THE THREE LYNN CAPTAINS

Capt. Robert Bridges, Capt. Thomas Marshall

and

Capt. Richard Walker

by

Charles E. Mann

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READ BEFORE THE LYNN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BY CHARLES E. MANN, PRESIDENT MALDEN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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THE THREE LYNN CAPTAINS

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Charles E. Mann,^[1] President Malden Historical Society, Malden Mass., February 10, 1910

In 1646 the Massachusetts Colony records show a payment to Captain Robert Bridges of £10 for his services as a commissioner to investigate the troubles between the two French Governors — La Tour and D'Aulnay — who were contending for the possession of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, as it was afterward called. The resolve also includes a payment of £4 to Lieutenant Richard Walker and 40 shillings to Sergeant Thomas Marshall, who accompanied him. That the compensation given was hardly commensurate with the importance of the work done may be inferred from the fact that the payment was for "good services." You will hardly expect me to go into the details of the story. La Tour was a Huguenot and D'Aulnay a Catholic. The troubles began with the taking of Machias by La Tour after Isaac Allerton and others from Plymouth had set up a trading wigwam there. Acadia, so far as it affected seriously the interests of Massachusetts people, was that part of eastern Maine lying between Penobscot bay and river and the present limits of Nova Scotia. In 1635 D'Aulnay seized the Plymouth trading post on the Penobscot, in Pentagoet, now known as Castine. For ten years the civil war raged between the rivals. It kept New England in a turmoil also. La Tour made a celebrated visit to Boston in 1643, of which many interesting details remain in Winthrop's journal and elsewhere. The troubles culminated in the capture of the fort at St. John's by D'Aulnay, and with it of Madame La Tour, and her death in a few weeks. Soon after D'Aulnay died, and the marriage of his widow to La Tour ended the wars in 1652.

But the marriage and the peace that followed, did not end the connection of one at least of the three Lynn captains with Acadia. During the Cromwell regime, when Captain Thomas Marshall was displaying his military prowess as "one of Oliver's Souldiers," as John Dunton quaintly tells us, Captain Richard Walker was busy governing Acadia as the deputy of Sir Thomas Temple, Governor of Nova Scotia and owner of Noddles Island, which, by the way, he mortgaged to obtain the means of exploiting the Land of Evangeline. But the particulars of this interesting, but of almost unwritten history, you will allow me to defer until later

¹ Mr. Mann was introduced by George H. Martin, the newly elected president of the Lynn Historical Society.

in my story. I have only started this paper with the reference to the "Three men in a boat" because it furnishes a logical reason for grouping them together, exhibiting, as it does, in a glance, the fact abundantly demonstrated by the records that they were not only neighbors but close friends — joining together in business enterprises, in church affairs, in politics, in diplomacy and in war.

Were it not for the euphony of the title, the number of the captains could easily have been increased without affecting the historical character of the paper, for while there appears to have been but one Captain Bridges, it is far from certain that there was not more than one Captain Marshall, while no history of Captain Richard Walker would be adequate that did not include references to his son, Captain Shubael Walker, the father of the only tribe bearing the name that persists; Captain Nathaniel Walker, another son who dropped out of Massachusetts only to land in the vortex of the Bacon rebellion; and Captain Daniel King, who, I have supposed, gave his name to King's Beach, and who became father-in-law to two of Richard Walker's daughters, and so ancestor, perhaps, to men bearing his surname who have held high positions in our national government.

Some of you may remember the delicate way in which Mr. Hawkes' fancy pictured the embassy of Captain Bridges to the distant Acadia. It is worth recalling:

"Even in the present age, when the shrill whistle of the mammoth steamer echoes against the rock-ribbed headlands of Maine, and the muffled response of distant lighthouse bells peals mournfully across the sullen waters from Boone Island or Monhegan or Owls Head, the voyage to the Acadia of song and history is weird and exciting. When Robert Bridges and his companions skirted the grim coast in clumsy sailing-vessels, the only sounds that broke upon the ear were the flapping sails, the splash of waters cut by the sharp prow, or the sombre waves beating upon some dangerous reef. The land to which they journeyed was filled with their hereditary enemies — the murderous Indian and the Jesuit Frenchman. Although nearly two and a half centuries ago, and the actors all gone, the scenes remain almost as they were then — the uneasy, ever-moving sea, Mount Agamenticus against the sky, the blue hills of Camden, and above all that calm, steady guide of mariners, the North Star, still and forever pointing onward. Bridges and his colleagues diplomatically steered their bark between Scylla and Charybdis. The confederacy of New England held aloof from the contestants; D'Aulnay captured La Tour's fort at St. Johns, and the fortune of war went against La Tour, who was apparently ruined. D'Aulnay, however, opportunely died, whereupon La Tour married his widow and recovered his lost possessions. "As a fit sequel to this episode, Cromwell, who was ever watchful of the Colonies, sent secret instructions to Boston, which resulted in the subjugation of the whole of Acadia by Massachusetts in 1654. It remained in possession of the English while Cromwell lived; then by the treaty of Breda, in 1667, Charles II ceded Acadia with its vast and undefined limits to France, to become a football of European intrigues for a century."

I do not know of any finer illustrations of the value of genealogical investigation in ascertaining new sources of history than are furnished by the careers of the three men who are the special subjects of this paper. When I was seeking to solve the riddle furnished by Judge Sewall's reference to the death of Captain Richard Walker, in 1687, as that of "a very aged planter," coupled with Alonzo Lewis' statement that Captain Walker was aged 95 years at his death, I found not only that his story was linked in a remarkable way with that of Captain Robert Bridges and also that of Captain Thomas Marshall, but that few events occurred during the period of his active life in Massachusetts that did not touch him in one way or another. And where Captain Richard Walker was not actively concerned, the probability was that Captain Robert Bridges was an actor in the drama. The explorer who seeks the ancient iron works mansion in Saugus may be told that the adjoining farm, on the western bank of the Saugus river, was owned by Captain Robert Bridges, while the farm of Captain Richard Walker gave its name to Walker's plain, both within the limits of ancient Hammersmith village. I judge that at first Captain Thomas Marshall lived near, having purchased land of Samuel Bennett, but after removing to Lynn Village, and later serving with Cromwell's Ironsides, he came back to Lynn and became the landlord of the ancient Anchor tavern. Although it will be quite impossible to separate the three men entirely, perhaps it will make a clearer story if I make each one the subject of a portion of this paper in turn.

CAPTAIN ROBERT BRIDGES

I have somewhere seen the statement that the first page of the records of the General Court of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay is in the handsome chirography of Captain Robert Bridges, a man who was both loved and feared in the colony; who, in the language of Mr. Hawkes — who has gleaned ahead of me in this portion of our field — was known to his contemporaries as "the Worshipful Captain Robert Bridges." He shared with John Humphrey the distinction of being a Lynn member of the court of assistants, and was a generation ahead of the beloved John Burrill in occupying the chair of the Speaker of the House of Representatives. How he reached America I do not know. He took the oath and became a freeman in 1641, and during the following year went to England and enlisted the capital and secured the skilled labor for the establishment of the Lynn iron works, as well as those of Braintree. This is not a history of that great industrial experiment. That history has been often told. Through it, and the fact that Robert Bridges brought Joseph Jenks here, Lynn secured the credit of being the earliest industrial village in New England, but with her became associated the construction of the first fire engine and the coining of the Pine Tree shilling. I have never found that either Richard Walker or Thomas Marshall were active in the iron works enterprise; but the former evidently sold supplies to Bridges and his associates, while the affidavits of both men became of some consequence during the long Gifford controversies in the courts.

It was clearly not Captain Bridges' fault that the iron works were not successful. Meanwhile, their abandonment gave him opportunity to exercise his broad talents in the task of government. Edward Johnson, in his "Wonder-Working Providence," says of him: "He was endued with able parts, and forward to improve them to the Glory of God and his people's good." I shall be glad when volume three of the reprint of the records of the courts of assistants, covering his term of service, is issued. We know that for a long time he was the only magistrate in Lynn, and that after his death, in 1659, Captain Thomas Marshall was for this reason empowered to solemnize matrimony. It is hardly necessary to say that such a man was on intimate terms of friendship with the leaders of the colony. It is for this reason that Captain Robert Kayne, who gave Boston her Town House (the predecessor of the present old State House) added a codicil to the longest will on record in Massachusetts, saying "I have forgott one Loveing Couple more that came not to my minde till I was shutting vpp; that is Capt. Bridges & wife to whom I give forty shilling."

The records of the court of assistants for 1649 contain a paragraph which is illuminating as showing not only the prevailing custom of the time as to hair cutting, but also the state of mind of Captain Bridges and his associates, the record showing that the Governor and assistants signed a protest against the custom of wearing long hair "after the manner of ruffians and barbarous Indians."

Robert Bridges very clearly believed in the established order of things and had no use for Baptists. An ancient and celebrated book, "Ill News from New England," graphically portrays the sufferings of John Clarke, John Crandall and Obadiah Holmes, who went from Newport to the house of William Witter, at Swampscott, where Mr. Clarke preached, administered the sacrament and rebaptized Mr. Witter. The occurrence being called to the notice of the Worshipful Captain Bridges, he at once issued his warrant to a couple of constables as follows: "By virtue hereof, you are required to go to the house of William Witter, and so to search from house to house for certain erroneous persons, being strangers, and them to apprehend, and in safe custody to keep, and to-morrow morning at 8 o'clock, to bring before me." Clarke says: "While I was yet speaking, there comes into the house where we were, two constables, who with there clamorous tongues make an interruption, and more uncivilly disturbed us than the pursuivants of the old English bishops were wont to do." It must have been on a Sunday, for in the afternoon they were taken to Mr. Whiting's meeting, where in the spirit of inviting martyrdom so characteristic of both Baptists and Quakers in those days, they refused to uncover their heads. Captain Bridges ordered a constable to remove their hats, and when one of them attempted to speak he was prevented from so doing. At the close of the meeting one of them offered remarks, and then they were taken to the Anchor tavern, remaining under guard all night. A few days later the court of assistants imposed a fine upon each of them, and two of the fines were paid. The story of the whipping of Holmes, like that of the hanging of Mary Dyer, which incidentally comes into our story later, is one which the descendants of the Puritans would like to forget. The stern

and unyielding Puritanism of Captain Bridges and his associates was shown by their action in fining two bystanders 40 shillings each for taking the hand of Holmes in sympathy after he had received 30 stripes, which compelled him to lie upon his knees and elbows for many days, not being able to suffer any part of his body to touch the bed.

If I am not mistaken in my theory, religious persecution came pretty close to the Bridges family also, at a later period. Edmund Bridges, whom I assume to have been a brother of the Puritan captain, had a son of the same name, who married Sarah [Towne], the sister of the martyr Rebecca [(Towne) Nurse]. She later married Peter Clayes or Cloyes, and was one of those accused of witchcraft in those darkest days of New England history. With her sister, she was tried and condemned to death; but after long confinement in Ipswich jail, escaped, and was secreted in Framingham until the witchcraft horror was over.

But Captain Bridges was not always engaged in passing upon such grave affairs. He appears to have joined in the act of the court which condemned the intolerable excess and bravery of dress, in 1651, and ordered that no person whose estate did not exceed £200 should wear any great boots, gold or silver, lace, or buttons, or silk hoods, ribbons or scarfs, under penalty. At the same time it was decreed that there should be no more dancing at weddings or other events in ordinaries, which must have made life quiet for a spell at Landlord Armitage's Anchor tayern.

Governor Winthrop recorded the fact that Captain Robert Bridges' house, near the iron works, was burned April 27, 1648; his death occurred in 1656.

Mr. Lewis would have us believe that the captain narrowly escaped a premature death ten years before, when the bull owned by Captain Daniel King, later father-in-law to two of Captain Walker's daughters, was roaming at his own sweet will in the highway as Captain Bridges came along astride his mare, with his wife upon the pillion behind him. The captain attempted to drive away the animal, which was madly pawing the ground, with his whip, and only the prompt action of the bystanders saved both him and his wife from the consequences. So it would appear that there were perils other than those from hostile Indians in Lynn in those early days.

CAPTAIN THOMAS MARSHALL

If one were disposed to write a story of colonial days, with a name attached which would be found in the annals of the period treated, and with just enough of fact adduced to make anything printed seem plausible, he could find no better subject than the jolly, loquacious, militant boniface of the Anchor Tavern. Around his personality one may weave as much romance as his imagination can devise, and still have behind it a substantial basis of truth, as attested by the records of his time. The only reason Judge Newhall did not avail himself of the material at his hand in the life of Captain Thomas Marshall, when writing the incomparable picture of life in the Anchor Tavern, which appears in the second edition of "Lin" (in which, by the way, frequent references to the captain appear), was because he

had plenty of stories of his own, without resorting to the records. I shall never forget the keen kindliness of the Judge's smile, when I once asked him to tell me how it happened that he had printed such a wealth of information concerning Obadiah Turner in his "Lin," and totally ignored him in his History of Lynn. "Upon that," said he, "you must ask me no questions." Captain Thomas Marshall was no figment of the imagination, like Obadiah Turner and Joel Dunn, nor is he a tradition, like Tom Veal. He is, to be sure, elusive, and some people have tired themselves trying to chase him through the kaleidoscopic mutations of his career. He had his namesakes, like Richard Walker and quite unlike Robert Bridges, and these have been the despair of both historians and genealogists. Thomas Marshall kept the ferry in Boston, and was constantly active in Boston town affairs, and another Thomas Marshall lived long in Reading, but at the very period when our Thomas Marshall was busy doing something else, and is fully accounted for elsewhere. It seems to me that all that is necessary to follow the thread of his life through the tangled skein is a little patience. Like Robert Bridges and Richard Walker, Thomas Marshall was an early member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. Like each of the others he was several times a member of the General Court. Like them, he was a magistrate. He was more of a soldier than the others, though we have no record that the Indian arrows pierced his clothing, as was the case with Captain Walker. But he was a Puritan of the Puritans, else he would not have braved the seas to fight with Cromwell's Ironsides, and he was always ready to take up the labors of his two noted chums, as witness his becoming captain of the Lynn train band as a successor of Captain Walker and his appointment as a magistrate to succeed the lamented Bridges.

The voyage of the Mayflower has been celebrated in story and song; so has the voyage of the Arbella in the great emigration. Nobody seems as yet to have taken up the story of the voyage, in 1635, of the James. Perhaps it is asking too much to require excerpts from the logs of all the vessels which came to New England in those days of her beginnings, though each one was freighted with destiny for some of us. On the James was Thomas Marshall;² also Edmund Bridges, whose coming to Lynn, as I suppose, resulted in the coming of Captain Robert Bridges later. In the passenger list I find the names of Eliza Goffe, perhaps the sister of the lieutenant governor of the Massachusetts Bay Company in London, who married William Longley of Lynn, and was the first mistress of the old Hart house; William Ballard; Samuel Bennett, whose history has been given by Mr. Hawkes, and whose old house in Saugus has been successively in Lynn, Boston, Chelsea, Saugus and perhaps Malden and Melrose, and in three counties; William Colburn, perhaps son of the friend of Winthrop, an organizer of the great emigration and deacon and ruling elder of the First Church in Boston. At the same time came Richard Walker, to make trouble in Boston, and trouble, also for the investigators who were to mix him up with his famous Lynn namesake; James

² W. H. Whitmore long ago pointed out that the James' 100 passengers all came from Yorkshire. A Timothy Marshall of Wakefield is referred to in the Lane papers.

Walker, who likewise became mixed up with somebody else until his identity as the son of Widow Walker of Rehoboth was established; and Samuel Walker, apparently related to neither of the others, but who was compelled to pose as the son of Richard of Lynn by Lewis and Savage, though the evidence to the contrary was accessible to both, in the famous Nahant affidavits, to which reference is made elsewhere in this paper.

Doubtless Thomas Marshall took up farming upon his arrival in Lynn. I have somewhere read that he purchased land of Captain Bridges. In 1644 he was joined with Captain Richard Walker by the General Court as a committee on the Charlestown bounds. During the following year, Lynn petitioned the Court for relief from taxation, the petition "humbly showing, that whereas the overruling Providence of God hath much weakened our hands, which yet were never of like strength with others about us, to bear such a share in publique disbursements and debts of the country as formerly, we therefore make bold to truly inform this honored Court of our enfeebled estate with which we have more immediate cause to be best acquainted." This was because Lynn Village had been set off as Reading. Some, it has been assumed, and among them Thomas Marshall, were already living within the limits of the new town, and others removed thither. Among others who are mentioned as having left, with the rates formerly paid, are Lieutenant Walker, one pound, William Cowdrey and Thomas Marshall, ten shillings each. Each of these was then at Reading, the earliest records of which contain frequent references to them. In 1647 both Walker and Marshall were made selectmen of the town. Lieutenant Walker was immediately placed at the head of the train band formed in the town, and later, in 1651, the Middlesex court appointed Walker captain and Marshall ensign of the same band. In 1648 Lieutenant Walker and Sergeant Marshall of Reading were appointed a committee to lay out lands for John Endecott, Esq., in company with Captain William Hathorn and Captain William Trask of Salem. In 1652 Captain Walker made a deed of land in Reading to one John Person, which shows that he had both Cowdrey and Marshall for neighbors. In 1653, the famous Andover road from Reading was laid out,³ the court making the committee for the purpose Captain Richard Walker, Lieutenant Thomas Marshall, Nicholas Holt, Richard Baker or any three of them. The layout made appears in volume three of the colony records, page 330. Volume four of the Essex court files under date of this year gives the testimony of both Richard Walker and Thomas Marshall in one of the unfortunate Gifford cases, in connection with the troubles of the unhappy agent of the iron works. The Marshall deposition bears the indorsement: "Taken before me the twenty-third day of the present mo., by the Court, Richard Walker." In 1654,

³ This record has been taken by some descendants of Thomas Marshall of Reading, who had a wife Joan, and who later lived in Andover, as evidence as to how he came to move. But the name of the wife of Lieutenant Thomas Marshall, who laid out the road, and who soon returned to Lynn and kept the Anchor Tavern, was Rebecca, as shown in the Walker-Marshall deed to Francis Smith. I find no evidence that Thomas Marshall, wife Joan, ever came to Lynn from Reading. He may have lived in Lynn, or Lynn Village, before it was set off as Reading.

as shown by a deed of the ninth month in the Middlesex files, Captain Richard Walker and wife Sarah, and Captain Thomas Marshall and wife Rebecca sold to Francis Smith 500 acres of upland in Reading. From this time on I find no records which link the two names. Marshall seems to have returned to Lynn, while Walker remained in Reading some ten years longer. The approximate time of Marshall's return is shown by this extract from the Essex files:

"Salem 4th mo. 1656. These are to certyfie under this honored Court y^t Thomas Marshall, formerly lieutenant of y^e train band of Reading is chosen a lieutenant of y^e train band of Lynn and is accordingly presented to this honored Court to be allowed, etc.

"per me

"ANDREW MANSFIELD."

In 1658 Lieutenant Thomas Marshall was authorized to perform the marriage ceremony and to take testimony in civil cases. Mr. Lewis and Judge Newhall disagreed as to the identity of Lieutenant Marshall, the latter thinking him some other person than the landlord of the "Blew Anchor" tavern, although agreeing that Captain Marshall was given the same right a year later, to succeed Captain Bridges. In the light of the certificate from Andrew Mansfield, town clerk of Lynn, above, however, there can be no doubt that Lewis was right.

The date of Captain Marshall's assumption of the role of a boniface is clearly 1659, when at the quarterly court the following action was taken:

"Thomas Marshall, of Lynn, is allowed by this court to sell stronge water to trauillers, and also other meet provisions."

Captain Marshall's career as a magistrate was short, he being discharged by the court, May 31, 1659 "from officyating in that imployment." Judge Newhall calls attention to some of his offences as a magistrate, in marrying parties from other places, thus assuming a power beyond his commission, as also in marrying couples who had not been "published." In other words, Captain Marshall appears to have been disciplined because of his "owne ouermuch credulity," and for "having been abused by the misinformation of some." The incident would seem to well establish the claim of East Saugus to be the original Gretna Green of New England, and to make it possible to weave about the Anchor Tavern as many early colonial romances as the ancient records will justify. The best illustration is the

⁴ I am certain that a recently advanced theory that the magistrate who was discredited because of his action in solemnizing matrimony for persons outside his jurisdiction was not Captain Thomas, the Cromwell soldier, but the other Thomas, whose wife was Joan, is incorrect. A careful reading of this article, will, I am sure convince anyone that I have thus far been dealing with that Thomas, whose wife was Rebecca, and I may add that it was evidently the latter's daughter Hannah who married Lieutenant John Lewis, who because of this marriage a few years after became in turn the landlord of the Anchor Tavern. I have but lately seen a statement that Hannah was the daughter of Thomas and Joan.

case of Hope Allin, who sought to marry his daughter to Mr. Deacon. One John Pease acknowledged to the court that he, notwithstanding the "counsel" of the major general, who had declined to marry the couple, accompanied them to Lynn, to Captain Marshall, where Mr. Allin told Captain Marshall "y^t he hoped they might be legally published before y^t time," etc. The incident seems to have cost Allin 10 pounds, Pease 40 shillings, and Captain Marshall his commission.

I now come to the most discussed incident in the career of Captain Thomas Marshall, namely, his service in Cromwell's army. The authority for this record of service is John Dunton, the London bookseller, and he cites the genial captain himself as his own authority.

Dunton, who was the husband of Elizabeth Annesley and the brother-in-law of Susannah Annesley, the mother of the Wesleys, visited America to collect his bills for books and sell others, in 1686, three years before Marshall's death. He made two trips to Lynn, once when he was scarcely able to abide the social qualities of the jolly landlord of the Blew Anchor inn; and again, when he traveled thither with Comfort Wilkins on the pillion behind him and got the story of the Ironsides with which to mystify future generations. On the first occasion, reaching Lynn, he says:

"Neither myself nor any of my friends with me had any acquaintance there; so we went to a public house, where we met with good accommodation. And our host must needs be acquainted with us whether we would or no; he was a bold, forward sort of a man, and would thrust himself into our company and take up all the discourse, too, which was for the most part of his own good qualities, knowledge and understanding; valuing himself at such rate that he would have made one of the three dukes of Dunstable; and yet would bring Scripture to apologize for his impertinence, telling us that a Candle should not be hid under a bushel; and made sensible that he would not hide his, though it was but a Snuff, and at best but a rush candle; and therefore the few good qualities that he had, he was no niggard in displaying; some of the company affronted him sufficiently, but he took no notice on't, for he thought no vice so prejudicial as blushing.

"He dined with us without being invited, for he needed it not; and his talk at table was like Benjamin's mess, five times his part to any others. . . . His troublesomeness made me shake off that indisposition that had lain upon me all day, and brought me again to good humor."

On the next visit Dunton was not as "indisposed," and so made a pleasanter pen-picture of Captain Thomas than before:

"About two of the clock I reached Capt. Marshall's house, which is half way between Boston and Salem; here I staid to refresh nature with a pint of sack and a good fowl. Capt. Marshall is a hearty old gentleman, formerly one of Oliver's souldiers, upon which he very much values himself. He had all the history of the civil wars at his fingers' ends, and if we may believe him, Oliver did hardly

anything that was considerable without his assistance; and if I'd have staid as long as he'd have talked he'd have spoiled my ramble to Salem."

So Dunton rambled on with his charming Mistress Comfort Wilkins, leaving future generations to find the key to his riddle, if they could. In the Essex registry of deeds is this deposition:

"Capt. Thomas Marshall, aged about 67 years, doe testifie, that about 38 yeares since, the ould Water mill at Linn, which was an under shott mill, was by Mr. Howell committed to him, or before the said time, and about 38 yeares since, the building of an over shott mill was moved to the town of Linn, and for the encouragement to go on with said works, they then of the Town of Linn, Granted their Priveledges of water and water Courses to the said mill, and that this said water mill is now in the possession of Henry Roades; as witness my hand, Thomas Marshall; May 12th, 1683."

Mr. Geo. H. Martin sees in this deposition evidence that Capt. Marshall was the custodian of the "under shott" mill at the very time he would have had Dunton believe he was fighting on Marston Moor. Perhaps Mr. Martin failed to give due weight to the saving clause "or before that time." Mr. Savage thought Captain Marshall attempted to impose on John Dunton. Both Lewis and Newhall believed Dunton's record, and each seems to have been disposed to conclude that there were two Thomas Marshalls in Lynn. "About 38 years before" 1683 we know that Thomas Marshall, if he were not caring for mill property, was making his trip to Acadia with Bridges and Walker; was pulling up stakes in Lynn and settling in Reading and getting busy with municipal problems there.⁵ The deposition does not state Captain Marshall's age with such definiteness as to create a doubt as to his being the Thomas Marshall who was about 22 when coming over in the James in 1635; but few can be blamed for speculating as to whether Dunton or his loquacious entertainer romanced on that notable day in the Anchor Tavern; or as to whether there were two Captain Thomases, if the theory is necessary in order to establish a military record for our captain.

In this connection it may be remarked that Mr. Pope, in his "Pioneers," gives the records of three Thomas Marshalls, settling that one who came over in the James in Boston, where he was admitted to the church in 1643 and dismissed to the church at New Haven in 1646; making another Thomas, a tailor, a proprietor in Lynn in 1638, and removing him therefrom in 1643 to no place in particular; and making our Thomas a captain and carpenter who removed to Reading. He refers to a deposition of this Thomas in the Middlesex files dated 2 (2) 1661, where he states his age as about 45, this tallying exactly with his age as stated in the "under shott" mill deposition. But in 1652 there was a layout of lands near the Woburn line in Reading, and I have examined the original record of the allotment,

⁵ The battle of Marston Moor was fought July 2, 1644, and this was the year that one of the Thomas Marshalls was laying out Charlestown bounds with Lieutenant Walker.

which shows that "Ensign Marshall" had 20 acres; while Thomas Marshall "carpenter" had but 10. In 1650, when Rev. Samuel Haugh, whose daughter Sarah married Obadiah, son of Captain Richard Walker, was ordained over the Reading church, he found in his flock "Thomas Marshall" and "Left. Marshall and wife." Of course, it is perfectly easy to pick our Thomas in these references; but if, for the sake of giving the redoubtable Thomas a chance to fight with Cromwell, one begins to credit the carpenter with some of the children born to "Thomas Marshall" in Reading during the period under discussion, he is likely to get into trouble with modern genealogists who seem in no doubt whatever as to the descent from the landlord of the Anchor Tavern of certain tribes of the Marshall family.

In 1652 the Reading records refer to Ensign Marshall as one of a committee to lay out the road from Reading to Winnesimet. A part of this road is lost in the Melrose and Malden woods; a part is now Forest and Main streets and Madison street in Malden; and the rest Forest avenue and Chelsea street in Everett. His service as a selectman in Reading included the years 1647, 1652 and 1654. Two years later he was placed on a committee by the town of Lynn to lay out planting lots at Nahant. In 1675 he commanded the Lynn troop in Maj. Samuel Appleton's regiment, during the Indian troubles. February 16, 1687, he exchanged with the town of Lynn his right in Stone's meadow, in Lynnfield, for a right in Edwards' meadow, the town making a grant of it, at Mr. Shepard's request, to the ministry. How Captain Marshall got this right is of interest, considering the fact that it must have been very near other land now in Lynnfield granted him by Reading.

Captain Marshall died December 23, 1689. His wife, Rebecca, died August, 1693. Mr. Pope gives his wife as Joan and his children as follows: Hannah, b. 7 (4) 1640; Samuel, b. and d. 1643; Abigail, b. 16 (2) 1644-5; Thomas, b. 20 (12) 1647; Elizabeth, b. 12 (10) 1649; Sarah or Susannah, b. 18 (10) 1650; Susannah, b. April 2, 1652; Sarah, b. February 14, 1654; John, b. January 14, 1659. Judge Newhall, quoting Savage, adds a Joanna, b. September 14, 1657; John, b. February 14, 1660; Ruth, b. 14 August, 1662; and Mary, b. May 25, 1665. The birth of Joanna, from the Lynn records, corresponds with the date of Captain Marshall's return to Lynn, as shown in his election as lieutenant of the train band. Hannah married John Lewis of Lynn, leaving many descendants. John Lewis married (2) Widow Elizabeth (Walker) King, daughter of Captain Richard Walker. Mary married Edward Baker.⁶

CAPTAIN RICHARD WALKER

Nobody is able definitely to say when Captain Richard Walker came to this country and to Lynn. A fair assumption is that he came over in the great

⁶ It seems as certain that Thomas and Joan Marshall were parents of one of these Johns, as that Thomas and Rebecca were parents of Hannah and the other John. This John was drowned in a tan pit, 1665. The first John, with whom Thomas and Joan lived in Andover, died in Billerica, November 5, 1702.

emigration of 1630. Winthrop knew him as a resident of Salem, and the Boston Book of Possessions has a record (1633) of land owned in Salem, to the amount of 51 acres, "late the land of Richard Walker." He lived successively in Lynn, Reading, Boston and Lynn again, where he died in 1687, at the age of 75. Lewis makes his age 95, while Judge Sewall refers to his burial as that of a "very aged planter," but the captain's own deposition in the famous Dexter suit in relation to the purchase of Nahant is the best evidence that he was born in 1611 or 1612.

He was therefore but 19 or 20 years of age when he was made lieutenant of the original train band in Lynn, or Saugus, rather; and we have Johnson's testimony that he was a man of faith and courage, who coming to relieve the sentry in the dead of night in 1632, heard sticks crack and something brush by his shoulder, which turned out to be an Indian arrow, stuck through his coat and the wing of his buffer jacket. Later it was discovered that he had another arrow shot through his coat "betwixt his legs." I will not quote the quaint story in full, but give a sample of the epic which resulted from the incident:

"He fought the eastern Indians here When poisoned arrows filled the air; And two of which, those savage foes Lodged safe in Captain Walker's clothes."

Captain Walker's name is associated closely with a farm near the iron works on the western bank of the Saugus river in some Suffolk deeds referred to as "Walker's plain." But in 1635, as shown in the Randolph papers, he was a planter at Nahant, one of his associates being his brother-in-law (or possibly father-in-law — see history of Southhampton), Thomas Talmadge. Two years later he was made ensign of the Lynn train band, being the same year on a committee to divide lands in Lynn.⁸ The next year he joined the Ancient and Honorable Artillery company, and in 1638–9 was placed upon a committee to run the bounds between Salem and Lynn. 10 In 1639 Jane Talmadge Walker joined with her brothers Thomas and William in a request for the division of property in England, they being the children of Thomas Talmadge of Newton Stacey, county Southampton [Hampshire], England.¹¹ This petition was signed by Richard Walker in behalf of his late wife Jane. 12 William Talmadge lived on Frog lane, now Boylston street, in Boston, about where the Masonic temple stands, and his next neighbor was Robert Walker, the weaver, who was a neighbor of the Sewalls in Manchester, England, and whose wife was Dame Walker, the teacher of Judge Sewall's children.

⁹ Lewis, and company history.

⁷ Colony records.

⁸ Lewis.

¹⁰ Colony records.

¹¹ Lechford.

¹² Pope's Pioneers, p. 475.

In 1640, Thomas Dickinson was discharged from his slavery and committed to Ensign Richard Walker, ¹³ who was this year a deputy from Lynn. ¹⁴ He was also a deputy the following two years. ¹⁵ In 1643, he signed the well known petition for a license for Widow Jane Armitage at the Anchor Tavern. ¹⁶ During the same year he was an appraiser to decide how much Thomas Dexter of Lynn and Sandwich should pay Alderman Hook of Bristol. ¹⁷ In 1644 he, with Thomas Marshall, was made a committee on the Charlestown bounds, ¹⁸ and the same year he removed to Reading. ¹⁹

With Richard Walker at Reading are named Samuel Walker, my ancestor, who soon removed to Woburn, Shubael Walker, George Walker and Obadiah Walker.²⁰ I like to believe that Samuel was a brother, now that the belief of a hundred years that he was a son has been found untenable. Shubael and Obadiah we know to have been the sons of Captain Richard. George appears to have soon after emigrated to Portsmouth.²¹ He, too, may have been a brother. Johnson credits Captain Richard with the command of the Reading band, in 1645, but perhaps he anticipated. This was the year notable in history when Captain Walker accompanied Captain Bridges and Thomas Marshall on the diplomatic mission to Acadia,²² already referred to. In 1647, both he and Marshall were selectmen of Reading, ²³ and he is referred to in the Reading records as "Capt." Walker. It may be stated that his election as selectman appears in the first entry of the Reading records. The second record gives the drawing of lots, Captain Walker being No. 24. His daughter Tabitha was born March 19, of this year. ²⁴ During the following year he drew 25 acres more, and joined Thomas Marshall in laying out lands for Governor Endicott.²⁵ In 1648, 5, 1 mo., just three weeks before Winthrop's death, John Endicott wrote the Governor a letter, detailing trouble between Farrington and his sons and Henry Ingalls. Mr. Downing sent for hay, he said, given Farrington as a judgment and Ingalls cut it in Lieutenant Walker's ground. Endicott scented trouble in consequence, remarking that "the men's cattle are like to perish," etc., and urged the Governor to interfere in the matter. The letter appears among the Winthrop papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society's collections. In 1649 Samuel Bennett was granted by William Hook the land formerly owned by Thomas Dexter, given his father by the arbitration of Richard

¹³ Colony records, Court of Assistants.

¹⁴ Colony records.

¹⁵ Colony records.

¹⁶ Colony records.

¹⁷ Aspinwall Notarial Records.

¹⁸ Colony records.

¹⁹ Drake's Middlesex County, "Reading."

²⁰ Lilly Eaton, Register, ii, 48.

²¹ Savage.

²² Colony records, ii, 165.

²³ Reading records.

²⁴ Reading records.

²⁵ Colony records.

Walker and others.²⁶ He was a deputy from Reading this year, being dismissed until the "second day next."²⁷ He was again chosen a selectman in Reading.²⁸

The year 1650, was a tempestuous one, theologically, in New England, and one of the manifestations of the tempest was the burning of William Pynchon's book, "The Meritorious Price of Our Redemption," by order of the General Court. The margin of the record in this case is, to my mind, a roll of honor, as it bears the names, in "contradecent," of Capt. William Hathorne of Salem, of my ancestor, Capt. and Speaker Joseph Hills of Malden, Henry Bartholomew, Lieutenant Walker, Mr. Halyoke and Stephen Kingsley.²⁹ He was still a deputy for Reading. In 1651, the Essex court files³⁰ make "Brother Walker, Daniel How and Brother Collins" a committee to lay out the land of the county in Lynn. In this year, also, Captain Kayne, William Cogin, Lieutenant Walker and Job Tutill were a committee to run the bounds between "Charlestown and Line and that way," a celebrated bit of work, of which the record remains. This year the Middlesex court made him captain of the Reading company. 32 In 1652, he drew more land in Reading, was still a selectman,³³ and sold land in Reading to John Person,³⁴ while the General Court allowed him 40 shillings for loss by lending a mare to Governor Bellingham "for the country's use." The next year he was busy laying out the Andover highway³⁶ and making affidavits in the celebrated Gifford case.³⁷ In 1654, as stated, he joined with Marshall in a deed of land to Francis Smith. 38 In 1655, he drew more land, meadow lots, in Reading.³⁹

In 1657 occurred the famous litigation over the ownership of Nahant, described at length by Lewis and quoted in full, so far as the depositions and other papers filed are concerned, in the report of the proceedings in the case of Lynn vs. inhabitants of Nahant as to the control of Long beach, argued in the November term of the Supreme Judicial court in 1872. The original depositions, which related to Thomas Dexter's claim that he bought Nahant of Black Will for a suit of clothes, are in an unindexed volume of the Essex court records. Had Lewis and Newhall quoted the deposition of Captain Richard Walker, as they did some of the others, genealogists would not have been guessing as to his age, and Lewis

²⁶ Suffolk deeds, Lib. 1, 117.

²⁷ Colony records.

²⁸ Reading records.

²⁹ Colony records, iii, 215.

³⁰ Vol. 1, 137.

³¹ Boston town records, ii, 106.

³² Court files.

³³ Reading records.

³⁴ Middlesex deeds.

³⁵ Colony records, iii, 245.

³⁶ Colony records, iii, 203.

³⁷ Essex files, vol. 4.

³⁸ Middlesex deeds.

³⁹ Reading records.

⁴⁰ County Court records, vol. xxix.

would not have claimed him to have been 95 years old at the time of his death. It reads as follows:

"The testimony of Captaine Richard Walker, aged 65 or thereabouts, testifyeth that being one of the first inhabitants of the town of Lynn also Saugus, that upon our first settling there, we covenanted, agreed and bought of an Indian called Black William (who was owned by the Sachem and all ye Indians to be the proprietor and owner of that place called Nahant) which place we purchased of him and have had the possession and use of the same for many years, afterwards as the town did increase, wee yt were ould inhabitants and purchasers did fully and freely surrender all our right and title unto the towne of Linn to whom justly it now doth appertaine.

"Taken upon oath 22; 7 mo. >77.

"Wm. Hathorne, Assist."

Lewis dates this litigation in 1657, as I have said, but neither he nor Judge Newhall noted the fact that Dexter, who was perhaps the most litigious person of his time, appealed from the adverse finding to the court of assistants, that the case hung fire 10 years, and then ran along 10 years longer, Dexter having meanwhile died; that when it was finally tried out it was between James Oliver and Thomas Dexter, Jr., administrators, vs. Richard Walker and others, selectmen of Lynn. There are nearly 20 depositions in the case, and all but three of these were taken in 1657. The three are those of Captain Richard Walker, John Legg and George Farr, which are all dated 1677. As noted above, Captain Walker was then a selectman of Lynn, while in 1657, he was in Reading and apparently was not drawn into the controversy. It is not strange that Mr. Lewis failed to notice the variation in the dates of the depositions, but it is clear that here is the key to the mystery of his direct claim that Captain Walker died at the age of 95, for his story shows that he assumed all the depositions to have been taken just 20 years before the date upon the captain's. Had Captain Walker been "sixty-five or thereabouts" in 1657, he would, of course, have been 95 or thereabouts in 1687, the year of his death.

The deposition is interesting, however, in other respects, for it raises a question whether Lewis should not have included Captain Walker with the Ingalls brothers, William Dixey and the Woodses, who were in Lynn in 1629, rather than to have assumed he came in the great emigration, for Dixey, in a deposition in the case, refers to very similar dealings with the Indians, after "Mr. Endecott did give me and the rest leave to go where we would." It seems, also, to be a very direct contribution to the history of Nahant.

The years 1659 and 1660 were uneventful for Captain Walker, while the years 1657–8 are a blank in his history, unless his biographers succeed later in unearthing some new clue as rich in incident as some to which we are immediately coming. For a guess, I should assume that he had bought or chartered a "ketch," and was busy trading with the Indians of Acadia, although in the two

later years mentioned he has time to secure additional land in what is now North Reading, and in Bear Meadow, as the Reading records inform us.

It may be inferred that Captain Walker was having more or less aquatic experience for much of the time he lived in Reading, for there is in the Massachusetts archives a deposition dated in October, 1653, where an ancestor of the writer, Robert Burnap of Reading, makes a claim for damaged goods. (Robert's son, Benjamin, married Elizabeth Newhall of Malden, daughter of Lieut. Thomas³, Thomas², Thomas¹, the Lynn planter.) It reads:

"The testimony of Richard Walker, aged about 41 years, saith that being aboard Mr. Cartwright's ship, did speak with the bos'n and also did see the goods, which were the first put aboard."

Other witnesses in this case are Captain Thomas Savage, a friend and associate with Captain Walker and Captain Isaac Walker of Boston, whom I assume to have been a brother. In 1662 Captain Walker headed a subscription to compensate a dog whipper in Reading, who was to keep the dogs out of the meeting-house. The experiment failed, for a year later the town provided a penalty for owners who permitted their dogs to stray into the meeting-house.

On June 11, 1664, the King ordered the Province of Maine surrendered to Fernandino Georges, grandson of Sir Fernandino Georges. On May 30, 1665, Governor Bellingham replies to this, and referring to the restitution of the Province of Maine (now called Yorkshire) tells of the commission to lay out the northern line of Massachusetts, by the terms of her charter, three miles north of the northerly branch of the Merrimac. The commissioners were Major Simon Willard of Concord and Capt. Edward Johnson of Woburn. This was the celebrated commission which marked the famous "Endicot" rock in Lake Winnepesaukee, near the Wiers. Governor Bellingham claimed that the Massachusetts charter was 10 or 11 years before that of Georges. The report is certified by Edward Rawson, and also by Simon Robins and Richard Walker. ⁴¹ Captain Walker's signature is interesting, as it appears to have been attached at the very period when he was commanding a vessel for Sir Thomas Temple and engaged in trade with the Indians of Acadia, of which country he was deputy governor.

On March 6, Sir Thomas Temple of Boston, knight and baronet, executed a mortgage to Richard Walker of Reading in the county of Middlesex, gentleman, for £143, secured by Temple's house, wharf, etc., in Boston.⁴² This is the first record of a friendship that lasted until the death of Temple, who remembered

⁴¹ Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1661–1668, No. 1001. Captain Walker was always a very popular witness on papers. For example, in the Lane collection is a contract which my ancestor Job Lane of Malden made for building a house in Boston for Thomas Robinson of Scituate, witnessed by R. Walker. I have no doubt there are many collections of papers of the period which by depositions and signatures would give us further facts as to Capt. Richard.

⁴² Suffolk deeds.

Captain Walker in his will. I think it may be fairly inferred that the men were acquainted or had dealings with one another before Sir Thomas Temple came to this country, though it may be that some mutual friend brought them together here. Temple is one of the most interesting men in New England history. He was closely allied with Cromwell, although not unfriendly with the first Charles. When the royal troubles culminated, Charles was placed under a guard which was commanded by Sir Thomas' brother. In the English Calendar of State Papers, is a letter written by Temple in which he reminds the second Charles that on the night before his father was beheaded he sought to afford him an opportunity to escape, but the effort was frustrated by others, who were enemies to the king. 43 However, Cromwell thought so much of Temple that, with Acadia, or Nova Scotia, in his hands he gave Sir Thomas a patent to the whole territory, making him Governor under the title of Colonel Thomas Temple. The new Governor sailed for Boston, bought the house in the North End which he soon after mortgaged to Captain Richard Walker, bought or leased Deer Island for a farm, and bought Noddles island, now East Boston. The latter purchase was made from Richard Newbold of Barbadoes for £600, in 1667, Richard Walker being a witness. A year later Noddles island was mortgaged to Hezekiah Usher (selectman and agent of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Among the Indians, and uncle to Obadiah Walker's wife) and Samuel Shrimpton, and in this mortgage he orders Captain Richard Walker to consign to these men "the whole of the peltry secured in Nova Scotia trade for the use of said Hezekiah Usher and Samuel Shrimpton."44 In 1665 Sir Thomas had made another mortgage deed, in which he gave similar directions to Richard Walker, Edward Naylor, Thomas Russell and others employed by him in the Nova Scotia trade. In 1666 Captain Walker had moved to Boston, as shown by an action between John Gifford and Captain Richard Walker, for "tareing the appraisment." Captain Walker gave bonds in the action in Boston.⁴⁵ In the same year "S. Walker," perhaps Sarah, Captain Richard's wife, was admitted to the Second church. At the same period Captain Walker with Sir Thomas and others, became trustees of this church. He became a resident of the North End and a neighbor of Sir Thomas, although one has to follow down a generation or two before finding the key to his property in the Suffolk deeds. In 1667 the selectmen of Boston subject him to an annual rental of six pence, his bench and fence standing 10 inches into the town's ground. 46 In 1670-1671 Anthony and Hannah Checkley deed land to the trustees mentioned for the use of the church.⁴⁷ The same year Captain Walker releases, for the sum of £143, all demands upon Sir Thomas Temple, "since the world began." 48

⁴³ See correspondence in Addenda.

⁴⁴ Suffolk Deeds, lib. 2, 508.

⁴⁵ Essex court files, II.

⁴⁶ Boston Town records, vii, 36.

⁴⁷ Suffolk Deeds lib. vii, 117.

⁴⁸ Suffolk Deeds vii. 51, 52.

These records give no intimation, however, of the stirring incidents that were filling the lives of these two men with action. I can only summarize them here. Captain Walker was made Deputy Governor of Nova Scotia and immediately took command of the forts at Pentagoet (now Castine), St. John, Port Royal, La Have and Cape Sable. These had been delivered to Colonel Temple under Cromwell's orders by Captain John Leverett in 1656. In 1667 the treaty of Breda was made, by which Charles II gave back Acadia to the French king. Against this action Sir Thomas Temple bitterly protested.⁴⁹ The king was obdurate and then Sir Thomas started for England to persuade the government to pay him back the money he had invested in his venture. In the Massachusetts State library is an ancient volume published in London in 1755, one page being printed in English and the opposite page in French, it being the "Memorials of the English and French Commissaries Concerning the Limits of Nova Scotia or Acadia." This contains all the orders and records concerning the evacuation of the Acadian forts by the English, each being turned over to a French commissioner appointed to receive them by Captain Richard Walker, Deputy Governor. 50

History shows that Captain Thomas Temple was a friend to the persecuted Quakers, and, after his return to England a staunch friend of the Massachusetts colonists, of whom Charles II had grave suspicions. He showed the king one day a Pine Tree shilling struck from the dies made by Joseph Jenks on the banks of the Saugus river. "What kind of a tree is that," asked Charles. Sir Thomas was cornered, but quickly responded, "That, your majesty, is a representation of the royal oak which sheltered you at Boscobel." "They are merry dogs," quoth Charles, and the incident closed. Sir Thomas Temple's will appears in the Suffolk probate records. He left quite a sum of money to Harvard college, and to a group of his friends, including Captain Thomas Savage, Captain Richard Walker, Hezekiah Usher and Samuel Shrimpton, £40 each for purchasing rings as testimony of his love unto them. Rev. Cotton Mather, in a sermon on the death of his father, Rev. Increase Mather, speaks tenderly of his father's friend, Sir Thomas Temple, "As fine a gentleman as ever set foot on the American strand."

Sir Thomas Temple died in 1670. In 1672, Daniel King, the owner of what is now known as the Mudge estate in Swampscott, died. Capt. Richard Walker, whose daughter had married Daniel King, Jr., was a witness to his will, and an appraiser of his estate.⁵¹ In 1677, Richard Walker sold his house in Boston to Sarah, the widow of his son, Obadiah Walker.⁵² He had then removed to Lynn and was, as I have already said, a selectman and chairman of the board. He was also a selectman the following year. In 1679, he bought additional land in the North End of Boston,⁵³ and with his wife Sarah, divided his Reading property between his son, Shubael Walker of Bradford, his daughter-in-law, Sarah Walker

⁴⁹ Calendar of English State papers, Colonial.

⁵⁰ See copies of papers, Addenda.

⁵¹ Essex Probate Records, Vol. I.

⁵² Suffolk Deeds, Lib. 21, 604.

⁵³ Suffolk Deeds Lib. XI, 141.

of Boston, and his son, Nathaniel Walker.⁵⁴ He was this year a deputy from Lynn and was appointed captain of the Lynn troop. In 1680, he sold his Bear river meadow in Reading to John Legg of Marblehead,⁵⁵ and the following year was chosen to lay out land for William Hawkins in Lynn.

Captain Walker died May 13, 1687, according to the Ancient and Honorable Artillery company record. On May 16, of that year, Judge Sewall's diary says, "I go to Reading and visit Mr. Brock, and so to Salem; this day Captain Richard Walker, a very aged planter, buried at Lin."

Despite certain difficulties in relation to dates, Lechford seems good authority for saying that the first wife of Richard Walker was Jane Talmadge, and that she was dead in 1639. A good deal of searching has failed to unearth the maiden name of his second wife, Sarah. He had sons, Shubael, Nathaniel and Obadiah, and daughters, Tabitha and Elizabeth. I cannot find a son Richard, and see no better reason for assuming that he had a son George than the fact that there was a George Walker in Reading, as there was a Samuel Walker, and we now know that the latter was not Captain Richard Walker's son.

Captain Shubael Walker was old enough to be a highway surveyor in Reading in 1666. He married Patience Jewett of Ipswich, the marriage appearing in the Lynn vital records, lived for a long time in Reading, where he held many town offices, and finally moved to Bradford, where he was also prominent for a long time. He died at "Swampscott farms" a year after his father, January 24, 1688–89, leaving many children in Bradford, and his descendants are numerous in Haverhill and vicinity.

Captain Nathaniel Walker inherited the love of adventure that is so apparent in the career of his father, and certain of his letters in the Middlesex files⁵⁶ gave me a clue which led to a chase through the archives of several States. In 1671, he wrote his brother, Obadiah, a note from King's Creek, in Virginia, in which he mentioned his "brother Dyer." Six years later he was in command, by Governor Berkeley's orders, of a shallop "in his majesty's service against the late rebels, which shallop was cast away in a storm in Warrick's Creek Bay," etc.⁵⁷ This was during Bacon's rebellion. Unless an unidentified daughter of Richard Walker married Captain William Dyer, it would appear that Captain Nathaniel Walker married William Dyer's sister, which would have made him son-in-law of Mary Dyer, the unfortunate Quakeress who was hanged on Boston common, and which may explain the deep interest in the Quakers shown by Sir Thomas Temple, who at one time volunteered to provide them an asylum, if the hard-hearted magistrates in Boston would release them. The historians of the Dyer family, by the way, have been singularly neglectful of Captain William. He had a remarkably useful career in his relations to the royal government, particularly in connection with the establishment of English supremacy in New York, hints of which are

⁵⁴ Middlesex Deeds vii, 383.

⁵⁵ Essex Deeds, v. 76.

⁵⁶ Middlesex Court files, 1681.

⁵⁷ Virginia Hist. Coll. xi: 181.

given in Pepy's diary and elsewhere. I am sorry that the limits of this paper prevent my giving you more on this point. I may say, however, that he was collector of customs in 1674; a member of the Governor's council in 1675–6, and mayor of New York in 1680–81. Two years later Captain Nathaniel Walker was dead, bequeathing his "Pennsylvania" lands to Captain Dyer. The will is in the Pennsylvania archives, which is an added illustration of the fact that genealogical information may be sought with success in the files of almost any of the original colonies.

Obadiah Walker married Sarah, daughter of Rev. Samuel Haugh of Reading, her mother having been the sister of Hon. Hezekiah Usher, so long chairman of the Boston selectman, agent for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Among the Indians, who, by his efforts, secured the publication of Eliot's Indian Bible, and who held mortgages on more Boston property than almost any man of his day. Hezekiah Usher's tomb is near the sidewalk in King's Chapel burying ground. Samuel Haugh, whose name is borne by Haugh's Neck, in Quincy, died early, at the home of Hezekiah Usher, leaving a grandson, Samuel Walker, whose father, Obadiah Walker, died in 1675. Obadiah Walker's widow married Ephraim Savage. The younger Samuel became heir to the Richard Walker estate in the North End of Boston, but was dead in 1695, his will leaving his property to certain cousins and three step-sisters, daughters of Ephraim Savage.

Papers recently read before the society have given much concerning the ancient Swampscott home of Ralph and Daniel King. The first married Elizabeth Walker, and your vital records give children, Ralph, Daniel, Sarah, Richard and Tabitha. Daniel King married Tabitha Walker. After the death of Ralph King, his widow married Lieutenant John Lewis, who was already proprietor of the Anchor Tavern, having first married Hannah Marshall, daughter of Captain Thomas Marshall. I do not doubt there are many descendants of John Lewis by his first marriage in this audience, and there are probably descendants of Captain Richard Walker, through his daughters, here also. At all events, the lines are traced back to Captain Richard by many descendants residing elsewhere. Daniel King appears to have died within a few months of Richard Walker, as the colony records show in 1689 a petition from residents of Marblehead for the formation of a troop, the petition reciting that both Captain Walker and Lieutenant King of the Lynn troop have been removed by death. The Lynn records give the date of his burial as January 17, 1688–89, speaking of him as "Capt." King, so it seems that he succeeded to the command of the Lynn troop.

Full as this record of three Lynn captains may appear, I realize it to be but a feeble attempt to adequately treat lives which in their time were clearly busy, useful and influential.

⁵⁸ The recently published records of Sussex County, Delaware, show that Captain Nathaniel Walker was a large land owner there; "Nieya" Dyer was his administrator.

⁵⁹ Increase Mather attended Obadiah Walker's funeral on the afternoon of 16, 12 mo. 1675. See Mather's diary, Mass. Hist. Society's proceedings.

ADDENDA

1669 March 2. Boston N.E.

24. Sir Thomas Temple to Secretary Lord Arlington. His last two letters were sent by Captain John Fayreweather and John Long with a map of Nova Scotia, the best he could get. His vessels are now returned from Port Royal, which is in the same posture as before the Monsieurs' arrival, as are all the rest under his command though

these motions have put him to excessive charge. Was about to return to England when intelligence came from Nevis that St. Christopher's was speedily to be delivered to His Majesty; whereupon, considering that his Majesty sent him word in his last letter of 1 August, 1668, that M. Colbert was then to come to England with new overtures concerning Nova Scotia he thought it his duty to remain till his Majesty's further pleasure was known. Has fully informed his Lordship of his said condition, unless His Majesty, in case Nova Scotia be surrendered to the French, should make provision with the French Ambassador to reimburse Temple what he paid M. De la Tour for the purchase of his lands in Nova Scotia and Acadia extending about 1,000 miles along the sea-coast. Beseeches him to be a means to His Majesty that he may be heard in his defense as to anything Mr. Elliott hath to object against Temple. The country never yielded above 9,001 pounds per annum in furs and elk skins and Elliott receives 600 pounds. Has had to pay merchants 180 pounds yearly to remit it. Has already paid 2,600 pounds to Elliott in London and 700 pounds more to merchants here for returning it to Elliott there in old English money. Thomas Breedon who Temple employed in England to make his addresses to His Majesty on his return from Breda worked so craftily with Elliott and the Lord Chancellor that this part of the country, which is propriety and Thomas Temple's purchase confirmed under the great Seale of England, was given to Elliott under the pretence that he was a delinquent and a great Cromwellist; that I made it appear to His Majesty at my arrival into England, by old Mr. George Kirke the master of Whitehall, that the true reason for coming into those parts was to fly Cromwell's fury, for having laid a design for his late Majesty's escaping when he was at the trial; which Mr. Kirke, if he be alive, will inform your Lordship I had very near effected, having made a brother of mine, Col. Edmund Temple, captain of the guard for one night of His Majesty's person; it coming to Cromwell's ears I was privately advised by the then Lord Fiens (in great favor with Cromwell) to absent myself till the times might be more propitious, he being my kinsman; and my old Lord Say, my very good friend, and my uncle, advised me in making this purchase, which, as I have declared was thus injuriously and unjustly given to Mr. Thomas Elliott, who gave the government to Captain Breedon, he intending to pay fine 600 pounds yearly. So soon as I was informed of the treachery I repaired into England and finding Mr. Kirke alive he very nobly imformed His Majesty of the truth, who very graciously gave me the government again; and finding the Chancellor then so

great in favor, and Mr. Elliott, their power being too great for me to struggle with, I consented to give Mr. Elliott the 600 pounds Breedon promised him and performed it until the war, and when was he pressing for his rent, as he termed it, I sent him a ship with 40,000 pounds weight of sugar and 500 pound bills, which was instantly taken in sight of Barbadoes by a Zealander, which great loss I was never able to repair, the ship being wholly my own, and indeed all I ever had in my life.

25. Sir Thomas Temple to Sec. Lord Arlington. Excuses for his March 2. having insensibly fallen into presumption and impertinent Boston, tediousness in the above (enclosed) letter, and begs His Lordship's N.E. favor to hinder Elliott from doing Temple any injury before he has been given to answer for himself. Hopes Lord Anglesea will join in his behalf to the King and that His Majesty will be informed that Temple was never in any capacity to open the rich copper mine whereof he left a piece in His Majesty's hands. Elliott promised to send miners but they never came. His intentions are for London as soon as he receives His Majesty's pleasure concerning Nova Scotia; unless the King parts with it to the French king, Temple will at his coming reveal a ray to improve this country so as in a few years to bring in a greater revenue to the Crown than he dares to write for fear his Lordship should think it a romance or some end of his own; but will not desire one penny benefit to himself.

Feb. 1665. Letter of the King to Sir Thomas Temple. Authorizing him to publish the declaration of war against France and commence hostilities. This is a draft with corrections, one page, Col. papers vol. lxiv, No. 62. Calendar of State Papers, 1685-1688. No. 2023.

Copies of papers reproduced in connection with "The Memorials of the English and French Commissaries Concerning the Limits of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, published in London, 1755."

Page 580 — Order of Cromwell to Captain Leverett, September 18, 1656:

"Our will and pleasure is that you deliver, or cause to be delivered unto our trusted and well beloved Colonel Thomas Temple immediately upon his arrival in Acadia, commonly called Nova Scotia, in the parts of America, peaceable and full possession of our forts there called the forts of St. John and Pentagoet, and all the magazines, powder, vessels, ammunition and other things whatever to them or either of them belonging; we have committed unto him, the said Sir Thomas Temple, the charge and government of the said forts and premises; and hereof you are not to fail. Given at Whitehall on the 18th day of September, 1656. To Captain John Leverett, governor in Chief of our forts of St. John, Port Royal and Pentagoet, in Acadia, commonly called Nova Scotia in America, or to his Lieutenant or other officers, or any of them.

"I do hereby certify that this paper is a true copy compared with the original in the Plantation office, Whitehall, July 12, 1750.
(Signed) "THOMAS HILL."

"February 16, 1667–8.

"Charles, etc., To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting:

"Whereas by the treaty of peace concluded at Breda the 31st of July last past between our Majesty and those of our good brother, the most Christian King, it is among other things agreed that we shall restore to the said King or unto such as shall receive for that purpose his commission, duly passed under the great seal of France, the country which is called Acadia, lying in North America, which the said most Christian King did formerly enjoy; and to that end that we should immediately upon the ratification of agreement deliver or cause to be delivered unto the said most Christian King, or such minister of his as should be thereunto appointed, all instruments and orders duly despatched which should be necessary to the said ratification, as also in like manner that we should restore unto the said most Christian King all islands, countries, states and colonies anywhere situated which might have been gotten by our arms before or after the subscription of the said treaty; and which the said most Christian King possessed before the first of January in the year 1665, upon condition that the said most Christian King should with all speed, or at the fartherest within six months to be reckoned from the day from subscribing that agreement, restore unto you, or unto such as to that purpose should receive our commands, duly passed under our great seal of England, that part of the island of St. Christopher which the English possessed the first of January, 1665, before the declaration of the late war; and should, to that end, immediately upon the ratification of the said agreement deliver, or cause to be delivered unto us, or such of our ministers as should be thereunto appointed all necessary instruments and orders; as also, that he, the said most Christian King should in like manner restore unto us the islands called Antigoa and Montserrat, if they were in his power, and all other islands, countries, states and colonies which might have been gotten by the arms of the said most Christian King before or after the subscription of the said treaty, and which we possessed before we entered into the war of the States General (to which war that treaty puts end) as appears by the several articles of the said treaty, which are as follows:

In witness whereof we have caused our seal of England to be put to these presents. Given etc., the 17th day of February, 1677–8." (Certificate of Thomas Hill, Plantation Office, Whitehall, July 12, 1750, attached).

Page 588 — Letter of Sir Thomas Temple to the Lords in Council, November 24, 1668:

"May it please your Lordships 'tis my duty to acquaint you that I received his Majesty's letter dated the 31st of December, 1667, for the delivering up of the country of Acadia, the 20th of August [October], 1668, by Monsieur Morillon du Bourg deputed by the most Christian King under the great seal of France, to

receive the same; to whom I return my answer, a copy of which, under his hand and seal I have here enclosed, to which I humbly refer your Lordships.

"The 10th of November instant I received His Majesty's letter dated 1st August, commanding me not to deliver up the country until his further pleasure was known, which I showed the said Monsieur du Bourg. I thought fit also to let your Lordships know that those parts and places named in my first order were a part of one of the colonies of New England, viz: Pentagoet, belonging to New Plymouth, which has given the magistrates here great cause of fear and apprehensions of so potent a neighbor which may be of dangerous consequences to his Majesty's service and subjects.

"The Carribbee Islands, having most of their provisions from these parts, Monsieur du Bourg informs me that the most Christian King intended to [plant a colony at] Pentagoet, and make a passage by land to Quebec, his greatest town in Canada being but three days' journey distant.

"I humbly beseech your Lordships' pardon if I presume to inform you that Acadia is but a small part of the country of Novia Scotia, being the first national Patent regularly bounded in all America, limited on the North by the great river of Canada and on the West by New England, containing the two large provinces of Alexandria and Caledonia, established and confirmed by divers acts of Parliament, in Scotland, the records whereof are kept in the castle of Edinburg to this day, a country that might be of infinite advantage to his Majesty and his subjects were it improved, abounding in good harbors, rivers, good land, mines, excellent timbers of all sorts, especially for shipping, and the seas abounding with cod-fish. The only revenue at present (it being unpeopled) is made by furs and elk skins to the value of nine hundred pounds per annum, of which Mr. Elliot receives six hundred.

AI had made a bargain to set up a fishing trade about three years since, as your Lordships may see if it please you to cast your eyes on those few points enclosed; but the war then breaking forth dashed it wholly and caused the French, my neighbors, to make divers attempts on the country under my command, which through goods placed on my lands I preserved at my own proper costs and charges, having not had the least assistance from his Majesty but only of this country and my credit with some merchants to whom this land is indebted five thousand pounds for the same, which causes me in all humility to beseech your Lordships to consider my said condition, and in case his Majesty should see cause to deliver up this country, as his last letter seems to indicate, being in my old age and infirm condition, reduced to the lowest poverty and much in debt, unless His Majesty in a princely compassion through your mediation order gives full satisfaction for the great disbursements myself and friends have been at for the lands we purchased and paid for in this country. Abbreviate whereof I have also enclosed; but not daring to presume further I humbly implore your Lordships' favor to me and pardon, praying to God for His Majesty's everlasting prosperity, together with your Lordships', to whose safe protection I leave you, and remain,

"Your Lordships' most humble and obedient servant. (Signed) "TH. TEMPLE."

Then follows letter from Sir Thomas Temple to Monsieur du Bourg, November 6–16, 1668, assuring him that he will perform His Majesty's pleasure as soon as it is signified in the premises.

Also a letter of Sir Thomas Temple to the Comte D'Arlington, stating that he received His Majesty's letter of August 1st by the ketch Portsmouth, Capt. J. R. Wyburn, Nov. 10, 1668; that he returned the answer by Captain John Fairweather, November 24.

He states that he intended to have gone to England with Captain Fairweather, but had not received any news from Port Royal whether he had sent His Majesty's ketch and two vessels of his own with more ammunition and provisions. He complains of the subtility of Mons. du Bourg, saying he was a person of singular address and much conversing in business of this nature, and that he threatened him with the loss of his head. He states that Thomas Elliot, by reason of his rent not being paid as yet, has highly incensed His Majesty against him (Temple) to Temple's unspeakable grief, "the more since I know no friend I have there either will or dare intercede for me, he being of so great power."

In 1669, an order signed by Arlington in behalf of the king, directing Temple to surrender the forts and habitations of Pentagoet, St. John, Port Royal, La Have and Cape Sable.

Page 604 — Order of Sir Thomas Temple to Captain Richard Walker, July 7, 1670:

"Whereas I, Sir Thomas Temple, Knight Baronet, lieutenant for His Majesty of Great Britain, of the countries of Nova Scotia and Acadia, have received from his said majesty a command dated the sixth day of August, 1669, under his signet, delivered me by the hand of Monsieur le Chevaliar de Grande-fontaine, the sixth day of July, 1670, to deliver the countries of Acadia, namely the forts and habitations of Pentagoet, St. John, Port Royal, La Heve and Cap Desable unto the most Christian King, or to such as he should thereunto appoint under the great seal of France, and whereas the most Christian King hath appointed and empowered the said Mons. le Chevaliar de Grande-fontaine to receive the same, as upon the commission under the great seal of France bearing date the 22d July, 1669, and now showed me fully appears: In obedience therefore to the said command, in conformity to the which he says, "Articles of the Treaty at Breda, the 21st-31st of July, 1667," mentioned in His Majesty's command, I do hereby declare that I do comply therewith fully and freely and without any doubts, difficulties or delays, do restore the said country of Acadia, in North America, unto the said Mons. le Chevaliar de Grande-fontaine; and in order thereunto, by reason of present sickness of body upon myself, I have appointed and do hereby appoint Captain Richard Walker my Deputy Governor of the said parts, actually upon the place, total possession of the said Acadia, namely, the forts and habitations of Pentagoet, St. John, Port Royal, La Heve and Cap. Desable, conforming myself therein to the aforesaid articles; and I do hereby command and order all others, my captains, officers, soldiers, and all others under my government, readily and without delay to conform hereunto, expecting and no way doubting a fair compliance of the said Monsieur le Chevaliar de Grandefontaine; likewise, according to the said articles and according to an agreement now made with him and delivered me under his hand and seal in reference thereunto."

This is certified at the Plantation office, Whitehall, July 12, 1750. (Thomas Hill.)

Page 606 — Statement in relation to the delivery of the forts at Pentagoet, Acadia, by Captain Richard Walker to Monsieur le Chevalier de Grande-fontaine, August 5, 1670:

"The fifth day of August, 1670, being in the fort of Pentagoet, in the countries of Acadia, whereof we took possession for His most Christian Majesty the 17th day of last month, Captain Richard Walker, heretofore Deputy Governor of the said fort and of the said countries of Acadia, representing the person of Sir Thomas Temple, knight and baronet, accompanied with Isaac Gardner, gentleman, did jointly require of us that we should give a [particular] account of the condition of the said fort, and of all things which were and did remain in the said fort, when the possession thereof was given unto us by the above said Captain Richard Walker, that they might have an instrument in writing indented, to deliver to the said Sir Thomas Temple for [their discharges], whereunto we do accord, and for that end and purpose we, in the presence of the above named, and of the Sieur Jean Maillard, the king's scrivener in the ship of His Majesty called the St. Sebastian, commanded by Monsieur la Clocheterie, as also of another secretary, writing under us the said proceedings in manner and form following:

"First: At the entering in of the said fort upon the left hand, we found a [court of guard (guardhouse)] of about fifteen paces long and ten broad, having upon the right hand a house of the like length and breadth built with hewn stone and covered with shingles, and above them there is a chapel of about six paces long and four paces broad, covered with shingles and built with terras, upon which there is a small turret wherein there is a little bell weighing about eighteen pounds.

"More, upon the left hand as we entered into the court there is a magazine having two stories, built with stone and covered with shingles, being in length about thirty-six paces long and ten in breadth, which magazine is very old and wanting much reparation, under which there is a little cellar, wherein there is a well.

"And upon the other side of the said court, being on the right hand, as we enter into the said court there is a house of the same length and breadth as the magazine is, being half covered with shingles and the rest uncovered and wanting much reparation. These we have exactly viewed and taken notice of.

"Upon the rampart of the said fort and in the presence of our canonier, whom we caused to be present to take a view of the several pieces of cannon, are as follows:

"First, six iron guns carrying a ball of six pounds, whereof two are furnished with new carriages and the other four with old carriages and new wheels; two weighing 1,850 pounds each of them; three weighing each of them 1,500 pounds, the other weighing 2,230 pounds.

"More, two iron guns carrying a ball of four pounds, having old carriages and new wheels, one weighing 1,310 pounds, the other weighing 1,232 pounds.

"More, two small iron culveriens, carrying a ball of three pounds, having their carriages old and wheels new, weighing each of them 925 pounds.

"Afterwards we went out of the said fort and came to a little platform near adjoining to the sea, upon which we surveyed two iron guns carrying a ball of eight pounds, furnished with new carriages and new wheels, the one weighing 3,200 pounds and the other 3,100 pounds. Which are twelve guns weighing twenty-one thousand one hundred twenty and two.

"More, we do find in the said fort six murtherers without chambers, weighing 1,200 pounds.

"More, two hundred iron bullets from three to eight pounds.

"Lastly, about thirty or forty paces from the said fort there is a small out house being about twenty-paces in length and eight in breadth, built with planks and half covered with shingles, which do not serve for any use but to house cattle.

"More, about fifty paces from the said out house there is a spare garden enclosed with rails in which garden there are fifty or sixty trees bearing fruit. All of which things above writ we have exactly viewed and taken notice of in the presence of the persons underwritten, and I do acknowledge that they are in the quantities and condition as above declared.

"Whereof we have given this particular account that the value thereof may be made good to the said Sir Thomas Temple, or to his heirs or assigns, or to whom it shall belong; whereto we, with the above named have put our hands and caused our secretary to witness the same the day and year above writ. (Signed)

"Mons. le Chevalier de Grande-fontaine,

"Jean Maillard,

"Richard Walker,

"Isaac Gardner.

Marshall Secretary.

"I do hereby certify that this paper is a true copy compared with the original in the books in this office.

"Plantation office, Whitehall, July 12, 1750. (Signed) "THOMAS HILL."

Then follow several letters in French in connection with this matter, and a statement to the Lord's Justice of England from Jean Nelson that Sir Thomas Temple purchased from Monsieur Charles de la Tour the inheritance of Nova Scotia, and that the said Sir Thomas Temple dying did by his last will devise all his right and title of the premises unto the petitioner.

January 4, 1698.

Memorial of John Crowne concerning the English title to Penobscot and the lands adjacent.

In this memorial John Crowne tells the story of the troubles of Charles La Tour which lead [sic] him to resign his title to both Nova Scotia and Penobscot to Major Sedgwicke in 1654, Cromwell having ordered Sedgwicke to sail thither and demand it. He further recites that Cromwell in 1656 granted the country to La Tour, who made over all his right and title in them to Sir Thomas Temple and William Crowne for the sum of £3,300. Shortly after Temple and Crowne divided their lands, Temple taking a deed to the whole of Nova Scotia and Crowne a deed of Penobscot, each giving bonds in the sum of £20,000 to abide by the agreement. Later Temple obtained from Crowne a sub-lease of Penobscot, several merchants of New England being bound for payment of the rent which John Crowne alleged never was paid. After the treaty of Breda Temple from hatred of Crowne gave up Penobscot as well as Nova Scotia to the French, a proceeding which exceedingly displeased King Charles. Soon after war broke out between France and Holland, the Dutch took Penobscot from the French, who levelled the fort (Pentagoet) to the ground and entirely quitted it. Shortly afterwards King Charles commissioned the governor of New York to take Penobscot and adjacent lands under his jurisdiction, which he did, putting a garrison into the trading house at Crowne's Point. Crowne petitioned that the lands belonging to his father be restored to him and the cause lay undetermined during the latter end of King Charles' reign and the whole of the reign of King James. This memorial and these facts were used as evidence to prove that the French had no right to claim Penobscot, it having been discovered by the English, possessed by them nearly 40 years, and the French, having it only a short time through the alleged treachery of Sir Thomas Temple, losing it to the Dutch and two kings having enjoyed it quietly to the end of their reigns.

Calendar of State Papers 1697–1698, No. 151.