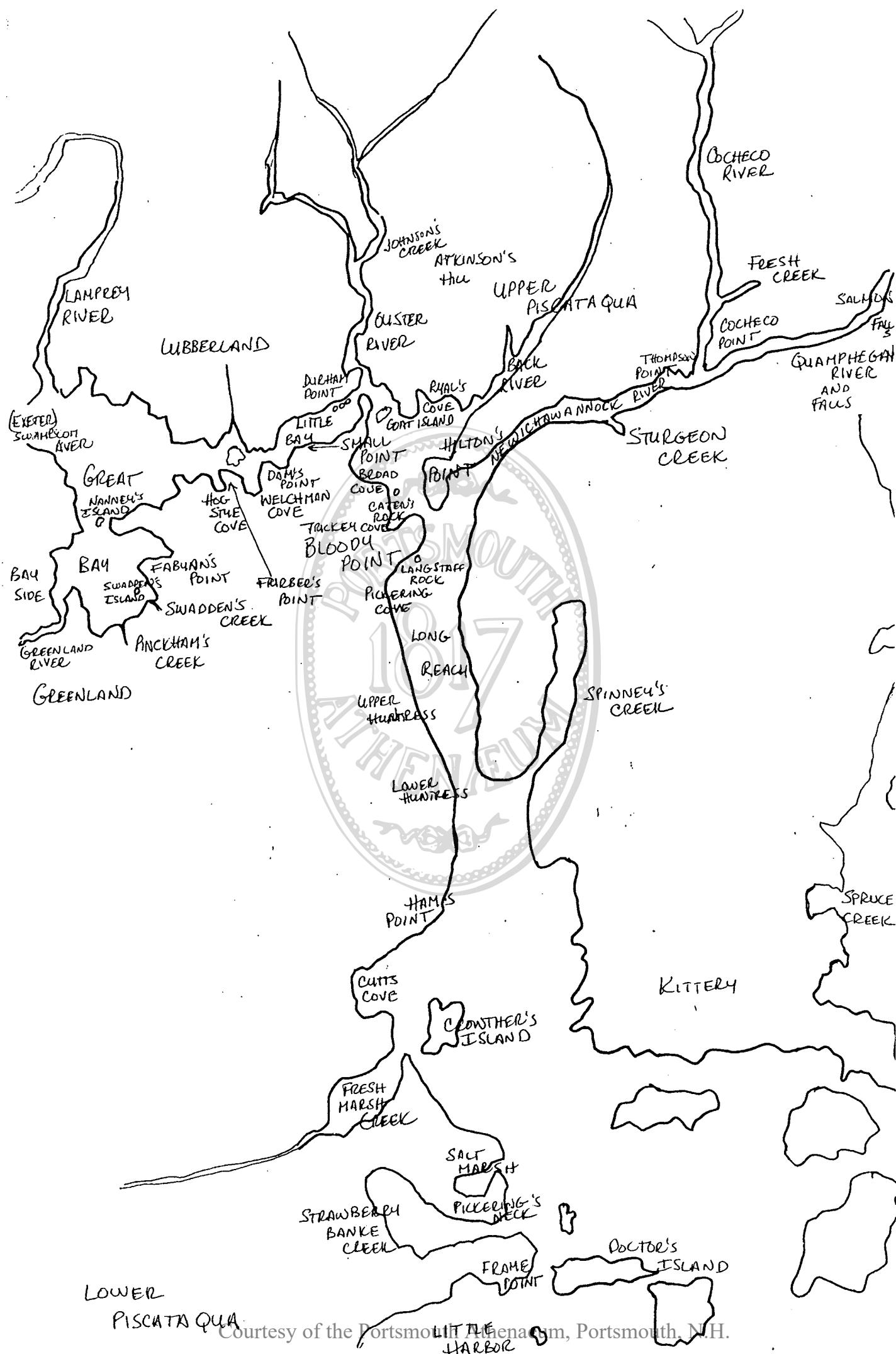


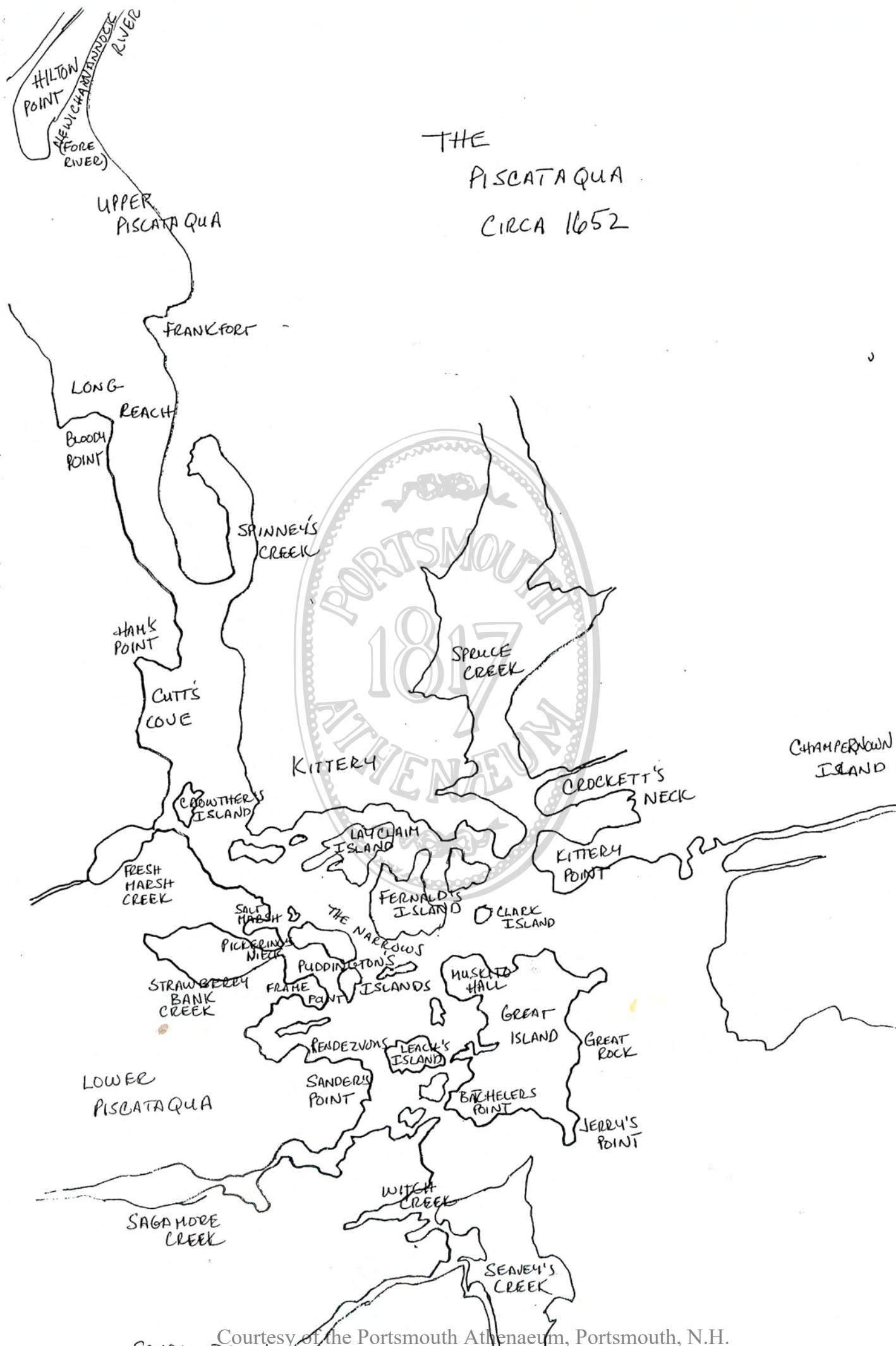
Bruce E. Ingmire
History 790
Professor William Harris
May 8, 1987



THE

PISCATAQUA

CIRCA 1652



SHOWDOWN AT BLOODY POINT

In 1921 James Truslow Adams wrote in The Founding of New England that the majority of early New England settlers wished to better their condition. Perry Miller, in his prodigious works on the New England mind, focused on the intellectual legacy of these same New England settlers but focused on the decline of their Puritanism. A process he called declension. Samuel Eliot Morrison emphasized the stringent ideals of the Great Migration and attributed excessiveness to that Puritanism. Darrett Bruce Rutman in his more recent work, Winthrop's Boston, also argued for an early decline in Puritan influence in Boston.

The history of the Piscataqua is linked to that of Massachusetts from 1640 until 1679 and the Piscataqua history has been treated as rising from different impulses. Chroniclers of New Hampshire assert that Bay Colony agents aggressively pushed their way of life on reluctant individuals in a weaker society.¹ A detailed review of the settlers to the Piscataqua from 1623 has revealed that a consistent figure of nearly thirty per cent of the settlers came from settlements in Massachusetts.² It appears

¹ Ray A. Brighton, They Came to Fish (Dover, New Hampshire: Randall Winebaum, 1973), p. 3; J.T. Adams, The Founding of New England (Boston, Massachusetts: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1921), p. 227. Copy of the Portsmouth Athenaeum, Portsmouth, N.H.

2 the statistics in this paper are based on an analysis of 362 men whose names appear on land transactions, as tenants, workers, in court transactions, and as taxpayers in the Piscataqua including the towns of Kittery, Portsmouth, and Dover. Forty per cent of the men have no reported previous existence.

2

they were seeking to better their condition in available land and resources, but it also seems that despite differences they retained a strong affinity for the order and authority that Puritan Massachusetts had afforded them in their stay. The history of the Piscataqua through 1660 and the Restoration in England demonstrates a rise in the influence of Puritan ideas especially as they changed.

It is commonly held that three groups settled on the Piscataqua—David Thompson and his family, the Hilton brothers and associated fishermen, and John Mason's servants³ under the leadership of Walter Neal. These people are not related to the Great Puritan Migration of the 1630's. The title of Ray Brighton's history, They Came to Fish, suggests that commerce related to fishing was the primary cause of settlement in the basin⁴ but the settlement of New Hampshire is far more complicated than fish for European markets. The heavily forested region and the abundance of fur bearing animals offered opportunities for profit.

3 Servants being the seventeenth century term equivalent to employee. In most cases persons made agreements to work in exchange for transportation, room or food.

4 A review of occupations shows that most of the men had several occupations. David Vanderventer, Provincial New Hampshire, showed a number of men to be in the lumber business based on his analysis of court records. Some of those men served a number of capacities within a year and within their lifetime. Edward Colcord arriving as an explorer, became a trader and then a lawyer and eventually served the Mason family in their suit for the original grants. Noyes, Libby, and Davis, Genealogical Dictionary of Maine and New Hampshire, Baltimore, Maryland, Genealogical Publishing Company, 1973.

Courtesy of the Portsmouth Athenaeum, Portsmouth, N.H.

Research shows that nearly half of the male settlers to the Piscataqua came from other places in New England. For this paper as for that time (1623 to 1650) the Piscataqua comprised all settlements on the two shores of the river system. The towns were later divided into Dover, Portsmouth (Strawberry Bank) and Kittery.⁵ The men who retreated to the Upper and Lower Piscataqua came north from Massachusetts or came south from settlements in Maine.⁶ Two came first to Exeter or Hampton and then moved to the Piscataqua.⁷ Thirty-one per cent⁸ of the settlers to the

5 The historians of the several present towns Brewster (Portsmouth) writing in the 1870's, Scales (Dover) in the early 1900's, and Stackpole (Kittery) have presented the region as originally divided into separate settlements. See petitions of 1654 asking for divisions. Nathaniel Bouton, ed. Provincial Papers of New Hampshire, Vol. I, (Concord, New Hampshire: George Jenks, 1867) pp. 212-214. In the early 1650's three towns were carved out of the Piscataqua-Dover, Portsmouth, and Kittery. Later Dover would separate into the towns of Oyster River (Durham), Madbury, Somersworth, and Rollinsford. Portsmouth would separate into New Castle, Rye, Greenland, part of Stratham, and Newington. Kittery would separate into Eliot, Kittery Point, and the Berwicks. See Dover Petition(1654), et al., pp. 158-160 and note reference to "whole ryver." (Hereafter PPNH will be used to represent Volume I of this series, unless another volume number is included.)

6 Some of the locations they settled upon included Bloody Point, Hilton's Neck, Oyster River, Back River, Sandy Beach, Great Island, Sagamore Creek, Fresh Marsh, Seavey's Creek, Doctor's Islands, Strawberry Bank Creek, Champernowne's Island, Braveboat Harbor, Spruce Creek, and Crockett's Neck. One of the largest of the neighborhoods above was at Bloody Point where 24 men and one Anne Messant held land by 1650.

7 Thomas Dew lived in Hampton but owned property in Portsmouth; George Walton, William Wentworth, Darby Field, and Francis Matthews signed the Exeter Combination and then moved to the Piscataqua. Nathaniel Drake came to Hampton before moving into Portsmouth. Men like Thomas Wiggin, his Thomas, Jr. and Edward Hilton who lived in Exeter-Hampton but were residents before the 1659-Exeter Combination have been listed in Dover.

Piscataqua from 1623, the traditional founding date, and 1659 arrived from livings they had made in places now within the boundaries of the present Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Many of these settlers also had religious and political issues on their minds.⁹

The earliest immigrants to New England came under the rule of James I who died in 1625. After the accession of Charles I in that year, the King ordered an oath of allegiance to the monarchy (The Oath of Supremacy) administered to emigrants.¹⁰ Boston became the popular destination of the members of the Great Puritan Migration that is those people who are reported to have left England between 1630 and 1640 because of their Puritan world view.

Still 2% of the 362 in the List of settlers appear first in either Hampton or Exeter.

8 Excluding the 2% in New Hampshire towns.

9 Of the settlers George Walton first in the Exeter, settled in Portsmouth. He and his wife would regularly be accused of Quakerism. Edward Starbuck would leave for Nantucket to achieve his religious serenity. Anthony Emery left for Rhode Island for his concern about the treatment of the Quakers in the Piscataqua. Hatevil Nutter and Wiggin were staunch Puritans. Larkham, Knowles, and Gibson would be censured for baptizing against Puritan practice. Thomas Walford and his wife were banished from Charlestown for independency. Without bishops, with little communication with Anglican leaders, and with hints of Presbyterian and Congregational church organization it is difficult to describe the settlers as either Anglican or Puritan but they are subject to the strong convictions of Englishmen of the period. Eventually a group would abandon the region and settle in Piscataqua, New Jersey in search of religious expression.

10 The lists of people swearing this oath are called the ship lists. J.C. Hotten, The Original Lists of Emigrants (London, England: Chatto and Windus, 1874).

Courtesy of the Portsmouth Athenaeum, Portsmouth, N.H.

In the 1620's attempts at New England settlement were made at Popham's Sagadahoc River(1607), by Separatists at Plymouth Plantation(1620), adventurers on Cape Ann(1621) under the auspices of the Dorchester Company¹¹, by Thomas Weston at Wessagusquaset (1622) associated with the Plymouth Council, and the Maine settlements of Trelawney and Winter. A settlement started in 1623 at the mouth of the Piscataqua by an explorer an apothecary of Scottish descent was also associated with investors from Plymouth, England. The leader, David Thompson, signed an indenture which describes the financing of the ship "Jonathan" and lists shares of the grant as collateral to three Plymouth merchants from the New England Council dated December 14, 1622.¹²

Historians agree that Thompson arrived at the Piscataqua early in 1623 and established quarters in the shelter of Little Harbor.¹³ Several others recorded visits to Thompson during the

¹¹ See the entries for the years of 1621 to 1629 in Thomas Prince's A Chronological History of New England in the Form of Annals (Boston, Massachusetts: Cummings, Hilliard and Company, 1826).

¹² Charles Deane, Notes:David Thomson. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Press of John Wilson, 1876.

¹³ References to the point at the mouth of the Piscataqua have often construed Neal's headquarters as Odiornes' Point but modern scholarship has proven this incorrect. David E. Vandeventer, The Emergence of Provincial New Hampshire: 1623-1741 (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), p. 6. Simultaneously Thomas and Jeremiah Walford settled at present day Stark's Point and describe their land as including the salt works of David Thompson. It may be argued that Thompson settled at Jerry's Point on Great Island and no one settled at Odiorne's Point. In light of other early settlements on islands, Richmond and Stratton Islands in Maine, Cape Bretton in Nova Scotia, Manhattan Island in New York, Noddles Island in Boston, and the Shoals, Great Island is the most strategic location for

year of 1623 including Thomas Weston, associated with the Plymouth Separatists and Wessagusasset, Captain Christopher Levett, and Miles Standish who arrived for provisions and returned with Thompson to Plymouth. Precisely how much longer Thompson remained at the Piscataqua is speculation but like some at Cape Ann and Popham's group, he abandoned his first settlement.¹⁴ He settled at Shawmut Harbor(Boston) but died in 1626 leaving a young son, John.¹⁵

his early settlement. Thompson later chose an island in Shawmut(Boston) Harbor for resettlement, an island (soon to be called Thompson's Island). This choice raises the probability he did settle on Great Island in 1623. Jerry's Point has erroneously been called Jaffrey's Point but was named for Jeremiah Walford who occupied it into the 1650's until his death.

14 Hubbard associates the Hiltons and Thompson but there is no documentation for this assertion. Ralph May, Early Portsmouth History(Boston, Massachusetts:C.E. Goodspeed and Company, 1926), p. 64. John S. Jenness, Notes on the First Planting of New Hampshire and the Piscataqua Patents (Portsmouth, New Hampshire:Lewis Brewster, 1878). Charles Brewster, Brewster's Rambles. Portsmouth, New Hampshire:Lewis Brewster, 1873), insists that Thompson established the first permanent settlement. Walter Davis in his, The Descendants of Joseph Waterhouse, points to a tampered document by which the family of Charles Brewster claimed descent from the family of Elder Brewster of the Plymouth Colony. Later historians have accepted the claim of the tampering. It is a concern that Brewster writing at the time of the 150 year celebration of the landing of the Mayflower may have desperately wanted to align Portsmouth with Plymouth and he was not as sedulous in his scholarship as he might have been. Thomas Prince, op. cit., in his entry for 1624 says Thompson is already in Boston Harbor. The accurate date for a permanent settlement is either 1628 if you except the Hilton claims and 1631 when Neal is said to have arrived. Portsmouth however accurately and strictly can only be dated much later when it and Kittery were separated from Dover.

15 Thompson's wife Amias Cole remarried Samuel Maverick. Their son John Thompson applied for his rights to Thompson Island under prescriptive laws in 1645. Shurtleff, Records of Massachusetts, 1642-1649, Vol. II (Boston, Massachusetts:William White, 1853), p. 245.

The success of Massachusetts' settlements like Plymouth provided an incentive to others. On March 4, 1628 the Charter of the Massachusetts Bay Colony was granted and the race for property and prosperity began. At the time that some Englishmen were forcing the king to accept the Petition of Right(1629), others disillusioned by the Stuart dynasty were planning departures.

The settlement of Cape Ann(named for the Danish Queen of James I) was made by Thomas Gardiner, John Tilley, Roger Conant, Richard Hilton, and Mr. Lyford, a minister.¹⁶ Ambrose Gibbons and several of his servants were associated with this early enterprise.¹⁷ Gibbons returned to England with Captain William Trevere on the "Fortune," returning with Neal to take charge of the fur trade at the Piscataqua.¹⁸ Some of his associates at Cape Ann may have repaired to the Piscataqua to join Gibbons but no proof exists. In the case of each of the failed settlements like Wessagusquasset, Cape Ann, or Mount Wollaston came to the Piscataqua it would add to the argument of this paper. The complete list of settlers to each of these settlements is not to be found, yet there is reason to believe that many of the early

¹⁶ ----- Historical Collections of the Essex Institute, Vol. I. Salem, Massachusetts:Henry Whipple and Son, 1859.

¹⁷ Gibbons see Gary Lord, The Politics and Social Structure of Seventeenth-Century Portsmouth, New Hampshire(Ann Arbor, Michigan:University Microprints, International, 1976), p. 20; A.C. Haubrich, Becky:Grandmother of New Hampshire(Concord, New Hampshire:The Capitol Offset Company, 1966), p. 1;PPNH, XVIII, 534.

¹⁸ Alice Clark Haubrich, op. cit.,p. 3.

men to the Piscataqua who are not on ship lists of the 1630's may have been at these earlier settlements first and took land that seemed to be for the taking.

A perfect example is Thomas Walford. He is on no known ship list and is reputed to have been with Moreton at Mount Wollaston, the settlement that was eradicated by the Plymouth Separatists. Next he appears at Charlestown in 1629 where he and his family welcome the Puritans only to be banished shortly thereafter. His precise arrival in the Piscataqua is not known but he becomes a long standing resident and forefather of Portsmouth. Clearly fearless and pioneering, family members are accused of witchcraft because of independent ways. Walford is an example of a man who having lived in the wilderness is nevertheless quick to join with the Puritans from Massachusetts to bring order to the Piscataqua and becomes an early selectman of the town.

Of other early settlers, William Hilton, the brother of Richard arrived first at the Plymouth Plantation on November 11, 1621 on the same "Fortune." A year later his wife, Anne, arrived with their child and received a land grant at the Plymouth Plantation. In 1624 the Hilton's presented their newborn child, Robert, for baptism to the same Mr. Lyford who made his way south from Cape Ann. The result was the banishment of the Hiltons from Plymouth. Precisely to where the Hilton's repaired is not known.

The next recorded mention of the Piscataqua was 1628 when a New England wide tax was collected, and Edward Hilton of the Piscataqua was credited with a £1 payment to defray the costs of

eradicating Thomas Morton from Merrymount. In the next several years a variety of grants, patents, and documents relating to the Piscataqua were issued. New Puritan leaders were testing their power. More than any other New England settlement the Piscataqua suffered from the confusion of power between the rising Puritan leaders and the Courtesans-royalists like Sir Fernando Gorges, John Mason and Francis Champernowne who envisioned proprietary colonies comprised of large estates upon which tenants worked and where nobles would profit.

The Council for New England issued to John Mason the "New Hampshire" Grant on November 11, 1629. Ten days later the Laconia Grant superceded Mason's grant and the new grant was issued to the and partners in the Laconia Company. The partners joined in his effort to defray costs and hoped, with luck, to share in the profits. Laconia's stated purpose was the fur trade and an undiscovered but rumored "lake of the Iroquois" which was the supposed source of the furs. In 1631 the Laconia Company sent a force of men to begin the settlement. Led by Captain Walter Neal, the servants and factors sailed from England at the same time as the ship "Arabella" sailed with the Winthrop party.¹⁹

On March 23, 1630²⁰, four months later, a grant, the Hilton

¹⁹ Gary T. Lord, The Politics and Social Structure of Seventeenth-Century Portsmouth, New Hampshire, (Ann Arbor, Michigan:University Microfilms International, 1976), p. 1.

²⁰ For the purposes of this study all years were transformed from the usual March 23, 1629/30, Old Style representation of the Julian calendar which was kept by Puritan leaders in England rather than submit to any Papal reform, reasonable or not. Thus March 23 was 1629 in England and 1630 in Europe (the year running

Patent, was issued to Bristol merchants²¹ whose leader was Edward Hilton, of the Fishmongers Guild. The rights on the Piscataqua appear to have been granted by the Council as it considered that the two forces trading in different commodities could operate simultaneously in the region without difficulty. The fact that Hilton had recently occupied the region also may have forced their hand. The association of William Hilton with Plymouth is evidence he had sympathies with religious enthusiasts. In November of 1631 the Laconia Grant in the "Pescataway Charter" was reconfirmed.²² The next year at Wiggin's and Winthrop's urging, Hilton's patent was sold to several Puritan leaders including Lord Say, Lord Brook, Richard Saltonstall, and Thomas Whiting, Wiggin's brother-in-law and eventually a resident in Connecticut.²³ Now Edward demonstrates sympathy with religious ideals. It seems possible that while the Hiltons fished, they

from March 24 until March 23). This grant was issued on the last day of the old year and is therefore the Hilton patent was issued the same year as both the grants to Mason. Lord in his thesis Politics, etc., does very little analysis of the relationship of the conflict in grants between the Laconia interests versus the Bristol interests.

21 It may be that these Bristol (where the Mayor of the town had been one John Cutts) merchants provide the source for the connection that brought the Cutts families to the Piscataqua region.

22 The three Mason charters and grants can be compared in John Ward Dean, Captain John Mason: The Founder of New Hampshire (Boston, Massachusetts: 1887, pp. 183-198).

23 Ralph May, Early Portsmouth History (Boston, Massachusetts: C.E. Goodspeed and Company, 1926), p. 114. May incorrectly has Wheelwright in the Exeter area negotiating a treaty with the Indians in 1629, p. 112. Correctly dated the treaties appear in PPNH, pp. 134-137. It is also reported that a number of sources have the date as 1631. Courtesy of the Portsmouth Atheneum, Portsmouth, N.H.

understood in the philosophy of the day that work was the way to keep from idleness and to achieve prosperity in order to praise God.

Whether by design or not the purchase of the Hilton Patent by Puritans and the return of Captain Thomas Wiggin created forces opposed to nobility and landed privilege in the Piscataqua basin.²⁴ From Neal's site, Rendezvous,²⁵ his men were dispatched to Newichawannock (Great) Falls on the Eastern tributary of Piscataqua to run a sawmill for lumber and operate a stamping (grist) mill for grain. Gibbons emerged as a trusted leader charged with the fur trade and the sawmills at Newichawannock.

24 Wiggin, Waldron, Nutter, and William Wentworth and a majority of those men coming from Massachusetts represent seventeenth century religious fervor and its political expression in more democratic town organization. Mason, Champernowne, Rand, Joycelyn, and Cammock represent the traditional idea of landed nobility and popular parish input. Town(Puritan) and gentry (Anglican) might be the names of the two political factions in the Piscataqua. The problem with this analysis is the independents who outweigh either faction in the Piscataqua.

25 The settlement has been called Pannaway, Pescataway, the Great House, and Strawberry Bank. Lord, Politics, Notes 91, 94, and 95, p. 42. By 1631 Thomas Walford and his family were located on Great Island at least on part of the land used by David Thompson. Neal apparently enlisted Walford's help. In exchange Neal did not challenge the Walfords' possession of land. Walford had made inroads with local Indians and was better employed as an ally. Langstaff in 1699 called Neal's location, Rendezvous. PPNH, Letter, Item 17, p. 83. When Neal left the property in 1633 it went to Ambrose Gibbons who in turn left it to Samuel Sherburne, his grandson. Henry Sherburne, Samuel's father had been given the ferry rights from Great Island to Rendezvous. Called Sander's Point, the property came into the possession of Sherburne heirs, the Wentworth's. Today part of the site is the Wentworth Coolidge Museum.

For the Laconia enterprise fishing was a low priority.²⁶

Besides lumbering and trading in furs, raising livestock seems to have been high priority. Three men, Peverly, Langstaff, and Nute were husbandmen. The availability of endless marsh grass was a drawing point for husbandry at the Piscataqua. The arrival of Englishmen throughout New England created markets for food. The Laconia Company seemed to be getting a jump on that market.

It was the marsh grass around the Great Bay especially at Hilton's Neck and the opposing neck that made the site desirable. Its use for husbandry can be surmised by some of the names that have remained including Hog Stye Cove, Cow Cove, and Goat Island. The neck to the south of Hilton's point was claimed by both Neal and Wiggan and a showdown was arranged between the two military figures. Unfortunately if records of the meeting exist they are undiscovered. Nevertheless the meeting of these two might have ended in blood shed, but their differences were peacefully resolved. While the compromise is specifically not available, it seems clear that the men agreed to some amicable arrangement because from that point wide scale dissention about land grants disappeared. The site of the meeting, almost battle, became known ironically as Bloody Point.²⁷ Bloody Point remained in the hands of those people under Wiggan's leadership. A line of demarcation

26 Lord, Politics, p. 33.

27 John Scales, History of Dover, New Hampshire, Vol. I (Manchester, New Hampshire: John B. Clarke Company, 1923), pp. 172-173; Ray Brighton, They Came to Fish (Dover, New Hampshire: Randall/Winebaum Enterprises, 1973), Vol. II, Note N.H. p. 2.

may have been drawn roughly through Bloody Point so that lands to the east beginning with Champernowne's Greenland were to be left to Neal and his sympathizers. Thomas Walford still possibly smarting from his recent banishment settled on Great Island thus aligning himself with the courtly party. The land to the west and north would be Puritan so that men like William Wentworth would move in that direction. The falls were divided with Cocheco going to the Massachusetts interests namely one Richard Waldron and Newichawannock to the Mason interests. The compromise would last into the 1650's when the interests from Massachusetts would make a new arrangement for those who had settled at Bloody Point.

Events in England were going to have a dramatic impact. In 1632 Mason was elected to the Council for New England. He wrote to Neal and asked him to return to England. The next year the Council for New England surrendered its charter. In exchange Charles I appointed former members of the Council. Fernando Gorges became Governor of New England and Mason, Admiral.²⁸ The stewards left in New England essentially became free agents.

For the next fifteen years the men of the river basin considered their home as the Piscataqua. Mason died in 1635 and his interests were retired. Independents arrived. The startling fact is that few ships left passengers in the river settlement.

Careful examination shows that a consistent 31 and 32 per cent of the arrivals came from settlements in Massachusetts. Some like William and Thomas Seavey arrived in Boston. Precisely how

long they remained is not known. Henry Sherburne is also recorded as arriving in Boston in 1635. By 1637 he had married the lovely Becky Gibbins, daughter of the esteemed Ambrose who was now a fixture on the river. John Ault, William James, John Jones, and Thomas Withers all come from Boston. While they may have been employed by the remainder of the Mason men, they are also counted as arrivals in the Puritan Migration. A survey of actual origins of the settlers to the Piscataqua and origin based on the surnames as reported in Noyes, Libbey and Davis's work has shown a per centage of roughly 12 per cent of the population coming from the west coast of England. About an equal per centage come from the east coast. The influx of Massachusetts men did not have a high incidence from Ipswich, Marblehead, and other fishing villages.

Other Massachusetts emigrants to the Piscataqua include William Berry who received a grant of land in Newbury but did not remain in the town. William Palmer was also at Newbury but left. Francis Norton long associated with the Piscataqua acts as an attorney for Mrs. Mason after her husband's death. He comes from Charlestown and returns there. Other men Lawrence Ellins, Thomas Cammock, John Wilcock, Henry Jocelyn, and John Watton are recorded in Maine settlements. (See Addenda B through E.)

The mobility of the newcomers between the settlements is significant. Edward Colcord and Edward Godfrey are treated in the several early histories as if they were residents of several towns. The fact is that men with money bought property and

consequently appeared on tax lists. Historians have assumed their residency as well. Champernowne was a large landowner in Dover. His estate which he called Greenland was located in Dover near Bloody Point. Later this fell under the jurisdiction of Portsmouth. Yet Champernowne physically lived on the future Maine side of the river on Champernowne's Island. George Walton, Samuel Haines, and Alexander Brackett and Samuel Beck are examples of men who lived in several communities. Billings, Lander, Crockett, and Withers signers to documents of Piscataqua history actually lived across the river in what is present day Maine showing again evidence of the regional identity of the Piscataqua.

While the histories refer to the "Dover Combination" of 1640 curious fact is that the document refers to the region as the Piscataqua consistent with the findings in this paper. Champernowne who is clearly not of Puritan sympathies signs the document. While the Mayflower Compact of 1620 is a similar covenant of association, the Mayflower Compact is clear about the religious purpose of Plymouth. The Piscataqua document is intended to show the settlers as combining in spite of the variety of beliefs, goals, and physical locations. Unlike settlements in the rest of New England where the Puritans have organized in common around a plot of land so dedicated, the settlers to the Piscataqua have settled on the shores of an enormous bay and established closed field farming. People combined in an effort to create consensus. Why others do not sign the document is a matter of speculation. It does seem possible

that apathy played a role in politics in that day as well. Nevertheless the English proclivity for law and order, for a constitutional basis of the society was in evidence in this document. The committed religious persons are clearly among the signers-Starbuck, Emery, Larkham, Knowles, Haines, Hall, and the Waldrons.

On May 25, 1640 a second document is allegedly signed by twenty men at the Lower Piscataqua establishing Glebe Lands at a location on Strawberry Bank Creek. The religious persuasion of the signers is unclear as the terminology of glebe lands is Anglican, the naming of wardens suggests a presbytery, and the description of voting to chose a minister is Congregational. For years the argument has been that the people in the Lower Piscataqua were Anglican. It seems as illogical to arrive at that conclusion as to argue that the document represents Congregationalism. Rather it appears to be a combination that demonstrates an independent religious spirit among these people. Of the twenty men, 20% came from East Anglia and Lincolnshire which were Puritan strongholds and 25% from the west country. Half of the men were included in lists of the Mason men and half were formerly from Massachusetts.²⁹

29 The most curious thing about the document is that it was not discovered until 1664. While important records of the town were said to have been copied from an old book in 1652, this document appears as a true copy twelve years later. At the time only five of the signatories remain alive-two Palmer and Coe have moved to Maine. Sherburne and Pickering are both involved in the 1665 petitions against the Puritan church. The last living signatory was the disreputable Nicholas Rowe who was constantly in court with his wife-a virago of such vituperousness she was

Courtesy of the Portsmouth Athenaeum, Portsmouth, N.H.

Of the signatories to the two documents one man signs both. He is William Jones. Neither Thomas Walford or his son Jeremiah, nor any of Thomas's four sons-in-law sign either document. Whether this means they didn't attend meetings because they weren't church members or that they were fishing is not known. What can be stated is that 38% of the signers of Combination had come from Massachusetts and were likely to have some belief in such covenants. Of the English origins to be traced, twelve of the Combination originally came from eastern English shires and Warwickshire. These were Puritan strongholds. Nine came from Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, and Wales. The important conclusion is that religious leadership and the covenanting spirit of the Puritan ethic were making serious inroads into the Piscataqua and it appears from this study that it was men from Massachusetts organizing into order and formality that seemed desirable for everyone.

After Neal and the Mason leaders abandoned the Piscataqua, John Underhill banished from Massachusetts came into the area and, along with George Burdett, Underhill tried to bring about Massachusetts control in the area. Burdett wrote to Archbishop

whipped at least twice in 1648 alone. Is the document forged for purposes not clear as yet but of some use to these gentlemen? Do Sherburn and Pickering know no one would believe Rowe? Among the nearly 100 men who were in the Piscataqua in 1640, of the twenty who happen to sign a document concerning church lands are the one man known to have been hung for adultery, Henry Taylor, the cuckolded husband, John Crowther who left town shortly thereafter. Two men from Kittery who drowned in 1646-Billings and Lander. One man who was banished-Robert Puddington. That is 50% have died by 1654. Courtesy of the Portsmouth Athenaeum, Portsmouth, N.H.

Laud, a notorious anti-Puritan ecclesiastical leader of the government. Subsequently Burdett who professed free love in the manner of the Ranters in England was twice in Agimenticus Court on charges of fornication.³⁰ As a leader of the community Burdett acting also in a ministerial capacity combined politics and ecclesiastical functions in a manner rejected by immigrants to New England. Both Burdett and Underhill left the Piscataqua. Despite their religious differences with Massachusetts religious leaders, Underhill and Burdett sought the authority of Puritan and Massachusetts leadership. In the wake of the departure of Burdett and Underhill and the abandonment by Mason factors, men whose ties were to the Puritans in Massachusetts began to assume office in the vacuum. They were supported by a regular number of settlers arriving from Massachusetts.

While the rebellion in England proceeded and battles at Naseby and Marston Moors doomed the royal cause, Puritans and their followers filtered north to the Piscataqua for profit and land which was becoming less available to the south. The move north was less of sinister plot than a simple course of events. From 1640 to 1642 the Piscataqua submitted to Massachusetts and was organized as Norfolk County in Massachusetts. In England in January of 1649 the head of the King was taken by the new leadership. In the victory leaders like Cromwell had learned that

³⁰ The women involved were Mary Pooke Purrington, wife of John, and Ruth Gooch, wife of Robert. See Maine Court Records for 1640. Burdett's housekeeper, Anne Messant, was also brought up for fornication much later in 1650 for an affair with Francis Champernowne. She was then Mrs. Edward Godfrey of York, Maine.

winning had to do with good soldiers and not orthodox thinking. Toleration was afoot. In the Piscataqua, Puritanism was afoot.

Freemanship was still based on church membership in New England but the New Hampshire submission had come with the provision that men already voting could retain their status. New freeman however still had to be church members.³¹ In 1648, the Cambridge Platform revealed an attempt by New England Puritan divines to establish uniformity and maintain church membership. Massachusetts also passed a law to forbid women to settle at the Shoals. New settlers appeared at the Piscataqua—the Cutts and the Hunkings from the Shoals and the Abbotts and the Adamses from Massachusetts. Four men appearing on the river had been shipwrecked in Maine at Pemiquid in 1635—William Furber, Robert Burnham, Samuel Haines, and John Tuttle. Others came from Maine settlements. These men included Cummings, Turpin, and Puddington, Lewis, Moses. Some of these men were buying land of occupants like Roger Knight and establishing records of inestimable value in the area of prescriptive land rights.

By 1650 there were 215 men, some with families who made their home and living at the Piscataqua. During that year John Mason's heir came of age and a relative Joseph Mason was persuaded to travel to New England and claim the Mason lands. Courts in England ruled that New Hampshire jurisdiction was the ultimate jurisdiction in the legal matters. It was on the issue of venue that the victory in the cases would hinge. It would take

years to settle. While not in the possession of royal title, the common law practice of adverse possession would be in the settlers favor. That the juries and courts were comprised of people all of whom had a stake in the issues could not have been in the Mason family interests.

In 1652 Captain Bryan Pendleton moved to the area. He was a member of the Massachusetts House of Deputies. Precisely under what authority he operated is not known, but he organized a town out of a section of Dover and applied to the Massachusetts House of Deputies to give the town the name of Portsmouth in New England. While it has been proposed that the town existed and the records were destroyed, there were laws against defacing or destroying such town records. Furthermore any existence of land grants by any elected body would be of undeniable support in a fight on the grounds of prescriptive land rights. It appears in a flush of fear for their land and livelihood, residents of the section of the Lower Piscataqua, the apocryphal town of Strawberry Bank, organized themselves and created a town comprised of nearly fifty per cent of newcomers from the south in an bulwark against the possible actions of Joseph Mason. The neighborhood had existed and from May 8, 1643 residents of that section had lobbied for courts that met nearer to their homes.³² Constables like John Webster served to collect Piscataqua taxes. Dover was the town they served.

At the end of 1652 Kittery was formed and its citizens

³² PPNH, p. 167.

Courtesy of the Portsmouth Athenaeum, Portsmouth, N.H.

joined with Massachusetts in November. This arrangement was also engineered by Captain Bryan Pendleton. In Portsmouth the existing land arrangements were established in the new town records. Elections were held. Thadeus Ridden of Massachusetts was chosen clerk. Bryan Pendleton was made a judge and a deputy to the House of Deputies, the Massachusetts house of representatives. Richard Leader came from Lynn and was put in charge of the former Mason works at Newichawannock. Riddan left after a year and the clerk, Elias Stileman, from Salem was invited to become clerk of the courts in Portsmouth. He would become an important leader civil and in church matter in true Puritan form. In short order the authority and knowledge of Massachusetts government was soon instilled in the inhabitants. Even a common, common land in the Massachusetts tradition, was laid out on Great Island. A majority of the newcomers settled on that island. These men also decided to end the compromise at Bloody Point and quietly sometime after 1655, Bloody Point was removed from the jurisdiction of Dover and placed in Portsmouth. There was a protest but to no avail.³³ Portsmouth with the addition of this section became the most populous town.

But life in Massachusetts town was not complete without a religious leader, a minister and by 1658 the townspeople had invited Mr. Joshua Moodey, a Harvard graduate and established Puritan leader. Soon his son-in-law, John Pike, another Harvard man would be ordained in Dover. Men from Kittery would regularly

pay taxes to hear Joshua Moodey. Organized religion in the Massachusetts sense of the term had come to the Piscataqua.

Of the forty-six land grantees in Portsmouth 46% had arrived from Massachusetts. Even Old Tom Walford had joined the effort. An early settler, he was better off seeking the help of these Puritans in holding on to land for his family who included Joneses, Brookins, Savage, Goss, and Peverly. His daughter-in-law, a Brackett, had remarried John Amazene. Through marriage independent pioneers had started clans-Waltons, Waldrons, Ham's, Sherburns, Cotton's, Hulls, Cutts, and Wentworths. Some families would become dynasties. All of the stalwart citizens would attend Joshua Moodey's services Sunday and Thursday lecture in the fashion of Boston.

In bettering their condition, the men arriving on the Piscataqua came not in boats directly from England, a majority came looking for land inexpensive and more available than in tightly run towns in Massachusetts. They soon needed the order and authority they had found in Massachusetts to preserve and protect what they had acquired. With the territory came the value system. By the dawn of the Restoration Puritanism with its changing but effective and familiar system of values and beliefs had become a fact of life on the Piscataqua. The showdown at Bloody Point seemed twenty years later like a rout that was long in coming but clear and sound.

But the Restoration would breathe new life to old heads and by 1665 the disillusioned would rebel against the Puritan ways.

By 1683 and a few royal decrees, kingship would be strong, the royal governor a force to reckon, and Joshua Moodey would be run out of town. Yet after the Glorious Revolution he would return. The showdown at Bloody Point had been not so much a victory as an example of the process whereby Americans of different perspectives developed the tools to learn to live together, work together, and prosper together.



A PROPOSAL

This study was commenced with the idea of arriving at population figures for Portsmouth, New Hampshire in its founding years. My early work led to the recognition of the singular nature of the early Piscataqua settlement. By integrating the residents of the "towns," the impact of the year 1652 emerged. Walter Davis in his many fine genealogical works pounded home the numerous contradictions in documents and the number of questionable documents. The catalogue of errors in reporting the local history is incredible and a great deal of time was consumed checking facts.

It is my intention to continue to quantify the records in Portsmouth. Having done the arriving generation there are many kinds of information that a comparison with the next generation can provide. An analysis of first names from first to the second may demonstrate a change in the religious values to support the argument in this paper. None of the genealogies are organized from the female point of view. It is nevertheless clear that the women settling in the Piscataqua have an incidence of origin from Massachusetts far greater than the men. Once established this will be important information in presenting this argument, but much work has to be done as all the genealogies are arranged only from the masculine point of reference. Once the women are properly accounted for a real estimate of the population can be

Courtesy of the Portsmouth Athenaeum, Portsmouth, N.H.

assessed. Presently the women who are remarried several times and would be counted each time a marriage occurs. This study did not account for children who died and that would provide more accurate population estimates and average ages.

The family ties are extremely widespread and appear to be very important. Early clans are evident. All of the accusers of Jane Walford's witchcraft came from Massachusetts and all are members of the Barton Clan which is not evident from any account of this well known story. The influence of the family ties are not as evident in this first generation because of the missing data but later generations may provide trends that appear to provide information that concurs with the findings of Bernard Bailyn in his work on New England merchants.

It is my intention to pursue this research and to work at the techniques that will sharpen my ability to interpret and understand the vast amount of information.

ADDENDA A

Adams LABDEN & ADAMSON Men

Nathaniel Adams, Annals of Portsmouth, p. 18.

This list has many mistakes and is presented for the sake of comparison.

James Ault	John Wall
William Brackett(Anthony)	Thomas Warnerton(Wonerton)
William Brakin(Brookins)	Francis Williams
Henry Baldwin	John Williams
Joseph Beal	Thomas Withers
William Berry	
Thomas Chatterton(William or Michael)	
Humphrey Chadbourne	
William Chadbourne	
William Chadbourne, Junior	
Thomas Cammock	
Thomas Canney	
John Crowther	
William Cooper	
Anthony Ellins	
Thomas Fernald	
Renald Fernald	
Thomas Furrall	
Henry Gee	
Ralph Gee	
Ambrose Gibbons	
John Goddard	
Thomas Herd	
Alexander Jones	
Hugh Jones	
James Johnson	
Henry Joycelyn	
Roger Knight	
Sampson Lane	
Henry Langstaff	
Francis Mathews	
Thomas Moore	
Walter Neal	
James Nute	
Francis Norton	
John Peverly	
Francis Rand	
William Raymond	
William Seavey	
Henry Sherborne	
Thomas Spencer	
John Symonds	
George Vaughn	
Jeremiah Walford	
Thomas Walford	

Addenda B
Mason factors and servants

NAME	PREVIOUSRES	SHIREORPROVIN	COUNTRY
Bennett John			England
Berry William I	Newbury	Massachusetts	
Blake Thomas			
Brackett Anthony Sr.			
Cammock Thomas	Scarborough	Maine	
Card			England
Chadbourne William	Boston	Massachusetts	
Chatterton Michael			England
Coe Matthew	Gloucester	Massachusetts	
Cooper William			England
Cotton William I	Gloucester	Massachusetts	
Crocket Thomas			England
Dermit William			England
Ellins Lawrence	Richmond Is	Maine	
Fernald Renald			England
Gee Ralph			
Gibbins Ambrose	Gloucester	Massachusetts	
Goddard John			England
Godfrey Edward			
Heard John I	Boston	Massachusetts	
Herbert Sylvester			
Jocelyn Henry	Gloucester	Massachusetts	
Jones John I	Boston	Massachusetts	
Jones William			
Knight Roger	Salem	Massachusetts	
Langstaff Henry I			
Mathews Francis	Exeter	New Hampshire	
Miller Sidrach			England
Neal Charles			England
Neal Walter I			England
Norton Francis	Charlestown	Massachusetts	
Palmer William	Newbury	Massachusetts	
Peach John			
Peverly Thomas			
Puddington Robert I			England
Redman John			England
Reynolds John			England
Rowe Nicholas			England
Spencer Thomas			England
Taylor Henry			
Teddar Stephen			England
Tucker Adrian			England
Vaughn George I			
Wall John	Exeter	New Hampshire	
Warnerton Thomas II			England
Wilcock John	Saco	Maine	
Withers Thomas	Boston	Massachusetts	Maine
Wotton John	Saco	Maine	

ORIGIN

Devon
Scotland
Essex
Lincolnshire
Dorset

Lincolnshire
East Anglia
East England
York
Devon

Gloucester
Bucks

South Englan
Kent
Devon
Wales
Essex
Wales
Wales
South Englan
York
Devon
Common
South Englan

Common
East England

Devon
York
Cornwall
Devon
Gloucester
Common

Devon
Wales



Addenda C
 Portsmouth Glebe Signers: Walford Added

NAME	PREVIOUSRES	SHIREORPROVIN	COUNTRY
Berry William I	Newbury	Massachusetts	
Billings John	Spurwink	Maine	
Brackett Anthony Sr.			
Chatterton Michael			England
Coe Matthew	Gloucester	Massachusetts	
Crowther John			England
Fernald Renald			
Gibbins Ambrose	Gloucester	Massachusetts	
Jones John I	Boston	Massachusetts	
Jones William			
Lander John	Stratton's	Maine	
Palmer William	Newbury	Massachusetts	
Pickering John Sr. I	Cambridge	Massachusetts	
Puddington Robert I			
Rowe Nicholas			England
Sherburne Henry I	Boston	Massachusetts	
Taylor Henry			
Walford Thomas I	Charlestown	Massachusetts	
Wall John	Exeter	New Hampshire	
Williams Francis			
Wotton John	Saco	Maine	

ORIGIN

Devon
East England
Essex
Lincolnshire
East Anglia

Gloucester

Wales
Wales

East England
York
Devon
Devon
Hampshire
Common
Essex



Addenda D
Portsmouth 1652 Land Grants

NAME	PREVIOUSRES	SHIREORPROVIN	COUNTRY
Abbot Walter I			
Barton Edward	Marblehead	Massachusetts	
Batchelder Alexander	Dover	New Hampshire	
Beck Henry Sr.	Boston	Massachusetts	
Berry William I	Newbury	Massachusetts	
Brackett Anthony Sr.			
Brookins William I			
Campion Clemment		Virginia	
Champernoune Francis	Dartington	Devon	England
Chatterton Michael			England
Cotton William I	Gloucester	Massachusetts	
Cummings Richard	Richmond Is	Maine	
Cutt Richard Jr I		Shoals	
Ellins Anthony	Richmond Is	Maine	
Evans William			
Fernald Renald			England
Ham William Sr I	Richmond Is	Maine	
Hart John	Boston	Massachusetts	
Hunking Hercules	Star Island	Shoals	
Jackson John Sr. I	Gloucester	Massachusetts	
Johnson James		Maine	
Jones John I	Boston	Massachusetts	
Lane Ambrose	Teignmouth	Devon	England
Leader Richard	Lynn	Massachusetts	
Mason Joseph			
Moses John	Black Point	Maine	
Mussey Robert	Boston	Massachusetts	
Pendleton Brian	Sudbury	Massachusetts	
Pendleton Joseph	Sudbury	Massachusetts	
Peverly Thomas			
Pickering John Sr. I	Cambridge	Massachusetts	
Puddington Robert I			
Rowe Nicholas			England
Seavey Thomas	Boston	Massachusetts	
Seavey William Sr.	Boston	Massachusetts	
Seward Richard I	Boston	Massachusetts	
Sherburne Henry I	Boston	Massachusetts	
Sherburne John Sr I			
Trickey Francis	Exeter	New Hampshire	
Trimmings Oliver		Massachusetts	
Turpin Thomas	Saco	Maine	
Walford Jeremiah I	Mount Wolla	Massachusetts	
Walford Thomas I	Charlestown	Massachusetts	
Walton George Sr.	Boston	Massachusetts	
Webster John I	Ipswich	Massachusetts	
Wotton John	Saco	Maine	

ORIGIN

Common

Hampshire
Warwickshire
Devon
Essex
Devon

Devon
Lincolnshire
York
Cornwall
Gloucester

Wales
Gloucester
Devon
Common
Cornwall
Devon
Common
Wales

Sussex
Hampshire
Devon
Hampshire
Lancashire
Lancashire

York
Devon
Devon

Devon
Hampshire
Hampshire
Devon

Essex
Essex



Addenda E
Piscataqua Combination of 1640

NAME	PREVIOUSRES	SHIREORPROVIN	COUNTRY
Beck Henry Sr.	Boston	Massachusetts	
Boaden William		Massachusetts	
Cammond Abel			
Canney Thomas I			
Champernoune Francis	Dartington	Devon	England
Colcord Edward I	Salem	Massachusetts	
Cross John I	Ipswich?	Massachusetts	
Dam John I	Salem	Massachusetts	
Dustin Thomas I			
Emery Anthony	Newbury	Massachusetts	
Follett John I			
Furber William I	Ipswich	Massachusetts	
Garland Peter	Charlestown	Massachusetts	
Haines Samuel Sr.	Ipswich	Massachusetts	
Hall John III			
Heard John I			
Huckins Robert			
Hunt Bartholemew			
Jones William			
Knowles Hansard		Lincolnshire	England
Laham Richard			
Langstaff Henry I	Salem	Massachusetts	
Larkham Thomas		Massachusetts	
Leighton Thomas		Massachusetts	
Nanney Robert	Saco	Maine	
Nute James I			England
Phillips John			
Pinckham Richard			
Pomfret William	Monhegan Is	Maine	
Roberts Thomas I			
Rollins James	Newbury	Massachusetts	
Smith Bartholemew			
Starbuck Edward			
Storer William II			
Swadden Phillip			
Teddar Stephen			
Ugrove John			
Underhill John	Boston	Massachusetts	
Waldron Richard I	Salem	Massachusetts	
Waldron William I	Salem	Massachusetts	
Wastill John			
Webb George			

ORIGIN

Warwickshire
Cornwall

Devon
Devon
East England
Cheshire

Hampshire
Devon
Cheshire
Devon
Wiltshire

Devon

Common
Wales
Lincolnshire

York
Dorset
Cheshire

South Englan
Devon

Wales
Somerset
Common
Derby
Derby

Warwickshire
Warwickshire
Warwickshire



Addenda B is taken from page 8 in Brewster's Rambles.

Addenda C is taken from PPNH, page 113.

Addenda D is from the WPA Portsmouth Town Records.

Addenda E is from Scales, History of Dover.



BIBLIOGRAPHY
SHOWDOWN AT BLOODY POINT

PRIMARY SOURCES

Historical Collections of the Essex Institute, Vol. I-XXXI.
Salem, Massachusetts:Henry Whipple and Son, 1859.

Bouton, Nathaniel, Provincial Papers of New Hampshire, Vol. I.
Concord, New Hampshire:George Jenks, 1867.

Bouton, Nathaniel, et al., eds., Documents and Records Relating to the Province and State of New Hampshire, Vols. II-XL,
Concord, New Hampshire:George Jenks, 1867-1943.

Deeds, Rockingham County Court House, Exeter, New Hampshire.

WPA Portsmouth Town Records, 1645-1713, Typescript, 1933.

Hammond, Otis G., editor, N.H. Court Records 1640-1692. Concord,
New Hampshire:State of New Hampshire, The Rumford Press,
1943.

Sargent, William M., ed., Maine Wills:1640-1760. Portland, Maine:
Brown Thurston and Company, 1887.

Shurtleff, Nathaniel B., M.D., Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England, Vols. I-V.
Boston, Massachusetts:William White, 1853.

Whitemore, William, ed., The Colonial Laws of Massachusetts.
Boston, Massachusetts:State of Massachusetts, 1889.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Adams, James Truslow, The Founding of New England. Boston,
Massachusetts:The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1921.

Adams, Nathaniel, Annals of Portsmouth. Exeter, New Hampshire:
C. Norris, 1825.

Albee, John, Newcastle:Historic and Picturesque. Reprint.
Hampton, New Hampshire:Peter E. Randall, 1974.

Allen, David Greyson, In English Ways. Chapel Hill, North
Carolina:The University of North Carolina Press, 1981.

Bailyn, Bernard, New England Merchants. Cambridge, Massachusetts:
Harvard University Press, 1982.

Banks, Charles, Topographical Dictionary of 2885 English
Emmigrants. Baltimore, Maryland:Genealogical Publishing
Company, Inc., 1981.

Courtesy of the Portsmouth Athenaeum, Portsmouth, N.H.

Baxter, J. P., Agamenticus, Bristol, Gorgeanna, York, York,
Maine:Old York Historical Society, 1904.

Boulton, Charles Knowles, The Real Founders of New England.
Baltimore, Maryland:Genalogical Publishing Company,
Inc.,1974

Brewster, Charles, Rambles about Portsmouth. First Series,
Portsmouth, New Hampshire:Lewis Brewster, 1873.

Brighton, Raymond A., They Came to Fish, Vols. I and II.
Dover, New Hampshire:Randall/Winebaum Ent., 1979.

Clark, Charles E., Eastern Frontier. Hanover, New Hampshire:
University Press of New England, 1983.

Daniel, Jere R., Colonial New Hampshire-A History. Millwood, New
York:KTO Press, 1981.

Davis, Walter G., The Ancestry of Joseph Waterhouse 1754-1817 of
Standish, Maine. Portland, Maine:The Anoethesen Press, 1949.

Dow, Joseph History of Hampton, New Hampshire. Reprint. Hampton,
New Hampshire:Peter E. Randall, 1970.

Ellis, E. Detreville, Nathaniel Lebby, Patriot. Chevy Chase,
Maryland:Privately printed, 1987.

Farmer, John, Genealogical Register of the First Settlers of
New England. Lancaster, Massachusetts:Carter, Andrews and
Company, 1829.

Greely, A.W.,Major General, Ret., Robert Clements of Haverhill,
Massachusetts. Salem, Massachusetts:Essex Institute, 1911.

Hackett, W. H., Early Portsmouth Records:1645-1656. Portsmouth,
New Hampshire:Privately printed, 1886.

Ham, Thomas Caverne, Genealogy of the Ham Family and the Young
Family. Arlington, Massachusetts:Privately printed, 1949.

Haubrich, Alice Clark, Becky:Grandmother of New Hampshire.
Concord, New Hampshire:The Capitol Offset Company, 1966.

Heffernan, Nancy Coffey, Stecker, Ann Page, New Hampshire.
Grantham, New Hampshire:Thompson and Rutter, 1986.

Hotton, J.C., The Original Lists of Immigrants. London, England:
Chatto and Windus, 1874.

Howard, Cecil H., Genealogy of the Cutts Family. Albany, New
York:Joel Munsell's Sons, Publishers, 1892.

Jenness, John S., Notes on the First Planting of New Hampshire and on the Piscataqua Patents. Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Privately printed by Lewis Brewster, 1878.

Kennard, Frederick H., Some Descendents of Oliver Perry
Kennard:1786-1870. Newton Center, Massachusetts: Privately by the author (typescript), 1935.

Leighton, Walter, A Genealogical Sketch of a Dover, N. H. Branch of the Leighton Family. Newton Center, Massachusetts: Privately printed, 1940.

Libby, Charles Thorton, Noyes, Sybil, and Davis, Walter Genealogical Dictionary of Maine and New Hampshire. Baltimore, Maryland: Genealogical Publishing Company, Inc., 1972.

Lord, Gary T., The politics and Social Structure of Seventeenth Century Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Unprinted Ph. D. thesis, 1976. Reprint, Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International.

Malone, Pine Trees and Politics: The Naval Stores and Forest Policy in Colonial New England. Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 1964.

May, Ralph, Early Portsmouth History. Boston, Massachusetts: C.E. Goodspeed and Company, 1926.

Moses, Zebrina, John Moses of Pylmouth, Windsor, and Plymouth, Vol. II. Hartford, Connecticut: Case, Lockwood and Brainard Company, 1906.

Noyes, Sybil, Libby, C.T., and Davis, Walter G., Genealogical Dictionary of Maine and New Hamopshire. Baltimore, Maryland: Genealogical Publishing Company, Inc., 1972.

Odiorne, David W., Genealogy of the Odiorne Family in America. Ann Arbor Michigan: The Arbortown Book Company, 1967.

Page, Elwin L., Judicial Beginnings in New Hampshire, 1640-1700. Concord, New Hampshire: New Hampshire Hiswtorical Society, 1959.

Pierce, Clifton Frederick, Batchelder, Batcheller Genealogy. Chicago, Illinois: W.B. Conley Company, 1898.

Pendleton, Everett H., Brian Pendleton and His Descendents, 1599-1910. Privately printed, 1910.

Powell, Sumner Chilton, Puritan Village. Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1982.

Prince, Thomas, A Chronological History of New England in the form of Annals. Boston in New England, 1734. Reprinted, Cummings, Hilliard and Company, 1826.

Ridlon, G. T., Sr., Saco Valley Settlements and Families. Portland, Maine:Lakeside Press, 1894.

Rutledge, Lyman V., The Isle of Shoals in Lore and Legend. Barre, Massachusetts:Barre Publishers, 1965.

Rutman, Darrett Bruce, Winthrop's Boston:Portrait of a Puritan Town. Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1965.

Robinson, Ida May, Items of Ancestry. Boston, Massachusetts:David Clapp and Son, 1894.

Rollins, John R., Records of the Families of the Name Rawlins or Rollins. Lawrence, Massachusetts:George S. Merrill and Crocker, 1874.

Savage, James, A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England. Boston, Massachusetts:Little, Brown, and Company, 1860-1862.

Scales, John, History of Dover, New Hampshire, Vol. I. Manchester, New Hampshire:John B. Clarke Company, 1923.

Sibley, John Langdon, Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Harvard University. Cambridge, Massachusetts:Charles William Sever, 1885. New York:Johnson Reprint, 1967.

Spencer, Wilbur D., Pioneers on Maine Rivers. Baltimore, Maryland:Genalogical Publishing Company, 1973.

Stackpole, Everett S., Old Kittery and her Families. Lewiston, Maine:Press of Lewiston Journal Co., 1903.

Tuttle, Charles W., Francis Champernowne, (ed. Albert H. Hoyt) Boston, Massachusetts:John Wilson and Son, 1898.

Underhill, Lora A.W., Descendents of Edward Samll of New England, Revised. Boston, Massachusetts:Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1934.

VanDeventer, The Emergence of Provincial New Hampshire 1623-1741. Baltimore, Maryland:The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976.

Weis, Frederick Lewis, Colonial Clergy and the Colonial Churches of New England. Lancaster, Massachusetts:Society of the Descendents of the Colonial Clergy, 1936.

Weis, Frederick Lewis, Ancestral Roots of Sixty Colonists. Lancaster, Massachusetts:Privately printed, 1950.

Courtesy of the Portsmouth Athenaeum, Portsmouth, N.H.