

LIFE AT FORT RICHMOND, DISTRICT OF MAINE: FROM THE ACCOUNT BOOK OF JOHN MINOT, TRUCKMASTER, 1737-1742

by Anthony M. Limanni

The expansion of white settlement in the north of New England, particularly in the District of Maine, was limited to the Atlantic seaboard for much of the colonial period. It was only with the conclusion of Queen Anne's War in 1713, and the establishment of the Narragansett Townships a few years later, that penetration of the interior began in earnest. The most significant impediment to settlement of this region was the resistance of Native Americans to white encroachment.

Methods to placate the Indians were devised from the founding of Massachusetts Bay and continued to be tested until the end of the colonial era. One such program was the establishment of truckhouses to handle trade with the Indians — a fair and equitable trade that would render the natives amenable to the spread of English settlement. After much experimentation in the seventeenth century, the truckhouse system was refined and, after a period of abandonment late in the 1600's, tried again in the early 1700's. Four truckhouses were built in the District of Maine: at Saco, Fort George (Brunswick), Pemaquid, and Fort Richmond.

These truckhouses accomplished far more than placating the Indians. One of them, certainly, at Fort Richmond, became a center of white settlement. As such, it served the English pioneers as a link to the greater colonial society to the south. It provided them the means to acquire the implements necessary for farming the lands around the fort. It gave them access to the commodities needed to make life at this outpost of colonial society bearable, and sometimes enjoyable. It offered them an outlet for the salable goods some of them were able to produce. It became a hub of social intercourse, a place where men, and sometimes women, could gather for conversation and entertainment. Most of all, the truckhouse at Fort Richmond was a clearinghouse for product and labor exchange among the settlers.

The people of the Fort Richmond community exchanged goods and services and developed a complex system of debt and credit that required close accounting. Those who settled the environs of Fort Richmond were frontiersmen (and frontierwomen) who were, to a degree, self-sufficient. Yet they were dependent upon each other for a wide range of services.

We are fortunate that a record exists of the economic interactions of the Fort Richmond community. The truckmaster, a militia officer commissioned by the Massachusetts Bay General Court to oversee the operation of the truckhouse, was required to keep the province's and individual

settler's accounts as a legal record. From 1736 to 1742, Captain John Minot was truckmaster at Fort Richmond. His account book for much of that period is extant. It offers a unique opportunity to reconstruct the economic life of the Fort Richmond settlement.

This paper will consider the picture left us by Captain Minot. It is a mosaic, really; and like a mosaic, the fit of each piece depends upon another.

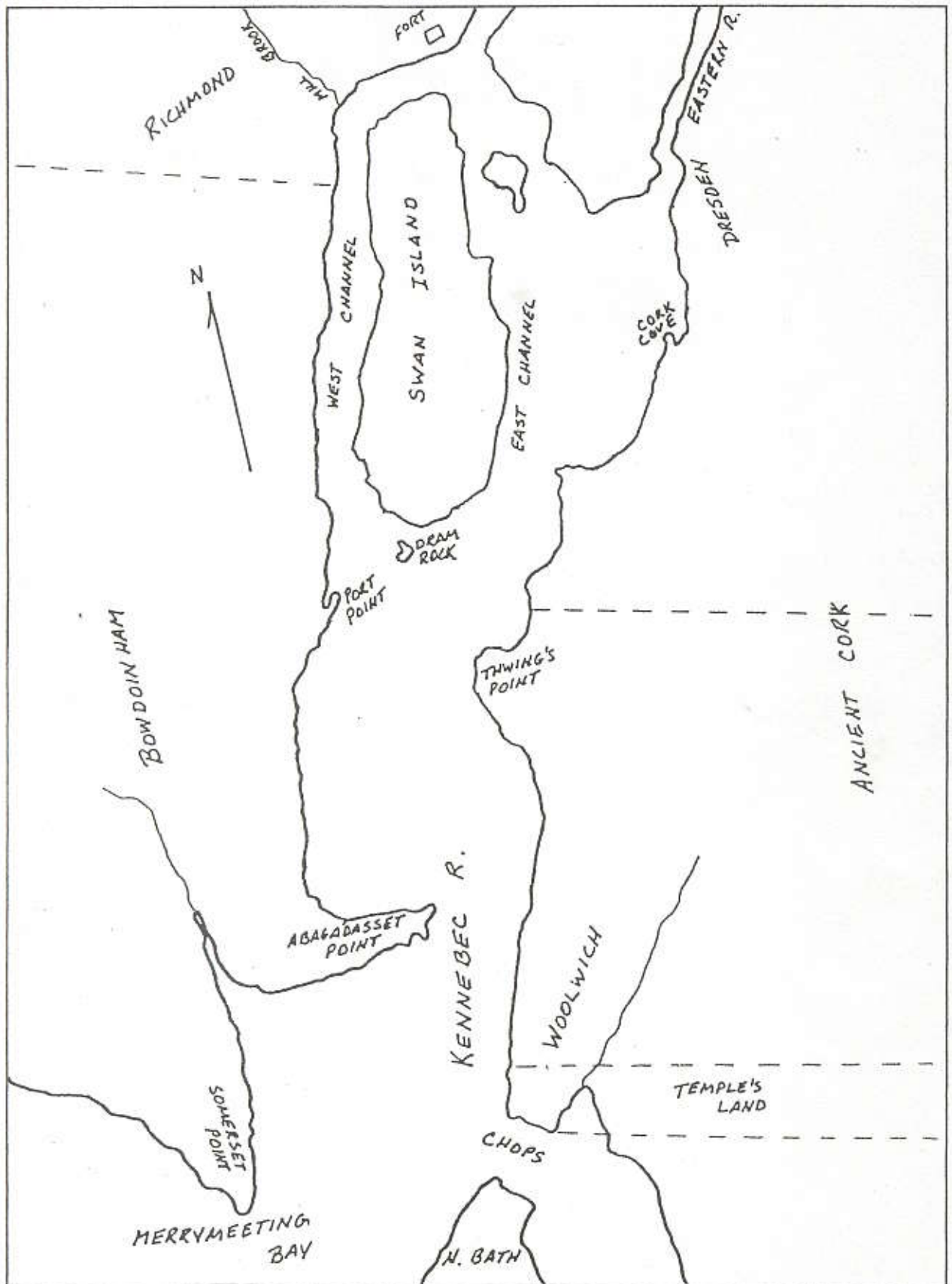
A Note on Captain John Minot's Account Book

In its extant form, Captain Minot's account book, located at the Maine Historical Society in Portland, covers the period 1737 to 1742. It originally consisted of ninety-four leaves numbered consecutively in the upper right corner of the recto. Time has done its damage, though. In addition to the pages missing when Reverend Thayer used the account book, a number of others have been lost. These include:

Missing pages	Accounts concerning
Nos. 42	David Witcher
42 reverse	John Coolier
49	Unknown
49 reverse	John Salle
60	John Smith Taylor
60 reverse	James Buzzell
77	David Witcher
77 reverse	Captain Benjamin Larrabe
79	Silas Nowell
79 reverse	Captain Joseph Beane
84	Patrick Drumman
84 reverse	Mathew Maccenney
93	James Work
93 reverse	James Work

Of the 162 extant pages, all have been examined. The first 116 pages have been transcribed and serve as the primary basis for this paper. In all instances, the spelling of Captain Minot has been used when quoting from his account book. Thus the term, sic, will not be used.

The truckhouse at Fort Richmond, as were all of the truckhouses established in the District of Maine in the eighteenth century, was erected in order to further the spread of white settlement on the northern frontier of Massachusetts Bay. In so doing, its routine functions were entirely economic in nature. The origins of Fort Richmond, however, tend to con-



Fort Richmond and vicinity, 1740

fuse diplomacy and morality with economic concerns.

The truckhouse system already had a long history when the eighteenth century began and serious consideration was once again being given to its operation. With the expansion of white settlement the immediate objective of both London and Boston, the Indian situation was central to any strategy. Judge Samuel Sewall, while perhaps injecting a note of morality not commonly appreciated, nevertheless concisely stated the problem facing the English in a letter to Sir William Ashurst in May of 1700. The good judge warned that:

...it will be a vain attempt for us to offer Heaven to them (Native Americans) if they take up prejudices against us, as if we did grudge them a living upon their own earth.

Moral inhibitions aside, Sewall's private concern reflected the economic policy concerns of Great Britain and Massachusetts Bay. The pale of English colonization to the north of the Merrimack was jeopardized by the French and their Indian allies. Diplomatically and economically, angering the native inhabitants more than was necessary was impolitic in 1700. The contest between England and France for supremacy in North America was far from resolved and the northern areas — Maine and New Hampshire — were of considerable strategic importance to both nations. The French, certainly at the beginning of the eighteenth century, may have had the advantage. French Jesuits had succeeded in converting possibly the majority of Indians in the District of Maine to Catholicism, thus strengthening their allegiance to Paris. James Axtell notes that:

...the religion they (French Jesuits) taught proved to be the strongest link in the covenant chain that prevented the English from sweeping into Canada from Northern New England.

Determined to fight fire with fire, London, heeding the advice of the Earl of Bellomont that "...the most natural and proper way would be to send Protestant ministers among 'em," ordered the colonials to begin proselytizing in earnest. Efforts were at first haphazard. It was only with the Treaty of Utrecht at the end of Queen Anne's War, and the formation soon after of the Narragansett Townships, that any serious attempt was made to comply with London's demands. Utrecht had left the Maine boundaries in doubt and the French Jesuits were already firmly entrenched on the Saco, Kennebec, and Androscoggin Rivers. Accordingly, in 1717, Joseph Baxter became the first Protestant minister posted to an English fort in the District of Maine. Baxter's four years at Fort George (Brunswick) were a religious failure.

Baxter's and other ministers' lack of success merely stimulated Massachusetts Bay to concentrate on more specific economic measures to appease the Maine Indians. The truckhouse system, conceived in 1645 when Richard Saltonstall was granted a monopoly on trade with the Indians in Maine, was reconsidered. Truckhouses originally fulfilled two aims. They would regulate the fur trade "...to avoid

interracial friction by protecting the natives from abuses in the trade." At the same time, the colony's revenues would increase since 5% of all profits were to be returned to the provincial treasurer. Within thirty years, though, the vitality of the fur trade had waned. Enforcement of trade regulations had, in any case, proved impossible. Thus, in 1675, the truckhouse program was abandoned.

If the truckhouse system were to be re-established, as a 1699 law mandated that it should, and if it were to succeed, a more closely-supervised program than the 1645 model would have to be developed. The provincial treasurer was thus given oversight of the operation and an initial £500 capital outlay was appropriated. All private trade with the Maine Indians was again prohibited. Goods were to be made available to the natives "...at such easy rates and prices as may oblige them to adhere firmly to the English interest." All truckhouse profits were to be reinvested so that French traders could be undersold.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, truckhouse trade with the Indians was perfunctory, of little financial value to the province. Yet the truckhouses — if Fort Richmond is any example — were conducting a brisk trade. This trade, however, was with white settlers. The fundamental intent of regulating trade with the Maine Indians had been to facilitate the spread of white English settlement on the northern frontiers. In this the truckhouse system was brilliantly successful. Bearing closer examination, however, is the unique and complicated white economy that evolved around the truckhouses. The records of the Fort Richmond truckhouse provide the opportunity to do just that.

On October 28, 1740, a conference was held at Fort Richmond, District of Maine. Sachems and sagamores of the Norridgewock tribes met with the representatives of the governor to negotiate a settlement over some differences of opinion regarding grazing stock. Certain over-zealous young braves had killed and slaughtered several animals belonging to white settlers in the area. Captain Joseph Beane, interpreter for the agents of Massachusetts Bay, demanded that compensation be made to the injured parties. Beane enumerated the demands" £18 for "Macob's ox," £6 for "Salley's steer," and £20 for "Patrick Drummond's horse."

Little is remarkable in the conduct of this conference. Many such were held throughout the colonial era. What is significant is that the livestock mentioned indicate that by 1740 a farming settlement had grown up around Fort Richmond; and it had done so in a mere twenty years.

The records pertaining to the Fort Richmond area and its truckhouse are scant. Other than the various laws regulating trade with the Indians (applicable to all truckhouses) only two significant sources of information are available to us. One is the history of Fort Richmond compiled by Reverend Henry O. Thayer in 1893. The other is the account book kept by Captain John Minot truckmaster at the fort from 1736 to 1742. Captain Minot's account book, though in no way furnishing a complete picture of the economic conditions along the eighteenth-century Maine frontier, nevertheless tells us much about the lives and labors of the people who settled the Kennebec River area where it divides above Swan Island,

a dozen or so miles inland from Merrymeeting Bay.

In April, 1719, Minot was to have been one of the four original proprietors of the new town of Richmond, proposed by the Pejepscot Company to be located "...on the western side of Kennebec at the lower end and on Swan Alley,..." Though the April decision was overruled in November, it is plain that Minot's interest in the area was predicated upon his and the Pejepscot Company's intent to carve a community out of the wilderness. It is also plain that, whatever the 1719 decision, Minot must have been closely associated with the development of the area to eventually be appointed truckmaster.

Captain Minot's account book offers us a fascinating glimpse of the economic life — and life in general — of the Fort Richmond community. Reconstructing the socio-economic interactions of the settlers named in Minot's book results, of course, in only a partial understanding of how the northeastern colonial frontier evolved. The very limited conclusions that can be drawn from such an analysis, however, underscore the complexity of even a frontier economy.

The first, and most obvious, question raised by a study of Minot's account book is: how large was the settlement at Fort Richmond?

Minot's record contains the accounts for forty-eight different white men, two white women, and three Indians. Named in the 116 pages of the account book thus far analyzed are thirty-six white men who conducted business directly with the truckhouse. Of these eleven were on the "Musterrool," being militiamen posted to the Fort. Eight of these eleven received wages at the annual "musterrool" more than once between 1737 and 1742. Thus they were probably permanent settlers. Eleven other men are noted by Minot as being creditors or debtors of the thirty-six who dealt directly with the truckhouse. Thus the permanent settlement community consisted of between thirty-eight and fifty-nine white, adult males.

Six references are made by name to women in the first 118 pages of the account book: Joseph Wood's wife, Aiels Mitchell's widow, Mary Minot, Robert Lithgo's wife, James Buzzell's wife Ellanour, and Hannah Ellthorp (whose husband is not named). This does not mean that these were the only wives at the settlement; nor does it tell us how many of the men in the area were married. Yet nearly all of the men who did business at the truckhouse bought items such as broadcloth, linen, cotton, linsey, flannel, mohair, and silk. Some few, no doubt, fashioned their own clothing. Most must have relied on their wives.

Minor children are mentioned only once by Minot when he recorded a payment to Arthur Noble for three pair of shoes he had made for the truckmaster's children. Several adult children did keep their own accounts with the truckhouse. If we conservatively estimate that half of the permanent male settlers were married, and that these had two children each, the total population of the Fort Richmond community in 1740 must have been between 150 and 250 white settlers.

What did these people do? How did they earn a living? In a very broad sense, all were farmers. The majority grew

hay, corn, and a few other grains and vegetables. Surely many farmed at a subsistence level. Some, however, grew extensive enough crops to sell the surplus to the truckhouse. At least nine men owned livestock — oxen, cows, pigs, horses, and sheep. Oxen were draft animals, as were probably the horses. Cows, pigs, and sheep were meat-producers. Minot's account is studded with many references to the buying and selling of pork, beef, and mutton between the settlers and as salable commodities at Boston.

In addition to men engaged in profitable agricultural pursuits, Minot referred over forty times to credit being given men in the area for their part in reaping the truckhouse's hay. In November, 1737, for example, Edward Hobby received a credit of 12s. 6d. "By 2½ days getting hay last fall." For the same service, George Harris received £1 on October 6, 1738. The hay "got in" by Harris, Hobby, and others must have come from fields belonging to the truckhouse (and thus the Province of Massachusetts Bay). This would seem to be the case since Minot clearly distinguished between credit extended for "...mowing my hay this year" — Minot's own fields — and the general "getting in hay."

Besides farming and associated agricultural labors, the settlers of the Fort Richmond community engaged in a number of other pursuits. Captain Joseph Beane, who figures prominently in the pages of Minot's record, often assisted the truckmaster or temporarily held the post when Minot was in Boston. Beane was also employed by the province as an interpreter. Daniel Morse, a carpenter, was called upon to effect repairs to the garrison house. Arthur Noble seems to have been the recognized cobbler in the area; he both repaired and made shoes and boots. George Harris repaired shoes as well.

A number of the men in the area were fishermen, and the truckhouse itself seems to have been in the commercial fishing business to some extent. William Marum, for instance, was credited £3.14.4 on May 20, 1739 for "...netting a net." And in May, 1741, Marum received £1.16.0 "By minding nets." Robert Lithgo, "of Topsum," also made nets, as did William Reed.

Any number of the men noted in Minot's record were employed at one time or another at unspecified general labor. By far the most widespread economic pursuits outside of farming were those related to cloth — spinning, weaving, twisting, and knitting. Mathew Maccenne, Alexander Cammell, William Reed, Robert Lithgo, Phillip Truman, and James Grimes often received credit for these labors. Three of the six women noted in Minot's account book — Aiels Mitchell's widow, Mary Minot, and Hannah Ellthorp — were credited for their spinning. The spinning and weaving credits noted in the accounts of men like Mathew Maccenne were probably the result of their wives' labors. There is some evidence, however, that some men might have engaged in these works themselves. Alexander Cammell, on August 23, 1742, was allowed £4 "By his work of hand in full given Mary." What this "work of hand" was is not stated. Perhaps it was help in the manufacture of cloth.

The extent of women's involvement in the economic affairs of the Fort Richmond community is unclear. Some women, though, were involved to the extent that Captain Minot acted

upon their orders to extend credit to, or recover debts from, their husband's associates. Minot noted several instances of disbursing cash to women upon their request.

For a third of the men whose debts and credits Captain Minot kept track of, the chief means of squaring their accounts was the wage received at the annual "Musterrol" on May 20th. The "Musterrol" was a significant event at Fort Richmond, not the least important reason for which is that it represented the single largest expenditures for the truckhouse. At the same time, it was the primary method whereby men paid off their debts — to the truckhouse and to each other.

Apparently, this allowance was never disbursed in cash. It was applied instead to the particular individual's account. The allowance varied according to the rank and duties of the individual. Captain Joseph Beane received £78.4.3 in 1738 and 1739, and £78.8.6 in 1740. His was the largest stipend noted by Minot. Lesser personages received smaller allowances. The standard for non-officers seems to have been roughly £26. Occasionally, men would draw an advance on their stipend; November 20th (six months before or after the "Musterrol") was the most common date noted.

The only notable departure from these figures applied to the Indians in the employ of the truckhouse. Three are mentioned by name in Minot's accounts: Quenois (a "pensioner"), Packanumbamet ("an Indian in pay"), and Pramegen (an "Indian Pensioner"). Quenois and Pramegen received £15 at "Musterrol," while only £10 was allowed Packanumbamet. In addition to the smaller stipend received by these Indians, their transactions at the truckhouse were far less complex than those of the white men Minot kept track of. Generally, Minot noted the Indians' debts as being for "various sundryes," or "To Sundryes at sundry times." The limited direct intercourse with Indians represented by Minot's few simple entries tends to support the proposition that trade with the Indians — the original stated purpose for instituting the truckhouse system — had indeed become of secondary concern by 1740.

The individual accounts kept by Minot for Quenois, Pramegen and Packanumbamet do not, however, reflect the complete picture of dealings with the Indians at Fort Richmond. In May of 1738, for example, Minot entered a debit of £80 against the truckhouse's account for "... presents given the Indians this winter past by order of the Governor." In 1739, Minot recorded five instances of "... sundryes given the Indians."

Most of what has so far been gleaned from Captain Minot's account book has given us only a glimpse of life at Fort Richmond in the 1730's and 1740's. Beneath these surface sketches lay a much more complex system of interaction and interdependence. Minot recorded hundreds of instances of people borrowing goods from one another and of exchanging labor in payment of debts. The "Musterrol" entries are again instructive. Appendix No. 2 (p. 18), a typical page from Minot's account book, shows that roughly half of David Bean's debts for 1741 were cleared by credits owed Bean from four other individuals. Minot's book could almost be termed a record of the economic assistance the settlers of the Fort Richmond community gave one another.

Examples of this interaction are too numerous to mention in their entirety; a few will suffice. One-quarter of James Bean's 1738 debt was assumed by Edward Hobby. Dennis Bagley assisted James Buzzell in his lumbering efforts in 1738, for which service Buzzell paid much of Bagley's truckhouse debt. Minot gave Robert Hazzard credit for "wintering a calf" for the truckhouse. John Coolier, who raised pigs and sheep, supplied the Washburn, Coller, Buzzell, Harris, and Bean families with pork and mutton in 1739 and 1740. In turn, these families assumed much of Coolier's truckhouse debt.

What emerges from the pages of Captain Minot's account book is a study in frontier interdependence. The settlers of the Fort Richmond community were, in the 1730's and 1740s, living at the raw edge of colonial society. They were, certainly, self-reliant to a degree. They more often than not made their own clothes, grew and stored their own grains and vegetables, raised and butchered their own livestock, wove and repaired their own fishing nets, and fashioned their own dwellings from the lumber they cut and shaped themselves. Yet, as Bettye Hobbs Pruitt has demonstrated was the case in the long-established rural communities of Massachusetts proper, self-sufficiency was as collective as it was individual. The men and women of the Fort Richmond area developed skills that others came to rely upon. Captain Minot called upon Daniel Morse for his superior carpentry skills. David Witcher baked bread for several of the settlers. A certain "Thrasher" tanned cowhides for James Grimes. George Harris mended shoes for many people.

These are only several of the many references Minot made to identifiable tasks and services. Far more numerous were the unidentified jobs the settlers performed for each other. Almost every page in Minot's account book notes orders given the truckmaster to pay or credit some individual for services rendered. Minot, for example, chalked up a debt of £2.14.0 to Edward Hobby in January, 1737, for "... cash paid Capt. Larrabe at your order." In the same entry, Minot tallied Hobby's debts to "Mr Weymouth," "Capt. Saunders," and "Mr Denney." The truckmaster kept track of James Buzzell's debts to James Mackfaslin, Joseph Farr's to Phillip Truman, Truman's to Captain Denney, James Coller's to John Salle, William Marum's to Captain Saunders, and virtually every other combination of individuals who did business at Fort Richmond. Most often, these transactions are simply for "sundryes you had of him." What those "sundryes" were can be imagined. Shot, powder, linen, cotton, blankets, knives, thread, shoes, butter, tobacco, buttons, hosiery, and axeheads are just some of the items the Fort Richmond settlers needed and could only get at the truckhouse. Certainly, some of these items were necessities if life on the frontier was to approach the comfort of the longer-settled communities to the south. Some items available through the truckhouse, though, were positively extravagant. Witness James Grimes who, in 1737, borrowed £2 from Captain Minot "... to buy a wigg at Boston." Why Grimes needed a wig is left to speculation. One may safely doubt that it was necessary for work in the fields.

The one commodity that was of the utmost necessity to

the men who visited the truckhouse — if judged by its frequency of mention — was rum. Rum, rum, and more rum! With the notable exceptions of Reverend Stephen Parker and the Indians employed at the truckhouse, rum was unquestionably the most often-purchased commodity by the men of the area. In many instances, the purchase of rum was apparently the sole reason for visiting the truckhouse. The "Musterrol," on May 20th, seems to have been a day devoted especially to its consumption. Rum may not be a necessity by our standards; it was seemingly regarded as such, however, by men whose daily routine left little time for leisure. No doubt it was a necessary lubricant for the limited socialization "Musterrol" provided a frontier community.

DATE of 1764?

The Fort Richmond truckhouse was the hub of frontier social and economic interaction for perhaps sixty or seventy families in the 1730's and 1740's. As a trade center for dealings with the Indians, its role was more diplomatic than economic. More "sundryes" were given the Indians as gifts than were sold them, and few of the goods the Indians produced figure in Captain Minot's province accounts. What is definite is that the Fort Richmond truckhouse was an impetus to white settlement soon after its establishment in 1720/21.

The record kept by Captain John Minot from 1737 to 1742 demonstrates that, in the short span of twenty years since the erection of the fort by Captain Wainwright, a complex community of labor and economic interdependence — and to a degree, of labor specialization — had evolved at this frontier outpost. The self-sufficient frontier family, like the self-sufficient yeoman farmer, is largely a myth. Certainly, those who settled the lands about Fort Richmond had often to fend for themselves. Just as often, though, they relied on the special skills of their neighbors in creating a wilderness society. Above all, they lent each other their physical labor — and paid for it when beyond their capacity to return in kind. Life at Fort Richmond could be, and was, frequently isolated and hard. It could also often be a hive of activity, a complex matrix of interaction and interdependence — the larger colonial society in microcosm.

Anthony M. Limanni received his B.A. in History from the University of Southern Maine in 1987. He is currently pursuing a doctoral program in American History at the University of New Hampshire. Mr. Limanni is also the editor of the *RETROSPECTION: The New England Graduate Review In American History And American Studies*.

Appendix No. 1

Individuals who traded at the Fort Richmond Truckhouse, 1737-1742. [Names are listed in the order in which they appear in John Minot's Fort Richmond Truckhouse Account Book, 1737-1742. The number in parentheses to the right of a name indicates the number of times that person's name appears as an account entry.]

1. James Buzzell (5)
2. Captain Joseph Beane (5)
3. Edward Hobby (1)

4. James Grimes (2)
5. David Witcher (4)
6. Mathew Maccenne (4)
7. Reverend Stephen Parker (1)
8. Quenois [an Indian] (3)
9. George Harris (6)
10. James Beane (1)
11. Dennis Bagley (1)
12. Joseph Farr (1)
13. Obidiah Call (2)
14. Phillip Call (3)
15. Phillip Truman (3)
16. Joseph Woods (2)
17. James Coller (4)
18. James Drumman (1)
19. Captain Peter Nowell (1)
20. Silas Nowell (3)
21. Aiels Mitchell's Widow (1)
22. Packanumbamet [an Indian] (3)
23. Andrew Bowman (1)
24. David Bean (2)
25. Daniel Morse (1)
26. Robert Smart (1)
27. Robert Hazzard (2)
28. William Seales (1)
29. William Marum (1)
30. Samuel Hams (1)
31. George Minot (1)
32. Stephen Minot, Jr. (1)
33. Alexander Cammell (1)
34. John Coolier (1)
35. John Daws (1)
36. Jonathan Peirpoint (1)
37. William Reed (1)
38. Robert Lithgo (1)
39. Pramegen [an Indian] (3)
40. Arthur Noble (1)
41. John Salle (1)
42. Captain Samuel Denny
43. Thomas Washburn (2)
44. John Smith Taylor (1)
45. Captain John Storer (2)
46. Jacob Clark (1)
47. Sarah Waymouth Widow (1)
48. Miles Gooden (1)
49. Captain Benjamin Larrabe
50. Patrick Drumman (1)
51. James Work (1)
52. Ebenezer Hanwood (1)

Appendix No. 2

[These are typical entries from John Minot's Fort Richmond Truckhouse Account Book, 1737-1742. It is a near facsimile of page 57 reverse and page 58.]

1740	David Bean.....D	
June 29	To 2 lb raisons Truckhouse 3/6	£ 0.3.6
July 9	To rum 9/4 D 1/2 Cash overpaid him on Muster	£ 0.11.5

Oct 1	To your part of hay for oxen 11/ rum 5/4	£ 0.16.4
17	To rum 2/8 (30th) rum 4/	£ 0.6.8
Nov 10	To rum 5/4 7 yds cotton & linnen at 6/6	£ 2.10.10
20	To rum 7/10 and pint rum 1/4	£ 0.9.2
Dec 9	To 1 knife 2/ (15th rum 4/ rum 1/4...	£ 0.7.4
Jan 2	To rum 4/ rum ¼ rum 2/ D. 2/ rum 2/8	£ 0.12.0
May 5	To rum 2/8 rum 2/8	£ 0.5.4 £ 6.2.7
July 6	To rum 2/8 rum 5/4 D. 2/8 D. 5/4	£ 0.16.0
	To rum 2/8 D. 2/8 Cash lent 10/...	£ 0.15.4
	To John Smith so much you ordered to pay.....	£ 0.13.0
	To rum 2/8	£ 0.2.8
	To your 1/5 pt of 2 hnd rafters G. Harris had apart in is 400 feet at £9 per hnd	£ 0.16.2 £ 9.5.9.
Oct 19	To cash paid him in full	£14.17.7 £ 24.3.4
	To ½ yd Ozimb. 2/6 1 handk. 24/1 1 Cap 6/6	£ 1.13.0
1741	Contra	Cr
May 29	By Silas Nowell so much he ordered me to pay you	£ 1.16.0
Nov 20	By so much allowed as of Musterrol made up to this day	£ 13.2.10
	By George Harris so much he orders me to pay him	£ 1.10.0
	By his ¼ part of 1547 feet Rafters Rafters clear of freight is	£ 1.4.6
	By Joseph Bean he orders me to pay him	£ 6.10.0 £ 24.3.4
Oct 19	By David Witcher	£ 0.15.6

Bibliography

- Adler, Mortimer J., ed. *The Annals of America*. 21 Vols. Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1976.
- Axtell, James, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Baxter, James Phinney, A.M., Litt.D., ed. *Collections and Proceedings of the Maine Historical Society*. 25 Vols. Portland: The Maine Historical Society, 1894-1916.
- The Boston Gazette*. 1720-1800.
- Bouton, Nathaniel, D.D., ed. *Provincial Papers. Documents and Records Relating to the Province of New Hampshire*. 7 Vols. Concord: State Printing Office, 1867-1873.
- *Provincial and State Papers. Miscellaneous Documents and Records Relating to New Hampshire at Different Periods*. 25 Vols. Concord: State Printing Office, 1867-1900.
- Clark, Charles E. *The Eastern Frontier: The Settlement of*

Northern New England, 1610-1763. 1970; reprint, Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1983.

Crochet, Monique. "Eastern Indians' Letters to the Governor, July 27-28, 1721." *Maine Historical Society Quarterly*, 13, No. 3 (Winter 1974), 178-183.

Cronon, William. *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1983.

Daniell, Jere R. *Colonial New Hampshire: A History*. Millwood, N.Y.: KTO Press, 1981.

Eckstorm, Fannie Hardy. "A Reference List of Manuscripts Relating to the History of Maine." *The Maine Bulletin*, 42 No. 1 (August 1939).

Fleming, John Daley. *Richmond on the Kennebec*. Richmond, Me.: Richmond Historical Committee, 1966.

Haskell, John D., Jr., ed. *Maine: A Bibliography of its History*. Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1977.

Historical Records Survey. *Index to Proclamations of Massachusetts Issued by Governors and Other Authorities*. 2 Vols. Boston: Works Progress Administration, 1937.

Jennings, Francis. *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975.

John Minot's Fort Richmond Truckhouse Account Book, 1737-1742. M.S. Portland: Maine Historical Society, Annex Right, Cage, Shelf 11.

Kawashima, Yasuhide. *Puritan Justice and the Indian: White Man's Law in Massachusetts, 1630-1763*. Middletown, Conn. Wesleyan University Press, 1986.

Laws of the Colonial and State Governments, relating to Indians and Indian Affairs, from 1633 to 1831, inclusive; with an Appendix containing the Proceedings of the Congress of Confederation and the Laws of Congress, from 1800 to 1830, on the same subject. Washington, D.C.: Thompson and Homans, 1832.

McCallum, James Dow, ed. *The Letters of Eleazer Wheelock's Indians*. Hanover, N.H.: Dartmouth College Publications, 1932.

Noyes, Sybil, and Charles Thornton Libby and Walter Goodwin Davis. *A Genealogical Dictionary of Maine and New Hampshire*. Portland: Southworth-Anthoensen Press, 1928-1939.

Pope, Charles Henry. *The Pioneers of Maine and New Hampshire, 1623 to 1660*. 1908; reprint, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1965.

Pruitt, Bettye Hobbs. "Self-Sufficiency and the Agricultural Economy of Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts." *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser, 41 (1984), 333-364

Russell, Howard S. *A Long, Deep Furrow: Three Centuries of Farming in New England*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1976.

Williamson, Joseph. *A Bibliography of The State of Maine*. 2 Vols. 1892; reprint, Somersworth, N.H.: New England History Press, 1985.