

STORIES OF THE  
SETTLERS OF THE  
SOUTH SLOPES  
OF MOUNT  
MONADNOCK

Compiled by

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## Preface

The inspiration behind this report originated from a certain melding of concepts within me over a period of time. Explorations throughout the Monadnock area led me to numerous old mill sites, cellar holes, stone walls and natural curiosities. Searching through parts of many town histories brought to light many of the stories of the people of whom these archaeological remains testify. These ruins themselves, as interesting as they might be, are what they are, merely stones piled upon another. The real story they tell is of the aspirations, the determination, the blood and sweat and toil of those who piled them. After all, they were real people with real problems and challenges living in a real time in a real culture very much different than our own. Therefore, this report is a sort of personal experiment to explore the possibility of merging historical information from various sources into a kind of picture or story that might reveal something about the people and the lives that shaped the stones.

The framework employed is the timeline of factual information gleaned from the historical accounts. Thus information is repeated in this report as fact in the same manner that other historical writers have done. The questions raised throughout hopefully will draw the reader into their own consideration and meditation of the historical accounts. The suppositions presented throughout are the result of my own thoughts on the possible circumstances or motivation behind the historical events. There is certainly room for a difference of opinion in regard to such suppositions, but the purpose actually is to cause you, the reader, to enter into their lives just a little bit. There were reasons why these people did what they did and when. Sometimes their actions reflect larger cultural or societal issues outside of the report area. These have been explored in order to provide an overview of the larger context affecting their actions. So it is meant to be read as a collection of stories about the early settlers of a small part of Jaffrey, portraying a picture of some of the those brave souls who endured the hardship of taming of the wilderness to establish a civil, free society in which they believed they could pursue an honest living and practice their religion in peace and security without the heavy hand of tyrannical government. This was in itself, after all, a novel idea given the realities of the European monarchies of the time which they left behind, and the religious persecution resulting from state mandated religion.

## Acknowledgements

My humble appreciation is extended to Francelia Clark of Hancock for the encouragement and support to pursue this project, historical background materials, and for performing the service of editor and advisor. Thanks to the Jaffrey Historical Society for providing background information on Pope Yeatman, the picture of the Fife/Mann house and wonderfully detailed genealogies in the town history with character sketches, without which this report would not have been possible. Thanks to the Dublin Historical Society for providing the picture of Amelia Earhart.

## Introduction

This report is intended to provide a collection of historical sketches of the early settlers of the southern slopes of Mt. Monadnock. While Allen Chamberlain remains the authoritative historian of Mt. Monadnock, archaeological evidence and later historical accounts cannot be disregarded either. Therefore, some conclusions may differ with that of Chamberlain. As a draft document it is for reference only and not intended for publication, therefore has not been footnoted. However, all direct quotes and references are from the previously published sources listed in bibliography. During the course of research discrepancies between various sources were encountered that this report is not intended to either shed new light on or to resolve. Similarly, any errors in the published accounts of other authors will be reproduced here. When the preponderance of evidence appears to lead in a direction that may contradict the published accounts, the case is made for the variance. I apologize for any inadvertent errors in interpretation or misreading of the historical accounts, many of which are complicated by numerous land transfers intertwined with close, local relationships coupled with date discrepancies. In some instances the effort to understand exactly who was where and when was extremely confusing due to multiple generations of the same given name not identified as senior or junior. There certainly could be unintentional omissions from sources unknown to me. Only the genealogical backgrounds of the settlers that are pertinent to the purpose of this report or of reader interest are included. This report is not intended for genealogical research. Numerous gaps were encountered in the historical accounts that indicate the need for deeper research in order to determine the actual course of events and/or the actual location of these events. If anyone is inspired to fill in those gaps, they are very welcome to do so. This report is merely a collection of sketches compiled from published sources and as such does not represent any primary research.

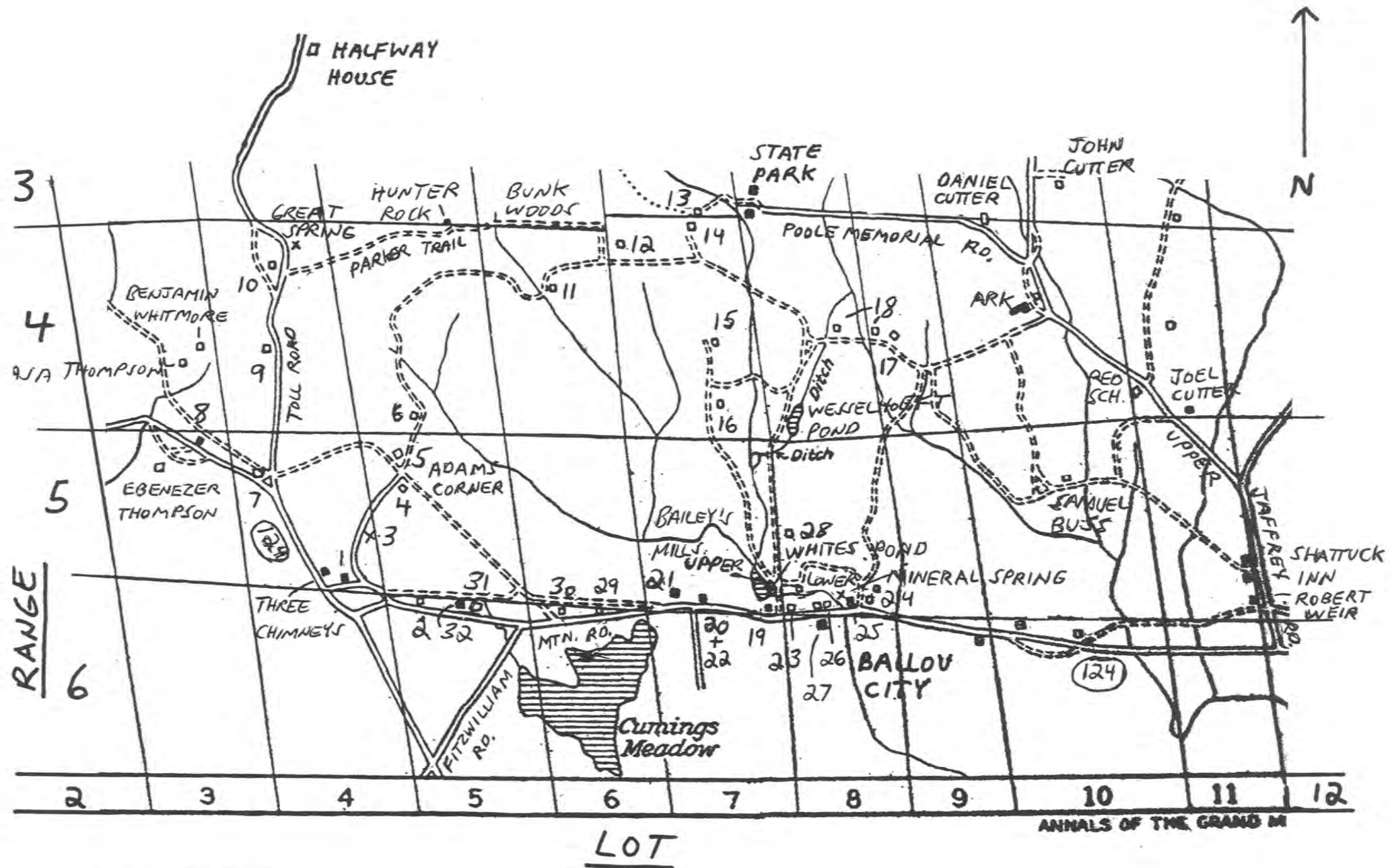
Historical notes of explanation have been inserted into the text at the first reference of a term perhaps unfamiliar to us in modern times that would have been commonly understood at the time of the settlers in the report. Explanations have also been inserted as background to certain events in history referenced in the texts. This was done primarily for my own illumination and understanding of the accounts, as well as to inform. The reports begins with a very brief overview of the founding of Jaffrey followed by a discussion of roads, then Captain Henry Coffeen, a colorful Colonial character who originally held most of the land from which the settlers in this report bought their lots.

The scope of this report is within the area represented by the Lot & Range Map on page 7 adapted from the publication: *Annals of the Grand Monadnock* by Allen Chamberlain. It is bounded by State Route 124 on the south (with several exceptions), the Mt. Monadnock Toll Road on the west (with several exceptions), the Parker Trail on Mt. Monadnock and the Poole Memorial Road on the north, and the Jaffrey water line from Ballou City north to Monadnock State Park on the east (with several exceptions). However, for perspective the reproduced map extends further east to the Upper Jaffrey Road. The lot numbers are marked on the bottom of the map and the range numbers are marked on the left margin so that lot references in the report can be located on the map. These references appear in the text as "L5R4" meaning lot 5 in range 4. These

numbers can be cross referenced on the map to locate the correct rectangular lot cited. For ease of reference, the numbered locations on the map have been added by the author. They correspond directly to the numbers listed in the large, bold headings in the text. For example, “**#4 Benjamin Dole**” corresponds to the location marked “4” on the map, and so on. The order of discussion of the settlers starts at Milliken’s Tavern (now the Grand View) and circles clockwise around the south slopes of the mountain and back again to the Grand View from Ballou City. The legend below lists the settlers in the report in order of their discussion by corresponding map number.

## The Settlers by Place

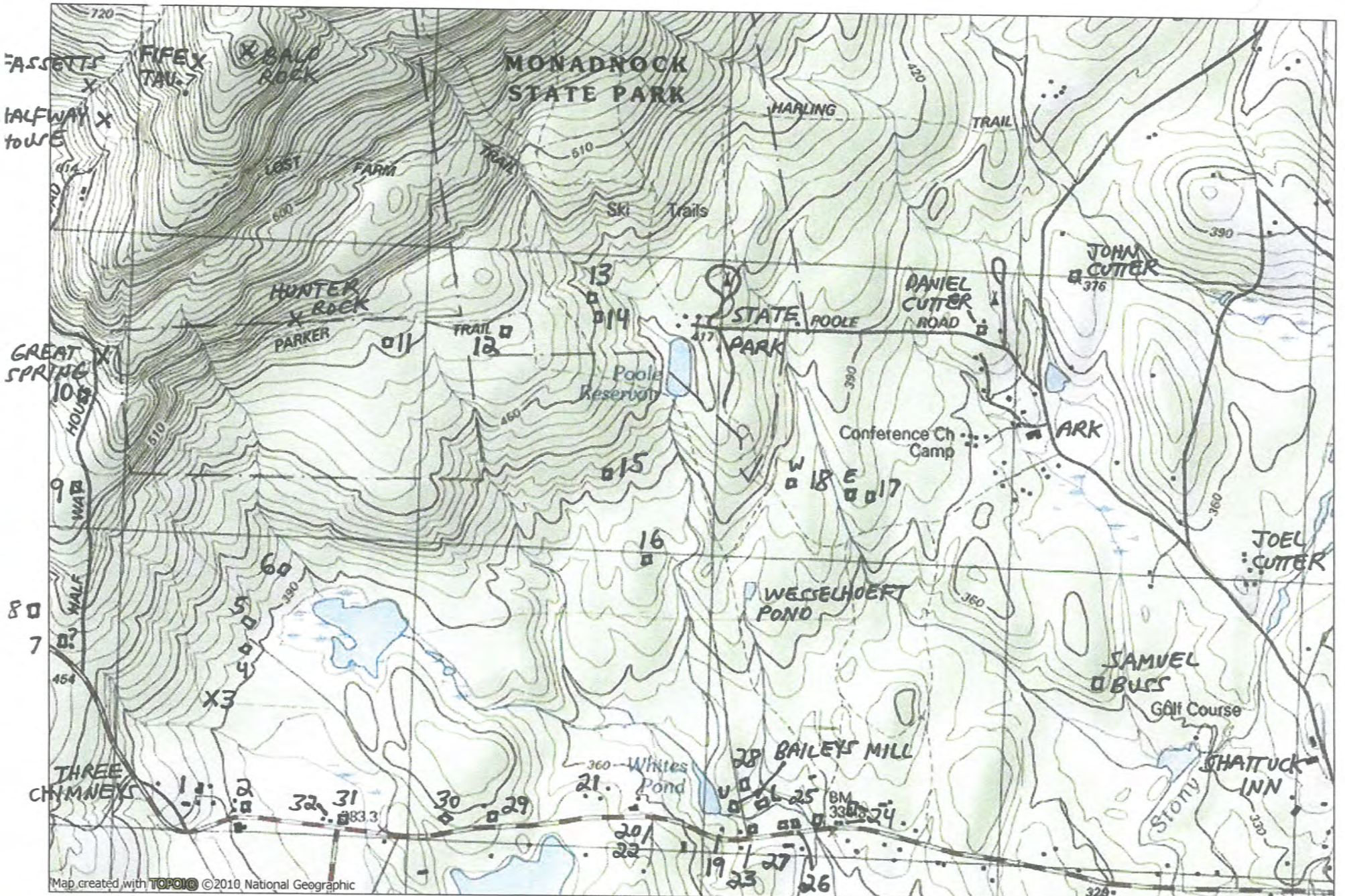
- #1: Milliken’s Tavern 1800/Proctor House 1881/Yeatman 1905/ Shearer 1954 (extant)
- #2: William Slack <1782/Samuel Stickney 1782/Alexander Milliken 1789? (1810’s?)
- #3: District No. 6 Schoolhouse Proposed 1792
- #4: Benjamin Dole 1773/Daniel Emery 1794/Henry Thompson 1813 (1850’s?)
- #5: Ardsley Cottage <1813?/Peter Nathaniel Proctor? 1894 (1905?)
- #6: Benaiah Hudson <1777/Joseph Stuart 1783/Samuel Stratton 1818 (1832?)
- #7: John Henderson 1773 (1783?)
- #8: Isaac Thompson 1773?/Mountain House 1834/Ewing W. Hamlen 1906 (extant)
- #9: David Avery <1778? (1790)
- #10: Ebenezer Ingalls 1774/Solomon Wood 1783/Simeon Butters 1789 (early 1790’s)
- #11: David Cutter 1st 1789/90 (1799)
- #12: Seth Harrington 1778 (1793)
- #13: Ephraim Adams 1778/Lemuel Sargent 1789 (1793)
- #14: Meads Farm 1793 (1820)
- #15: Moses Cutter 1784 (1804)
- #16: Abel Cutter 1815 (1823)
- #17: Joseph Brooks 1774 (1816)
- #18: Jonas Brooks 1st 1796-1807  
Jonas Brooks 2nd 1807/Jacob Hammond 1818 (1831)
- #19: Abraham Bailey 1773?/John W. Coughran 1789/Badger <1929 (extant)
- #20: David Bailey Sr. 1775?/David Bailey Jr. 1773? (unknown)
- #21: Oliver Bailey Sr. 1773?/Samuel Crawford Nightingale 1891? (extant)
- #22: Oliver Bailey Jr. 1820/Charles A. Proctor 1884/Mountain Shade 1892? (extant)
- #23: Edward Bailey 1816/Edward H. Bailey (<1929?)
- #24: John Kent 1780?/Amos Flint 1791/John Joslin 1794 (1858?)  
Joslin’s Tavern 1800 (1824?)
- #25: Mineral Spring Hotel 1808 (1920?)
- #26: John Stone 1805/Luther Hemenway 1840?/Michael Reardon 1874 (1897?)
- #27: Joseph Wilder 1778/David Cutter 2nd 1799/Abel Cutter 1823 (extant)
- #28: Abraham Hadley 1781? (1806)
- #29: District No. 6 Schoolhouse 2nd 1840 (1898)
- #30: Luke Swett 1779/Jacob Hammond Sr. 1831/Dr. Phelps 1860? (1892?)
- #31: District No. 6 Schoolhouse 1st 1796-1840
- #32: John Ross 1803/Abraham Ross Jr. 1807/Pope Yeatman 1905 (extant)



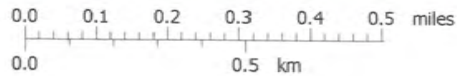
- = CELLAR HOLE
- = STANDING HOUSE

ADAPTED FROM ALLEN CHAMBERLAIN 1936

X DINSMORES TAU.



Map created with **TOPOIC** ©2010 National Geographic



MN  
14½°  
02/19/16



For those comfortable with a topographical type of map, there is a printout of a section of the topography of the south side of Mt. Monadnock on the preceding page. The scale and north declination are shown in the bottom margin. The contour lines are metric: 30 meters between bold contour lines; 6 meters for the intervening contour lines. Note that the same numbered settlers named in the bold headings of the text of the report are also marked on this map. If the text reference reads “(#1 on map)”, then it refers only to the lot & range map on page 7. Likewise, if the text reference reads “(#1 on maps)” plural, then it refers to both the lot & range map and topographic map. In addition, some features on the south ridge of the mountain are marked, such as Bald Rock and some of the early “tavern” sites cited in the text. Beware that the trails and the old wood roads on this topographic map section are very inaccurately represented, as is typical of most of the modern topo maps.

## Rowley Canada

According to the town history, Jaffrey, originally called Rowley Canada, was part of several so-called “Canada” townships granted to soldiers (and their descendents) who served under Sir William Phipps on a failed military expedition against Canada launched by the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1690. These grants carried the name of the Essex County, Massachusetts, area towns in which the grantees resided. Thus when Rowley Canada was granted to John Tyler in 1736, nearly all the grantees were from Rowley, Topsfield, and Boxford - all part of the original town of Rowley. There were 59 other grantees with Tyler, all either soldiers or descendants thereof, which included Joseph Pike of Newbury, Massachusetts. Pike was the grandfather of the Zebulon Pike accredited as discovering Pikes Peak in Colorado. Although the original New Hampshire - Massachusetts boundary dispute was settled in 1740, it created disagreements over land possession by the original grantees of the Canada townships and also that of the Captain John Mason Grant of 1629. Then the French and Indian War of 1744 resulted in many of the area settlers abandoning their homesteads due to Indian attacks or the threat thereof. Following the Indians’ final defeat and retreat to Canada in 1749, settlers returned and resumed homesteading activities.

Following the equitable settlement of the boundary dispute in 1740, the Masonian Proprietors bought the Captain John Mason Grant for £1500 from his great-great grandson Lieutenant John Tufton Mason in 1746. This group of 12 was composed mostly of influential men of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, including Governor Benning Wentworth. The Proprietors re-granted for settlement several Monadnock area towns on 11-30-1749. Amongst the first were those that later became Dublin, Jaffrey and Rindge. Middle Monadnock #2, now Jaffrey, was re-granted to Jonathan Hubbard and 39 others, mostly residents of Hollis, Lunenburg and Dunstable in Massachusetts. This group of speculators seeking investment in raw land was charged by the Proprietors to promote its settlement. There are records of this period indicating 3 one-hundred acre lots selling for £24, or about 2¢ per acre. In 1773 the 303 settlers of Middle Monadnock #2 petitioned Governor John Wentworth for a town charter. On 8-17-1773 the charter was

granted and the name of Middle Monadnock #2 was changed to Jaffrey in honor of George Jaffrey, one of the Masonian Proprietors and member of the governor's council.

## Roads

In general, road development occurred about the time of settlement. It seems that on these mountain lots some kind of cart path or "road" was built along with the homestead or shortly thereafter. Many were probably mere cart paths through the pastures and woods connecting local farms as a matter of convenience and local commerce. Some of these later were accepted as town roads for a short time before abandonment. The ones remaining the longest seem to have been such as the road to Adams Corner (marked on map) at Dole's place (#4 on maps) from the Third New Hampshire Turnpike (now State Route 124). Kidd's book on Jaffrey roads is the only source that names the four way intersection at Dole's as Adams Corner while offering no reason for the assertion. This remains as a drivable dirt road today, however its current entrance off State Route 124 is further west than the original location at Swett's place (#30 on maps). Another remaining road is the eastern end of what was formerly the old "Keene Road" up to the State Park past the Brooks places (#17 & #18 on maps) which remains as a drivable wood road today. Yet another is the Poole Memorial Road up to the State Park and Mead's Farm (#13 & #14 on maps) which continues to serve today as paved access to the State Park. And of course, the Second County Road, later the Third New Hampshire Turnpike, which remains today as State Route 124.

The name of "old Keene Road" was attached to several of the old roads on the mountainside at one time or another. While it is possible to thread one's way across the hillside via the old farm roads and cart paths, it is doubtful that any of these ever actually served as a travel route to Keene or anywhere else. So actually there probably never was such a road. So how did the road from the Ark (marked on maps) west past Joseph Brooks (#17 on maps) to the State Park acquire the name? According to Chamberlain, it originated from an article in the Providence Journal around 1908 written by J. O. Austin. As the story goes, Austin learned that it (presumably referring to the Parker Trail) was once a "highway" across the mountain. He erroneously assumed that it had been used extensively by travelers to Marlborough and Keene before the Third New Hampshire Turnpike was completed in 1800. Thus, he called it the Keene Road, and the misnomer has remained to this day. The continuation of it across the mountainside along the line of the Parker Trail through the Notch to the Toll Road actually was called the "Old Mountain Road". Today, the Parker Trail has the "feel" of being an old wood road about as far west as the David Cutter place (#11 on maps). From there to the Toll Road it clearly remains just a trail.

The earliest road of significance in the report area was the Mountain Road west from the meeting house in Jaffrey Center. This would have been approximately equal to the modern State Route 124 alignment with some variance on the eastern end (dotted lines on map). On the western end it would have turned southwest towards Fitzwilliam close east of the existing intersection with Fitzwilliam Road (original road shown on

map, new road on topo map). The road record dates it as a town road on 4-23-1774, but it was probably in use prior to that date. Most of these early “main” roads were still only constructed for local access to farms and mills, since there was yet little need of regional travel.

The county roads were probably next to be developed along routes desirable for travel and commerce between towns. Both the farmers and emerging mills demanded better access to local markets. It seems that county and state expenditures for such roads led to much debate about the routes, and therefore who would most benefit from their construction. The decision to locate the First County Road through Rindge (along the lines of current State Route 119) left Jaffrey out of the running for these benefits. The first attempt at routing a county road through Jaffrey having failed, on 8-9-1786 a new road committee was chosen at a town meeting to restart the initiative anew. Although there was much debate as to its route in the Squantum area eastward, the route through the report area was more easily agreed upon. And so the Second County Road was completed in 1793 approximately along the line of the current State Route 124 (except directly in front of and south of Milliken’s Tavern, #1 on maps) up the hill past the Henderson place (#7 on maps). Interestingly, one of its first travelers gave it a “royal” christening, literally. The Duke of Kent, otherwise known as Prince Edward, son of King George III of England (and father of the future Queen Victoria) was at that time commander of the British troops in Canada. It is thought that because the Saint Lawrence Seaway was frozen and ocean vessels could not dock inland there, that the Duke had to travel to Boston in order to find a port from which to set sail. So part of his route from Keene to Boston was the Second County Road through Jaffrey in February of 1794.

“Turnpikes” were a later road development in response to increased transportation needs on a regional basis. Many were chartered to groups of investors who were authorized to collect tolls, but declining profits eventually led to all becoming public roads. The Third New Hampshire Turnpike Road was incorporated by an act of the legislature on 12-27-1799. The charter of the corporation authorized them to set up gates and collect tolls. The Proprietors of the Turnpike Corporation consisted mostly of wealthy men of Boston and Bellows Falls, Vermont. At a meeting of the incorporators in Keene on 9-26-1800 a committee was chosen to determine the route. Again, the old controversy over the route in the eastern end of Jaffrey erupted, but in the report area the route remained much less contentious, continuing to utilize the route of the existing Second County Road. The puzzling thing is this, if the routing committee was chosen in September of 1800, how then do most accounts cite the opening of the turnpike in 1800? It would seem that more time would have been required, even though most of the route in Jaffrey probably followed existing roads. Nonetheless, it was supposedly completed in 1800 at a cost of \$1,000 per mile. However, the completion of the Fitzwilliam Turnpike in 1805 and the Rindge Turnpike in 1807 caused a decline in traffic on the Third New Hampshire Turnpike through Jaffrey. As with most of the old toll roads, the decreasing revenues resulted in the dissolution of the Turnpike Corporation in 1823 and the road became a town road in 1824. The state historical sign on State Route 124 east of Millipore marks the site of the toll gate on the eastern end of the old turnpike.

However, in terms of the report area, the Third New Hampshire Turnpike would have been the most significant in terms of increasing opportunities for transportation of farm and mill products to city markets and for tavern development. Indeed, all of the taverns in this report were built after completion of the turnpike in 1800. Milliken's Tavern (#1 on maps), the Mountain House (#8 on maps) at the bottom of the Toll Road, Joslin's Tavern (south #24 on maps) and the Mineral Spring Hotel (#25 on maps) are all discussed herein. There was also Haskell's Tavern to the west on the hill overlooking Perkins Pond and the Cutter Hotel at Jaffrey Center to the east. All were popular stops for the freighters, stage lines, and travelers of the time. To be sure, Abraham Bailey's Mill (marked on maps) and John Stone's blacksmith shop (#26 on maps) in Ballou City would also have benefited from the increased access. The Mountain Shade House (#22 on maps) discussed herein was started much later in 1892, long after those early turnpike days. Right after the turnpike's completion, a mounted mail carrier made a weekly trip from Boston to Montreal in 1801. This resulted in the institution of the Jaffrey post office. Then in 1802 (Chamberlain cites 1803) Dearborn Emerson started a stage line for mail and passengers using the middle Post Road from Boston to Walpole, passing over the Third New Hampshire Turnpike twice per week. The 2-day through trip cost \$5 with the layover in New Ipswich. In 1807 a line of mail stages began regular trips from Boston to Keene in one day. They left Boston at 4 AM and arrived in Keene at 8 PM to make a 16 hour trip - that is, if there were no delays due to weather or road conditions as was often the case. By 1827 there were two competing mail and passenger stage lines operating in the area, one using the southern turnpike through Rindge, and one using the Third New Hampshire Turnpike through Jaffrey. In 1829 stages of the Old Mail Line and in 1832 of the Old Mail and Dispatch Line also began operations on the Third New Hampshire Turnpike. At one time such stage service was prolific throughout rural areas until the railroads came. The completion of the Cheshire Railroad in 1847 put an end to the through stage service on the turnpike. After that rural stage service was largely relegated to transporting passengers between the inns and the railroad depots.

## Henry Coffeen

Captain Henry Coffeen (sometimes spelled Coffin, as in Abner Sanger's journal) was influential in the establishment of early town government in both Rindge and Jaffrey. The record in the town history portrays a true Patriot and churchman. That is, until he was tried as a Tory in 1777. {Historical note: for a more complete understanding as to what may have led to this apparent switch of loyalties, see extended discussion under *Radical Sects of Revolutionary New England* in the APPENDIX.} According to the town history, Henry's father, Michael, was the young immigrant lad from Ireland who came to America at only 16 years old. Described as coming from a wealthy and respected lineage, he had run away from the University of Dublin for reasons not stated. He married Lydia Lake and settled in Topsfield, Massachusetts. He later removed to Lunenburg where he was admitted to the church in 1738, perhaps indicating acceptance there as a Freeman. {Historical note: at that time not just anyone could vote or participate in civil affairs. One had to be chosen or elected a Freeman by fellow townsmen; otherwise one was considered a "common". As a Freeman one had the right to

vote in all town meetings, the right to hold public office, the right to elect deputies to the General Assembly, the right to elect new Freemen, and the right to pay taxes. There were requirements to be considered a Freeman: one had to be over 21 years of age, one had to be a member of a duly recognized church, one had to possess Christian character, one had to be endorsed by other Freemen, one had to own personal property valued at £40 per year, and one had to take the Freeman's Oath. A modern English version of the oath is included in the "APPENDIX".} It was also here that same year that Henry was born on 4-6-1738 to Michael and Lydia. The family later removed to Winchendon, and all 4 of the children, John, Henry, Eleazer and Priscilla, eventually found their way to Rindge.

Captain Henry Coffeen (2nd generation) married Lucy Hale of Rindge around 1758 and lived on a lot on the west side of Contoocook Lake where 6 children were born. He became involved in the settlement concerns of the Proprietors and organization of the town government in 1768. Described as a man of extraordinary ability, well educated, and a well-to-do housewright, he was elected the first town Treasurer. Being a strict Baptist, he raised a strong protest against the minister's tax imposed on the entire town for the support of the Congregational preaching. He removed to Jaffrey in 1770 and settled on L3R7 on the Putnam Farm in the Gap Mountain area. He quickly became a leading citizen of Jaffrey and was elected to high positions in the town government, newly granted in the charter of 1773. That same year he bought the extensive Jaffrey land holdings of Robert Boyce of Dublin following his death, making Coffeen one of the largest landholders in town. It is Captain Henry Coffeen who appears to have sold the majority of the lots in the report area to the settlers discussed. By this time these mountain lots sold for about 6 Shillings, or about \$1 per acre. It seems that by October of 1774 Coffeen developed an association or friendship with Abner Sanger and his twin brother, Eleazer Jr., of Keene. Both Abner and Eleazer Jr. owned large tracts of undeveloped land in Rockingham and Thomlinson (now Grafton), Vermont. On at least one occasion, Coffeen had traveled to Thomlinson with one of the brothers for an unspecified reason. However, the exact nature of the relationship cannot be ascertained from the journal of Abner Sanger (see [Bibliography](#)). Further, whether Coffeen was directly involved in Sanger's land deals or merely a friendly advisor is equally unclear.

Coffeen was chosen Selectman and Town Moderator at the second town election in Jaffrey in 1774. In September of that year, at a special town meeting, Coffeen, William Smiley, and Major Roger Gilmore were selected a committee "to draw a covenant to be signed by all who stand to maintain the privileges of our charter". This was considered the beginnings of Revolutionary fervor in Jaffrey, commonly referred to as the Committee of Correspondence. {Historical note: these committees were started in 1773 in Virginia in order to correspond with Patriots in other states about the cause of liberty, and were eventually extended to the community level.} Just 3 months later in December of 1774, a secret convention of such committees was held in the Keene area. In May of 1775 he was chosen deputy to the Provincial Congress held at Exeter, a position of great importance to the both the town and the province. In June of 1775 he was chosen captain of the first militia company in town, organized by order of that Congress. He was the first to be elected to the Committee of Safety and Inspection. {Historical note: a local

group of Patriots who would identify Loyalists by their speech or action so they could be tried and either punished or executed for treason.} This was considered a position of great trust and responsibility in the advancement of the Patriot cause. Coffeen was also elected Constable and Sealer of Weights and Measures. Some of his other contributions to the town included providing the barrel of rum for the raising of the meeting house in April of 1775, and also security for the acquisition of a stock of salt for the town in anticipation of a British naval blockade of Boston harbor. Through this period his association with the Sanger brothers continued. It appears that while Coffeen was active as a Patriot at the outset of the Revolution, Abner Sanger may have already been undergoing a slow turn towards the Loyalist cause. Abner's brother, Eleazer Jr., was known to be a committed Tory right from the start of the Revolution.

Coffeen sold his Jaffrey homestead to Samuel Phillips of Andover, Massachusetts, at the start of the Revolution in 1776. It is supposedly about this time that his wife Lucy died. Then there is the statement in the town history, "For reasons that have not been discovered, but probably the same that led to his removal from Rindge, he left Jaffrey and settled in Acworth". However, Abner Sanger's journal may shed some light on those "unknown" reasons. On 1-15-1777, the Loyalists, Abner and brother Eleazer Jr., were attacked and taken prisoner by a Patriot mob in Keene. Following an informal hearing in front of the Committee of Public Safety, Abner was punished by house arrest in Ralston's Tavern (known as Ralston's Tory Hall) and food deprivation. Both brothers continued in some form of confinement for an extended period. Abner's journal states that Coffeen was also tried and fined for Loyalist sympathies in 1777. The fact that he was tried as a Loyalist by the same Committee of Safety and Inspection that he was once a founding member of would certainly have been adequate reason to leave Jaffrey or be banished from town. However, in the latter part of 1777 his residence was still cited in Jaffrey according to a record, but if he indeed had sold his homestead in 1776 as the account cites, it is not clear just where that would have been.

Then about a year later Coffeen is cited as residing in Acworth, New Hampshire, according to a 1-30-1778 deed. On 6-27-1778 he married Mehitable Smith of Acworth and had one more child there. An entry in Sanger's journal dated 1-27-1778 refers to Coffeen and his wife traveling down to Rindge, presumably from Acworth. Perhaps Sanger meant to say "future wife". In any event, Sanger mentions a number of trips by Coffeen "up" and "down" from Acworth, sometimes to Rindge, through September of 1778. The purpose of these trips is not stated, thus leaving it open to speculation. They could have been about Loyalist business, or old friendships from the days he resided there. It appears that Coffeen and the Sanger brothers continued their friendship and Loyalist association, conversing by letter during this time. Coffeen bought a grist mill in Acworth, which had been the first one built in that town, and drowned 7 years later at the age of 47 years when the mill was swept away in a flood in 1785. Henry's great-granddaughter, Susan, inherited his silver knee buckles worn at the time of his drowning. {Historical note: breeches or pants buckles worn by gentry in 1700's.} Coffin Hill remains a landmark in the northeastern corner of Acworth to this day.

John Coffeen (2nd generation), Henry's older brother, had become a pioneer settler of Cavendish, Vermont, where he was a wealthy and influential citizen. One account cites John as the administrator of Captain Henry Coffeen's Jaffrey estate in 1783. However, this is a curious statement if Henry died in 1785 when his mill washed away in Acworth. Could this indicate that Henry had already deeded his Jaffrey land holdings to John before his untimely death? It certainly means there may be confusion in the accounts that reference Henry in land transactions after 1785 when it appears that John may have been the one involved instead.

## **#1 Milliken's Tavern**

According to the town history, the surname of Milliken is derived from the Saxon "Millingas" and the Norman "Millinges" meaning "a thousand angels". Lieutenant Alexander Milliken (not the tavern's builder) was the immigrant, born in Ireland, who came to America "entirely for his own good" to escape "some transgression". {Historical note: at that time even minor offenses were regarded as "capital" ones, so a felony offense in today's terms is not necessarily indicated here.} He settled in Wilton, New Hampshire, and married Mary, surname unknown. He also held some minor town offices while residing there. On 9-24-1771 he bought L14R1 and L15R1 on the east side of Thorndike Pond in Jaffrey from William Mitchell and presumably settled there.

Alexander Milliken (2nd generation), the youngest son of Alexander and Mary, was born in 4-5-1755 in Wilton. He came to Jaffrey from Wilton, probably sometime before marrying Betty Emery, daughter of Deacon Daniel Emery of Jaffrey. In 1789 at 34 years of age, he bought the south half of L5R5 from Lieutenant Samuel Stickney and 20 acres in the southeast corner of L4R5 which is where his tavern would later be built. At this time it is thought that he lived in the Stickney house (#2 on maps) close by to the east on the north edge of L5R6. He was listed as a pew owner at the Jaffrey meeting house in 1780. In 1790 he bought the north half of L4R6, the former Samuel Ober Farm.

L4R6 was originally set aside by the town for the support of the ministry, otherwise known as the "minister's lot". However, in 1777 it was sold to Nathaniel Hardy of Tewksbury, Massachusetts, for £100 to help pay for the yet incomplete construction of the meeting house. Hardy then settled in the southern part of the lot, and later sold the north part to Samuel Ober in 1780.

Samuel Ober (5th generation) had kind of an interesting story himself. He was descended from Richard Ober, a French Huguenot who came to America in 1662. {Historical note: Huguenots were French Protestants of the Reformation who eventually left the Lutheran church to become followers of Calvin. Mostly artisans by trade, many of them fled France to escape persecution in the 1600's and 1700's.} Samuel was born on 3-28-1756 in Tewksbury, Massachusetts, and later served in the Revolution. At the end of his service, he returned to Tewksbury where he married Hannah, daughter of Amos and Hannah Stickney, on 6-25-1778. Following the marriage he removed to Jaffrey where he bought the north part of L4R6 from Nathaniel Hardy in 1780. He did settle on the lot

but the location of the homestead has not been found. During his short stay in Jaffrey he served as Highway Surveyor in 1784, a member of the Training Band in 1784, and member of the Jaffrey meeting house. {Historical note: "training band" was a British term for a local militia group. Participation was required of all Freemen and Freeholders.} After just 3 years in Jaffrey he removed to Rockingham, Vermont, somewhere west of Saxtons River in 1783. According to tradition, he crossed the Connecticut River on a log raft with Bellows and Lovell, who later became prominent men in the Walpole area. After settling in Rockingham, Ober built a distillery for rum and cider brandy and ran it along with his son. And according to the story, after seeing "Evils of Intemperance" he tore it down. Perhaps this was the result of the aftereffects of the Great Awakening of 1736-1745. Since both Samuel and his wife were admitted as members of the First Church of Rockingham by recommendation of the church in Jaffrey, but it seems quite incongruous with modern sensibilities that he would be operating a still in the first place. In 1790 he sold the north half of his L4R6 lot in Jaffrey to Alexander Milliken. Ober died on 6-28-1844 in Saxtons River at 88 years of age.

Alexander Milliken was listed as owner pew #16 at the meeting house in Jaffrey Center in 1791. The road committee responsible for routing of the Second County Road of 1793/94 decided to allow the town to choose whether to use the old road through Adams Corner (marked on map) or the new route up past Slack's place (#2 on maps). They chose the new route, and thus paid Benjamin Dole damages, presumably for injury to the inn keeping business at his place (#4 on maps). The completion of the Second County Road past his place might be what started Milliken pondering a tavern of his own. Interestingly, the town history refers to a James Mann (4th generation, not related directly to the Mann of Mountain House fame) who was licensed to keep tavern in Milliken's house in 1797 (referred to as "Pope Yeatman's place") just 3 years after completion of the Second County Road. Now, since Yeatman's estate is definitely the brick tavern built in 1800, how is it possible that Mann could be keeping tavern in a building not yet built? Further, in 1798 Mann presented a bill for entertainment of town committees from Jaffrey and Rindge deliberating "upon the location of a county road between the two towns". Since the Second County Road was already built, this would have to refer to the Third New Hampshire Turnpike of 1800. So it may indicate that Mann was keeping tavern in the Stickney house where Milliken was supposed to be living at the time. Otherwise it would mean that Milliken's Tavern was built sometime prior to 1800 in contradiction to all the accounts, which would not seem likely. In 1798 Milliken was elected the first School Agent for the District No. 6 School (#31 on maps) close by to the east on the county road. However, it was not until the completion of the Third New Hampshire Turnpike (now State Route 124) in 1800 that Milliken built the first brick tavern, and possibly the first brick house, in Jaffrey. In 1803 he sold a piece of land in the field east of the tavern to John Ross, who built a homestead there (#32 on maps). In 1804 records show that Milliken was taxed \$40-\$70 for ownership of a "two wheeled shay", one of only 5 in town at the time. {Historical note: also called a chaise, a small horse drawn carriage for personal transportation.} Since that was a significant sum in those days, business must have been good. But maybe it wasn't quite good enough, for the inn was offered for sale in 1808 through an ad that stated, "A farm in Jaffrey, 220 acres, on turnpike Boston to Canada, large dwelling house of which outside is brick. 3



barns, 33 x 28, 42 x 30, 70 x 40. Blacksmith shop. Large number sheds and outhouses, in good repair. Water brought in logs to the buildings. Well suited for a tavern and has been improved as such for several years." Apparently no sale was finalized, so Milliken continued to keep tavern there until he died 10-9-1811.

The estate sold at auction in 1814 to an unidentified Boston lawyer for \$3,700.00. However, soon afterwards the account states he may have become financially distressed for reasons not stated. And so the tavern was quickly resold. The town history cites Milliken's son, John, as assuming ownership of the tavern following his death in 1811 with no mention of this un-named Boston lawyer. Therefore, if the 1814 estate sale did occur, then it is not clear whether John continued to reside there or had temporarily vacated the tavern during this time.

Captain John Milliken (3rd generation and 1 of Alexander's 8 children), bought it back at a time not specified. Per the discussion above it may have been in 1811 or 1814. John continued keeping tavern there until his mother Betsy died 5-9-1823. It was sold to Tilly Whitcomb that same year. There is not much in the accounts of Milliken's whereabouts or activities in Jaffrey for the following 2 years, but on 9-6-1824 he was chosen Captain of the Rifle Company. In 1825, two years after selling the tavern he removed to Vermont, then Michigan, and then to Illinois.

One account cites Stickney as the owner following Milliken, but I found no evidence to support that contention. Rather, it seems that Stickney had already removed to Dublin by that time. For further details, see discussion under **#2 William Slack**.

According to the town history, the origin of the name of the Whitcomb clan is thought to have been derived from families living among the white cliffs and valleys of counties Somerset and Dorset in England. John Whitcomb is the immigrant, born there around 1588, who came to America around 1633. He settled in Dorchester, Massachusetts, there being admitted a member of the Puritan (Congregational) church in 1635, and therefore probably a Freeman. Of a pioneering spirit, in 1654 he removed to Lancaster, Massachusetts, with son John Jr. and became one of the founding families there. Two other descendents, Ephraim and Simon (both 5th generation), came to Jaffrey and left their mark in service to the town. Tilly was probably related to Ephraim and Simon, but the exact nature of that connection is not defined in the account.

Tilly Whitcomb was born around 1768 at the noted Whitcomb Inn & Farm in Bolton, Massachusetts, to David and Hannah. At some point he apparently made his way to Boston where there is strong evidence of close association with Patriots and involvement in Patriot affairs. There it appears he became the manservant of John Quincy Adams. Adams' wife, Louisa, had a teenage maid by the name of Elizabeth Epps from Canterbury, England. One story indicates that Adams' infirm wife had just borne him a son by the name of George Washington on 4-12-1801. Several weeks later on 5-4-1801 there was a private christening ceremony held for George at the chapel of the British Embassy with the Reverend Charles Proby Jr. officiating. Tilly is named as one of only two witnesses to that event. Interestingly, he married Louisa's maid, Elizabeth Epps, on

3-14-1802 around the age of 34 years. Information easily attained is scant, so it is not clear how long or even if he continued in the employ of Adams, but his service must have been well rewarded. He became one of the proprietors of Boston's Concert Hall at the corner of Hanover and Court Streets for at least 12 years of its 1752 to 1859 year history, starting around 1805. It was considered the first fashionable hall in the city for dances, theatricals, dinners and other assemblies of social consequence. Before the Revolution it served as the headquarters of the Sons of Liberty. {Historical note: Patriot organization instrumental in organizing the Revolution, still in existence today.} During the siege of Boston plays were enacted there for British officers. Following the Revolution it became the meeting place of the Society of the Cincinnati. {Historical note: a fraternal and charitable organization comprised of officers of the Continental Army and their French counterparts in response to Congress's decision to dissolve that army. It first met at the Verplanck house in Fishkill, New York, in 1783 just before the British evacuated the city. Its purpose was the defense of liberty, promotion of the union, and preservation of the friendships forged in the Revolution. Although membership is exclusively hereditary, it continues today.} A Boston city record of 4-26-1809 shows Whitcomb being assessed charges (not sure if it means taxes) for the installation of the sewer on Brattle Street. At the same meeting, his petition for a livery stable in Dorsetts Alley was denied. There is no indication if that request was for his own residence or on behalf of Adams or some other employer. In 1811 there is a record of him purchasing the so called Franklin/Dakin house in Boston from a Joseph Bradley, presumably as his own residence. Around 1817 his proprietorship at the Concert Hall would have ended.

Tilly Whitcomb bought Milliken's Tavern in 1823 from Captain John Milliken. It is thought that when he bought the tavern his intentions were to retire there due to poor health. One account proposes that his intent for the tavern was recreational development, similar to his former activities at the Concert Hall. This plan never came to fruition when he died the following spring on 3-14-1824 at the age of 56. Thus any patriotic history he was a part of or was privy to died along with him in Jaffrey. John Felt of Nelson bought the tavern in 1825.

According to the town history, George Felt was the immigrant, born in England in 1601, who came to America in 1628 at 27 years of age. Having landed in Salem, Massachusetts, he removed to Charlestown, Massachusetts, the following year. At some point he married Elizabeth Wilkinson, no details provided. Soon after 1640 he removed to North Yarmouth, Maine, where he lived for 40 years. Sometime around 1680 he removed back to Charlestown in the section that later became Malden and died there in 1693. Perhaps this last move indicated some sort of infirmity that caused him to return to relatives or children for the last years of his life.

John Felt (5th generation) was born in Nelson on 9-22-1798 to Joseph and Elizabeth. He married Huldah, daughter of John and Maria Conant of Stow, Massachusetts, who later also removed to Jaffrey. She was purported to be a half-sister of the Honorable John Conant of Jaffrey. In 1825 Felt bought the old tavern from Tilly Whitcomb and settled there. There 8 children were born on the "tavern farm", two of whom married sons of the well known Joseph Eveleth of L12R1 on the east slopes of the mountain in

Dublin. Two of their sons became manufacturers of pails and chairs in Gardner, Massachusetts. Felt was considered a well-to-do and successful farmer and trader, becoming a prominent businessman in Jaffrey. {Historical note: a trader was someone who bought and sold goods, or a storekeeper.} He was considered a man of excellent ability and integrity, earning the respect and confidence of fellow townsmen. And so he was active in town affairs, serving as Selectman from 1836 to 1839, Justice of the Peace, Moderator, State Representative, Quoram, and other minor offices. {Historical note: "quoram" is an old term for the commission formerly issued to a Justice of the Peace.} It was said that he did a stellar job as Assistant Marshall for the 1850 census. The 1850 Gibbs map of Jaffrey shows the tavern under the name of J. Felt, as would be expected. Then in the fall of 1860 Felt had a terrible accident, falling from an apple tree while picking apples. He dislocated his spine and broke two ribs and shoulder. He did recover but remained crippled the rest of his life. Huldah died about 7 months later on 5-27-1861 at the age of 57, probably there at the tavern. Felt sold the tavern to John Ball Proctor in 1881 and presumably moved, but no indication of where. He died 6 years later on 5-24-1887 at a location not cited. Considering the evidence below, he may have removed from the tavern 3 years following the accident in 1863 and 18 years before selling out. Perhaps this was due to his disability and the death of Huldah. It appears that a couple of tenants or renters resided there before the 1881 deed to John Ball Proctor.

Levi Brigham came from Harvard, Massachusetts, and settled at the tavern around 1863, about 3 years after Felt's accident. His ancestry is untraced, but he does not seem to be related to the other Brighams of Jaffrey. He was married to an Ann J., the details of which are not provided. It appears there might have been 5 or 6 children in tow when he arrived, depending on the exact date. The one child definitely born at the tavern died at the age of 1 by falling into a tub of hot soap. The reason for Brigham's coming to Jaffrey is not stated in the account. However, in 1865 he bought the rebuilt Fred Bailey Mill in partnership with Clinton S. Parker. Therefore, it could be reasonably assumed that he came to Jaffrey for that purpose. However, the most significant mark he left on the community in his 10 year residency centers around the last great fire on Mt. Monadnock in the late 1860's. The legend according to Chamberlain is that the fire was caused by the Brigham boys smoking a squirrel out of a hollow tree. Supposedly, they deserted the smoldering tree, which rekindled and set whole south slope of the mountain on fire up to the tree line. Several years after that in 1873, Brigham removed to Clinton, Massachusetts.

The *Atlas of Cheshire County, New Hampshire* of 1877 shows a Mrs. Ray residing at the tavern. It may refer to a Mrs. Rebecca Ray with whom a young man by the name of Frederick Warren Oakes supposedly boarded for a time. The reference to the "family" of Mrs. Ray would seem to indicate she was not alone there, but there are no further details given in the account. Perhaps she was a widower with children who took in boarders for income. It is not clear from the account if there was any relation to the Rays of Gardner, Massachusetts. There seems to be a couple of marital connections between Jaffrey residents and the Rays of Gardner, where there is an old cellar hole on Ray Hill.

John Ball Proctor bought the tavern in 1881 from John Felt. Robert Proctor was the immigrant who came to America from England and settled in Salem, Massachusetts, where he was admitted a Freeman in 1643. Robert Proctor removed to Concord, Massachusetts, where on 12-31-1645 he married Jane Hildreth, the daughter of Richard, considered the progenitor of all the Hildreth's in America. In 1653 he was one of 28 petitioners granted a new township called Chelmsford. So he removed there as one of the founding families of the town and died there on 4-28-1697.

John Ball Proctor (7th generation) was born on 7-15-1824 in Lunenburg, Massachusetts, to Jacob and Lucretia. Lucretia was the daughter of Colonel Joseph Tufts, Patriot and mayor of Charlestown who secured housing for the troops of Colonel Reed's Regiment, including the Jaffrey and Rindge Company of Captain Phillip Thomas 4 days before the Battle of Bunker Hill. Proctor married Angeline P. Farwell in New York City on 8-16-1848. He must have removed to the Fitchburg/Lunenburg area where he became active in the militia and was elected Captain of the Washington Guards, a distinguished militia organization of Fitchburg. In 1851 he entered the flour and grain business in Fitchburg. In 1858 he was elected superintendent of the Middlesex Street Railroad Company of Boston, and then became a commissioner to examine the Union Pacific Railroad. During the Civil War he served as a government recruiting agent and private dispatcher for the Secretary of War. Following the war, from 1868 to 1881, he was a real estate agent, auctioneer, and broker in Fitchburg. It is during this time that Angeline died on 3-23-1872, and he remarried about 1½ years later Sarah Lowe of Kansas in September of 1873. Obviously he had become an accomplished businessman and more than likely a man of some means. He removed to Jaffrey in 1881 at 57 years of age and bought Milliken's old tavern and continued to keep tavern there, changing the name to the Proctor House. The picture on the following page shows the tavern in the days of his proprietorship. Note the Proctor House sign above the door on the left side of the tavern. The *Town and City Atlas of the State on New Hampshire* of 1892 shows a J.B. Proctor residing here, as would be expected. He kept tavern there probably until 1894 when he sold it to Peter Nathaniel Proctor and removed to Lunenburg the following year for reasons not given. No further details concerning John Ball are given in the account.

Peter Nathaniel Proctor (8th generation) was born in Lunenburg, Massachusetts, on 2-10-1870 to William Russell Proctor and Sarah Ann Kitchner, who was born in England. Peter was the nephew of John Ball above, the son of John's brother, William Russell Proctor. Peter was married in Lunenburg on 6-16-1892 to Margaret E. Glen of Montreal. Two years later in 1894 he bought the old "Ebenezer Thompson Farm" at the foot of Mt. Monadnock, formerly the Dole place (#4 on maps). (Note: it is not clear why it was named for Ebenezer, since he may have never resided there in spite of several references to it. It appears to be his son, Henry, who resided at the Dole place. See discussion below under Henry Thompson on page 37 and **#11 David Cutter**.) Since one account cites Proctor the owner of Milliken's Tavern (#1 on maps) from 1894 to 1905, it would appear that sometime previous to this deed the Dole lot and the tavern lot was merged into one larger tract. One account puts the beginning of land acquisition during the Yeatman years, and no doubt about the fact that the Yeatman's did greatly expand the estate. But since the 1808 sale ad listed 220 acres (about 2 lots), it would seem that

PROCTOR HOUSE



JAFFREY TOWN HISTORY

Alexander Milliken had already begun acquiring adjoining tracts of land many years earlier. What would not be clear from the accounts is just where Peter lived - at the old Dole place (#4 on maps), Deacon Daniel Emery's "new house" (future Ardsley Cottage, #5 on maps), or at the tavern (#1 on maps). The old Dole homestead was by this time in a state of disrepair, and probably unlivable. So it is possible that he lived at the newer "Ardsley Cottage" while reserving the tavern for patrons. In spite of the quote above, my guess is that he lived at the tavern from 1894 to 1905 as another account cites. He was a farmer and contractor who served the town many years as Highway Agent. Afterwards, he also bought the "Spaulding & Stearns Farm" on Harkness Road and later removed there, presumably after selling the tavern in 1905. After this, the old "tavern farm" would no longer be used as an inn or tavern. It became a summer residence of the wealthy, and a "gentleman's" farm.

#### THE WINSTON CHURCHILL CONNECTION

It is said that there is a dining room in the tavern named in honor of Winston Churchill who stayed at the inn. Now certainly if the famous British statesman, Winston Spencer Churchill, actually had stayed at the Proctor House, there would already be a historical marker on the highway to commemorate such a notable event. Such a thing would not have occurred incognito. So there would be many surviving pictures and eyewitness accounts from those who were present. So, if not the Winston Churchill, then is the legend true and who could it be referring to? There must be a reason for so naming the dining room.

The rumor could be true if it refers to the American novelist and artist, Winston Churchill. This Winston was born on 11-10-1871 to Edward Spaulding and Emma Bell Churchill in St. Louis, Missouri. Curiously, he carried the surname of Churchill rather than Spaulding, suggesting he was possibly "illegitimate" in the older understanding of the word or his parents were not married. However, he was actually a distant relative of the British Winston. Emma died just 3 weeks later, suggesting possible complications from the childbirth. He was then adopted and raised by a James B. Gazzams. Curiously, there seems to be numerous similarities between the lives of the two Winstons. In 1894 the American Winston graduated from the United States Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland, the year before the British Winston graduated from the Royal Military Academy in Sandhurst, England. The American Winston quickly resigned his commission after briefly serving on the editorial staff of the *Army & Navy Journal*, for which British Winston would later write a lengthy series of articles. In 1895 the American Winston became managing editor of *Cosmopolitan* magazine and married Mabel Harlakendon Hall that October. It was at this time that he became one of the founding artists at St. Gaudens Colony in Cornish, New Hampshire, where a mansion was built for him there named Harlakendon House. Both Winstons began writing books and articles, and even painting watercolors. Both were involved in politics, but on opposite sides of the political spectrum. The British Winston was a conservative

member of the House of Commons while the American Winston became aligned with the progressive philosophy of Theodore Roosevelt, serving as a New Hampshire State Representative from 1903 to 1905, amongst other endeavors. Interestingly, the two Winstons did meet amiably in Boston on one of British Winston's lecture tours in 1901 when the American Winston threw a dinner for his British relative. At this time British Winston is supposed to have said, "I propose to become Prime Minister of Great Britain. Wouldn't it be a great lark if you could be President of the United States at the same time?" Harlakendon House burned to the ground in 1923. Mabel died in 1945 followed by Winston himself on 3-12-1947 in Winter Park, Florida.

All inquiries into any connection between the American Winston and the Proctor House produced no hard evidence that he actually stayed there. However, given the inclination of many painters of that period to use Mt. Monadnock as a subject, it is quite possible that he used the tavern as a base for his painting as many others did. It is not even clear that the naming of the dining room dates back to the Proctor House era, but there seems to be no other logical explanation. Thus, it will have to remain as conjecture. For those so inclined to research this further, see Dartmouth College Library resource listed under "RESOURCES" at the end of the report.

Pope Yeatman (9th generation), a notable mining engineer, bought Milliken's Tavern and all its property sometime in 1905, calling it the Chislehurst Farm (#1 on maps). He was among the first prominent summer residents of Jaffrey. While most settlers moved west, Yeatman moved east from St. Louis, Missouri. The exact time Yeatman bought the tavern seems to be in question, whether 1905, 1919, or 1926. The town history cites 1905, which would be one year after Pope returned from Chile to his house in Ardsley, New York. It is possible that it was purchased as a summer residence immediately after returning to the states. Another account cites 1919, the date of the tax records cited below in his wife, Georgia's, name. And yet another account cites 1926, which was the year Alfred Despres started as farm manager. But then, what about those 1919 tax records? Evidently some research is required here, but given the evidence at hand, it seems likely that the earlier date of 1905 in the town history is correct. There is the impression from pouring through all the material that Georgia, Pope's wife, was probably the impetus behind the purchase of the Proctor House as a summer residence. The Yeatmans were living in downtown Philadelphia in 1919, so perhaps it was intended to be used as an escape from the heat and dust of the city, and/or for Georgia's health. This was common practice for the wealthy of that era.

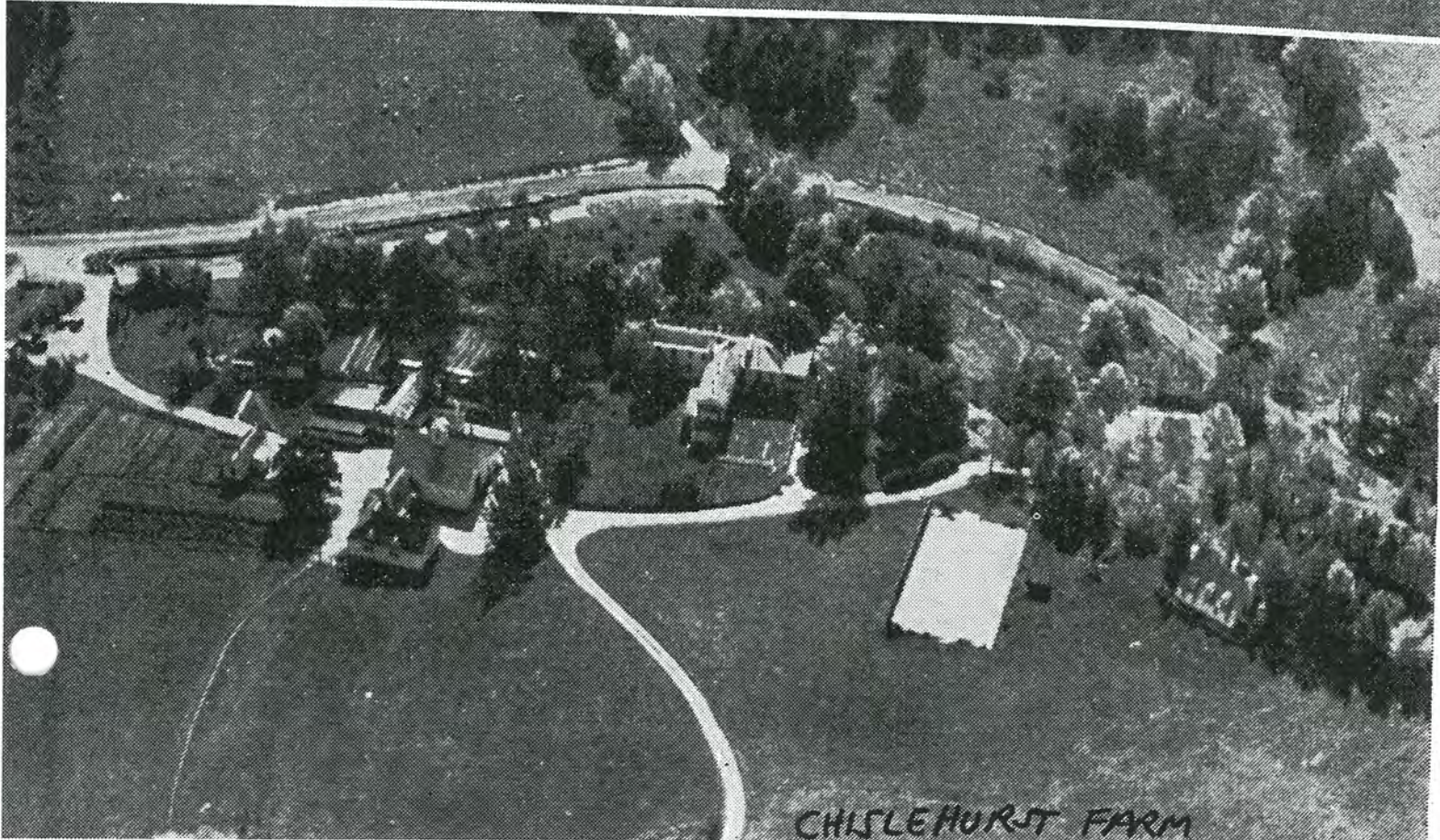
In 1919, just two years after returning from South America, Yeatman was taxed as a non-resident in Jaffrey. The tax record of 4-1-1919 reads as follows: 212 acres, summer residence, L4/5R5/6, District 6, value \$15,700, taxes \$502.40; 10 acres, Frye place, L4/5R5/6, District 6, value \$1,000, taxes \$32.00; 150 acres, Proctor place, L5R5, District 6, value \$2,000, taxes \$64.00; new cottage, L5R6, District 6, value \$600, taxes

\$19.20. The underline is added to highlight the fact that every piece of land listed has a structure on it. I believe the “summer residence” refers to the former Milliken Tavern itself (#1 on maps), the “Frye place” refers to the old John Ross house (#32 on maps), the “Proctor place” might refer to the old Dole place (#4 on maps) or more likely Deacon Daniel Emery’s “new house”, which was now known as Ardsley Cottage (#5 on maps) under Yeatman ownership. No information was found in any account or through any live source in regards to the “new cottage” on the lot south of the highway southeast of the present horse barn. To add to the confusion, Georgia was taxed as a resident in the very same year for 11 horses with a value of \$1,500, fowls worth \$100, 6 cows with a value of \$480, 4 hogs worth \$100, 23 sheep worth \$184, vehicles worth \$1,800, and \$200 worth of boats. How it is possible to be taxed as a resident and non-resident in the same year seems inexplicable barring some sort of error. Further, according to the 1920 census the Yeatmans were residing in the downtown Philadelphia tenement, which may have actually happened by 1908.

One thing is definite; the old “tavern farm” would never be used as a tavern again, but rather became a private estate and working farm for many years thereafter. It appears that it was probably the Yeatmans who originally began improving and expanding it into the large estate and farm as it exists today. In the bottom picture on the following page, it can be observed that two very large “ells” were added onto the old tavern, effectively tripling its size. The structure of the original tavern can still be seen in the right arm of the “T”, while the left arm is the new wing, and the “leg” consisted of the servant’s quarters and kitchens. Yeatman built the winter house next door to the west (right side of the picture) called Three Chimneys (marked on maps). It is said that the Yeatmans used to stay at Three Chimneys in the winter rather than heat the large, main mansion. My guess is that Deacon Daniel Emery’s “new house” was used and/or upgraded into what the Yeatmans named Ardsley Cottage (#5 on the maps). After all, that name would not have had any significance to any previous owner, but it is the place that Yeatman lived in New York upon returning from Africa and where their daughter, Georgina, was born. After all, the farm itself was named for Chislehurst, England, where their older daughter, Jane Bell, was born. I guess Pope Jr. was left out of the “name game”, however, since nothing appears to have been named Randfontein after the town in South Africa where he was born. Yeatman may also have built the “new cottage” on L5R6 that appears on that 1919 tax record. In addition, there was the farm manager’s cottage, two other cottages (for other farm help?), chicken houses, dog kennels, and various other buildings associated with an active farm. Although it was probably Milliken who built the original spring houses on the north edge of State Route 124 at a tiny trickle found uphill to the west in order to bring water via wooden pipes to the tavern, Yeatman probably would have modified the system to water his cattle below. While John Henderson Jr. (#7 on maps) may have originally built the “sheep well” that is on the south edge of State Route 124 opposite the Toll Road at the top of the hill, it may have been Yeatman who installed the cast iron pipe leading east down towards the spring houses to augment water volume. In any event, under his ownership Chislehurst Farm was reported to have grown to approximately 1,300 acres, which had swallowed up the entire Dole, Stuart, Swett and Cutter homesteads to the north of State Route 124 up to the State Park land, as well as other acreage south of the highway.



JAFFREY TOWN HISTORY:



Alfred Stanislaus Despres, and later his son, Joseph, were Yeatman's farm managers at Chislehurst from 1926 to 1954, which would be the entire 49 years of the Yeatman ownership based on the premise of the 1905 purchase date. He and his family had their own house on the estate, and all participated in the management of it. During this period, Despres was also active in local politics, serving time as a Jaffrey Selectman and New Hampshire State Representative. He had complete management control of all aspects of the estate including such things as: hiring and firing hands; supervision of two full time hands; payroll; taxes; purchase of all supplies; hiring of extra hands as required; lumbering; maintenance of the main house, lawns, flower gardens, vegetable garden, apple orchard and shrubs, etc.; care of all livestock such as the dairy herd, hogs, sheep, and poultry. The original Milliken barn burned during Alfred's tenure, so he was charged with the responsibility of building the new barn. His brother, a master carpenter, was employed to do the work. Georgina herself designed the new barn with a milking parlor patterned after modern farm practices. She was active in the management of the farm and always interested in innovative farming techniques. She had developed a liking for those of Louis Bromfield, Pulitzer Prize winning author and conservationist.

For a longer biographical sketch of the illustrious, world renowned career of Pope Yeatman the mining engineer, please see POPE YEATMAN BIOGRAPHY following the APPENDIX at the end of the report.

Georgina Yeatman, Pope and Georgia's daughter, inherited the Chislehurst Farm (#1 on maps) following the death of her father in 1953. The Milliken's Tavern story continues in her short biography that follows.

Georgiana Pope Yeatman (10th generation) was born on 6-26-1902 at the Yeatman's house in Ardsley, Westchester County, New York. She attended the prestigious, private Shipley School next to Bryn Mawr College northwest of Philadelphia, graduating in 1919. At this time she would have been residing with her parents in downtown Philadelphia according to the 1920 census. Her name at that time was listed as Georgiana, and later in 1930 as Georgina. Either this represents a recording error on the part of the census taker, or a name change some time in that intervening 10 year period. She then attended the University of Pennsylvania, graduating on 6-9-1922 with a Bachelor of Arts degree from the School of Fine Arts. She was a member of the coed polo team, played field hockey and basketball there, and founded the Women's Athletic Association in 1921. She continued 2 more years there through 1924 to become the first woman to complete course requirements in architecture. When the university refused to grant a degree in architecture to a woman, she transferred to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology where she graduated in 1925 with a B.S. in Architecture. There is some indication she may have been some kind of "socialite" while at college. Given the means and notoriety of Pope, this was undoubtedly true. The society page of the *New York Times*, 12-19-1921, in news from the Pinehurst Country Club in North Carolina states "A good sized riding party which covered a wide circuit yesterday morning, included .....Miss Georgina Pope Yeatman of Philadelphia...." This outing at the large, exclusive, members-only resort between Charlotte and West Fayetteville is considered to be

her first exposure to North Carolina. She is said to have had unspecified “affiliations” with both colleges in the following years, probably philanthropic in nature.

Georgina’s professional career started in May of 1928 at the office of Bissell & Sinker in Philadelphia, becoming the first woman to practice architecture in that city. Evidently, the firm began to struggle financially and she was asked to take over as president in April of 1929. Eventually acquiring the entire firm and staff, her private practice was effectively launched. In 1930 she became a member of the American Institute of Architects (AIA), Philadelphia Chapter. She was also a member of the Philadelphia Housing Association under which she designed a housing development for Joseph B. Ryan. It was said later by her daughters, Barbara and Mel, that she traveled widely, including Panama, India, Egypt, and Africa. These flying excursions were taken to view various architectural and agricultural places of interest to her. In January of 1936 she was appointed the first woman member of the city cabinet as Director of the Department of City Architecture for the City of Philadelphia for a 4 year term. In June of 1937 at the commencement ceremony, the University of Pennsylvania finally recognized her and awarded the degree previously earned in 1924.

Sometime after college Georgina earned her pilot’s license and bought her first airplane in 1931, a Waco biplane F-2. She became a member of the Ninety Nines Club, a woman aviator’s organization. It was probably there she became acquainted with another noted female aviator, Amelia Earhart. Miss Yeatman used to fly back and forth between Chislehurst Farm and Philadelphia almost every weekend. At first her custom was to land at the Keene airport and drive to Chislehurst. In 1928 during the process of improving Chislehurst in order to increase pasturage and mowing, a low area east of the mansion was drained and filled in to create a landing strip for her. This was apparently quite a process, designed and overseen by Alfred Despres, farm manager. It created useful work for some of the many local unemployed men during the Great Depression. Reportedly 2,100 feet of drainage ditch was blown instantly using the propagation method under the supervision of C. P. Martin of Gilsum. A thousand pounds of DuPont dynamite was placed 12” to 18” apart and buried 2 feet deep, all set off with one blasting cap while 100 spectators watched. Later, another 2,000 feet of ditch was blasted to complete the drainage. Georgina made her first landing at this airstrip 6-12-1932, before the current Silver Ranch Airpark was developed. Later the main runway was extended and a cross runway added. In July of 1932 she bought a larger 4-seat Waco biplane which was exchanged in October of 1936 for a roomier and faster one. The picture on page 25 might show one of these two planes, even though there appears to be a young lad in the pilot’s seat. After Chislehurst was sold in 1954, this airstrip was abandoned and converted back to hayfield. There remains no sign of it today in the large hayfield east of the Grand View.

#### THE AMELIA EARHART CONNECTION

While it is reported by older folk still living that Amelia Earhart repeatedly landed at Georgina’s airstrip at Chislehurst in Jaffrey, there seems to be no hard evidence to corroborate the story. However, Amelia did have con-

nections to the area along the two lines discussed here. First of all, Amelia was a charter member and first president of the Ninety Nines Club founded 11-2-1929 at Curtis Field in New York. This organization of women aviators had 26 members at the founding, but Georgina was not named as one of them. Georgina, having received her pilot's license about that time, had become a member of the organization, the exact date not found. There is no doubt that with so few members that they all knew each other and shared some level of friendship and camaraderie, or perhaps even competition. Therefore, it is probably safe to assume that Amelia and Georgina met and became friends through the club. Thus Amelia would have known about the completion of the landing strip at Chislehurst in 1932 through Georgina. Therefore, it is also very possible that Amelia flew in to visit Georgina on occasion.

Secondly, Amelia had a stronger connection to the area through marriage, combined with both anecdotal and hard evidence. On 2-7-1931 Amelia married George Palmer Putnam, a wealthy publisher. His cousin, Corinna Haven Putnam Smith, was living at her father's summer house at Loon Point on Dublin Lake with her artist husband, Joseph Lindon Smith. There were many high class social gatherings and parties held there. Also, there was an open-air theatre where plays, tableaux and pageants were staged. Amelia and husband George used to attend many of these social and stage functions. According to a 2013 obituary of a Dublin resident, he claimed to have acted in a play with Amelia there. Other sources both verbal and in print place Amelia at these events on Loon Point and at Dark Pond on the Brewster Estate. It is theorized that she used the landing strip at Chislehurst in Jaffrey to access these events in Dublin. Further, following her successful trans-Atlantic flight in 1932, a play was staged in her honor at Dark Pond in 1934 called "Birds of a Feather". The picture on the following page shows Amelia with the cast at that event.

It was 1936 when Georgina first became cognizant of a large area of open farmland northeast of Beaufort, North Carolina, while flying her plane. It was formerly some sort of failed attempt at agricultural colonization by the University of Chicago. She then began acquiring property there with the purchase of the 29,000 acre Open Grounds Farm. It is located on the peninsula between the tidewater bay of Goose Creek and the Atlantic Ocean northeast of Beaufort and southwest of Pamlico Sound and Cape Hatteras. By 1937 it is said that there were 500 beef cattle and 350 head of Black Angus already grazing there year-round. In addition, she bought the former Metcalf Hunting Club house near the South River at Eastman's Creek. She converted it to a seasonal home, adding two wings designed by her personally. She also built an airstrip and hangar on the hayfields near the house. The farm in those early days did have its own water and electricity but no telephone or permanent utilities. So she owned a house in nearby Beaufort on Live Oak Street in Hancock Park that did have a telephone. In 1938 she bought a 4-seat Beechcraft biplane, and then a Cessna 165 4-seat monoplane in 1940.



DUBLIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

AMELIA EARHART AT DARK POND, DUBLIN 1934

Back in Philadelphia, her term as Director of the Department of City Architecture would have come to an end in 1940.

Then, according to one account, Georgina removed from her parent's home in Springfield, Pennsylvania, to Chislehurst Farm in Jaffrey in 1942 following the death of her mother in 1941. At that time her membership in the AIA was transferred from the Philadelphia Chapter to the Boston Chapter. In spite of this, I think it probable that she never actually resided at Chislehurst but rather resided at Open Grounds per the discussion that follows. While there is no detailed account of her activities in Jaffrey, it does appear that she maintained a herd of Guernsey cows at Chislehurst as part of other ongoing agricultural pursuits. Given her strong, "take charge" disposition and love of agriculture, she more than likely had an active role in the management of Chislehurst for her aging father, considering that her father was 81 years old in 1942. In spite of the many servants on the estate to care for Pope, active participation in farm management could be one reason for all her flying back and forth between Chislehurst, Open Grounds and Springfield, Pennsylvania, during this time.

In any event, there was much happening concurrently in North Carolina at Open Grounds Farm as well. One account places her as residing at Open Grounds in 1941 because wartime shortages of building materials hampered her architectural career in Philadelphia. Thus she became the first woman architect registered in North Carolina, but never designed any buildings there outside of those on the farm. According to her niece, Georgene Yeatman Taylor, Miss Yeatman never married. However, she did adopt two girls sometime while in her 40's, which would possibly mean sometime during this time period following the death of her mother and move to Open Grounds in 1941, and before the death of her father in 1953. The two adopted girls, Grace (now known by her birth name as Barbara) and Mildred (who later changed her name to Mel), called Georgina "Nini". They had a nanny by the name of Mary Brimmer to care for them at Open Grounds. Given the lack of specific evidence in the material in my possession, I strongly suspect that Georgina may have indeed resided at Open Grounds with her daughters, nanny and farm help. The main reason is the Beaufort, North Carolina account which cites that Georgina "lived in a remote part of the county with a female business partner". This would refer to Mildred Mulford, with whom Georgina became acquainted at an architect's office back in Philadelphia, and who worked as the business manager of the farm. Supposedly Mildred's sister, Grace Wilson, also lived with them there for a time.

However, Georgina probably spent quite a lot of time flying back and forth from Jaffrey to Open Grounds during this period, making good use of those airstrips that were built. In 1942 she sold the Cessna 165 monoplane due to World War II regulations about all planes having to be hangered at airports with armed guards. Then she had to move her other planes inland to Mount Olive to protect them from possible German takeover. She was a member of the Civil Air Patrol during the war. It is probably around this time that radio and telephone utilities were installed for the 14 families living at Open Grounds. She continued land acquisition activities so that by the late 1940's Open Grounds Farm had grown to approximately 43,000 acres. To escape the brutal, humid

summer heat of the coastal plain she also bought a house in Asheville up in the Blue Ridge Mountains of western North Carolina at 2,500 feet. A rather elegant town of old summer houses and estates such as the Biltmore, Asheville would have proved a much cooler summer retreat.

Georgina inherited Chislehurst Farm (#1 on maps) and all its assets in Jaffrey after Pope's death in 1953 rather than Jane Bell, her older sister. Perhaps she bought out the interest of Jane Bell and Pope Jr. in the farm, or was specifically named as the exclusive heir rather than her siblings. With both parents now deceased, and her farm, children and life centered in North Carolina, she was left with no connection to the Jaffrey area. Without a doubt the climate and farmland was far superior at Open Grounds for her agricultural pursuits. Thus she sold Chislehurst to William L. Shearer III the following year in 1954. She shipped all of her Guernsey cattle to Open Grounds that year with the aid of Joseph Despres, son of the farm manager, Alfred. However, this move was not completed until 1955. Because Georgina's connection to Jaffrey ended with this move, the continuation of her life at Open Grounds is found in the GEORGINA YEATMAN BIOGRAPHY following the APPENDIX at the end of the report.

Pope Yeatman Jr. is briefly mentioned under POPE YEATMAN JR. BIOGRAPHY following the APPENDIX at the end of the report. His connection to Jaffrey seems very weak or nonexistent.

William L. Shearer III bought all of Georgina's Jaffrey holdings in 1954 and moved to Chislehurst Farm, changing the name to Foxstand Farm. He was formerly living at Kabinakka Farm, the old Nightingale place (#21 on maps). He was associated with the Paine Furniture Company in Boston, one of the largest furniture companies in New England. Alfred Despres, former farm manager for Yeatman, continued one more year working for Shearer before retiring in 1956. Shearer was considered a "gentleman farmer" and continued a working farm there with herds of Guernsey and Angus cattle, chicken house, and kennels for breeding Siberian Huskies. It is said that Ardsley Cottage (#5 on maps) was in a state of decay when he bought the estate, and so it was torn down and the cellar filled in. The old Dole place (#4 on maps) may have suffered a similar fate if not already razed by Yeatman before then. Just who may have razed the old Slack place (#2 on maps) is not clear, since both Yeatman and Shearer would probably have done so. The estate mansion was further modified, and the servant's wing was completely removed leaving the estate closer to the way it appears now. Georgina's landing strip was reverted back to hayfield.

Henry Wheeler Jr., born on 5-15-1901, was the next owner, changing the name yet again to Woodcock Farm (#1 on maps). He was married to Olga Merck, of pharmaceutical fame. They were formerly from the Bedford area, where they had owned the house now known as the Bedford Inn. He was a dog breeder for many years before and after the marriage, and active in the American Kennel Club. In 1936 he was listed as a member of the Manchester Kennel Club and breeder of English Pointers. Thus it seems that the kennels on the farm were utilized once again. Olga had a passion for horses and ponies, and built the new barn and arena still visible on the south side of the highway for

them. Various wealthy owners modified or improved the estate according to their tastes. Many of the original buildings remain, while others have been removed. Wheeler died in September of 1977 in Jaffrey. No further owners of Milliken's Tavern will be mentioned in this report, but the estate is known today as the Grand View.

## **#2 William Slack**

William Slack was the first owner of the south half of L5R5 and 20 acres in the southeast corner of L4R5. Perhaps he had purchased it directly from Captain Henry Coffeen, but there is no mention of family history, from where or when he came to Jaffrey, the date of purchase of the lot, or any other details. Chamberlain cites him as settling on the lot, which probably would make him the builder of the original homestead here. He is reported as leaving Jaffrey in 1783, the year after selling his land to Samuel Stickney. Slack then bought land in Rindge the following year and presumably removed there.

According to the town history, William Stickney was one of the many immigrants who came from Rowley (Boxford), Massachusetts, and one of the first settlers of Jaffrey. Stickney is a Norman name that originates with the followers of William the Conqueror, who had distinguished themselves as "bearer of arms" and became holders of large estates in England. Stickney, his wife and 3 children came to America in 1638 from Hull, England. He was recorded as a member of the First Church of Boston in 11-6-1638, which could indicate acceptance as a Freeman at that time.

Lieutenant Samuel Stickney (5th generation) was born in Rowley on 5-25-1736. He served in the French and Indian Wars of 1755, 1757 and 1758 as a private in Captain Nathan Adams' Company. Miraculously he was one of three English soldiers to escape the Massacre of Bloody Pond near Fort William Henry at Lake George on 8-10-1757. Somehow these brave men managed to reach Fort Edward 20 miles south through the woods. He was married to Nane Wilson 4 months later on 1-2-1758 in Haverhill, Massachusetts. He later removed to Andover, Massachusetts, with two children, then again to Leominster, Massachusetts, where he enlisted again as a Revolutionary soldier. There seems to be no indication of when he removed to Jaffrey, but was supposed to have been living on L3R5 on the other side of the mountain at the time he purchased the Slack place. This does not match the 1789 sale date below for the L3R5 lot, so there is more research required here. In September of 1782 he bought the south half of L5R5 from William Slack and then 20 acres in the southeast corner of L4R5 and the north half of L3R5 from Isaac Thompson for £90 as well. A road record of 3-28-1783 indicates that the road west from the end of the old Mountain Road was laid out, or the existing route accepted, from where Benjamin Dole's road turns northwesterly to his homestead (#4 on maps). This is the road (dotted lines on map) shown on some of the old topo maps that used to pass through the field east of the Grand View but north of the Ross (#32 on maps) and Stickney places (#2 on maps). He became active in town affairs, serving as "Dear Reaf" in 1785. {Historical note: this term is spelled in various texts as deer reef or deer reaff. It refers to an individual responsible for preventing dam-



age to crops by wild deer, probably by frightening or killing the offending animal.} He also served as Road Surveyor in 1791 and School Supervisor for District #6 in 1798.

Stickney is on record as having voted against the inoculation for smallpox in 1792 for some unstated reason. Being of a “different faith” than fellow townsmen he contested their right to tax him for support of the Congregational preacher, Reverend Laban Ainsworth. The matter went to court but was resolved by the “Committee of Town” such that both he and Roberson Perkins were exempted from the minister’s tax. Given the circumstances, it is likely that Stickney was a Freewill Baptist. {Historical note: it is just such disagreements over matters of religion that eventually resulted in states passing “toleration acts” in various forms. These laws put all Christian sects on an equal footing under the law to practice their faith and not be coerced to support beliefs not of their choosing. It also became possible for any citizen to be elected a town officer and any other privilege formerly reserved for those who supported the Congregational establishment. These laws also ended persecution of Quakers and other sects. The Toleration Act of 1819 in New Hampshire was relatively late in coming in comparison to other states.} Additional background context for this conflict is provided under Radical Sects of Revolutionary New England in the APPENDIX.

Stickney sold his homestead on the south half of L5R5 (#2 on maps) and the 20 acre southeast corner of L4R5 to Alexander Milliken in 1789 and removed to the north half of L3R5 on the west side of the ridge of Mt. Monadnock. Milliken may have lived or rented there for a short time, perhaps prior to and during construction of his tavern close by to the west on that southeast corner of L4R5 (#1 on maps). In 1791 a road record indicates that the old road to the Stickney place was replaced, presumably by the Second County Road just to the south (current State Route 124). In April of 1793 Stickney removed to Dublin and sold the north half of L3R5 to the Asa Thompson of L3R4, brother of Ebenezer and Isaac Thompson of L3R5, for £60. He then removed to Windsor, Vermont, where he died on 3-20-1829 at 92 years of age.

In 1803 Jonathan Stanley Jr. supposedly rented the old Slack place. It might be possible that Stanley was the last person to occupy the house, since it does not appear at all on the *Atlas of Cheshire County, New Hampshire* of 1858. Since only occupied houses are represented on the atlas, this would indicate that if it were still standing, no one was residing there. If there were any ruins or cellar hole remaining to the old Slack place by 1905, undoubtedly either the Yeatmans or the Shearers would have razed it and filled in the cellar hole as part of their farm improvements. There is no evidence remaining of it today, and there seems to be farm buildings in the area where it should be located.

### **#3 District No. 6 Schoolhouse Proposed**

At the Jaffrey town meeting in June of 1788 it was decided that each school district would be required to build a school house in 18 months, and if any district failed to comply the selectmen were empowered to erect one at the district’s expense. Two

years later in March of 1790 a committee comprised of 3 men was chosen to arbitrate disagreements in those districts which remained undecided. And so Major Roger Gilmore, Dr. Adonijah Howe and Lieutenant Samuel Buss were chosen to make the placement decision for such districts. The final report of the committee was announced on 5-7-1792. In District No. 6 their decision was for a spot "26 rods (416') south of a large rock with some stones laid thereon on the road west of Mr. Dole's house and is on the east side of the road that leads from said Dole's by Lieutenant Milliken's on a spot of rising ground with the northeast corner thereof at a large dead hemlock tree that stands on said rising ground" (#3 on maps). According to the road records, a road had already been laid out there on 3-28-1783 from Dole's place (#4 on maps) to Slack's place (#2 on maps). However, in defiance of the recommendation of the committee, the district built a school house between the Second County Road and the earlier road to Slack's place at the north edge of L5R6 in 1794 (#31 on maps). Thus no school house was ever built on the spot selected by the committee. On 7-9-1795 the road from Dole's place to Slack's place was discontinued except as a bridle path. For the continuation of the schoolhouse history, see **#31 District No. 6 Schoolhouse 1st.**

#### **#4 Benjamin Dole**

According to the town history the immigrant, Richard Dole, was born in 1624 in Bristol, England, and came to America in 1639 at the young age of 15 years to settle in Newbury, Massachusetts. There he became part of an "ancient and numerous" family that developed marriage ties to the Bailey, Stickney, Emery, Brocklebank and other families foundational to the settlement of Rindge and Jaffrey. He married his first wife, Hannah Rolfe, on 5-3-1647, who died 21 years later on 11-16-1768, without children. Hannah Brocklebank (widow of Captain Samuel Brocklebank of Rowley, Massachusetts) became his second wife 11 years later on 3-4-1679. She also died without providing children. The third wife was Patience Walker of Haverhill, Massachusetts, who provided 10 children. It is from their offspring that Benjamin Dole descended.

Benjamin Dole (5th generation) was born in Lancaster, Massachusetts, on 5-3-1745 to Thomas and Hannah, both formerly of Newbury. Hannah is the one considered to be the "old Mrs. Dole" who died in Jaffrey on 3-6-1802 according to a Reverend Laban Ainsworth record. He married Relief Thompson of Lancaster on 8-22-1766. She was the sister of the Henry Thompson that later owned the Dole place, and daughter of the Ebenezer Thompson that bought L6R4 on the west side of Mt. Monadnock. It was on 8-13-1773 that Dole bought the north half of L5R5 in Jaffrey and settled there with the two children born in Lancaster. Four more offspring were born on the homestead on the southwest corner of the intersection that was known as Adams Corner (marked on map). While the road northwest from Mountain Road to Adams Corner was officially accepted by the town in 1775, it was more than likely in existence before that, soon after Dole settled there in 1773. It also appears from Chamberlain that his younger bachelor brother, John, may have been living there as well at the age of 24 years. During their short time together in Jaffrey they earned a reputation as wolf hunters, collecting boun-

ties in the towns of Jaffrey and Marlborough. One gets the impression from this that they were probably very close brothers, and good marksmen as well.

Shortly thereafter at the outset of the Revolution they both enlisted in Phillip Thomas's Company of Reed's Regiment. They both fought at the Battle of Bunker Hill which resulted in both of them being listed among those compensated for losses incurred there. John joined Arnold's Quebec expedition and was taken prisoner. Apparently he was released in time to fight at Ticonderoga in June of 1777 with Poor's Regiment. Benjamin rejoined John there, and then in the fall of 1777 marched from Rindge to Saratoga with Rand's Company of Daniel Moore's Regiment with the rank of Corporal. Somehow during the war Benjamin found the time to buy 36 acres on the south end of L6R4 from Ebenezer Thompson for £15 in 1777. {Historical note: in those days military tours of duty were often short and not necessarily continuous, but in many instances men were conscripted for specific battles and returned home afterwards.} Perhaps Benjamin returned to the homestead in between tours of duty where he was listed as a pew owner at the Jaffrey meeting house in 1780. However, he re-enlisted for the last two years of the war. John served in Cilley's Regiment until being killed in 1782 at Albany, New York.

Benjamin returned to domestic life at his homestead in Jaffrey (#4 on maps) following the war in 1783, most likely to resume his trade as a cooper. {Historical note: one who makes and repairs wooden casks, barrels, or tubs.} Oddly enough, according to one account, on returning from the war in 1781, Ebenezer Thompson was found "again living north of the Mountain Road, at or near the present Ardsley Cottage, L5R5, on a place later owned by his son, Henry, and grandson, Abel" (see note on page 21). Another account states that Ebenezer returned to his homestead on L3R5 where he was taxed in 1805. I think the latter account to be correct in spite of a number of accounts that refer to the "Ebenezer Thompson farm", especially given the fact that Deacon Daniel Emery was living at the Dole place (#4 on maps) until he moved into his "new house" (later Ardsley Cottage, #5 on maps) when Henry Thompson bought it in 1813. Another reference cited that Jonathan Emery, brother of Captain Daniel Jr. and son of Deacon Daniel Emery, built the Ardsley Cottage sometime before 1813. And so it is doubtful that Ebenezer Thompson was there in 1781 as that one account states. (See note on page 20, Henry Thompson below, and **#11 David Cutter**.) On 12-18-1784 Dole bought the south half of L4R4 from David Avery for £50 to use as pasture.

Dole was known for serving in various minor town offices, including that of Tax Collector in 1788. In that year he was described as an inn-holder, meaning that he put up travelers for the night in his house. Since the Second New Hampshire Turnpike had not yet been opened, all the east-west travelers had to pass through Adams Corner at that time. In 1789 Dole bought an unidentified 100 acre lot, a mill, dwelling house and other buildings together with pew #9 at the Jaffrey meeting house from John Barnes, then owner of the Bailey Mill in Ballou City (marked on map). However, Dole, not being a millwright, sold the entire property to John W. Coughran the following year in 1790. In 1790 he was chosen a member representing his district on a committee to raise funds for building school houses. This committee must have been a part of, or in corroboration with the 3 man committee mentioned previously under **District #6 Schoolhouse Pro-**

**posed.** He was still listed as owner of pew #41 at the Jaffrey meeting house in 1791, perhaps the one purchased from John Barnes 2 years prior. He sold his homestead to Deacon Daniel Emery in 1794 and removed to Marlborough in 1796 at 51 years of age. The reasons for the move are not articulated. Perhaps the farm had become unprofitable given all the previous land purchases coupled with the loss of tavern income, even with damages paid by the town. Since the Second County Road was completed past Milliken's Tavern (#1 on maps), travelers were no longer required to pass through Adams Corner where Dole was keeping tavern. Or perhaps there was deteriorating health concerns. On 1-1-1794 Dole sold his homestead on L5R5 (#4 on maps) to Deacon Daniel Emery. Then in April of 1794 he sold the north half of L4R5, the John Henderson Jr. lot (#7 on maps), to Asa Thompson. There seems to be no mention in the accounts of how or when Dole came to own the L4R5 lot also.

According to the town history, the Emery clan had quite a start in America. The surname of Emery (Emory) was originally brought to England in 1066 by Gilbert D'Amory of Tours, Normandy, who was at the Battle of Hastings with William the Conqueror. {Historical note: the Battle of Hastings on 10-14-1066 occurred when Duke William II of Normandy fought Anglo Saxon King Harold II of England, over title to the throne. Harold was hastily crowned following the death of King Edward the Confessor in 1-1066.} The name then came to America through the 2 immigrants, John and Anthony, sons of John and Agnes Emery of Hants, England. Anthony, wife (probably Francis) and 5 year old son, James, sailed to America 4-3-1635 from Southampton in the vessel "James of London", arriving in Boston on 6-3-1635 (a two month voyage!). Spending only two months in Boston, they removed to Newbury, Massachusetts, and in 1640 to Dover, New Hampshire, where Anthony kept tavern. On 10-22-1640 he was a signer of the Dover Combination, an agreement reached by the early settlers of Dover to establish a form of government. He also served as Selectman in 1648, but his service was short-lived. In 1649 they moved again, this time to Kittery, Maine, where he again kept tavern. It was here that he was fined and "disfranchised" for entertaining Quakers, presumably in his tavern. {Historical note: "disfranchised" means that one's right to vote and/or other civic or political privilege was revoked.} Shortly after this, serious persecution of Quakers began in 1656, driven mostly by clergy of the predominant Puritan, Congregational establishment. At that time a man could be fined 40 shillings just for harboring a Quaker for one hour and many other more horrific punishments were dealt for any form of assistance. At the height of this "inquisition" some were even put to death. It makes one wonder if the reason for leaving Dover was his difference of opinion over the treatment of the Quakers. Additional background context for this conflict is provided under Radical Sects of Revolutionary New England in the APPENDIX.

Deacon Daniel Emery (5th generation), was born in Chelmsford, Massachusetts, on 5-5-1730, where he married his first wife, Jane, and then removed to Townsend, Massachusetts. There he became active in town affairs, and apparently quite a Patriot as well. He served as a Selectman, Constable, member of the Committee of Correspondence and Inspection, and Tythingman. {Historical note: this was an elected town officer whose duty was to collect the tithes of the townspeople in support of the Congregational minister; another rendering cites him a sort of church constable whose duty was to pre-

serve order during church services, using his pointed staff to prod the mischievous and awaken the drowsy, and make complaints to the Constable for Sabbath breaking.} Emery removed to Jaffrey soon after 4-2-1776 when he bought L18R3 (northeast of intersection with Town Farm Road and State Route 137) from Jason Hemenway. He settled on the west half and sold the east half to his son Captain Daniel Emery Jr.

Apparently, Emery's previously demonstrated leadership abilities were recognized in Jaffrey as well, and so he continued in town, church and Patriot affairs, serving again as a member of the Committee of Inspection from 1778-1780. {Historical note: sometimes also referred to as the Committee of Safety and Inspection, it consisted of a group of Patriots whose duty was to seek out Loyalists by their speech or actions so that they could be tried for treason and executed.} He also served as Moderator of Special Meetings in 1777, 1779 and 1780, as Selectman in 1777 and 1781. His involvement in church affairs also remained paramount, so he became a charter member of the Jaffrey meeting house and deacon many years. He was chosen a member of the committee "to provide Supplies of preaching" for the meeting house in 1779. In 1791 Deacon Daniel owned pew #22 and his son, Captain Daniel pew #21 at the Jaffrey meeting house. Deacon Daniel Emery sold his homestead on L18R3 and bought the Benjamin Dole place on 1-1-1794 and settled there (#4 on maps). Captain Daniel Emery Jr. also sold his homestead on L18R3 at the same time and settled on L1R4 on the turnpike west of Fassett's place near what is now the Troy Waterworks. In 1800 when the Third New Hampshire Turnpike was under construction along the alignment of the Second County Road of 1794, Deacon Daniel had the road to Adams Corner altered in places up to 3 rods wide instead of 2 rods. On 11-29-1804 he married a second time Esther, the widow of Ebenezer Jacquith, at the age of 74 years. In 1813 Deacon Daniel deeded a half interest in the "home farm" (Dole's place, #4 on maps) to Henry Thompson "reserving the new house for myself". If my understanding is correct, this new house, also on L5R5, is what later became known as **Ardsley Cottage (#5 on maps)**. After two wives and 6 children born on one or the other homestead, he died on 8-22-1819, about 6 years after building the new house. Esther followed him to the grave 4 years later on 4-7-1823. Their daughter, Betty, was married to Alexander Milliken of tavern fame.

Henry Thompson (6th generation), was born on 3-28-1782 at the homestead on L3R5, one of two sons of the Ebenezer Thompson, whose cellar hole is on the west side of the south ridge of Mt. Monadnock (marked on map). Henry married Betsey, daughter of Ebenezer and Esther Jacquith, on 2-18-1806 at 24 years of age. Interestingly, Betsey's widowed mother, Esther, had married Deacon Daniel Emery just two years before. The account states that Henry settled on the homestead, presumably his father's homestead on the south half of L3R5 where he was born. Since the last year Ebenezer was taxed there was 1805, it may indicate that Henry took possession of the family homestead by 1806. And so we find later that Henry bought the Dole place (#4 on maps) from Deacon Daniel Emery in 1813. One reference indicates that while having bought the old Dole place (#4 on maps) from Deacon Daniel in 1813, he was actually living on the north half of L3R5 at his father's place. Given the overall evidence, this is probably not correct. Furthermore, when he died on 2-18-1837 at 55 years of age, his son, Abel, continued on his father's homestead, supposedly referring to the old Dole

place. Therefore, he was most likely residing at the Dole place in 1813 after Deacon Daniel moved into the new house. His wife, Betsey, also died there 3 years later on 3-13-1840.

Abel Thompson (7th generation) was born on 12-13-1815 right there on the old Dole place (#4 on maps). Following his father Henry's death in 1837 he took possession of the homestead at 22 years of age. After his mother died in March of 1840, he took his first wife in October of 1840, marrying successively two daughters of Joseph Fassett (of Fassett's Mountain House fame) who lived on the west side of the ridge of Mt. Monadnock.

Ira Hastings, son of Thaddeus Hastings, youngest of ten children, was born in Marlborough 3-5-1801. He married Rebecca Cutter, daughter of John and Mary Cutter of Jaffrey (marked on maps northeast of the Ark), on 4-22-1834. He removed to Jaffrey in 1835 and was supposed to have lived at the Daniel Cutter homestead north of the Ark (marked on maps) and then onto the lot to the west, L9R3. However, there does not seem to be any reference to a cellar hole on that lot, not even by Chamberlain. Therefore, it does not appear likely that Hastings actually settled on L9R3, but perhaps may have acquired it for additional pasturage or mowing. It may also indicate some sort of error or inaccuracy in the accounts, since that land was supposedly Cutter pasturage. The town history has him moving directly from Cutter's place to Dole's place on L5R5 (#4 on maps). The western section of the road from Adams Corner up to the height-of-land at the Toll Road on Mt. Monadnock was discontinued at the insistence of the town in 1844. Sometime in the 1850's or 1860's Hastings removed to the old Dole place and was there until removing to East Jaffrey in 1873, and then back to Marlborough in 1879. The *Atlas of Cheshire County, New Hampshire* of 1858 shows I. Hastings the resident at the Dole place as would be expected. However, the account below has Abraham Whitney purchasing the Dole place 6 years earlier in 1867. Another account indicates that Hastings actually occupied Emery's "new house" (Ardsley Cottage, #5 on maps) rather than the old Dole place, which is very possible. More research is required here.

Abraham Whitney (8th generation) was descended from John Whitney, who immigrated from Ipswich, England, on 4-1635 at the age of 34 years with his wife and 5 sons according to the town history. They settled in Watertown, Massachusetts, and then Waltham. Abraham was born 1-19-1804 and married Adeline, daughter of Rufus Sawyer, on 11-23-1829. As a side note of interest, their second child, Zimri, eventually settled in Jaffrey on the former William Smiley place on the east side of Gilmore Pond where 10 children were born. Abe spent 39 years as a Boston police officer before removing to Jaffrey in 1867. He first settled on L12R6 southwest of Jaffrey Center before removing to the Dole place (#4 on maps). One account has him at the Dole place in 1867 when arriving in Jaffrey. It was there that he died by a fall into the cellar on 2-22-1872. Another account cites him as living at the future Ardsley Cottage rather than the old Dole place, and selling out in 1873. As a matter of fact, one account has all the owners following Henry Thompson living at Ardsley Cottage (#5 on maps) rather than the old Dole place (#4 on maps), including Proctor below. And this may indeed be correct, but needs to be researched more thoroughly.

The *Atlas of Cheshire County, New Hampshire* of 1877 shows a “Carter” occupying the old Dole place. No determination could be made from the data in the genealogical records to connect this Carter with any of the other Carters of Jaffrey. Thus it is also not clear if Carter was a renter or owner. So the disposition of the Dole place and “Ardsley Cottage” on L5R5 are not known for the intervening 21 years after Whitney sold out in 1873 until Proctor bought it in 1894.

Peter Nathaniel Proctor bought the old “Ebenezer Thompson Farm” (Dole place, #4 on maps) in 1894. (Note: for explanation of the name of the farm, see note on page 20 and discussion under Henry Thompson above.) As previously discussed under **#1 Milliken’s Tavern**, it does not seem to be clear from the accounts whether Proctor lived at the old Dole place or at the tavern. In addition, another account cites him as residing at Ardsley Cottage (#5 on maps). The overall impression from all the data is that the old Dole place had deteriorated by this time for some reason. Perhaps it had not been occupied since Abel Thompson, and thus was left to ruin. Therefore, it is most probable that he resided at the newer house, Ardsley Cottage. Sometime previous to this 1894 deed, the Dole lot and the tavern lot may have been joined, even as early as the 1808 sale ad that listed the tavern as 220 acres, or about the same acreage as 2 lots. Proctor sold out to Pope Yeatman in 1905.

If indeed no one occupied the old Dole place (#4 on maps) after Abel Thompson vacated as some accounts indicate, just what became of the old house is equally unclear. A 1939 reference in the town history concerning Samuel Stratton residing at the Hudson place (#6 on maps) states “He lived in the west part of Jaffrey on or near the Benjamin Dole place, now abandoned, near the so-called Ardsley Cottage owned by Mrs. Georgia Yeatman.” My sense is that the old Dole homestead, long abandoned and in a deteriorated state, was still standing in 1905. Then Yeatman allowed it to decay while improving Deacon Daniel Emery’s “new house” into Ardsley Cottage (#5 on maps). It is said that the Dole place was still standing in a state of decay when the Shearers bought the estate in 1954, and that they razed the house and filled in the cellar hole during their improvements at Foxstand Farm. The remains of the old Dole cellar hole can still be seen on the south side of Adams Corner at an elevation of 1309’. All that remains is a rather small, level platform covered with numerous small rocks. The manipulation of the site and absence of a cellar hole would seem to corroborate the Shearer story. The surprising thing is the rather small size of the cellar hole platform itself for a “hall and parlor” house, especially for one used as a tavern. The size indicates a 2 room “hall and parlor” house (2 rooms downstairs, 2 rooms upstairs) which would be typical for early farm houses. The Dole barn ruins are the 3 sided walls built into the road embankment opposite the house on the east side of the intersection overlooking the meadow. Its size indicates a typical “New England barn” with an open basement and stalls at road level. The top picture on the following page shows the walls of this barn from the lower, “walk-out” end at the ground level of the meadow. The stone wall on the mound behind and across the road is that of the Ardsley Cottage.



#4 BENJAMIN DOLE BARN



#5 ARDSLEY COTTAGE



The bigger archaeological puzzle seems to be exactly where Ardsley Cottage (#5 on maps) was located. All maps seem to place it on the west side of the intersection where the log landing is currently located. However, a close inspection of that area yields not a shred of evidence to support that contention. In spite of some house-looking type debris dumped on the south side of the road southwest to the Grand View, there is no other evidence that it was located along that road either. Rather, the physical evidence points to the elegant location on the north side of the intersection at an elevation of 1318'. Located there is a large, rectangular, level area with its own "driveway" above the main road coupled with an indented stone wall, structures that do not indicate a barn or other such farm structures. Its rather large size would accommodate a 4 room "hall and parlor" house, meaning 4 rooms downstairs and 4 rooms upstairs, with 2 chimneys. In addition, the *Atlas of Cheshire County, New Hampshire* of 1858 shows two buildings at the Ira Hastings farm. Further, their location matches the scenario described above, one house north of Adams Corner, and one house south of it. The orientation of the rectangular platform indicates the front of the house facing the main road through Adams Corner as opposed to the road to Hudson's place (#6 on maps). It would have had an improved view of both the mountain and the meadow. As with the Dole place, the neatly leveled platform and missing cellar hole here would seem to lend credence to the Shearer's story of razing the house and filling in the cellar hole. If indeed all the owners since Ira Hastings (and maybe some before) occupied "Ardsley Cottage", perhaps Abraham Whitney actually fell into the cellar hole here rather than the old Dole place (#4 on maps). The bottom picture on the preceding page shows Adams Corner and the driveway for Ardsley Cottage at the stone wall inset in the center from the wood road in front of the Dole cellar hole. The level rectangle where the cellar hole once was is behind the rocks on the left side of the picture. The Dole barn is towards the right side across the road from Ardsley Cottage.

## **#6 Benaiah Hudson**

Captain Henry Coffeen is purported by one account to have owned lot L5R4 since 1774, but perhaps this should be the 1773 date that he purchased all his Jaffrey land from Robert Boyce of Dublin. Little is known about Benaiah Hudson (sometimes recorded as Hutson) who is supposed to have come from Pepperell, Massachusetts, where he had married Dorothy Lawrence, daughter of Nathaniel and Dorothy, on 3-7-1754. He removed to Jaffrey with his wife, Dorothy, and 7 children to settle on L5R4. There is no deed of record but town records show him as Highway Surveyor in 1777, indicating his probable arrival prior to that date. A road record of 1-13-1779 describes a road laid out from his place south to Benjamin Dole's at Adams Corner. Benaiah's tenure here was apparently quite short because on 3-5-1783 the south half of the lot was sold by Captain Henry Coffeen to Joseph Stuart of Leominster, Massachusetts, for the sum of £110. This deed refers to it as "the lot that Benaiah Hutson once bargained for", and that it was "long abandoned". This would seem to indicate that there was some sort of deal between Coffeen and Hudson such that Benaiah could settle on it and purchase it later. Whatever the nature of that agreement, it appears that it failed and therefore probable that Hudson had to move and Coffeen took possession of it again. It also seems to im-

ply that his tenure was far shorter than the maximum of 5 or 6 years allowed for by the dates in the accounts, perhaps as short as 4 years.

According to the town history, the Stuart clan descended from the immigrant, Duncan Stuart, born in Scotland around 1623. At a date and location not stated, he married an English girl by the name of Anne Winehurst, who is supposed to have immigrated to America in 1647 while he remained in Scotland. He then enlisted or was already conscripted in the Scottish army of Charles II. It is thought that he was taken prisoner in the Battle of Worcester in 1651 in which thousands of Scots were taken captive by Oliver Cromwell of England. Many of these Protestant followers of John Knox were sold as "redemptioners" to various countries and colonies of the English realm to work as indentured servants to gain their freedom. Many were brought to America to work in numerous locations, such as the Saugus Iron Works, for instance. Additional historical background of "redemptioners" can be found in another historical note under **#32 John Ross**. Duncan was sold in Boston and became the servant of a George Hadley of Ipswich, Massachusetts, in 1654. The account goes on to cite Duncan and Anne living together in Ipswich in 1658. This might indicate that his servitude had expired and was a free man again. But quite a story it must have been that they could have been separated first by an ocean, then a war, followed by 3 years as a POW to be re-united 11 years later in America! In 1659 he removed to Rowley (Boxford), Massachusetts, and almost immediately to Newbury until 1689. Then he returned to Rowley where he died on 8-30-1717, Anne following him on 7-9-1729. There were 10 children born to them, presumably in America.

Joseph Stuart (5th generation) was probably born in Leominster, Massachusetts, in April of 1757. He was a veteran of the Revolution, having served at the Battle of Bennington in 1777. After the tour of duty he apparently returned to Leominster where he married Beatrix, daughter of Ebenezer Colburn, on 4-4-1782. In 1783 he removed to Jaffrey and bought the north half of L5R4 from Captain Henry Coffeen for £100 where he settled at the old Hudson place (#6 on maps), described as "long abandoned". However, the dates given seem to indicate only about a maximum of a 4 year period of abandonment. Stuart is reported to have been active in town affairs, having been chosen Tax Collector in 1797 and serving several years as Highway Surveyor. In 1803 he was chosen School House Agent for District #6 when the schoolhouse was still located in the field east of the John Ross place (#31 on maps). In 1809 he sold the homestead to Joseph Jr. and died two years later on 5-5-1811 at 54 years of age, presumably right there on the homestead. His wife, Beatrix, remarried about 2 years later and probably removed to Mason with her new husband while Joseph Jr. continued on the homestead.

Joseph Stuart Jr. (6th generation) was born on 1-2-1785 right there at the family homestead, which he bought from his father in 1809 for £1,500. On 5-5-1811 he married Sarah Tilton, the very same day that his father died! He continued on the homestead for another 4 years before removing to Londonderry, Vermont, in 1815. This would have been about 2 years after his mother, Beatrix, may have removed to Mason. Then in 1818 he sold the homestead to Samuel Stratton, but apparently only the south end of the lot, because in March of 1820 he sold 57<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> acres in the north part of L5R4 to

Jonas Gerry of Jaffrey. This may refer to the Jonas Garey of L1R4 near the Troy water works to the west on the other side of the mountain, whose name seems to have been corrupted into various forms such as Gary. Gerry did not occupy the north end of L5R4, so perhaps it was used as pasturage.

According to the town history, Samuel Stratton was the name of the immigrant who came from England with his wife, Alice, and 3 sons sometime before 1647. He settled in Watertown, Massachusetts, and built a large mansion there in the eastern part that later became part of Cambridge. His son, John, built an even larger mansion between 1660 and 1667 that became the birthplace and home of James Russell Lowell, the famous poet and diplomat, called Elmwood. Other Stratton descendents removed to Northfield, Massachusetts, where they distinguished themselves as competent military men in the long Indian Wars - so much so that it is written of them that "They were strong, intrepid men, and did much to keep up the spirits of the garrison at Northfield during those critical and anxious years". There is a mountain on the eastern edge of Northfield named for them.

Samuel Stratton (7th generation) was born in 1787 to the David and Betty of L19R10 on the east side of Contoocook Lake. David was the brother of Ebenezer (see Ebenezer Stratton). In 1818 he bought the south end of L5R4, including the homestead (#6 on maps), from Joseph Stuart Jr. and settled there. The following year on 8-2-1819 he married his first wife, Sally, daughter of David and Mary Gilmore. Considering this was a mere 2 days after the birth of the first child on July 30th, it appears that they may have been living together at the homestead prior to the marriage and might indicate the time of conception to be prior to the marriage. Sally died very young, just 3 years later on 1-2-1822 at the age of 25 years, perhaps indicating an unexpected death due to illness. On 10-12-1823 his second wife became Abigail, daughter of John Fife of East Hill Farm fame. There were 4 more children born there on the homestead. According to tax records he lived there until 1832 and died on 2-20-1847 at 60 years of age. Abigail died on 2-18-1881 at 80 years old. There is no indication in the accounts as to where he resided after vacating in 1832, but the old homestead was probably never occupied after that.

The small cellar hole and barn ruins are visible at an elevation of 1326' at the corner where the old road from Adams Corner (marked on map) turns up the hill towards the old David Cutter place (#11 on maps). Only a modest, corner chimney dwelling and very small barn or shed is indicated here. Chamberlain mentions "other buildings" on the lot, providing no details of when they were built or by whom. Personal reconnaissance revealed a small dam high up on the trickle in the gully between Stuart's place and Adams Corner just below a spring. There is clear indication of a former structure just below the dam built into the east side of the gully, perhaps suggesting some sort of field barn, given that the barn below at the cellar hole is so small. There is a ditch line from the little dam past the field barn site all the way down to the lower barn at the cellar hole, perhaps indicating diversion for watering livestock. It is equally possible that these structures were added by the Dole brothers who had acquired the land there, probably for sheep pasturage. Because the ditch line leads to the Stuart barn, it would appear un-

likely that Gerry built these structures. In 1928 the north end of L5R4 was gifted to the state as part of Monadnock State Park by Ella and Etta Sawyer. The southern end of the lot, including the cellar hole, remains part of the Grand View property.

## **#7 John Henderson**

John Henderson Jr. was the son of John Sr. of Lancaster, Massachusetts, and one of the first settlers in Jaffrey, whose homestead was on the former Baker Farm near Baker Pond off the Old Fitzwilliam Road. He probably bought lot L4R5 from Captain Henry Coffeen on 5-17-1773, minus that 20 acre piece on the southeast corner owned by William Slack. In 1776 Henderson was elected Field Driver. {Historical note: this person was responsible for rounding up stray animals from the public roads or common lands, impounding them at the town pound, and collecting the fee for their keep.} He settled there before going off to fight in the Revolution. Subsequent road records refer to a homestead there, even though no cellar hole has ever been found. It is believed to have been at the height-of-land of State Route 124 in or near the triangle of roads at the start of the Toll Road at an estimated 1509' elevation. An early road record in 1778 mentions this homestead "at the end of the road that leads to the meetinghouse". Another road record in 1779 refers to it as a landmark to the road up to David Avery on the road from the meeting house past Benjamin Dole's (#4 on maps). Since the Second County Road up from Milliken's Tavern (#1 on maps) had not yet been built, it would have been the only road in use at that time.

In 1783 Henderson is purported to have removed to Rindge where he bought a new homestead lot. Not long afterwards in 1784, he sold L4R5 to Samuel Stickney Jr. for £200. Stickney was still living at his homestead on the south end of L5R5 at the time (#2 on maps). In 1789 Stickney would also acquire the north end of L3R5 immediately to the west from Isaac Thompson (brother of Asa and Ebenezer), where he resided until selling out to Asa Thompson in 1793. This is the year that Stickney removed to Vermont, and Asa Thompson, who had previously settled on lot L3R4 formerly owned by John Grout to the north on the west side of the ridge of Mt. Monadnock in 1783, removed to settle on the north end of L3R5. The account goes on to say that in April of 1794 the north half of L4R5 was purchased by the same Asa Thompson from Benjamin Dole. Since this is one year after Stickney had removed to Vermont, it may indicate that Dole had bought L4R5 from Stickney in 1793. After all, it seems that Dole is the one who had acquired other tracts of land adjacent to his farm from other neighbors such as Avery and Ingalls.

In 1794 the Second County Road was constructed along a route directly up from Milliken's Tavern. In 1800 the Third New Hampshire Turnpike was completed along the line of the Second County Road over the height-of-land. However, the former road up from Dole's place was also still in use. Since there is no further mention of anyone residing at the Henderson place, perhaps it was razed to make room for the new road or left to decay and ruin. As previously stated, no cellar hole has been found, which actually opens up the question of whether the homestead was ever located at the actual

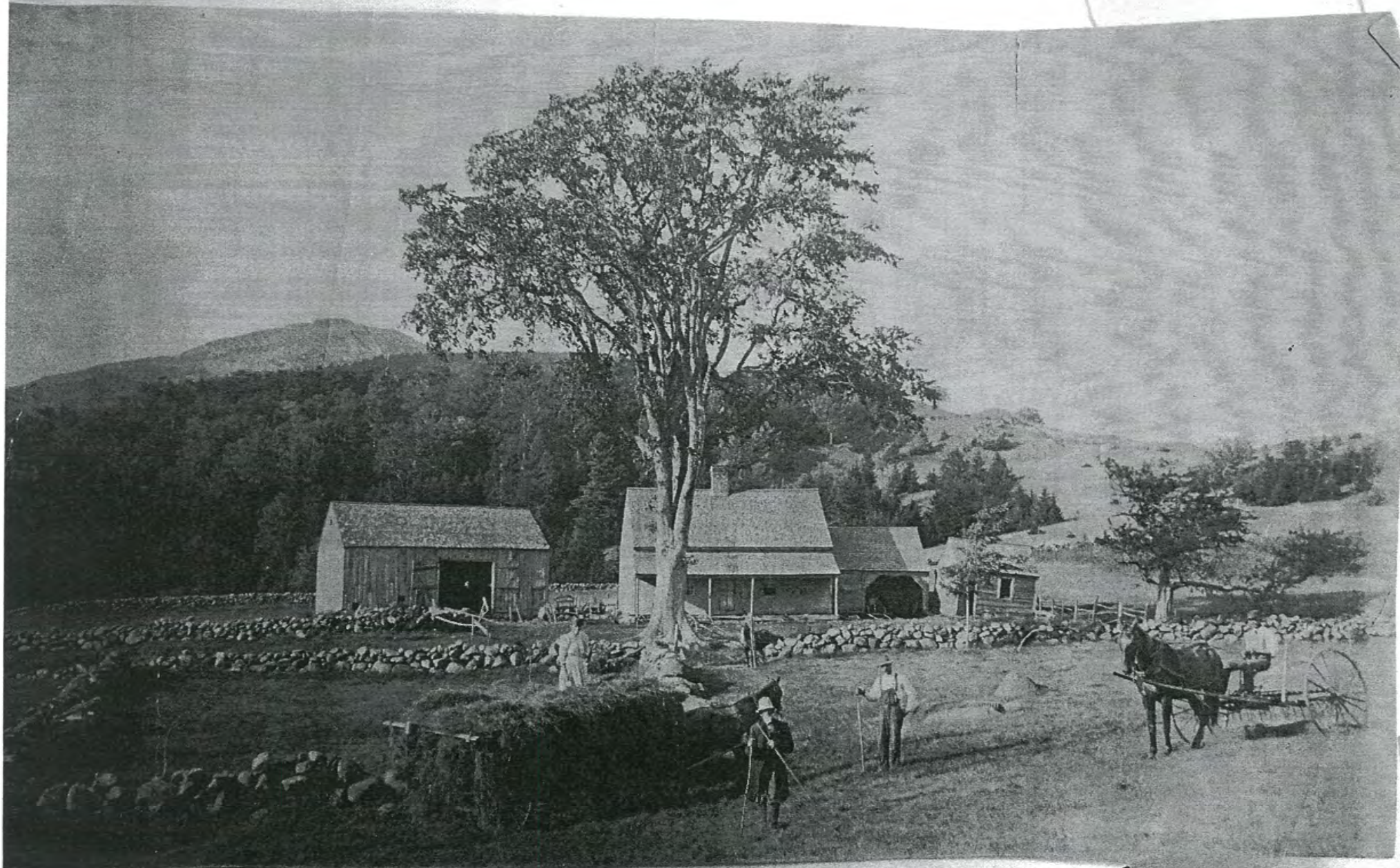
height-of-land at all given the lack of physical evidence. Rather, perhaps it was at the location just northwest of the height-of-land where the Fife/Mann/Mountain House is known to have been (#8 on maps). It would still have been close enough to the height-of-land to be referred to as “at the height-of-land” in those road records of 1778 and 1779. The 1839 deed to Mann refers to the house at the “height-of-land” when actually located to the west of it (see **#8 Mountain House**). While the old maps are not known for accurate, precise location of all features, the *Atlas of Cheshire County, New Hampshire* of 1858 seems to put the Fife/Mann/Mountain House further to the west than the height-of-land. Further, Chamberlain cites its location as “the house next west of the road to the Half Way House”. The progression of occupancy dates from Henderson all the way up to Hamlen would be still be possible if applied to only the one homestead location (#8 on maps) rather than the two separate locations (#7 & #8 on maps).

Yes, this would mean that John Henderson Jr. had actually built his homestead on the northeast corner of L3R5 rather than the northwest corner of L4R5 at the height-of-land. This was not an uncommon occurrence in those days. Just in the report area alone, there are 2 such occurrences. Ebenezer Ingalls (see **#10 Ebenezer Ingalls**) actually settled on the north edge of the lot immediately south rather than on the lot he owned. William Slack (see **#2 William Slack**) settled on the very northern edge of the lot to the south of the lot he owned, as indicated by the maps as opposed to the accounts. Further, just outside the report area, Jonathan Priest who settled on the western slopes of the mountain actually occupied the north edge of the lot to the south of the lot he owned. That cellar hole can be observed approximately 30’ south of the lot line stone wall. The exact location of the Henderson place and whether it is the same as the Fife/Mann/Mountain House location will remain as unsolved enigma. No historical source consulted could offer any clarification. Basically, no one seems to know the answer for sure. The picture on the following page is of the John Fife/Elias Mann homestead clearly located to the west of the height-of-land. Note the open pasture behind the house on the crest of the south ridge of Mt. Monadnock where the Toll Road now goes up through the woods.

## **#8 Mountain House**

The first owner of L3R5 was Captain Henry Coffeen, as was the case with many of the other lots in the report area. Then it seems the Thompson brothers, Isaac and Ebenezer, each bought half of it. According to the town history, the Thompson clan in America is descended from James, born in England in 1593. He is the immigrant who came to America with his wife, Elizabeth, 3 sons and a daughter in 1630 as part of a large group of 1,500 pilgrims under the leadership of Governor Winthrop. Their particular group of immigrants first landed in Salem, Massachusetts, and subsequently removed to Charlestown. As an early settler in Charlestown he was admitted to the Congregational church on 8-31-1633, again indicating possible election as a Freeman. The Thompsons later became a founding family of the newly granted township of Woburn, Massachusetts.

FIFE / MANN / MOUNTAIN HOUSE



JAFFREY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

men and  
service who  
ability." major

Isaac Thompson (5th generation) was born on 7-16-1739 to Simon and Martha in Woburn, Massachusetts. Ebenezer Thompson (5th generation) was born to Simon and Martha on 3-15-1743 in Lancaster, Massachusetts. However, the details of, and exact timing of, the following events seems to be a bit unclear. One account cites Isaac living on the north half of L3R5 prior to 1778 before purchasing it in 1780, and his brother Ebenezer purchasing the south half of L3R5 in 1777. Another account cites Ebenezer purchasing the south half in 1773, the same time he also bought L6R4 from Captain Henry Coffeen. Reference the discussion under **#11 David Cutter** as to why it is probable that Ebenezer bought and settled on L3R5 (marked on map) in 1773 rather than L6R4. Given the fact that Isaac was elected Field Driver in 1777, the 1778 road record that references his homestead as a landmark, and the one account that cites him residing there before 1778 all indicate that Isaac may have bought and settled the north half of L3R5 shortly after Ebenezer settled on the south half in 1773. On 2-12-1777 Isaac married Relief Osgood of Lancaster, Massachusetts. Both brothers enlisted in the Revolution in June of 1777 and fought at Ticonderoga with Major Roger Gilmore's Company of Heald's Regiment. They also served with Daniel Moore's Regiment at Saratoga in October of 1777. It is during that tour of duty that Ebenezer sold his L6R4 land to the Dole brothers. So following his tour of duty Ebenezer presumably would have returned to his homestead on the south half of L3R5 where he was taxed until 1805 (see discussion under **#11 David Cutter**).

Isaac Thompson, however, did not return to his homestead on the north half of L3R5 but rather removed back to Lancaster, Massachusetts, perhaps due to family ties. This is the homestead that in theory would later be occupied by Lieutenant Samuel Stickney, Asa Thompson (Ebenezer and Isaac's brother), and later to become the Fife/Mann/Mountain House. In September of 1782 Isaac sold his homestead to Lieutenant Samuel Stickney for £90. This is another reason why the previously stated 1780 purchase date is probably incorrect, but possibly the date the deed was registered at the county seat in Nashua. Further, since two other accounts cite 1789 as the year that Stickney bought out Isaac, the 1789 date is probably correct. That would mean that Stickney resided there only 3 years before removing to Dublin in April of 1793. At that time he sold the north half of L3R5 to Asa Thompson of L3R4 for £60. Asa was the brother of Ebenezer, who was then living on the south half, and of Isaac, former occupant of the north half (#8 on maps). So the indication is that Asa removed from his former homestead on L3R4 (Grout's old lot, marked on map) down to his brother, Isaac's, homestead (#8 on maps) where he resided for 28 years. Having seen the location of his L3R4 cellar hole on the ridge above (marked on map), the lower homestead would have been closer to the main road and much better situated for farming.

General David Steele (3rd generation) bought the northern half of L3R5, including the homestead, from Asa Thompson in October of 1817. Steele was a prominent and influential man in the founding of nearby Peterborough in association with such noted families as the Morrisons and Greggs. He held many Peterborough town offices and served as a Major General in the New Hampshire Militia. The \$1,250 land deal included the homestead and parts of adjoining lots as well. Since Steele supposedly did not reside at Asa's place, it begs the question of why he purchased it in the first place. Con-

sidering his possible affluence, perhaps it was for land speculation or intended as a summer residence until circumstances thwarted his plans. Whatever the circumstances, it was rented to John Fife instead.

According to the town history, the Fife clan is of Scottish origin and the name of Fife (sometimes written Fyfe) was derived from the Jutland word for forest, "fibh", which has the same pronunciation. The progenitors of all Fifes in America have been traced to the immigrants James and Samuel, both descendents of an ancient family of Fifeshire, Scotland. The Fifes of this area are descendents of James, who was born in Fifeshire around 1700. There is no time given for his immigration and scant information about him in America. Apparently he settled in Bolton, Massachusetts, where he married Patience Butler and sired 12 children. One of those 12 was Silas (2nd generation), born to James and Patience in Bolton. He married Abigail Houghton of Bolton on 8-15-1772 and became the second settler in that part of Marlborough that was later annexed to Troy, and the original settler of what is now East Hill Farm. He was known as a prominent and influential man in Troy before his death on 5-23-1836.

John Fife (3rd generation) was born on 2-6-1779 to Silas and Abigail in Bolton before removing to the site of the current East Hill Farm in Troy. At a time not stated, he married Sarah Seward and removed to Jaffrey around 1801. It was 6 years later that John Jr. was born on 1-31-1807. There seems to be no indication in the accounts of Fife's activities and whereabouts in Jaffrey until 1817 or 1818 when he is cited as renting the old Asa Thompson place on L3R5 from General David Steele (#8 on maps). On 7-26-1824 he was granted a license "to mix and retail all kinds of spirituous liquors including wines, at the house he now occupies in Jaffrey and also on the Monadnock Mountain 3 or 4 rods northeast of the brook (so-called) and near the path travelled in passing to the top of said mountain." Thus he began to keep tavern at the homestead under the name "Mountain House". He wasted no time in advertising the new establishment. The ad in the New Hampshire Sentinel (now Keene Sentinel) on 8-6-1824 read "The subscriber will be ready to wait on who shall visit Monadnock this season after Tuesday next at the brook about one-half hour's walk southeast of the pinnacle where he is erecting a sufficient building for shelter from the sun, rain or the chills of night. Tea and coffee, with suitable meats and drinks will be provided. Horses may be left at his house on the turnpike. Spirituous liquors may at all times be had at either place." Sarah herself was described as "a noble woman, and one of the best housekeepers in this country". Another ad followed on 6-17-1825 and another liquor license issued on 8-1-1825 referencing his "shantee". Thus his Mountain House down on the Third New Hampshire Turnpike (#8 on maps) started to become popular with visitors to the mountain, given that the Halfway House on L4R3 was not yet built.

However, the location of Fife's "sufficient building for shelter" on the mountain referred to in the 1824 ad is today unknown (marked on topo map). Chamberlain engaged in a lengthy discussion of the location of early "taverns" on the mountain that cannot be reproduced here. The first was Josiah Amadon's in 1823, second Fife's in 1824, then Dinsmore's in 1826, and then Fassett's in 1853. However, he concluded that Fife's "shantee" was at the site of Dinsmore's Tavern northeast of Bald Rock due to his failure



at locating any other ruins, and because Fife's last liquor license was issued in 1825 and Dinsmore's first in 1826. Dinsmore's Tavern site would have been close east of the old Bald Rock route up the mountain, the direction from the summit would be southeast, the same direction cited in the 1824 ad, and about a half hours walk from the summit. A commonly used route up the mountain from the height-of-land on the Third New Hampshire Turnpike at that time was to follow the road up past the David Avery place (#9 on maps) and Ebenezer Ingalls place (#10 on maps), then on past the Great Spring (marked on maps) directly up the ledges to Hello Rock and up the Bald Rock ridge (marked on topo map).

However, there are those who do not agree with this assessment. A little known crude ruin of rocks near a trickle on the west side of Bald Rock could also possibly be the site of Fife's "shantee". Further, those of this persuasion maintain that Fife utilized the site of Josiah Amadon's "convenient building" cited in an 8-15-1823 ad in the New Hampshire Sentinel that boasted "Grand Monadnock Hotel: Josiah Amadon has erected a convenient building and will furnish refreshments near pinnacle of said mountain." Since Amadon was granted a license to serve liquor on the summit of the mountain the very same date that Fife received his license (7-26-1824), it is supposed that Amadon built his "something like a hotel" on the summit as his 8-17-1824 ad states, and then Fife took over Amadon's old "shantee" near the brook. Chamberlain does not reference this ruin and there is no indication that he ever found it. It is, however, located on an old route up to Bald Rock from the as yet future Halfway House that later developed as access to the Lead Mine in the 1840's. However, the license of Fife's "shantee" in 1824 indicates that this route was in use long before the Lead Mine opened. Chamberlain relates that A. O. Smith could not extract any intelligible information from John W. Mann, an old man at the time, concerning the route that John used to guide hikers up that side of the mountain from the Mountain House. However, Chamberlain does conclude that Mann's route likely would have been the route that became the access to the Lead Mine, which would have passed right by this unknown ruin. Its direction from the summit would be south, contrary to the southeast heading cited in the 1824 ad. However, it would be exactly right according to the 6-17-1825 ad that stated "Monadnock entertainment of visitors on July 4th at Shantee south of summit near brook" and Fife's last liquor license of 8-1-1825 that stated "at a shantee on the Monadnock Mountain south side of the brook". The brook referred to in this case would be Fassetts Brook itself. Further, it is about as far west of the Bald Rock route up the mountain as Dinsmore's Tavern was east of it. Judging by the crude ruins at this site west of Bald Rock it probably was not really as "sufficient building for shelter" as Fife's ad stated. Dinsmore's Tavern ruin indicates a more elaborate structure, and probably would have provided somewhat more commodious accommodations than Fife's. According to the scant data from the various ads and liquor licenses in the accounts, it appears that Fife's "shantee" was only in use for about a year.

Fife married Caroline Stone in 1830 according to Chamberlain and settled on L8R5 at the Stone place in Ballou City where he took up the blacksmith trade (see **#26 John Stone**). However, it is not clear just how this could be if John Stone had no children, unless she was a family relation. According to another account, General David Steele died

on 3-19-1836. At that time Fife is supposed to have removed to another place in Jaffrey (perhaps meaning Ballou City) where he died 12 years later on 5-7-1843 at 64 years of age. Also at that same time his wife, Sarah, removed to Peterborough to live with their twin daughters, Elmira and Elvira, where she died on 8-24-1858 at 82 years of age. Elmira and Elvira were well known old maids who worked at the Phoenix Mill in Peterborough until it burned. This would seem to indicate that John and Sarah had either divorced or separated for some reason, but it appears that they may not have lived together for the last 7 years of his life. Could it be that Fife divorced Sarah and married Caroline before moving to Ballou City?

The Mountain House continued in the ownership of General Steele's heirs for another 3 years until put up for auction in March of 1839. Elias Mann bought the inn at the estate auction. There is no indication in the account that Steele's heirs ever occupied the inn (#8 on maps) or kept tavern there for the intervening 3 years. However, there is a reference to Elias Mann living at the inn before the estate auction.

Elias Mann (not related to the James Mann previously discussed under **#1 Milliken's Tavern**) was born to Theodore on 2-8-1781 in Walpole, Massachusetts. He is supposed to have removed to Marlborough before 1806 where he married Betsy on 1-1-1811, daughter of Joseph and Parna Butler. Mann then removed to Jaffrey at a time not specified, where he was first taxed in 1827. In March of 1839 he bought "the place on the height-of-land on the Mountain Road" from the heirs of General David Steele of Peterborough at the estate auction. Mann is described as already living there by that time, perhaps indicating that it was a "done deal" pending the outcome of probate or some other technicality. This is referring to location #8 on the maps, but may be the same as #7 (see discussion under **#7 John Henderson**). As to whether he resided there since 1836 right after Fife vacated is not clear. The deed only refers to a "place" and not "land" or "lot", so it is not clear exactly what was included in it. Presumably it at least included the north end of L3R5 and L4R5, and possibly all of Asa Thompson's old land holdings. It is known that Mann continued to keep tavern at the Mountain House (#8 on maps) and the account goes on to state that it "had been a popular resort for visitors to Monadnock, and its popularity continued during the Mann ownership". The older road up from Dole's place at Adams Corner (#4 on maps) was discontinued by insistence of the town in 1844. The 1850 Gibbs map of Jaffrey shows E. Mann as the resident here as would be expected. There were 9 children born at the homestead all told, but most of them died young. Edwin, one of several surviving sons, helped keep tavern there in his father's old age until dying on 4-29-1856, two years before his father. Then Elias himself also died about 2 years later on 3-10-1858 at the inn, followed by Betsy 16 years later on 2-1-1874. Another surviving son, John, inherited the inn in 1858 after the death of his father. This seems to indicate that John was keeping tavern there for the last 16 years of his mother's life.

John W. Mann, the youngest son of Elias and Betsy, was born at the inn on 12-8-1830. He married Carrie L. Robbins of Winchendon, Massachusetts, and succeeded to the family farm and inn following the death of Elias in 1858 since his brother, Edwin, was already deceased. The *Atlas of Cheshire County, New Hampshire* of 1858 shows

J. W. Mann residing here and is also labeled "Mountain House", correctly reflecting the situation at the time. It is said that in his boyhood years John was often hired as a bare-foot guide at 10¢ per head for parties ascending the mountain. However, he in all likelihood was not able to sustain hiker hospitality for very long due to the development of the future Halfway House further up the mountain. It was in 1860 that Moses Cudworth bought the north half of L4R3 and built a homestead there comprised of a small shanty and barn. At that time the road was probably extended up to his humble homestead from the former end of the road at the Ebenezer Ingalls cellar hole (#10 on maps). Hikers began to arrive at the end of the road at Cudworth's place, so he started to offer livery services for their horses and to offer limited primitive overnight accommodations. In 1861 he replaced the crude shanty with a small two-story house in order to better cater to mountain visitors. Curiously, this improved structure was dubbed the "Mountain House" by the U.S. Coast & Geodetic Survey team. In 1863 George Rice bought Cudworth's place and built the first hotel in its place, offering trail access and hiker accommodations closer to the summit than Mann's inn on the turnpike below. This small enterprise eventually grew into the famed Halfway House, and as it became the hub of activity on the western side of the mountain, presumably business eventually waned at Mann's Mountain House below. The *Town and City Atlas of the State of New Hampshire* of 1892 shows J. W. Mann as the resident of the Mountain House. He continued on the tavern farm until his death on 9-8-1904, at which time Carrie removed to live with their only daughter in Jaffrey.

Captain Ewing W. Hamlen (1st generation) was born in Scotland around 1863, son of a sugar merchant. He immigrated to America in 1885, but details of his activities and whereabouts are not provided in the account. He did serve in the Spanish American War in 1898. Then perhaps he had spent some time in Augusta, Maine, following the war where he married Mary Gore Child in August of 1900. He became a prominent lawyer in Boston. Then he came to Jaffrey in 1906 and bought the old Mountain House as a summer residence, calling it the Monadnock House. Hamlen, like Pope Yeatman, was one of the earliest prominent summer residents of Jaffrey. He is purported to hold the record for the longest summer residency, with a family member in continuous residency there for 63 years. He was also known to be a fine cabinet maker and wood carver. Perhaps he enjoyed those pursuits while spending summers at the former inn. Another house was built on the property in 1910 by a Professor Robert Johnston, the foremost Napoleonic historian in the country. Ewing's son, Captain Charles R. Hamlen, retired to this new house from the U.S. Army where he served as captain in the Corps of Engineers. Ewing had also served in the U.S. Army during World War I. He died in Augusta, Maine, in 1950 followed by his wife, Mary, in 1952.

These two residences, both the former Mountain House (#8 on maps, picture on page 46) and the Johnston house of 1910, remain today as private residences. The barn is still visible as the first building encountered on the right edge of the road traveling down the west side of the mountain on State Route 124. However, whether it is of Hamlen, Mann, Fife or Thompson origin and therefore its corresponding age would not be immediately clear from the structure itself.

## **#9 David Avery**

The story of lot L4R4 on the south ridge of Mt. Monadnock on both sides of the Toll Road is quite interesting. It starts when John Grout, one of the first settlers of Jaffrey, bought it from the Masonian Proprietors prior to 1769. He was born in 1704 in Lunenburg, Massachusetts, and had settled on L12R9, the minister's lot south of Gilmore Pond. In a letter to the Masonian Proprietors dated 2-14-1769 Grout proposed that he should keep the settled minister's lot in exchange for his other lots, two of which were L4R4 and L3R4 in the report area. He considered them to be "equal in situation and goodness" as the minister's lot. However, one could not consider two rocky lots on the west side of the south ridge of Mt. Monadnock as being equal at all to the choice agricultural land on the minister's lot south of Gilmore Pond. Reuben Kidder, a New Ipswich lawyer, was brought in and an agreement reached with the Proprietors to exchange the minister's lot for L4R4 and part of L3R4. However, 23 other settlers protested directly to the Proprietors via letter on 3-5-1770 claiming that Grout had no fee title for the minister's lot and therefore should be leasing it in order to live there. Further, it was stated that out of the 5 lots that Grout owned, why was the rocky, mountain lots the only land offered in the exchange? In response to the protest, the Proprietors reneged on the previous deal with Grout. This indicates that the Proprietors probably had no direct knowledge of the nature and situation of the lots involved and therefore could have been easily persuaded by Kidder's proposal. On 4-3-1770 Grout sent another letter to the Proprietors indicating that he was ill. However, it appears that the Proprietors reversed their decision again, for on 1-14-1771 Grout deeded L4R6 (lot south of Milliken's Tavern) as a public lot, or minister's lot, to the town. Although not explicitly stated, the assumption is that it would have been in exchange for the minister's lot south of Gilmore Pond that he had settled on. This new exchange appears to be the end of the matter in the record. L4R6 was the same minister's lot that Nathaniel Hardy bought from the town 5 years later in 1776, Samuel Ober bought from Hardy in 2 years later in 1778 and that Alexander Milliken bought from Ober 12 years later in 1790. Sometime in the ensuing 9 years John Grout's heirs sold the L4R4 mountain lot back to Captain Henry Coffeen. Asa Thompson (brother of Isaac and Ebenezer) supposedly bought the south half of L4R4 in 1778. However, something must have transpired that resulted in it reverting back to Captain Henry Coffeen yet again before the sale to David Avery in 1780.

David Avery (sometimes recorded as Averill), was a Revolutionary War soldier that participated in the Battle of Bunker Hill and Battle of Bennington in 1777. He bought the south half of L4R4 from Captain Henry Coffeen on 4-12-1780. However, one account has him removing to Jaffrey from New Ipswich before that date. A road record of 1-1779 cites him living on the lot even before the road was laid out up to his homestead. Further, he was elected Deer Reeffer in 1779. So the indications are that he was living on the lot previous to the 1780 purchase date, possibly right after Asa Thompson deeded it back to Coffeen in 1778. Apparently Avery found the land "not fit for settlement" just as the protestors from the Grout controversy had previously stated. This could easily be believable considering the location of his cellar hole on the only small piece of relatively flat, arable land on the ridge. Whatever the reason, Avery sold the south half of L4R4 to Benjamin Dole on 12-18-1784 for £50. How odd then that 6 years later the 1790 census

records 4 males and 4 females residing at the Avery place. Sources consider the occupants to be Avery, a son over 16 years, two sons under 16 years, his wife and 3 daughters. Since it appears that he continued to live on the homestead after the sale of the land to Dole, does this possibly indicate that he continued to rent the house from Dole? Another possibility is that Avery had not sold the very northern end of the south half of the lot where the homestead was located. According to one account he supposedly left Jaffrey by 1790, but it seems that it would have to have been after the 1790 census.

There is no indication of precisely when Avery vacated the homestead, or if anyone else occupied it after that. According to Chamberlain, the cellar hole was dug up for stones for Halfway House construction. This still leaves the question open of exactly what hotel Chamberlain was referring to, George Rice's first in 1863, or one of the two successive ones. Nothing remains of the cellar hole today except the shallow pits in the ground visible to the west side of the Toll Road at 1689' elevation after the grade slacks at the top of the first hill. These pits where the stones were supposedly dug out are just south of the stone wall that split the L4R4 lot in half.

## **#10 Ebenezer Ingalls**

According to the town history, the surname of Ingalls is believed to be of Scandinavian origin, derived from "Ingialld", meaning "by the power of Thor". However, this is an error since "Ing" was the name of a Germanic god in a more ancient pantheon than that of Thor. From this name came the warrior name of "Ingeld", a Danish avenger. Further, the name of the Dane, "Ingald", appears in the epic Anglo Saxon poem *Beowulf*. In the 9th century Scandinavian pirates were raiding the east coast of Great Britain and some of them settled there. The Domesday Book lists a Baron Ingald from Normandy who was a tenant of King William the Conqueror of Rearsby and Elvestone, Leicestershire, England in 1080. {Historical note: the Domesday Book is a Medieval Latin record of much of England and Wales completed in 1086 by order of King William to determine how much taxes were owed under his predecessor, King Edward the Confessor.} The earliest record found of any Ingalls is that of Henry in 1555, the grandfather of Edmund. Edmund, the immigrant, was born in Skirbeck, England, sometime around 1598. Skirbeck was formerly a parish (now a suburb) of Boston, Lincolnshire County, near the coast north of London. He came to America with wife Ann and six children in 1629 and settled in Salem, Massachusetts. At some point they must have removed to Lynn, Massachusetts, where a record cites him as "fined for carrying home sticks on the Sabbath Day from Mr. Holyoke's 'rails'". Sounds like quite a character robbing his neighbor's fence rails, and on the Sabbath day to boot! Three more children were born in America, and he died in 1648 when his horse fell through a bridge over the Saugus River and he drowned.

Deacon Josiah Ingalls (4th generation) is only briefly mentioned here in relation to his contribution to the early settlement of Jaffrey. He was born in Andover, Massachusetts, on 8-4-1719 and married Eunice Flint of Reading on 3-19-1743. It is probable that he maintained a legal residence in Andover for his wife and 9 children because their

births were registered there. Supposedly during that time he was living on or spending time at a homestead on the eastern shore of Contoocook Lake many years before Jaffrey and Rindge were incorporated. As one of the first settlers to the area, he served as Treasurer of the Proprietors of Monadnock #1, later to become Rindge. As a millwright he is thought to have built the first sawmills in both Jaffrey and Rindge. He also helped build the meeting house in Jaffrey being active as a deacon from its first organization until his death in 1774.

Ebenezer Ingalls (5th generation), the oldest child of Deacon Josiah and Eunice, was born in Andover, Massachusetts on 11-7-1745 two years following their marriage. He came to Jaffrey in 1774 and bought the 100 acre L4R3 lot from Jonathan Parker (from John Coffeen by another account). However, Ingalls actually built his homestead at the north end of lot L4R4 to the south. Kind of a curious thing how one could build a house and live on land that one did not own, but this was not an uncommon practice at that time. There are a couple other occurrences of this in this report (see discussion under "**#7 John Henderson**"). Ingalls was recorded as a signer of the "Remonstrance Against the Division of the Town" on 4-8-1774. {Historical note: petition to the provincial authority by 60 Jaffrey settlers against the request of Peterborough Slip (now Sharon) settlers to annex a strip of Jaffrey's land 1¼ miles wide along the eastern boundary.} In 1775 Ingalls was listed as a Surveyor of "timber and stuff", and then enlisted to fight in the Revolution. In 1778 he sold the north half of L4R3 to Samuel Kittredge, probably for grazing. Moses Cudworth would later build his homestead there which became the site of the future Halfway House. At that time Ingalls also sold the south end of L4R3, probably to John Coffeen, and vacated his homestead at the north end of L4R4. According to one account, 1778 is when Ingalls left, never to return.

According to the town history the Wood clan from which Solomon, discussed below, is thought to have descended is the immigrant Josiah Wood of Woburn, Massachusetts. He married Abigail Bacon of Billerica on 12-13-1686. Then "old Josiah Wood" died on 3-9-1740, followed by Abigail on 3 years later on 12-6-1743. They had 7 children.

Solomon Wood (4th generation) was born on 5-24-1753 to Solomon and Martha of Woburn, Massachusetts. Around the outbreak of the Revolution on 11-28-1776 he married Lucy Stone, also of Woburn, Massachusetts. Then on 1-15-1781 Wood, wife Lucy, and children Solomon Jr. and Martha were "warned out of town", probably referring to Woburn. {Historical note: "warning out" was a curious custom of early Colonial life whereby the Constable would issue a ceremonious warning to new arrivals "to depart out of the town forthwith". At that time, any strangers entertained in a town for 3 months without being warned out became legal residents. Originally intended to turn away vagrants from becoming a drain on public resources, it later included nearly all who sought to remove to a new place. However, by 1719 its actual execution in New Hampshire was usually only applied to those considered undesirable or who might become charges of the town.} One account cites Wood as "of Fitchburg" at the time of arrival in Jaffrey in 1783. This may indicate that they possibly spent a couple years in Fitchburg before removing to Jaffrey. On 4-28-1783 he bought 59 acres in the north part of L4R4 from John Coffeen for £25 silver money. On 6-14-1784 he was listed as a member of the Jaffrey

Training Band. Wood settled there on the old Ingalls homestead (#10 on maps), probably still standing after 5 years of abandonment. However, for reasons not stated the land almost immediately reverted back to Coffeen. In 1789 Wood bought a farm near to East Jaffrey and settled there. Certainly the land in East Jaffrey would have been better suited for farming than that on the mountain.

On 5-2-1789 John Joslin (not to be confused with the Joslin of tavern fame) and Simeon Butters of Woburn, Massachusetts, bought the north half of lot L4R4 from John Coffeen for £30. Since John Joslin, Simeon Butters and Solomon Wood were all from Woburn, perhaps there was some familial or associative connection between them. Butters was probably related to the Stanley brothers (Jonathan and Alvah) of L1R5 who owned the Stanley Brothers Mill to the west below Perkins Pond in Troy. Mrs. David Stanley, grandmother of Jonathan Stanley Jr., was formerly Sarah Butters of Wilmington, Massachusetts. Although there is no official record of occupancy since Ingalls left in 1778, local tradition has it that "a man named Butters lived back there on the mountain". Odd that Joslin is not mentioned in the tradition. Perhaps this is because Butters acquired Joslin's share of the property, or Joslin died, vacated, or never resided there at all. It is not stated, perhaps not even known, when Butters settled there and for how long. Presumably he resided in the old Ingalls homestead (#10 on maps) on the north end of L4R4, since no other cellar hole has ever been located in the area. His occupancy must be more than legend since he was chosen a member of a committee to raise funds for building school houses in 1790. Supposedly the north half of the lot continued in the joint ownership of the Butters and Carter families of Massachusetts until the 1830's. This would indicate that they may have bought out Samuel Kittredge at some point.

It does not appear that anyone resided in the old Ingalls homestead after Simeon Butters. Similar to the David Avery situation in the south half of L4R4, no cellar hole has ever been found in the north half. Again, Chamberlain maintains that the Ingalls cellar hole stones were also robbed for Halfway House construction. And again, it is not known just what date this was done and in what hotel these stones were used. All that remains of the possible site is the extremely shallow digging just southwest of the Parker Trail junction on the Toll Road at an elevation of 1772'. This would make it the second highest year-round dwelling on Mt. Monadnock. Only the Moses Cudworth homestead at 2069' which later became the Halfway House was higher. A. O. Smith's cottage below the Halfway House would not be considered because it was only a summer cottage. The Timothy Twitchell homestead on the northwest side of the mountain in Dublin at an elevation of 1721' would be the third highest, followed by the David Avery place discussed above at 1689'.

## Bunk Woods

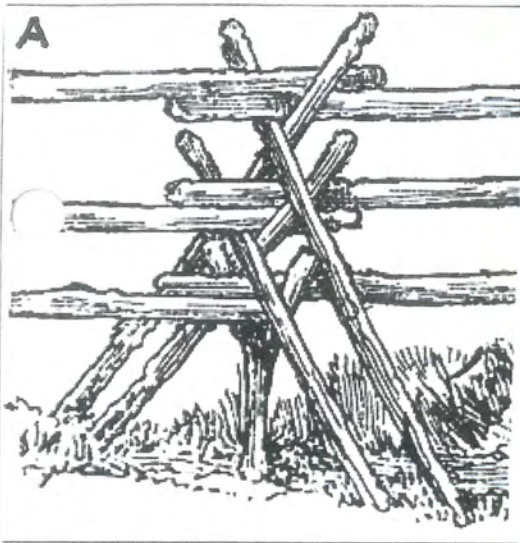
I am going to interject a word about the possible origin of the name "Bunk Woods" as it relates to Mt. Monadnock and the settlers on its south slopes. Settlers such as Ebenezer Ingalls, David Cutter, Seth Harrington, Israel Adams, and Joseph Mead did

not build their stone walls all the way up the mountain. It can be observed that they end at the base of the ledges where the gradient increases sharply. It is believed that fences were employed at the upper edge of the pastures to keep livestock from wandering up onto the steep ledges. These were thought to be of a log design similar to a “stake and rider” fence, but called a “bunk and rail” fence according to a term used in eastern Maine. According to Chamberlain, it was Joel H. Poole, an owner of the Ark, who originated or propagated the term “bunk woods”. In his childhood in the 1850’s, Poole referred to the area of trees between the blueberry ledges above and old pastures below as the “bunk woods” even though the wood rail fences themselves were already rotted away.

Early settlers in wooded areas such as those in the report area often built wooden rail fences before stone walls became common during the “sheep boom” and the introduction of barbed wire in the mid 1800’s. They were inexpensively made of the native materials at hand, did not require any bracing, and were “hog tight”, or livestock proof. As farm income increased barbed wire fences replaced rail fences for various reasons. Wooden rail fences required time-consuming, physical labor, needed constant maintenance and repairs, sometimes burned down, and took up more space than a wire fence, especially the zigzag kind. There were many different construction techniques employed in rail fences, depending on the area of the country and the culture of the settlers themselves. Likewise the names for these various types of fences and the descriptive terminology also greatly varied in each part of the country.

On the following page, there are some pictures and sketches of the various types of wooden rail fences referenced below. The letters attached to each picture, diagram or sketch correlate to the dialog that follows. Some maintain that there are two broad categories of wooden rail fences: self-supporting (see A, B, D, & F) and staked (see C, E, G, & H). Others would say that the two main categories are: straight (see C & E) and zigzag (see A, B, D, F, G, & H), often referred to as a “wormy fence”. However, the variety of construction techniques employed effectively blurs any attempt at categorization. There are styles of wormy fence that employ stakes and “bunks” in their construction (see G & H). The stake refers to either the vertical post driven into the ground (see E, G, & H) or the “X” support pieces of the wormy fence (see A, B, & D). The “rider” refers to the horizontal “rails” supported by the stakes. Figure F shows the “lock and rider” fence that employed support cross members attached to the top rails. However, it is the use of the term “bunk” in Figure H that is most pertinent to the subject of this report. It shows how the vertical stakes were bored into a buried horizontal “sill” (my term) or “bunk” and placed to support the apex of each corner of the wormy fence rather than the “X” stakes. Figure C shows a straight “bunk and rail” fence that employs two stakes and log “bunks” used as spacers in between rails. Presuming the ground at the base of the ledges on the mountain to be quite rocky, it would not be clear that stakes could have been driven at all, but wormy type fences are not referred to as “bunk and rail” fences. Thus, with so many variations in fence construction and terminology, it cannot be definitely known what particular kind of fence was being used on Mt. Monadnock without a picture or specific personal memory.





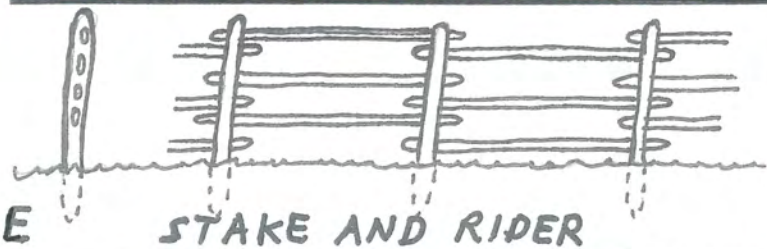
stake-and-rider fence



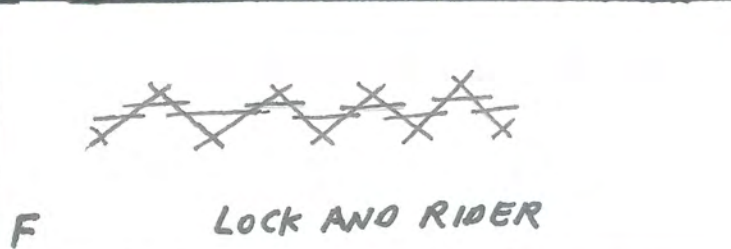
STAKE AND RIDER



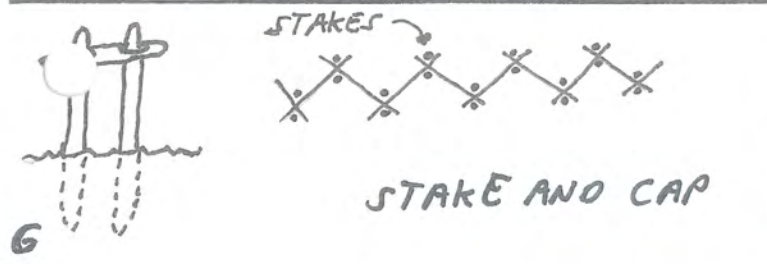
BUNK AND RAIL



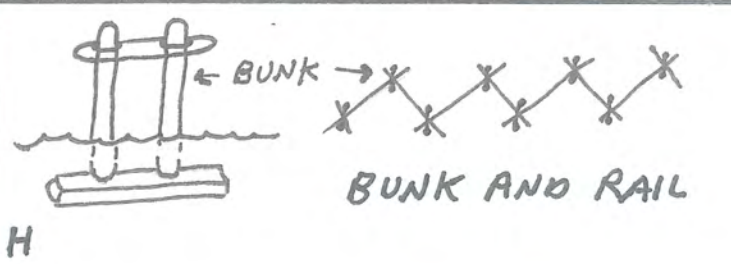
STAKE AND RIDER



LOCK AND RIDER



STAKE AND CAP



BUNK AND RAIL

G

H

## **#11 David Cutter 1st**

Ebenezer Thompson (5th generation) was born in Lancaster, Massachusetts, on 3-15-1743. For the genealogical background of the Thompson clan see **#8 Mountain House**). On 8-18-1773 at the age of 30 years he bought L6R4 from Captain Henry Coffeen. Curiously, his sister Relief's husband, Benjamin Dole, had bought the north half of L5R5 nearby to the southwest just 5 days earlier on 8-13-1773. Thompson also bought the south half of L3R5 at the same time, which is where he most likely settled. It is believed that the old cellar hole on L3R5 south of the turnpike upon which the Edward Emerson cottage was later built is Thompson's (marked on map). There is also a small cellar hole on L6R4 and while there is no record of who built it, Chamberlain states that Thompson built it. There is also no record of a public road being constructed from Adams Corner at the Dole place (#4 on maps) up to Thompson's place (#11 on maps). Yet Chamberlain states that Thompson built the road as well in 1774. There is obviously some kind of discrepancy here since Thompson probably did not live on both lots at the same time. Since the 1777 deed to John Dole (see below) does not refer to a house on L6R4, my sense is that Thompson never settled L6R4 at all, but rather built his homestead on L3R5 instead where a homestead is definitely cited. Thompson enlisted in the Revolution and fought at Ticonderoga the summer of 1777 with Major Roger Gilmore's Company of Heald's Regiment. He also served with Daniel Moore's Regiment at Saratoga in October of 1777.

Thompson found time either in between battles or at the end of his service to sell the 36 acres on the south end of L6R4 to Benjamin Dole for £15 and the 91 acres on the north end to John Dole, his brother, for £46 that same year in 1777. The Dole brothers also served in the Revolution, thus all parties to these land transactions were active soldiers in the war. In 1779 a road was laid out up through L6R4 from Adams Corner to meet with the road laid out from the Ark across the south slope of the mountain to the Toll Road that same year. This created access through L6R4 both from above and below. John's 91 acre piece was mortgaged in 1781 to Dr. Howe (of Shattuck Inn fame) and Lieut. Samuel Buss (marked on maps) for £95. No reasons for this mortgage are given in the account, but since John died the following year, the disposition of the north end of L6R4 is not clear, and it cannot be assumed that Benjamin inherited John's land. Considering the mortgage, perhaps Howe and Buss took possession of it.

David Cutter (5th generation), born in Shrewsbury, Massachusetts, on 10-28-1762 was part of the Cutter clan of New Ipswich, and brother of Joseph Cutter who built the renowned Ark in 1808. (A brief family background is provided later in this report under "Cutter Clan".) He had married on 9-30-1789 Polly Spofford, daughter of Eleazer and Mary who owned the Spofford Mills in East Jaffrey. Exactly when he removed to Jaffrey is not known but according to Chamberlain bought L6R4 from Ebenezer Thompson in 1790. The evidence observed, however, seems to point to his arrival soon after the marriage in 1789 and therefore the purchase of the lot likely in that same timeframe as well. Further, it could not have been purchased from Ebenezer Thompson, since it was in the possession of Benjamin Dole at that time. And so it appears likely that Cutter came to Jaffrey in 1789/99 and bought L6R4 from Benjamin Dole, and then built the homestead



#11 DAVID CUTTER



#14 MEADS FARM

(#11 on maps) and road up from Adams Corner. The road record of 8-30-1790 to discontinue the road from Adams Corner through Thompson's old lot references the road that "led to the house of David Cutter" seems to corroborate this. In 1791 he is listed as the owner of pew #13 in the gallery of the Jaffrey meeting house and was taxed at L6R4 in 1793. The Cutters had 10 children total, the first 3 being born on the mountain farm. He sold this homestead to his father-in-law, Eleazer Spofford, for \$1,000 in 1799 and removed to the Wilder place in Ballou City on the south side of the turnpike (see **#27 David Cutter 2nd**).

There is no further indication of occupancy of Cutter's first homestead on L6R4 after he left in 1799. Therefore it seems reasonable to assume that it was abandoned and fell into ruin. All that remains today is a rather small, shallow, rectangular depression not far below the Parker Trail (Old Mountain Road) at an elevation of 1584'. The top picture on the preceding page shows this depression. Its small size and the fact that there are no stones showing in the depression may indicate a small log cabin or frame house rather than any type of "hall and parlor" style farmhouse. No indication of any barn has been located. There are some rather unusual and attractive curved stone walls on the flat terrace below. Stone walls were usually built for utilitarian purposes such as protecting crop land near the homestead, keeping livestock contained and protected from rocky ravines or away from cliff edges, encircling the hog pen at the barn, etc. I have observed that many times stone walls were fitted to the landscape to accommodate both the terrain and the agricultural pursuits. Stone walls can show the individual flare of the builders, not only in their adaptation to the landscape, but in their construction techniques as well. Most wall builders employed square corners, but others built curved or rounded corners. Sometimes where square corners were employed, round corners were also used near the homestead or at driveway or cowpath openings, etc. In this case, the walls appear to enclose a relatively flat, well watered area that may represent the best arable land on the lot near to the homestead. They gracefully contour around the base of the slope on which the cellar hole sits, and curve around the lower edge of the flat as the slope steepens. The old 1779 road up from Adams Corner (marked on map) is still clearly evident about half way up to the cellar hole to the state park boundary line. I suspect that the upper end of this "road" was no more than a cart path through the pastures, and that the preferred access to Cutter's homestead was via the "old Keene Road" and the "Old Mountain Road" from the Ark.

## **#12 Seth Harrington**

Seth Harrington (5th generation) was born on 10-30-1752 in Lexington, Massachusetts, to Richard and Abigail. There is no record of marriage, children or homestead there. Sometime before 1775 he removed to Shirley, Massachusetts, with his two older brothers. On 4-26-1775 he enlisted in Henry Haskell's Company of the 6th Middlesex Regiment. Towards the end of the Revolution he transferred to the Continental Army to continue his military career. Around 1778 he removed to Jaffrey and bought 10 acres of the southwest corner of L7R3 from Ephraim Adams, then residing at the old Lemuel Sargent place on the southern edge of L7R3 that what would later become part of the

Meads Farm (see **#13 Lemuel Sargent**). Since the small cellar hole extant is not located on this piece, it does not seem likely that he settled on this land. Harrington very quickly became active in the Jaffrey Training Band. Although there is no record of it, sometime during this time period he married Rebecca, daughter of an Abraham Brooks (may not be related to the Joseph Brooks discussed below). He then bought another 9 acres (10 acres in another account) of the northeast corner of L7R4 from Ephraim Adams. Since the small cellar hole extant is located on this piece of land, it suggests that Harrington did build his homestead here. However, the exact date of his homestead would not be known since the date of the second land purchase is not known. Considering that there was nowhere else for them to live, and no indication in the accounts that they did so, it would seem probable that the L7R4 land purchase followed quickly after the L7R3 purchase and therefore the homestead immediately built. While there is no official record of the birth of any of the children, 3 of the 5 were supposed to have been born on the mountain, indicating that some sort of homestead was built. Hannah, the oldest daughter, married Joseph Buss in 1801, son of the Lieutenant Samuel Buss of L10R5 between the Shattuck Inn and the Ark (marked on maps). On 10-30-1789 Harrington deeded both pieces of land to Adam Brown for £35, which refers to the "farm I now live on". Interestingly, however, Harrington continued to live there for another 4 years, being on record there in the 1790 census. Then for reasons not stated the Harringtons were "warned out of town" and removed to Marlborough in 1793. There they became known as "King Harrington and Queen Harrington" due to Rebecca's fortune telling powers. Perhaps this clairvoyant ability was part of the reason they were warned out of Jaffrey, that "dark power" not being accepted by the neighbors. More likely, however, it had to do with their being described as squatters. Indeed this would have put them at odds both with the town authorities and neighbors. They both died in Marlborough, Seth on 3-3-1808 and Rebecca 32 years later on 4-12-1840.

Adam Brown of Vermont bought the Harrington land on 10-30-1789 for £35. No details are provided in the account about Brown, but it is thought that he never occupied the homestead, especially given that Harrington was probably squatting there at the time. Brown sold the land the following year in 1790 to Captain Lemuel Sargent for the same amount as he purchased it.

Captain Lemuel Sargent bought the Harrington land 3-19-1790 for £35, about a month after purchasing the remainder of L7R3 from Ephraim Adams. Apparently Harrington continued to squat at the homestead until warned out of town in 1793. Perhaps Sargent was the impetus behind the removal of the Harringtons, and Joseph Brooks of L9R4 the officiating Constable.

There is no record of any further occupancy of the Harrington homestead after 1793. So it is possible that it was left to decay and torn down or used as an outbuilding on Sargent's farm (later Mead's Farm, #14 on maps). All that remains today is a very small, shallow depression close to the Parker Trail on the southwest side of a low knoll at an elevation of 1567'. There is no stone showing in the roughly 10' square depression, possibly indicating a very small cabin or shanty of some sort. It would seem far too

small for the Harringtons and 3 children to live in. No sign of a barn or outbuilding was found. In 1904 this land was acquired as part of Monadnock State Park.

### **#13 Ephraim Adams**

Israel Adams (5th generation) of Andover, Massachusetts, removed to Jaffrey in 1750 and bought L7R3, possibly directly from the Masonian Proprietors. However, after just one year he removed to Rindge with no reason given for this move. There is also no indication in the account that he actually settled on the lot at all. Perhaps the nature of the rocky land did not suit his sensibilities for farming. Further, there would have been no access at that time to such an isolated lot so high up on the mountain.

Ephraim Adams (distantly, if at all related to the Israel above) of Townsend, Massachusetts, bought L7R3 by 1778 with the exception of the 10 acres of the southwest corner sold to Seth Harrington the same year. Since Adams was also a soldier in the Revolution, I assume that this was following his service. The interesting fact about Ephraim is that he is the son of Daniel Adams, a descendant of Henry Adams of Braintree from whom President John Adams also descended. A less prestigious but more local connection is that on his mother's side there is a relation to the Joseph Brooks of L9R4. It was about this time (1778/1779) that the "Mountain Road" was laid out close by to the south. A branch of the road was built up to his homestead, that road record describing a "camp" at the very south edge of the lot. The so-called "Mountain Road" continued west past Harrington's place (#12 on maps), north of David Cutter's place (#11 on maps), past Hunter Rock (marked on maps), and through The Notch to Ebenezer Ingall's place on the Toll Road (#10 on maps) and even beyond to the Shaker Farm Road. The current Parker Trail is supposed to approximate its former alignment. However, this would put the road to the north of Harrington's place rather than south of it as the map shows. Perhaps this was a later re-alignment considering that the 1779 road up from Adams Corner (marked on map) was discontinued in 1790. Since there is only scant evidence of a road west of Cutter's place, it probably was either one of those very rough cart paths or merely an enlarged trail in that section. It is not specifically known just how long Adams lived there since it is thought that he had vacated before the 1790 deed to Sargent which refers to "the farm I lived on" in the past tense. So it appears that since Israel did not settle on L7R3, Ephraim is probably the one who built the "camp" in his short tenure here.

Captain Lemuel Sargent (2nd generation) seemed to have taken quite a different path to Jaffrey than the previous settlers discussed. According to the town history, he was the son of Daniel S. Sargent, a well known Boston Scotchman, who came to America from Scotland in 1730 with his brother, Joseph. Lemuel married Sarah Hall of Milton, Massachusetts, on 12-12-1765 and removed to Winchendon in 1769 which made them some of the earliest settlers there. Sometime around 1776 at the start of the Revolution he removed to Rockingham, Vermont, where he bought 51 acres on the "road to Keene" from Benjamin Bellows. Apparently he became quite a land speculator who eventually came into possession of most of the land that is today the village of Bellows Falls. He

was described as “shrewd, frugal, and a determined representative of the Scotch settlers of his day, and accumulated a competence which was divided by will between wife and children”.

Sargent sold most of his Rockingham, Vermont, land holdings to David Sanderson on 3-10-1789 and removed to Jaffrey. He bought L7R3 (minus Harrington’s piece) from Ephraim Adams the following year on 2-5-1790 for £300. Since this seems an exorbitant sum for just one lot, it more than likely included at least part of L7R4 as well (minus Harrington’s piece). This seem to be corroborated by the fact that he is described as settling on the north half of L7R4 “west of Mead’s Farm” (#14 on maps). That is a rather curious statement given the fact that supposedly Meads Farm did not yet exist. Does this indicate that the deed was executed after Meads Farm was built, and therefore known? The only homestead west of there would have been Harrington’s place (#12 on maps), which was occupied at the time. So presumably, in spite of the westerly direction quoted, the account actually was referring to the old Adams place still extant on the south edge of L7R3 to the north instead (#13 on maps). Approximately six weeks later he bought the Harrington land on 3-19-1790 from Adam Brown for £35, which would have made L7R3 and at least the north end of L7R4 entire once again. Since Joseph Cutter Sr. was in possession of L7R4 since 1778, and sold only the south half to Moses Cutter in 1784, perhaps it indicates that Sargent did indeed purchase only the north half in 1790. However, does it mean that Ephraim Adams had bought the north end of L7R4 from Cutter previous to the Sargent deed? Perhaps some research is needed here. It does make one wonder, given such a successful background in land deals, just what Sargent was doing with such a rather poor piece of mountain farmland. Further, he paid a total of £335 for the land and only got £265 for it, taking a loss of £70. Sargent deeded the lots to Wallis Little Jr. of Shirley, Massachusetts, on 12-17-1791 for £265, probably to secure a loan. In 1793 he served as Surveyor of Highways and was taxed as living there the same year. However, Sargent was apparently unable to repay the loan, so Little took possession of the property, probably sometime in 1793. In 1804 or 1805 Sargent removed to Edson’s Corners, New York, where he resumed his land baron activities, buying up large tracts in 1804 and 1813. Edson’s Corners is a small village in a valley amongst the rolling hills southwest of Milford, located between Oneonta and Cooperstown. It appears that Sargent was living in Milford, the town of his wife’s birth, suggesting some kind of family connection. It is kind of a curious thing how he lost the land in Jaffrey but was able to buy land 11 years later in New York. It seems to indicate quite a turn-around in circumstances or some other circumstances not stated in the account. He died in Milford, New York, at an “advanced age”.

So while Wallis Little acquired L7R3 and north end of L7R4 in 1793 from Captain Lemuel Sargent, it appears that he never occupied the old Ephraim Adams homestead on the south edge of L7R3 (#13 on maps). Rather, it seems that Sargent continued residing at the homestead a little while longer until Little sold it to Joseph Mead Sr. later that same year.

All that remains today of that small cabin is a small depression in the low ridge across a shallow swale to the north of the Meads Farm cellar hole at an elevation of

1464'. There are no stones showing in the small, approximately 10' square depression, lending credence to the "camp" described in the road record. There is another smaller depression to the west of the cabin depression in the same low ridge that may indicate a tiny barn or shed. It appears that this tiny cabin may have been rented out to various people during the Meads Farm years as discussed below. In 1929 unspecified parts of L7R4, and adjacent L8R4 where the Poole Reservoir is, were bought by the town of Jaffrey for watershed.

## **#14 Meads Farm**

According to the town history, the Mead clan in America began with Gabriel Mead, the immigrant who had attained the title of "Goodman". {Historical note: a significant title of respect in England for a class of freeholders below gentry who were able to cultivate their own land and were granted certain political rights.} He married Johanna Bates, herself having just "crossed the pond" with her father, James, on the ship "Elizabeth" under Captain Stagg from Lydd, County Kent, on 4-1635 with passage for the Massachusetts Bay Colony. No landing date is specified in the accounts, so I would assume it to be at least a couple months after the departure from England to allow for the passage, say sometime around June of 1635. It was not long before Gabriel was admitted a Freeman in 1638 and became a prominent citizen of Cambridge, Massachusetts. There is difficulty in understanding exactly who Joseph Sr. and Jr. in the accounts due to the 4 consecutive Josephs in successive generations. So for purposes of this report and for simplicity, I am going to refer to the Joseph Mead (5th generation) born in Bedford, Massachusetts, on 2-25-1740 or 1741 as Joseph Sr. even though he was actually the second Joseph in the lineage, and likewise with Joseph Jr. (6th generation), who was actually third in the lineage. Perhaps the local settlers, including Chamberlain as well, referenced them that way because these two were the Josephs that resided in Jaffrey, whereas the first Joseph in the lineage did not.

Joseph Mead Sr. (5th generation) was born in Bedford, Massachusetts, on 2-25-1740 or 1741. He was the only son of the Joseph (4th generation) and Elizabeth from Harvard, Massachusetts. After his marriage on 4-16-1767 to Lucy Fuller in Newton, Massachusetts, it appears that a spirit of wanderlust possessed him. He removed to Bedford, Shirley, Stow, and then to Harvard in Massachusetts. One account cites Mead as living in Boston as well, while it is not mentioned in the other account. Then Mead removed to Rindge where he bought a 90 acre lot near the outlet of Poole Pond on 11-24-1778. Just 5 years later in 1793 he sold that farm to Jonas Faulkner of Bolton, Massachusetts, and removed to Jaffrey. Perhaps Faulkner was from his former associations while living in Boston.

Joseph Mead Jr. (6th generation) was the firstborn of the 8 children of Joseph Sr. and Lucy, born on 10-20-1767 while they were living in Bedford, Massachusetts. A closer look at the difference in the marriage date of Joseph Sr. and Lucy, and Joseph Junior's birth date (i.e. 6 months) might indicate a couple of possible scenarios if indeed the dates are correct. One is that of a premature birth, but a 2 or 3 month premature



birth would have had a very poor chance of survival given the state of medicine at that time. And another is that the time of conception predated the marriage, thus you can draw your own conclusion. One thing for sure, he was with the family through all those Massachusetts moves and grew up on the Rindge farm. About one year before Joseph Sr. sold the farm, Joseph Jr. married his first wife, Betsy Brooks, of Acton, Massachusetts, on 4-26-1792. They had just the one child, Joseph, presumably while there on the Rindge farm. After only one year of marriage, Betsy died on 4-28-1793, presumably also at the farm. Given possible conception at or shortly after the marriage, followed by the usual 8 or 9 month pregnancy, it appears that Betsy died very soon after the birth of Joseph Jr. This may yet again point to complications from childbirth as the cause of Betsy's death. Joseph Sr. had removed to Jaffrey at about the same time. Perhaps it was intended for Joseph Jr. to succeed his father at the Rindge farm, and perhaps he did so for another year before selling out and joining his father in Jaffrey. Just maybe Betsy's unexpected death influenced Joseph Junior's decision to move to the farm in Jaffrey with his father.

Joseph Sr. removed to Jaffrey in 1793 where he bought L7R3 and at least the north half of L7R4 from Wallis Little at a date not specified. Details are sketchy, but it seems that the old Ephraim Adams cabin (#13 on maps) on the south edge of L7R3 was possibly the only residence standing on those lots at the time. Since Captain Lemuel Sargent had recently vacated the cabin, Joseph Sr. would probably have settled there. Joseph Jr. is supposed to have followed him to Jaffrey a year later in 1794. While no reason is proffered for this discrepancy, perhaps it was due to some circumstance surrounding his wife's recent death and sale of the Rindge farm. Another interesting possibility is that since the old Adams cabin was so small, perhaps Joseph Sr. built the new house on the north end of L7R4 (#14 on maps) in that year from 1793 to 1794 in order to make room for Joseph Jr. Under this scenario, both would have taken up residence at the new house when completed in 1794. A tax record of 1793 for the farm listed 7 acres of mowing, 1 acre of plowing, 16 acres of pasture, 40 acres wild, 1 horse, 3 oxen, 5 cows, and one 3-year old horse. This provides a picture of the assets that Joseph Sr. acquired with purchase of the farm. Note that the list does not include the famed orchard that was such a landmark for hikers on the trails that followed abandonment of the farm. Both Joseph Sr. and Joseph Jr. were described as coopers by trade.

Joseph Sr. may have died or become infirm by 1796, when the records show only one poll tax assessed there rather than two. Therefore it might be reasonably assumed that Joseph Jr. inherited the farm and continued on the homestead (#14 on maps). Approximately 3 years later, Joseph Jr. married his second wife on 3-6-1799, Susan Jenison of Newton, Massachusetts. They were said to have had 9 children there on the mountain farm, but there are no records of their births. A tax record of 1800 shows the overall decline of the farm in 7 years when it listed: 3 acres mowing, 1 acre plowing, 10 acres pasture, no oxen, 2 cows, 2 4-year calves, 1 3-year calf, 2 2-year calves, 1 horse, 1 2-year colt. This kind of decline was probably typical of the mountain farms in New England, often referred to as "hardscrabble farms". Note that the orchard is still not listed, but must have existed by this time. For 20 years the homestead had been accessed via the spur road off the "Old Mountain Road" laid out in 1778 or 1779. That

spur was discontinued when a new road (now Poole Memorial Road) was completed directly up from Daniel Cutter's place (marked on maps) in 1802 or 1803. According to town records, a John and Thaddeus were taxed there in 1805, although not part of the Mead family. Again in 1810, a Lemuel was taxed there, thought to be a son of the Captain Lemuel Sargent of L7R3 discussed above. It was a common practice at that time for farmers to take in boarders to supplement income. Considering the rather small size of the Mead farmhouse (based on the size of the cellar hole) and the comparatively large size of the family, it seems unlikely that boarders would have been taken in at the farmhouse. Perhaps the boarders were put up in the old Adams cabin (#13 on maps) close to the north. Reportedly sometime before or by 1819 Joseph Jr. returned to Newton, Massachusetts, in order to care for his father-in-law, Phineas Jennison. Although not stated in the accounts, it is probable that his wife, Susan, accompanied him there while his mother, Lucy, remained on the farm. While Joseph Jr. was in Newton, Lucy died in 1820, probably back on the farm. Three years later Joseph Jr. also died on 3-10-1823 at 57 years of age, probably in Newton. Curiously, he died about 2 years before his father-in-law. Then Phineas also died on 2-11-1825 at 82 years of age. The Meads Farm (in whole or in part) was sold at public auction on 4-26-1826, but the accounts do not identify the purchaser. This would seem to indicate that Susan never returned to the Jaffrey farm following the deaths of her father and husband. This might also mean that the homestead was probably unoccupied for the 6 years between Lucy's death in 1820 and the 1826 auction. There is no indication in the accounts that the farm was ever occupied or farmed following the 1826 auction.

All that remains today of Meads Farm is the small stone cellar hole on a flat at the end of the old Poole Memorial Road up from the State Park at an elevation of 1464'. On page 59 there is a picture of this modest, rectangular cellar hole. Curiously, there are no remains of a fireplace, chimney or any type of "back house", "little house", or shed extensions to the cellar hole, possibly a "cape" style house. There are indications of a modest barn to the west. Although their size indicate structures larger than any of the other mountain farms on the upper slopes of the mountain, they do not attain to the size of the "hall and parlor" style farmhouses more typical of the better situated farms at the base of the mountain. The old road extending up from the State Park headquarters building which has been abandoned for many years is very obscure. However, the old bridge abutments at Meads Brook can still be seen just above the reservoir. Nothing now remains of the 1878/1879 spur road from the old "Mountain Road" but for an opening the east-west stone wall north of the Parker Trail. The farm eventually became part of Monadnock State Reservation in 1904, where it continued to be an important trail junction and land-mark called "Meads Orchard". Apparently those landmark apple trees still remained in the early days of the trailblazers, but are nowhere to be found today.

## Cutter Clan

Some of the background of the Cutter clan in America will now be considered before discussion of the settlement of Moses and Abel Cutter, even though David Cutter has already been considered (see **#11 David Cutter 1st**). According to the town history, the

Cutter clan all descended from Elizabeth, the widow of a Samuel Cutter. She immigrated to America from Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, England, in 1640 with her two sons William and Richard, along with her daughter, Barbara, and son-in-law, Elijah Corlet. She was purported to be rather old at the time of the crossing and became known as a “memorable old schoolmaster in Cambridge”, Massachusetts. William, the older of the two brothers, returned to England while Richard Cutter (1st generation) remained there in Cambridge. Considered to be only 20 years of age when he immigrated with his mother, he was a cooper by trade and quickly rose to prominence in the Boston area. It is said of him, “In 1641 he was admitted a Freeman and became entitled to the suffrage, which indicates he was ‘orthodox’, a member of the church and worth 200£.” He went on to sire 14 children by two different wives. Four of his sons are considered to be the progenitors of all the Cutters in New England; William, Ephraim, Gershom, and Nathaniel. It is from Nathaniel (2nd generation) that the Cutters of Rindge and Jaffrey are descended.

The Cutters mentioned below illustrate their impact in the Jaffrey Center area, but is technically outside the scope of this report. Benjamin Cutter (5th generation), brother of the Joseph Sr. of Ark fame, built the Cutter Tavern on the Jaffrey Center common that enjoyed a thriving business for many years. Joseph Cutter Sr. (5th generation), brother of the Benjamin mentioned above, was the original settler of L10R4 who built the original homestead on the site of The Ark (marked on maps). Evidently he was quite an enterprising man because it was said of him “by his industry and shrewdness he acquired a competence and became the largest landed proprietor in town”. It seems that he was commonly named in many land transactions in the eastern end of the report area. Apparently, he was wealthy enough to deed a part of his farm to each one of the sons. His son, Daniel Cutter (6th generation), built a homestead in 1806 on the road (Poole Memorial Road) to Mead’s Farm just north of the family farm (marked on maps). His son, John Cutter (6th generation), built his homestead on the hill northeast of the family farm in 1803 (marked on maps). His son, Joel Cutter (6th generation, twin brother of the Abel discussed below), built a homestead on the Upper Jaffrey Road southeast of the family farm in 1816 (marked on maps). However, it was Joseph Jr. (6th generation) that succeeded to the family farm on L10R4. He had the reputation of having an enterprising spirit like his father, Joseph Sr. Joseph Jr. built the Ark in 1808 with the stated purpose “to live together in unity upon the place where their fathers had planted and God had given abundant increase”. The size of it seemed much larger than necessary for a farmhouse, so he was chided for building an “ark”, apparently comparing it to Noah’s Ark in the Bible. This had become quite an item of local folklore at the time when a familiar catechism of the day posed the question, “Who built the Ark?”, and the answer was, “Joe Cutter built the Ark”. Since we know that God Himself instructed Noah to build the Ark in the Bible, could it also be assumed that God inspired Joseph Jr. to build his “Ark”? Although somewhat uncanny to have built such a house before the era of large, summer hotels, whether it was the result of personal intuition or vision, or divine inspiration will be left to conjecture. One thing is for sure, Joseph’s Ark did become the pre-eminent center for summer visitors and hikers on the east side of the mountain just as the Halfway House became the center of activity on the west side.

## **#15 Moses Cutter**

Moses Cutter (6th generation) was born in Shrewsbury, Massachusetts, on 3-26-1760. He was the brother of Joseph Sr. (original settler of L10R4) who had bought L7R4 at a tax sale on 12-1778 from an heir of a Masonian Proprietor, Jotham Odiorne of Portsmouth. Moses was too young at 16 years of age to enlist at the start of the Revolution, but did so later in 1780, serving in Moses Nichol's Regiment for a short tour of duty. On 3-1781 he re-enlisted for the duration of the war serving as one of the body guards for General Washington, called the "Washington Life Guards". After the war he came to Jaffrey and married Rachel Turner around 1784 and bought the south half of L7R4 from his brother, Joseph Sr., to build his homestead there. That year he was also listed as a member of the Jaffrey Training Band and served as captain of the Calvary Company of Jaffrey and Rindge. Although no mention is made of any road to his homestead, he must have soon built the road (shown on map) up from Whites Pond in Ballou City (marked on map). In March of 1796 a road record indicates a new road to be built from his barn southeast to the bridge at Bailey's Mill (marked on maps) past Hadley's place (#28 on maps). If a "new" road was indicated, that infers that there was an existing one, i.e. the older one up from Whites Pond. This new road would have created a loop road from Ballou City with a spur up to his homestead similar to the roads shown on the map. The following year in March of 1797 the town decided to give the "old road" (west side of the loop, shown on map) to Noyes, presumably the Josiah Noyes that is supposed to have occupied the Oliver Bailey Jr. place for a time (#20 on maps). However, at the date of this road record, David Bailey Sr. would have resided there. Perhaps there is some research indicated here. Thus the newer road straight north from Bailey's Mill (east side of loop, shown on map) became the access to his homestead. In 1804 Moses Cutter sold the land back to his brother, Joseph Sr., for \$2,000. Although not stated in the accounts, apparently he remained in Jaffrey because he continued as an active member of the New Hampshire 12th Regiment and ascended through its ranks to become Captain in 1806. Just perhaps he lived with his brother, Joseph, at the Ark for that intervening 4 years. In 1808 he removed to Bradford, Vermont and died there on 4-10-1816.

All that remains today are the two small depressions next to an old wood road on the crest of a small ridge at an elevation of 1329'. The location seems a bit odd in the sense of being on a ridge above the nearest flat, arable land below in the area of his brother, Abel's, cellar hole (#16 on maps). The larger of the two is the northwesterly one, which shows no sign of stone, thus indicating a small log cabin or shanty type structure. The smaller depression just southeast also shows no stone, but may indicate a small shed or outbuilding. Also, there is a small sand pit to the right on the wood road leading up the ridge to the cellar hole. Fourteen years after Cutter left for Vermont the town voted to discontinue that road in 1820. The route later became a hiking trail up to the Parker Trail from Ballou City called Whites Path. These wood roads can still be followed, but become increasingly obscure above the junction of the spur up to Moses' cellar hole (#15 on maps). There is a faint herd path that appears to be approximately on the alignment of the old Whites Path that leads to a "man-sized" opening in the east-west stone wall south of the Parker Trail, which is the State Park boundary line.

## **#16 Abel Cutter**

Abel Cutter (6th generation), twin brother of Joel (see Cutter Clan), was born on the family homestead of Joseph Sr. on 4-18-1793 (The Ark, marked on maps). He married Mary Spaulding, daughter of Reuben and Polly, on 10-10-1815 at the age of 22 years. His father, Joseph Sr., deeded him the south half of L7R4 for \$1,000 in 1815. At that time, Joseph Mead Jr. would have had possession of the north half according to the accounts. Abel settled there and built a homestead on the loop road south of his brother, Moses' place (#15 on maps). He continued there 8 years until removing to the house built for him by his father in Ballou City on L8R6 (#27 on maps) in 1823. For continuation of the story, see **#27 David Cutter 2nd**. Of their 10 children, 4 were born there on the mountain farm.

All that remains today of his homestead is the cellar hole on the flat at the north end of the loop wood road from Ballou City at an elevation of 1263' west of the fork that leads up to Moses' place (#15 on maps). Its modest size indicates a rather small structure with no sign of an "ell" or any such additions to the house usually not built over a cellar hole, possibly indicating a "cape" style house. There are a couple small depressions close by to the southeast that may be indications of a small barn and outbuilding. This location is in a relatively flat area of farmable land, probably the same land that Moses would have had to use given that his place was up on a ridge.

## **#17 Joseph Brooks**

Joseph Brooks (5th generation) was born on 7-20-1750 in Acton, Massachusetts, to David and Elizabeth. It is thought that he came to Jaffrey before 1772 where he married Abigail at a date not specified. Abigail is believed to be related to the local Cutter clan. He bought L9R4 from Robert Wier of New Ipswich for £53, 8s, 8d on 5-11-1774 and settled there. Another account cites Brooks coming to Jaffrey around 1774, the same year the lot was purchased. However, considering the birth of their first child was recorded in Jaffrey on 1-27-1772, the previous account is probably correct. He enlisted in the Revolution in 1776 for a short tour of duty. Sometime around 1776 the town laid out a road from Dr. Howe's place (Shattuck Inn, marked on maps) past Lieutenant Samuel Buss's place (marked on maps) to join the eastern end of what is now known as the "old Keene Road" (shown on map) and thence up to his homestead (#17 on maps). This road was quickly discontinued in 1779 when the new road from the Ark across the mountainside to Ebenezer Ingalls (#10 on maps) was laid out in November of 1778, and probably completed in 1779 (shown on map). Brooks became active in church and town affairs and was listed as pew owner at the Jaffrey meeting house in 1780 and owner of pew #5 in 1791. That same year he served as Constable and Tax Collector for the western part of Jaffrey, Tythingman in 1801 and also as Highway Surveyor for several years. Abigail died on 4-1805, so presumably Joseph continued a widower on the homestead. Two years later on 3-12-1807 he sold 18 acres on the western edge of L9R4 to his son, Jonas, where his 2nd homestead was built (east #18 on maps). It almost sounds plausible that this was both for the company of family and for Jonas's help on the farm. Perhaps

at 57 years of age, the farm had become too much for him, or he started to become infirm. In 1816 both Joseph and his son, Jonas, removed to Dublin where Joseph died that December. This suggests some illness was the possible reason for the move which consequently resulted in his death. It is thought that no one occupied his homestead following his death, the house being left to ruin. Joseph Cutter Jr. of the Ark (marked on maps) then bought L9R4 minus Jonas's 18 acres for pasturage.

All that remains today is the cellar hole (the east one of two on the north side of the Old Keene Road) at the crest of the first hill west of the Ark at an elevation of 1243'. The indications here are a modest "hall and parlor" style farmhouse. The barn ruins are in the east side of a gully on the south side of the Old Keene Road between Joseph's cellar hole and that of Jonas to the west where the sign is at the ski trail junction. It probably became part of the Monadnock State Reservation in 1929.

## **#18 Jonas Brooks**

Amos Noyes of Acton, Massachusetts, may have been the first owner of L8R4, but no further details are proffered in the accounts. There is no indication that he ever settled on the lot or built a homestead there. He sold at least the north half of L8R4 to Jonas Brooks in 1796.

Jonas Brooks (6th generation) was born on 1-27-1772 to Joseph and Abigail right there at the homestead on L9R4 in Jaffrey (#17 on maps). On 2-18-1796 he bought the north half of L8R4 just west of the family farm for the sum of \$416 from Amos Noyes and settled there. In 1799 he married Mary Tilton of Sudbury, Massachusetts, and presumably continued on the L8R4 homestead another 8 years (west #18 on maps). On 3-12-1807 he bought 18 acres on the west edge of L9R4 to the east and removed there to a new homestead (east #18 on maps) closer to his father, Joseph (#17 on maps). There were 7 children born to Jonas and Mary all told, 6 of them supposedly on the "farm", but no direct reference as to which farm, the old one or the new one. Later in 1816 he removed to Dublin with his father where Joseph died in December of that year. Jonas may never have returned to his second homestead on L9R4, but rather sold it to Jacob Hammond Sr. for \$700 in 1818.

According to the town history the immigrant, William Hammond, was born in Lavenham, County Suffolk, England, before 1575 and came to America in 1632 where he settled in Boston. Jacob was considered of good stock, the grandson of the noted Deacon Thomas Hammond of Watertown, Massachusetts. Later at his father's death he inherited \$5,000, a rather sizable sum at that time. Perhaps this was the source of the money Jacob used to purchase Jonas's place in Jaffrey.

Jacob Hammond Sr. (7th generation) was born in Waltham, Massachusetts, in 1775 to Ephraim and Ruth. He married Mary Tilton on 12-1-1798 at 23 years of age. He removed to Jaffrey in 1818 and bought Jonas's place on the west edge of L9R4 (east #18 on maps). Hammond lived on the homestead for 13 years until 8-4-1831, when it was

sold to the Daniel Cutter of L10R3 (marked on maps) for \$300. This deed refers to an orchard on the north side of the “old Keene Road” opposite the wood road that is now the old Swastika Trail. This was the location of Jonas’s first homestead on the north half of L8R4 (west #18 on maps), indicating that Jonas may never have sold that land when he removed to the 2nd homestead, and so it was apparently included in this deed. Then Hammond removed to L6R6 on the turnpike to the Lieutenant Luke Swett place (see **#30 Luke Swett**).

Now that the entire L9R4 lot and the north half of L8R3 was in possession of the Cutters it was probably used as pasture while both homesteads, Joseph’s and Jonas’s second, allowed to deteriorate. It would appear that Jonas’s first homestead on L8R4 had long since deteriorated, collapsed, or was torn down before this. As the pasture was abandoned, it grew up into a young stand of white pine that became known as Spooky Woods. It probably became part of Monadnock State Reservation in 1904. Then summer visitors of the Ark started to blaze trails throughout the area of the old Brooks and Mead farms. The 1916 Harling trail map shows an unknown locality very close north of Jonas’s second homestead (east #18 on maps) called Kingman Park, but no one consulted seems to know just what that was. Today all that remains is a rather large cellar hole on the north side of the Old Keene Road at the ski trail junction at an elevation of 1247’. There is a brown State Park sign in the cellar hole to mark it. Its size indicates a substantial 2 or 4 room, center chimney “hall and parlor” type of house, which makes it larger than his father, Joseph’s, house (#17 on maps). This land may have become part of the state park in 1929. All that remains of Jonas’s 1st homestead on the north end of L8R4 (west #18 on maps) is a very shallow depression with some brick debris north of the Old Keene Road approximately opposite the old Swastika Trail junction. This would seem to indicate merely a small cabin or shanty of some sort, abandoned or torn down after the move to L9R4. There is no sign of the orchard mentioned in the 1831 deed today.

## Wesselhoeft Pond

This small pond (marked on maps) with an open view of Mt. Monadnock from the ledges on its east shore was originally created by Edward Bailey in 1816 when he dammed this little swamp in order to provide water for his mill below in Ballou City. At that time it was known as Bailey’s Reservoir. The problem at the outset was that its outlet brook did not flow into White’s Mill Pond and so was of no benefit to his mill. He then dug a long ditch from the dam over to Mead’s Brook to deliver the water to the mill pond (marked on maps). This ditch can still be observed leaving the base of the dam, crossing the wood road (formerly the Waterline Trail), angling across the gentle hillside, and down the steep embankment into Meads Brook. Another ditch was dug to bring water from Cutter Brook into Bailey’s Reservoir to further increase the available flow. The remains of this ditch were not located.

The name was later changed to Wesselhoeft Pond in honor of Dr. William F. Wesselhoeft of Boston, a summer resident of the Ark who became an explorer and trail

builder on Mt. Monadnock. He was born in 1862 the son of William P. Wesselhoeft, a prominent Boston surgeon and homeopathic doctor. From 1874 to 1879 he rented an unused part of the Ark from Joel H. Poole, becoming one of the first summer residents in Jaffrey. In 1885 he built a cottage on the Ark property in which to spend summers. Wesselhoeft Cottage is still standing on the southwest side of the Ark property near the Old Keene Road. In 1905 Wesselhoeft bought his own summer residence on Thorndike Pond.

## Ebenezer Stratton

Ebenezer Stratton (6th generation) was born in Rutland, Massachusetts, on 11-2-1751. On 1-11-1776 he married Tabitha Davis, removed to Jaffrey in 1777 where he bought what is now called the "Garfield Farm" in Squantum village from his brother-in-law, Daniel Davis. However, the following year on 2-27-1778 he sold the east half of the lot and about another year later the west half on 5-20-1779. Almost immediately, just 6 days later he bought 100 acres from Robert Wier, the north half of both L8R5 and L9R5 north of Ballou City and south of Wesselhoeft Pond. (Note: whether this was the same Robert Wier of New Ipswich from which Joseph Brooks bought his land or the one from Jaffrey Center (marked on map) is not expressly indicated in the accounts. No information was found in either the New Ipswich or Jaffrey town history concerning any Robert Wier. Likewise the accounts do not indicate when he arrived in Jaffrey or from where. According to Chamberlain, "Wier was a large landowner in that neighborhood, his holdings amounting to 600 acres or more." His house in Jaffrey Center was cited in a road record of 4-23-1774, and he served as Town Clerk and Selectman in 1776 before removing to Walpole on 6-26-1778. According to the Jaffrey town history Stratton is said to have settled somewhere there on L8R5 or L9R5. He was elected Selectman in 1782. Then in 1784 he is supposed to have removed to Rindge near Bullet Pond on Hale Hill below Cathedral of the Pines. There he served as a Rindge Selectman from 1788 to 1794. He was known as a prominent Baptist and held preaching services in his house, probably referring to the Rindge homestead. {Historical note: it was common practice for religious sects, such as the Freewill Baptists, not financially supported through taxation like the Puritan Congregational establishment, to hold meetings in private houses. It was not until after the Toleration Act of 1819 that such "radical" groups were able to build their own places of worship. See extensive background under Radical Sects of Revolutionary New England in the APPENDIX.

Although the town history does state that he settled on the lot, no cellar hole has ever been found. Chamberlain does not mention a cellar hole in that area or show it on his map. No other reference to it was found. So it might be possible that he never actually occupied the lot. Just maybe the land was purchased to pasture livestock from his farm in Squantum. If there is indeed a cellar hole there, it needs to be located.



## Ballou City

This small, formerly vibrant mill village was originally called Bailey's Mills because of Abraham Bailey and kin who first settled there and built the mill (marked on maps). It was also known as Spring Village or Mineral Spring Village because of the mineral spring located there (marked on map). It was finally changed to Ballou City after a legendary incident involving a character from Richmond by the name of James Ballou. Alan Rumrill describes Ballou as a "predictor of future events, locator of lost articles, and fortune teller for a 50 mile radius around Richmond". These powers were reportedly verified by his grandson, President James A. Garfield, when compiling family genealogy. Ballou's most startling prediction was that of his own death on 4-30-1808, not long after the events in Bailey's Mills. He is known to have worn a wizard's robe in order to enhance this mystique, which is what may have led to his being described by folks as a conjuror. However, it appears that the description of his abilities fits with that of a clairvoyant rather than that of a wizard or warlock. Of course, his widely recognized reputation for locating lost items explains why he was summoned to locate the lost cheese in the legend below.

The legend as passed down from Edward H. Bailey through Oliver Bailey Sr., and recounted by Alan Chamberlain goes something like this. On a winter night two Vermont farmers bound for Boston with sled loads of produce pulled up at Joslin's Tavern for the night. In the morning when one of the drivers checked his load, a cheese round was missing. A thorough search of the premises failed to locate the missing cheese, so the farmer complained to Joslin about the pilferage. Joslin, concerned about the reputation of his tavern and the entire village, sent someone to investigate the matter. When his efforts failed, someone suggested consulting a man from Richmond by the name of James Ballou Jr. who had the reputation of being a conjuror. And so a party was dispatched from the village to ride the 20 miles to Richmond and summon him. As evening approached and the dispatch had not yet returned, some other freighters pulled up at the tavern for the night. The women folk informed them of the previous night's events, and the confidence placed in Ballou's powers. Their incredulousness about the course of events led to derision and one of them called the place "Ballou's City" out of ridicule. Eventually the messengers returned with a response from Ballou, but evidently not Ballou himself. His description of the perpetrator seemed to point to a "half-wit" boy of a neighbor to John Coughran, who was then living at the old Abraham Bailey place (#19 on maps) and current owner of the mill. Well, considering the well known reputation of the Hadley boys, who else could it have meant? Abraham Hadley was a neighbor of Coughran whose 8 sons were considered to be the neighborhood terrors (see below and **#28 Abraham Hadley**). Ballou also declared that not more than a portion of the cheese would ever be found. These precognitions seemed to be verified when Coughran's dog dragged a cheese rind home unlike those locally used. In my mind it was probably one of the Hadley boys, what do you think? The exact date of the change from Bailey's Mills to Ballou City is not precisely known, but would appear to be prior to 1804 because of the reference to the dog of John Coughran in the story, who had left the village in 1804.

However, there are those who disagree with this legend of the naming of Ballou City. Supposedly there were some elderly Jaffrey residents that recalled Spring Village as “Blue City” as far back as the 1850’s but not knowing the reason why. The topographic map of 1898 showed the name as Ballou City. There is probably not any real contradiction here, as the name of Ballou was commonly corrupted to “B’loo”, thus pronounced the same as “blue”. Further, this latter scenario does not discount the veracity of the legend, but indeed could result from it based on the dates given. It may have taken a few years for the new name to gain acceptance.

Abraham Bailey and kin could be considered the primary founders of the village which eventually sprang up around his 1775 mill at the cascade on Mead Brook. The completion of the turnpike in 1800 brought with it a corresponding increase in the development and prosperity of the village. Early descriptions of the village refer to a mill (Abraham Bailey Mill 1774, marked on maps), two taverns (probably Joslin’s (south #24 on maps) and the Mineral Spring Hotel (#25 on maps)), a smithy (John Stone’s, #26 on maps) and several farmsteads. Sounds like the ideal, quiet New England mill village - except for when the mill was operating. If one has ever been in small water powered mill when running, you realize that the entire building shakes and rumbles because of the numerous pulleys and belts attached to the support beams. It is a rhythmic, rotational rumble coupled with the repetitious splashes of the water wheel. Evidently, the mill wasn’t the only thing to disturb the peace of the village. According to tradition, the activities of the Hadley boys “served effectively to dispel the serenity usually associated with a remote rural neighborhood” (see **#28 Abraham Hadley**). The lost details of exactly what these activities were would be interesting to know! However, this led to a bit of local lore passed down through Alan Chamberlain:

“John Coughran he did build a mill  
And half the time it stood stock still,  
And when it went it made a noise,  
That drowned out the Hadley boys.”

Everyone in the village would have known when the mill had water and was running. As with most such small villages, the closure of the mills, taverns, and westward immigration of the farmers resulted in a slow decline. Then the wealthy summer residents came in and preserved several of the old farmsteads. The old cellar holes, mill ruins, and tavern sites are all that remain as reminders of its former heyday. And of course, those few old homesteads that are still standing which have become residences or summer residences.

The report will sometimes focus more on the settlers of the village rather than the lots themselves because there is such a patchwork of small pieces of lots involved so as to render that prospect unworkable. The discussion will start with Abraham Bailey as the first settler, then a discussion of the mills, followed by several generations of Baileys because they comprise the early and primary settlers of the village whose history is intertwined with that of the mills and village. And as a whole, they were known to be “active and public spirited people” participating in public affairs and serving in various town

offices. The remainder of the Ballou City discussion will be ordered as follows: the taverns as one unit; the smithy; followed by a couple of other village residents.

## **#19 Abraham Bailey**

According to the town history, all the Baileys of New England are thought to be descendants of one of 3 emigrants to Massachusetts: James of Rowley; John of Salisbury; and Thomas of Weymouth. These are all separate families and not known to be related to one another. The Baileys in this report are descended from John of Salisbury. John Bailey is the immigrant who set sail for America from Chippenham, England, in 1635. Perhaps he set sail in June based on a 2 month ocean passage. However, his landing here was rather rough, as he became shipwrecked off Pemaquid, Maine, in the great storm of 8-15-1635. It is thought that his son, John, and daughter, Johanna, either made the passage with him or arrived shortly thereafter, while his wife and young children remained in England. There is no mention of when his wife and other children actually did join him in America. He settled in the vicinity of the Parker River in Newbury, Massachusetts, where he took up the weaver's trade. In 1639 he settled in a new land grant named Colchester which would later become Salisbury, Massachusetts. It is said that his cellar hole is still there on the east side of Bailey's Hill near the Merrimack River.

The lot that Abraham Bailey later bought had a bit of local history even before he settled on it. On 7-21-1768 Robert Glover of Nottingham in the "Province of New Hampshire" bought L7R5 from the Masonian Proprietors for £15. Later in 1768 a report to the Proprietors stated that Glover had spent a few days clearing trees on the lot and then disappeared, never to return. Perhaps he then either forfeited the purchase price or was reimbursed by the Proprietors. This little episode gave rise to the saying that "this lot was the first on the Jaffrey mountainside to hear the settler's axe". However, it would wait approximately another 5 years before Abe's axe would be heard on the same lot.

Abraham Bailey (6th generation) was born on 1-25-1747 in Tewksbury, Massachusetts, to David Sr. and Elizabeth (Dole). He was known for the inheritance of such family traits as musical talent and mechanical aptitude, which expressed itself in such trades as blacksmithing, carpentry, and millwright. And typical of many mechanical types he had a much better aptitude for building and tinkering than administration or book work. Thus he had the tendency to move on once a mill was up and running. He married the first wife, Ruth Kendall, daughter of Ezra and Ruth, on 5-29-1770. It is not known precisely when Abraham came to Jaffrey with his brother, David Jr. One account cites some time before 1773 while another cites several years prior to 1781. However, because Bailey was chosen Auditor of town accounts in 1774 and was found to be living on the east half of L7R5 in 1775, it seems that it would have to have been some time closer to the earlier date of 1773. Another important factor is the fact that he also built a mill at the cascade on Mead Brook behind the homestead (marked on maps). This "up and down" saw and grist mill was operational in time to cut lumber to start construction of the meeting house in Jaffrey Center in 1774 and 1775. This would not have been possible at the later date. Further, his father, David Sr., was supposed to have come to

Jaffrey sometime after 1768 and before the Revolution to settle the west half of L7R5 when Abraham was already settled on the east half. Again, the earlier date seems to fit this time frame as well. However, there is a complicating factor that creates a narrow window for the timing of these events in 1773. It appears that Abraham was chosen to “set the psalm” in February of 1773 at his church back in Tewksbury. Therefore his 1773 arrival would appear to have been sometime in late spring or summer. {Historical note: at that time there was no instruments employed in church worship nor hymnals, so a selected parishioner would “set the psalm” or “line the psalm” by reciting the next verse ahead of the worshippers so everyone would know what the words were.}

Abraham Bailey, according to some accounts, built his homestead on the site of Caldwell’s Mountain Shade House, which is located on the west half of L7R5 on the turnpike (#20/22 on maps). This is probably an error, since both his father and brother, David Sr. and David Jr., supposedly had settled on the western half. All other accounts locate Abraham’s homestead where the Badger house is now located to the east on the turnpike (#19 on maps). The accounts are confusing given the lack of distinction in references to David Sr. and David Jr., and Oliver Sr. and Oliver Jr., etc. See discussion under **#20 David Bailey Sr.** In any event, the data seems to indicate that before the Revolution the Bailey clan was together in Jaffrey on L7R5: David Sr. with sons David Jr.; Abraham (and wife); and Oliver Sr. with daughter Hannah. In 1777 Abraham enlisted in the Revolution, served at the Battle of Bennington that summer, and became a Sergeant in Moses Nichol’s Regiment. Abraham returned to civic and church life back in Jaffrey in 1778, serving as Selectman that year, owner of pew #9 at the Jaffrey meeting house, and also member of a committee to “tune the psalm”. On the same committee were David Stanley and Jonathan Priest (homestead on west slopes of Mt. Monadnock in Great Pasture). Apparently Abraham’s aforementioned musical ability was used for the glory of the Lord in the church. {Historical note: for the same reasons stated in the historical note above, a parishioner had to be selected to start the congregational singing of the psalm by singing the first verse in the correct pitch and/or setting the correct pitch for the congregation.}

Abraham’s propensity to move on eventually took hold and he sold a half interest in his mill to David Beard of Wilmington, Massachusetts, and removed to Reading, Vermont, in 1779. Perhaps the daily routine of running the mill had become tedious such that his restless spirit yearned for a new challenge. Or perhaps his proven smithing and carpentry skills were in demand and he was hired as millwright to design and build mills in Vermont. In 1780 he built the first mills in Reading in conjunction with his brother-in-law, George Betterly, which also came to be known as Bailey’s Mills. Just a year later in 1781 he apparently returned to the Jaffrey homestead. At that time he sold the other half interest in the mill to John Barnes of Hingham, Massachusetts, meaning that he no longer had any interest in the mill in Ballou City. This deed included the mill, homestead, and some other buildings. And then there is the rather curious statement in the account that he also sold his pew #9 at the Jaffrey meeting house to John Barnes before removing back to Tewksbury, Massachusetts. However, this seemingly innocuous statement may shed light on his intent. Perhaps the fact that he had not sold the pew while in Vermont may indicate his intent to return, while the fact that the pew was sold before

the move to Tewksbury may indicate his intent not to return. And indeed, as it turns out he never did return to Jaffrey. Another puzzling circumstance is the mention in one account that the births of his children were recorded in Tewksbury until 1781, the same year that he removed back there. Since there is no mention of his wife or children in Jaffrey or Vermont, does that possibly mean that his family had remained in Tewksbury all that time until Abraham returned in 1781? He then spent the next 9 years in Tewksbury with no mention of his whereabouts or activities before removing to Keene in 1790. Evidently, at least his wife, Ruth, accompanied him to Keene, and she died there the following year on 10-5-1791. Now a widower, Abraham apparently "hit the road" again where he was found living in Pepperell, Massachusetts, in 1793. Perhaps he found his second wife there when he married Sarah Lawrence on December 30th of 1793. In 1797 he bought land and a mill interest in Chesterfield, New Hampshire, and removed there. Then on 10-22-1799 he sold the Chesterfield land and mill interest to his brother, Oliver Sr., and soon afterwards removed to Brookline, New Hampshire, in order to be near one of his children. Perhaps it was here that wife Sarah died on 10-19-1803. On a date not specified, he remarried for the 3rd time, Olive Lawrence, of Pepperell, Massachusetts. Although the account does not indicate if Sarah and Olive were sisters or otherwise related in any way, the possibility nonetheless remains. Olive died on 3-19-1838 at 66 years of age, presumably there in Brookline. Then Abraham followed her just two months later on 5-12-1838 at 91 years of age.

John Barnes (5th generation) was born in Hingham, Massachusetts, on 10-2-1749, the descendent of the immigrant Thomas Barnes, a grant holder there in 1637. He married the first wife, Martha Curtis, on 2-16-1772. Nine years later in 1781 he removed to Jaffrey where he bought the "dwelling house, a grist mill and saw mill and other buildings" from Abraham Bailey. Thus Barnes settled in Bailey's homestead (#19 on maps). Then his 1st wife, Martha, died on 12-30-1780, probably in Jaffrey, about 5 months after the birth of their fourth child. This might again indicate she died of some sort of complication resulting from the birth. Then it appears he may have returned to home environs to select his second wife, Mary Nichols of Scituate, whom he wed on 11-14-1782. Then 7 years later he sold 100 acres of land and his pew at the Jaffrey meeting house to Benjamin Dole in 1789. However, there is no mention in the account concerning exactly what lot was sold to Dole. However, the deed does cite a mill and house, which would seem to refer to Abraham's place and the mill lot (L7R5). However, there seems to be no evidence to suggest that Dole ever occupied the old Bailey place or operated the mill. Barnes most likely returned to Massachusetts where he died on 2-9-1817, possibly in Hingham where Mary died 4 years later on 4-10-1821.

John W. Coughran presumably bought the old Bailey place and mill from John Barnes in 1789 (1790 by another account). No details seem to be available in the accounts, but he probably continued at the Bailey place and operated the mill for the next 15 years. Coughran was one of 19 men conscripted by the town in 1794 in response to the call of Congress for soldiers readied for a possible war with Great Britain. However, a treaty was signed the following year in 1795, cancelling the need. {Historical note: undoubtedly the historical background to the situation referred to here is based on the mounting tension and disagreement between America and Britain over Britain's failure

to honor all of the stipulations of the Treaty of Paris that ended the Revolution in 1783. The 3 primary areas of disagreement were: Britain continued to man forts in the north that they had agreed to give up; British exports flooded American markets; and American exports to Britain were blocked by British trade restrictions and tariffs. Further, the British navy harassed American sailors and seized naval and military supplies bound for enemy ports, and Indian raids still occurred in the northern colonial settlements. War with Britain again seemed imminent as tensions mounted in 1793 and 1794. Fortunately for early America, there was someone strong enough to negotiate a settlement in America's best interests. The John Jay Treaty of 11-19-1794 brought an end to the tension when Britain conceded to all of America's primary concerns.} A "chain survey" of the turnpike in 1804 records Coughran residing at Bailey's place, the same year that he sold it to Deacon David Gilmore. And remember, his dog is mentioned in the legend of the naming of Ballou City in 1804.

Deacon David Gilmore (4th generation) was born on 11-20-1772 to Roger Gilmore (the noted early settler foundational to the organization of Jaffrey) and Ann at the family homestead just east of Jaffrey Center. He married Lucy, daughter of George Wellington, on 11-12-1800 and settled somewhere on Jaffrey Center Road. He was an active member and deacon of the Jaffrey meeting house for many years. His involvement in and love for the church was so deep that he later bequeathed a portion of his estate proceeds to the New Hampshire Bible Society and to the Jaffrey church for support of the Sabbath School. In 1804 he bought the Bailey Mill and presumably the old Bailey place along with it. The deed stipulated certain enhancements to the water rights for the mill which he supposedly effected, and continued to operate the mill for about 12 years. However, considering he settled in a house on the Jaffrey Center Road in 1800, it would seem unlikely that he ever occupied Abraham's homestead (#19 on maps). So the disposition of the homestead for 12 years is not at all clear from the accounts. Perhaps Jonathan Fox (see below) rented there for part or all of that time. In 1816 Gilmore sold the mill to Edward Bailey, the son of Abraham's brother, Oliver Sr. Then at some point he retired to his estate in Cambridgeport, Massachusetts, and died there on 4-22-1838.

Jonathan Fox (6th generation) is cited by one account as residing at the old Bailey place around the time of the Edward Bailey/Gilmore ownership. One account puts the time around 1820. The only one of that name in the town history is cited as residing in the area of the Phillips Cemetery and later Priest's Corner, but no ties to the Bailey place are indicated. Could it possibly be that he was renting the Bailey homestead from either Gilmore and/or Edward before settling his own lot? If both accounts refer to the same person, there is certainly room for some digging here. Further, there is no indication in the accounts just how long he occupied the homestead, therefore it would not be known if it remained unoccupied for a time before Cutter arrived.

Captain John Abbott Cutter (7th generation) was born on 1-7-1810 to John (brother of Joseph Jr. of Ark fame) and Mary. On 1-27-1832 he married Nancy H. Wheelock, daughter of Emery and Sarah. According to one account, Cutter was the occupant of the old Bailey place (#19 on maps) sometime around 1840. In corroboration of that fact, both the 1850 Gibbs map of Jaffrey and the *Atlas of Cheshire County, New Hampshire*

of 1858 show J. A. Cutter the resident. Since all of their 4 children were born before 1840, it is not clear if the births were at the homestead or somewhere else. They were the only ones in this report to have twins (boys). Abbott was considered a public spirited citizen and participated in town affairs, serving in various town offices and as Selectman for 3 years. He was also active in the militia as Captain of the First Rifle Company of Jaffrey. Interestingly, according to the town history he was supposed to have resembled Benjamin Franklin in appearance, and not only that, in shrewdness and common sense as well! At a time not specified, he bought the Ainsworth Manse and removed to Jaffrey Center where it is said that he gained the reputation as a good farmer. However, it is not clear from the accounts if he bought the Manse right after the death of Ainsworth in 1858. In 1875 Cutter sold the Manse and removed to another house in Jaffrey Center village. Nancy died on 10-16-1885 in Jaffrey at 74 years of age, while John died about a year later on 8-29-1886 in Marlborough, probably at the homestead of his daughter, Mary Elizabeth, who had married Alphonzo Adams of that town.

The *Atlas of Cheshire County, New Hampshire* of 1877 shows a Bailey residing at the old Bailey homestead (#19 on maps). Considering that Edward Bailey (7th generation), son of Oliver Sr. and brother of Oliver Jr., died in 1871, the map probably refers to his son Edward H. Bailey (8th generation). It was Edward H. who is described as continuing on the homestead of his birth, referring the house that his father built in 1816 on the northeast side of the intersection of the turnpike and the mill road (#23 on maps). He continued there until 1865 and it seems very likely that also owned Abraham's homestead just to the west as well. However, the *Atlas of Cheshire County, New Hampshire* of 1858 shows an R. Badger residing here. No information was found concerning him, but it appears to be a different person than the John Badger discussed on the following page. See note there under John W. Badger.

According to the town history, the Bunce clan originated from the immigrant, William Bunce, born in Isleworth, County Middlesex, England, on 1-5-1799 to John and Sarah Ann. On 2-7-1821 he married Jane Keatch of Bromley, County Essex, England, in that town. There were 11 children born to them in England, but one died in infancy. So there were 10 children in tow when he immigrated to America, including Arthur below. He landed in Boston in 1840 where the first and only child born in America was born on 3-9-1840. This would seem to indicate that Jane was pregnant during a winter ocean crossing, which would probably have been a colder, stormier, more turbulent and difficult crossing. In any event, baby Elisa died about 7 months later in September of 1840. One wonders if the hardships of the voyage played a part in the seemingly untimely death of the infant or perhaps just exposure to diseases unfamiliar to the immigrants. A restless spirit, William resided in several towns in Massachusetts, Hopkinton probably being the last, where he died on 11-17-1895. Jane had preceded him by 28 years when she died on 10-11-1867 at a location not specified.

Arthur Bunce (2nd generation) was born on 5-4-1837 at Wandsworth, England, to William and Jane. He was brought to America by his parents at about 3 years old. Later, about 3 years before the death of his mother, he married the first wife, Margaret Ann Sutherland, on 2-8-1864. About 4 years later and about a year after his mother's death,

Margaret also died on 8-8-1868. He then married on 11-17-1869 the second wife, Minerva Maria Holbrook, of Natick, Massachusetts, daughter of Ellis and Elisa. In 1880 he removed to Jaffrey and bought the old Abraham Bailey place (#19 on maps) from R. Badger, and farmed there for 20 years. The *Town and City Atlas of the State of New Hampshire* of 1892 shows an A. Bunce residing here as would be expected. He sold the farm in 1900 to Nicholas McCormack and removed to Jaffrey Center. He died on 4-6-1910 in Worcester, Massachusetts, but was buried in Jaffrey. It sounds as if there is something missing here, since no reasons are cited for his death occurring in Worcester. Perhaps he was visiting, had an accident, encountered some sort of mayhem there, or simply died in a hospital there from old age or illness. Or perhaps he died in one of the early "nursing homes" that came in around that time as the old almshouses were in decline. Worcester would have been large enough to support such a charitable institution, usually run by church denominations in those early days. Minerva died on 6-15-1914, presumably at the house in Jaffrey.

Nicholas McCormack (2nd generation) was born in Boston around 1873 to James and Fannie of Newfoundland. He came to Jaffrey in 1894 at about 21 years of age. His activities here are not articulated, but he married Mary M. McDonnell on 11-16-1898 in Worcester, Massachusetts. Then in 1901 (or 1900 as stated above) he bought the old Bailey place (#19 on maps) from Bunce. No further details are provided in the account, so it is not clear how long he remained there. At some point he was supposed to have removed to Worcester, at which time the house may have been sold to J. N. White.

Joseph Nelson White (8th generation), the prominent, wealthy industrialist from Winchendon, Massachusetts, bought the old Bailey place (#19 on maps) as a summer residence at date not specified. It would appear that it would have been in the early 1900's based on the account above. He had previously bought the Bascom Mills in East Jaffrey in 1877, and later the Cheshire Mills as well. As seems to be typical of the wealthy new summer residents, White is probably the one responsible for instigating the first major improvements to the property such as the newer north extension.

John W. Badger, the son-in-law of Joseph N. White, became owner of the Bailey place (#19 on maps) sometime before 1929. It sounds as though it might have been inherited rather than purchased. This scenario seems to be a direct contradiction to the *Atlas of Cheshire County, New Hampshire* of 1858 that shows R. Badger the resident here. However, in 1858 it was "R." and here it is "John" meaning the accounts refer to different persons. Perhaps this indicates some kind of family or associative relationship between White and the Badgers, and also could explain how ownership might have gone from Badger to others, then White and back to Badger. John Badger was supposed to have been a resident of Jaffrey with a winter home in Brookline, Massachusetts, but no further details concerning him were found. Evidently over time he had acquired other property in the Ballou City area as far east as L9R6 north of the highway.

The dark brown house and barn are readily visible on the north side of State Route 124 on the hill in Ballou City, which is barely discernible as a village today. The front side of the house facing the highway seems likely to be the original Abraham Bailey



farmhouse, or an updated version of it. It appears that the north “ell” of the house with the numerous windows may be the new addition implemented by Joseph White or John Badger. Chamberlain seems to corroborate this assessment. The barn downhill to the east may not be the original Bailey barn. Judging by the outward appearance, it really seems to be of a newer “carriage” style barn as opposed to an older “livestock” style barn used on a working farm. Therefore, this structure may only date back to White or Badger.

## Bailey Mills

As previously discussed Abraham Bailey bought the east half of L7R5 and settled there sometime around 1773. True to the hallmarks of his family, he applied his mechanical skills to building the “up and down” saw and grist mill on Mead Brook behind his homestead at the cascade (marked “upper” on maps). It was completed in time to cut lumber for construction of the Jaffrey meeting house in 1774 and 1775. Due to the lack of millwright (water rights), it could only be run in winter and early spring, or sporadically at other times if water flow was adequate. In 1779 Bailey sold a half interest in his mill to David Beard of Wilmington, Massachusetts, and went off to Vermont to build mills for a year. Presumably, as a partner of Beard he continued a part interest in Jaffrey mill. In 1781 he returned to Jaffrey, sold his other half interest in the mill to John Barnes of Hingham, Massachusetts, before removing to Tewksbury, Massachusetts. This left David Beard and John Barnes as partners at the mill in 1781. Soon after, Barnes bought the former Beard interest from Bezaleel Bennett of Shrewsbury, Massachusetts. If that is true, this would seem to indicate that Beard had sold his interest to Bennett sometime in that 2 year period. The result of this would be that John Barnes was the sole owner of the mill in 1781.

NOTE: there are numerous areas of disagreement in the historical accounts in regards to the progression of mill owners and dates. Attempting to merge all the discordant data was very difficult and problematical. What follows is the best that could be done given the information available. If reading this makes your head spin, you’re not alone.

Another account cites David Beard acquiring the entire mill privilege from Bailey in 1779, then selling what is thought to be part interest to John W. Coughran in 1780. So Beard and Coughran were partners as of 1780. Then in 1781 John Barnes bought out Beard’s interest resulting in Barnes and Coughran partners as of 1781. The town history cites that Barnes purchased the entire Bailey assets “with a dwelling house, a grist mill and saw mill and other buildings” in 1781 when Abraham moved to Tewksbury. The only commonality here is that John Barnes owns part or whole interest as of 1781 in all accounts. I have no suggestions on how to reconcile the differences outside of serious research. To continue on, in 1789 Barnes sold out his part (or whole) interest to the other partner, either Beard or Coughran (Take your pick, but one account cites Coughran. My sense is that Beard was not in the picture because Barnes had bought him out, and ownership passed from Barnes to Coughran). One account refers to John Barnes, owner of Bailey’s Mill, selling a lot to Benjamin Dole that same year in 1789. Indeed, Dole

also bought from Barnes the mill, dwelling house and other buildings together with pew #9 at the meeting house. Dole, not being a millwright, sold the entire property to John W. Coughran the following year in 1790. So Coughran was now in possession of everything with the exception of "the saw mill irons". {Historical note: some kind of hand tool related to lumbering, perhaps similar to a cant hook, cant dog or peavey.}

This left Coughran the sole owner of the mill for the next 14 years until 1804. It was supposedly Coughran who first added the machinery to the mill for wool carding. Yet in another part of the account it states that a Christopher Kneeland of Winchendon, Massachusetts, put an ad in the August New Hampshire Sentinel (now Keene Sentinel) an ad for wool carding in 1803. Further, it says that Kneeland learned the trade back in Holland and had set up shop on the Mead Brook in Jaffrey. This sounds like it was actually Kneeland that was the impetus for and/or installer of the wool carding machinery at the mill and that all of this was done prior to the 1804 sale to Gilmore. An 1804 road record cites Coughran residing there at Bailey's old place and in the same year he sold "one acre of land including mill and mill dam and water rights" to neighbor Deacon David Gilmore. However, Coughran retained ownership of the carding "manufactory house" and water privilege. This might indicate that the wool carding machinery was set up in an extension or "add on" to the mill that was run by Kneeland and owned by Coughran. This enterprise turned out to be so unprofitable that Kneeland had another ad out in the paper basically pleading for customers but with an expression of resolve as well. His plea and possibly prayers were answered when Gilmore bought the remaining part of the mill on 11-1-1804.

This second deed from Coughran to Gilmore on 11-1-1804 included a ½ acre of land, and the mill and mill dam on the premises. And so it appears that Gilmore now owned the whole carding "manufactory house" in addition to the saw mill. This deed included an increase in water rights through the right to raise the water level a maximum of two feet, but is not clear if that referred to the lower holding pond directly above the mill or to Whites Mill Pond above it. The deed also conveyed the right to dig sluices, presumably mill races, to carry off "the redundancy of water". Just what infrastructure was constructed in accommodation of this latter privilege is not clear from the ruins extant. With the improvements in place, Gilmore advertised the business again in 1805. A Joseph H. Kneeland also of Winchendon, Massachusetts, was brought into the business perhaps as a carding machine operator, but yet it continued to be unprofitable. Any relationship between Christopher and Joseph Kneeland is not defined in the account. So on 5-24-1806 the Kneelands and Gilmore dissolved the wool carding business. The outstanding accounts were to be settled in Jaffrey with Deacon Gilmore. This may indicate that while Gilmore owned the mill, it was the Kneelands who actually operated it all this time. In 1810 Gilmore sold 150 acres of land to Jonathan Fox but retained ownership of the mill and water privilege. In 1816 Gilmore sold the mill to Edward Bailey.

Edward Bailey (7th generation), son of Oliver Sr. and brother of Colonel Oliver Jr., bought the mill in July of 1816 bringing the mill back into Bailey family ownership. This deed only included the mill with water privileges and a ½ acre of land. It wasn't until 1820 that he acquired the land holdings of Jonathan Fox as well. Under his proprietor-

ship many significant improvements were effected at the mill and also to increase water supply. According to the accounts, he enlarged the old mill and installed machinery for the carding of wool (does this mean new wool carding machinery since Gilmore had already done so?) and the weaving of frocking. He secured the water rights to Cuming's Meadow, an old beaver pond used as a cranberry bog, and built a dam there to regulate the flow. The old dam, sluice and gate valve can be observed just south off the highway at the outlet of the pond. At this time he also dammed the small swamp that would later be named Wesselhoeft Pond and dug a ditch to bring the flow into the Mead's Brook drainage and therefore into the mill pond below. The remains of the ditch can still be observed. This is why the pond was originally called the Bailey Reservoir. Another ditch was dug across the Old Keene Road to bring water from Cutter Brook into Bailey Reservoir.

At 2 AM Sunday morning, 4-17-1825, the woolen mill of "Edward and Oliver Bailey" burned. According to the fire report none of the buildings or their contents could be saved, resulting in a \$4,000 loss. Arson was suspected due to the similar fire the following day at John Stone's smithy. Thus the era of Abraham's original 1774 mill ended. There seems to be no mention of Oliver (presumably his brother) anywhere in connection to the mill except for this reference. Perhaps he was only a partner or financial backer in the enterprise. That same year Edward Bailey built the woodworking mill downstream on L8R5 on the north side of the brook (marked "lower" on maps). It utilized the same dam coupled with new holding ponds and millraces emanating from the site of the old mill. Here he sawed lumber and manufactured chair stock, clothespins and ox carts for 32 years until operations ceased permanently in 1857. Soon afterwards, Frederick Bailey the college student (or just about to start) returned home to care for his parents, Edward and Sarah, presumably right there on the homestead (#23 on maps). Events here seem to imply that there must have been some type of sudden health issue for Edward to suddenly suspend operations at the woodenware mill.

Frederick's younger brother, Edward H. Bailey, was a millwright like his father and still living there on the homestead. Although just around 17 years of age at the time, he bought the property and rebuilt the old, upper mill (marked "upper" on maps) with a new, modern circular saw, built a new dam above the old one and repaired the old dam. The new dam probably is the upper one seen today at the outlet of Whites Mill Pond. It was common practice in those days to use a larger pond (or ponds) as a storage reservoir(s) to feed a smaller "holding" pond directly above the mill. The holding pond was employed as sort of "a day's water supply" or buffer for the mill, replenished at night from the larger reservoir above. One account credits Frederick as the instigator of the rebuilding of the upper mill, but that does not seem likely given that Frederick was a law student while Edward was the millwright. So it appears more probable that Edward H. rebuilt it with Frederick's help. And so it is equally inexplicable that Edward H. is not named in the operation of the lower woodworking mill.

So Edward H. is supposed to have cut lumber there until selling out to Levi Brigham and Clinton S. Parker in 1865. Brigham had occupied Milliken's Tavern from 1863 to 1873, but there seems to be no record of Parker in the accounts. It would seem likely



BAILEY MILL 1774



#30 LUKE SWETT

that Brigham's interest in the mill ended by 1873 when he left town, and one account states that they sold it to Lafayette Blood soon after 1865. Blood manufactured chair stock, clothespins and lumber at the rebuilt upper Bailey Mill using a steam engine for power. Then the upper mill burned on 8-14-1874. It was not rebuilt again according to the accounts. Since the lower mill had already ceased operation in 1857, this was the end of the Bailey Mills. However, the final demise of the lower woodworking mill is not defined in the accounts.

However, when Joseph N. White bought Abraham Bailey's homestead (#19 on maps) for a summer residence in the early 1900's, reference is made to "present power plant on the sawmill site". Just what is meant by the words "power plant" is not clear. Perhaps it was a water powered electric generator or water pump, or the former steam boiler was rescued and outfitted for some mechanical purpose. The "sawmill site" referred to probably was the same location as Abraham's original 1774 mill (marked "upper" on maps), considering that Blood's sawmill was also located there. The fact that the word "site" is used seems to indicate that the sawmill was no longer there by that time.

The ruins of Abraham's 1774 mill (marked "upper" on maps) are on the west side of the gated mill road north from the brown barn on the highway. The stone and concrete foundation can be seen north of the bridge and pretty little cascade at an elevation of 1107'. The picture on the preceding page shows the ruins from the top of the stone dam of the holding pond above. The use of concrete may be a result of the modifications of Frederick and Edward H. Bailey, or Lafayette Blood since its use began about mid century. The foundation is pretty deep (although filled with brush) which may indicate modifications to the wheel pit in the basement. The occluded millrace tunnel comes in from the dam, and the blocked tailrace appears to go under the road. There is indication of a ramp entrance to the upper part of the mill from the embankment on the north side. The original stone dam forms what appears to be a wall west of the mill. The swampy pond behind it is what remains of the holding pond. The current dam at Whites Pond above presumably would be the new dam that Edward H. Bailey built. There remains much holding pond and millrace stonework leading into the woodenware mill ruins (marked "lower" on maps) next to the brook below the cascade at an elevation of 1102'. Having been abandoned in 1857, it shows no concrete and only a stone foundation and wheel pit as would be expected. Thus the water seems to have powered both mills by flowing from Whites Pond into the upper holding pond, through the upper mill, underneath the road into the lower holding pond, and through the wheel pit of the lower mill back into the brook.

## **#20 David Bailey Sr.**

Due to the uncertainty in the accounts of exactly where David Bailey Sr. and Oliver Bailey Jr. built their homesteads on L7R5, #20 and #22 refer to the same location on the maps. In so doing, no express implication is being made that the original locations were in the exact same location on the lot historically. My guess is that David Bailey Jr. built his homestead in the area of #20 on the maps, David Bailey Sr. built his homestead

north of #21 on the maps, Oliver Bailey Sr. built his homestead at #21 on the maps, and Oliver Bailey Jr. built his homestead at #22 on the maps. This interpretation resulted in the numbers on the maps being assigned in the manner that they were. This is only an interpretation and subject to correction through much needed research.

David Bailey Sr. (5th generation) was born on 3-18-1717 in Newbury, Massachusetts, to David and Experience. There he married Elizabeth Dole (related to the Benjamin Dole of L5R5) on 12-27-1737, just 2 days after Christmas. Apparently he was very determined to have a son named Oliver and it took three tries to finally accomplish it. The first Oliver (1st in birth order) born to Elizabeth was killed in the French and Indian War between 1754 and 1761. The second Oliver (11th in birth order) born in 1761 died young for reasons not stated. Finally the third Oliver (13th in birth order) born on 2-8-1768 is the one that survived to become the Oliver Sr. discussed below. Elizabeth died in Andover, Massachusetts, at a time and for reasons not stated. So presumably that is where David was living at the time. Following her death he then came to Jaffrey sometime after 1768 and before the Revolution, possibly around 1775, with Oliver and an “unmarried daughter”. This Oliver is probably the third Oliver mentioned above and discussed below, even though only 5 years old at the time of the move to Jaffrey. The second Oliver born in 1761 would have been 14 years old at the time of the move, but was likely dead by then since he supposedly died young. The daughter mentioned above would likely have been David’s youngest child, Hannah, who would have been 10 years old because the next oldest daughter, Edna, would have been 17 years old at the time of the move. David Sr. settled on the west half of L7R5 at a time when his son, Abraham Bailey, was already settled on the east half. Further, David Jr. who had settled there concurrently with Abraham supposedly already had built his homestead there. It is not clear from the accounts just who was living where. Given the ambiguities highlighted in the discussion above, many unanswerable questions arise. Did both David Sr. and David Jr. live in Junior’s homestead (#20 on maps)? Did each build their own homestead on the west half of L7R5? Did this latter scenario result in David Junior’s place being the future Oliver Bailey Jr. homestead (#22 on maps)? Or did David Senior’s place become the Oliver Bailey Sr. place (#21 on maps)? If anyone can figure this out, please do. It seems like some research is needed here. No further details are provided in the accounts concerning David Sr.

David Bailey Jr. (6th generation) was born on 3-21-1754 to David Sr. and Elizabeth, perhaps in Tewksbury, Massachusetts, area. He came to Jaffrey in 1773 with his brother, Abraham, at the relatively young age of 19 years (see **#19 Abraham Bailey**). Abraham built his homestead on the east half of L7R5, David Jr. built his own place on the west half of the lot supposedly some distance north of the Mountain Road on the Nightingale place (#21 on maps). No map refers to a cellar hole in that area, and being in the back yard of private residences no exploration has been attempted there. It was a David Bailey (not clear if Sr. or Jr.) that became the impetus behind a town meeting petition for construction of a road and bridge over Mead Brook in Ballou City in order to get to “meeting”. Access to Abraham’s mill was also an issue as well. Although causing quite a kerfuffle at the time, the road was finally constructed. Since the road record indicates acceptance of the Mountain Road by the town in April of 1774, all this would have to

have occurred very soon after the Bailey's built their homesteads. On 12-12-1776 David Jr. married a girl from the home area, Dorothy Bailey, from the other line of Baileys descended from James of Rowley, Massachusetts. He participated in town affairs, serving as Highway Surveyor for a time. He was also active in the militia as a member of the Jaffrey Training Band In 1784. In 1786 he left Jaffrey and removed to Windsor, Vermont, but there is no record of his activities during his short tenure there. As with a number of the Bailey clan, the pioneering spirit took hold and he removed to St. Louis, Missouri, sometime after 4-30-1803. Thus David Jr. became the first person from Jaffrey to settle on the Louisiana Purchase. At that time St. Louis was just a cluster of huts and trading posts on the eastern edge of the prairie. However, he was destined to breathe the sweet smelling, dry air of the prairie only a short time as he died there about 8 months later on 12-23-1803 at 86 years of age. He must have been quite a vigorous man to have made such a rigorous journey at that age. However, perhaps those rigors resulted in an early death at the end of his quest. In any event, his son David who followed him all the way from Jaffrey was destined to leave his mark in the building of the west. On 4-6-1832 the Black Hawk War broke out with the Indians and David served as a colonel with the frontier fighters.

### **#21 Oliver Bailey Sr.**

Oliver Bailey (6th generation), younger brother of David Jr., was born to David Sr. and Elizabeth on 2-8-1768, probably in Tewksbury along with his other brothers. He came to Jaffrey with his father, David Sr., and sister, Hannah, sometime around 1773 (see **#20 David Bailey Sr.**) and settled on the west half of L7R5. He was listed as a member of the Jaffrey Training Band on 6-14-1784. Sometime around 1791 he married Polly Perkins, daughter of Captain Joseph Perkins who built the original mill below Perkins Pond in Troy. It is said that Oliver settled on the family homestead, building a large house on the future site of Nightingale's place (#21 on maps). In 1791 he was listed as owner of pew #8 at the Jaffrey meeting house, and it is said they had 8 children on the farm from 1792 to 1816. He became known as a successful farmer and road contractor. The homestead burned in 1794, but was rebuilt as more offspring were destined to be born there, and some to settle there. On 10-22-1799 Oliver bought out the Chesterfield land and mill interest of his brother, Abraham. There is nothing in the accounts to explain why he bought this mill interest, or what he did with it. Oliver died on 12-8-1855 at the age of 88 years, presumably on the homestead, and Polly followed on 8-27-1861 at 90 years of age.

Colonel Abner Bailey (7th generation) was born on 6-5-1798 at the new homestead (#21 on maps) built following the 1794 fire to Oliver and Polly. Edward, Oliver Jr., and Almon were among his brothers. He married Caroline, daughter of James and Nancy Gilmore, on 11-4-1824 at 26 years of age. She died 11 years later on 9-18-1835 just 8 days after the birth of their son, George. Perhaps this again indicates the cause of death was complications from childbirth. He quickly remarried about a year later on 12-6-1836 to Lydia Whitney. Almon was their last child born on the homestead in 1837. The indication from the accounts is that he settled right there on the homestead (#21 on maps)

concurrently with his father and mother. He reportedly became known as a good farmer and citizen and active in the militia as well. He served as Captain of the First Rifle Company on 4-16-1827 and rose to Lieutenant Colonel in the 12th Regiment. He outlived wife Lydia by 14 years when she died on 3-7-1872. He died on 4-15-1886. The 1850 Gibbs map of Jaffrey shows an A. Bailey as the occupant here, presumably referring to Abner.

Clarence S. Bailey (8th generation) was born on 10-26-1830 to Abner and first wife Caroline on the family homestead. On 7-21-1860 he married Sarah, daughter of Joseph and Nancy Whitcomb of Sudbury, Massachusetts. The inference from the account is that he settled on the family homestead immediately following, living there with father Abner and stepmother Lydia (#21 on maps). He served in the Civil War as a captain in the Massachusetts Calvary. Following the war he became active in town affairs and was elected Selectman for 7 years from 1876 to 1882. He continued on the homestead until selling out in 1891 and removing to East Jaffrey where he died on 1-19-1916. Sarah died about 2 years later on 1-31-1918. Both the *Atlas of Cheshire County, New Hampshire* of 1877 and the *Town and City Atlas of the State of New Hampshire* of 1892 show C. Bailey as the occupant here as would be expected.

Samuel Crawford Nightingale was born on 4-11-1852 in Bridgeport, Connecticut, to Crawford and Mary. On 10-31-1882 he married Ella Trowbridge, daughter of John and Eliza of Poughkeepsie, New York, who was born on 7-11-1856. John Trowbridge was a noted merchant and Freemason, and member of the Second Reformed Church for 40 years. The Nightingales were said to first reside in Wellesley Hills, Massachusetts, but apparently later removed to Boston. The fact that they were on the listings of the Social Register Association in Boston might indicate that he was a man of some financial and social stature. He possibly may have bought the old Bailey homestead for a summer residence in 1891 or shortly thereafter from Clarence Bailey, calling it the Kabibonakka Farm (#21 on maps). In 1908 Samuel was party to a probate court action to contest a will. The assumption might be that it would be the will of one or both of his parents, Crawford and Mary. In the 1912 summer Social Register the members of the family are listed as Samuel, Ella, Nina, and Elizabeth in Jaffrey. Some accounts cite the daughters, Nina and Elizabeth, while another account cites only one child, John. I have no explanation for this, but there is evidence that all 3 were probably their children. An 8-14-1980 newspaper obituary from Brookline refers to "Nina, daughter of Ella Trowbridge Nightingale". In the 1915 Boston Social Register their address was given as 535 Beacon Street in Boston. Their son, John T. Nightingale, served in World War I as a captain in the American Expeditionary Forces created by General Pershing. Ella Trowbridge Nightingale died on 8-7-1947 in Jaffrey at 91 years of age.

William Shearer III became the next owner of Kabibonakka Farm, possibly soon after the death of Mrs. Trowbridge in 1947. He remained 7 years until moving to Chislehurst Farm in 1954. See **#1 Milliken's Tavern**.

Charles L. Rich possibly may have been the next owner. He had served a term as a New Hampshire State Senator representing the 14th District from 1911 to 1912. And



yes, this is the very same Rich that was involved in the events surrounding the noted unsolved murder of Dr. William K. Dean in August of 1918 in Jaffrey. He was considered a close friend of Dr. Dean, investigated as a suspect by the police, but never charged. He later filed a slander suit against the town over the incident. While there is probably no more intriguing event of local legend that the Dean murder mystery, it is far outside the scope of this report. There is a book on the subject listed in the bibliography for those so inclined. At the time of the murder, Rich was described as a cashier at the Monadnock National Bank in Jaffrey. He must have done very well, later becoming head of the bank. He may have also been involved in another business of his own, the Monadnock Insurance Agency, which he sold to the bank in 1930. He was the choir-master of the Universalist Church and also a Freemason. Both he and his wife, Lana, were active in civic affairs, he having served as Town Moderator for 36 years, and she on the Board of Library Trustees on or before 1932. He also served for a short time as a municipal judge in the Jaffrey District Court.

The well known Jaffrey attorney, Walter H. Gentsch, may possibly have been the next owner for a while before his retirement in 1963. No further ownerships will be mentioned in this report.

The large white estate house and barn still remain as a private residence on State Route 124 today. Oliver Senior's 1794 house was probably torn down by the Nightingales, or incorporated into the new, larger Kabibonakka mansion. The picture of it in the Jaffrey town history shows it to be much as it appears today.

## **#22 Oliver Bailey Jr.**

Colonel Oliver Bailey Jr. (7th generation) was born to Oliver Sr. and Polly on 4-16-1796 at the family farm two years after the house fire. Edward, Abner and Almon were among his brothers. Sometime around 1820 he built a house to the east of his father's place supposedly on the site of David Bailey Sr. Considering that David Senior's place was described as being far back from the road to the north of the Nightingale place (#21 on maps), the extant white house close to the highway is probably the site of Oliver Senior's new homestead built after the 1794 fire which later became the Nightingale place. As previously discussed, there is considerable confusion concerning the location of the Bailey homesteads (see **#20 David Bailey Sr.**). On 11-30-1825 Oliver Jr. married Deborah, daughter of Caleb and Deborah Perry of Marlborough. He became known as a prominent citizen of Jaffrey, having served in numerous town offices, including that of Selectman. He also served in the militia as Captain of the Rifle Company in 1833, rising to Colonel of the 12th Regiment. He died on 12-7-1862 at 66 years of age.

The 1850 Gibbs map of Jaffrey shows D. Bailey the occupant here. However, there is no information in any of the accounts to explain this, and no indication of his definite identity found. David Jr. had long ago removed to St. Louis, and his son, David, supposedly remained in the west. See more on David Bailey Jr. under **#20 David Bailey Sr.**.

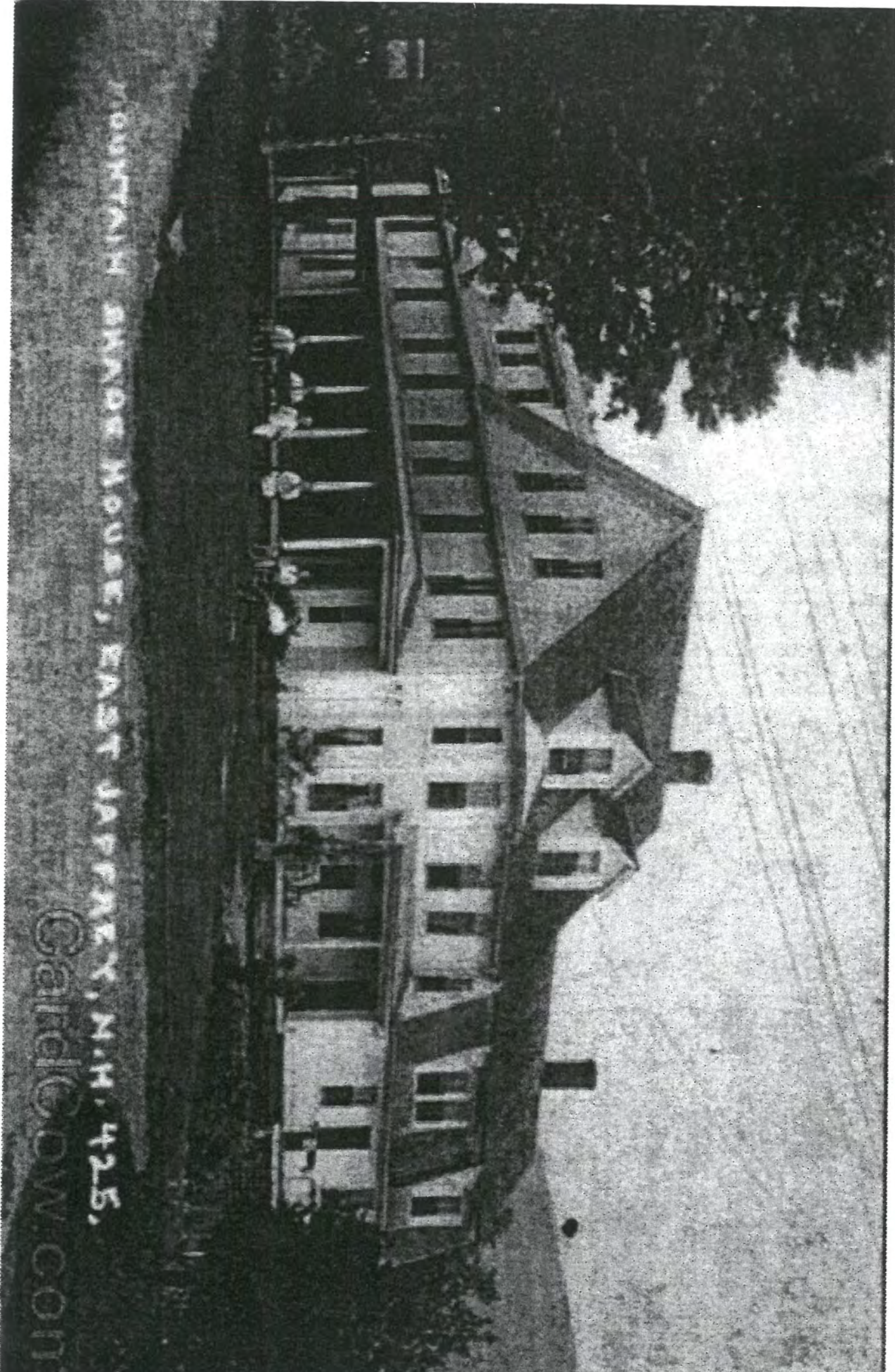
The *Atlas of Cheshire County, New Hampshire* of 1877 shows a J. S. Ring residing here, but no information concerning him was found in the accounts.

One account refers to a Josiah Noyes either owning the old Bailey place (#22 on maps) or some of the old Bailey land, but no information was found concerning him (see **#15 Moses Cutter**).

Charles A. Proctor (7th generation) was born on 3-15-1822 to Jacob and Lucretia in Charlestown, Massachusetts. He was the brother of John Ball Proctor who bought Milliken's Tavern in 1881. A very restless spirit, Charles had lived in Chicago, Kansas City, Missouri, and Rio Vista, California, before returning east. Since Rio Vista is southwest of Sacramento and therefore west of the gold fields but still on the same river, could it be possible that he was prospecting or otherwise involved in the California Gold Rush? Curious that he appears in the east during the waning days of the gold rush to marry Sarah Ann Martin on 12-19-1854 at 32 years of age. Just 3 years after John Ball bought the old Milliken's Tavern, Charles bought the old Oliver Bailey Jr. place (#22 on maps) on the Mountain Road in 1884. One wonders if there was some recommendation from John that resulted in Charles purchasing the homestead close to his brother. No further details are proffered in the account other than he resided there until his death on 7-28-1892. The *Town and City Atlas of the State of New Hampshire* of 1892 shows C. A. Proctor the resident here as would be expected.

Bernard C. Caldwell (1st generation) was born in Ireland in 1871. At some point he married Annie M. Crossan, also born in Ireland in 1872. Details concerning him are very sparse, but it does not seem that he is directly related to any of the previous Caldwell's instrumental in the settling of Jaffrey. It also is not cited when he immigrated to America or how he came to settle in Jaffrey. It appears that he may have bought the old Oliver Bailey Jr. homestead (#22 on maps) in 1892 or soon after from Charles Proctor or his heirs at the young age of about 21 years. There he apparently took advantage of the location near the base of Mt. Monadnock and converted it to an inn by the name of the Mountain Shade House. There would have been access to the trails on the mountain via the former Whites Path from Ballou City to the east, or the Nightingale Trail from Kabibonakka Farm to the west. There were children born at the inn, Dorothy being the only one named of the sisters mentioned, and Thomas A., listed in the 1910 census as born in 1895. Curiously, Dorothy who was born in 1889 was not listed on that census, but perhaps at 21 years of age she was not living at home at the time. Further, her brother, Andrew Thomas, also was not listed. Caldwell's wife, Annie, died on 2-17-1943 at 71 years old. However, Caldwell continued to run the inn with the help of his son, Andrew. The Mountain Shade House was shown on an 8-20-1948 business listing of noted Jaffrey inns and hotels with a phone number of 8046-2. Bernard himself died 14 years later on 5-31-1957 at 86 years old.

Andrew Thomas Caldwell (2nd generation) was born on 10-18-1894 right there at the inn to Bernard and Annie. He would have been 16 years old at the time of that 1910 census in which his name was listed as Thomas A, not Andrew Thomas. There was no



MOUNTAIN SPRING HOUSE, EAST JAFFREY, N.H. 425.

[CalredCdw.com](http://CalredCdw.com)

explanation found for this discrepancy. At a date not specified he married Hazel Bryne, daughter of Edward and Jesse of Newfoundland, Canada. He was 49 years old when his mother, Annie, died in 1943. Having previously learned to run the inn for at least 14 years with his father, he continued the business when Bernard died in 1957.

Dorothy Caldwell (2nd generation) was born in 1889 to Bernard and Annie at the inn. Unlike her brother, Andrew, she did not remain at the inn, but yet was buried in Jaffrey. She is only included in this report as a matter of historical interest. At the time of that 1910 census she would have been 21 years old and may have been at a private boarding school or traveling. It was in Paris that she met Viggo Brandt-Erichsen. Viggo the Dane was a sculptor who had served in the military during World War I. The account seems to indicate they may have married quickly and had a child in Paris or somewhere in France. The baby died soon after birth and Dorothy shortly afterwards in 1926 at 37 years of age. This seems too young for natural death, so perhaps it indicates some illness or complication from childbirth was the cause. In any event, the sense from the account is that her death was expected. So perhaps she had recounted to Viggo the pleasant memories of her childhood days at the inn in Jaffrey and her desire to be buried there.

So Viggo Brandt-Erichsen (1st generation) came to America with the ashes of both Dorothy and their infant child in 1926 or soon after. He is said to have settled for 6 years at the Ark, rather than at the Mountain Shade House of his father-in-law. The first order of business was to bury the remains of Dorothy, so a vault was constructed at the Old Burying Ground in Jaffrey Center. He designed and sculpted a large façade for the vault out of granite from Fitzwilliam. This beautiful, ornate facade can still be viewed at the northwest end of the cemetery. Seeking opportunity to further ply his trade, he was commissioned to sculpt the World War I memorial for Jaffrey. Work on the Buddies Monument began in 1928 and was dedicated on Armistice Day in 1930. Later he also sculpted the World War II monument at the Jaffrey Common, and then settled down at a house in Jaffrey. The excellent resource listed in the bibliography can be accessed for further details about his life.

The Mountain Shade House is still standing on State Route 124 as the large, dark brown house with the new barn in back and the view of the mountain. There is an old post card picture of the inn on the preceding page. It is easily recognizable from the picture since it has not changed significantly on the outside since Bernard Caldwell kept tavern here, except that it was formerly painted white.

## **#23 Edward Bailey**

Edward Bailey (7th generation) was born on 9-23-1792 the oldest son of Oliver Sr. and Polly and first child born at the homestead on the west half of L7R5. Oliver Jr., Abner and Almon were among his brothers. In 1816 at the age of 24 years, he bought his grandfather Abraham's mill and effected many significant improvements there, converting it into a woolen mill. That same year he also built his house close to the east of

Abraham's old homestead, just northeast of the corner on the turnpike and the mill road. The former Abraham Hadley house was moved from its place on the mill road to the north and built in as the ell of Edward's new house. On 9-20-1820 he married Nabby, daughter of Alexander and Betty Milliken (of tavern fame). When the woolen mill burned in 1825, he built the woodworking mill further downstream. There were 2 children born to them there and both of them died very young, and Nabby followed shortly thereafter on 10-6-1826. He then married Sarah Perkins of Fitzwilliam on 11-30-1837 and 2 more children were born. In 1857 he stopped operations at the woodworking mill probably due to an illness of some sort. The older son, Frederick, returned to the homestead to care for him and Sarah and both mills were sold to the other son, Edward H. Bailey. Edward died on 1-6-1871 followed by Sarah on 11-29-1877, presumably on the homestead.

Edward Hayden Bailey (8th generation) was born on 3-3-1840 to Edward and Sarah there at the family homestead next to the turnpike (#23 on maps). In 1825 Abraham's original mill, formerly operated by his father as a woolen mill, had burned. Even though only 10 years old, one can imagine the strong, mechanical lad "cutting his teeth" helping his father build the new woodenware mill further downstream in 1850. Similarly, it would be likely that he aided his brother, Frederick, in rebuilding the old "upper" mill in 1857. Having inherited the strong mechanical aptitude of his forebears, he became a millwright like his father and grandfather. And so he remained there on the homestead of his birth and operated the rebuilt "upper" mill, the woodenware mill having ceased operation in 1857. He married Abbie A. Cutter, daughter of Nathaniel and Mary, on 7-23-1865. That same year he sold the upper mill to Levi Brigham and Clinton S. Parker to pursue other interests. Given his propensity for the work of the millwright, it seems rather suspicious that he would have sold the mill in the same year. Perhaps the marriage to Abbie affected the decision to change careers. A man of strong physique, he found employment as a carpenter and builder responsible for such structures as the Baldwin mansion and the school building in East Jaffrey. He was described as a man of strong character, a leading business man of Jaffrey and a "mainstay" of the Charity Lodge of Masons. He was a militiaman and commander of the local Rifle Company. Considered a history buff, he was said to pass down many of the old stories and legends, such as the one about James Ballou. While Abbie died on 3-31-1881 just 4 years after her mother-in-law, Edward's date of death is not stated.

The disposition of the homestead (#23 on maps) after Edward died is not stated in the accounts. Given that the old Stone place (#26 on maps) close to the east was in the possession of John W. Badger by 1929, Edward's place may have been acquired by Joseph N. White when he bought the old Abraham Bailey homestead as a summer residence in the late 1800's or shortly thereafter.

Frederick William Bailey (8th generation) was born on 8-15-1838 to Edward and Sarah at the family homestead (#23 on maps). It is said that in 1857 he had to return home to care for his parents. There is no indication of just where he was returning from, but he may have just barely started college at Dartmouth in Hanover. He spent an unspecified period of time at the family homestead helping his brother, Edward H., to rebuild Abra-

ham's old "upper" mill. This interruption or delay in his college pursuits did not prevent him from graduating Dartmouth College in 1862 to study law with Wheeler and Faulkner in Keene, and at Albany Law School in New York. Then he spent several years teaching school in Jaffrey, which would bring one up to 1865. If my understanding of the account is correct, he was elected State Representative in 1865 at 27 years of age. The timing of events in the account seems a bit strained here such that he would have been teaching in Jaffrey while studying law in Keene or New York. The account goes on to state that he started a private law practice in East Jaffrey in 1866. That same year he married Mary Perkins of Troy on 9-2-1866, daughter of Moses and Cosbie. About a year later on 12-6-1867 the first child, Mary Frederick, was born. While the child lived, Mary died 2 days later on 12-8-1867, probably due to complications from childbirth. Probably very shortly after that, the law practice was moved to Keene where Frederick suddenly had an "untimely" death on 4-27-1870. The meaning of "untimely" is not stated, whether it was an accident, illness, or result of criminal action.

Almon Bailey (7th generation) was born on the Jaffrey homestead on 1-21-1801 to Oliver Sr. and Polly. Oliver Jr., Edward and Abner were among his brothers. He did not stay on the homestead but rather removed to Utica, New York, for reasons unstated. A close reading of the account makes it sound as though he may have resided with his brother, Edward, upon returning from New York. This must have been before his marriage to Maria, daughter of Shubael and Polly Stone of Marlborough, on 1-2-1831. He was described as being very mechanical, but evidently applied these abilities in a different direction than that of millwright like his grandfather, David. Almon became known for building church organs, and considered very skillful at it. One wonders if he was exposed to or influenced to take up this trade in New York. The first organ he built was the one used in the Jaffrey meeting house. It was put together at the Bailey Mill with the help of his brother Edward and together they installed it at the meeting house. Described as about 6 feet wide by 9 feet high with pipes made of square wood, it was loaned to the church but not sold to it. The day of its installation caused quite a commotion and a crowd of spectators gathered. According to local tradition, the first piece played on the organ to show its quality was "Fisher's Hornpipe". Almon removed to Marlborough about 1836 for reasons unstated, but probably having to do with Maria's family ties. The old meeting house eventually fell into disuse since all the denominations had built their own houses of worship, and the likewise disused organ was moved to Marlborough also. He enlisted in the Civil War on 9-13-1862 and died of disease as a Private in New Orleans on 6-27-1863, probably as a prisoner at the infamous Parish Prison.

#### THE LABAN AINSWORTH CONNECTION

The following bio was compiled from data in the Jaffrey town history. It should be evident by now that most of the settlers in the report were either lay members or deacons in the Congregational meeting house in Jaffrey Center. This reflects the common pattern so typical of early Colonial New England towns. Puritan Congregationalism was the center of the civic and religious life and vitality of the town. As previously highlighted in historical notes, Freemen were required to be a member of the established church

in order to be elected a Freeman. Both the ecclesiastical and business affairs of the church were under the jurisdiction of the townspeople themselves. The so-called "settled minister" was approved by and paid for by the town through the assessment of the minister's tax. According to the town history, the meeting house in Jaffrey Center was under construction on 6-17-1775 while the guns from the Battle of Bunker Hill in Boston were heard. The very curious coincidence is the story of how Laban Ainsworth heard the same guns while a divinity student at Dartmouth College. However, the meeting house apparently continued under construction for a number of years following 1775. It was said that while Ainsworth first preached as a candidate that the roof was on but parishioners had to sit on piles of lumber and makeshift benches. At a town meeting on 7-8-1782 he was finally elected as the "settled minister" of Jaffrey at a salary of £70 per year. His ordination by the church followed 5 months later on 12-10-1782.

According to the town history, Laban Ainsworth was born on 7-19-1757 in Woodstock, Connecticut. He is known to have suffered a severe childhood attack of scarlet fever which affected his right arm such that it became "withered and almost useless" for the rest of his life. However, this did not seem to prevent him from engaging in the everyday life of his parishioners. He was known to have cleared and stumped land with them, fenced pasture with them, fished and hunted foxes and bears with them, bartered with them, and chewed tobacco. He was also outspoken in town affairs and his opinion was considered valuable in town meetings by fellow townsmen. He was a member of the Masonic lodge and Library Society, and had served as Superintendent of Schools. He was also known as a successful business man in town and known to have significant land holdings. In spite of all his commonality with his parishioners, Ainsworth was said to never compromise the dignity of his office, considering his role as Parson above all else. While known to be steadfast on his own theological beliefs, he was considered to be tolerant of the beliefs of others. He is quoted in the town history as saying, "We want in the pulpit plain, sound doctrine, even if men scorn it. It is better than some pleasing error that shall lead the soul to ruin." He was also known for extending kindness by visiting those parishioners who were well in addition to those who were sick. He was also not above loaning money to those who had a need. He was considered by fellow townsmen to be affable, courteous, gracious, hospitable, and of a "gentle manner". Apparently he was also known for possessing a keen sense of humor. Thus, he was also known to be not above playing harmless practical jokes on others.

For 76½ years Ainsworth shepherded his flock, preaching on Sunday mornings, teaching Congregational catechism to their children, and officiating at their weddings, funerals and christenings. In his declining years, his parishioners affectionately called him "Father Ainsworth" ac-

ording to the town history. He outlived almost all the settlers in this report who had built the meeting house and installed him as its minister. In the town history it is said that the Bible was his constant companion in his declining years and “when his memory so failed him as to become wholly un-trustworthy concerning passing events, he would repeat passages of Holy Writ without mistake” and that “The doctrine he preached in young man-hood was to him the living truth and the solace of his old age.” He died at almost 101 years of age on 3-17-1858 and was buried in the burying yard in Jaffrey Center. According to the town history, his epitaph reads:

“I have fought a good fight,  
I have finished my course,  
I have kept the FAITH.”

## **#24 Joslin’s Tavern** **#25 Mineral Spring Hotel**

Although the Kent homestead and Joslin’s Tavern are two separate locations on the map, here they will be considered together in one long narrative, coupled with that of the Mineral Spring Hotel. The story of these three places is just that intertwined. At loca-tion #24 on the map, the Kent homestead is the northerly square marked, and Joslin’s Tavern is the southerly one next to the highway.

John Kent (1st generation) is descended from the immigrant Dennis Kent who is be-lieved to have been born in England in 1650 according to the town history. Dennis set-tled in Sudbury, Massachusetts, and died there on 1-15-1741 or 1742. He was de-scribed as a man who led a quiet life which has left very little activities of public record. There is also not much in the accounts about John either, except being on the list as a pew owner at the Jaffrey meeting house in 1780. Obviously this would imply that he was living in the area at the time, but there is no mention in the account of his activities or whereabouts. John Kent was the first to own a small part of L8R5 east of the Mineral Spring when he bought the south end of the lot in the spring of 1788 in a tax sale. This could imply that there was a previous failed attempt at settlement. While no house is mentioned in his 1788 deed, there is one mentioned 2 years later in the 1790 deed to Page. One account cites Kent as the builder of a 1½ story house “back from the road” sometime between 1784 and 1790. So while Kent definitely appears to be the builder, the exact date would be open to speculation. While there is indication that he was in Jaffrey in 1784, why would he have built a house on land he did not own until 1788? However, this could be one of those cases of the deed being registered at the county seat in Nashua years after the transaction was completed. He sold his homestead to David Page in 1790.

Major David Page (5th generation) was born on 2-7-1767 in Bedford, Massachu-sets, to David and Abigail. According to the town history, he is a descendent of Na-thaniel Page (sometimes spelled Paige) who emigrated from Plymouth, England, in



1686 along with his brother, Nicholas. David came to Jaffrey soon after 1-23-1789 when he bought 30 acres in the northwest corner of L12R4 from a trader by the name of Peter Jones. The following year Page also gained his own designation as a "trader" and on 3-20-1790 bought the Kent place (north #24 on maps). According to one account the purchase included L8R6, L8R5, L9R6 and L9R5, the entirety of 4 lots that would engulf many of the other properties in Ballou City. It seems doubtful that 400+ acres was actually included in that deed, especially since Page is not named as owner of any of those other lots in other accounts. Further, his possession would conflict with that of others, so perhaps there is an error or a land speculation situation is indicated here. In addition, the 1794 deed from Flint to Joslin only indicates 30 acres. There is also no direct indication that he ever occupied the place, especially since he sold it in 1791 to Amos Flint and returned to Bedford. Perhaps this move was because of his marriage to Elizabeth Minot on 1-25-1791 in nearby Concord, Massachusetts. She was the daughter of Jonas and Mary Minot of Concord, and sister of the wife of Reverend Laban Ainsworth, the Congregational minister at the Jaffrey meeting house. Page spent the next 10 or 11 years in Concord before showing up on the tax rolls of Jaffrey in 1802 for "stock in trade", meaning the owner of a store, or storekeeper. He maintained a store on the site of the brick church in Jaffrey Center for only 3 or 4 years until selling it to Luke Wheelock. He had become a prominent man in town affairs, serving at various times as Selectman, Town Clerk, Town Moderator, Highway Surveyor, School House Agent and on various other town committees as well. He was also active in the militia, gaining the rank of Major in the 12th Regiment. He was elected State Representative in 1806 and 1807 just before removing to Middlebury, Vermont, in 1808. Twenty years later in 1828 he removed to Ann Arbor, Michigan, where he died on 4-5-1856 at 90 years of age.

Amos Flint of Concord, Massachusetts, bought the Kent place in 1791 and was taxed there in 1793. Surprisingly, John Kent was also taxed as living there in 1793. Is this supposed to mean that Kent continued to rent the homestead or the house next door (see explanation below on page 101) while Page and Flint owned it? In 1794 Flint sold the property to Captain John Joslin.

According to the town history, the Joslin clan descended from the immigrant, Thomas, who came to America from England on the ship "Incense". He and wife, Rebecca, were both 43 years old at the time, and had 5 of their 6 children in tow. Abraham, the eldest son is believed to have followed a short time later. Thomas settled in Hingham, Massachusetts, where he became one of the proprietors in 1637. He then removed to Sudbury, now named Wayland, Massachusetts. In 1754 he removed again to Lancaster and become one of the founding families there. When Thomas died in 1660 at 68 years of age, his widow Rebecca married William Kerley. Lancaster was at that time the edge of the frontier. During the Indian raid of 1675 by King Phillip (English name for the warring Indian chief), Thomas's son, Nathaniel, and the rest of the Joslin family managed to escape to Marlborough, Massachusetts. Thus the lineage from which Captain John Joslin descended was preserved. However, Thomas's grandson, Abraham, took refuge in Rowlandson's Garrison along with his wife and infant child. He died defending the garrison along with all the other settler men. His wife and infant child were captured and taken into the wilderness where they were also eventually killed. This is the very same

incident that led to the capture of Mary Rowlandson who was ransomed from the Indians (without the consent of King Phillip) at Redemption Rock the following spring on 5-16-1676. This historic rock ledge is found in Princeton, Massachusetts, on State Route 31 near the base of Mt. Wachusett on a marked Trustees of Reservations property.

Captain John Joslin (6th generation) was born on 11-23-1758 in Leominster, Massachusetts. He served in the Revolution as part of the 8th Worcester Regiment in 1778 and Marshall's Regiment in 1780. Following his tour of duty he married Sarah Bowers on 12-27-1781. On 12-2-1783 he bought the south end of L9R6 from Jonathan Taylor, but since there is no record of any buildings there, it is not likely that he settled there. This piece is southeast of the Mineral Spring and south of the turnpike just outside of the report area. However, he was probably residing somewhere in Jaffrey at that time because he served in the militia as a member of the Jaffrey Training Band in 1784. John may have been involved in the operation of the Davidson Mill on the Contoocook River at Hadley in which he had a part interest. In 1794 that interest in the mill property was sold to Joseph Nickles and his son, Joseph Jr., of Carlisle, Massachusetts. Further, his uncle, Samuel Joslin, had removed to Jaffrey in 1784 and bought a place on L18R7 east of East Jaffrey, and then the Luke Swett place (#30 on maps) in 1793. Considering the close correlation of John and Samuel's date of arrival in Jaffrey (1793 and 1794 respectively), coupled with secondary move dates (1794 and 1793 respectively), might indicate that John was residing with his uncle at the L18R7 homestead during this time period. Then in December of 1794 Joslin bought the Flint place which according to the deed included the farm, 30 acres, and buildings. Perhaps the sale of the mill interest had provided the capital for him to do so. Two years later in 1796 he petitioned the town for and was granted a license to keep tavern in the house "he lives in", probably referring to the farmhouse (north #24 on maps). At first it would seem that the modestly sized farmhouse would not be suitable for such purpose, but if all that prior renting actually happened, perhaps he was utilizing the adjacent house (see explanation below on page 101). He quickly became known as a prominent innkeeper and businessman in Jaffrey, and served the town in various capacities such as Selectman in 1798 and 1799, Overseer of the Poor, Highway Surveyor, and Fence Viewer. {Historical note: the person charged with building and maintaining the fence surrounding the commons, or common pasture available to all the farmers for their use.} He also served in the militia as Captain of the Jaffrey Training Band in 1800.

The Third New Hampshire Turnpike was completed in 1800, increasing opportunity for innkeepers all along the route, including Joslin. Certainly the number of teamsters hauling freight would increase, and also the number of travelers by wagon and horseback. Stage line traffic began the following year in 1802 and steadily increased over the years until the railroads came in. So in 1800 he built a two-story tavern right next to the turnpike close east of the mineral spring and south of the Kent homestead (south #24 on maps). The assumption here is that John had continued to reside at the old Kent place while operating the tavern he first built and later the Mineral Spring Hotel also. However, the accounts do not specifically state where John was living. Business must have been good, for he bought the 2½ acres just west of the tavern and north of the turnpike from David Cutter for \$100 on 9-13-1804 on which the Mineral Spring sits.

The spring itself never froze and caused yellow ochre deposits to accumulate at the outflow trough. It was said to contain carbonate of iron and sulphate of soda. At that time it was thought that such springs had curative and health benefits, resulting in hotels and spas springing up around them for guests to drink and bathe in the "healing" waters. This mineral spring "hysteria" was also evidenced at other localities such as the Bradford Spring in Bradford, the Lithia Spring in Temple, the Sharon Springs in Sharon, and the Mt. Mineral Spring in Shutesbury, Massachusetts. Some of these springs do have a more ancient Indian history such as Bradford Spring and Mt. Mineral Spring. Some were found to be fraudulent and outright scams such as Lithia Spring. Most fell into disuse when the healing powers of the mineral waters were debunked or mineral content scientifically analyzed to reveal insignificant mineralization of dubious benefit.

Joslin, being a shrewd entrepreneur, enticed a group of speculators to invest in a new business venture. This group consisted of Joslin himself, Dr. Adonijah Howe (of Shattuck Inn fame) and his son, Dr. Abner Howe, Samuel Dakin (a lawyer), a Mr. Cutter, and a Mr. Page (not stated if this was the same Major David Page discussed above). On 6-18-1805 they had incorporated as the "Proprietors of the Monadnock Mineral Spring". My guess is that funds were quickly secured and soon afterwards construction of the new tavern began. It was located at the edge of the turnpike immediately south of the spring and close west of Joslin's existing tavern. On 6-4-1808 the Monadnock Mineral Spring Hotel opened with Joslin himself licensed as proprietor. That very same day Asahel Eveleth was granted a license to keep tavern at Joslin's Tavern. Thus both enterprises continued in operation right next to each other on the turnpike in the newly renamed Ballou City. But the Mineral Spring Hotel became known a resort for healing of the infirm, often referred to as a sanatorium in various accounts. Therefore it sounds as though Joslin kept tavern at the Mineral Spring Hotel (#25 on maps) for the corporation while Eveleth kept tavern next door at Joslin's Tavern (south #24 on maps) for Joslin, who may have been residing at Kent's place (north #24 on maps). Anyway, things began to unravel for Joslin in the summer of 1816 when Dr. J. Freeman Dana, Assistant Professor of Chemistry at Harvard College, stayed at the Mineral Spring Hotel during a geological expedition to Mt. Monadnock. He analyzed the spring water and then published an article in the *New England Journal of Medicine and Surgery* claiming that while it did contain carbonate of iron, the concentration was so minute such that it could hardly be called a mineral water at all. By 1824 business was on the decline for Joslin, and apparently his health took a turn for the worse as well. He did not have any children, so he bought a house in Marlborough in 1824 and lived there with his nephew, David Jr., of Stoddard. In exchange for his care, Joslin deeded the house in Marlborough to David Jr. Joslin died in Marlborough 12 years later on 12-22-1836 followed by his wife, Sarah, on 8-22-1841.

David Joslin Jr. (7th generation) was born on 3-14-1791 in Stoddard to David Sr. and Becca. He was 33 years old when taking up residence in Marlborough to care for his infirm uncle, Captain John Joslin. At some point unspecified John had deeded his Marlborough house to David in remuneration for his and Sarah's care. So while David may have come into possession of the Marlborough house before the death of John in 1836, he probably would have continued to care for Sarah there until her death in 1841.

There is no indication in the accounts that he ever occupied the old Kent homestead on the south half of L8R5 (north #24 on maps), especially since Stillman Clark was supposed to be living there at the time.

So there is a period of 15 years from the time that Joslin removed to Marlborough in 1824 until Stillman Clark resided at the old Kent homestead in 1839. During this period the disposition of the Kent place, Joslin's Tavern and the Mineral Spring Hotel is unclear. Per the account below, it may be possible that Joslin had retained ownership until his death in 1836. It still seems to indicate that it may have been abandoned for 15 years even while Joslin owned it. The Mineral Spring Hotel may possibly have had something to do with a "Hartwell Farm" mentioned in the accounts, for which no information was found.

Reverend Stillman Clark, the Universalist minister in East Jaffrey, supposedly bought the old Kent homestead in 1839 just 3 years after Joslin's death but 15 years after Joslin had removed to Marlborough. Clark is said to have lived there for 12 years from 1839 to 1851, the same time frame as his pastorate at the church. The 1850 Gibbs map of Jaffrey shows an S. Clark residing at the old Kent homestead but not at Joslin's Tavern (see below, Hemenway's "new house") or the Mineral Spring Hotel.

The *Atlas of Cheshire County, New Hampshire* of 1858 shows an F. Jackson residing at the old John Kent homestead. However, from the data in the genealogical accounts it was not possible to establish a connection with the other Jacksons responsible for starting the tack manufacturing industry in Jaffrey. It is equally unclear whether he was a renter or owner of the homestead. It is also not known how long he resided there since it was said to be unoccupied when Michael Reardon ("Big Reardon" below) bought it in 1874. It would appear likely that Jackson was probably the last occupant of the old Kent place (north #24 on maps).

Concurrently with Jackson residing at the old Kent homestead, both the 1850 Gibbs map of Jaffrey and the *Atlas of Cheshire County, New Hampshire* of 1858 show an L. Hemenway residing at Joslin's Tavern (see below). One account states that Luther Hemenway "built and owned a two-story house, no longer standing, on the Turnpike just east of the Mineral Spring House." This is an exact description of the location of Joslin's Tavern and no account indicates another house or building to the east of that. So for the purposes of this report, the assumption is that Hemenway tore down Joslin's original tavern and built his "new house" on the same site. And as the account goes on to say, it became the house that Michael Reardon ("Big Reardon") bought from Hemenway.

Michael Reardon (2nd generation) was born in Limerick, Ireland, around 1830 according to the town history. He immigrated to America with his older sisters at 16 or 17 years of age even before his father, Patrick, who followed later to be near his children. Michael first settled in Manchester where he met and married Ellen (also born in Limerick), daughter of John and Ellen Sheehan who apparently later removed to Jaffrey themselves. {Historical note: Michael immigrated in 1846 or 1847 right at the time of the potato blight in Ireland from 1845 to 1852. By 1841 the population of Ireland had

reached 8 million and the poor had to rely on the potato for sustenance, which would grow in the poor, damp soil. The nutritious potato coupled with milk provided the poor with a balanced diet. So when the crops failed, many abandoned their farms to seek a living elsewhere. This may have been the reason why both the Reardons and the Sheehans came to America to work in the mills.} It is thought Reardon came to Jaffrey sometime around 1852 where he worked at the Cheshire Mills and lived in the adjacent Cheshire Village. He removed to the Milliken farm near Hubbard Pond in Rindge for a time with no indication that he bought the place, so presumably he was just a worker there. Then he removed to East Jaffrey where he reportedly drove the mill team for Mr. Bascom. Somewhere along the line he picked up the nickname of "Big Reardon", probably to distinguish him from his future blacksmith neighbor "Little Reardon", and perhaps also providing a descriptive glimpse of his physical stature. He then bought the abandoned "Stillman Clark place" (old Kent place) at a time not specified in the accounts. Presumably this would have to have occurred after the death of Luther Hemenway on 2-13-1872. If it was indeed unoccupied when Reardon acquired it as the account states, it is not known how long it was abandoned since Jackson was the last named the resident there in 1858 (see discussion above). The description given in the account clearly identifies it as the old Kent place "a few rods north" of the turnpike that Stillman Clark and Jackson had occupied (north #24 on maps). However, both the *Atlas of Cheshire County, New Hampshire* of 1877 and the *Town and City Atlas of the State of New Hampshire* of 1892 show an M. Reardon residing at both the old Kent place and Hemenway's "new house" (see below) at Joslin's Tavern site. This would appear to be consistent with Reardon purchasing the Kent place in 1872 (see **#26 John Stone**). The town history implies he resided at the old Kent place. However, common sense might indicate Hemenway's "new house" the more likely candidate while the older house was abandoned. Reardon farmed at the homestead until he had a serious accident in 1889 when a heavy barn door fell on him that drove his ribs through his lungs. By some miracle he did live, but never completely recovered. Reardon died on 1-19-1894, presumably on the homestead, and his wife, Ellen, died 15 years later on 4-1-1909, making her the last occupant.

According to Chamberlain the old Kent place was still standing in 1920 but in a state of decay while another account cites that it was demolished prior to 1920 (see below). All that remains today is the rectangular, stone cellar hole on a knoll north of the turnpike at an elevation of 1125'. This would likely be the location of Kent's original 1½ story house, probably indicating a cape style farmhouse. There is also a rather large barn ruin located to the east and the foundation for a sizable rectangular structure with a brick chimney southeast of the cellar hole on the other side of the access road. It is this structure that may have been occupied by John Kent if Amos Flint occupied the farmhouse, and that Joslin may have used as his tavern before building the one on the turnpike in 1800. Nothing remains today of Joslin's Tavern or Hemenway's "new house" except a bi-level flat area on the north edge of the highway east of the Royce driveway and west of the wood road up to the Kent cellar hole at an elevation of 1105'. A well can be observed in the lower flat area immediately east of the driveway. My assumption thus far has been that the upper flat was the location of Joslin's Tavern and later Hemenway's house, and that the lower flat area to be a flower garden for tavern guests, or vegetable

gardens to supply the tavern. However, another interpretation of the site is possible. If the lower flat was actually Joslin's Tavern site, the upper flat could have been the site of Hemenway's "new house". However, without a picture of the tavern or personal memory, interpretation of the site remains quite subjective. It is my understanding that the landowner, Charlie Royce, had filled in the cellar hole and leveled the site. Unfortunately, since Charlie has passed away, it is no longer possible to ascertain from him exactly where the ruins of Joslin's Tavern stood.

There are some unresolved issues between the various atlases' and the historical accounts that will only be mentioned here for the sake of completeness. The *Atlas of Cheshire County, New Hampshire* of 1877 shows an unidentified house northwest of the Mineral Spring and east of Mead Brook, sort of close to the west or southwest of Charles Royce's current house. Since it does not seem to be labeled on the map or mentioned in the accounts, some research is needed here. Since the atlas only shows occupied dwellings, supposedly it could not be a barn or other outbuilding. Perhaps it has something to do with the previously mentioned Hartwell Farm. There is another unresolved puzzle on the 1877 atlas that shows a house west of Abraham Bailey's place (#19 on maps) and east of Oliver Bailey Junior's place (#20/22 on maps) north of the turnpike under the name of McCarthy. To further complicate the issue, the *Atlas of Cheshire County, New Hampshire* of 1858 shows a J. A. Cutter residing at that same location. Whether this refers to the Joseph Cutter who also owned #27 on the maps at one time is not clear. No account was found makes any reference to it. So it becomes another enigma to be settled through deeper research.

The disposition of the Mineral Spring Hotel (#25 on maps) seems to have taken a different track than the adjacent tavern after Joslin left Ballou City for Marlborough in 1824. Two references were found to the hotel after 1824 being called the "Hartwell Farm", but no information was found concerning Hartwell. This leaves a period of 48 years that the old hotel does not seem to be mentioned in the accounts. Yet, according to one account, it is during this time period before 1831 that the yellow ochre that collects around the discharge trough was shipped to Boston to be used in paint. Perhaps Hartwell or someone else was attempting to profit from the spring in a different fashion than selling mineral water of dubious health benefit. The *Atlas of Cheshire County, New Hampshire* of 1858 shows a W. Pollard residing at the hotel site, but no details were found concerning him either. There was not a "W" Pollard found in the genealogy of the other Pollards of Jaffrey. In 1861 the U.S. Coast Survey engineers recorded in their notebook that the spring contained small amounts of carbonate of iron and sulphuret of soda.

Callaghan J. McCarthy (1st generation) was born Guertaclare, County Kent, Ireland, on 1-1-1834. He immigrated to America in 1843 at the age of 9 years with his sister, Abbie, and settled in Lowell, Massachusetts. Since there is no mention of emigrant parents or relatives in the account, could this be one of those cases where the siblings immigrated alone? {Historical note: since 1843 was during the potato blight in Ireland, it again suggests a possible reason for the immigration. See historical note above on page 100.} He attended school while working in the mills of Lowell, then later the cotton

mills of other places such as Manchester, Nashua, and Greenville. In 1858 he married an Ellen Bresnahan in Manchester and then removed to Temple. He enlisted in the Civil War and served in the 2nd and 10th New Hampshire Regiments until the end of the war. Then some years later in 1872 he removed to Jaffrey and bought the "Hartwell Farm", presumably referring to the old Mineral Spring Hotel (#25 on maps). The *Atlas of Cheshire County, New Hampshire* of 1877 shows a "C. J. McCarty" residing here. He farmed the homestead and also hired out as a successful stone mason until his death in Hillsborough at the house of one of his daughters in 1918. The *Town and City Atlas of the State of New Hampshire* of 1892 shows a Mrs. E. McCarthy residing here, more than likely referring to Callaghan's wife, Ellen. Curiously, Callaghan is not listed as the resident as was the custom. Does this possibly indicate that he had gone to live in Hillsborough before 1892, leaving Ellen at the homestead alone?

Bernard J. Keegan (1st generation) was born in Athlone, Ireland, on 12-10-1883 to Patrick and Bridget according to the town history. He immigrated to America in 1911 at 28 years of age. He may have settled in the Dedham, Massachusetts, area where he married another Irish immigrant born in Galway by the name of Mary Flaherty on 4-20-1915. He removed to Jaffrey in 1916 and bought the McCarthy place (Mineral Spring Hotel). One account states that by that time the Mineral Spring Hotel (#25 on maps) was the only building left standing on the Joslin place. This would seem to corroborate the pre 1920 removal of the old John Kent homestead (north #24 on maps) rather than the Chamberlain account that has it still extant in 1920. The accounts end with no further details about Keegan, date of death, etc. Therefore, he may have been the last occupant of the Mineral Spring Hotel, or the "Hartwell Farm" as it was then called.

The dilapidated old Mineral Spring Hotel was still standing at the north edge of the highway just west of the Royce driveway at an elevation of 1089' when Charles Royce bought his land. A few years back when chatting with Charlie, he told me about razing the decayed building and filling in the cellar hole. He had salvaged some historical items from the old hotel, such as a stenciled wall mural. It is kind of surprising that the mural survived at least 3 owners since the hotel closed in 1824, but it is now preserved in a museum. So now cattle graze on the site of the hotel. He also rebuilt the wooden interior of the stone Mineral Spring and its wooden discharge trough with new wood, which he used to water the cattle on his rented pasturage. As of this writing, the spring continues to flow from its trough in the field beside the highway.

## **#26 John Stone**

According to the town history, all the Stones of New England are believed to have descended from one of the three immigrant brothers; Simon, Gregory, or Samuel. They were the sons of a Reverend Timothy Stone who is described as a "dissenting minister" who lived in western England. Although not precisely clear just what was meant by "dissenting", perhaps there was a theological disagreement between Stone and the monarchical sanctioned Anglican Church of England. After all, in those days such an oppositional stance would put oneself in a position of disfavor with the monarchy, possibly

leading to persecution, imprisonment, or some other kind of punitive action including death. It makes one wonder if the reason his 3 sons emigrated from England had something to do with that situation. Anyway, they sailed to America on 4-15-1635 from Ipswich, England, in the ship "Increase". Gregory settled in Cambridge, Massachusetts, where he married a widow by the name of Lydia Cooper. He died on 11-30-1672 and Lydia followed about 2 years later on 6-24-1674. His son, Jason (6th generation), and wife, Deborah, were the first of the clan to arrive in New Hampshire when they settled in Fitzwilliam sometime in the spring of 1765.

John Stone (7th generation) was born in Fitzwilliam on 5-24-1777 to Jason and Lydia. He came to Jaffrey in 1799 but his whereabouts and activities are not specified in the account. Perhaps courtship was on his mind, as he married Ruth Perkins on 12-23-1804, the daughter of Captain Joseph Perkins (of Perkins Mill fame, later Stanley Brothers Mill on outlet of Perkins Pond in Troy). The following year in 1805 he built the homestead and blacksmith shop on the north edge of the turnpike between the Mead Brook and road to Bailey's Mill in Ballou City (#26 on maps). Described as a very mechanical sort, he made axes and scythes using a trip hammer of his own design. He was also known in town as an enthusiastic business man. He served in the militia as Captain of the Jaffrey and Rindge Calvary Company. Curiously, at 2 AM in the morning of 4-18-1825 the smithy was burned to the ground. Arson was suspected in connection with the fire at Bailey's Mill at the same time the day before. Can't blame those Hadley boys for this one, they were all long gone! It is not clear from the accounts whether Stone rebuilt the smithy or if he retired from the trade at that time. He had no children at the time of his death in Jaffrey on 5-3-1853 at 76 years of age, followed by Ruth 10 years later on 9-7-1863, probably right there on the homestead. The *Atlas of Cheshire County, New Hampshire* of 1858 shows a Mrs. Stone still residing here as would be expected.

John Fife Jr. (4th generation) was born on 1-31-1807 at the Mountain House (#8 on maps) to John and Sarah. On 11-4-1830 he married Caroline Stone, which made him the son-in-law of John Stone according to one account. It is not clear just how this would be possible if Stone supposedly had no children according to the other account. Perhaps the other account rather meant to imply that he had no children living with him at the time of his death, or Caroline was a relation, adopted child or stepchild. In any event, Fife did not follow in the footsteps of his innkeeper father (see **#8 Mountain House**), but rather took up the blacksmith's trade in newly re-named Ballou City. The Jaffrey tax records show him being taxed for "stock in trade" from 1832 to 1839 which would indicate that he may have rebuilt Stone's smithy prior to 1832 and assumed its operation at that time. Whether or not Fife worked as apprentice under or lived with his father-in-law before the 1825 fire is not stated in the account. Then in 1835 he bought the homestead and black-smith shop from Stone and presumably settled there concurrently with "in-laws", John and Ruth. According to one account, Fife sold out to Luther Hemenway in 1840. Considering the last year he was taxed as a business in Jaffrey was 1839, this certainly would be plausible. It appears that he continued to practice smithing in Peterborough for 5 years before buying the Village Blacksmith Shop in East Jaffrey from Orford Capron on 9-12-1845. He reportedly left town a few years later with



no indication of his activities or whereabouts for another 9 years. Something about smithing may not have been to his liking, as he removed to Charlotte, New York, to engage in farming in 1854. In 1868 he removed to Swanzey, New Hampshire, for 3 years, and then back to Charlotte in 1871. No further details are given in the account.

Luther Hemenway (6th generation) was born on 1-2-1787 to Ebenezer and Ruth of Framingham, Massachusetts. According to the town history, they were descendants of the immigrant, Ralph, thought to have been in Roxbury, Massachusetts, as early as 1633. The account states that Ebenezer removed to Marlborough in 1787. Since Luther was born so early in that year, it seems more likely that he was born in Framingham than Marlborough. In any event, Luther was married 4 times during his lifetime and out-lived all his wives but the last. Skipping all the particulars, his first two wives before removing to Jaffrey were not local ladies from Jaffrey. Chamberlain cites him in Ballou City in 1840 when he bought the old Stone place (#26 on maps) from John Fife Jr. Hemenway was also a blacksmith by trade and also bought the old smithy and trip hammer works on the turnpike. The 1850 Gibbs map of Jaffrey shows an L. Hemenway residing at Joslin's Tavern. Further, one account states "He built and owned a two-story house, no longer standing, on the turnpike just east of the Mineral Spring House" (south #24 on maps). This is an exact description of the location of Joslin's Tavern. The indication seems to be that sometime before 1850 he tore down Joslin's original tavern and built himself a new house on the same site. However, since the *Atlas of Cheshire County, New Hampshire* of 1858 shows a Mrs. Stone residing at the old Stone homestead at the smithy (#26 on maps), it appears that the Stones may have continued at the homestead not only concurrently with John Fife Jr., but also while Hemenway built and resided at his "new house" (south #24 on maps). Then Hemenway married Sally, the first Jaffrey wife (3rd wife) on 6-4-1851 and presumably settled on his new homestead. Sally died on 1-31-1864 and so Luther married his fourth wife 3 years later, the widow Mrs. Sally Carter, on 5-20-1867. Both of them were 80 years of age at the time his last marriage! This marriage was short lived when Luther died just 5 years later on 2-13-1872. Although not specified in the accounts, it was probably at this time that both his "new house" (south #24 on maps) and the old Kent place (north #24 on maps) were sold to Michael Reardon ("Big Reardon", see "**#24 Joslin's Tavern**"). Two years following Luther's death, the old Stone homestead and smithy (#26 on maps) were sold to another Michael Reardon ("Little Reardon" below) in 1874. It appears to have been unoccupied for 11 years since John Stone's widow died in 1863. So the question might be, where was Sally Hemenway living after selling the house to Big Reardon in 1872? Was she living over at John Stone's old homestead next to the smithy for 2 years until "Little Reardon" bought it in 1874? Although Sally may have remained there on the Stone homestead for that 2 years, there is actually no indication in the accounts as to where she was living for the last 12 years before her death on 4-3-1884 at 97 years old.

Michael F. Reardon (1st generation) was born in 1827 in County Kerry, Ireland, and not directly related to the "Big Reardon" previously discussed. According to the town history, he immigrated to America and settled in West Newton, Massachusetts. In Waltham he married another immigrant by the name of Mary Maher, born in County Limerick, Ireland, in 1822. Since there are no specific dates provided, it is not clear from the

account if they came to America as a result of the potato blight in Ireland (see historical notes above). Reardon came to Jaffrey from West Newton and bought the Luther Hemenway place in 1874. However, since "Big Reardon" had already bought Hemenway's homestead east of the Mineral Spring Hotel, this deed must refer to John Stone's old homestead and smithy on the west side of Meads Brook (#26 on maps). In order to distinguish him from his neighbor, he was given the nickname of "Little Reardon". He died in Jaffrey on 10-19-1889 at 62 years of age, presumably on the homestead. The *Town and City Atlas of the State of New Hampshire* of 1892 shows an M. H. Reardon residing at the homestead and an M. Reardon at the smithy. The reason for the difference in the initials on the map is not clear, and may be an error. Although the "Little Reardon" discussed here has the middle initial of "F.", the assumption would still be that the M. H. Reardon on the atlas is referring to "Little Reardon" who owned both the homestead and the smithy. There is no indication that "Big Reardon" owned the smithy at all. It appears likely that Mary was still residing on the homestead at the time she died 8 years later on 2-5-1897.

The disposition of Hemenway's "new house" following Mary's death in 1897 is not stated in the accounts, but was probably acquired by Joseph N. White shortly thereafter, when he bought the old Abraham Bailey place as a summer residence (#19 on maps). The account attributes ownership to John W. Badger by 1929, who inherited the White summer house. If there were any ruins remaining at the time that Charles Royce bought his land, he may have razed it and filled in the cellar hole as in the case of Joslin's Tavern and the Mineral Spring Hotel.

The Stone homestead and smithy were demolished around 1920 according to Chamberlain. This would be consistent with the Joseph N. White and John W. Badger ownership accounts. The cellar hole is still visible on the north edge of State Route 124 west of Meads Brook and the Royce driveway and east of the gated wood road to the Bailey Mill at an elevation of 1099'. A modest center chimney "hall and parlor" house is indicated here. The remains of the smithy lie just to the east, the foundation of which is slightly lower at an elevation of 1089'. This may have been a long, narrow "ell" attached to the east side of the homestead. There is indication of two spring houses in the wet flat area just west of the cellar hole close to the highway.

## **#27 David Cutter 2nd**

Robert Wier is probably the first owner of L8R6 when he bought it from a man named Nichols in 1771 (1777 according to Chamberlain). No background information concerning Nichols was found, but Wier's name appears on deeds too many times to be coincidental (see note on page 72). One gets the sense that he owned substantial acreage in the far eastern end of the report area at one time. So most likely the account is referring to the Robert Wier who built a homestead sometime before 1774 in Jaffrey Center village south of Dr. Adonijah Howe's place (later Shattuck Inn, marked on maps). According to Chamberlain, Wier owned more than 600 acres, making him a small land speculator similar to Captain Henry Coffeen. Wier sold his homestead to John Buckley

and removed to Walpole on 6-26-1778. Thus it makes sense that sometime after 10-3-1778 he sold L8R6 to Ensign Joseph Wilder.

According to the town history, the Wilder clan in Jaffrey descended from the immigrant, Thomas Wilder. He was born to Thomas and Martha in England in 1618. He must have "crossed the pond" sometime before 1640 when he was admitted a Freeman in Charlestown, Massachusetts. He wasted no time to court and marry Anna the following year in 1641 at 23 years of age. The pioneering spirit bit him and in July of 1659 he removed to Lancaster, Massachusetts, to become one of the early settlers there. He died there and was the first to be buried on the plot of land he had previously donated to the town for that purpose. There were 5 children born to them in Lancaster, then Anna died on 6-10-1692. The next 4 generations of Wilder continued in the Lancaster area until Ensign Joseph removed to Jaffrey after the Revolution.

Ensign Joseph Wilder (6th generation) was born in Lancaster in 1760 to Joseph and Susanna. He served in the Revolution, probably in 1777. After the tour of duty he may have resided in Leominster, Massachusetts, from whence he removed to Jaffrey soon after 10-3-1778. He most likely bought L8R6 from Robert Wier at that time and settled there on the south side of the turnpike in Ballou City. According to one account, he was instructed at the 3-4-1779 town meeting "to bid off one pew for Sam Buss if he thinks proper". Presumably, this refers to the Jaffrey meeting house and same Lieutenant Samuel Buss (marked on maps) whose name appears in various places throughout this report. On 6-1-1780 Wilder married his first wife, Rachel Ripley, daughter of Noah and Lydia. According to Chamberlain, Wilder conveyed L8R6 to David Cutter in 1780, who could not occupy the lot "as he was but 18 years old". Then 10 years later Cutter bought L6R4 and built his homestead there, only to return to L8R6 in 1799. However, Chamberlain's scenario is not supported by other accounts, and so its validity seems a bit of a stretch. Wilder's wife, Rachel, died on 5-6-1788, about a month following the birth of their 4th child. Yet again, complications from child birth could have been a factor in her death. Wilder was active in town affairs, having served at various times as Highway Surveyor, Tax Collector and Constable. In 1791 he was listed as holder of pew #3 at the Jaffrey meeting house. He married his second wife, Lucy, daughter of Benjamin Safford of New Ipswich at a date not specified. However, since she was described as a resident of Jaffrey, it probably was before the move to Hartland, Vermont, in 1798. No details are given about the death of Lucy, just that there was a 3rd wife, Patience Cobb. There are no details provided about Patience either, so presumably all of this occurred after his move to Vermont. There were 5 or 6 children born in Jaffrey and 2 definitely born in Hartland. In 1799 Wilder sold his homestead on L8R6 to David Cutter.

David Cutter (5th generation) of L6R4 bought L8R6 from Joseph Wilder in 1799 (1780 according to Chamberlain) and moved down off the mountain farm to Ballou City (#27 on maps). According to Chamberlain, this was rather a return to the lot previously purchased from Joseph Wilder in 1780, but there seems to be no corroboration of that scenario in other accounts (see **#11 David Cutter**). David and Polly's last 7 children were born here on the new homestead in Ballou City. At that time or at a later date not divulged, he must have acquired some other pieces of land in the vicinity, because he

sold 2½ acres on the north side of the turnpike to John Joslin on 9-13-1804 for \$100. That small piece of L8R5 included the Mineral Spring, which became the focal point of the Mineral Spring Hotel that would later be built there (see **#25 Mineral Spring Hotel**). When the homestead burned in 1823, it appears that David and Polly never returned there and David died 3 years later at another unspecified location in Jaffrey on 5-28-1826, followed by Polly on 11-26-1857 at 92 years of age.

Joseph Cutter Sr. (5th generation) is believed to have taken over L8R6 following the fire at the homestead of his brother, David. Although not specified, the sense derived from the accounts indicates that it was Joseph who rebuilt the house in 1823 on the original cellar hole. One account further stipulates that Joseph deeded it to his son, Abel, formerly of L7R4 that very same year in 1823.

Abel Cutter (6th generation) removed from the mountain farm on L7R4 in 1823 with their 4 children to live at the new homestead in Ballou City (see **#16 Abel Cutter**). The details of their whereabouts after this are sketchy in the accounts, but it appears they removed again to the former John Quinn Farm at a date not specified. The 1850 Gibbs map of Jaffrey shows J. Cutter the resident here, so this may indicate that Abel had moved by that time and the lot had reverted back to Joseph Cutter Sr. Mary died on 7-25-1854 at a location not specified. Then Abel spent the remainder of his life living with the family of his son, Abel, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, where he died 24 years later on 1-9-1878. Curiously, on the *Atlas of Cheshire County, New Hampshire* of 1858, a Cutter is shown as residing here, but the given name initial is intelligible. Therefore the exact identity cannot be ascertained.

The *Atlas of Cheshire County, New Hampshire* of 1877 shows an A. B. Davis as the occupant here, but it was not possible to establish identification with any of the numerous Davis clan members in Jaffrey.

The *Town and City Atlas of the State of New Hampshire* of 1892 shows C. A. Proctor as the resident here. This may be the same Charles A. Proctor who bought the old Oliver Bailey Jr. place in 1884 which later became the Mountain Shade House. However, no direct connection or reference to Proctor acquiring L8R6 was found.

## **#28 Abraham Hadley**

According to the town history, the Hadley clan of Jaffrey descended from the immigrant, Dennis, born in England in 1650. Details are sparse, but he immigrated to America and settled in Sudbury, Massachusetts, for his entire life. Described as a quiet man, apparently there is very little evidence of him in town records. He died there on 1-15-1741 or 1742.

Abraham Hadley (4th generation) was born in Lancaster, Massachusetts, on 9-26-1759 to John and Deborah. On 1-1-1781 he was wed to Eunice Eveleth, daughter of Isaac and Eunice of Lancaster, at 22 years of age. That same year he supposedly re-

moved to Jaffrey and settled on a small plot located a short distance north of Bailey's Mill on the east side of the old road up to Abel and Moses Cutter (#15 & #16 on maps). However, in another account he is recorded as purchasing it in the same 1788 tax sale in which John Kent had bought his piece of the "Mineral Spring Lot". No reason was found in the accounts to explain the date discrepancy, so perhaps some research is needed here. Since there is no mention of a pre-existing house there, Hadley probably built the house that he lived in until 1806. There were 11 children all told, but the 8 boys appear to be responsible for the lasting family legacy of being wild and reckless village terrors (see Ballou City). In 1805 Hadley sold the homestead to Oliver Bailey Sr. and left town the following year in 1806. Maybe he continued to rent or squat at the house for another year, or was given a "grace period" in which to relocate.

There is no indication in the accounts of occupation after Hadley left in 1806. It appears to have remained unoccupied for 10 years until 1816. Oliver Bailey Sr. must have either sold or given the house to his son Edward in 1816, who then moved it and built it onto his own new house at the corner of the mill road and the turnpike (#23 on maps). This is probably why it does not appear on the *Atlas of Cheshire County, New Hampshire* of 1858, or any of the later atlases either. The cellar hole is said to have been filled in, so the precise location of it is a matter of speculation. However, the most likely site may have been a small, flat clearing on the right just north of the mill site where a little spur road ends at an elevation of 1151'.

## **#29 District No. 6 Schoolhouse 2nd**

This location at the northerly edge of L6R6 and north edge of the Third New Hampshire Turnpike is the second and last for the schoolhouse, formerly located at the northerly edge of L5R6 close east of the John Ross place discussed below (see **#31 District No. 6 Schoolhouse 1st** below for previous history). In 1840 the school building was moved to this location at a cost of \$50, and a wood stove added for another \$15. Then in 1840 or 1841 the district was split, the west half being designated as District No. 12. Whether the moving of the building was a result of the redistricting is not stated. It is shown on the *Atlas of Cheshire County, New Hampshire* of 1858 and the 1850 Gibbs map of Jaffrey at this location. In 1851 repairs were effected on the building amounting to \$130. Classes continued there for another 35 years until 1886, then the building was sold 12 years later in 1898. Since its location appears to be in the front yard of a private residence, the exact location was not pinpointed.

## **#30 Luke Swett**

Lieutenant Luke Swett was an officer in the Revolution who came to Jaffrey after the end of his service and bought L6R6 in 1779. Presumably he built the original homestead there just north of the Third New Hampshire Turnpike where the original 1774/75 road forked northwest to Benjamin Dole's place at Adams Corner (#4 on maps). The accounts are silent concerning his activities for the 11 years of his residence here. For

reasons unstated he apparently abandoned the place in 1790 and left for places unknown according to one account. Since Samuel Joslin bought it in 1793, there is also the possibility that Swett left in 1793. However, the account sounds as if it may have been abandoned when Joslin bought it, so some deeper probing is required here.

Samuel Joslin (5th generation) was born on 3-11-1752 in Leominster, Massachusetts, to John and Lucy, formerly of Lancaster. He was the uncle of the Captain John Joslin of nearby tavern fame. He was supposed to have settled in Ashburnham, Massachusetts, for some period up to and during the Revolution. Soon after the start of the war he married Elizabeth, daughter of Joseph Wilder of Leominster, Massachusetts, on 7-18-1776. There would be a strong possibility that she was related to the that same Wilder clan of Lancaster and Leominster from which the Ensign Joseph Wilder discussed above also descended, but no direct evidence for this was found since parts of the Wilder genealogy were apparently not traced. Samuel Joslin served in the Massachusetts militia as a soldier in Captain Gates' Company, probably during his residency in Ashburnham. Near the end of the war he came to Jaffrey, possibly as early as 1784, and bought the south part of L18R7 from Jonathan Gibson. Thus he settled there on the Third New Hampshire Turnpike east of East Jaffrey village. In 1793 he bought the old Swett place on the north edge of L6R6 west of Ballou City and settled there (#30 on maps). Samuel died on 11-17-1815 in Jaffrey, and Elizabeth followed 6 years later on 12-14-1821, but probably not on the homestead. Indeed, the timing of events in the accounts seems to indicate a rather short occupancy by Joslin. To further complicate the matter, no date is provided in the accounts for the sale of L6R6 to Rufus Houghton.

According to the town history, the entire Houghton clan in America is thought to be descended from the two immigrant progenitors, cousins John and Ralph. Both were part of a group of 10 other settlers (including John Prescott of tavern fame in Jaffrey) who bought a tract of land in the Nashua valley of Massachusetts from the Indians in 1647. There they became founding families in the town of Lancaster. Ralph was the first Town Clerk for the 26 years following its incorporation in 1652. Both managed to survive the Indian raid and massacre of 1675 by "the providence of God". Following the massacre, Ralph moved further east and settled in various towns of eastern Massachusetts. John, on the other hand, returned and resettled Lancaster. The Houghtons of Jaffrey are thought to be descendants of John, but the lineages have not been completely traced.

Captain Rufus Houghton (6th generation) was born on 5-2-1772 in Leominster, Massachusetts, to Rufus and Elizabeth. On 1-25-1795 he married Dorothy Richardson ("Dolly") at 23 years of age. Just a couple of months following the marriage on 4-9-1795 he removed to Jaffrey and bought the northerly half of L15R4 and L16R4 from Simpson Stewart. He also bought Stewart's pew at the Jaffrey meeting house. Stewart had bought the entirety of both lots around 1780 from the Trustees of Phillips Academy of Andover, Massachusetts, which deed referred to "the buildings standing thereon". So presumably Houghton occupied one of those pre-existing buildings rather than construct his own homestead. He was extremely active in the affairs of the town and for the 14 years of his residency was almost continuously in one public office or another. He was at various times a school teacher, Constable, Auditor of town accounts, Selectman,

Highway Surveyor, and member of the Social Library. It is said that he was held in high esteem by all his fellow townsmen. At a date not specified he bought the old Swett place on L6R6 (#30 on maps), but his tenure there may have been short. In 1809 he removed to Keene and yet may have retained ownership of his property in Jaffrey. In Keene he continued in public service as Deputy Sheriff and Deputy Jailer but apparently was accused of misfeasance in office. This led to lawsuits and financial burdens that resulted in the sale of his Jaffrey land holdings. Whether it included the Swett place and/or the Stewart place is not expressly stated in the account. Thus it might be possible that all of the Jaffrey land holdings were no longer in his possession by 1814. One account holds that Captain Rufus Houghton settled at the old Swett place for a short time before moving to L1R4 on the west side of the mountain. However, no other information was found to corroborate that assertion. Following the resolve of this legal crisis, Houghton removed to Ohio.

Millot Ellis (ancestry untraced) came to Jaffrey from Keene with his son and second wife, Abial, at an unspecified time but "previous to 1821". He then bought the old Swett place on L6R6 (#30 on maps) and settled there for 10 years according to the account. Since Ellis came from Keene where Houghton had also last resided, it makes one wonder if there were some associative connection between Ellis and Houghton that facilitated the deal. Actually, the connection may have been the fact that Ellis's son, Seth, had married the daughter of the Samuel Joslin who formerly owned the Swett place before Houghton (see above). The indication from the account is that the homestead was probably abandoned for a time before Ellis arrived. Supposedly he also removed to Ohio (again following Houghton) with his son's family in 1840. Since Hammond bought the place in 1831, this would seem to indicate that Ellis was not residing there for at least 7 to 12 years before the move. The discussion below under Deacon Seth Britton Ellis might possibly shed some light on his whereabouts during this time period. His second wife, Abial, died on 12-24-1836 on Christmas Eve at 72 years of age, probably in the new house of his son, Seth, in Jaffrey Center (see discussion below).

John Millot Ellis, the younger son of Millot Ellis and brother of Seth, had not accompanied the family to Ohio. Around the time the family removed to Jaffrey from Keene, he had started studies at Dartmouth College. Having graduated in 1822, he then went on to Andover Theological Seminary where he graduated in 1825. He traveled west as a missionary to Illinois, Indiana and Michigan, establishing colleges and their funding mechanisms. He returned east for a 2 year pastorate at the church in Center Hanover, New Hampshire. However, increasing ill health from an unspecified bronchial condition (tuberculosis?) caused him to resign the pastorate in Hanover. He was then employed at Dartmouth College and also by the western colleges he had founded in fund raising and endowments. He died in Nashua on 8-6-1855 at 62 years of age.

Deacon Seth Britton Ellis was the son of Millot who followed his father and step-mother to Jaffrey sometime before 1821 to settle with them on L6R6 at the old Swett place (#30 on maps). He was born on 2-4-1792 in Keene to Millot and his first wife, Rebecca. On 7-2-1818 he married Lucy, daughter of the Samuel and Elizabeth Joslin that formerly owned the Swett place. The reason for his delayed arrival after his parents is

not given. The account goes on to say that he lived on his father's homestead until 1838 and then removed to a house in Jaffrey Center. And so the date discrepancy problem comes up again. The sense derived from the accounts seems to point to a possible explanation. Indeed Seth settled on the homestead with his parents until sometime on or before the sale to Hammond in 1831. Then Seth's family and parents removed to Seth's new house in Jaffrey Center. Therefore, it probably would be in this house that Millot's second wife, Abial, died on 12-24-1836 on Christmas Eve. Further, it would have been from there that they all removed to Ohio in 1840. However, some deeper research is needed here. The Ohio emigration entourage consisted of Seth, his wife Lucy, their 9 children, his father Millot, and Thomas and Betsey Joslin, the brother and sister of Lucy. They became a founding family in the establishment of Oberlin, Ohio.

Jacob Hammond Sr. (7th generation) of L9R4 removed to the old Swett place (#30 on maps) from the Jonas Brooks place on 8-4-1831 (see **#18 Jonas Brooks**). Just two years later he sold the homestead to his son, Jacob Jr., in 1833. According to the account he removed to Marlborough in 1840 where he died on 12-22-1842. There is no mention of where he lived during that intervening 7 years, so perhaps he continued there on the homestead concurrently with Jacob Jr. Since Jacob Jr. was 58 years old in 1833 when purchasing the homestead, the situation sounds as though Jacob Sr. may have become infirm and unable to take care of the farm adequately. And so Jacob Jr. may have assumed the responsibility, in whole or in part, until Jacob Sr. removed to Marlborough in 1840. Considering that his death ensued just 2 years following the move, ill health may possibly be suggested.

Jacob Hammond Jr. (8th generation) was born on 3-11-1775 in Waltham, Massachusetts. He married the first wife, Caty Adams, on 4-10-1800 in Newton, Massachusetts, at 25 years of age. However, it was not for another 33 years that he bought Jacob Sr.'s homestead in Jaffrey in 1833. Then it appears that he may have cohabitated the homestead with Jacob Sr. until he removed to Marlborough in 1840 (see discussion above). So now Jacob Jr. continued on the homestead (#30 on maps) until his death on 8-25-1860. His second wife, Olive Newell, died the year before on 8-11-1859. The 1850 Gibbs map of Jaffrey shows J. Hammond residing here as would be expected.

The inconsistency here is that the *Atlas of Cheshire County, New Hampshire* of 1858 shows a J. A. Merrifield as the resident here. If indeed Jacob Hammond Jr. continued on the homestead until his death in 1860, this would seem to be unlikely. Further, the only James Allen Merrifield mentioned in the town history came to Jaffrey in 1857 and bought the old David Sawtell farm on L18R3 near Lincoln Corner on State Route 137 north of town. There seems to be no reference to his first purchasing the old Swett place before removing to the L18R3 lot, or any other such scenario. Therefore, it may be possible there is an error here on the atlas, or further research is required.

The *Atlas of Cheshire County, New Hampshire* of 1877 shows a G. A. Phelps residing here, and the *Town and City Atlas of the State of New Hampshire* of 1892 shows a Dr. G. A. Phelps. Both atlases probably refer to the Dr. Gurley Artimus Phelps described below. Although nothing in the accounts seem to indicate that he actually resided there,



either he may have been the owner of record at the time the atlases were printed, or there is an error in the atlases.

According to the town history, the Phelps clan of Jaffrey descended from the immigrant, William, who came to America with his wife, 6 children, and bachelor brother, George, in the ship "Mary and John". There was reported to be 140 pioneers in their company upon embarking from Plymouth, England. It is reported further that this group organized and selected their minister, Reverend Warham, the day before setting sail from England. This would seem to indicate that they were probably Puritans escaping the ire of the Anglican Church, as so many had done. Further, it also showed their faith in God for a safe passage as opposed to making the selection from among the survivors upon arrival. They landed at Nantasket (now Hull), Massachusetts, on 5-30-1630 where they became the founding settlers of the town of Dorchester. William Phelps was one of the central, driving figures in the organization of the town and intimately involved in its civic affairs. In 1635 his first wife who accompanied him from England and through whom the 6 immigrant children were birthed died there in Dorchester. In the fall of 1635 a contingent comprised of Reverend Warham and 60 members of the Dorchester church journeyed to the then wilds of Connecticut to found the town of Windsor. Both William and his brother, George, were part of that expedition. William purchased land from the Indians and built a homestead there. At a date not specified, he married his second wife, Mary Dover, who had "crossed the pond" with the group and was a member of the Dorchester church, through whom 2 more children were born. William became a magistrate and influential figure in the early colony of Connecticut until his death on 7-15-1672 at 73 years of age.

Dr. Gurley Artimus Phelps (7th generation) was born on 6-30-1822 in Waitsfield, Vermont, to Alexander and Rachel. He studied medicine at Castleton Medical College in Castleton, Vermont, one of the first 9 medical colleges established in the U.S. He then went on to study and/or internship at Bellevue Hospital in New York City, one of the earliest teaching and medical research hospitals in the U.S. He came to Jaffrey in 1849 where he settled at the house in Jaffrey Center known formerly known as the Thorndike Store and practiced medicine there for many years. About 2 years later he married Adaliza Cutter on 4-10-1851, the youngest of the 3 daughters of Benjamin and Grata. She was a woman of distinction, education and poetical talent who authored a volume of poems that was published following her untimely death on 6-3-1852 at just 29 years of age. {Historical note: two of her poems from the book are reproduced in the [Appendix](#).} Considering her death occurred less than 2 months after the birth of the first child, complications from childbirth might again be indicated here. His second wife, Nancy Priscilla Stoughton, which he married 6 years later on 11-2-1858, was equally gifted as the first but in a different way. Nancy was born on 1-23-1824 to Asa and Anna in Gill, Massachusetts. Asa was a descendant of the Thomas Stoughton who immigrated to America on the same boat as William Phelps and also part of the same founding expedition to Windsor in 1635. Nancy graduated from Mt. Holyoke Female Seminary in Holyoke, Massachusetts, in 1847 at 23 years of age and 2 years before the death of the founder. Mt. Holyoke Female Seminary was founded about 10 years earlier in 1837 by Mary Lyon, a noted graduate of Ipswich Female Seminary. Mt. Holyoke was one of the first all

female colleges in America to include study of the sciences in its curriculum. At that time higher education for women was in its infancy, so it was quite an accomplishment for the time. Nancy went on to teach school in various places, including St. Joseph, Missouri, located on the Missouri River at the edge of the Indian frontier north of Kansas City. In 1853 she accompanied an expedition of gold prospectors heading to California. Apparently she settled down following the marriage to Phelps 5 years later in 1858 and birthed 3 children there at the house in Jaffrey Center. He enlisted in the Civil War on 3-20-1865 and served as a surgeon for a very short time until 5-6-1865, just 3 days before General Robert E. Lee surrendered to General Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox Court-house, officially ending the war.

As previously discussed, while Phelps is shown as residing at the old Swett place on the *Atlas of Cheshire County, New Hampshire* of 1877 and the *Town and City Atlas of the State of New Hampshire* of 1892, no evidence was found to indicate that he or any progeny actually occupied the old Swett place (#30 on maps). No information was found concerning any tenants or renters either. Given that the J. A. Merrifield shown on the *Atlas of Cheshire County, New Hampshire* of 1858 may not have actually resided there at all either, it might possibly not have been occupied for over 30 years since Jacob Hammond Jr. died there in 1860. If this is not correct, then there is something missing from the accounts that deeper research might reveal.

All that remains today is the cellar hole on the north side of State Route 124 above the fork of the original old 1774 road up to Benjamin Dole's place at Adams Corner (#4 on maps) at an elevation of 1271'. Typical of the homesteads on better farmland closer to the main roads, an average sized center chimney "hall and parlor" house is indicated here. There is a picture of the cellar hole back on page 84. A long, narrow sill stone can still be observed on top of the western wall. These quarried, shaped stones were considered valuable to the early settlers and were very often robbed from abandoned cellar holes by nearby residents to be reused for the same or other purposes. Thus they seem to be completely absent from most old cellar holes. The barn ruins are visible very close to the west, so close as to possibly have been attached to the house via a shed or "little house". As one proceeds northwest up the abandoned wood road towards Adams Corner, a ramp can be observed on the right. It leads up the steep embankment to an offset opening in the stone wall where there was possibly a pasture gate. The key observation here is that the ramp leads south toward Swett's place rather than north to Dole's place. In order for the cows to come home, all he would have had to do is drive them down the road for a short distance to the barn! Luke Swett originally bought L6R6, on which his homestead (#30 on maps) was located on the very northern edge. The pasture ramp is located on L6R5 to the north of the homestead and angled south indicating that the cows were meant to head south towards Swett's barn. This would seem to imply that at some point part of the L6R5 lot was purchased by one of the homestead's owners for additional pasturage and/or mowing.

## **#31 District No. 6 Schoolhouse 1st**

Having rejected the 5-7-1792 findings of the location committee (see **#3 District No. 6 Schoolhouse Proposed**), the settlers built their own schoolhouse on another site in 1794. This location was east of John Ross's future place (#32 on maps) at the northerly edge of L5R6 between the Second County Road and the abandoned 1791 road to Slack's place (#2 on maps). The following year in 1795 the town voted to accept this new location on L5R6 in April. The following May, Lemuel Maynard was paid \$56.67 for finishing the District No. 6 schoolhouse, making it one of the first 5 in town completed. All of the district schoolhouses in Jaffrey were built by 1797. Then the first School Agents were elected for each district in 1798. Alexander Milliken, future builder of the tavern (see **#1 Milliken's Tavern**) was the first elected in District No. 6. The 1803 deed from Milliken to John Ross mentions this schoolhouse east of Ross's future homestead in the field north of the Third New Hampshire Turnpike. However, by 1814 the original building was in such a state of disrepair that David Gilmore built a new one on the same site. The new building erected was 21' by 20' at a cost of \$216.56. In April of 1840 it was moved to its last location on L6R6 at a cost of \$50. For the continuation of the story, see **#29 District No. 6 Schoolhouse 2'nd**.

There is no sign of its location remaining today probably due to the fact that it was moved, perhaps foundation stones and all. If there was anything remaining of the foundation, the farm improvements undertaken by the Yeatmans to increase mowing acreage there would probably have obliterated them. To further complicate the issue, the original site appears to be further compromised by might be a leach field mound. There are what appear to be some granite foundation sill stones lying on the ground in the area of the leach field mound near the stone wall. However, there is no direct evidence that these were part of the schoolhouse foundation, old stone fence posts, or something else.

## **#32 John Ross**

According to the town history, James Ross the immigrant was a surviving member of Charles II's Scottish army who were taken captive at the Battle of Dunbar in 1650 and the Battle of Worcester in 1651. One of the estimated ten thousand protestant followers of John Knox taken captive, Oliver Cromwell was distressed over how to sustain so many prisoners and prevent them from becoming a political threat all at the same time. And so he devised a plan to sell many of them into indentured servitude in numerous colonial countries around the world. Since many of them were dying of disease in the prisons, it was considered a blessing and relief to be sold into such servitude in exchange for freedom. Thus many were sent to the American Colonies as "redemptioners" through the port of Boston to work at places like the Saugus Iron Works. In 1651 the minister of Boston, John Cotton, wrote a letter to Oliver Cromwell indicating that the "redemptioners" were being treated and rewarded well, as their labor here in the Colonies was in such high demand. It is just such independent, freedom loving Scottish Highlanders who contributed greatly to the settlement of the Colonies and later in the Revo-

lution. Thus James Ross was one of many sold as an indentured servant in America in exchange for his freedom. He settled in Sudbury, Massachusetts, where he married Mary Goodnow and had 10 children.

Abraham Ross (4th generation) was the 10th child of John and Submit born at the family homestead in Sudbury on 1-2-1749 or 1750. His father died in 1859, followed by his mother in 1767. At that time the family homestead was sold and he removed to Bolton, Massachusetts. Perhaps he was taken in by his older brother, William, who had already settled there. At a date not specified, he married Persis Welch of Charlestown, Massachusetts. Abraham is described as the first of the clan to settle in Jaffrey in 1767, suggesting a rather rapid progression of the aforementioned events. However, perhaps it was the inheritance gained from the sale of the family farm that provided him with the means to buy land and build a house in Jaffrey at 17 or 18 years of age. He built the brick house on the Old Fitzwilliam Road on L4R7. He served as Highway Surveyor in 1777 and became a soldier in the Revolution. In 1803 he was supposed to have removed to L6R6 somewhere east of the Swett place north of the turnpike. However, there seems to be no corroborating evidence for this move. Chamberlain does not show this cellar hole on his map, and none was located by me personally because that area is very close to a private residence so no exploration was attempted in that area. Further, since the John below and other siblings were born at the brick house through 1812, this supposed 1803 move may not be correct. Abraham died in Jaffrey on 7-14-1841 at 91 years of age. It is thought that he was buried in the family plot at the Phillips Cemetery not far from his brick house, but no stone has been found.

John Ross (5th generation) was born to Abraham and Persis in the family's brick house on Old Fitzwilliam Road on 2-9-1779. In 1803 he bought a piece of land from Alexander Milliken and built a homestead in the field east of the tavern and close west of the schoolhouse on the north side of the turnpike at the very northern edge of L5R6 (#32 on maps). It is this deed that refers to the District No. 6 Schoolhouse just east of his homestead (#31 on maps). He married his first wife, Nabby, on 1-8-1804. Their only child was born the following year in 1805 and named after her mother. John was a hatter by trade, which he probably pursued while at the homestead. The account cites the death of Nabby, but not the date. It would appear that her death probably occurred in the 2 year period between 1805 and 1807, but not at all clear if it was related to childbirth as in so many other cases. In 1807 John paid real estate tax there for the last time as his younger brother, Abraham Jr., assumed ownership of the homestead. John's activities and whereabouts after this are not articulated in the account, but he finally remarried Mrs. Mary Ward Fisk, widow of Nathaniel Fisk of Roxbury, Massachusetts, on 5-7-1827. There are no children listed from the second marriage, and then he is recorded as dying in Brookline, Massachusetts, on 7-10-1844 at 45 years of age. Curiously, this was just 3 years after the death of his father, Abraham, in Jaffrey in 1841. While Abraham was 91 years old when he died, John died 46 years younger than his father.

Abraham Ross Jr. (5th generation, younger brother of John above) was born in 1781 presumably at the same family brick house on Old Fitzwilliam Road. He is described as settling on the family homestead on L5R6 where he was apparently already

residing (#32 on maps), finally acquiring possession of it in 1807. So he continued farming on the homestead another 12 years until suddenly leaving town, probably to Massachusetts. A David Spaulding then became a tenant on the place. Then in 1825 he sold the homestead to Spaulding in a deed citing farm and livestock. He next appears in Brighton, Massachusetts, where on 11-12-1829 he is found marrying Nancy, daughter of Moses and Elizabeth Maynard. Surprisingly, he again re-appears on the tax rolls in Jaffrey in 1830. It is thought that he first resided somewhere on the turnpike between East Jaffrey and Jaffrey Center. However, at some point he must have bought the old family homestead on L5R6 back from Spaulding. This whole scenario makes one wonder if his wanderlust was just in order to find a bride! Both the 1850 Gibbs map of Jaffrey and the *Atlas of Cheshire County, New Hampshire* of 1858 show an A. Ross residing here, presumably referring to Abraham Jr. Within the next 5 years their 4 children were born on the homestead; the oldest one would be killed in the Mexican War. Abraham Jr. died on 12-5-1865 on the homestead. At that time or soon after Nancy may have removed to Springfield, Massachusetts, where she died on 3-28-1876. Since it is not known just when she removed to Springfield or the reasons, the disposition of the homestead in the 11 years following her husband's death is not clear.

The *Atlas of Cheshire County, New Hampshire* of 1877 shows an E. Bryant as the occupant here. One might surmise that he bought it from the estate of Ross's widow on or after 1877. The only E. Bryant in the genealogical account was an Edward G. Bryant (7th generation) born around 1849 who would be about 28 years old at the time of the theoretical sale. There is no evidence to substantiate the assumption that Edward is the one named on the atlas, and no information regarding any other E. Bryant was found. It is equally possible that the homestead had become part of the Proctor House estate, owned by John Ball Proctor at that time. Therefore, E. Bryant on the atlas could refer to a tenant or renter rather than an owner. In either case, Edward G. Bryant could have been a tenant, or possibly his father, Edmund. However, Edmund would have been 69 years old in 1877. Thus the identity of E. Bryant cannot be definitively ascertained from the information at hand. Further research is required here.

The *Town and City Atlas of the State of New Hampshire* of 1892 shows a W. T. Wells residing here, but no information was found concerning him. Considering the discussion above, it is possible that Wells may have been a tenant also.

In 1905 the homestead definitely came into the possession of Pope Yeatman as part of Chislehurst Farm and became either housing for farm hands or a rental property on the estate.

In 1919 a Jaffrey tax record for Chislehurst Farm refers to a "Frye place", possibly meaning the renter of this house at that time. No information concerning anyone of that name was found. It has continued to be a rental property on the various estates down through the years until today.

The red house still extant in the field east of the Grand View near the intersection of State Route 124 with the Fitzwilliam Road is the old Ross homestead.

## CONCLUSION

While the stories in this report are but a sampling of settlers in a small part of Jaffrey, it nonetheless flows from and is representative of the larger wave of early colonial settlement. One can observe that most of the forebears of the original settlers in the report area immigrated in the early to late 1600's. Most entered through the port of Boston and settled in the surrounding towns of eastern Massachusetts, many becoming founding families or early settlers of these established or newly granted towns. It is their progeny, and sometimes these immigrants themselves, who pioneered further westward into other new townships such as Harvard, Bolton, and Lancaster. The flat, fertile valley of the Nashua River in Lancaster appeared particularly attractive and was settled by the mid 1600's. Eventually, the pioneers crept even further westward up the river valley into Leominster and Lunenburg. So when the pioneer towns of the Monadnock area were granted and the land speculators attracted new settlers, it is not surprising that many of them came from these towns. The generational timing of all these events resulted in the majority of the early settlers in the report area being 5th and 6th generation immigrants (see below).

A quantitative look at the settlement dates of 23 of the early settlers in the report reveals 8 settled before the Revolution, 10 settled during the Revolution, and 5 settled after the Revolution. The dates span a 32 year period from 1773 to 1805, with 1773 and 1778 the heaviest settlement years. This is likely a direct result of the timing of the wave of settlers pushing westward into the report area falling into that 3 decade period, and heavily weighted towards the first decade of it. Of course, there were some lots sold prior to 1773, but it seems that actual permanent settlement did not occur until 1773 in the report area. The earliest lot sold in the report area was L7R3 in 1750, but Israel Adams never homesteaded on that lot. Although the progeny of the settlers are not specifically covered in this report (with some exceptions), having been exposed to the data in the historical accounts, it is my anecdotal observation that it is largely the progeny of original settlers who either stayed on the family farms or pioneered westward, and if so, only to such relatively close places as Vermont. However, it seems that very few of the original settlers themselves pioneered west. The progeny who stayed generally continued on the family farms until the agrarian era declined before moving west. A couple generations after original settlers, the progeny who pioneered westward became settlers and founding families of places in Vermont and New York, the Ohio Valley, the Midwest, and even into the plains territories. Thus they continued the pioneering spirit of their parents to face new hardships and build new lives and new towns in new places. And so by their unstoppable energy and spirit, they carried the national wave of settlement and expansion west. The report area is only a small part of this greater wave. Then the new wave of immigration to sweep through the report area came - the summer residents.

There is another way in which this report mirrors a larger trend; that of early settlement and late 1800's farm abandonment characteristic of many New England towns. As many readers may already know, the population of numerous small towns was greater in the mid 1800's during the "sheep boom" at the height of the agrarian economy, fol-

lowed by a decline in the latter half of the 19th century. There are many reasons for this, and books have been written about it, so it will not be discussed in detail here. Suffice it to say here that with the end of the “sheep boom” following the Civil War, and homesteading opportunities opening up in the prairie, many farmers moved west. As the old New England saying goes, they got tired of “farming rocks”. Usually only the better situated farms in the intervals and valleys continued on. Further, the industrial revolution was drawing people away from the hard life of the hardscrabble hill farms into the villages to live and work the mills. It has been shown by other sources that the outlying farms were usually abandoned first, then progressively down towards the main roads and villages. The discussion below illustrates how this trend played out in the report area. Anecdotally, the reader may have noticed that with the death of many of the settlers who did remain occurring in the late 1800’s, farm abandonment usually followed.

This analysis is based on the dates from The Settlers by Place list on page 6 and numbered locations on the Lot & Range Map on page 7. Dates on the list following settler names are settlement dates, and dates on the list in parenthesis are abandonment dates. Tabulation of the settlement dates, or estimated settlement dates, of 21 original settlers of lots in the report area yields the following: 6 in 1773; 2 in 1774; 1 in 1777; 4 in 1778; 1 in 1779; 1 in 1780; 2 in 1781; 1 in 1784; 1 in 1789; 1 in 1793; and 1 in 1796. This graphically verifies the previous discussion above in the second paragraph. Note that among the earliest permanent settlers were the Baileys in what was the village of Baileys Mills (#19, #20, #21 on maps), followed by settlers further west along the early road (#4, #7, #8 on maps). Bear in mind that settlers were spreading west from Jaffrey Center. The next year 2 more settlers followed on roads extended from existing roads (#10, #17 on maps). The years 1777 and 1778 brought 4 more settlers that filled in most of the remaining livable lots on the south slopes of the mountain (#6, #9, #12, #13 on maps), and a new settler to Baileys Mills (#27 on maps). The next 3 years from 1779 to 1781 brought 3 new settlers along the main road (#30, #24, #2 on maps) and another to Baileys Mills (#28 on maps). Then 3 years later in 1784, after an 8 year period of nearly continuous settlement, an offspring of an earlier settler took up on the south slopes of the mountain (#15 on maps). Then in 1789 the last of the upper mountain settlers built his homestead (#11 on maps). This was to be the height of settlement on the upper south slopes, as most of these were already abandoned by 1793 (see below). However, in 1793 the most well known settler on the upper slopes arrived, Joseph Mead (#14 on maps), followed 3 years later by #18 in 1796. The completion of the Third New Hampshire Turnpike in 1800 resulted in 3 taverns (#1, #24, #25 on maps) and a smithy (#26 on maps). Lastly, some secondary settlement occurred (#5, #16, #23, #32 on maps).

Tabulation of the dates of abandonment, or estimated dates of abandonment, yields the following results: 1 in 1783; 1 in 1790; 3 in 1793; 1 in 1799; 1 in 1804; 2 in 1806; 1 in 1816; 1 in 1820; 1 in 1831; 2 in 1858; 1 in 1881; 1 in 1892; and 5 still extant. However, since the 1783 abandonment date is related to the unsolved Henderson/Mountain House enigma, that date may not be valid (see **#7 John Henderson**). So the first farm abandonment observed is the 3 year period from 1790 to 1793 in which 4 were vacated on the upper slopes of the mountain (#9, #10, #12, #13 on maps). Another followed quickly in 1799 (#11 on maps). And yet another followed 5 years later in 1804 (#15 on

maps). In 1806 there was 2, one on the turnpike (#2 on maps), and one in Ballou City (#28 on maps). Then in 1816 #17 was abandoned. The last holdout on the upper south slopes, Meads Farm, succumbed in 1820 (#14 on maps). The lower end of the slopes on the east side were completely empty when #16 removed to #27 in Ballou City in 1823 and #18 removed to #30 on the turnpike in 1831. Then in 1832 #6 near Adams Corner was abandoned, followed 60 years later by #30 on the turnpike in 1892. The loss of places along the turnpike continued with 2 in Ballou City in 1897 (#24, "Hem-enway's "new house", see page 97 under **#24 Joslin's Tavern**, #26 on maps). Some abandonment dates are not known or clear from the accounts, but Ardsley Cottage was unoccupied by 1905 (#5 on maps), and #23 by 1929. At the end of it all, 7 places have survived until today, all of them located along State Route 124 (#1, #8, #19, #20, #21, #27 on maps), and Three Chimneys (marked on maps).

Scrutiny of all the data reveals that the report area followed the overall trend as discussed above for the most part. Settlement started along the main road and spread up the mountain pretty early. The completion of the Third New Hampshire Turnpike brought another wave that increased the density of settlement along the road and in Ballou City. The big departure from the trend seems to be the extremely early abandonment of farms on the upper south slopes of the mountain. Among the first to be settled, these mountain farms were also the very first to be abandoned. However, this should not be surprising given the poor prospect of successfully farming these lots. Undoubtedly, the most successful, and longest working farm was Meads Farm, situated on what was probably the best of the poor farmland on the upper south slopes. Since its demise in 1820 was due to the untimely death of Joseph Mead Jr. and his wife, it is not clear how long it would have continued. The account does not state who bought it at the 1826 auction or if it was farmed after that. By 1823 the last holdouts, Abel Cutter (#16 on maps) and Jacob Hammond (#18 on maps) had removed off the mountain to the turnpike or Ballou City. The decline continued with the loss of some of the houses, shops, taverns and mills along the highway. The influx of summer residents arrested the decline and saved some of the old houses and taverns from certain demise. Note that mainly the Bailey houses, Milliken's Tavern, and the Mountain House remain today as reminders of the past.

In reflecting on the stories of the settlers in this report, there are many questions that could come to mind. Among them might be: Who were they? Where did they come from? Why did they come to America? The first 2 questions will be addressed in the discussion that follows. The third question will be taken up in the EPILOG.

Without a doubt, the majority of original immigrants came from England, followed by Ireland and Scotland, with 1 from France and a Scott arriving via Newfoundland. They seemed to have become founding or early settlers of various towns mostly north and west of Boston. There was a handful that settled in towns southeast of Boston. The largest number (8) had become founding families of Lancaster, followed by settlers of Waltham (4), Leominster (3) and Boston (3). The rest settled in 25 other towns scattered around eastern Massachusetts, and 2 in Vermont. Therefore it follows that from these eastern Massachusetts towns most of the Jaffrey immigrants originated. This



“early wave” of immigration (early to late 1600’s) resulted in the majority of original settlers in the report area being 5th generation Americans at 40%. Sixth generation settlers were significantly fewer at 15%, followed by 7th generation at 11% and only one 8th generation. Further, it seems that the timing of land settlement by the Masonian Proprietors through their agents occurred coincidentally with the maturation of that 5th generation seeking homesteading opportunities. The towns in eastern Massachusetts were becoming “crowded” and there was a certain pressure for expansion, especially by the time of the Revolution. The surprise in the analysis was the high percentage (15%) of 1st generation Jaffrey immigrants from a “second wave” of later immigration to America in the 1800’s. Of these, 4 were from Ireland, 2 from England, and 1 from Scotland. So the only common thread found here is that most of the original settlers came from the British Isles, followed by a “second wave” of immigrants also from the British Isles, predominantly Ireland. While most of the original immigrants were 5th generation from eastern Massachusetts, the second wave were mostly 1st generation immigrants, perhaps part of the Irish “Diaspora” caused by the potato famine.

There are several additional anecdotal observations to be gleaned from the sampling of settlers in this report. It may have already occurred to the reader there seem to be numerous instances of women possibly dying from complications as the result of childbirth. There were 8 out of an undetermined number of women. This may not be a surprise given the state of obstetrics at the time, and the fact that many births were attended by midwives rather than doctors. Assuredly post natal care was probably very poor or absent, and therefore the threat of infections very great. Another frequently occurring circumstance seems to be the case of the settlers who left the homestead they built and/or farmed for some other (often undisclosed) location where they died or received care before dying. It is perfectly understandable that if they contracted an illness, disease, or other untreatable health problem due to old age, that they were not able to continue the arduous labor required to live on these “hardscrabble” farms. The most often cited location for ailing parents to go was to the house of one of their offspring, which may be true for many of the others for which a specific location was not cited. Captain John Joslin was able to hire a relative to care for him and his wife. This too reflects the time period and culture in which they worked and lived, and stands in stark contrast to our modern culture of herding the elderly into nursing homes. Lastly, there were 2 “redemptioners” amongst the small group of settlers, which at first appears a rather large percentage. However, it probably comes down to a matter of timing; the timing of their arrival at the port of Boston coupled with the timing of the homesteading opportunities available in Jaffrey.

Analysis of the archaeological remains yields another important observation. Most of the remaining cellar holes on the upper south slopes of the mountain have no stone or walls showing. The indication is that these were very small cabins or shanties. Remember the road record that referred to Ephraim Adams place as a “camp” (#13 on maps). The picture of #11 David Cutter 1st on page 57 exemplifies the type of depression also found at #12, #13, #15 and west #18 on the maps. Because the cellar holes at #9 and #10 were destroyed, it is not possible to know exactly what had remained. However, judging by the very small size of the shallow digging at #10, it probably fell into the

same category as the #11 picture. The most notable exception to this is the small stone cellar hole at Meads Farm (#14 on maps) and the Abel Cutter place (#16 on maps) indicative of a modest sized farmhouse, perhaps a cape style. The #14 Meads Farm picture on page 57 exemplifies these, which may also be found at #6 and #17. The 2 pronged shallow digging at #9 is impossible to read. It may indicate that there were 2 structures there, a house and barn, which might imply a stone cellar hole. However, Avery's short tenure there might imply otherwise. Most of the remaining cellar holes are of the stone type, indicative of the standard "hall and parlor" style of farmhouse commonly built at the time. The picture #30 Luke Swett on page 81 exemplifies a center chimney hall and parlor style house. The only such houses built other than on the turnpike were the new house of Jonas Brooks (east #18 on maps), the Dole place (#4 on maps) and Ardsley Cottage (#5 on maps). The brief synopsis is simply this: for the most part smaller cabins and shanties were built on the upper slopes, modest sized farmhouses built on the lower slopes, and the larger "hall and parlor" houses built at the base of the mountain and along the turnpike. It appears that the size of the farmhouses built directly corresponds to the quality and quantity of the arable land and therefore the probable success of the farm.

## EPILOG

Lastly, the question of why the immigrants came to America will be addressed. However, it may be the harder question to answer, since the reasons for immigration differed from settler to settler and generation to generation. However, it appears that the most common thread connecting the approximately 56 immigrants discussed in this report is the "religious" one. Whether it was the protestant French Huguenot or the Puritans from England, it seems that all were escaping some form of persecution ultimately resulting from the shock waves of the Reformation that reverberated throughout Europe in the 1500's and early 1600's. These immigrants escaped persecution in Europe and endured the hardships of immigration only to face the hardships of pioneering in a foreign land. And so it follows naturally that the settlers of the report area were religious also. Therefore it is no surprise that the civil society they designed here was a natural expression of their Christian beliefs. This resulted in the establishment of the town sponsored Puritan Calvinist Congregational parishes. In contrast to the above, the 3 Freewill Baptists mentioned in the report were in a sense ostracized by the Congregational establishment (see Radical Sects of Revolutionary New England in the APPENDIX). The 2 Presbyterian "redemptioners" in the report were in a sense ill treated by Oliver Cromwell and sold as indentured servants in America, and then stayed to avail themselves of the opportunities for a new life here.

The excerpts below are taken from a sermon delivered at the South Congregational Church in Boston, Massachusetts, on 7-5-1840 by the Reverend Mellish Irving Motte entitled; *The Christian Patriot*. He more eloquently than I, albeit in archaic language, sums up the lessons to be learned from the history covered in this report. The excerpts compiled here are not necessarily in the order of the sermon as delivered in 1840.

“.....Our fathers have made one more trial, knowing that past failures were from want of Christian principle, and therefore they might hope. In faith and prayer they struggled; for they felt, that with God all things are possible in the cause of righteousness, and they hoped their children would feel this too. From the first, they set out with the idea of making this community that happy people, whose God is the Lord, -- a Christian nation, -- what the world had never yet seen,.....A Christian people! Not merely a sober, industrious people, without religion, if such could be expected, but distinctively a Christian people.....As this shows, not the politics and religion are necessarily inconsistent, -- for the former, I suppose, is a duty as really as the latter, and all duties should be performed in the fear of God, -- but it shows, that the spirit of politics which prevails is not the right one. The good of our country should be provided for, as in the sight of God, and in sacred love to our fellow men; and then it is a holy service, and need not be dissevered from the solemnest ministrations of devotions. It is one of the modes of worship with which the Universal Father is well pleased; one of the forms of his appointed ceremonial of religion pure and undefiled, which consists in going about doing good for his sake. But, if it is only a selfish, headlong, intemperate scramble for preeminence, if it is mercenary (*taking inordinate resources from the working people to line their own pockets and build large, powerful government*), not moral, in its spirit, a question of interest, not of right.....Liberty (*and*) licentiousness, -- it is the tritest of proverbs, -- cannot exist lastingly.....But, when a freeman does not govern himself, he is ungoverned, so to speak, and careering to perdition;.....Let us not be satisfied to be guilty, because the guilt is shared with a multitude. Away with injustice and ungenerosity, though only in thought, however popular, however fashionable. So shall we do our part to bring into currency a more elevated and uncompromising tone of political honor and conscience; and the whole regions of politics be no longer but as the Barbary States of moral geography, outlawed lands and piratical seas, from which are excluded all faith and virtue, all laws of God and man.....Look into the nature of things. When hath a righteous nation perished? Where is there one doing justice and judgment, and it is not well with it? Public virtue is the strongest spirit of national vitality; and private virtue is the lifeblood, coursing through every artery and vein, large and small, of the public institutions.....On the other hand, is it not undeniable from reason, scripture, and experience, that predominance of selfish principles and corrupt morals is the unfailing cause of calamities, perplexities, and ruin in a country? Reason tells us, that the character of the Judge of all the earth is the pledged to have it so.....O that our beloved land may be wise from the lesson! And the lesson is more pertinent under our republican polity, than under any other. If righteousness exalteth a nation, and sin is a reproach and ruin to any people, most speedily of all must it prove so to a people without the restraints of a strong government.....Public opinion is the life-breath of our own government, and therefore to Christianize that, we have but to Christianize ourselves.....If a majority of the citizens were sincere followers of Jesus Christ.....the councils of this nation would be wiser and mightier, its progress more glorious, its dominion even more potent than any the world has ever seen? The day when it shall be resolved, that the same evangelical principles shall govern states that govern churches and gospel professors in their private relations, would be the true jubilee of freedom. That will be the mind's and the soul's declaration of independence.....because you love, and you serve and save, your country; because you would have it long free; because you would be truly free yourselves.

Where the spirit of the Lord is , there is liberty. If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed. Where he is not the deliverer, men may clamor, and boast, and carouse, and with bacchanalian revelry call themselves free but they are the bondmen of corruption, the thralls of Satan. O be ye, unlike them, the freedmen of the Lord, whose service is perfect freedom.....Read the Constitution by the light of the gospel. The Savior be your paramount leader.....Therefore every immoral republican is a traitor and conspirator against his government, as much as if, being the subject of a king, he pointed a dagger against his life.....So that you see, my brethren, in addition to every other motive for being good Christians, patriotism should be one. After we have turned away from the voice of God; after we have steeled our hearts to the claims of him who died upon Calvary, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God; after we have besotted our minds to act the fool's part of blindness to our interest; there is yet one appeal which may not be lost upon our generosity, one consideration that should be sufficient; public spirit, the love of our country. Its welfare is resting on our individual virtue. For as drops of water make up the ocean, and grains of sand constitute vast continents, so the personal character of the humblest individual among us adds something, for weal {Historical note: antiquated term for a sound, healthy, prosperous state.} or for woe, to that national character, by which the land of our love, the government which has cherished us, will stand or fall. Our native soil, the scene of our happy childhood, the land of our fathers, the land where we have enjoyed so much, and from which the world expects so much, shall it realize these expectations? Shall it become, as has been so fondly anticipated, the glory of the nations, has the perfection of beauty, the joy of the whole earth, showing what man can do with unshackled energies and faculties ripely developed in the wholesome air of liberty? Or shall it be one more byword and mockery of the aspirations and pretensions of freedom.”

## APPENDIX

### Freeman's Oath

I \_\_\_\_\_ being by God's providence, an Inhabitant, and Freeman, within the Jurisdiction of this Commonwealth; do freely acknowledge myself to be subject to the Government thereof: And therefore do here swear by the great and dreadful Name of the Ever-living God, that I will be true and faithful to the same, and will accordingly yield assistance and support there unto, with my person and estate, as in equity I am bound; and will also truly endeavor to maintain and preserve all the liberties and privileges thereof, submitting myself to the wholesome Laws and Orders made and established by the same. And further, that I will not plot or practice any evil against it, or consent to any that shall so do; but will timely discover and reveal the same to Lawful authority now here established, for the speedy preventing thereof.

Moreover, I do solemnly bind myself in the sight of God, that when I shall be called to give my voice touching any matter of this State, in which Freeman are to deal, I will give my vote and suffrage as I shall judge in mine own conscience may best conduce and tend to the public weal of the body, So help me God in the Lord Jesus Christ.

## Poems of Adaliza Cutter

### THE LIFE OF CHRIST

#### Invocation

Father in heaven! with faith, and hope, and love,  
I would bow down in voiceless prayer to thee;  
Instinctively, my spirit seeks above,  
The source of beauty and of poesy.  
Give to the heart a thought, the lip a word,  
Bid the deep fountains of the soul be stirred,  
Till it's sweet waters gush up pure and free;  
With truer worship aid me to adore  
Thine own most holy name, and love thee more and more!

And Thou, dear Savior! lowly at thy feet  
I sit, and sing, and tune my humble lyre;  
The wide, wide world affords no place to meet,  
To kindle in the soul poetic fire.  
To thee, to thee my fainting heart would turn,  
To seek for thrilling thoughts, for "words that burn",  
For sweetest sounds to tremble on each wire,  
Take me beneath the shadow of thy wing,  
And fold me to thy heart while of thy love I sing!

And come, thou Holy Spirit, come and dwell  
Richly within my heart's most secret shrine;  
Powerless I yield to thy resistless spell,  
To dreams and visions that are so divine.  
The earth recedes, and heaven itself seems near,  
Triumphant music floats upon my ear,  
And lights celestial round my pathway shine.  
Enough, enough of inspiration given,  
'T were woe to turn to earth, from sweeter dreams of heaven!

#### MONADNOC

Beautiful mountain! I gaze on thee,  
As o'er thy summit clouds come and flee;  
While the shades of evening gently fall  
And wrap thy proud form in darkness all.

I love to watch thee at eve's sweet hour,

For then my soul feels thy magic power;  
Then music's voice hath its sweetest tone,  
And with joy I list the wind's low moan.

In childhood's days thou didst greet my sight,  
And my young heart danced with wild delight;  
Oh! how I wished for the free bird's wing,  
To soar o'er thy rocks, and sweetly sing.

Thou art the charm of my girlhood's hours,  
As I rove o'er the fields mid leaves and flowers,  
And catch a glimpse of thy rocky side,  
Standing in glory, in strength, and pride.

The clouds play round thee all light and free,  
Sporting like children half wild with glee;  
A moment they rest, then flee away,  
Unchained they are, and they may not stay.

The shades of evening now haste along,  
And I, too, will close my humble song;  
Thy form is veiled from my raptured sight,  
Oh! beauteous mount! good night! good night!

### Radical Sects of Revolutionary New Hampshire

There have been numerous books written by various authors on the subject that follows, many by authors from one of the sects involved, or by secular authors who may not have understanding of the theological factors intimately involved in the history. Their biased perspectives may tend to taint the historical realities either through a tinted sectarian lens or by disregarding important religious factors. The book entitled as the heading above, authored by Stephen A. Marini, and quoted extensively below seems to address the theological, or sectarian, differences while neither degrading the beliefs of any sect, or promoting the beliefs of one sect over those of another. Therefore, excerpts are quoted fully below. They have been arranged from different parts of the book in order to provide a picture, or historical background, for several incidents involving characters in this report. Hopefully, this highly abbreviated version is adequate to provide that background. If any questions remain, it is suggested that one read the entire 174+ page book listed in the Bibliography.

According to Marini, 3 New England sects were spawned from the Great Awakening of 1736-1745. However, for the purposes of this report only the Freewill Baptist persuasion will be covered in depth. The excerpts quoted below provide a plausible historical background to understand how the actions taken by certain individuals in the report reflect a larger context outside of the report area. For instance, if Anthony Emery (see [#4](#)

**Benjamin Dole**), who was a Protestant follower of John Knox, had become a Baptist in America, it may explain why he suddenly left Newbury for Kittery. Further, it may explain why he entertained Quakers in his tavern in disobedience to the Puritan Congregational laws of the time, also being of a banned sect himself. It also provides the reason why several Baptists in the report petitioned the town for relief from taxation to support the town sanctioned Puritan Congregational preaching. These would be Captain Henry Coffeen (see [Henry Coffeen](#)), Lieutenant Samuel Stickney and Robertson Perkins (see [#2 William Slack](#)). Most importantly, it provides the context in which Henry Coffeen may have changed loyalties from Patriot to Tory. As a sidelight, it may provide the context for why one of his Tory compatriots, Breed Batchelder of Roxbury, had to escape to Canada.

According to Marini, New England “was thoroughly dominated by the Puritan tradition of British Calvinism. Aside from a scattering of Baptist and Quaker congregations, New England before 1740 was solidly Congregationalist. Congregationalism was the established religion, resting on state maintenance and taxation, a powerful organization of geographical parishes, a learned clergy trained at Harvard and Yale, and a clear standard of orthodoxy articulated in the Cambridge and Saybrook Platforms. Though Congregationalism admitted a certain degree of theological diversity, it was solidly and irrevocably rooted in the doctrines of Calvinism classically expressed in the Westminster Confession of Faith.....The health of the Congregationalism depended absolutely on the maintenance of the parish system, a network of congregations and settled ministers coextensive with and parallel to the organization of New England towns.” And of course this is exactly how the settlers organized Middle Monadnock No. 2 which later became Jaffrey. All the settlers in the report, excepting the aforementioned Freewill “Baptists”, Henry Coffeen, Robertson Perkins and Samuel Stickney, were likely both proponents of and participants in this church-state system. An example of how church business was adjudicated at a civil meeting would be the series of town meetings that led to the election of Reverend Laban Ainsworth as the “settled minister” of Jaffrey. Another would be the reference that Ensign Joseph Wilder was instructed at a 1779 town meeting to sell his pew at the Jaffrey meeting house to Samuel Buss (see [#27 David Cutter 2nd](#)).

“The first major outbreak of religious dissent in New England was the result of America’s first mass revival, the Great Awakening of 1736-1745. Sparked by the itinerant preaching of George Whitefield and the theological explication of Jonathan Edwards, the revival swept New England with radical demands for spiritual rebirth, moral purity, and emotional engagement with religion. Whitefield went as far as to instruct revived saints to shun the preaching of ‘unconverted’ ministers; and when Whitefield’s disciple James Davenport called on the regenerate to come out and be a separate people, many responded.” In the aftermath of the Great Awakening, a minor rift occurred in the Puritan Congregationalist establishment. According to Marini, the revival sparked “Separates”, also called “Strict Congregationalists”, who became a short-lived faction that attempted to separate from the established Congregationalist church which they considered corrupt, while other revivalist “New Light Congregationalists” sought to change it from within. However, failing in that endeavor, the “New Lights” eventually pulled away from the “Old Lights” who maintained the original Puritan New England Calvinism.

“The Baptists were the major beneficiaries of the religious dissent generated by the Great Awakening. The Calvinistic, or Particular, Baptists organized their first association in America at Philadelphia in 1707.” The name suggests that they were the strict 5-point Calvinist believers, fully embracing the doctrine of salvation only by predestination. “The Freewill Baptist movement began with the end of George Whitefield’s long itinerant career: Benjamin Randel, the sect’s founder, was one of the Grand Itinerant’s last converts.....’I saw that [the Scripture] ran in perfect connection with the universal love of God to all men, and with the universal call of the gospel’. These anti-Calvinist beliefs were confirmed by the ultimate test of Evangelical piety - the personal experience of the Spirit.....His message was infused with millennial expectation, the claim of free will, and the demand for Christian perfection..... By the mid 1750’s Separates and Baptists became the leading party of dissent within New England Calvinism.....the local sects unmistakably modified the Calvinist theological tradition. Each group based its beliefs on a rejection of some salient feature of post-Awakening Calvinist thought.....The mature sectarian theologies moved beyond defiance of Calvinism on particular doctrines to construction of alternative systems that circumvented and invalidated its internal logic.”

The main difference between the New England Calvinism of the Congregationalists and the Evangelical Calvinism of the Freewill Baptists centered on the doctrines of predestination and infant baptism. New England Calvinism “argued for four distinctive and interlocking beliefs: the absolute sovereignty of God, the innate depravity of human beings, the limited substitutionary atonement of Jesus Christ, and the predestination and election of souls.....The good news of Calvinism was that God through Christ, the second person of the Trinity, displayed mercy and forgiveness to some of these depraved humans. In order to satisfy divine retribution for sin, Christ took human form, endured death by crucifixion, and employed this suffering as a substitute penalty for sinners. Christ’s atoning sacrifice, however, was applied only to those whom God, in a separate act of sovereign will, had chosen ‘before the foundation of the world’. These elect, whose salvation depended solely on the unmerited grace of God through Christ, were regenerated and sanctified.....by the Holy Spirit in this life and would persevere to live and reign with Christ eternally. The reprobate, also destined by divine fiat, died in their sins and awaited the Last Judgment and a just sentence of eternal damnation.....But the inscrutability of God’s electing will made certainty of sainthood unattainable. Regeneration was therefore always couched in terms of ‘reasonable hope’ and ‘evidence of grace’ rather than experiential surety.” It was also their practice to perform infant baptism, followed by a “Confirmation” ceremony later in life to confirm the individual’s belief.

On the other hand, “The Freewill Baptists denied the Calvinist teaching that God had decreed the salvation or reprobation of human souls before creation. The destiny of humanity, rather, depended upon the ‘bent of the free will or voluntary turn of mind.’ .....For Freewill Baptists, Christ began his redemptive role at the moment of original sin, reversing the lethal effects of humanity’s disobedience and freely enforcing God’s will that His creatures be saved....But for the Freewill Baptists the decisive event of human history was the incarnation of Christ in the man Jesus.....The necessity of incarnation was to them self-evident. Although human souls were actually saved already from the penalty of original sin, they were still incapable of full reunion with God be-



cause they continued to commit volitional sin as a consequence of their fallen state. To provide a 'legal door' for the forgiveness of this kind of sin, the Freewillers reasoned, Christ had to take human form, to 'be like man and become capable of suffering and death for them.' .....it was motivated by Christ's love, graciousness and willingness to restore the broken union of humans and God.....Christ's atonement on the cross was as universal as his intervention for humanity had been at the Fall. Both were manifestations of God's will that 'all should come to the knowledge of the truth and be saved' .....The distribution of salvific grace thus depended on each sinner's conscious choice .....to follow the law of love and regain union with God through belief in Jesus as savior.....Faith in Christ brought eternal life and sanctification; rejection of salvation was the 'second death', absolute and eternal separation from God." Further, the Freewill Baptists practiced the "believers baptism" employed by the Apostles in the Book of Acts whereby a professing believer of any age could be baptized by full immersion.

"During the 1770's and especially immediately after the (Revolutionary) war, New England experienced yet another societal shock in the form of mass migration to the hill country of the northern and western frontier.....Many, perhaps most, of these settlers were pro-revival New Lights of some kind: Separate, Baptist, or Congregationalist.....In the heat of the New Light revival of 1778-1782 the founders gathered large followings among the Evangelical Calvinists of the hill country." However, in stark contrast to this broader picture painted by Marini, the "New Light Stir" appears to have had minimal impact on the report area. There were possibly only 3 Freewill Baptist settlers in the report area. Further, it appears that the great majority of settlers in the report area had remained faithful to the Congregational persuasion under the shepherding of their beloved minister, the Reverend Laban Ainsworth (see [The Laban Ainsworth Connection](#)). There is no specific mention in the accounts concerning any dissenting factions, either "Separates" or "New Lights", at the Jaffrey Center meeting house.

"By 1770, however, Radical Evangelicals, particularly the Baptists, had entered the mainstream of New England cultural life. As revolution approached they were presented with an acute dilemma: Should they remain neutral on religious grounds or enter the conflict; and if the latter, on which side? The decision was difficult and by no means unanimous. The chief political demand of Radical Evangelicals was religious toleration. Since the Great Awakening they had received little relief from religious taxation and certification laws designed to support the Congregationalist establishment. For this reason many Radicals believed that the Crown rather than a new revolutionary government was more likely to guarantee freedom of conscience. On the other hand, punitive Crown policies had adverse effects on Baptists as well as their Congregationalist brethren, and Baptist arguments for toleration were drawn from the same intellectual sources as Whig ideology, creating a natural bond with the Revolutionaries. Yet other Radicals were Christian pacifists who refused to countenance violence and stood neutral toward both Loyalist and Patriot persuasions."

"The commitment of the Radical Evangelicals was thoroughly in doubt until 1775, when the Warren Association leadership declared for the Revolutionary movement....It was through such encounters that Baptists attained a paradoxical legitimacy in Revolu-

tionary New England, welcomed and honored in the struggle for independence yet unheeded in the very demands that motivated their political participation.....The hill country was decisively Patriot in sympathy, but its conversion to the independence movement was late, and the presence of a large neutral population fostered suspicion and conflict. Toryism was not a serious threat, though many Tories did locate on the frontier seeking to avoid persecution without having to emigrate.....In the absence of strong town governments, political authority was claimed by Committees of Safety and local militia units.....A number of ministers and lay people declared their neutrality. The most notable of these was Dr. Samuel Shephard, Baptist elder at Brentwood, New Hampshire, who refused to sign a Committee of Safety pledge of armed resistance against the British on 4-12-1776. As late as 1780 the Woodstock, Connecticut, Baptist church articulated a classic neutral position: 'We feel but little heart to hold the sword against a British invader while our country men are endeavoring to deprive us of liberty of conscience.' Other Radical neutrals took a more drastic course, removing to the frontier or British Canada in an effort to separate from the sins of war. Few Radical Evangelicals were Tories, but a sizable number found revolutionary action inimical to Christian duty and sought through various means to hold the difficult stance of neutrality in troubled times."

The historical illustration quoted here about the life of Benjamin Randel, founder of the Freewill Baptist movement, highlights the angst and struggle of the Baptists had in dealing with the patriotic fervor. Further, it illuminates possible reasons why Captain Henry Coffeen appears to have turned Tory after starting out as a Patriot. Curiously, both Randel and Coffeen who began as Patriots appeared to have turned Loyalist or become branded as Loyalist in the same year of 1777. "Revolutionary war presented Randel with another serious religious question. As a strong Patriot he supported the cause of liberty, but he scrupled against bearing arms as a violation of Christian morality. He served briefly in a noncombatant role during late 1776 and early 1777, then returned to Newcastle where he dedicated his life to the 'gospel ministry' vowing to 'wear out my life in God's cause'.....Wearing their anti-revival orthodoxy as a badge of civic unity and patriotism. Newcastle's Old Lights accused Randel of disloyalty for fomenting religious dissent in time of war. After a series of assaults, stonings, and mobbings, Randel only narrowly escaped being tarred and feathered by the selectmen of Newcastle and nearby Rye. Allegations of Toryism continued as Randel fearlessly preached the priority of spiritual over temporal concerns." The other interesting connection from this account is that it mirrors the very similar treatment that Abner and Eleazer Sanger Jr. received in Keene at the hands of the Patriots as described in Sanger's journal. Sanger also describes being stoned by women while passing their houses, incidents such as "Dr. Blake's wife, raves and throws clubs at me.", and being attacked by one of many roving mobs and taken prisoner (see below).

The story of Henry Coffeen, the Patriot turned Loyalist, and his association to other Patriots turned Loyalist goes to the heart of the discussion above. Henry Coffeen was definitely a Baptist, described as such in the town history when challenging the town of Rindge over taxation to support the Congregational preaching, also supported by the discussion above. Further, his name was listed separately and specifically as Baptist on

the aforementioned Remonstrance Against Division of the Town in 1774 (see historical note on page 51). The interesting side note here is that voters were listed on that document separately by faith rather than by political persuasion. From all of the preceding discussion it should be clear that Coffeen was likely a Freewill Baptist, and that his religious convictions possibly led to the change of loyalties, or an attempt to remain neutral. Coffeen's story also exemplifies the angst of Freewill Baptists and others over allegiance to the cause of liberty, to the British crown, or to the pacifist leanings of their religious doctrine that Marini describes in his book. It further provides a plausible reason for his leaving Jaffrey for Acworth so suddenly after his trial for treason in 1777. It was also the reason there is no further mention of his involvement in civic affairs, because not signing the Association Test would have prevented him from holding any public office again. It also could be why he took up the millwright trade in Acworth in order to occupy himself with concerns other than town affairs. It further explains why his associations seemed to be largely Loyalist and/or family in the latter years before his death.

Abner Sanger, on the other hand, was described as a reluctant Patriot who left Keene with other Patriots bound for Cambridge, Massachusetts, to enlist in the Revolution in 1775. Later he referred to his actions in a letter to his son, "I was as big a fool as any of them..." According to the editor of Sanger's journal, it was in Cambridge that Abner became disillusioned and began his slow, sure change to Loyalist sympathies, but it seems from the data that his doubts had already formed. In letters to his son, Sanger stated "And I feel happy that I was never found in the awful crime of rebellion which the Americans were obliged to own" and further expressed the sentiment that in all good conscience breaking allegiance to the King of England was not in the best interest of the Colonies. Further, it is quoted in Sanger's journal, "He find royalists in a stupor as to their true liberty." Sanger referred to Patriots as "rebels", and Patriot militia patrols of the respective town Committees of Safety as "mobs". Unlike Coffeen, Abner's religious convictions are extremely problematical to determine. He is not cited as attending any "holy meetings" such as those of the Freewill Baptists as his brother Eleazer did. As a matter of fact, according to the editor of Sanger's journal, "The Sangers were not strongly religious, although certainly they were part of the established Puritan Congregationalist tradition. They owned a pew in the church but only Mary Sanger was a church member,.....Church membership was far from universal. Only a minority of the population was able (or willing) to testify to a true religious experience which was a requirement for full membership." However, Abner was known to have traveled to hear various preachers: some that could be described as "New Light", "Old Light", strict Congregationalist, and others sympathetic to Great Awakening theology. The fact that Abner was listening to differing religious viewpoints may indicate that he was searching for answers and not settled in his own spiritual convictions, which would seem to validate the editor's quote above. Eleazer Sanger Jr. was long known to be an outspoken Tory in Keene before and during the Revolution who had enlisted in the British army. However, his religious convictions are equally as unclear as his brother's. Although his background was not researched, Breed Batchelder's actions also seem to reflect those of the many other Freewill Baptists discussed above. All this may serve to illustrate is that Loyalists, resulting from religious conviction or not, tended to associate.

Tories paid a price for allegiance to the British crown, and some even lost their lives. {Historical note: to quote a footnote in Abner's journal, "Sentences for New Hampshire Tories varied. Some posted bonds and were confined to their home farms; passes to travel were required. Some paid fines from 20 Shillings to £40. Those considered "dangerous" were "proscribed" (78 men); some had their property confiscated (25). NHSP, 8:808-14".} Captain Henry Coffeen seems to have paid a price. Formerly active in Jaffrey and Rindge town affairs before his trial in 1777, there is no mention of civic involvement after removing to Acworth. Although there is no indication that he was imprisoned or put under house arrest, he was fined in addition to possibly being disfranchised for not signing the Association Test, which would have prevented him from holding public office. Abner and Eleazer Sanger Jr. seem to have incurred harsher treatment in Keene than Coffeen received in Jaffrey, again demonstrating other parts of the discussion above. The Sanger brothers were attacked by a Patriot mob, tried for treason, imprisoned, fined and put under house arrest. Eleazer Sanger Jr. eventually had to flee to Canada. The noted Roxbury Tory and compatriot of Coffeen and the Sanger brothers, Major Breed Batchelder, fled to British Canada, providing another example of those who escaped. Sanger's journal refers to another Tory, James Perkins, who was one of 13 who refused to sign the Association Test in Keene. It is believed that he left town after his shop was sold, demonstrating how some lost their property.

"The wartime reductions in class size at New England colleges and disruption of private theological tutorials greatly diminished the supply of potential ministers and missionaries precisely at the time that the hill country entered its most intense period of growth..... The political revolution of 1776 weakened the governmental structures upon which the Congregationalist establishment depended and opened the possibility for Radical Evangelicals to achieve their principle political goals of toleration and freedom of conscience..... The Revolutionary order in New England did not put an end to the Congregationalist establishment, but it did alleviate the worst abuses and award the Baptists a new cultural and political legitimacy." In 1780 the Freewill Baptists officially separated from the Calvinistic Baptists. "By 1784 Benjamin Randel's fourteen-year spiritual odyssey was at last over. He had synthesized Old Light tradition, Whitefield's New Birth, Baptist practice, and Henry Alline's theology into a unique New England form of Radical Evangelical sectarianism."

Stories like the one above may have been true for other religious groups as well. Although definitely not deliberate or meant to be intentionally harmful, it is nonetheless ironic that the formerly persecuted would unwittingly become the persecutor. The sects spawned from the Great Awakening, namely the Quakers, Universalists and the Freewill Baptists, coupled with the clamor from other banned sects such as the Methodists, eventually led to passage of the Toleration Act of 1819 (see historical note on the Toleration Act of 1819 on page 31). The Act ended the town sanctioned Congregational mandate, opening the door for formerly ostracized sects to worship freely and build their own churches. Previously, some sects like the Freewill Baptists had to hold services in houses (see Ebenezer Stratton) or outdoors. However, the Toleration Act was "not immediately given full effect" in Jaffrey. The maintenance of the meeting house, along with the Reverend Laban Ainsworth's salary, continued to be paid from town assessed taxes

on all who had not opted out. Twelve years after the passage of the Toleration Act, the last minister tax was assessed in Jaffrey in 1831.

## POPE YEATMAN BIOGRAPHY

Pope Yeatman was born to Thomas Jr. and Lucretia on 8-3-1861 at the home of his aunt, Mrs. Beverly Allen, on Bellefontaine Road overlooking Bissell's Point on the Mississippi River in Missouri. He was raised in St. Louis, the nephew of a distinguished philanthropist by the name of James E. Yeatman. His mother, Lucretia Leonis Pope, was the daughter of Judge Nathaniel Pope, the first Territorial Secretary of Illinois. During her childhood she somehow acquired the nickname "Polk". And so it appears that Pope's unusual given name is derived from his mother's maiden name. This trend continued as a family trait as will be observed as the story unfolds. Pope received part of his schooling in New Haven, Connecticut, where his mother lived for a time. The 1870 census shows Pope residing there at age of 8, and Lucretia at age 40. However, his father, Thomas Jr. is not listed, possibly indicating that he was previously deceased. Could this possibly have been the reason for their move to New Haven, Denver and Kansas? Further, a Thomas (age 14), and a Cynthia (age 11) are also listed on the 1870 census. Whether these were siblings of Pope or relatives is not known. However, since his mother's birthplace is listed as Connecticut, it is quite possible that Thomas and Cynthia were relatives. Pope then continued studies at Fort Leavenworth in Kansas where his mother lived for a time with her brother, Major General John Pope, then in command of the U.S. Army Post there. Pope reportedly also received some education in Denver as well according to one account. While in his teens it is said that he spent several summers with relatives on a ranch in Wyoming, which gave him an appetite for the outdoor life. At some point he returned to St. Louis with his mother, sister, and brother, presumably in time to start college. The 1880 census shows him residing as a student there.

Back in St. Louis Pope attended Washington University where he earned an Engineer of Mines degree in 1883 at 22 years of age. His first engineering work was right there in Missouri at the St. Genevieve Copper Company, but this might actually have been the Cornwall Copper Mining & Smelting Company 8 miles southwest of St. Genevieve. Soon afterward he worked for the St. Louis & Sonora Gold Mining & Milling Company in Mexico. In 1887 he was Superintendent of the Queen of the West Mining & Milling Company in Gilpin County, Colorado. It appears to have been one of the myriads of gold mines west of Denver between Idaho Springs and Central City in the Black Hawk-Central City gold district. From 1888 to 1891 he worked for the Doe Run Lead Company back in Viburnum, Missouri, which is still operating today in the northern Ozark Mountains southwest of St. Louis. From 1891 to 1893 he was associated with the Empire Zinc Company in the Joplin area of southwestern Missouri. He then spent about a year in private practice until summoned by John Hays Hammond to South Africa. In Philadelphia on 6-28-1894 he married Georgia Claibourne of Little Rock, daughter of Claibourne Watkins, a justice of the supreme court of Arkansas. Born on 7-7-1862, she was about a year younger than Pope, whom he nicknamed "Georgie".



POPE YEATMAN  
POPE YEATMAN JR.



MISS GEORGINA YEATMAN

During his early career, Pope's excellent work brought him much distinction in the profession, both his technical ability and no-nonsense, matter-of-fact, straight up approach in dealing with directors and investors. He was known as a dignified, quiet man with reserve force and a commanding physical stature. For instance, at one board meeting while laying out some accurate but apparently disappointing news, the directors said to him "Yeatman, you are feeding us some rather bitter pills." In response, Yeatman replied "Gentlemen, I know it, but at least you know what you are taking. If I fed you sugar coated pills, they might fool you at first, but you'd have the colic later, just the same." During his days at Yale, John Hays Hammond was an old Yeatman family friend when Pope was a boy in school in New Haven. Hammond was at the peak of his career as a consulting engineer for the Barnato Brothers in the gold fields of South Africa near Johannesburg. So in August of 1895 (one account cites 1893, but this cannot be accurate given his marriage in 1894) Hammond cabled Yeatman to come join him in Johannesburg, as if somehow he knew of Yeatman's reputation. So within a week Yeatman and his young bride of about one year sailed to South Africa to join Hammond.

Johannesburg was located in the beautiful Transvaal region of what is today, South Africa, where gold was first discovered on the Witwatersrand in 1885 or 1886. This just followed the signing of the London Convention of 1884 that brought complete independence once again to the South African Republic, or Transvaal Republic. Further, all this was just 5 years after the First Anglo-Boer War of 1880 that led to the re-establishment of the Boers' right of self-rule in the Transvaal under British oversight according to the Pretoria Convention of 1881. {Historical note: Boer was a term applied to the descendants of Dutch and other European farmers who took control of and settled the Transvaal in the 1830's and 1840's. They were also referred to as Voortrekkers, or pioneers, who eventually established their own government as the South African Republic.} Of course, "gold fever" struck and soon there were many European and other prospectors (called outlanders or uitlanders) flocking to the Transvaal to make their fortunes. The Transvaal government under Paul Kruger was very restrictive in its policies regulating outlander activities and rights, and the non-Afrikaner mining interests that followed as well. The mining companies clamoring for fewer restrictions, coupled with the influx of outlanders had a destabilizing effect on the republic.

So into this time of mounting tension came Yeatman and his new bride in 1895 to join Hammond in the gold fields of the Rand. He spent the first few months in the Leydenburg District of the Transvaal as consulting engineer for the Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa. The political tensions continued to escalate when Kruger made an attempt to gain control of neighboring Bechuanaland (Botswana) and the British then declared the Transvaal Republic a protectorate. Cecil Rhodes, the Premier of the British the adjacent Cape Province began to advocate for certain reforms in the republic, which Hammond apparently supported. Perhaps Hammond thought that it would strengthen the position of Barnato Brothers. However, this meddling was probably not looked upon with favor by the Kruger government. In 1895 Rhodes planned to support a coup d'état against the Transvaal government by assassinating Kruger, probably without official support of the British government. Leander Starr Jameson carried out the raid on 12-29-1895 and failed, which eventually led to the Second Boer War in 1899. Although not in

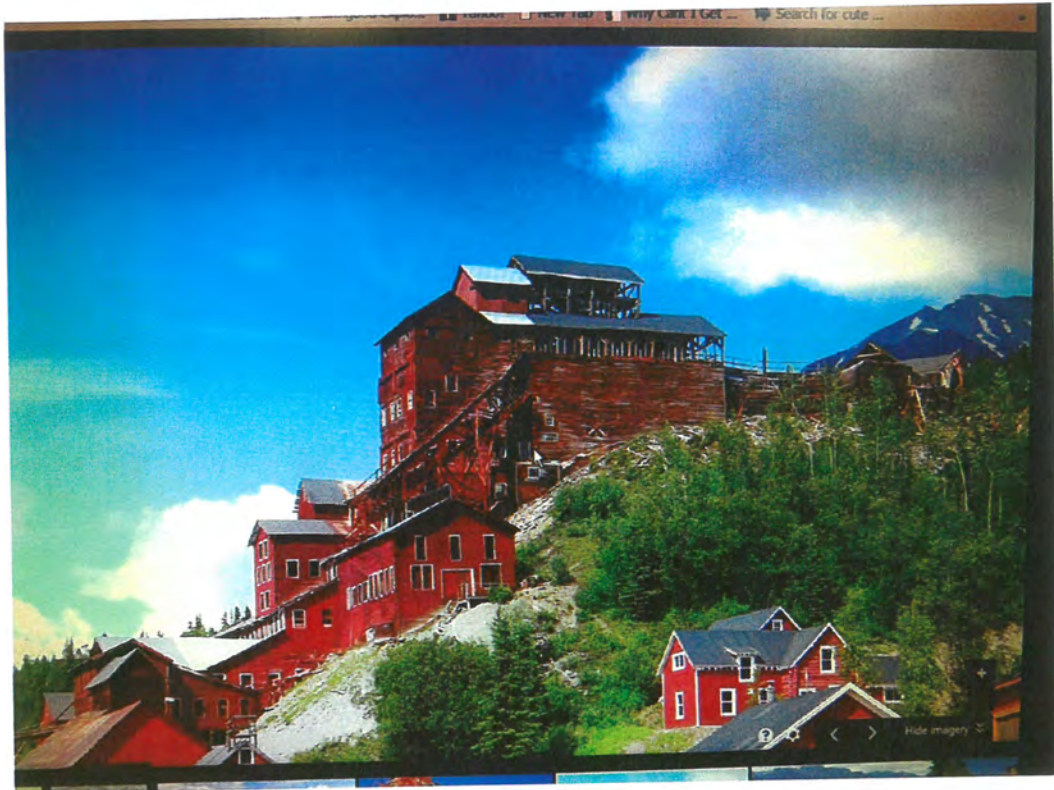
sympathy with it, soon after the Jameson Raid Hammond was arrested, tried and sentenced to death. Somehow he managed to get the sentence commuted to a fine of \$125,000 which was paid for his release. After this incident, Hammond left Africa to become the Consulting Engineer for the Guggenheims, possibly around 1901. The six Guggenheim brothers and their associates were the largest group of mining capitalists in America at the time, with offices at 165 Broadway in New York City.

Yeatman, on the other hand, came through all that political upheaval unscathed. Early in 1896 he worked as Assistant Consulting Engineer for the Robinson Deep Gold Mining Company, the deepest to be brought to the producing stage at the time. He designed a new gold recovery mill which started operations in 1898. In April of 1899 he became General Manager of the Simmer & Jack Gold Mining Company, one of the largest outcrop mines on the Rand. There he supervised the enlargement of the mill in only about 4 months. Then in August of 1899 he assumed duties as Consulting Engineer and General Manager of the Randfontein Estates Gold Mining Company, Limited. It was a very large outcrop mine stretching for 6 or 7 miles in the West Rand with 4 mills in operation. During the Second Boer War from 1899 to 1902, he experienced the loss of a mill to the Boers. An appeal to Lord Kitchener, commander of the British troops, for protection of the mines failed. So Yeatman organized his own Mine Guard, for which he became the commander, to protect mine holdings from the guerilla warfare tactics of the Boers. This plan was successful in preventing heavy losses to the mine's assets and infrastructure. It may have also fulfilled some innate desire of Yeatman for military service of some sort.

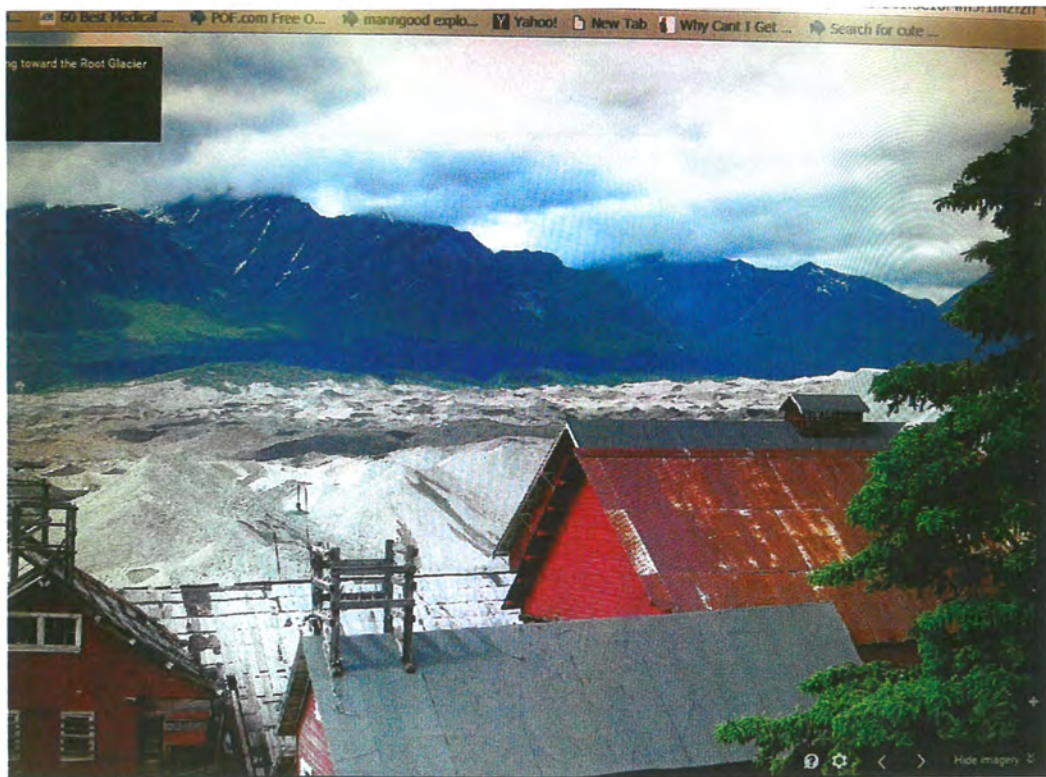
The accounts indicate that while in South Africa Yeatman would occasionally travel to Europe or America. Apparently on one of these trips to Europe, Jane Bell, the first child was born on 9-30-1900 at Chislehurst, County Kent, England, southeast of London. Thus we have the source of the name given to the future Jaffrey farm. On a trip to America in 1902 their second child, Georgiana, was born at their house in Ardsley, New York. Georgiana may not have cared for her given name, and later shortened it to Georgina. After Georgiana's birth, it appears that the entire family was back together in South Africa at the Randfontein Estates where Pope was working. For Pope Jr. was born 2 years later on 2-21-1904 in Randfontein, a suburb west of Johannesburg, the only child born in South Africa. With the messy political business behind him and the demands of a growing family, perhaps Pope's attention turned somewhat more towards domestic affairs. In 1904 he resigned his job at the Randfontein Estates Gold Mining Company and returned to America, purportedly because both he and Georgie desired the children to be educated in the United States.

Back in America, Yeatman spent the next couple of years working for himself in private practice in New York concurrently with working for the New Jersey Zinc Company. One account cites his residence as Ardsley, New York, in 1902, which is two years before his stated return from Johannesburg in 1904. One possible explanation is that the house was purchased beforehand in anticipation of Georgiana's birth and the planned return to America. Ardsley is located one town east of the Hudson River between Yonkers and White Plains north of New York City. In addition to the Ardsley house, he





KENNECOTT MINE, ALASKA



ROOT GLACIER, TERMINAL MORaine

bought Milliken's Tavern (Proctor House at that time) as a summer residence in 1905. Apparently the Guggenheims employed him in the summer of 1906 to investigate mining claims in Alaska on the eastern edge of the Root Glacier at the head of the Copper River in what is now the Wrangell-St. Elias National Park. His positive recommendation about the claims led to the formation of the "Alaska Syndicate" comprised of both Guggenheim and Morgan interests. Due to Yeatman's strong, proven abilities the 200 mile long Copper River and Northwestern Railroad was completed up to the mine from Coperville. The mine proved profitable for the syndicate and later became the Kennecott Mine. The Kennecott Corporation is a wholly owned subsidiary of the Guggenheim brothers. On the preceding page are pictures of the now abandoned mine.

For reasons not stated, John Hays Hammond left the employ of the Guggenheims around that time, possibly in 1906. He was much older than Pope and may have retired after earning over a million dollars working for the Guggenheims as their Consulting Engineer for 5 years. Perhaps due to in part to Hammond's recommendation, coupled with Yeatman's drive and technical ability, the Guggenheims then chose Yeatman to replace Hammond as their Consulting Engineer. According to one Guggenheim executive, part of the reason Yeatman was chosen is "Yeatman had a reputation in Africa for technical skill and for shouldering responsibility and putting things through". They wanted a man who could put things through because "Mere technical ability never yet made a great engineer". "It's a mental trait (to put things through), and hard to define.....he possessed a peculiar trait for grasping big possibilities and turning them into realities". Yeatman had it himself and inspired others to have it as well.

Yeatman was first assigned to the Nevada Consolidated Copper Company in Ely as consulting engineer, general manager and managing director with the title of Managing Director of Operations. These were low grade ores under thick overburden to which the use of standard mining techniques proved unprofitable, but Yeatman and his team of engineers developed a successful plan for mining and smelting it. While there he oversaw the design and construction of the reduction works (concentrator and smelter) at Consolidated, and managed the Steptoe Valley Smelting and Mining Company as well. He had a fair, straightforward, "hands on" management style much appreciated by his colleagues. According to one such colleague, "We all liked to jump for Yeatman, for he made every man feel that the whole works depended upon himself". Once when complimented by the Guggenheims for a task excellently executed he replied, "I had nothing whatsoever to do with it. That was so-and-so's achievement absolutely. Give him the credit for it". The Guggenheims had a large interest in the Utah Copper Company as well and Yeatman was sent there as Consulting Engineer. This is the largest copper mine in the U.S. located southwest of Salt Lake City, now called the Kennecott Mine. At some undisclosed time he moved from the house in Ardsley to a tenement in downtown Philadelphia. An unspecified event concerning Jane Bell at St. Paul's Episcopal Church of Chestnut Hill near Springfield, a northern suburb of Philadelphia, may indicate that this move may have already taken place by 1908.

The summer of 1909 found him back in Alaska as Consulting Engineer to the Yukon Gold Company. He was always known as a man of commanding physical stature said

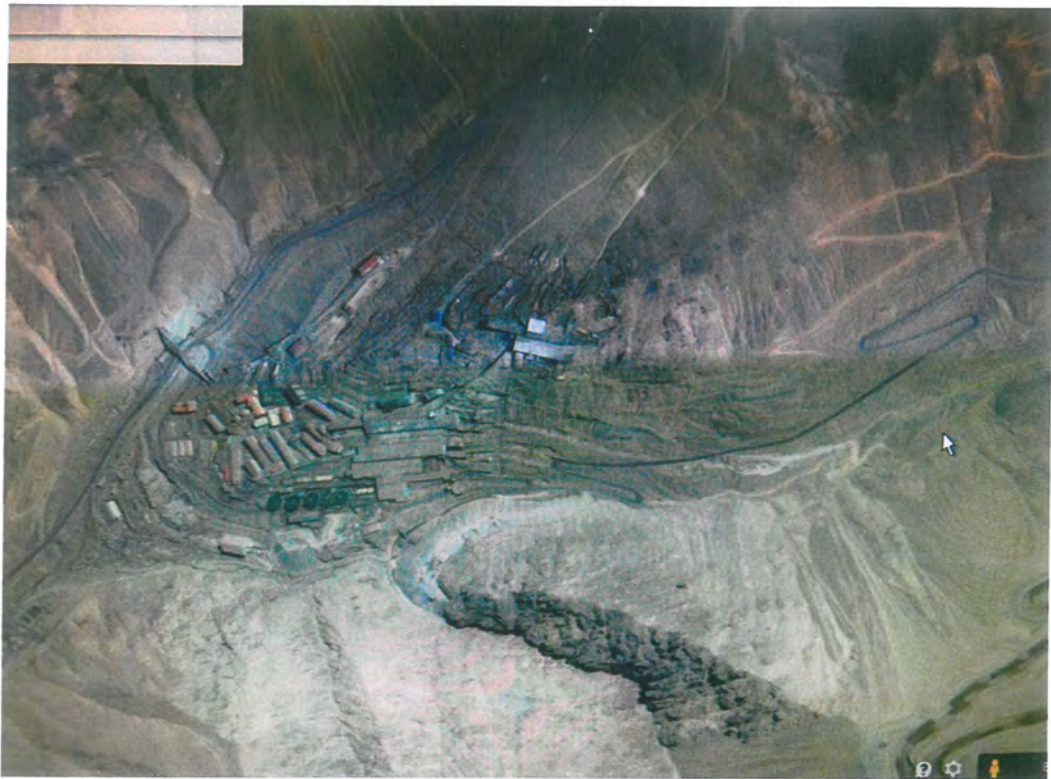


SEWELL IN 1909

BRADEN MINE, SEWELL, CHILE



SEWELL, CHILE IN 1909



SEWELL, CHILE



to be like that of the late King Edward VII of England. It is said that those summers spent in Wyoming gave him the ability to navigate anywhere from rough mountain terrain to open prairie with the masterful prowess of an Indian. This aptitude for self reliance served him well in the field, but the accompanying lack of regard for precedent proved problematical at times with his superiors. And so the story goes that one day while exploring rough terrain with some of his assistant engineers on horseback, that he looked back to see one of them sinking in quicksand, horse and all. He and the other men quickly constructed an impromptu bridge to rescue both horse and rider from sinking to their deaths.

In 1909 the Guggenheims bought into the Braden Copper Company in Chile. Yeatman was sent there as Consulting Engineer and assumed full responsibility for administration of all aspects of the operation of the 3 mines; El Teniente, Fortuna, and Centinela. The Chilean mine bought by Barton Sewell and William Braden in 1904 was located southeast of Santiago in the Andes Mountains 26 miles east of Rancagua at 7,700' elevation on Cerro Negro (Black Hill) on a long ridge running west from the 17,000' Volcan Maipo. During this time Yeatman oversaw significant capital improvements such as completion of the steam and electric narrow-gage railroad 43 miles up the mountain from Rancagua begun in 1907. Hydro power plants with associated dams and penstocks were constructed at nearby Coya to provide the 8KW of required electricity. Yeatman was also busy following up on William Braden's work with The Minerals Separation Company located in nearby Caletones on floatation of the ore. Yeatman achieved excellent recovery of copper through flotation using fresh, unoxidized ores which was not thought to be possible with chalcocite (copper sulfide) ores. So this became the first mine to use flotation to recover copper on a large scale and to recover additional amounts from the gravity concentrator as well. This required reconstruction and expansion of the concentrator, construction of a smelter, installation of aerial trams for transport of both ore and concentrates, and the infrastructure to support it all. As if all this were not enough, the expansion of the mining village called Sewell also had to be completed. There are pictures of the Braden Mine and the village of Sewell in 1909 and also in modern times on the preceding pages. There are also recent pictures of the Minerals Separation Company reduction works in Caletones and the dry reservoir in Coya on the following page. By 1916 the Kennecott Corporation controlled a 95% interest in the Braden Copper Company. Following a stepped 16 year process thorough several socialist regimes, all the copper mines in Chile were nationalized with no compensation to the owners on 7-11-1971. The Braden Mine continues to be worked by the Corporacion Nacional del Cobre de Chile as the El Teniente Mine, the largest in the world with 900 miles of underground workings. Apparently, a large, new railroad adit has been added to the west of Sewell at a locality named Colon.

Meanwhile back in New York in 1911, Albert C. Burrage of Boston, a mining capitalist and operator with tin and other interests in South America, paid a visit to the Guggenheims at their New York offices. He had an interest in a large deposit of low grade copper ore at Chuquicamata, Chile, considered to be unprofitable to develop. Apparently Yeatman's accomplishments at Braden had become well known, and Burrage thought that Yeatman just might be the right man for the job at Chuquicamata. The Guggen



CALETONES



COYA



CHUQUICAMATA MINE



heims concurred and notified Yeatman, who then assigned a colleague, Edwin S. Berry, to investigate the Chuquicamata property in northern Chile for the firm. Chuquicamata was located about 80 miles inland northeast from the coastal city of Antofagasta at 9,500' elevation in the Atacama Desert north of Calama. Yeatman returned a favorable report on development of the ore body to Daniel Guggenheim and Burrage at a meeting in London. So by the end of the year this property was also acquired by the Guggenheims and worked as the Chile Copper Company. The result was a new dual managerial oversight for ongoing operations at the Braden Mine and for the concurrent exploration and development of the Chuquicamata property. The Chuquicamata ore contained exotic copper minerals that required special metallurgy for extraction, but Yeatman "put things through" once again. That is, probably with significant help from Berry, who may have actually managed Chuquicamata while Yeatman managed the Braden Mine. Pictures of the Chuquicamata Mine appear on the following page. Sometime around 1914 a dispute arose between some of the Guggenheim brothers concerning the value of stock in the Chuquicamata Mine. The disagreement resulted in a lawsuit. When extended, expensive litigation appeared likely, Yeatman was chosen to arbitrate the disagreement. On 6-23-1916 he testified in a jury trial in New York City and on the basis of that testimony the dispute was resolved.

Yeatman and Berry may have developed a close working relationship in Chile. Curiously, both left the employ of the Guggenheims and returned to the United States around the same time, probably in 1917. The timing of his leaving the employ of the Guggenheims causes one to wonder if the lawsuit controversy and the politics surrounding it may have led to his departure. Yeatman returned to his private consulting practice once again. One account cites Yeatman's residence in Philadelphia in 1917, indicating that the house in Ardsley was sold and he was residing in a downtown Philadelphia tenement by that time. As previously stated, that move may have actually occurred before 1908. The 1920 census shows Pope (age 58), Georgia (age 57), Georgiana (age 17), and Pope Jr. (age 15) residing at 1118 Spruce St., a 4 story brick tenement in downtown Philadelphia. Yeatman came from a military family, so he became the first engineer to offer his expertise in service for the country when he took steps to enter the Engineering Corps of the Army. On 7-9-1918 he was awarded the Army Distinguished Service Medal for a civilian rendering outstanding service to the nation during World War I as Director of Nonferrous Metals for the War Industries Board. About 3 months prior on 3-21-1918, he was awarded the Gold Medal for Distinguished Service in the Administration of Mines at the proceedings of the Mining and Metallurgical Society of America. He was very active in the society, holding various positions as an officer or on different standing committees. He was also a member of the American Society of Civil Engineers, American Institute of Mining, Metallurgical and Petroleum Engineers, Institute of Mining and Metallurgy and others. In 1921 he was one of 3 consulting engineers to evaluate copper deposits for the merger of Calumet and Hecla. In the midst of all this, Yeatman found time to write his first book co-authored with colleague Edwin Berry, "Mining Securities", published in 1922.

At some point between the 1920 and 1930 census, Yeatman moved from the downtown Philadelphia tenement to a private residence in the Wyndmoor section of Spring



field, a suburb north of the city. The 1930 census shows Pope (age 68), Georgie (age 67), and Georgina (age 27) residing on Gravers Lane there. Georgina would have been working at Bissell & Sinkler in Philadelphia at that time. Pope Jr. (age 25) is missing probably because he had already left home to start college or his own career after graduating from the Virginia Military Institute in 1927. Perhaps sometime during summers at Chislehurst Farm, Yeatman authored his second book, "Choice of Methods in Mining and Metallurgy; A Record of Experience in Making Engineering Decisions" in 1932. The 1940 census shows just about the same data, with Pope at the age of 79 years. It also states that Pope continued to work for himself as a consulting engineer.

In her later years, his wife, Georgie, is said to have required a wheelchair for mobility, indicating some sort of infirmity. She died on 1-23-1941 at the age of 78 and was buried the following day at the St. Thomas Episcopal Church cemetery in Whitemarsh, Pennsylvania, near their home in Springfield. On 12-5-1953 Pope Yeatman died at 92 years of age and was presumably buried next to Georgie at the same cemetery in Whitemarsh. They had 3 children; Jane Bell (born in Chislehurst, England), Georgina Pope (born in Ardsley, New York), and Pope Jr. (born in Randfontein, South Africa). In 2011 Yeatman was posthumously honored by the Mining Foundation of the Southwest when selected as the Inductee from Mining's Past to the American Mining Hall of Fame.

## GEORGINA YEATMAN BIOGRAPHY

After moving all her livestock to North Carolina in 1955, there is no indication that Georgina maintained any ties to Jaffrey. Now 53 years old, she continued all her farming ambitions at Open Grounds, including lumbering, raising cattle, and dairying. These were probably good years of just living life with family, friends, and the many employees among the 14 families living on the farm. Ward King, who grew up at Open Grounds described Miss Yeatman this way; "She was an excellent surgeon, cutting a fish hook out of my finger. It hurt but she fixed it. She hunted and fished and shot ducks with us all of the time." She had a close personal friend in Tom Wright, an Episcopal Bishop, probably from St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Beaufort. She was known for her philanthropy, contributing to a number of local churches attended by her employees in addition to St. Paul's. She was a major supporter of North Carolina State University at Greenville and Chapel Hill, donating \$250,000 to its Foundation. The Beaufort Historical Association also benefited from her generosity.

Sometime in the early 1960's Georgina moved her house 5 miles inland from the original South River location to its current location on Yeatman Lane near Merrimon Road in order to avoid hurricanes and flooding. Then in 1974 she sold Open Grounds, except for several hundred acres around her house, to the Ferruzzi Group, an Italian agricultural corporation and one of the largest trading companies in the world. By this time Open Grounds had grown to approximately 45,000 acres. The Italians expanded the farm even more and built a second airstrip near her house on Yeatman Lane. The reason for the second airstrip would not be immediately clear if Miss Yeatman really had given up flying almost 30 years before as one account cites. Could this mean she was

still flying recreationally in her 70's? Mildred Mulford, her business partner and housemate, died in 1980. Miss Yeatman herself died about 2 years later in October of 1982 at 80 years of age right there at the estate in Beaufort. It does not appear that anyone occupied the estate after that. In 2009 Mel described it as still standing but long since abandoned, and Ward King described it in poor condition. It seems sort of an odd thing that an estate of that nature would not have been sold to provide for the adopted daughters (or some other scenario) rather than left to decay. In any event, Open Grounds Farm continues in operation today as one of the largest farms in North Carolina and the largest east of the Mississippi River.

## POPE YEATMAN JR. BIOGRAPHY

Pope Yeatman Jr. was born on 2-21-1904 at Randfontein, South Africa, a western suburb of Johannesburg. That same year he came to America with his parents and lived at first in Ardsley, New York, which is probably why one ancestry account lists his place of birth as Ardsley. Since the Yeatmans desired the children to be schooled in the U.S., perhaps it was also their desire for the children's births to be recorded in America as well. How this statement applies to Jane Bell being born in England would not be clear, since no data was found concerning her recorded place of birth. Pope Jr. would have then moved to the Spruce Street tenement in downtown Philadelphia with the family. According to the 1917 "*Show Horse Chronicle*" he won a ribbon in the Philadelphia Indoor Horse Show in April of 1917 in the pony competition. He was riding a pony by the name of "Billy" belonging to the Delchester Farm. The 1920 census shows him living in Philadelphia with his parents at 15 years of age. Then he is absent from the 1930 census probably because he was at college or had started his career after attending the Virginia Military Institute, from which he graduated in 1927. Not to be excessively detailed here given the scope of this report, Pope Jr. went on to become a mining engineer like his father. Although listed in various mining publications, it is not with the same accolades as his father, who was definitely a tough act for anyone to follow. The only Jaffrey connection found was a tax record in 1945 for 152 acres on L4R10, the Daniel Lynch farm. This was the old Jonathan "Jock" Page farm on Jock Page Hill. Just what he ever did with the land is not divulged in the account. There never was any house there after the Jock Page farm burned in 1930. Therefore, Pope Jr. definitely never occupied the lot.

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