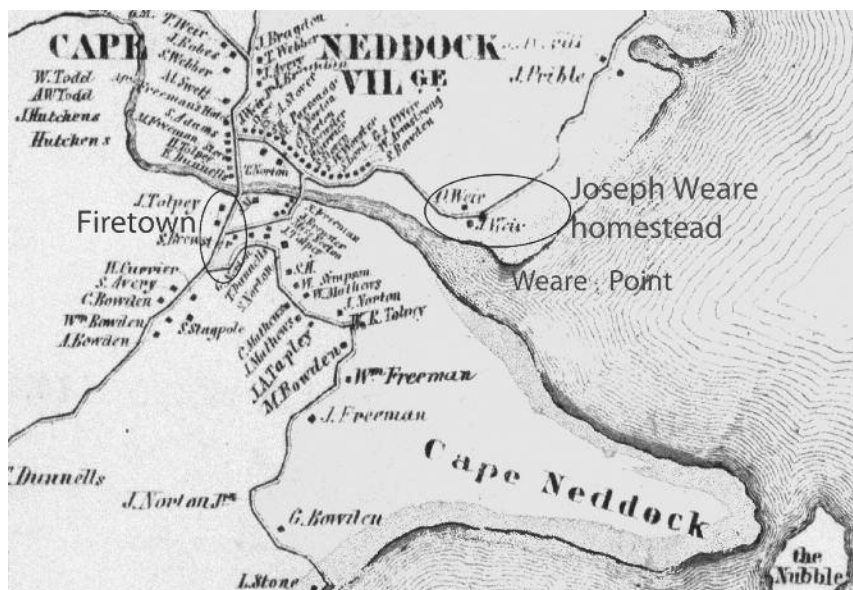


Excerpt from the diary of Joseph Weare, dated 1818, which refers to “the Burying of Black Nancy [sic].” Image courtesy of Bryan Weare with permission from the Brown Research Library, Maine Historical Society, Portland, ME.

nature of slavery in Cape Neddick, the circumstances surrounding emancipation there, and the lives of the freed men and women, who continued to live in the area.¹

In this quest for answers, published local histories and original documents, some of which were not readily available to earlier authors, have been utilized. However, available material for enslaved people and their descendants in Cape Neddick and the surrounding area is very limited in the documentary evidence. Furthermore, the several published histories invariably come with strong biases and sometimes blatant racism. Nevertheless, this article offers a picture of the “peculiar institution” of slavery and its demise in Cape Neddick and the surrounding area. The article further explores an example of how collaborative and cooperative relationships emerged between local whites and emancipated people during the early nineteenth century.

Cape Neddick, the coastal hamlet in the northern part of the town of York, Maine, is located about ten miles northeast of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. The exact outline of the area is subject to some debate, but is usually considered the region running from about a half mile south of the Cape Neddick River, northeast to the Wells (now Ogunquit) town line and extending inland from the coast approximately one mile. Cape Neddick was founded during the mid-1630s, about the same time as the remainder of the town of York. An 1856 map shows that most of the population of Cape Neddick lived within a half mile of the river. The promontory, also



Modified detail of map of York County, Maine by J. Chase, Jr., dated 1856. Map shows Cape Neddick (spelled “Neddock”) and shows high population along the river and approximate locations of the Talpey (later Ward) land at Firetown and the farm of Joseph Weare (spelled “Weir”), both of which are encircled. (It should be noted that the map underrepresents the distance from the Cape Neddick River to the promontory called Cape Neddick.) Image (from microfilm) courtesy of Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

called Cape Neddick, which includes the famous Nubble lighthouse, is generally not considered part of this community, as it was surrounded by beaches and sea marshes until land development occurred there during the latter part of the nineteenth century.²

Slavery in Cape Neddick and the Surrounding Area

The comprehensive, generally excellent two-volume history of York, Maine by Charles Banks, written during the early 1930s, stated that there was “ample evidence that negro slavery was an accepted and acceptable part of the social life in York in colonial times and down to the early part of the last [nineteenth] century.” In fact, in 1733, the town bought for the parson, a leader of the town, one of the first slaves in the community. Thereafter, during much of the eighteenth century, enslaved people composed a

small, but not insignificant, portion of the population of York. Banks used wills and court records to identify several of the owners of slaves between 1736 and 1738. Jedediah Preble owned a slave named Andrew; Joseph Swett owned Pompey and Betty; and Peter Nowell owned Diner, Flora, Phillis and Peg.³

By the middle of the eighteenth century, various census records provide some information about the number of enslaved people living in the area. In 1754, twenty-four slaves above the age of fifteen lived in York. The York vital records ten years later, in 1764, showed the count for blacks as twenty-four males and fifteen females older than fifteen, as well as twelve boys and five girls fourteen years of age or under. The total population of York according to these records numbered 2,298, including twenty-three in the interesting category of “neutral French.” Thus, the total of fifty-six non-whites composed about 2.4 percent of the population. The smaller number of females and girls suggests that some of these black residents were brought into town as enslaved laborers, rather than arising from reproduction. A March 1776 census—inserted in the vital records—showed a total of sixty-eight blacks out of a total population of 2,804 without differentiating by age or gender. A January 1777 count of men available for militia service from York found: “28 negros and molattos & 16 are ag’d infirm.d and incapacitated & 4 of whom are blind and 2 Quakers.” About 150 men served in the military units out of a total of 607 males, a few of whom were black. Banks recorded a rather dramatic decline between 1766 and 1785 in the black population of York from fifty-six to twenty-seven. None of the post-1754 counts of blacks separated slaves from freemen.⁴

In his analysis of Maine slavery, historian and scholar of Africana studies Randolph Stakeman states that most New England slaves originally came indirectly from Africa through the West Indies. Their importation was tied to the substantial trade with the Caribbean; a few of the wealthiest New Englanders also owned Caribbean plantations. A major component of that Triangular Trade brought molasses from the Caribbean to be distilled into rum in New England, which was then exported to the mid-Atlantic states or England. Slaves were an important collateral component of this and other trade. During the middle of the seventeenth century, some black residents served limited time as indentured servants with the ability to earn their freedom after a set term of years laboring, but by the end of that century lifetime servitude became the standard.⁵

Other published histories of York and Cape Neddick not only provided additional information, but also cast light on authors’ attitudes about black residents living in Maine. In an 1873 history of York, George Emery, in his

section on early slavery, noted the following: "Colored people increasing in numbers all over the state, in York they had become exceedingly obnoxious and despicable." Herbert Sylvester's 1906 history provided only brief mention of slavery, saying that "slavery was a common thing in the early days of the colonies" and discussing the aforementioned early purchase of a slave for the minister. George Ernst, in his 1961 history, naively described the social position of colonial slaves in York in the following terms: "about the same status as were white men hired for wage . . . but their terms of service were longer . . . they had more personal protection than hired men, and in general [they] were accepted as childlike dependents, who were never expected to grow up." He, however, continued with some interesting facts such as the marriage in 1780 of Prince, owned by Jonathan Sayward, and Dinah, owned by Robert Rose. They lived in a hut built by Sayward and had two daughters: Phyllis, who worked for the Raynes family, and Dinah, who died in infancy. Prince Sayward served in the American Revolution "after his friends bought his freedom of Jonathan Sayward for thirty-six pounds." Ernst also repeated earlier chroniclers that another slave volunteered under Captain Johnson Moulton and marched to Boston after Concord and Lexington.⁶

Slavery in Maine, of course, was not as benign as Ernst described. A 1756 newspaper account of the trial of a slave for murder in Kittery, the town south of York, provided a striking illustration. The man held in bondage by someone named Johnson, according to the author, admitted to drowning his master's daughter in a well:

He destroyed the said child purposely to bring himself to the gallows, and put an end to a life which he was weary by reason of hard usage; that his first design was to destroy himself, but having been taught that self-murders have no room to hope for mercy, he quitted that and tho't of destroying his master, but doubting whether he was fit for so sudden an end, he altered his design, and pitched upon the poor innocent child.⁷

The twenty-three extant wills mentioning "negros" or "slaves," for the Province of Maine before 1760 clearly illustrated the status of the enslaved as property. In 1724, Charles Frost of Kittery bequeathed to his son his slave "Pompey" as well as his "best rideing horse, and furniture." In 1737, Thomas Wells gave his widow "all [his] household stuff of every sort & kind, [his] negro man Jeff [and] one half of ye quick stock." Two of the wills ordered manumission of their enslaved property, but only after their slaves reached the age of forty; no mention was made of providing any

source of subsistence for these men nearing the end of their physically active lives.⁸

Advertisements in the *New Hampshire Gazette* and *Freeman's Journal* in nearby Portsmouth, New Hampshire, also made it clear that "negros" were primarily property. Between 1755 and 1790, newspapers ran advertisements for the sale of at least eighty-eight enslaved individuals, fifty of whom were male with an average age of eighteen years old. Few of these advertisements mentioned a price, although several used the terms "cheap" or "free." Some owners accepted "cash or lumber." Most advertisements made no mention of the name or location of the seller, simply asking interested parties to contact the newspaper publisher or a Portsmouth broker. Several mentioned that the sale was associated with the disposal of an estate. Using language associated with animals, a few said the only fault of a female was that she was a "breeder," suggesting that young children were usually unwelcome. Positive, though equally demeaning, attributes were listed as: "can speak English," "born in this country," "mows well," and "born and bred in New England."⁹

During this same time period, individuals placed advertisements in the above-mentioned Portsmouth papers seeking the return of more than seventy-five runaways. At least forty-three of these were listed as black; most of the remainder were apparently white indentured apprentices. Nearly all of the runaways were male and had an average age of twenty-five. One twenty-year-old slave had been a member of the Continental Army for nineteen months. Some of the notices listed the profession of the runaway. For blacks, this included "truckman," "ship carpenter," "cooper," "sailor," and "servant." Most of these advertisements highlighted specific details about the clothing worn by the runaway and other identifying characteristics. These included such adjectives as "cunning," "sly," "spritly," "greatest rogue," "active," "well built," and "fopish." Examples of distinctive physical characteristics of the enslaved were "lost two of his toes" and "little finger grows down into the palm."¹⁰

Many of the advertisements offered a reward for recovery, which was listed in either colonial Spanish dollars or British shillings, both having varying values over the period. The diarist's grandfather, the elder Joseph Weare, in his 1779 will listed monetary equivalences as one "silver dollar at six shillings; each fifty [dollars] of which would be equal to a good yoke of oxen." The median recovery price was nearly ten dollars (a fraction of the value of an ox) with the largest of one hundred dollars. Many, especially those advertising for the return of indentured servants, offered only one "penny" or "farthing," indicating that the masters did not really want the return, but rather wanted to relieve themselves of the obligation of training

and maintaining the runaway. Four of these requests for the return of slaves were from York. These included offering four dollars for Toney, aged thirty-six, in 1769; six dollars for Cato, aged thirty-six, in 1774; and twenty dollars for the return of Bob, aged twenty, in 1778.¹¹

York slaves did have some legal rights not generally available to those in the South, including the right to marry and testify in court. Nevertheless, a double standard (at least with respect to slave and owner) existed. Local governments executed slaves for killing their owner, but no slaveholder was ever executed for killing a slave. However, several Boston newspaper articles suggested the relatively equal treatment of enslaved people (or freemen) with whites in other serious crimes in Massachusetts including the Province of Maine. In 1752, "Thomas Chub [white] and Abraham, a negro fellow, were tried for the murder of one John Crab." They were both acquitted of murder, but found guilty of manslaughter. In 1755, a white man was found guilty of stabbing a black man and whipped with fifteen lashes and imprisoned for six months. In 1764, a black slave was convicted of assaulting a white woman and attempted rape. Despite the seriousness of such a crime, he was sentenced to be whipped but not executed.¹²

A 1771 Massachusetts tax inventory provides a useful snapshot of the York slaveholders and their financial resources during that year. Twenty-two residents possessed thirty enslaved persons; this equated to 4.8% of the taxpayers as slaveholders. This was a reduction in the total number of black people over the age of sixteen from thirty-nine in 1764. The percentage of taxpaying persons who were also slaveholders in York was comparable to that of two other Maine towns contained within this economic census: Kittery to the south and Berwick to the west.¹³

Table 1 lists the number of "servants for life" and several useful economic statistics. Not surprisingly, slaveholders ranked highest in York in nearly all of the economic categories described. Several owned substantial ship tonnage, which may have been the source of enslaved people entering the community during earlier years. Most of the other slaveholders farmed extensive land holdings and owned a number of oxen, which were essential for large scale farming at the time. The family with the largest number of enslaved—five—was the grandfather of diarist Joseph Weare, also named Joseph.¹⁴

The life of an enslaved person was generally determined by the seasonal rhythm of agricultural labor in New England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the spring, males would be involved in the arduous task of leading a yoke of oxen to prepare the fields for planting. During the early summer, all farm hands, including slaves, were required for the cutting, drying, gathering, and storage of hay and salt grass. Later in

Taxpayer	Servants for Life	Annual worth of the Whole Real Estate (£)	Tons of Vessels	Oxen	Cows	Goats and Sheep	Swine	Acres of Pasture	Bushels of Grain Produced per Year
WEARE, JOSEPH	5	12	160	6	8	40	2	75	90
M ^r CINTIRE, JOHN JR	4	20	133	4	10	60	7	6	200
SAYWARD, JONATH ⁿ	2	10	237	0	1	0	0	0	0
CAME, KEZIAH (widow)	1	8		2	4	13	3	40	40
CLARKE, LUCY (widow)	1	4		2	2	15	3	20	25
DONNELL, SAMUEL	1	11		4	5	25	2	30	80
EMERSON, EDWARD	1	6		0	2	0	2	22	0
FROST, JOHN	1	6		0	2	6	1	12	50
HARRIS, JOSEPH	1			0	1	0	0	0	0
JUNKINS, ALEX ^r	1	17		4	9	20	3	60	150
LYMAN, JOB	1	9		6	2	11	3	12	40
M ^r CINTIRE, ALEX ^r	1	24		4	9	37	3	80	120
M ^r CINTIRE, MICUM	1			0	0	0	0	0	0
MAIN, JOHN	1	12		2	6	14	2	22	100
MOULTON, ABEL	1			3	6	20	1	25	80
PLAISTED, JOHN	1	5		2	2	10	1	25	30
RAYNES, JANE (widow)	1	11		2	2	16	0	65	65
SEWALL, NICHOLAS	1		44	0	1	0	0	3	0
SWETT, JOHN	1	16		4	9	30	3	50	50
SWETT, JOSEPH	1	20		2	6	40	2	130	60
TALPE, RICHARD	1	10	25	4	5	30	3	30	50
WEARE, JEREMIAH	1	11		8	6	22	4	30	100
Largest of York Taxpayers		27	237	8	10	60	26	130	200

Table 1. Selected entries from 1771 Tax Inventory of York for slaveholders (Servants for Life). Courtesy of Bryan C. Weare.

the summer, they harvested the main cash crops, wheat and corn, as well as a myriad of fruits and vegetables. Winter was the time for woodcutting, not only to provide fuel for heating, but also for sale as lumber or cordwood. Enslaved women generally performed the heavy indoor work, such as washing, ironing, spinning, and making starch, but they also performed onerous work in the fields if the season required. Even though these people were listed in the census as “servants for life,” few enslaved persons worked primarily as house servants. The likely exception is that of the two “servants for life” belonging to the wealthy Jonathan Sayward, who had no farm and derived his income from shipping and trade.¹⁵

Emancipation in Massachusetts and the Province of Maine

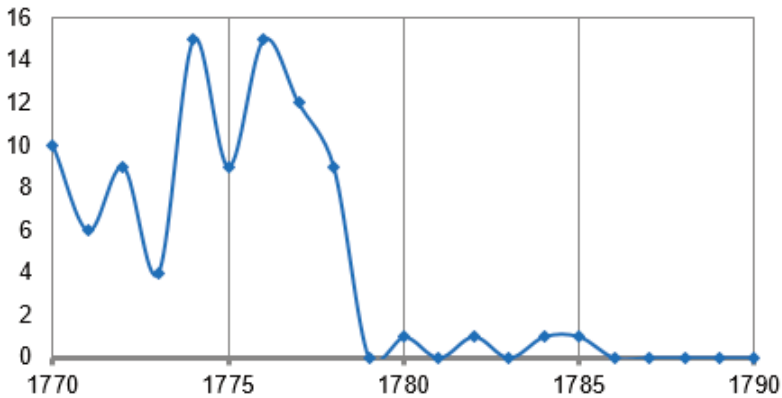
By the end of the eighteenth century, slavery in York entered a period of rapid decline. The 1771 colonial economic census can be usefully compared to the households with non-whites identified during the first federal census taken in 1790. Table 2 shows the available information for those households. In 1790, a total of twenty-eight free non-whites lived in York;

	Males>16	Males<16	Females	Non white
Blaisdel, Zedediah	1	1	4	1
Main, John	2	*	3	2
McCauley, Susanna	*	*	4	4
Sayward, Jona	2	*	5	1
Scott, Giles	*	*	*	6
Sewal, Nicholas	3	*	3	1
Simpson, Ebenz	2	*	4	1
Stover, Huldah	1	2	4	3
Swett, Sarah	*	*	6	1
Thompson, Joseph	2	1	3	1
Trivet, Saml	1	3	3	1
Weare, Danl	2	4	3	2
Weare, Jere	3	1	5	3
Weare, Jere, Jr	1	3	4	1

Table 2. Data taken from the 1790 Census of York for Households with Non-Whites. Courtesy of Bryan C. Weare.

none was listed as a slave or “servant for life.” All non-whites, except for those in the six-member Scott family, were associated with white families and thus may have been at least partially dependent. Several families not listed as slaveholders in 1771 had non-whites living with them in 1790. Most of Joseph Weare’s former slaves appear to have been residing with or near his sons, Jeremiah and Samuel, and grandson Jeremiah, Jr. Something comparable appears to have been true for the former slaves of several other 1771 slaveholders, including the Main, Sayward, Sewall, and Swett families.¹⁶

The fact that no “slaves” (a formal federal census designation) were listed in the 1790 census for York is consistent with the absence of slaves reported for all of Massachusetts, which included the Province of Maine. Historian Emily Blanc recently reviewed the continuing controversy as to how Massachusetts effectively abolished slavery. She finds that 1783 was the critical year. Undoubtedly contributing to the demise of the institution was the worsening economy during and after the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783), which led to a shortage of jobs and thus a surplus of labor. With hired labor readily and cheaply available, slaves cost more to feed, clothe, and house than they earned for their owners. In addition, the



Graph depicting the number of advertisements for runaway slaves in Massachusetts, including the Province of Maine, in Massachusetts papers for the years 1770–1790. Courtesy of Bryan C. Weare.

revolutionary ideas of freedom and equality contributed to the promotion of abolitionism. The 1781 Massachusetts Constitution contains a preamble similar to that of the Declaration of Independence, proclaiming that “all men are born free and equal.” Several lawsuits during the subsequent two years argued that slavery was illegal, culminating in the 1783 Massachusetts Supreme Court decision, *Jennison v. Caldwell*, affirming that slavery was unconstitutional.¹⁷

For well over a century, scholars believed this ruling to be the main impetus for the cessation of slavery in Massachusetts. However, court rulings were not regularly published at that time, and the detailed reasoning of the court in *Jennison v. Caldwell* was only made public decades later in a published diary. Blanck and other scholars have found no extant contemporaneous newspaper articles reporting this case or any of the related cases. In addition, an analysis of all runaway advertisements for slaves in Massachusetts (including the Province of Maine) between 1750 and 1790, indicates that the year 1783 was not critical. The statistics suggest that the will to hold slaves had nearly disappeared by 1779, before both the ratification of the Massachusetts Constitution and the relevant court cases. Nevertheless, a dramatic shift in public opinion occurred between 1771 and the 1780s, at which time slavery was formally abolished in what is now Maine.¹⁸

The elder Joseph Weare’s grandson, Jeremiah Weare, Jr., told an inter-

esting and disturbing story about the demise of slavery in his published diary. Jeremiah served as a privateer during the American Revolutionary War and was quite religious in his later years. Although the dates surrounding the episodes are a bit garbled in his account, the events are clear. In 1773, Joseph Weare gave his grandson Jeremiah, Jr. a “negro boy Pomp.” After an indenture of approximately two years, Pomp worked one year for Jeremiah’s brother Samuel. After 1776, Pomp (no last name is given) lived independently in Arundel for some years, working as a mariner. “It was then [tha]t he was sold in the West Ind[ies] by the [unnamed] master of the [his] vessel [ab]out 1801 or 2.” This brief excerpt highlights three things. First, during the era of the American Revolution, some holders of “servants for life” may have treated them as limited term indentured servants before the 1783 rulings. Second, freed slaves sometimes moved from York to other small towns and not only larger towns such as Falmouth (now Portland) or Portsmouth. Finally, even after legal emancipation, some former slaves were re-enslaved by subterfuge.¹⁹

The 1779 will of the elder Joseph Weare, the owner of five enslaved persons in 1771, suggested the rapidly changing attitudes concerning slavery in the District of Maine. Despite including relatively small details, such as the conveyance of a few pounds to married daughters and the division of a church pew, this last will and testament made no mention of a bequeathal of slaves. Although it is possible that, during the 1770s, Weare had already given his enslaved property to one or more children or grandchildren, the Jeramiah Weare, Jr. story suggested otherwise.²⁰

Historian Charles Banks conveyed another interesting account of the end of slavery in the town of York:

Judge Sayward rather sadly notes the death of his old servant “Prince,” [in 1798] of whom he says: “the new constitution made him free. He was babtized [sic] on his death bed. I perposed [sic] to bury him at my cost, as I have supported him in his last sickness.”

This differs from historian George Ernst’s statement that friends of Prince bought his freedom before he joined the Continental Army. Nevertheless, Sayward clearly recognized that court interpretations of the Massachusetts Constitution had abolished slavery.²¹

George Emery, in his 1873 history, penned several pages describing “Black Dinah Prince,” a former slave of the Raynes family and widow of the aforementioned Prince. Unfortunately, this discussion was filled with long stereotyped passages concerning conjuring and mystery. A milder

statement was: "In common with most colored people, she had the gift of song, which she frequently exercised with great fervor." Census records suggest that Dinah Sayward lived until the age of 105. Although her longevity may be questionable, Revolutionary War pension records show that she received a pension of about sixty-eight dollars per year for the service of Prince Sayward from 1831 through at least 1843, nearly sixty years after the end of the War for Independence and well after her death date of 1838 as given by Emery.

The related pension request contained four affidavits, including one from Dinah Sayward herself and three from white neighbors, which add insight into her life and that of her husband. Prince Sayward enlisted in a Massachusetts regiment in 1781, serving as a private, primarily as the waiter for his commander Major Samuel Darby. After his service in 1783, he returned to York and worked as a servant of Nathaniel Donnell until his death from consumption (tuberculosis) in 1798. He married Dinah in June 1781, shortly before his entry into the local militia. She did not remarry after his death and was said to be about ninety years old in 1831. Not surprisingly, Dinah's affidavit was endorsed with a mark rather than a signature.²²

Unfortunately, census-type records rarely gave the names of York's free black residents. Federal census reports, until 1850, provided only the names of the heads-of-household and total numbers in various age and gender categories. Banks offered a glimpse of available data: "Two slaves were married in 1770: 'Caesar,' a slave belonging to Richard Tallpey, and 'Rose' belonging to [elder] Joseph Weare." These statements are consistent with the 1771 census. The published vital records of York indicated that Caesar Talpey (later, as a freeman, usually referred to in the historical record as Caesar Ward) and Rose Weare were married by "pronouncement" in 1770. The vital records also showed that, in January 1796, Reverend Isaac Lyman married "Ceasar Talpey [Ward] of York, a black man, and Nancy Seavey of Rye [New Hampshire], a black woman." Furthermore, it documented that, in June 1797, Reverend Lyman also married Silas Mahoney and Rose Weare, "persons of color." Thus, there seemed to be the unusual circumstance of divorce and remarriage of both parties by the same Congregational minister. This was especially remarkable, because the primary grounds for divorce at the time was adultery, in which case the guilty party was prohibited from remarriage. Perhaps, the most reasonable explanation for the remarriages was that the civil marriage, performed when both Caesar and Rose were enslaved, was considered invalid after they became free.²³

RUN away from York a Negro Man named Caesar, about five feet six Inches high. Had on when he went away a yellowish homespun Coat, blue plush Breeches, a light bound Hat, about forty years of age, speaks very good English—Whoever will take up said Negro and convey him to his Master or secure him and give him Information thereof shall have eight Dollars reward and all necessary Charges paid by York Nov. 9th, 1776. Richard Talpey. N. B. All masters of vessels are caution'd carrying off said Negro as they would avoid the penalty of the Law.

Advertisement placed in the *Freeman's Journal* by Richard Talpey for the return of runaway slave, Caesar Talpey (later Caesar Ward), dated 26 November 1776. Image courtesy of Readex, a Division of NewsBank, Chester, VT.

Lives of a Black Family in Cape Neddick

Nancy Seavey Ward is the likely candidate for the “Black Nancy” of the Joseph Weare diary referred to in the beginning of this article. This is further confirmed by an earlier diary citation for February 1813, which stated that Weare “went to meeting [church services] in the forenoon to town. Burryed [sic] Caesar in the afternoon.” This notation, five years before the one referring to Nancy, strongly suggests that “Black Nancy” was the wife of Caesar Ward.

Rather ironically, the only physical description of Caesar Ward came from a 1776 advertisement offering an eight-dollar reward for his return by his then owner Richard Talpey:

Run away from York a negro man named Caesar, bout five feet six inches high. Had on when he went away a yellowish homespun coat, blue plush breeches, a light bound hat, about forty years of age, speaks very good English.²⁴

In a section titled “Ancient and Modern Scalawags,” Emery introduced “Black Isaac Davis, the fiddler,” who was the son-in-law of Nancy and Caesar Ward. He was said to have been a slave in Virginia and escaped to York through Eaton’s Neck, New York, which is part of present-day Queens. Reflecting common nineteenth-century attitudes and biases, Emery stated that Isaac met Chloe Ward, they married, and had “fourteen ebony piccaninnies.” Isaac was remembered by most as a fiddler and singer at military training days. Describing Chloe Ward, Emery stated:

A mulatto, named Tamar Ward, and her sister, Chloe Ward, were daughters of Caesar Ward, who was once a slave, and known as Caesar Talpey, he once belonging to a Mr. Talpey. The mother of both Chloe and Tamar was also a slave, and owned by a Weare family at Cape Neddock [sic]. Tamar, who apparently never married, had a daughter who was called Rosanna Frances Basset Ward.²⁵

Ralph Winn, in his 1964 memoir of earlier times in Cape Neddick, also mentioned Isaac and Chloe Davis, saying they “lived in the part of the village known as ‘Firetown,’ where they raised a large family. Isaac Davis supported his family largely by fishing and selling his catch from door-to-door.” Winn also discussed Tamar Ward and her daughter, saying that Tamar’s mother was a freed slave formerly belonging to the Weare family.²⁶

The 1800 and 1810 census records provide more information about the Ward and Davis families. The 1800 census listed a total of ten non-whites living in York. One resided in the Jeremiah Weare household, three in the Samuel Weare household, and three each in the all-black households of “Cepr” and Malloney. “Cepr” was quite clearly a mangling of the name Caesar, and “Malloney” was a spelling variant of Mahoney. Furthermore, Silas Mahoney and Rose Weare were living with a third person, possibly a child; Caesar and Nancy Ward also seemed to have a child. In the 1810 census, Caesar Ward, using the name Caesar Talpey, was listed as living with two other persons, presumably his wife Nancy and a child. A non-white Mahoney or Malloney was not listed in any York census after 1800. However, in October 1817, the vital records showed the death of Rhoda Mahoney, a mulatto aged eighteen, presumably a daughter of Rose and Silas Mahoney.²⁷

Evidence of the children and grandchildren of Caesar Ward came in the 1850 census, the first to list names of everyone in a household. In that year, Tamar Ward, the name of Caesar Ward’s daughter as provided by

Emery, was seventy-five years old and living in the alms house. Since this fixed her birth year to 1775, she was almost certainly the daughter of Caesar Ward and his first wife, Rose. This census also listed a non-white household of Isaac, Chloe, and James Davis, aged approximately sixty, fifty-six and twenty-three, respectively. Chloe, who was referred to as Caesar Ward's daughter in three of the York histories, was born around 1794 and was likely the daughter of Caesar and Nancy. This would make Chloe not Tamar Ward's sister (as stated in the earlier monographs), but rather, her half sister. The York vital records recorded Tamar Ward's death in the alms house in October 1851. No other record seems to exist for her or her daughter Rosanna.²⁸

More information is available concerning Chloe and Isaac Davis. The federal census records and York vital records provided a number of useful citations. These documented a total of ten children, at least five of whom died as infants. However, a maximum of five children were living at the time of any single census. Only one child, James, was recorded to have reached adulthood, but the vital records showed his death in 1860. None of the death records showed a cause of death. Nevertheless, the records of several infant deaths suggest severe health problems related to poverty, as was also suggested by Winn. Both Isaac and Chloe Davis were listed as illiterate in 1860, despite the fact that Chloe was born and lived as a free person in York well after the abolition of slavery.²⁹

The Joseph Weare diary provides much greater insight into the Ward and especially Davis families. Born in 1776, Joseph Weare kept a nearly continuous, rather cryptic diary from 1803 until very shortly before his death in November 1856. The original of this approximately two-hundred-page manuscript diary is in the Maine Historical Society, as is an edited transcription made by Professor Sarah F. McMahon of Bowdoin College in the late 1980s. Joseph was the grandson of the Joseph Weare, who enslaved five people in 1771, and the younger Joseph was the nephew of Jeremiah Weare, Sr., who held one slave at that time. The diarist, Joseph, was clearly quite literate, a town leader, and the owner of a substantial farm along the coast north of the Cape Neddick River, adjacent to present-day Weare Point. In 1850, his farm included four oxen, six cows, twenty sheep, and seventy "improved" acres. His diary showed a diverse farming operation comparable to those illustrated in Table 1 for his grandfather Joseph and uncle Jeremiah, Sr. This included the production of such commercial crops as potatoes, corn, and wheat and the raising of sheep and goats. He also set up a cider press annually, making several barrels of this nineteenth-century staple for himself and his neighbors. During the first half of the



Photograph, entitled “Springtime on the Farm,” by Frederick B. Quimby depicts a man plowing a field with two oxen yoked together at Groundnut Hill in Cape Neddick, Maine during the nineteenth century. The mountains in the distance include Mt. Agamenticus. Image courtesy of Historic New England, Boston, MA.



Photograph, entitled “Mr. Fitzgerald and Son Making Cider,” by Frederick B. Quimby, dated 1892, depicts three men operating a cider press in a field in York, Maine. This image illustrates what would have been a common activity for the Weare family as well as other operators of diversified farms in Cape Neddick, Maine and throughout northern New England. Image courtesy of Historic New England, Boston, MA.

nineteenth century, the farm economy of southern Maine coastal regions was beginning its decline. As ever the winter dragged on well past Easter, the soil overflowed with rocks, and the summer weather was fickle. Moreover, as the century progressed, strong competition evolved from the fertile fields of western New York and Ohio, which were opened to trade with eastern cities by the completion of the Erie Canal and later the railroads.³⁰

Weare's diary demonstrated a substantial degree of cooperation between his family and his black neighbors. In 1804, Joseph Weare "drove cattle to blacks." In 1805, he wrote: "making fence to blacks; drove young cattle up to blacks and made fence to blacks." Since Isaac Davis did not marry Chloe Ward until October 1814, these references must have referred to Caesar Ward. In November 1814, Joseph "plowed on the point the negro piece in the forenoon." Likewise, in spring 1815, he "plowed and sowed the negro piece on the point." The point near the Joseph Weare farm likely referred to what is now called Weare Point at the mouth of the Cape Neddick River.³¹

In 1817, Joseph Weare was "keeping [sic] some wheat on the negro piece in the afternoon; reaping the wheat today; Isaac Negro helped." In 1818, the notations, spread over the year, were: "swingling [processing flax] today the negro helped; spred the oreweed [seaweed fertilizer] on the negro piece; plowed the negro's piece; finished planting corn today Bowden [a regular hired helper] & the negro helped; Negro Isaac helped all day; Bowden half day." The next reference, in 1823, said "Black Isaac washed the sheep in the afternoon." In 1833, "boys [Joseph's sons] [helped] halling cord wood from blacks." In 1835, he wrote, "cut the largest pine tree that we have got at blacks." In 1843, Weare noted: "mowing, Negro Israel helped" and "mowing, negro boy helped." In 1847, he wrote, "Negro Israel helped part of the day." Nowhere else in his diary does Joseph Weare refer to any black person as "boy," which suggests that this name change to "Israel" was no accident and, instead, referred to a son of Isaac and Chloe Davis of maybe twelve to fifteen years of age. This would have been consistent with one of the unnamed males between ten and twenty-three in the 1840 federal census. In April 1845, Weare was "plowing the negro piece" and "sowed the negro piece." In August of that year, he "reaped the wheat on the negro piece bound and halled it in." Another reference, in 1851, stated: "Octavius [Joseph's son] cutt a shaft for water wheele to [at the] blacks." Several later references, which end in 1855 (a little more than a year before Joseph Weare's death), all mentioned cutting wood at the Davis property. No doubt, the diary documented only a fraction of the interactions between Joseph Weare and the two black families. The diary was often very

sparse and impersonal. For instance, it did not even note the death of the diarist's wife in 1832. It also made almost no mention of money and was therefore nothing like an economic log book.³²

The diary showed that the relatively prosperous Joseph Weare and his black neighbors, Caesar Ward and, later, Isaac Davis, enjoyed more than forty-five years of cooperation in the running of their respective farms. Furthermore, Ward and Davis were not simply day laborers. They owned grazing pasture, land cultivated in wheat, and a wood lot, apparently throughout most of the period of the diary. Consistent with the general paucity of documents describing the black experience in the nineteenth century, no Isaac Davis farm was listed in the 1850 federal census of farms in Maine, despite the fact that the diary made its last reference to the "blacks" land in 1855. Caesar Ward and Isaac Davis not only provided Joseph their labor, but also wood from their lot and grazing rights on their land. Joseph helped them with plowing, sowing, spreading oreweed (seaweed fertilizer), and reaping, presumably with use of his oxen. They probably cooperated nearly completely through a barter arrangement in the cash-poor society of the day. No other neighbor, white or black, was described in the diary as having this level of cooperation with Joseph. The other repetitive notations concerned a long-term hired farm hand. Overall, the Joseph Weare diary provides a much richer view of the life of Isaac Davis than Winn's description of a "fiddler," who occasionally made money selling fish door-to-door.³³

The original 1850 census records help to explain an apparent inconsistency between the diary, which put the "negro piece" on Weare Point, and the memoir of Winn, who stated that Isaac lived in Firetown, which is along the Old Post Road (present Route 1) south of the Cape Neddick River. As is seen from the 1856 map, these two parcels are approximately a half a mile apart. The raw census records for 1850 appear to follow the census taker as he walked through neighborhoods. From this, it can be seen that Isaac's neighbors were the Abraham and William Bowden families. In the 1856 map, they were in the Firetown area. In 1792, after the end of slavery, Caesar Ward (using the name Talpey) bought a four-acre lot in this region from Nathan Donnell for eight pounds. Although the exact location is difficult to determine from the deed, it was clearly parallel to the Old Post Road near the Cape Neddick River.³⁴

No evidence exists about a purchase of the income producing land at Weare Point along the coast. Two dates, however, would seem to bracket its acquisition. The earliest would be after the 1776 advertisement by Henry Talpey for Caesar's return. The latest may be the time of the late-1779 last



Photograph, entitled "Gathering Kelp," dated 1882. Image depicts a farmer loading his cart with kelp using a pitchfork on the shore of the ocean in York, Maine. The process of collecting seaweed in York, Maine, which would have been used as fertilizer by farm families, such as the Weares and the Wards. Image courtesy of Historic New England, Boston, MA.

will and testament of the elder Joseph Weare, the owner of Rose Weare at the time of her marriage to Caesar Talpey (later Caesar Ward). As stated previously, this will made no mention of slaves. Since the coastal land in question had almost certainly been part of the Joseph Weare estate, it seems likely to have been given or sold to Caesar Ward before Weare's death in 1790. Caesar Ward's ownership of the land would have continued after his divorce from Rose and marriage to Nancy, the mother of Isaac Davis's wife, Chloe. Nancy Ward, as a widow, could own the land and presumably left both parcels to Chloe and Isaac Davis, who were married approximately four years before her death, but after the death of her husband Caesar.³⁵

Firetown was dominated by a jumble of modest homes near the main Post Road, which contained a store and a small boarding house. The Ward farmland on the point (later owned by the Davis family) was a combination of coastal marsh, forest, and land for grazing or crops below the bluff where Joseph Weare's house still stands. To get to his farm, Isaac Davis had to walk north across the Cape Neddick River and then east about a half mile along the riverbank. The river crossing near Firetown, which was above the tidal portion of the river, would have been easy. However, his land on the eastern shore at Weare Point was quite isolated, because the

current bridge at the mouth of the Cape Neddick River did not exist at that time. The river ranged from about fifty to a couple hundred feet across with pasture reaching down to the river bank at high tide and down to large expanses of gray clam flats at low tide. The pleasant walk along the river passed the homes and fields of a dozen white neighbors, who must have known Isaac Davis at least as one of the rare non-white townsfolk. One can imagine him in his brightly colored clothes striding purposely along the river road, heartily greeting an occasional neighbor.

Neither the death of Isaac Davis nor that of Chloe Davis was recorded in the vital records, which became quite fragmented after about 1830. However, the town reports of York for the years 1863–1867 did mention Isaac Davis and provided some insight into the end of his life. In 1863, the town paid Isaac Davis six dollars, one dollar, and again six dollars for unspecified services rendered for the town alms house. The total was comparable to two to three weeks of work by a laborer, but he may have been paid for supplying fish. In 1865, Davis was paid another \$2.95. Later, in 1865, there were town expense items of six dollars for the coffin for Isaac Davis, three dollars for a sexton, and \$3.50 for other funeral expenses. These expenses appear to have been quite exceptional since the town reports listed no similar funeral-related expenses between 1855 and 1870. No mention was made of Chloe Davis. However, it seems likely that she had already died, or died shortly after this, because, in 1867, Joseph Bragdon was paid two dollars by the town for services as an auctioneer to sell the estate of Isaac Davis. Though there is no suggestion that Isaac or Chloe Davis were labeled paupers even at the end of their long lives, financially, life was likely very difficult for them after the death of their adult son James Davis in 1860, since the physical labor of farming would have proved taxing at their advanced age. No grave for Isaac or Chloe Davis is known to exist. It is possible that the gravesite in the Weare family graveyard on the bluff above Weare Point may have been destroyed at the end of the nineteenth century when builders of a large hotel moved the gravestones of Joseph Weare and his wife.³⁶

More information about Isaac Davis is available from reminiscences of York residents from the middle of the nineteenth century. Emery, who was an adult at the end of Davis's life, stated that Isaac Davis "invariably attended York military trainings with his fiddle, and although his skill in music was limited to a few tunes, he was in demand all day, at three cents a dance." The far more recent memoir, written by Winn, offered additional details concerning Davis. However, they mostly consist of demeaning stereotypes. For instance, while fishing, Davis supposedly said "Come on

mars' [dialect for master] fish, you hold on." Another example was the story of Davis absentmindedly building a boat in his attic "without thinking how he was going to get it out." This reportedly required him to remove part of a wall to retrieve his boat. Other stories included locals mocking him in the corner store and neighborhood kids stealing food to give to the Davis family. Only the Joseph Weare diary gave a relatively unbiased contemporary description of the lives of Caesar Ward and Isaac Davis.³⁷

Unfortunately, there is even less documented evidence concerning the lives of Nancy Ward or Chloe Davis, as is all too frequently the case with women, especially women of color, during the nineteenth century. Chloe probably lived all of her days as a free person in her father's house in Firetown, which was built upon the four-acre plot her father purchased in 1792. After the death of her mother, Nancy Ward, Chloe's husband, Isaac Davis, inherited this land in Firetown and that on the point. In this house, she gave birth to between ten and fourteen children, probably with the aid of a neighbor or midwife. Thus, the first half of her married life was dominated by the rigors of repeated pregnancies, nursing, and child rearing. The deaths of many, if not most, of these children before the age of ten must have resulted in heartbreak, as well as the real economic loss of their help around the farm. Nevertheless, in most years, she tended her kitchen garden and completed many other arduous tasks involved in running a home. Given the patriarchy of the day, it is unlikely that her husband helped her with household chores, except in emergencies. Later in life, it is possible that she worked in the nearby boarding house in Firetown. Despite all these hardships, she lived a relatively long life on her own land in a stable marriage. What is missing from this story is the direct voice for Isaac Davis, Chloe Davis, or their family. Given their illiteracy and low standing with most of the chroniclers, the intimate details of their lives are unobtainable.³⁸

End of This Era of Black Residents in Cape Neddick

Chloe and Isaac Davis were the only "colored" residents of York in the 1860 census. They and their family likely lived an isolated life with few, if any, contact with other black people in a town in which non-whites disappeared entirely during their lifetimes. The 1870 census for York showed no non-whites living in the town. No head-of-household non-whites were listed in the subsequent census records through 1940; the few listings were for summer workers or servants in great houses. Thus, the Isaac Davis fam-

ily was the last vestige of a more than two-hundred-year history of the enslaved and free black population living in York and Cape Neddick. Are there any living descendants of Isaac and Chloe Davis? Partly because Davis is a very common name in census records in Maine for both blacks and whites, and partly because black people in the nineteenth century are underrepresented in public documents, this question may have no answer. A search of the 1860, 1870, and 1880 census records did not reveal a likely descendent of Isaac and Chloe Davis.³⁹

The Joseph Weare diary provides a unique view of a free black family in a coastal Maine town in the first half of the nineteenth century, offering an example of how a slaveholder's grandson extensively cooperated with successive black neighbors for over forty-five years. Perhaps, adherence to the lofty concepts of equality in the newly founded republic or some feeling of culpability arising from his family history as slaveholders encouraged Weare's cooperation. The town fathers may have been inspired by similar feelings to pay the funeral expenses for Isaac Davis. However, one must remember that black and white families had different social statuses and levels of influence within the community. Joseph Weare nearly always attached the generic label "Black" when referring to Isaac Davis, whereas Davis undoubtedly addressed Weare more deferentially. It is unlikely that Joseph Weare considered Isaac Davis his equal, but he may well have greatly admired Davis for his hard work under difficult circumstances. The first-hand viewpoints of the Ward and Davis families are probably lost to history. In any case, partially through the cooperation documented in the Weare diary, these newly freed black families carved out niches for themselves as struggling yeomen within the region's declining economy. Though, sadly, nearly all historical memory of both enslaved and free black families in Cape Neddick and the surrounding region has disappeared, the life experiences and the community contributions of these early residents deserve acknowledgement.

NOTES

1. Joseph Weare Diary (1803–1856), Collection 377, John Marshall and Alida Carroll Brown Research Library Special Collections, Maine Historical Society. Citations for this unpaginated manuscript are given by year and, where available, by month. In my research, I primarily relied on an edited typescript by Professor Sarah McMahon, dated 1989. Prof. McMahon deleted most references to weather and many repetitions, including references to the black neighbors. My quotations have generally retained the spelling and punctuation, which Professor McMahon

took from the original. Parts of the original are fragile due to apparent water damage. I thank Professor McMahon for providing typescripts to members of the extended Weare family.

2. This information was obtained via analysis of a microfilm of an 1856 map of York County, Maine by J. Chase, Jr. obtained via the website old-maps.com. The original map is currently held by the Geography and Map Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

3. Charles Edward Banks, *History of York Maine* (Boston: C.E. Banks, 1935), 2: 342–343, <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001261797>.

4. Lester MacKenzie Bragdon and John E. Frost, *Vital Records of York, Maine, Prior to 1892* (Rockport, ME: Picton Press, 1992), 234; Banks, *History of York Maine* (Boston: C.E. Banks, 1931), 1:15, <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001261797>.

5. Randolph Stakeman, “Slavery in Colonial Maine,” *Maine History* 27, no. 2 (Winter 1987): 58–81.

6. George Alexander Emery, *Ancient City of Gorgeana and Modern Town of York (Maine) from Its Earliest Settlement to the Present Time* (Boston: G. Alex Emery, 1874), 108, <https://ia600306.us.archive.org/0/items/ancientcityofgeo00emer/ancientcityofgeo00emer.pdf>; Herbert Milton Sylvester, *Ye Romance of Old York* (Boston: Stanhope Press, 1906), 146, <https://archive.org/details/yeromanceofoldyo00sylv>; George Ernst, *New England Miniature* (Freeport, ME: Bond Wheelwright, 1961), 254–265 (quotes, p. 264).

7. *Boston Evening Post*, Jun. 28, 1756, available via subscription on Early American Newspapers Database, <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/cgi-bin/remote/?db=EANX> (hereafter referred to as EAN).

8. William Sargent, *Maine Willis, 1640–1760* (Portland, ME: Maine Historical Society, 1887), http://www.maine-genealogy.net/maine_wills.asp?source=probatcourtvol9 (quotes, pp. 259, 389, 344, 367, respectively). Analysis is for the wills with the word “negro” or “slave.”

9. These statistics and examples of common phrasing were derived from an EAN search and analysis of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, newspaper advertisements containing the words “negro” or “black” for all years up to 1790. The term “breeder” appeared in *New Hampshire Gazette* (Portsmouth, NH), March 23, 1764, EAN.

10. These statistics and examples of common phrasing were derived from an EAN search and analysis of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, newspaper advertisements containing the phrases “ran away” or “run away” for all years up to 1790. The reference to one runaway slave’s service as a “Continental soldier” appeared in *Freeman’s Journal* (Portsmouth, NH), April 12, 1777, EAN.

11. Joseph Weare probate record 19769, un-indexed estate files 19728–19832, York County Registry of Probate (hereafter YCRP), Alfred, Maine, familyresearch.org (hereafter FR); *Freeman’s Journal*, Feb. 2, 1769; *New Hampshire Gazette*, June 3, 1774; *New Hampshire Gazette*, July 28, 1778. EAN

12. Catherine Adams and Elizabeth H. Fleck, *Love of Freedom: Black Women in*

Colonial and Revolutionary New England (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 29–30, 37; *Boston Gazette*, December 24, 1752, EAN; *Boston Weekly News*, October 25, 1753, EAN; *Boston Evening Post*, Nov. 19, 1764; EAN.

13. This information was obtained from an analysis of the “1771 Massachusetts Tax Inventory” database, which contains volumes 132–134 of the original tax records maintained by the Massachusetts Archives in Boston and is available online at sites.fas.harvard.edu/~hsb41/masstax/masstax.cgi.

14. Howard S. Russell, *A Long Deep Furrow: Three Centuries of Farming in New England* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1982), 86.

15. For an overview of Maine agriculture at this time, see Clarence A. Day, “A History of Maine Agriculture 1604–1860,” *University of Maine Bulletin* 56 (1954): 1–318; Graham R. Hodges, *Slavery and Freedom in the Rural North* (Madison, WI: Madison House, 1997), 46–47; Jeremiah Weare, Jr. Diary (transcribed by Samuel G. Webber), *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 55 (1905): 55–58; Weare, Jr. Diary, *Register* 63 (1909): 296–297; Weare, Jr. Diary, *Register* 64 (1910): 180–182; Weare, Jr. Diary, *Register* 66 (1912): 77–79, 155–160, 261–265, 311–315; Jane C. Nylander, *Our Own Snug Fireside: Images of the New England Home 1760–1860* (New York: Knopf, 1994), 50; Hodges, *Slavery in the North*, 49.

16. U.S. Census, 1790, York, Maine, available via subscription from ancestry.com (hereafter referred to as ANC); “Weare” (open access file), Peter Weare genealogy, ANC.

17. Emily Vanessa Blanck, “Seventeen Eighty-Three: The Turning Point of Slavery and Freedom in Massachusetts,” *The New England Quarterly* 75, no. 1 (2002), 24–51; Adams and Fleck, *Love of Freedom*, 139–148.

18. Professor Emily Blanck reaffirmed her inability to find contemporary reports of Jennison v. Caldwell, December, 2015, personal communication; These statistics are based upon searches of EAN for Massachusetts and New Hampshire advertisements containing the phrases “ran away” or “run away” for slaves in Massachusetts (including Maine) for the years 1750 to 1790. The year 1785 had an additional advertisement offering “not one farthing” for three individuals.

19. Weare, Jr. Diary, *Register* 66: 79

20. Weare probate record 19769, YCRP, FR.

21. Banks, *History of York*, 2: 344.

22. Emery, *Georgeana*, 140–149; Eric G. Grundset, ed., *Forgotten Patriots: African American and American Indian Patriots in the Revolutionary War* (Washington, DC: Daughters of the American Revolution, 2008), 29–35. PDF e-book; Dinah Sayward, 1831 Revolutionary War Pension Application, www.dar.org/sites/default/files/media/library/DARpublications/Forgotten_Patriots_ISBN-978-1-892237-10-1.pdf.

23. Bragdon and Frost, *Vital Records*, 75; Banks, *History of York*, 2: 344; Bragdon and Frost, *Vital Records*, 140, 146; Nancy F. Cott, “Divorce and the Changing Status of Women in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 33 (1976): 586–614; Caesar Talpey and Caesar Ward are the same person, but

the latter is used wherever possible out of respect for Caesar Ward's chosen name after slavery.

24. Weare Diary, February, 1813; *Freeman's Journal*, Nov. 26, 1776, EAN.

25. Emery, *Georgeana*, 165–166.

26. Ralph H. Winn, *Legends of Cape Neddick* (Freeport, ME: Bond Wheelwright, 1964), 68.

27. U.S. Census, 1800, York, Maine, ANC; U.S. Census, 1810, York, Maine; ANC; Bragdon and Frost, *Vital Records*, 414.

28. U.S. Census, 1850, York, Maine, ANC; Bragdon and Frost, *Vital Records*, 432.

29. U.S. Census, 1850, York, Maine, ANC; U.S. Census, 1860, York, Maine, ANC; Bragdon and Frost, *Vital Records*, 438; Winn, *Legends*, 67–69.

30. Weare Diary, full text; “Production of Agriculture in Maine,” U.S. Census, Non-Population Schedule, 1850, York, Maine, ANC; Russell, *Deep Furrow*, 53, 322.

31. Weare Diary, years 1806–1815.

32. Weare Diary, years 1816–1855; Weare Diary, McMahon edited typescript, comment inserted between years 1831 and 1832.

33. “Production of Agriculture in Maine,” U.S. Census, Non-Population Schedule, 1850, York, Maine, ANC.

34. U.S. Census, 1850, York, Maine, ANC; Caesar Ward Deed, Book 54 (1792), York County Registry of Deeds, Alfred, ME, 196.

35. Joseph Weare probate record 19769, YCRP, FR.

36. *Town of York Reports 1843–1868*, York Public Library Local Reference, York, ME. For referenced expenditures, see: “The Town of York in Account with the Overseers of the Poor: Auditors’ Report of the Financial Affairs of the Town of York, Maine for the Financial Year Ending March 1864,” (Portsmouth: States and Union Office, 1864), 18, “Overseers’ Report, Account of Overseers of the Poor: Auditors’ Report of the Receipts and Expenditures of the Town of York for the Year Ending March 1865,” (Portsmouth: C.W. Brewster and Son Printers, 1865), 22, and “Report of the Receipts and Expenditures of the Town of York, Maine for the Financial Year Ending March 1867” (Portsmouth: C.W. Brewster and Sons Printers, 1867); Raymond Weare, Jr. conversation, September 2016.

37. Emery, *Georgeana*, 165; Winn, *Legends*, 68–69.

38. Nylander, *Snug Fireside*, 27; Adams and Fleck, *Love of Freedom*, 10.

39. This analysis was based on an analysis of U.S. Census records, 1870–1940, York, Maine, ANC; The last statement is based on a search of the Maine census records for a non-white “Davis,” who was born between about 1815 and 1850 and whose mother was also born in Maine.