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# VERY NOBLE SUPPERS: AGRICULTURE AND FOODWAYS IN LATE COLONIAL FALMOUTH

CHARLES P. M. OUTWIN

*During the American colonial period, Falmouth Neck (now Portland), Maine began its progression from a small fishing village to a vibrant hub of the region's agriculture and trade. In this article, the author explains various aspects of this progression, particularly through a description of the ways food in the region made its way from farm (or ocean) to table. The author earned an MA in liberal studies from Wesleyan University in 1991 and a PhD in history from the University of Maine in 2009, writing a dissertation on the history of Falmouth from 1760-1775. He has published numerous works, including a previous article in Maine History; an online monograph entitled Securing the Leg Irons: restriction of legal rights for slaves in Virginia and Maryland, 1625-1791; and an essay in Creating Portland: History and Place in Northern New England, edited by Joseph A. Conforti. He is a frequent public lecturer, an adjunct professor of history at Southern Maine Community College, and a member of the Maine Historical Society, the New England Historical Association, and Phi Alpha Theta, the international historical honors society.*

ON September 28, 1728, not long after his appointment as Falmouth's first-ever church minister, the Reverend Thomas Smith and his new bride were regaled with "a very noble supper" by well-wishers in town. Even though the settlement was then very poor — nothing more than a small frontier fishing village that also served as a garrison for Massachusetts' northern troops — this was to be one of the first of many such sumptuous repasts Smith was to enjoy in Cumberland County over the nearly half a century that followed. Coastal Cumberland County, in 1760 and for fifteen years thereafter, was a land of plenty.<sup>1</sup>

Located in a temperate pocket extending up the coast from southern New England, the year-round climate for Falmouth in Casco Bay (now



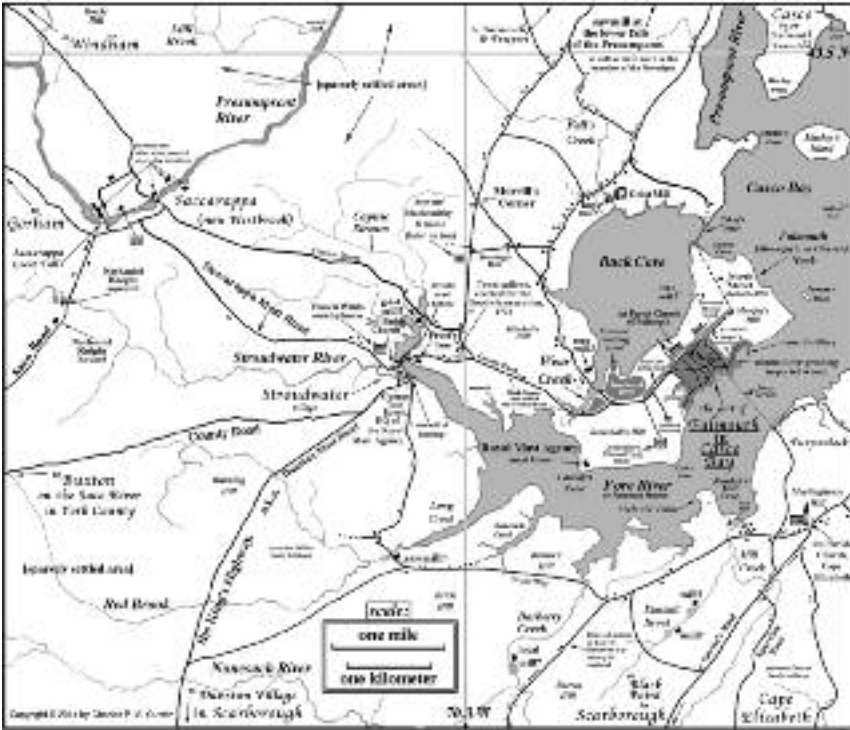
Lithograph of Reverend Thomas Smith, c.1750. For seven decades (1724-1795), Rev. Smith served the First Parish Church in Falmouth (now Portland). During that time, Falmouth grew from small frontier fishing village to a significant economic center for the region. *Collections of the Maine Historical Society.*

Portland) by 1770 was somewhat warmer than that of the rural areas inland just a few miles to the west and north. Even though the average annual temperature was about 45° F (7.22° C), Casco Bay and the surrounding tidal waters acted as insulation against weather that created frigid conditions elsewhere in the region. In winter, the harbor was usually ice-free, even in those years shortly following the deepest phase of the Little Ice Age (approximately 1400 AD to 1700 AD). In summer, too, it is likely that the weather never remained intolerably hot for long; while winters could be very cold, the growing season was acceptable.<sup>2</sup>

Clearing and settlement tended to spread both by family expansion and by purchase or claim. Boundaries had at last been settled in the 1730s by agreement between the “old” and “new” proprietors (the original grantees from the seventeenth century and settlers of 1719 who were at first accused of squatting), and deeds were carefully drawn up and registered. Real estate speculation and development was a primary source of enrichment throughout the area, engaged in by both town and country landowners. Squatting was restricted to marginal or wilderness areas where property bounds were not well surveyed. The area around the port of Falmouth was already very well on its way to being a thoroughly restructured, “man-made” landscape when the town became the county seat in 1760. Just as it facilitated population growth and the spread of settlement in the area, so too Cumberland County’s constantly improving transportation infrastructure assisted the tremendous economic growth that the area was to experience in the 1760’s and early 1770’s.<sup>3</sup>

Outlying settlements near Falmouth that fed into the seaport’s commercial *locus*, included the villages of Purpoodock, directly south of the seaport across the harbor, and Stroudwater, at the far southwestern end of the Neck formation. Saccarappa, now the center of the town of Westbrook, lay a few miles to the west of the Neck, while Casco, now Falmouth Foreside, sat to the north of the opening of the Presumpscot River inlet. Nearby towns that also acted as feeders to the seaport were those on Cape Elizabeth south of the river, Scarborough, a little further off in the same direction, and Yarmouth to the north, accessible by both water and the King’s highway. All had farms, of differing sizes.<sup>4</sup>

When one speaks of land in pre-industrial societies such as that of late colonial British North America, one inevitably also speaks of farming. Throughout the seventeenth century, and during much of the eighteenth, everyone in New England engaged in subsistence agricultural activity to some degree. Many of the town’s leading citizens owned large



Map of Falmouth, Casco Bay, and the surrounding region, c. 1775. Created by the author.<sup>5</sup>

country houses, farms and much undeveloped land in Stroudwater, Saccarappa, Windham, Gorham, Pearsonstown (now Standish), and even further afield.<sup>6</sup>

There was not a great deal of good arable land within easy reach of Falmouth. The soil and upper strata covering Falmouth's ancient metamorphic bedrock were stripped away long ago by successive ice ages. Repeated glacial scouring left huge igneous intrusions of gneiss and basalt exposed, veined with milky quartz, which stretch away for many miles to the north-northeast, from York to Lincoln counties. Stubborn bogs formed in kettle-holes. Thickets of dense white pine, hemlock, beach, maple, alder, and birch that came to cover the land near Falmouth permitted only the accumulation of a poor, shallow forest soil, alternating with limited areas of more or less fine detrital glacial outwash.<sup>7</sup>

Still, farms were liberally sprinkled throughout greater Falmouth, with the farmhouses mostly fronting onto roads, rather than lying at the end of drives as they would in later centuries. Concentrations of agricul-

tural operations could be found around Back Cove, along Sawyer's Road and Broad Way in Purpoodock. Such farms also existed far to the west along Saco Street bordering Gorham and Scarborough, down the King's Highway (now Stephens' and Allen Avenues) beyond Deering's Hill, and around many inlets along the sea's margin.<sup>8</sup>

The climate in coastal Cumberland County was in fact warm enough, and the growing season long enough, to cultivate peaches and plums on the southeastern slope of Falmouth Neck. On the other hand, it could get cold enough that the upper reaches of the Fore River would freeze solid in January and February. Agricultural climate conditions in southern Maine improved in the 1760's, in conformity with patterns of drought and wetness dictated by the cycles of El Niño and La Niña in the Pacific Ocean. Food production consequently improved, although farmers often struggled to keep pace with population growth in Falmouth's seaport area. Agricultural producers had to withstand competition for manpower from the more lucrative forest products trades. Some Gorham landowners even resorted to the use of slaves to augment scarce agricultural labor, though to a very limited extent.<sup>9</sup>

Processing of agricultural products was generally carried out on farms or in private residences.<sup>10</sup> This is particularly true of brewing and dairy products, which, while privately produced in homes or inns. Other operations, such as the milling of maize or wheat, required special equipment, whether water or wind powered. Gristmills were distributed unevenly about the landscape on its many streams, such as Falls Creek near where it empties into Back Cove. Cumberland County residents had been familiar with automated mill technology since the late 1600s at least. Evidence suggests tidal powered grist mills as well. Further, a large windmill with a dome-shaped, rotating cap was built on the southeast side of Back Street, in the saddle between the port's two hills, open to the prevailing winds from northwest and southwest. It may have served a double purpose of fine-grinding flour from imported Chesapeake Bay wheat and pumping water for nearby houses.<sup>11</sup>

As Falmouth grew and prospered in the 1760s and 1770s, demands on its food supply increased. Expanding market farms in Cape Elizabeth, Scarborough, and especially in Gorham compensated for the poor agricultural land in the immediate vicinity of the port area. In the early years of the settlement, poor soils had indeed been a concern in Falmouth, but that was before the inland areas up to the foothills beyond Sebago Lake were settled.

Scarborough's soil was the least fertile of the outlying farming dis-

tricts, having more clay, coarse till, and glacial erratics; in places it was almost barren. The Jordans and their ancillary families were able to find long pockets of good soil in the kettle-holes of southwestern Cape Elizabeth, which they strip-farmed with plots laid out in the long, roughly rectangular shapes common to late medieval Europe that accommodates plowing with oxen. The best farmland in the region, indeed the finest in all of Maine until the interior of the state was opened up in the early nineteenth century, was in Gorham. This was for a simple but crucial reason: the soil, a glacial marine outwash, though somewhat sandy, was nearly free of large stones. After a few years' improvement with wood ash, mulch, and manure, the extensive farms of Gorham became very productive.<sup>12</sup>

There was plenty of meat available, too, as suggested by the presence of Cotton and Hall's large and productive tannery, and of leather workers such as cobblers and saddlers. The meat stock appears to have been raised and slaughtered somewhere other than the seaport area. Indeed, there appears to have been few butchers or butcheries in town. Where did the meat come from? Where was it prepared? A clue may lie in the archaic names of some of the islands in Casco Bay.

In the colonial period, Big and Little Diamond Islands were known as the Big and Little Hog Islands, respectively. Likewise, a small island off the northeast point of Great Diamond Island is still named Cow Island. It is also well known that herds of kine, sheep, and swine were kept on the Casco Bay Islands, hemmed in by the natural barrier of the sea. John Waite, for instance, possessed a large enough quantity of livestock on Chebeque Island to attract the hostile attention of British looters in 1776. It is possible that slaughtering and butchery took place out on the islands, where the unsightly mess and noxious smells could be kept well to the leeward of the town, and fresh meat brought in every day over the short distance by water to the Neck. Dairy cows were found everywhere, even grazing above town on Munjoy's Hill. Inventories and probate records show the presence of a great deal of dairy processing tools, and milk products could be obtained from farms as nearby as the shores of Back Cove.<sup>13</sup>

Dietary staples such as wheat were also readily available from other ports, directly from Delaware and Maryland, or through client merchants in Boston, Providence, and New York. The reason that so much wheat (referred to in eighteenth century documents as "corn") was imported to Falmouth and Cumberland County was that the climate in southern Maine was not good for raising that particular grain.<sup>14</sup> Because

of the frequent damp and cold during the short growing season, ripe wheat was attacked by *Ustilago nigra*, or “black smut.” This particular form of the mildew fungus first destroys the top of the stem, and then the grains themselves from the inside out before the seedhead can be harvested.<sup>15</sup> While a great deal of “corn” had to be imported, “Indian corn” (that is to say, maize) grew fairly well in Cumberland County. It became a staple in the county’s rural areas, if not in town. Falmouth became a large-scale bulk importer of certain cereal grains as the years went on, not only wheat, but presumably barley (also, confusingly, called “corn”), in order to supply the town’s numerous small bakeries and breweries.<sup>16</sup>

Falmouth’s dependence on grain imports, though of little concern during the days of the town’s greatest prosperity, was to prove disastrous after the catastrophe of 1775. Even before the war, when supplies of wheat were low, the public tended to become fearful of famine. This was not because they lacked foodstuffs, but because they believed in the absolute, supposedly authenticated Biblical requirement for bread. In the 1760s, this problem, if indeed it really was one, seemed inconsequential because of fairly regular wheat imports from the Chesapeake Bay and Delaware Bay ports. Consequently, any unreliability in the food supply chain was thought to present little real peril. There was sufficient agricultural surplus for a farmers’ market to operate profitably, and the merchants of Falmouth found it highly profitable, as well as a worthwhile public cause, to import the great shiploads of wheat and the other grains that the people of coastal Cumberland County and Falmouth demanded.<sup>17</sup>

Imported wheat was stored in a number of granaries in the port area, such as that belonging to Scots immigrant Alexander Ross. However, the irregular import schedule caused the price of wheat, barley, and flour to vary widely, and sometimes wildly. This affected not only the availability of bread — the presumed “staff of life” — but of beer as well: the “working man’s friend” of that age. Both were used copiously at most meals throughout the colonies. The people of the inland rural areas, also in need of wheat but never rich, grudgingly endured these price fluctuations. In time, they developed an ill-concealed dislike of the port’s people in general and merchants in particular, whom they suspected of intentionally manipulating the price of wheat, flour, and other food staples.

Casco Bay and the Gulf of Maine did bear goodly harvests of seafood, even though there is no evidence of a commercial fishing fleet

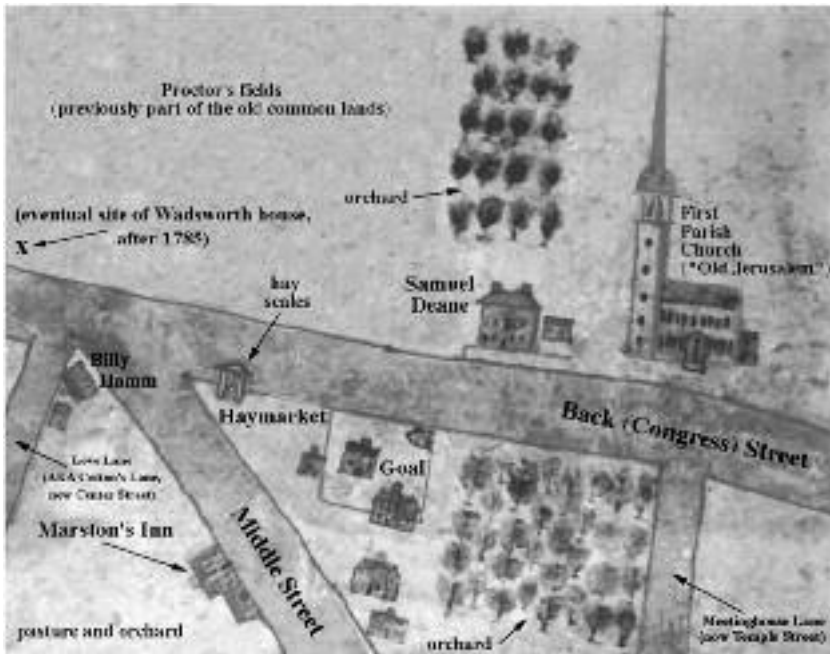


after 1760. The town's merchants are known to have sent their ships on regular and frequent voyages to eastern Nova Scotia and Newfoundland to obtain salt cod. Further, a number of shell middens found at sites around Casco Bay indicate great quantities of oysters, mussels, clams, and scallops consumed over the centuries before 1760, not only by hungry Europeans but by Archaic Culture Indians and their Abenaki descendants as well. Lobster, on the other hand, was generally used for bait, chum, or pig feed.<sup>18</sup> There are also tales of chowdering parties that would go out for the day to the Casco Bay islands.<sup>19</sup>

The central commercial and seaport district of Falmouth, as it existed at the close of the Seven Years' War, was already densely concentrated along King Street, Fore Street, and the northeast end of Middle Street, with new developments emerging between lower Middle, Back, and York Streets. The area at the foot of King (now India) Street, centered on Brigadier General Jedediah Preble's wharf complex, which had previously served as the town's first commercial focus, had become dangerously congested. Consequently, the town council determined that a new commercial center for the town was needed, and designated a broad area at the top of Middle Street where it then met Back Street. This was called the Haymarket, a name it would retain for much of the nineteenth century, until renamed Monument Square in 1891. By the late 1760s a number of outlying families appear in public documents described primarily or even exclusively as farmers, independent of any other role they might have performed in the socioeconomic, social, or political structure.<sup>20</sup>

In spite of any surplus of commercially grown foodstuffs, every homeowner in the densely populated seaport area had a kitchen garden. These were organized to produce certain crops (succulent green and root vegetables, both culinary and medicinal herbs, as well as flowers) according to personal preference, much as gardeners do today. There were also privately owned orchards of different types, notably peach and plum groves. Some grew a surplus of staples available for sale.

Falmouthers drank their own home-brewed beer as well as imported wine, and enjoyed afternoon tea. There were quite a number of licensed tea vendors in Cumberland County, including the town's successive leading merchants, Alexander Ross and Robert Pagan. Reverend Thomas Smith and his family were also very partial to hot chocolate. Indeed, the famous dummy-board portrait of their son's house slave, Phyllis, shows her carrying a glazed earthenware hot chocolate service on a tray. Additionally, rum production had proven so profitable elsewhere that Jedediah Preble, Enoch Ilsley and his younger brother Daniel,



Map of the Haymarket location of the farmer's market (now Monument Square) from the 1760s forward. The Portland Farmer's Market still meets at this location today, and is thus the oldest continuously operating farmer's market in North America. Detail from the Pointer Draft (*Collections of the Maine Historical Society*) showing Marston's Inn and other features, with annotations by the author.<sup>21</sup>

Simeon Mayo, and John Waite, five of the foremost merchants in Falmouth, together invested in the construction of a large distillery. By the middle of the 1760s it stood on its own wharf at the far northeastern end of Fore Street, extending off what had once been called Machigonne Point. In spite of some local interference due to alcohol-related criminality, this operation, overseen by Daniel Ilsley, was producing enough rum by 1774 to meet both substantial regional demand and a limited export market. Fiddle Lane (now Franklin Street) laid-out in 1756, became infamous for its "watering holes," frequented by laborers and sailors on shore leave in their brief periods of leisure. Cheap rum, supplied mostly by Ilsley's operation, was the chief attraction here. Consequently, ever-increasing quantities of West Indian molasses and sugar in hogsheads were imported to Falmouth as well in the years preceding the War for Independence, for both commercial and private use, against which duties were strictly enforced after 1763.<sup>22</sup>

Enough artifactual, circumstantial, and documentary proof remains that a tantalizing impression can be gained of Falmouth's wealth, even after the attack in 1775 that obliterated it. Inns and taverns were frequent places of recreation for diners, especially for such organizations as the Falmouth Lodge of Free Masons. Founded in 1764, they frequently held communications followed by sumptuous dinners at Marston's Tavern on Middle Street, just below the new Haymarket. Innkeepers such as Johanna Frost, Moses Shattuck, and Joshua Freeman were counted among Falmouth's leading business people.<sup>23</sup>

The owners of inns, taverns, and even the more modest homes in Falmouth by the 1770s could afford to spread a bountiful table, "a noble supper" indeed. John Adams, who had several relatives in town and had recently arrived to argue a case before the Cumberland County court, wrote on July 9, 1774, that:

The Day before Yesterday, a Gentleman came and spoke to me, asked me to dine with him on Saturday. Said he was very sorry I had not better Lodgings in Town, desired if I came to Town again I would take a Bed at his House and make his House my Home. I should always be very welcome. I told him I had not the Pleasure of knowing him. He said his Name was Codman. I said I was very much obliged to him, but I was very well accommodated where I lodged. I had a clean Bed and a very neat House, and a Chamber to myself, and every Thing I wanted.

Saturday I dined with him in Company with Brigadier [Jedediah] Preble, Major [Enoch] Freeman and his son [Samuel], &c. and a very genteel Dinner we had. Salt Fish and all its apparatus, roast Chickens, Bacon, Pees, as fine a Salad as ever was made, and a rich meat Pie-Tarts and Custards &c., good Wine and as good Punch as ever you made. A large spacious, elegant House, Yard and Garden &c. I thought I had got into the Palace of a Nobleman.... After Dinner when I was obliged to come away, he renewed his Invitation to me to make his House my Home, whenever I should come to Town again.<sup>24</sup>

Aside from anything else, this anecdote clearly demonstrates the copious hospitality that was common among Falmouthers, even at this late date.<sup>25</sup>

The preceding passage from Adams about the dinner at Codman's is also highly significant in that it shows what foods and delicacies were



Portrait of Samuel Freeman by E.W.H. Brainard, 1887. John Adams dined with Samuel Freeman and his father, Enoch Freeman, on July 9, 1774. The following year, Samuel Freeman became the first postmaster of Falmouth. *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*.

available in Falmouth. These far exceed in quality the modest corn bread, salt fish, and beans that too many historians supposed most Falmouthers to have subsisted on. Most of the salt “stockfish” re-exported from Falmouth was “refuse,” intended for the feeding of sugar plantation slaves in the West Indies. However, it is clear that good “market” fish was obtainable in Falmouth, with all its “dainties,” which Adams calls “apparatus.” (The “dainties” on cod fish included cheeks, tongue, and roe; this, however, would seem to indicate that some of the fish served at least was fresh, rather than salt, since those morsels were generally not salted.)

Apparently, the captain had a good wine cellar, too, with a store of good rum, probably from Daniel Ilesley’s distillery. He had fine liqueurs as well, and fruit cordials with which to make a winning punch. Further, he was able to afford a good cook, because of the variety and quality of dishes served at the dinner. A house slave, if possible, would have done the cooking, because wives did not cook, if they wished to appear genteel. The people of Falmouth on the whole enjoyed constantly improving living conditions during the 1760s and into the 1770s, because of an

ever-increasing inflow of wealth. The town, however, was to remain a net importer of foodstuffs, especially wheat, until the end, because of rising population in the quarter century between 1750 and 1775.

All of this good living ceased, quite suddenly and with crushing finality, on October 18, 1775, when naval and marine forces under the command of Lt. Henry Mowatt utterly destroyed the central half-mile-square waterfront district of Falmouth. The grain storehouses, the orchards, the kitchen gardens, and the entire contents of pantries and shops were ruined. Refugees flooded out into the countryside, eating everything in sight, and then starved if they could not move farther away. Farmers looked to preserve what little they themselves had remaining. Dispossessed townspeople fleeing from Falmouth found cold reception in Scarborough, Gorham, and Brunswick. The provincial congress in Massachusetts, itself insolvent, could offer no relief.

Eventually, the majority of Falmouth's Loyalists went north, first to Castine, then St. Andrews, New Brunswick, while those with relatives in Boston or on the North Shore retreated to those places. By March 31, 1780, the snow remained deeply piled on Back Street in front of the church, standing on the hill above the sad ruins of Falmouth. With the exception of a few scattered inhabited buildings, the formerly thriving British *entrepot* was very nearly deserted.<sup>26</sup>

Famine and epidemic became commonplace in coastal Cumberland County from the onset of winter in late 1775 until the end of the American Revolutionary War in 1783. The Reverend Thomas Smith stayed where he was, more or less, and subsisted on maize, the occasional fish, and little else, if he had any dinner at all. He noted with grief the departure of Falmouth's inhabitants, many never to return. Recovery after the war was slow, at first. The people of American Portland would not be as comfortable as their predecessors in British Falmouth had been – at least until the turn of the nineteenth century.

#### NOTES

1. William Willis and Samuel Freeman, editors, *The Journals of the Rev. Thomas Smith, and the Rev. Samuel Deane* (Portland, Maine: Joseph S. Bailey, 1849), 11, 69.
2. The average low temperature for January in coastal Cumberland County today is 13°F (-10.5°C). The general consensus among historical meteorologists is

that the general climate cooling called the “Little Ice Age” began sometime in the thirteenth century and lasted until the mid nineteenth century.

3. Charles P. M. Outwin, “Thriving and Elegant, Flourishing and Populous: Falmouth in Casco Bay, 1760 - 1775.” (PhD diss., University of Maine, 2009), 25-28.

4. For relations between *entrepot* and hinterland towns, see Walter Christaller, *Central Places in Southern Germany*, trans. Charlisle W. Baskin (New York: Prentice Hall, 1966). While Christaller is concerned with more urban regions, the model he provides is similar to how the relationship between Falmouth’s ports and the foodstuff-supplying communities in the surrounding area.

5. Especially important in the determination of settlement patterns in the greater Falmouth area c.1770 is the map “A PLAN of FALMOUTH HARBOR in Casco Bay, Surveye’d in the year 1770”, based on Mowat’s findings and drawn by Charles Blaskowitz. The original is in the British Museum, accession number P. S. 1/6041. ADD. 16367.F. A photocopy of this document is in the collection of the Maine Historical Society archives, Portland. It was also the basis for the charts published by DesBarres in 1775 (see footnote 8, below).

6. Percy Wells Bidwell, “Rural Economy in New England at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century.” *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 20 (April 1916): 255-259, 267-268; and Bidwell, “The Agricultural Revolution in New England,” *American Historical Review* 26 (July 1921): 685, 700.

7. Gary Hedstrom, *Soil Survey: Cumberland County, Maine* (Washington, DC: U. S. Dept. of Agriculture Soil Conservation Service in cooperation with Maine Agricultural Experiment Station, 1974).

8. See Joseph Frederick Wallet DesBarres, ed., *Charts of the Coast and Harbors of New England*, charts number 19 (Falmouth Harbor) and 20 (Casco Bay) (London: J. F. W. DesBarres, 1775). The plot lines of many of these holdings can be very clearly seen on the famous DesBarres chart of Casco Bay. The data was collected during the 1760s under the direction of Lt. Henry Mowat, commander of the Royal Navy’s hydrographic survey sloop *Canceaux*, working in cooperation with Samuel J. Holland, Royal Engineer and first Surveyor General of British North America.

9. Charles P. M. Outwin, “A Company of Shadows: slaves and poor free menial laborers in Cumberland County, Maine, c.1760-c.1775.” *Maine History* 46, no. 2 (June 2012) and William Barron, “18th Century New England Climate Variation and Its Suggested Impact on Society,” *Maine Historical Society Quarterly* 21 (no. 4, 1982): 201-218.

10. Don Perkins, *The Barns of Maine: Our History, Our Stories* (Charleston, South Carolina: History Press, 2012), 44, 86.

11. See also Richard Leslie Hills, *Power from Wind: A History of Windmill Technology* (Cambridge, UK: Press Syndicate/University of Cambridge, 1994), 51-79. The shape of the windmill is made very clear in the famous illustration “Fal-

mouth, burnt by Captain Moet,” attributed to John Norman. See James Murray, *An Impartial History of the War in America, Between Great Britain and the United States from Its Commencement to the End of the War*, vol 2, part 6, (Boston: Nathaniel Coverly and Robert Hodge, 1781-1785), 146, 237. Norman’s drawing is intended as a visual reconstruction of detailed eyewitness testimony. For more on Norman, see Samuel Adams Drake, *Old Landmarks and Historic Personages of Boston* (Boston: James R. Osgood & Company, 1873), 145.

12. T. K. Weddle and M. J. Retelle, “Deglacial Style and Relative Sea-Level Chronology, Casco Bay Lowlands to White Mountain Foothills, Southwestern Maine,” *Geological Society of America Abstracts with Programs*, v. 30, no. 1, 1998 (Boulder, CO: Geological Society of America, 1998), 83.

13. Outwin, “Thriving and Elegant”, 128-129.

14. Freeman and Willis, *The Journals of Thomas Smith and Samuel Deane*, 139, 151, 195, 221, 240, and 241.

15. Clarence Day, *The History of Maine Agriculture, 1604-1860* (Orono: University of Maine Press, 1954).

16. Freeman and Willis, *Journals*, 139, 151, 195, 221, 240, and 241.

17. Freeman and Willis, *Journals*, 139, 151, 195, 221, 240, 241, and 342.

18. Mark Kurlansky, *Cod: A Biography of the Fish that Changed the World* (New York: Walker, 1997), 78-101.

1.9 Sarah Jones Bradbury, *Extracts from the Diary of Sarah Jones Bradbury*, manuscript, Maine Historical Society Special Collections Coll. S-5081, MHS Archives, Portland, Maine.

20. William Goold, *Portland in the Past: With Historical Notes of Old Falmouth* (Portland, ME: B. Thurston & Co, 1886), 524.

21. The Pointer Draft, made by John Pointer, was produced in early 1776 at the request of Samuel Freeman and used in an unsuccessful attempt to gain reparations or relief from the Massachusetts Provincial Congress. Thereafter, it passed through several sets of hands, including those of Capt. Lemuel Moody and lawyer/politician/author William Willis, both of whom drew additions onto it. The Pointer Draft (so named by Samuel Deane) is now in the special collections of the Maine Historical Society, accession number F219. See Charles P. M. Outwin. “From the Collections: The ‘Pointer Draft’ of Falmouth in October 1775,” *Maine History* 39, no. 2 (Summer 2000): 133- 136.

22. William Willis, *The History of Portland, from its First Settlement, with Notices of the Neighboring Towns, and of the Changes of the Government in Maine*, 2nd ed. (Portland, Maine: Bayley & Noyes, 1865), 438, 464; Willis and Freeman, *Journals*, 156, 200, 208, 210, 234, 302, 304, 322, 334, 337, 350, 360. The dummy-board portrait of Phyllis is now property of Historic New England, formerly the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities and is kept at the Hamilton House in South Berwick, Maine.

23. The Falmouth Lodge was eventually renamed the Portland Lodge #1, AF&AM. It is no longer active.

24. John Adams to Abigail Smith Adams, July 9, 1774, in *Familiar Letters of John Adams and his Wife Abigail [Smith] Adams, during the Revolution, with a Memoir of Mrs. Adams*, Charles Francis Adams, ed. (Cambridge, MA: Riverside Press, 1876), 22. Captain Richard Codman (1730-1793) was a master mariner and merchant, and, after the war, a ship builder. See *Eastern Argus* September 9, 1833; *Portland Advertiser*, September 10, 1833.

25. Smith and Deane referred to such dinners repeatedly. See Willis and Freeman, *Journals*, 11, 23, 47, 61, 69, 75, 76, 80, 83, 97-99, 101, 155-156, 199, 234, 244, 250, 302, 305, 310, 312-314, 318-319, 321-322, 328-330, 333, 343, 345, 338, 348-349, 350, 353, 355, 358, 379, 401. Such hospitality was not by any means universal among Cumberland County's people. See *Journals*, 309-310.

26. Willis and Freeman, *Journals*, 236, 238, 240-243, 245.