

# VERMONT ARCHIVES AND MANUSCRIPTS

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## Eben Judd, Frontier Entrepreneur

*In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries Ebenezer W. Judd surveyed, speculated in land, started a marble business, and frequently appeared in court as a plaintiff or defendant. His journals document everything from land disputes to recipes; from court trials to an interview with Governor Thomas Chittenden.*

By GREGORY SANFORD

The first time I met Eben Judd he was drunk. I realize this is a delicate issue, so let Mr. Judd explain:

Thanksgiving day in the State of Vermont . . . Went to Mr. Hall's at night and was entertained with a fine supper of roasted Turkey, Chicken pies, and apple pies, the first Apple pie or apple I have taisted on at Coos. We had a fiddler and a Coos dance. Went from thence to Mr. Lucey's about 10 o'clock at night, where we found a

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Company drinking scalded Rum, or Hot Toddy as they called it. We had a high Caper as it is usually called. About midnight we returned to Esqr. Eames's and made out [?] to get to bed without help.<sup>1</sup>

I was immediately charmed by Ebenezer Warner Judd, and over the years, as time permits, I visit with him.

As with many another barroom acquaintance, I knew Mr. Judd without really knowing him. I discovered few published sources that mention him. I learned that he was born in Waterbury, Connecticut, in 1761, and died in Middlebury, Vermont, in 1837. In a far-ranging career he was a surveyor, land agent, farmer, merchant, mill operator, compiler and publisher of almanacs, politician, inventor, and manufacturer. He may also have been a doctor—he is often referred to as Dr. Judd, though I found no other indication of a medical degree. His journals, however, reveal that he did provide medical assistance as he went about surveying northeastern Vermont. He also treated his own ailments on occasion, often prescribing opium.

Judd was Middlebury's delegate to the 1822 Vermont Constitutional Convention. In 1823 he was elected to Vermont's Executive Council (a body of twelve men, elected statewide, which until 1836 constituted part of the executive branch). From 1825 until 1829 he was an assistant judge of Addison County.

Although Judd was prominent in Addison County politics in the nineteenth century, his political career began in Guildhall during the eighteenth. He was the first judge of probate for the District of Guildhall from 1790–1795, when the town was part of Orange County. He also served in various town offices in Guildhall in the 1790s, including proprietors' clerk, justice of the peace, and (perhaps) town clerk.

Forgotten by many Vermonters, Eben Judd nonetheless remains a beloved figure in Essex County. He is described in Everett C. Benton's *A History of Guildhall, Vermont* as “the most public spirited man who has ever lived in the county, and was without doubt one of the best, most prominent and honorable citizens of the town. . . . He did more to smooth over the hard feelings which existed between the settlers and proprietors than any other man.”<sup>2</sup> In a 1950 speech celebrating the Essex County Courthouse, George N. Dale called Judd “a public spirited philanthropist [who] gave this land to us for a Court House and Common.”<sup>3</sup>

As I read these celebrations of my hot toddy-drinking, opium-ingesting acquaintance, I was surprised. My initial experience with Eben Judd had left me with a somewhat different impression. He was certainly a sharp business man; there are those in Middlebury who still assert that Judd stole the plans for the town's first marble sawmill from a twelve-year-old child. He was also a litigious sort, involved in lawsuits from one end

of the state to the other. And there was an unfortunate episode with two federal marshals.

These may not be mutually exclusive views of the man. He lived during a tumultuous time in Vermont, when loyalties were divided and one's economic self-interest and political agenda were occasionally indistinguishable. Popular views of Judd's contemporaries, Ethan, Ira, and Levi Allen, are similarly colored by the mingling of private self-interest and public selflessness. Eben Judd is hardly the last citizen of the North-east Kingdom to be cherished for his foibles as much as his virtues.

My personal admiration for Eben Judd derives from an entirely different source. Judd was one of the great journal keepers of eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Vermont. Over his various careers he kept records of his surveys and business dealings, of his trials and his travels. His surviving notebooks and journals can be found in the Vermont State Archives and Records Administration (VSARA) and at the Sheldon Museum (which is located in Judd's old house in Middlebury). Judd's records are arguably the best single source on early Vermont besides the letters of the Allen family.

I first encountered Judd some thirty years ago, when I became state archivist and came across his 1786 journal of his trip to, and surveying of, the Upper Coos (now Essex County). It is in this journal that I happened upon Judd's November 30, 1786, entry describing his encounter with scalded rum. I was immediately captivated by this very human journalist and, in rare free moments, I further imbibed from his journals.

What little knowledge I have of Judd comes from these occasional readings. I do not know enough details of his life to pretend to be a biographer. Indeed, his various journals left me with many unanswered questions about how certain events in his life fit together. So, rather than attempt a comprehensive or chronological recital of Judd's life, I will share some of his writings to give a flavor of this remarkable participant in, and observer of, early Vermont.

Judd's records at VSARA are part of the records of the Office of Surveyor General. Judd was not a surveyor general, though he is sometimes referred to as a deputy surveyor and he communicated with Surveyor General James Whitelaw. My sense is that he was hired by the proprietors of and inhabitants in Essex County to unravel their extremely confused town boundaries and property lines.

How confused? Several Essex County towns had overlapping boundaries. Some towns did not encompass the amount of acreage described in their original charters, clouding titles to land and raising all sorts of tax questions. These tax questions were exacerbated by statewide property taxes; towns that failed to provide their allotted state taxes could be

“doomed” by the General Assembly.<sup>4</sup> Many Essex County towns, including Guildhall, eventually sought legislative relief, claiming that they were being taxed on more acreage than they contained.

Confused boundaries created more than tax problems. After one survey, it turned out that Guildhall’s town officials were actually residing in neighboring towns and therefore were ineligible for office.

When Judd first became involved in surveying town boundaries, he copied the minutes of the original proprietors’ meetings for Guildhall.<sup>5</sup> The proprietors were mostly Connecticut residents and held their meetings there. Their minutes reveal how confusion about boundaries evolved. For example, in November 1761, the proprietors appointed a committee to “go view Guildhall.”<sup>6</sup> Several such committees were subsequently appointed, but twenty-six years later the proprietors were still trying to locate their towns through surveys, a process that by then included Eben Judd (who not only did the surveys, but also became a proprietor and secretary to their meetings). In the absence of accurate surveys, “sundry owners and others have taken possession and made large improvements” to the land without clear title.<sup>7</sup> In other words, in the absence of accurate surveys, squatters settled in Guildhall and elsewhere.

Settlers with unclear or non-existent title were committed to protecting their property and the improvements they had made. In October 1786 Judd began surveying. On October 9 he wrote:

Surveyed on the side of the River in Maidstone. Just at sunset was met with a Company of Men in a Riotous Manner on a Bow of [land?] that Mr. Shuff Lives on. They held our fore Chainman and thretoned some of us very high, and said if we went on they would bre[ak] our heads. We returned to Thos. Woosters took supper and went to bead.<sup>8</sup>

On October 13 Judd’s work was again interrupted by a “Company of Setlers” who “stoped us and hindered some time.”<sup>9</sup> On the 14th Judd was better prepared and wrote “Began to Lot where we left off on Waits Bow. We went strong handed and Joseph Holebrooks, Esqr. carryed the fore end of the Chain, and was clenched upon by Mr. Grapes, but Grapes was advised to let him go on. We finished Lotting.”<sup>10</sup>

Clearly, the laying out and settling of Essex County was not always a peaceful affair. And the stakes were high. Imagine clearing land and suffering the hardships of early settlement only to be threatened by the loss of your land and labor because of inaccurate surveys.

The stakes were particularly high for the squatters who had established claims without title. Judd wondered how to treat the squatters and decided to go straight to the top for answers. His entry for June 4, 1787, begins: “Crossed the River to Williston to see his Excelency, the governor of Vermont. I found him in a small house in the Woods.” Judd recorded a question and answer session with Governor Thomas Chittenden.

When Judd asked, “What shall we do with those settlers now in Maidstone?” Chittenden responded, “You must put into the Warning of your meeting to have them hold their pitches and must not interrupt them, for I will take the part of the poor settlers rather than have them Interrupted, and you must give them More than Grants[?] if you intend to have them be peaceable.”<sup>11</sup> Judd’s transcript of Governor Chittenden’s remarks provides a unique, direct insight into our first governor.

Judd’s surveying records also reveal the previously mentioned tension between public and private interests. Judd took full advantage of his dual roles as a surveyor and land agent to acquire extensive holdings throughout the county. To cite one example: In 1791, the State of Vermont imposed a half-cent-an-acre tax on all property in Vermont in order to pay off New York’s claims to the state. This was part of the agreement that led to Vermont’s admission to the Union. In 1793, the state treasurer noted that many of the proprietors of Guildhall had not paid this tax and ordered their land sold at public auction. Judd ran the auction—and bought at least twenty-four parcels of land.

In addition to his extensive land holdings, Judd also owned a mill in Guildhall and a general store just over the line in Canada. But his widespread business interests became his undoing. By 1799 Judd was a debtor, confined to Windsor until his creditors could be paid off. Judd’s journals became as concerned with documenting his lawsuits as his land and business dealings.

Here the story becomes somewhat confused. Judd was confined to the Windsor and Woodstock jail yards, but his confinement was loose and he was allowed to live with his family in a private home in Windsor, with some supervised travel privileges. This arrangement was threatened by the arrival of two U.S. marshals to serve additional writs upon him.

The U.S. marshals, Samuel Fitch of Addison County and Thomas R. Hawley of Franklin County, posed a new threat to Judd. Judd feared that they would remove him to Middlebury. Middlebury was a designated federal as well as a county jail, and debtors in federal jails suffered closer confinement (admittedly, it is difficult to envision confinement to places such as Windsor, Woodstock, and Middlebury as excessively cruel, but once you have lived in Guildhall—well, there you have it).

Initially, closer confinement in Middlebury was the least of Judd’s worries, as the marshals knocked down the doors of the house where he was staying in Windsor and proceeded to assault Judd and his family. This launched yet another lawsuit involving Judd. According to Marshal Samuel Fitch, when he tried to serve the writ, Judd first pulled a pistol on him and then a knife. Fitch knocked the gun from Judd’s hand with a cane and was forced to subdue him with a leaded whip. In his response Judd countered that Fitch

broke and burst open the outside back door of [Judd's] house and rushed forcibly in upon him . . . and knocked him down with a large cane and loaded whip, and beat, bruised and wounded him till he [Judd] was left on the floor bleeding and senseless, and committed other violent outrage upon his family by presenting a pistol at Mrs. Judd . . . in order to frighten and terrify her, and afterwards, on the same 18th day of March [1800] . . . carried and conveyed away [Judd] to the House of Allen Hays in Windsor . . . and then and there continued their assault and abuse upon him . . . and upon Mrs. Judd by presenting a pistol at her and by threatening and challenging [Judd] to fight a duel, etc., etc.<sup>12</sup>

Judd filled two journals on the ensuing court case with its myriad twists and sub-plots.<sup>13</sup> To cite a few twists: Judd claimed to have previously paid Fitch \$12 so he would be confined to Woodstock rather than Middlebury. One of Judd's lawyers, Amasa Paine, accepted money to represent Judd in his various suits with creditors but ended up working for the creditors, launching another lawsuit. Judd's former partner in the Canadian general store had publicly vowed revenge and may have encouraged the marshals to kill Judd.<sup>14</sup> And in yet another twist, Judd successfully sued Marshal Fitch for trespass and received punitive damages.

Judd was ultimately incarcerated in Middlebury, under close confinement, until he could post bond following the fight with the marshals. While in Middlebury he met a twelve-year-old prodigy, Isaac Markham, and, depending on whom you believe, Judd either improved or stole Markham's plans for a marble-cutting saw. Judd then launched Middlebury's marble industry.

He was soon embroiled in new lawsuits. Perhaps the most notable is still referred to as the Middlebury Offal War. Once again confused land titles lay at the root of the problem. Judd received a 999-year lease to quarry marble, but when actual title of the land changed hands, the new owner tried to establish a tannery at the quarry site. The quarry work kept undermining the new owner's buildings. The owner, Moses Leonard, retaliated by periodically draining tannery waste into Judd's quarry. As one of Judd's men testified, the products of the tannery "consisted of large quantities of the entrails and honches of cattle and sheep—sheeps heads, etc with a great variety of other filth stuff . . . Whilst we were quarrying in the hole, it frequently happened that we would hear the water coming down the bank upon us where we were at work and all hands would have to clear out, and when the water stopped shovel out the muck and wash off the rocks so that we could go to work again."<sup>15</sup>

The journals reveal a hint of Forrest Gump in Eben Judd. He seems continually to wander into the personalities and events of his day. For example, when Judd finished surveying the Coos in late 1786, he began working his way back to Waterbury, Connecticut. He conducted

business along the way and on Christmas day approached West Springfield, Massachusetts.

When I first approached this House I saw a most horred spectacular [spectacle]. . . . [A] Company of Men under Arms with Guns and Bayanuts. Their countanencies showd terror and Dearth. They were some of them nearly Drunk and Clashing bayanats to soards [swords] in a most shocking manner. . . . they were going to break up the Court at Springfield. Old hateful and angry Mars is now mustering his hellish forces to a horrid and destructive war.<sup>16</sup>

On December 26th he wrote,

What I have beheld to Day? What is this land coming too? Surely if I judge aright there will be in short time murder and Bloodshed. I see it in the faces of many a man. All law is trampled upon. The Courts are all broak up by mobs and Riots and what will be next? I'll venture to say a most distressing intestind [incident?]. War, which if persued, 'tis likely will end in the Ruin of this State. Far better would it be for you Bostonians to sheath the sward while in your power least you go so far that there be no recovery.<sup>17</sup>

Judd had wandered into Shays's Rebellion, a key event in the creation of the U.S. Constitution. Yet for all his dread, Judd continued on to Waterbury, where he began to draw up his accounts and surveys without further mention of the Rebellion.

Where should we leave Eben Judd? There is so much more in the journals that, to use one of Judd's favorite phrases, I would love to tarry at. He comments on the accommodations and costs of inns, and on the character of innkeepers. He filled one ledger with his salt business, from unloading the salt from ships in New York and elsewhere, to selling the salt in Essex County, to noting recipes for salting everything from beans to beef.

His records at the Sheldon Museum include his plans for a patent on mills powered by the movements of the tide. As a general store owner he wrote down orders for household goods from Essex County residents, providing a rare glimpse into frontier homes. Once, when he stopped to confer with Surveyor General James Whitelaw in Ryegate, Whitelaw was out. So while Judd waited he began to write down the titles of books in Whitelaw's library. The titles that interested Judd related to growing fruit, another of his business interests. He occasionally detailed his treatment of sick residents of the Coos and commented on the general health of the settlers.

Judd's court depositions detail how he paid out of his own pocket for forty men to help survey Essex County, and how his store provided the implements used to clear and settle the upper Coos. His business dealings are described throughout the journals—including some with my

ancestors, such as Oliver Sanford, who moved from Redding, Connecticut, to Addison County just before Judd's arrival in Middlebury.

All of these journal entries provide an extensive and perhaps unique view of life on the Vermont frontier. They also offer perspectives that deserve further study. For example, Judd's business ventures in Essex County and Canada, and his routine travels throughout New England, Canada, and the Mid-Atlantic states, suggest a local economy extending far beyond the traditional image of subsistence farms and rural isolation.

For legal historians there are numerous treasures. Judd kept extensive notes on his court cases, including transcripts of testimony, depositions, and judges' instructions to juries. While he awaited his trial in Woodstock he took notes on other cases, including a rape case and two involving the selling of foreign rum. When he was held in close confinement, after the fracas with the marshals, he ordered and read the laws of the United States, the laws of Vermont, D & East's English common law, Virginia's statutes, and other legal tomes, as well as a modern history of Europe—offering insights into the resources available to Vermont's early lawyers.<sup>18</sup> Many of the most noted lawyers of the day appear in the journals: Jonathan Hatch Hubbard, Daniel Buck, Oliver Gallup, Stephen Jacob, and Nathaniel Chipman.

I can only hint at the wealth of information in the journals. Lamentably, the journals are increasingly fragile, not generally accessible, and not always legible. Thanks to the wonderful work of Reidun Nuquist, several of Judd's journals have been transcribed and are now more accessible at VSARA. We owe Ms. Nuquist our gratitude for her painstaking transcriptions, particularly since it is safe to say that fine calligraphy was not among Judd's many talents.

What emerges from all the writings on matters great and small is Eben's enthralling personality. After listening to a sermon, Judd wrote about how the minister spoke on the text, "to be carnal minded is death; but to be spiritual minded is life and peace" (Rom. 8:6). To his journal Judd added his own sermon:

"Man is born into trouble as the sparks fly upward [Job 5:7]." I shall divide my discourse into and consider it under the three following heads: First, man's ingress into the world. Second, his progress through the world. Third, his egress out of the world,—

First, man comes into the world naked and bare;  
Second, his progress through it is trouble and care;  
Third, he goes out of it nobody knows where.

To conclude:

If you do well while here, you will fair well when there  
I can tell you no more, if I preach a whole year.<sup>19</sup>



## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Eben W. Judd, *Journal of Survey to the Upper Coos 1786[–1787]*, November 30, 1786, Surveyor General's Papers, c. 1779–1838, volume 30, Record Series SE-132, Container SE-132-00016, Vermont State Archives and Records Administration, Middlesex, Vt. Hereafter, Judd 1786 Journal. Quotations will reflect original spellings as transcribed by Reidun Nuquist. Transcriptions are available at the Vermont State Archives and Records Administration.

<sup>2</sup>Everett C. Benton, *A History of Guildhall, Vermont: A Facsimile of the First Edition* [1886] (Guildhall, Vt.: Town of Guildhall, Vermont, 1985), 248.

<sup>3</sup>George N. Dale, "One Hundred Years—A Celebration of the Building of the Essex County Courthouse, 1850–1950," *Essex County Herald*, 12 August 1950.

<sup>4</sup>The General Assembly would set the tax rate for a town in the absence of a submittal from town; this was known as dooming.

<sup>5</sup>Eben Judd, Records of the Proprietors of Guildhall, 3 January 1795, attested by Ebenezer Judd, Proprietors' Clerk, Surveyor General's Papers, c. 1779–1838, volume 22, Record Series SE-132, Container SE-132-00012. Hereafter cited as Proprietors' Records.

<sup>6</sup>Proprietors' Records, 2 November 1761.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, 17 February 1787. By then Judd had completed his initial surveys but throughout 1787 the proprietors' records document efforts to reach some accord with those who had settled in Guildhall without clear title.

<sup>8</sup>Judd, 1786 Journal, 9 October 1786.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, 13 October 1786.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, 14 October 1786.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, 4 June 1787.

<sup>12</sup>Eben W. Judd, *Incomplete Minutes Regarding Personal Law Suits, 1801, 18 March 1802*. Surveyor General's Papers, c. 1779–1838, volume 21, SE-132. Container SE-132-00012.

<sup>13</sup>In addition to volume 21, see Eben W. Judd, *Journal Private Affairs While in Prison 1800*, Surveyor General's Papers, volume 32 Record Series SE-132, Container SE-132-00017.

<sup>14</sup>See for example the deposition of Ino. Pope, in Judd, *Incomplete Minutes*, starting on page 107.

<sup>15</sup>Testimony of Luther Harris in Ebenezer Judd Papers, Sheldon Museum, Box 2, Folder 2.13.

<sup>16</sup>Judd, 1786 Journal, 25 December 1786.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, 26 December 1786.

<sup>18</sup>D & East's refers to Charles Durnford and Edward Hyde East, *Term Reports in the Court of the King's Bench*, 8 vols. (London: T. Whieldon, 1787–1800).

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, 25 March 1787. Judd occasionally noted sermons he attended, including a Roman Catholic sermon that he enjoyed.

## Eben Judd's *Journal of Survey to the Upper Coos, 1786*

*Transcribed with notes by* REIDUN D. NUQUIST

*E*ben Judd's 1786 journal is volume 30 of the Surveyor General's Papers of the Vermont State Archives and Records Administration; the volume also holds Judd's 1787 journal.

The manuscript journal measures 6 $\frac{7}{8}$  × 3 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches, is laminated in silk, and preserved in a leather binding. The spine title reads *Journal of Survey to the Upper Coos, 1786*. At the head of the first entry is written:

Waterbury August 18th  
Journal to the Upper Coos  
1786  
Kept by  
Eben W. Judd  
*Sit quantum nesicit [nescit]!*

*The journal pages are smoke-damaged, making some of the text difficult to decipher.*

*In transcribing Eben Judd's journal, I have strived to make it as readable as possible by keeping emendations to a minimum. I have retained Judd's spelling when the meaning is clear. Where words are not easily recognized, the correct spelling follows in brackets. Judd's capitalization appears as written, including nouns. The first word in a sentence is always capitalized, as are personal names, place names, and titles. Abbreviations and contractions are shown as written, unless expanded in brackets to assist the reader. Ampersand is silently converted to "and" and "&c" to "etc."*

*As to Judd's sparse punctuation, his dashes have been replaced by commas, semi-colons, periods, or question marks, to clarify the meaning. A period closes each sentence. I have interpreted long dashes, lines, and gaps in the text to indicate new paragraphs. In addition, I have occasionally inserted paragraphs in long blocks of text to ease the reading.*

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REIDUN D. NUQUIST is a retired librarian who spent her working years at the Vermont Historical Society and the Bailey/Howe Library at the University of Vermont. She transcribed Eben Judd's journals as a volunteer for the Vermont State Archives and Records Administration.

*Interlineations are silently incorporated into the text. Deletions—crossed-out and X'ed out words—are omitted, as are repeated words, typically found on top of the next journal page.*

*Date elements are normalized.*

#### THE TEXT

*On August 18, 1786, twenty-five-year-old Eben Judd left Waterbury, Connecticut, for the Coos intervale in the Upper Connecticut River Valley. His small party included Joseph Holbrook who soon was to become a thorn in Judd's side. They covered up to thirty-two miles a day on horseback, heading north through Massachusetts, into New Hampshire, and up through the Connecticut River Valley.*

*Judd was hired by the proprietors, largely land speculators from Connecticut, to survey towns on both sides of the river. The towns had been granted in 1761–1763 by New Hampshire Governor Benning Wentworth; today they are parts of Essex County, Vermont, and Coös County, New Hampshire.*

*To carry out his surveys, Judd would have used compass, a surveyor's chain for measuring or "running" lines, an axe for marking lines and corners, and paper for writing field notes. A fore and a back (or aft) chainman would have carried the chain, and a third man might have carried the axe for Judd. Judd would have paid special attention to the laying out of river lots: The winding Connecticut River was a major transportation artery and access to it was important.*

*Where Judd writes that he is "lot[t]ing," he is subdividing a town or land parcel into lots. With the term "plan[n]ing," he is probably referring to drafting a plan based on his field work. In some journal entries, he notes that he "wrote on the records," by which he may mean that he is transcribing his field notes.<sup>2</sup>*

*Before we join Judd at work in late September, he had been crisscrossing the Connecticut River on proprietors' business. Then as now, these northern New England towns were rugged and sparsely populated. The young surveyor endured cold, wind, rain, snow, and meager rations, often having to camp overnight in the woods. His employers, the proprietors, would also test his mettle.*

*Thursday, September 28, 1786*

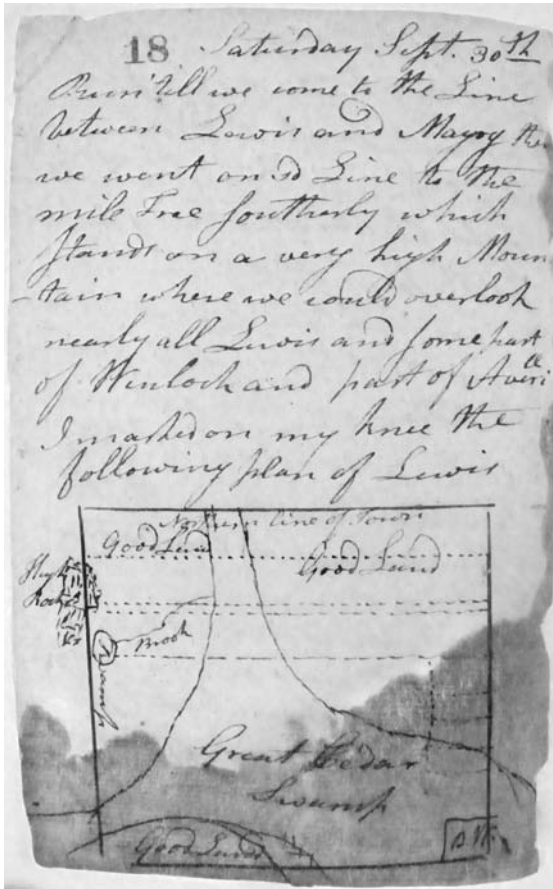
*Traveled Six miles on the S. Line of Lemington, and Carried our Packs to the Township of Lewis. Soon after we arived there was a Thunder Shower and very high wind. We began to Lot just before night. Run half a mile and Incamped without Water.*

Friday, September 29, 1786

Run about 4 miles and Incampd.

Saturday, September 30, 1786

Run 'till we come to the Line between Lewis and Magog, then we went on sd Line to the mile Tree southerly, which stands on a very high Mountain where we could overlook nearly all Lewis and some part of Wenlock<sup>3</sup> and part of Averill. I marked on my knee the following plan of Lewis:



From Eben Warner Judd, Journal of Survey to the Upper Coos, 1786, Vermont Surveyor General's Papers, 30: 18. Vermont Archives and Records Administration (Middlesex, Vt.), SE132-00016. Courtesy of Vermont State Archives and Records Administration.

.....

We Incamped without water and almost choaked to Dearth [death].

*Sunday, October 1, 1786*

Run, and Lotted as we run 5 miles and Incamped by a small Brook.

*Monday, October 2, 1786*

Finished the Lotting of Lewis and set out for homewards and Lodged on one of the Branches of Nulhegan River.

[Joseph] Holebrooks<sup>4</sup> arived at Coos to Day.

*Tuesday, October 3, 1786*

Traveled thro' the woods and returned to Woosters at Dark and took supper there.

*Wednesday, October 4, 1786*

Spent my Day recruiting<sup>5</sup> from my Teadious Journey in the woods. Went to Mr. Riches, took Dinner there and spent my afternoon with Doctr. [Nathaniel] Gott.<sup>6</sup> Returned to Wooster at night.

*Thursday, October 5, 1786*

This Day we had a meeting at Woosters, Maj. Wilder, Moderator.

Joseph Holebrooks confused the whole meeting and conducted in a very scandalous manner: Was for having [James] Whitlaws<sup>7</sup> survey or Locution [location?] all Broak up and all our allotment, and said he wa[s] ashamed of such Conduct. The meeting was D[*illegible*] adjourn'd 'till the next Day and the settlers of Maidstone sent for.

*Friday, October 6, 1786*

Another meeting at Wooster[s], the setlers of Maidstone [*illegible*] and some other gentlemen with them. One Mr. Elihew [Elihu] Hall<sup>8</sup> from Walingsford [Wallingford, Conn.] come with sd settlers this Day. Holebrooks agreed to pay for all I had surveyed, and would survey in Stratford [N.H.] Land if I desired it.

To Day Holebrooks conducted [himself] in a most shameful manner. He insulted Mr. Hall and abused him who is a gentlemen of Honour and credit. He set every man against him that had sence enough not to believe his falseties.

He bid men kiss his ass in the open meeting who were men of sence and Character.

He quarreled with Mr. [Andrew] Beers<sup>9</sup> for not letting him [*page torn*] the Proprietors Money to convert to his own use, which money Mr. Beers collected and was obliged by his word, honour and obligations to lay out on sd Proprietors Land, Viz. to Lot out the Towns.

He almost or quite persuaded Capt. [Elijah] Hinmon<sup>10</sup> to go and

break up our Lotment and d[i]vide the towns up, which Plan would [have] Ruined this Country and many of the Proprietors in Connecticut, for it would [have] created a Lawsuit which must cost more than the Towns were worth and Detard [retard? deter?] the settlement perhaps forever.

O' Cursed Traitor to the Proprietors, hide Thy face from Justice, least it over take thee in thy conear [corner] and tear thee a[s] a hungry Lion and her harmless prey.

Shall I say thus much to Scandelise one of my humane species without a cause? No, God forbit if I have no just grounds for this Decleration, let some man of sence take this and substitute [*illegible*] my own name in stead of Holebrooks's, and add ten fold to the Cussed act to be a stain and blot to my Character as long as my name is in remembrance.

We agreed to begin the survey on Maidstone and retired to rest. I lodged at Woosters.

N.B. Old Mr. Thomas Wooster<sup>11</sup> agreed to pay me for surveying on sd Maidstone.

*Saturday, October 7, 1786*

Fore noon prepared to set out on Maidstone, at noon began to survey the same. Capt. Hinmon and Joseph Wooster went with me. We surveyed on Connecticut River as far as David Gaskill.<sup>12</sup>

*Sunday, October 8, 1786*

Took Breakfast at Woosters. Dined at [Philip] Grapes's<sup>13</sup> with Mr. Tompkins on roasted Turkey, and lodged at Wm. Curtis's in Stratford.

*Monday, October 9, 1786*

Surveyed on the side of River in Maidstone. Just at sunset was met with a Company of Men in a Riotous Manner on a Bow of [land?] that Mr. [Jacob] Shuff [Schoff]<sup>14</sup> Lives on. They held our fore Chainman and thretoned some of us very high, and said if we went on they would bre[ak] our heads.<sup>15</sup> We returned to Thos. Woosters, took supper and went to bead.

*Tuesday, October 10, 1786*

Lay by waiting to have them git thro' with their talk and set me to work on Maidstone, but at night they concluded to have me go and Lot Brunswick.

*Wednesday, October 11, 1786*

Set out for Brunswick to Lot the same. Capt Hinmon, Philo Treet, Joseph Holebrooks Junr., and Joh. Woster with me. We arived at Brunswick N.E. Corner about half after two O'clock, and began to Lot. Loted till Dark and Incamped in the woods.

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*Thursday, October 12, 1786*

Continued Lotting 'till Dark. Incamped in the woods near Linsey Bow. Wind very high in the night, and we retreated out from the Trees onto Hydes Clearing and slept in the open Land.

*Friday, October 13, 1786*

Continued Lotting 'till about 2 o'clock P.M., and was met with a Company of Settlers in a Riotous manner. They stoped us and hinderd [us] some time. The names of the Riotours are:

Joseph Wait<sup>16</sup>

Nathl. Wait

Philips Grapes

John Merrill<sup>17</sup>

Lodged at Grapes, eat supper and Breakfast there, and Mr. Beers with me.

*Saturday, October 14, 1786*

Began to Lot where we left off on Waits Bow. We went strong handed and Joseph Holebrooks, Esqr., carried the fore end of Chain and was clenched upon by Mr. Grapes, but Grapes was advised to let him go on. We finished Lotting.

*Sunday, October 15, 1786*

Tarried at Woosters some part of the Day. Eat one meal of Victuals. Rainy.

*Monday, October 16, 1786*

This Day Training. Capt Holebrooks Company got together. I hapened by and see some of their menunesm [munitions]. This Day Did busness for my self. Lodged at Mr. Gaskills.

*Tuesday, October 17, 1786*

Spent considerable part of the Day looking [at] Minutes off Stratford [N.H.] Charter. Eat one meal at Woosters. Lodged at Vincent Shermons on my Road towards the N.W. Corner of Stratford, waited here 'till the Chainmen come on next morning.

*Wednesday, October 18, 1786*

Rode to the N.W. corner of Stratford which is about 7 miles from Shermons. We arived at sd Corner about 8 o'clock in morning. Our Company were Capt Elijah Hinmon, Mr. James Brown, E[illegible] Curtis, James Curtis and David Smith.

We run about 2 miles. Lodged on the Bank of Roaring Brook.

*Thursday, October 19, 1786*

Run 5 miles an[d] an half and Incamped near the N.E. Corr. of Stratford. In the night took with the Cholic and abated the same by Eating raw Aloes.<sup>18</sup>

Snow over shoes.

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*Friday, October 20, 1786*

Run 4 miles and on the East line of Stratford, and Incamped by one branch of Nashes stream.

*Saturday, October 21, 1786*

Run near 4 miles over a high mountain which is 77 rods on a Perpendicular. Incamped on very good Land.

*Sunday, October 22, 1786*

Run about 4 miles on sd East line of Stratford. Crossed a large pond, good Land all round it and a fine foot path made by Moos. Incamped near the S.E. Corr.

*Monday, October 23, 1786*

Made the S.E. Cornir of Stratford on Perry Line. From thence we run on sd Perry line five miles and better to Northumberland [N.H.] N.E. Corn. and Incampd.

*Tuesday, October 24, 1786*

Run to the Mouth of Bogg Brook about one o'clock, almost tired and Starved to Death. [illegible]ad at Woosters and tarried there that night.

*Wednesday, October 25, 1786*

Recover'd from my tedious Journey, so much as that I Planed at Mr. Browns half a Day on Stratford. Lodged at Baldwins.

*Thursday, October 26, 1786*

Went to Old Torrys and got some corn for my Hors. Got my Hors shod at Mr. Birams. Went to Mr. Baldwins and lodged Here. I got a Chest lock.

*Friday, October 27, 1786*

Fore noon Planed for Brown on Stratford. Afternoon Surveyed for Joseph Holebrooks, Junr., on Stratford. Lodged at John Holebrooks and Eat Old Hasty pudding<sup>19</sup> that the old man had Eat a week before.

*Saturday, October 28, 1786*

Forenoon planed on Stratford for Brown. Afternoon surveyd for Thos. Wooster on his Bow. Lodged at Woosters.

*Sunday, October 29, 1786*

Tarried at Thos. Woosters all Day.

*Monday, October 30, 1786*

Surveyed for Thos. Wooster all Day and Divided his line between him and Gaskill. Lodged at Woosters.

*Tuesday, October 31, 1786*

This morning began to survey for David Gaskill, but had not been on the Busness long before Holebrooks fool, Chapman, come to me with a



Lye [lie] in his mouth from old Jo. Holebrooks, saying that I must go immediately to John Holebrooks for they had been waiting for me all Day yesterday to go [illegible] on Stratford, and also he [illegible] thought I was a man of more sence than to be Employed in such Business. Accordingly I went up to see my Lord, and spent the fore noon with him in a very disagreeable manner. Afternoon returned to Woosters and Divided his Interveuil [intervale] from up Land. Lodged there.

*Wednesday, November 1, 1786*

Surveyed for Gaskill in fore noon, afternoon went to John Hoelbrooks. Sd Holebrooks had been for me in the morning, but could not cross the River, so I did not git intelegence from him 'till noon. As soon as I come in to Old Johns, Jo. Holebrooks, Esqr., told me I might go back again, for they had all gone off that were waiting for me. However, he recalled his words and got me to look [at?] Preston Charter. Then old John. got me to look of Stratford Plans, and Hindered me about two thirds of a Day which I must charge to him. But Damn him, he will never pay me.

*Thursday, November 2, 1786*

Went to Esqr. [Jeremiah] Eames's<sup>20</sup> to look [for] new quarters, for Tom. Wooster I found to be such a knave that I dare not live there no longer. I found that he had charged me so much for washing and my board, by the meal, that my own expences pr. week would be about ten shillings, besides my hors keeping. And I also found his own company and others which lived there so disagreeable that I desired to depart without loss of time. I always [illegible] thought Tom. Wooster was an honest man before and a good wholesome inhabitant and ment always to think so of him, but experence has tought [taught] me that he is not possessed with a single principle of honour, nor honesty. He may thank his god for not giveing him sence sence enough to be a great Feillen [felon].

I went from Esqr. Eames's to one Linseys in Guildhall and returned to Mr. Riches and lodged.

I also agreed this Day to come to live at Esqr. Eames's.

*Friday, November 3, 1786*

Went from Mr. Riches to Tom Woosters and got my Chest and brought the same to Esqr. Eames's and began to board there. I arived just at night. Snowd all the fore noon, but I Eat two meals at Eames's, Esqr., to Day.

*Saturday, November 4, 1786*

Tarried at Esqr. Eames's all Day and Planed for Tom. Woosters and some for David Gaskill.

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*Sunday, November 5, 1786*

Tarried at Esqr. Eames's all Day.

*Monday, November 6, 1786*

Planed on Brunswick at Esqr. Eames's in forenoon, afternoon went after my Hors who had swum the River onto Riches Bow.

*Tuesday, November 7, 1786*

Crossed the River to Mr. Riches this morning to git my Breakfast, because of a muster at Eames's.

Set out for Stratford with Capt Hinmon, so as to be ready to begin to survey on the River in Maidstone. Lodged at Grapes's.

*Wednesday, November 8, 1786*

Surveyed on the River in Maidstone. Was stoped and held fast by the settlers of sd Town, near the W. Merrels's.

The names of the Riotors are:

James Lucus [Lucas]

Jacob Shuff [Schoff]

and a number of Young men and boy not known to me

John Hicugh [Hickock?]

John Rich

Went to Birams and sleped on the floor in Company with Maj. Wilder, Capt. Hinmon, David Hyde<sup>21</sup> and Philo Treet.

*Thursday, November 9, 1786*

Began at Break of Day to survey when I sett of[f], but had not gone far before I was discoverd by John Hicugh who alarmed the Town. In about half an Hour they come and stoped us on a bow of Land called Halls Bow. We went in and found Capt. Ward Bailey<sup>22</sup> who is the head of all these Riots, and while we was warming us, Maj. Wilder and Treet, the Standing Committee for sd Maidstone, came up and went in soon after this. The settlers got Wilder and Treet [stepped] out at the Door, and agreed with them to have the matter delayed 'till after our Meeting, and sd Committee engaged the settlers that they would use their influence to have Each settler have twenty Acres of meadow Land and eighty acres of upland.

I returned to Esqr. Eames's and took off the minutes of my survey. Lodged th[ere].

*Friday, November 10, 1786*

Forenoon Planed on Brunswick, afternoon went to Lancaster and Lunenburg [Lunenburg]. Agreed for a pair of boots and returned to Esqr. Eames's at night.

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*Saturday, November 11, 1786*

Set out for Stratford. Met Joseph Holebrook, Junr., after me to go a surveying on the Mineral Bow, and to go to a meeting, so as to fix our Votes and writings all ready to record, so that Beers, Hinmon and Tompkins might go home. I went to Woosters and took Dinner. Went to Jo. Waits and lodged.

*Sunday, November 12, 1786*

Went to Tom. Woosters and writ accounts for him.

*Monday, November 13, 1786*

Went to Jo. Waits according to agreement. But Lord Holebrooks would not appear there, the reasons which he assigned were that we were all against him and there could not be nothing done if he went.

*Tuesday, November 14, 1786*

Went to Esqr. Eames's after my Tools to Survey on Mineral Bow and to finish Lemington. Tompkins went with me, and we went to Joseph Waits and lodgd.

This night Daniel Rich Died.

Before I go on farther I will give a short History of his disease.<sup>23</sup>

I paid this Patient a Visit the 10th Day of Sept. last and found him as follows:

A low Pulse, weak and faint Voice, not able to Dress himself, nor to sit up but a few minutes at the time.

He appeared not to have any Fever, but lay very Easy. He sometimes complained of a gripeing Pain in his Bowels, but never of any other as I ever larnd. His Parents acquainted me that he had been a very harty young man 'till sometime last spring when he was taken ill, and they gave him some Physic,<sup>24</sup> and he grew better but not well ye[t?].

He then went [on] a Journey and took cold, and they renewed another [*illegible*] which was left for one of this other brothers to take, and he continued growing wourse till I saw him the 10th of sd Sept.

Doctr. Gott that had done for him, desired a conference with me respecting the case then before us. I was very gladly excepted [accepted], and first desired him to give his opinion in full.

He gave me a very lengthy History of his Disease intermingled[?] with a verietiy of obselate words and high phraces. I being a Stranger to this gentleman and never saw him before, yet his Character was made known to me by himself to be none if [not] the meanest.

I thought not to be danted [daunted] at so great a Character, altho it was represented in the Suparlative degree.

I desired the Doctr. to till [tell] me what Composition he was giving him. He told me it was composed of Senae [senna],<sup>25</sup> Guaia,<sup>26</sup> and several other ingredients which I have forgot.

He also said the young man would git well without any dispute and was far from a Hectic.<sup>27</sup>

I told him from the Symptoms mentioned herein and one more which I forgot to mention, Viz. his Suderiffious [sudoriferous]<sup>28</sup> evacuations, that he would die before an other Summer, and I guesed he would not live to see many hard frosts. He seemed to be a little put out at what I had told him and went to asking me what I should advise to give him. I told him I did not expect to do him any good. However, I thought best not to give him over by any means, and told him that I thought astringent mediums, such as *Cort. Peruv.*<sup>29</sup> and Rasons [raisins] would be good for him. Accordingly they were given, and I heard several times that he was much better.

But in the morning of the 27 of Sept. I was sent for and found him in great pain in his bowels, and gave him a composition of Opium, Aloes, Myrrh,<sup>30</sup> and Saffors [saffron],<sup>31</sup> the Syrup of the same. Octr. 4th I made him another Visit and found Dr. Gott there. We concluded to continue the *Cort. Perev.* and to administer a little Opium.

I was still of an opinion that he would not live but a little while, but was rather frownd upon by Dr. Gott, and the famally did not like to have me talk in that sort. But I still kept of the same opinion, and told his mother and oldest Brother. I shall say no more on the matter, only mention that I think his disease to be the narvous Consumption.

He died the night after the 14th of November, aged about nineteen years.

*Wednesday, November 15, 1786*

Eat Breakfast at Mr. Waits, went to Tom. Woosters. Eat Dinner and supper there and lodged. Snowy to Day.

*Thursday, November 16, 1786*

Tarried at Joseph Waits. Stormy to Day.

*Friday, November 17, 1786*

Went to Thomas Woosters and helped him about his accounts with Mr. Beers and Tompkins to Day, they reaoned [reckoned]. Lodged at Waits.

*Saturday, November 18, 1786*

Forenoon went to Holebrooks and agreed with him to have a meeting on Monday next. Then I went to Esqr. Eames's in company with Beers and Tompkins. We arived at Eames's at sunset.

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*Sunday, November 19, 1786*

Tarried at Esqr. Eames's and Eat string Beans for Dinner. The method of preparing them is as follows: Pick the Beans when young and string them, then scald them and salt them Down, 3 quarts salts a barrel. Soak and boil then, and they are very good.

*Monday, November 20, 1786*

Set out for the meeting at Jo. Waits in company with Mr. Beers and Tompkins, and went to cross Ammonhoosoc and got Esqr. Eames's Hors into River. Went to Esqr. Holebrooks in a snow storm to git him to cross the River to Waits, according to agreement, but he could not attend too night because he must do som Busness on Stratford, but says he: "Tomorrow morning, Gentlemen, I will wait on you at Mr. Waits."

Beers and myself crossed the River in a very dangerous place on the Lie [lee] part of the way and part in open Water. We almost died with the cold and storm, but arived at Waits in the night and put up there.

*Tuesday, November 21, 1786*

We waited 'till about noon, and Holebrooks sent over his son to see who was gathered, and he found Capt. Elih. Hinmon, Andrew Beers, Tom Wooster, Edmond Tompkins, Philo Treet and myself. He also sent word that he would not come across the River because his Boots had holes in [them]. But if we wanted to see him, we might come there. What must I think of such conduct as this? Shall we be imposed upon in such a manner as this, these three times in such a provoking manner, and keep it in silence? No, I am determined not to.

Let me stop here and offer only a few words more respecting this tyrant:

Take the whole conduct of Holebrooks from first to last, his cussed deeds to Woosters, and in many other places. If I can take an Idea of the whole at once, I think it sufficient to blacken the Character of infamy. *No more at present.*

I went from Waits to Holebrook, and recorded my Deed from them to Tom. Woosters. There I waited 'till in the evening, and Beers and Tompkins come there. Then we went to Esqr. Eames's and lodged.

*Wednesday, November 22, 1786*

Tarried at Esqr. Eames's and wrote Journal and a letter to send Down by Tompkins.

*Thursday, November 23, 1786*

Thanksgiving Day. We lived exceeding well at Esqr. Eames's. Tompkins set out for home.

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*Friday, November 24, 1786*

Copied Journal all Day at Esqr. Eames's.

*Saturday, November 25, 1786*

Began a new Plan for Lemington at Esqr. Eames's. Sick in the night and took a Vomit.

*Sunday, November 26, 1786*

Copied Journal at Esqr. Eames's the biggest part of the Day.

*Monday, November 27, 1786*

Went to Maj. Wilders after Paper and to every House where I thought most likely. Lodged at Dr. Gott's in Guildhall, who told me as many stories as I could pen down in a month. He told me a method of making Opium by Cutting of the tops of Popies and drying them and then boiling them[?] away. He told me of a number of secrets[?] such [as] would be of infanite advantage to any man.

And when we come to sum up the whole, he told me that he had made 11 Almanks [almanacs]<sup>32</sup> and got five of them Printed, and for the first he got £30.0.0 and more for the rest. But when I asked him any question respecting Astronomy, he could not answer it right, but told a Darnd store of Lies as ever a man could invent.

*Tuesday, November 28, 1786*

Tarried at Gotts 'till about noon, then went to Standles and waited for my Boots to be done, which was not done 'till in the evening. Then I went to Esqr. Eames's 6 miles thro' the woods on as cold a night as ever I knew or nearly as cold. Last night was very cold, and the wind blew and snow flied in a most surprising manner.

*Wednesday, November 29, 1786*

Planed the main part of the Day on Lemington at Esqr. Eames's. Went to Capt. Baileys at night after Paper and got six sheets.

Just before night a small Earthquake was heard, and the ground felt to shack [shake]. Old women frightened to think their time was at hand and they not prepared.

To day very cold and Tedious—Indeed it is as cold or almost [as] ever I knew it.

*Thursday, November 30, 1786*

Thanksgiving Day in the state of Vermont.<sup>33</sup> This Day I Pland on Lemington at Esqr. Eames's 'till night. Went to Mr. Halls' at night and was entertained with a fine supper of roasted Turkey, Chicken pies and apple pies, the first Apple pie or apple that I have taisted on at Coos. We had a fidler and a Coos Dance.

.....

Went from thence to Mr. Lucey's about 10 o'clock at night, where we found a Company drinking scalded Rum or Hot Toddy as they called it.

We had a high Caper as it is usually called. About midnight we returned to Esqr. Eames's and made out[?] to git to bed without help.

The weather moderated about this time as one must of consiquence expect [of] *Domini Andreas*.<sup>34</sup> Worshipped *Bacchus*.

*Friday, December 1, 1786*

Planed on Lemington at Esqr. Eames's. Much warmer to day. Snowd some in the night.

Capt. Hinmon tarried here all Day. In the evening I planed a second divition for Mr. Perry Averill for which land[?] the runing the line he must pay me one Dollar.

*Saturday, December 2, 1786*

Planed at Esqr. Eames's on the Township of Lewis till night. To Day was warm.

Number and Names of the famallies on the Gore above Lemington:

*[Here follow lists of names, including names for Maidstone, Preston, Stratford, and Northumberland.]*

*Sunday, December 3, 1786*

Tarried at Esqr. Eames's all Day. I must not forgit to mention in my Journal a Disease preculiar to the young Women in the Country, and Some Boys are also troubled with the same. (Viz.) a large Bunch on their Throats or Bronhele [bronchiole]. About two thirds or more of the young Girls have these Bunches.

These bunches are frequently as big as a hens Egg and wh[page torn].

I find myself at Esqr. Eames's in Coos, altho' I have fained<sup>35</sup> my self at Dr. Brownsons, etc., and It is about as pleasant an Evening as ever I saw.

*Monday, December 4, 1786*

Planed on the Townships of Lewis and Brunswick till sun an hour high.

Went to old Linsey's and got some sugar. Returned to Esqr. Eames's at night.

*Tuesday, December 5, 1786*

Planed on the Township of Brunswick all Day. Snowed almost all Day. In evening played two or three games of Checkers with Beers. Snowed in the night.

*Wednesday, December 6, 1786*

Finished the Plan of Brunswick, and we rolled them up all together. (Viz) all Mr. Beers's with mine.

Cleer and cold.

.....

*Thursday, December 7, 1786*

Unwell all day. Went afishing on the River. Returned to Esqr. Eames's and found Hodgsdon. Very sick, bleed him, gave him a Vomit, and helped carry him home.

Gave him Sol. Nitri<sup>36</sup> and orderd Cloths wet in Vinegar and water to be laid on his side.

I returned to the Esqr's. Very sick with the head ake and at the Stomac.

*Friday, December 8, 1786*

Clear and cold.

Went to Mr. Hogsdons and bled him and found him much better. My self much better to day than yesterday.

Sold my shirt for 7/ to Mr. Standler to pay for my boots, and settled with sd [*illegible*].

Proprietors of Lemington living in City N. York:

[*Here follows a list of names.*]

*Saturday, December 9, 1786*

Very Cold and Snowy. Tarried at Esqr. Eames's. Got my hors Shod at Mr. Binnets'. Made up accounts.

*Sunday, December 10, 1786*

Tarried at Esqr. Eames all Day.

With too day I have boarded here 25 days and had my Hors kept as long.

This morning the Snow had fall about gater [gaiter] high.

Mr. Joseph Wait and Natl. Want a felt Hat and 2 Blak silk Hankerchiefs.

*Monday, December 11, 1786*

Weather Exceeding cold. Set out from Esq. Eames's and went to Thoms. Woosters. Arived there at night. Sick with Cold.

To be Voted in Stratford at their[?] adjournd meeting:

Voted. That Joseph Holbrook, Esqr., be released from all Public service whatever respecting this Town, as he has been in very hard service sixteen years successively to the great admiration of evry proprietor, and we will return our sincere thanks for his former, long and tedious services and for making such good use of the proprietors money. (Viz.) for converting the same to his own private use which was doubtless more benefit to him then [than] to have used it any other way. We also voted, and desire those proprietors who have taxes unpaid, not to trouble the Gentleman with their money, for as likely if they do, he may put it to such hard servis as to ware [wear] it out before he can possibly arive here with the same.



.....

*Tuesday, December 12, 1786*

Tarried at Thos. Woosters all Day and formed the dooing of the meeting.

This day almost sick, but I wrote all Day.

*Wednesday, December 13, 1786*

The Happy wished for Day is come and no Holb[roo]k. This morning we proceeded on the busness as fast as possible. After about 10 o'Clock we brought on Lemington first, then Averill, then Minehead, then Lewis, then Brunswick, then Wenlock, then Ferdinand. Then we waited for the settlers of Maidstone to come, and opend the meeting about 1 o'Clock P.M. There was a number of settlers together and also a large number of prop[erty] acc[ount]ts. We proceeded on busness with calmness and res-olutions, and it was very remarkable that there was not scerce a high word used among the whole meeting, altho' there were matters to settle of the utmost consequence to private persons.

Finally the settlers agreed to except [accept] of a former Vote on Maidstone Book.

We finished our meeting about 2 o'Clock in the night after a tedious and lengthy hearing, and made a settlement with all the settlers.

Happy would it be for me if it was in my power to make so much peace every Day as I know I have done to Day.

I am sensible that there would not anything been done about a settle-ment had I not urged the matter Just as I did.

*Thursday, December 14, 1786*

Tarried at Woosters all Day and wrote till late in the night.

*Friday, December 15, 1786*

Tarried at Woosters all Day and wrote 'till night, then went to Mr. Jo. Waits who is a real gentleman, and wrote on the Reacords 'till late at night.

*Saturday, December 16, 1786*

Tarried at Mr. Jos. Waits 'till night, then went to Mr. Woosters and tarried there. Wrote on the Reacords all Day.

*Sunday, December 17, 1786*

Went to Mr. Biram and settled with him who behavd. exceeding well, and told me that if I would come up next summer, he would [illegible] me a Month Board. Went to Jerh. Eames's, Esqr., and lodged.

*Monday, December 18, 1786*

Set out from Esq. Eames's homeward, went to Maj. Wilders and bording our Horses. Our Company: Capt. Hinman, Mr. Beers, D[avid] Hide [Hyde], P. Treet.

Went to Mr. Blakes at John's River and put up. Mr. Blake say[s] that he help'd Col. Buckman make the N.E. Corn. of Lemington which is a Stake and stone, done in Decr. 1780. The same is about six rods south of Burnsides Brook, and Mr. Blake says he thinks there was some marks there before the N. line of sd Town. Mr. Blake says he believes [it] was six miles, but on the River[?]. He says he believes [it] to be 9½ miles. Said Moses Blake says that Col. [Jonathan] Grout<sup>37</sup> said he could turn the Assembly of Vermont if he had about one Guinea to spend for Each Day, this he will give Oath to.

One Famally in this Town only.

Dolton Paid /9- for Horsekeeping Monday night.

*Tuesday, December 19, 1786*

Traveled to Mr. Larnards in Littleton, and Capt Hinmon pd /3 for baiting Hors.<sup>38</sup> We rode to Capt. Caswells and put up.

Here we heard from Jo. Holbrooks and some more of his Cussed Deed:

He went off from Stratford to go to Clairmont [Claremont, N.H.] the 23d Day of Nov. and promised to come up to our meeting on the 13th of this month, But I find that he has been here and told Mrs. Caswell the same story as he did us, and got four saple [sable] skins to get her a blanket, and sent word that he could not send her no blanket, because he had no money and that he was going home as fast as he could.

He [*illegible*] told Mrs. Caswill that I had sold my Blanket which I had promised to the woman, or else she would not let him had no pay to got another.

It surprises me to consider the conduct of Holbrooks from my first acquaintance with him 'till now.

He has behavd himself in a most scandelous manner while in the business up here and now has run away indebted to every person who would trust a single saple skin[?] on. He has abused every person in this Country to the Highest degree, spent all the money of the proprietors that he could possibly git into his hands, and now I'll dare to say he is in Connecticut Inclaiming[?] against every Honest person who has been in the business the year past.

Such Conduct as this, in my way of thinking, is sufficient to blaken the Character of Infamy.

Paid for Lodging, etc., myself -1/10.

*Wednesday, December 20, 1786*

Traveled ten miles to one Eamons, and Dd. Hyde paid /4 for baiting. Put up at Col. Jonsons at Newbury.

Here I drank a little Cyd[er]. Mr. Beers, Hyde and myself [*page torn*] to the reacords, and Hyde showd Himself very base and [*illegible*] and

said that it was not in the powr. of all the proprietors to put him out [of] being Collector. I desired[?] him to lay the whole of our matter before the Inspecting Committee, but he spoke very light of them, and said they had no busness to direct him, etc., etc.

*Thursday, December 21, 1786*

I paid to Col. Johnson's in Newbury, 3/9 for myself, /6 for Treet and 1/1 for Beers.

We rode to Orford [N.H.] and baited at Deacon Simeon Averits. Here we heard that Holbrooks had been and was trusted with his reasoning. He also said that Holbrooks was out of money excepting[?] one [*illegible*] pence and two saple skins.

Holbrooks said that He expected to collect some money of one Brigom [Brigham] of Darttmouth, near the Colegs [college], or of Capt. Sumner, but if he could not Collect of them, he knew not as he ever should git Home.

Capt. Hinmon paid for horse bate and Dinner for me, 1/- at Deacon Simeon Averits.

Put up at Wd. Green's in Lime [Lyme, N.H.]. Holbrooks' has been here and told that he should return back and pay what he owd.

This day and last night I've seen more of Dd. Hyd[e] than I ever did before, and I find he intends to git all into his power that he possibly can, and defies the whole of the proprietors to put him out of busness. He has said several times that he defies me and Mr. Beers to put his [*illegible*] out of the dooings of the meeting and [*illegible*] told him that we could do it if he [desisted?], and then he said that he Defied us to do it if it was in our powers.

Mr. Hyde says that he is determined to have his pay for all that is due to him, as quick as he possibly can collect it.

*Friday, December 22, 1786*

Mr. Hyde paid for me at Mrs. Green's 1/-, a very Cheap Tavern.

Baited and Eat Dinner at Mr. Nathl. Halls in Leabenon [Lebanon, N.H.], and Hide paid 1/5 for me. We rode to Mr. Ebenezer. Judds<sup>39</sup> at Sugar River and put up. Paid nothing. Clarimont [Claremont].

*Saturday, December 23, 1786*

Went to Capt Sumner's in Clarimont and was used like a Gentleman. Here we heard of Holbrooks and heard that he had received of [*illegible*] pounds. He got a Sley [sleigh] and rode Home in pomp and grander [grandeur].

We rode to Mr. Simon Sartles[?] of Charlestown [N.H.]. We had a Dinner and Horse bate—and paid 1/3d Each.

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The old man is deaf as an adder, and we had a great figure about Changing half a Guinea.

We rode to Bellows Falls and went to see the great Bridge.<sup>40</sup> Drank a glass of Rum and paid  $-\frac{3}{3}$  Each. Rode to Mr. John Crafts' in Wallpool [Walpole, N.H.] and put up here. I was Blooded for a pain in my side.

Stoton's Elixer [Stoughton's Elixir],<sup>41</sup> [of which] Gentian is the principle part.

*Sunday, December 24, 1786*

Paid  $\frac{2}{8}$  at Mr. Crafts', and Here we heard of Holbrooks who had been here when he went up and when he went Down, and said he had been surveying himself and owned one hundred and fifty Thousand Acres of Land. Rode to Mr. Keep's in Westmoreland [N.H.] and drank Rum,  $-\frac{2}{2}$ . Last night the snow fell about 8 Inches Deep. Exceeding Cold to Day. Rode to Chesterfield [N.H.] and to Natl. Bingham's and paid  $-\frac{7}{2}$  for Cyder and Horse bated. Traveled to Hindsdale [Hindsdale, N.H.] to the Wd. Taylor's and put up. The House is large, But the People not very agreeable. We was waited on but poorly, set in the Dark and smoaky Kitchen without a Candle.

To Day very cold and Tedious.

Joseph Holb[rook] called here when he come down and [lived?] on trust and left a pair of finished Sissers [scissors] in pawn, and told some of his large Coös stories [ab?]out his Land, etc., etc.

*Monday, December 25, 1786*

Paid to Mrs. Taylor  $\frac{2}{4d}$ . Traveled to old Rawlen's and baited. Paid  $0s/\frac{4d}{2}$ . Traveled to Mounsaill [?] and Eat Ginger Cake and paid  $-\frac{6}{d}$ .

Traveled to the upper part of Hadley [Mass.] and put up at Mr. Dd. Stockbridge's Inn.

I must remember that Dd. Hyde says he knows not what to do about Brunswick, for Holb[rook] has Collected all the Taxes, but he thinks 'tis best[?] to sell the Land, and if He gits into a scrape he will run away.

He intends to go to N. Haven and git a sute of Cloaths of Isaac Beers who owns three or four Rights in Lewis, and there is several other Gentlemen in N. Haven who owns about 7 Rights in sd Lewis.

When I first approached this House I saw a most horred specticular [spectacle], [page torn] [a] Company of Men under Arms with Guns and Bayanats [bayonets].<sup>42</sup>

Their countanencies showd terror and Dearth [death].

They were some of them nearly Drunk and Clashing bayanats [bayonets] to soards [swords] in a most shocking manner. I found they were going to break up the Court at Springfield [Mass.].

Old hateful and angry Mars is now mustering his hellish sources to a horrid and distructive War.

*Tuesday, December 26, 1786*

Paid 3/0d. A Very Reasonable Tavern.

Traveled to West Spring field and baited at Mr. Benj. Ely's and paid -/3d. Traveled to Worthington's in West Spring field in the Bay State and put up.

What have I beheld to Day? What is this land coming too? Surely if I judge aright there will in a short time be murder and Bloodshed. I see it in the faces of many a man.

All Law is trampled upon. The Courts are all broak up by mobs and Riots and what will be next? I'll venture to say a most distressing intestind [incident]. War, which if persued, 'tis likely will end in the Ruin of the State. Far better would it be for you Bostonians to sheath the sward while in your power, least you go so far that there be no recovery.

*Wednesday, December 27, 1786*

Paid at Worthington's 2/10d.

Traveled to Old Windsor [Conn.] and baited, paid -/4½d. Traveled to Hartford. Paid 2/- for paper, paid for Ribbin [ribbon] and Trimming 2/3d. Paid for Baiting and glass [of] Gin 0/7d. Traveled to Lanlord Seymour's and put up.

*Thursday, December 28, 1786*

Paid at Land[lord] Seymour's 1/6d. Traveled to Furmington [Farmington, Conn.] and Eat Breakfast and paid 1s./0. Traveled to Ld. Barns's and paid 0/3d. Traveled to Waterbury and paid 8d. Travild to Dr. Brownson's [*illegible*] and put up.

I've been from home 132 Days, Surveyd. and Planed 110 Days.

I was 18 days on the Road to Coos dooing business for the Proprietors, and spent in Cash £2.10.0.

I paid for my board while at Coos doing business for the Proprietors £3.0.0.

Paid for my Horskeeping while at Coos £2.0.0.

I was 11 Days Coming home and spent £1.16.0. Spent in my own business 18 Days.

*Friday, December 29, 1786*

Forenoon tarried at Dr. Br[ownson]. Afternoon went to Bards and Foots. Wrote some of the dooings of the meetings for Lemington, half a Day spent in Writing.

*Saturday, December 30, 1786*

This Day wrote the Dooings of the meeting on Brunswick. Went to Lt. Brownsons, etc., etc. Returnd to Dr. Brownson's. Warm, foggy and Smoaky. Jabe.[?] -/6d.

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Sunday, December 31, 1786

Tarried at Dr. Brownson's all Day. Warm and foggy.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>*Sit quantum nescit: He does not know how much there is.* Translation from the Latin by Dr. Richard P. Geckle, email to Reidun D. Nuquist, January 11, 2013.

<sup>2</sup>I am indebted to Peter Chase of Rutland and Timothy R. Cowan of South Burlington for information on surveying.

<sup>3</sup>The town of Wenlock was divided between Brighton and Ferdinand by the Vermont legislature in 1853. Esther Munroe Swift, *Vermont Place-names: Footprints of History* (Brattleboro, Vt.: Stephen Greene Press, 1977), 211.

<sup>4</sup>Joseph Holbrook was a grantee of Bloomfield. At a 1772 meeting in Maidstone, he and Arthur Wooster were appointed a committee to survey the Maidstone town lines for \$10 each; they never completed the work. Abby Maria Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, vol. 1 (Burlington, Vt.: Miss Hemenway, 1868), 950n, 1027.

<sup>5</sup>recruit: to regain health, strength. *Webster's Unabridged Dictionary*, 2d ed. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1979).

<sup>6</sup>Dr. Nathaniel Gott arrived in Guildhall c. 1785 and was the town's first physician. He was town clerk of Lunenburg in 1784. Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 1: 1000(2), 1018(2).

<sup>7</sup>James Whitelaw (1748–1829), then deputy surveyor of Vermont under Ira Allen, and from 1787 surveyor general. John J. Duffy, et al., *The Vermont Encyclopedia* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2003).

<sup>8</sup>Elihu Hall was a grantee of Guildhall. Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 1: 996–97.

<sup>9</sup>Andrew Beers surveyed Bloomfield in 1796. *Ibid.*, 1: 950.

<sup>10</sup>Elijah Hinman served in the Revolutionary War and was a grantee of Stratford, N.H. Georgia Drew Merrill, *History of Coös County* (1888; reprint, Somersworth, N.H.: New Hampshire Publishing Company, 1972), 745, 754.

<sup>11</sup>Thomas Wooster and his brother Arthur settled in Maidstone in 1772. Thomas was captured by Indians and later released. He was a grantee of Bloomfield. Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 1: 950n, 1027(2), 1028–29.

<sup>12</sup>David Gaskell arrived in Maidstone c. 1780. *Ibid.*, 1: 1037.

<sup>13</sup>Philip Grapes came to Brunswick in 1780. *Ibid.*, 1: 962.

<sup>14</sup>Jacob Schoff was a Guildhall selectman in 1783. *Ibid.*, 1: 999.

<sup>15</sup>Early surveyors were often harassed and obstructed by settlers who resented being taxed for surveys. Silvio A. Bedini, *With Compass and Chain: Early American Surveyors and Their Instruments* (Frederick, Md.: Professional Surveyors Publishing Co., 2001), 675.

<sup>16</sup>Joseph Wait and his brother Nathaniel settled in Brunswick in 1779. Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 1: 962.

<sup>17</sup>John Merrill was an early selectman in Brunswick. *Ibid.*, 1: 962, 963.

<sup>18</sup>aloes: a bitter purgative obtained from the juice of aloe leaves. George Capron and David B. Slack, *New England Popular Medicine* (Providence, R.I.: J. F. Moore, 1846), 22.

<sup>19</sup>hasty pudding: mush; corn-meal mush. *Webster's*, 2d ed.

<sup>20</sup>Captain Jeremiah Eames was a grantee of Northumberland, N.H. His son, Jeremiah Eames, Jr., was a surveyor hired to make plans of several New Hampshire towns. Merrill, *Coös County*, 544.

<sup>21</sup>David Hyde (d. 1812) was an early settler of Brunswick, arriving in 1784. Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 1: 962(2).

<sup>22</sup>Capt. Ward Bailey, later Col., was one of the first settlers of Guildhall, where he occupied lot no. 1 and built a block house on the river. He also lived in Maidstone. Patricia Rogers, *History of Guildhall, Vermont* (Guildhall, Vt.: Town of Guildhall Bicentennial Committee, 1975), 11. Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 1: 1000(2), 1028(2).

<sup>23</sup>Judd's journals contain numerous references to his own and others' ailments and how they were, or should have been, treated. We know nothing about Judd's education, but he refers several times in his journals to a Dr. Brownson, probably Dr. Abel Brownson of Waterbury, Connecticut, who may have stimulated his interest in medicine. Dr. Brownson (1743–1805) was given permission in 1784 to establish a pest house in Waterbury and to give inoculations. Joseph Anderson, ed., *The Town and City of Waterbury, Connecticut: From the Aboriginal Period to the Year Eighteen-hundred and Ninety-five*, 3 vols. (New Haven, Conn.: Price & Lee Co., 1896), 3:836.

<sup>24</sup>physic: medicine, especially a medicine that purges; a laxative or cathartic. *Webster's*, 2d ed.

<sup>25</sup>senna, also called wild senna: an herb whose leaves were used as a cathartic infusion to cure colds and fevers. Capron and Slack, *Popular Medicine*, 521. *Webster's*, 2d ed.

<sup>26</sup>guaia: guaiacum, popularly called *lignum vite*, ornamental tree; the resin was used to treat rheumatism, gout, etc., complaints with no fever. Capron, *Popular Medicine*, 292–93. *Webster's*, 2d ed.

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<sup>27</sup>hectic: affected with hectic fever, characteristic of wasting diseases, such as tuberculosis; consumptive. Capron and Slack, *Popular Medicine*, 299. Richard Quain, *A Dictionary of Medicine*, 7th ed. (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1884), 637.

<sup>28</sup>sudoriferous: causing or secreting perspiration. *Webster's*, 2d ed.

<sup>29</sup>Cort. Peruv.: Peruvian bark, *Cinchona officinalis*; commonly prescribed for fever and ague; source of quinine. Capron and Slack, *Popular Medicine*, 451, 476.

<sup>30</sup>myrrh: a gum resin with "strong tendency to resist and stop putrefication . . . much used in putrid, malignant, and pestilential fevers." *Ibid.*, 415.

<sup>31</sup>saffron: dried stigmas of *Crocus salivus*; used as "a stimulant and narcotic. It exhilarates the spirits and strengthens the stomach." *Ibid.*, 495.

<sup>32</sup>almanacs: Judd compiled and published his own *Vermont and New York Almanac* from 1808–1815 in Middlebury.

<sup>33</sup>Thanksgiving Day in Vermont: Until 1863, Thanksgiving Day was proclaimed in each state by the governor of that state. In 1786, Thanksgiving Day in Vermont was proclaimed for Thursday, November 30. See E. P. Walton, ed., *Records of the Governor and Council of Vermont* (Montpelier: J. & J.M. Poland, 1875), 3: 110. Thus Judd celebrated Thanksgiving Day twice: in New Hampshire with Esq. Eames on November 23, and in Vermont the following week.

<sup>34</sup>Domini Andreas: November 30 is the name day of Saint Andrew, who died a martyr's death around 60 A.D.; protector of fishermen. Rosa Giorgi, *Saints: A Year in Faith and Art* (New York: Abrams, 2005), 702.

<sup>35</sup>fained: wished or desired. Noah Webster, *An American Dictionary of the English Language*, revised and expanded by Chauncey A. Goodrich (1848).

<sup>36</sup>Sol. Nitri (modern spelling: sal nitre): nitrate of potash, potassium nitrate, saltpeter. Used medicinally as a diuretic and to treat rheumatism and scarlet fever. Capron and Slack, *Popular Medicine*, 424.

<sup>37</sup>Col. Jonathan Grout was among the first settlers of Guildhall. Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 1: 1002.

<sup>38</sup>to bait: to feed and water a horse upon the road. *Webster's*, 2d ed.

<sup>39</sup>Brothers Ebenzer (b. 1747) and Brewster (b. 1743) Judd, originally from Waterbury, Connecticut, lived in Claremont. They were members of a large Judd clan and probably related to the journal keeper. <http://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/F74H-SB5>, accessed on March 8, 2013.

<sup>40</sup>The bridge, built in 1784 by Col. Enoch Hall, was the first over the Connecticut River to connect Bellows Falls and Walpole, N.H. Walter Hard, *The Connecticut* (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1947), 166.

<sup>41</sup>Stoughton's Elixir: a snake oil patented in England by Richard Stoughton in 1712. [http://www.princeton.edu/~achaney/tmve/wiki100k/docs/Snake\\_oil.html](http://www.princeton.edu/~achaney/tmve/wiki100k/docs/Snake_oil.html), accessed on March 6, 2013.

<sup>42</sup>Judd had run into Shays's Rebellion, 1786–1787, armed protest in central and western Massachusetts against economic hardship following the Revolutionary War. It was named for its leader, Capt. Daniel Shays. Michael Sherman, et al., *Freedom and Unity: A History of Vermont* (Barre, Vt.: Vermont Historical Society, 2004), 124.

## Eben W. Judd Materials at the Stewart-Swift Research Center of the Henry Sheldon Museum

By EVA GARCELON-HART

**E**benezer Warner Judd came to Middlebury, Vermont, around 1801 and soon after developed the marble business, quarrying stone around the Middlebury falls and in the creek bed. In 1805, he built a mill to saw the marble. With his brother Stephen Judd and George Tiffany, Eben incorporated a company known as the Middlebury Marble Manufacturing Company, which was succeeded by a partnership with his son-in-law, Lebbeus Harris, Jr. In the 1820s, they began to quarry black marble in Shoreham. In 1829, Judd and Harris built the Judd-Harris House, now the home of the Henry Sheldon Museum. Both partners died in 1837, thus ending the business.

The Stewart-Swift Research Center of the Henry Sheldon Museum holds a variety of materials relating to Eben W. Judd. These papers are particularly useful in tracing the development of Middlebury's marble industry of the early nineteenth century and the early activity in and around the Otter Creek falls. The bulk of the records can be found in the Judd and Harris family papers, 1760–1876. Correspondence, diaries, business records, ledgers, records of court cases and other legal documents, deeds, and miscellaneous papers of Judd and his family members comprise the collection. The records trace the land holdings and marble business of Eben W. Judd, first through deeds to his land in Connecticut, then to his lands around Guildhall and in Windsor, Vermont, and finally through records of his marble quarry and mill in Middlebury. The marble industry records contain information pertaining to an enterprise in Vergennes, Judd's partnership with his brother Stephen and George Tiffany (Judd & Tiffany), his partnership with Lebbeus Harris in the Shoreham Black Marble Company, and the building of the Judd-Harris house. Judd's career, which included many lawsuits and some time spent in jail for unpaid debts, can also be traced through this collection. An online finding aid to the Judd and Harris family papers is available: [http://www.henrysheldonmuseum.org/research\\_ctr.html](http://www.henrysheldonmuseum.org/research_ctr.html).

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Additional materials relating to Eben W. Judd can be found in several other collections in the Stewart-Swift Research Center. The Papers of Horatio Seymour (1800–1855), a local lawyer and banker, include correspondence between Judd and Seymour. The Papers of John Vallett, 1813–1843, contain information relating to Vallett’s dispute with Judd concerning a method of bill payment. The Shoreham Marble Company records, 1852–1855, include later correspondence, minutes, draft copies of articles of incorporation, and other business records of the black marble quarry, which was initially purchased and opened by Judd in Shoreham around 1810.

In addition, the Center’s map collection includes several manuscript maps in pencil, ink, and watercolor reflecting Judd’s career as a surveyor in Vermont: Guildhall landowners map (c. 1785) and a plan of Guildhall (c. 1797); a lot plan of Johnson (c. 1786); Lemington survey for Jeremiah Eames, Jr. (1787) and a plan of the north part of Lemington (1804); Connecticut River against Maidstone map (c. 1790); and a plan of Windsor Street, Windsor (c. 1800).

The Research Center collection also holds several almanacs authored by Eben W. Judd, including *The Vermont and New York Almanacs* (1809 and 1816), *Judd’s Connecticut Almanac* (1787), and *The New England and New York Almanac* (1821). There is also a scrapbook by Henry L. Sheldon that contains clippings from the 1880s on the controversy over who invented the marble saw: Judd or young Isaac Markham.