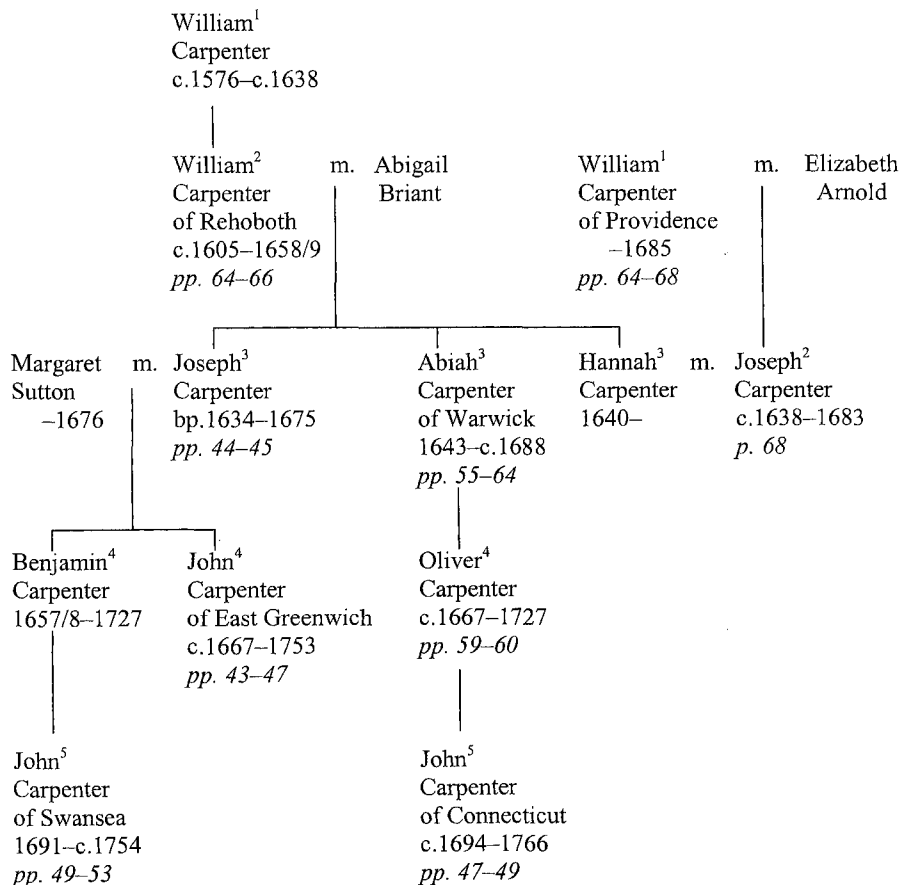


THE TWO WILLIAM CARPENTER FAMILIES

ABIAH³ CARPENTER OF WARWICK, RHODE ISLAND,
AND HIS FAMILY

With Additional Material Concerning William¹ Carpenter of Providence,
Rhode Island, and William² Carpenter of Rehoboth, Massachusetts

Eugene Cole Zubrinsky

The first section of the preceding article puts right the widespread misidentification of John⁴ Carpenter (*Joseph³, William²⁻¹*) of East Greenwich, Rhode Island, as the son of Abiah³ Carpenter (*William²⁻¹*) of Rehoboth and Warwick. The present article undertakes to correct and augment the body of remaining knowledge about Abiah and his family. This also creates the opportunity (slight but sufficient) in appendixes to (1) examine the frequently made claim that Abiah Carpenter's father, William² Carpenter of Rehoboth, and William¹ Carpenter of Providence were first cousins^[1] and (2) challenge the virtually unanimous view that the latter William had married in England by 1635 and emigrated that year with his wife, son, and in-laws.

Born in Weymouth, Massachusetts, on 9 2d month [April] 1643, Abiah Carpenter was the youngest child of William² and Abigail (Briant) Carpenter, formerly of Shalbourne, Wiltshire/Berkshire, England, and ultimately (1644) of Rehoboth.^[2] Though said to have been a mariner, the extent of his land holdings and the nature and frequency of his public service point to his having been a yeoman.^[3] He settled at Pawtuxet (northern Warwick),^[4] Rhode Island, sometime

¹ William² Carpenter of Rehoboth was the son of a different William¹ Carpenter who left England with William² and his family but who is not found in New England records (Eugene Cole Zubrinsky, "The Family of William² Carpenter of Rehoboth, Massachusetts: With the English Origin of the Rehoboth Carpenters," *The American Genealogist* 70 [1995]:193–204, at 193, 203.). A chart of the members of the two families discussed in this article and the preceding article is found on page 54.

² Zubrinsky, "The Family of William² Carpenter" [note 1], *The American Genealogist* 70:193–94, 201, 203–04. This source, at 195–98, 200–02, also refutes Amos B. Carpenter's contentions (repeated by others) that William and Abigail Carpenter's son Samuel was their youngest child and that their children Abiah and Abigail were twins (see Amos B. Carpenter, *A Genealogical History of the Rehoboth Branch of the Carpenter Family in America* [Amherst, Mass.: Carpenter and Morehouse, 1898], 46).

³ See Carpenter, *Rehoboth Carpenter Family* [note 2], 46; George Ernest Bowman, "Plymouth Colony Wills and Inventories," *Mayflower Descendant* 14 (1912):232; Marshall Morgan, transcriber, *More Early Records of the Town of Warwick, Rhode Island*, Cherry Fletcher Bamberg and Jane Fletcher Fiske, ed. (Boston: NEHGS, 2001), 43–44, 159 (constable), 166–327 *passim* (juryman), 340 (deputy); L. Effingham de Forest and Anne Lawrence de Forest, *James Cox Brady and His Ancestry* (New York: de Forest Publishing Co., 1933), 131–32, 135. Not a single seafaring reference is found in records pertaining to Abiah³. The mariner label probably reflects confusion with Abiah⁵ Carpenter (*Oliver⁴, Abiah³*), who died in 1729, apparently in the West Indies, and whose death record calls him captain and mariner (James N. Arnold, *Vital*

between 1 July 1661 and 13 July 1663,^[5] and died there after 14 December 1687 and probably before 26 December 1689 (certainly before 22 March 169[8/9]).^[6] Abiah had married by 1667,^[7] probably at Rehoboth, Mary Redway, who was born there on 27 May 1646 and died probably at Pawtuxet (Warwick) after 1669, certainly before 7 March 1676/7, daughter of James¹ Redway.^[8] It is reasonable to

Record of Rhode Island, 1636–1850, 21 vols. [Providence, R.I.: Narragansett Historical Publishing Co., 1891–1912], 2:1 [Providence]:263; *Brady Ancestry*, 138).

⁴ The area called Pawtuxet is on both sides of the Pawtuxet River, partly in Warwick and partly in Cranston (formerly southern Providence).

⁵ *More Early Records of Warwick* [note 3], 153–54; Helen Capwell, transcriber, *Records of the Court of Trials of the Town of Warwick, R.I., 1659–1674* (Providence, R.I.: Shepley Press, 1922), reprinted as an appendix to Jane Fletcher Fiske, *Rhode Island General Court of Trials, 1671–1704* (Boxford, Mass.: the author, 1998), 230; *Records of the Court of Trials of the Colony of Providence Plantations, 1647–1670*, 2 vols. (Providence, R.I.: Rhode Island Historical Society, 1922), 2:22.

⁶ Abiah's record of regularly performed public service ends abruptly with his grand jury duty at Newport on 13 and 14 December 1687 (*More Early Records of Warwick* [note 3], 159–340 *passim*; John Russell Bartlett, *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England*, 10 vols. [Providence, R.I.: A. C. Greene & Brothers, 1856–65], 3:233–34). He was presumably deceased when "Rebecka Carpenter Daughter of Abiah Carpenter" was recorded in the "Orphans" section of a list of grantees appended to Major William Bradford's quitclaim deed to the town of Rehoboth, dated 26 December 1689; those listed held "Rights and Tittells" to the quitclaimed lands and dwellings (see Richard LeBaron Bowen, *Early Rehoboth: Documented Historical Studies of Families and Events in This Plymouth Colony Township*, 4 vols. [Concord, N.H.: Rumford Press, 1945–50], 1:56–57). Rebecca's listing as a Rehoboth freeholder derives from a passage in the will of her maternal grandfather, James¹ Redway, dated 26 July 1677 and proved 4 June 1684, which instructs that "Rebeckah Carpenter the daughter of Abiah Carpenter" receive twenty acres from the next land division (Plymouth Colony Probate, 4:2:73; *Early Rehoboth*, 1:129). It may be technically correct to call Rebecca an orphan based on the death by 1676/7 of her mother, Mary (Redway) Carpenter (see note 8), and on the source and directness of the bequest to her (Redway's not naming Abiah a participant might have created the need for a guardian). The term was/is more commonly used, however, to denote a fatherless or parentless child. And in the four other instances in which the 1689 document lists orphan freeholders comparably—"Sons of Nath. Cooper," "Son of Nehemiah Sabin," "Jacob Ormsbys Daughter," "Sons of M^r John Mylles"—the respective fathers are all deceased (*Early Rehoboth*, 1:57; Rehoboth Vital Records, 1:53a, 54a; Swansea Vital Records, A:147). An extensive search for records of Rebecca's guardianship and the receipt, registration, or disposal of her legacy has been fruitless. The earliest record explicitly indicating that Abiah had died, however, is his son Oliver's Warwick deed to Benjamin Smith Jr., dated 22 March 1699, 11 William III [i.e., 1698/9], which mentions "my honoured Father Abiah Carpenter deceased" (Warwick Land Evidences, 1:184). As to Abiah's residence at the end of his life, the record of his son Joseph's marriage to Mary Brown, on 18 March 1702/3, refers to his deceased father as "of Pautuxet in the township of Warwick" (Warwick Vital Records, 1:2:16).

⁷ At Warwick on 14 September 1667, William and Mary Baker bound out their seven-year-old daughter, Mary, to Abiah Carpenter, so that he and his wife (not named) "may . . . educat & instruct [her] in all things that perteyneth to houswifery" (*The Early Records of the Town of Warwick* [Providence, R.I.: E. A. Johnson, 1926], 333).

⁸ Rehoboth Vital Records, 1:12; Bowen, *Early Rehoboth* [note 6], 1:132. That Abiah married Mary Redway is deduced from her father James¹ Redway's bequest to Abiah's daughter, Rebecca (see note 6, above; Richard LeBaron Bowen, "Early Rehoboth Families and Events," *Register* 98 [1944]:172). (Redway's will names three others, known to be another daughter's child and two

assume that Abiah remarried after Mary's death—his children were then quite young and perhaps did not yet include one known to have been his—but evidence of it has not been found.^[9]

sons-in-law, in the same fashion as it does Rebecca; that is, the relationship of each to the testator or any of his daughters is unspecified. James Redway's other daughters' husbands are accounted for.) Abiah, saying his wife was not well, declined in January 1669/70 to help neighbor children save their parents from drowning in the icy river nearby; he was not held responsible (*More Early Records of Warwick* [note 3], 32–34). Mary apparently had died before 7 March 1676/7, when the Plymouth court ordered that her unmarried brother James² Redway's estate be divided among [his brother] John Redway and three unnamed sisters (Rehoboth Vital Records, 1:12; Plymouth Colony Probate, 3:2:77). Her sister Lydia (Mrs. John) Titus had been buried at Rehoboth on 28 October 1676, leaving Redway sisters Sarah (Mrs. Samuel³) Carpenter (died [as Sarah Brooks] Rehoboth 15 July 1717 [not 8 January 1717/8]; Martha (Mrs. Preserved) Abell (buried Rehoboth 1 March 1685/6); and Rebecca (Mrs. John⁴) Carpenter (died Woodstock [then in Mass.], 29 December 1702) (Rehoboth Vital Records, 1:54a, 57a, 2:230; Woodstock Vital Records, 1:11; see also James N. Arnold, *Vital Record of Rehoboth, 1642–1896* [Providence, R.I.: Narragansett Historical Publishing Co., 1897], 804, has "Sarah Brooks, widow," also as "a stranger" and born 8 January 1717/8, but these last two items are from adjacent entry in the original records). These three are also the only daughters named in James¹ Redway's will, written in mid 1677 (Plymouth Colony Probate, 4:2:73).

⁹ It is said that about 1668 Abiah removed to Musketa Cove (Oyster Bay), Long Island, with Joseph² (William¹ of Providence) and Hannah (Carpenter) Carpenter, his brother-in-law and sister, and returned to Pawtuxet after Hannah's death, about 1670 or 1673 (see Carpenter, *Rehoboth Carpenter Family* [note 2], 46, 47; Daniel Hoogland Carpenter, *History and Genealogy of the Carpenter Family in America, from the Settlement at Providence, R.I., 1637–1901* [Jamaica, N.Y.: Marion Press, 1901], 35). But the de Forests, who identify 1668, 1669, and mid-1670 land and court records putting Abiah at Pawtuxet during that period, contend that "[t]he evidence is against the theory advanced that Abiah Carpenter removed to Long Island" (de Forest, *Brady Ancestry* [note 3], 132). In fact Warwick townsmen chose him constable in June 1668 and jurymen at least annually from April 1669 to November 1673 (the latter date for the following February) (*More Early Records of Warwick* [note 3], 158–59, 165–66, 174, 182–83, 190–91, 191–92, 209). A 1670 entry in Musketa Cove merchant Moses Mudge's account book nevertheless names Abiah Carpenter as indebted to him for a half-pint of rum (Henry B. Hoff, "The Albertson Family of Oyster Bay, L.I.," *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 109 [1978]:204). As brief as Abiah's visit to Musketa Cove must have been, his having been there at all in 1670 seems to lend support to Amos Carpenter's suspicion that Abiah "married for his second wife a sister of Ann Wickes, second wife of Joseph Carpenter of Mosquito Cove" (see Carpenter, *Rehoboth Carpenter Family* [note 2], 46; Abiah's first wife is not mentioned). But the will of Francis Weekes, dated 25 June 1687, mentions only two daughters—Ann, widow of Joseph Carpenter, deceased, and Elizabeth, wife of Nicholas Simpkins—and implies no others, living or dead (*Oyster Bay Town Records, Volume I – 1653–1690* [New York: T.A. Wright, 1916], 411–12). Seversmith's impression that "statements made that [Abiah] married 2, Abigail Wickes . . . are without foundation" thus appears valid (see Herbert F. Seversmith, *Colonial Families of Long Island, New York and Connecticut*, 5 vols. [Washington, D. C.: the author, 1939–58], 2:559). In that Abiah's wife was apparently quite ill in January 1669/70, however (see note 8), and that daughter Rebecca could have been born as early as 1668/9 (she was presumably a minor at the end of 1689 [see notes 6, 38]), it is possible that his 1670 visit to Musketa Cove was to secure a new mother for his children. Abiah's wife (not Abiah, as generally stated) testified at Newport on 25 August 1676 that "Wenanaquabin of Pawtuxett . . . [who had been] liveing at Abiah Carpenters . . . went away from their house sometime in May 1675"; her identity is unknown, however (*Rhode Island General Court of Trials* [note 5], 67 [confirmed by image of original court

On 13 July 1663 Abiah Carpenter, Joseph Carpenter, Benjamin Smith, and Mr. Henry Reddock, all of "Pautuxett in Warwick," asked that the Warwick Court of Trials transfer their prosecution "concerning a Riot" to the General Court of Trials held at Portsmouth the following October.^[10] Mr. William Carpenter of Pawtuxet (southern Providence) and John Sweet of Warwick posted a bond of £100 sterling, guaranteeing the defendants' good behavior and subsequent appearance (at which the charges were dropped).^[11] An original Providence proprietor, bondsman William¹ Carpenter was the father-in-law of Abiah's sister Hannah, who married the above Joseph Carpenter.^[12]

The de Forests preface their account of Abiah Carpenter's children thus: "*The Rehoboth Branch of the Carpenter Family* (1898) contains so many obvious inaccuracies and contradictions, especially in the sections concerning the children of Abiah³ Carpenter, Oliver⁴ Carpenter, and Christopher⁵ Carpenter, that the present writers have thought it best to construct the family line from other sources."^[13] The following discussion of Abiah's children accordingly uses as its point of departure not the eight children Amos Carpenter attributes to him but the four presented first by Austin and later (in different order) by the de Forests: Oliver (Warwick, North Kingstown); Joseph (North Kingstown, East Greenwich); John (East Greenwich); and Solomon (South Kingstown).^[14] Even this shorter list, however, proves to be at once too long and yet incomplete.

The preceding article has established that John Carpenter of East Greenwich was not the son of Abiah but of his brother Joseph. Solomon Carpenter of South Kingstown describes himself in a 1719 deposition as aged about forty-one.^[15] His

record (A:35), received by email from transcriber Jane Fletcher Fiske, 9 December 2002]. Sources stating that it was Abiah who testified at Newport include John Osborne Austin, *The Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island*, rev. ed. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1969), 35–36; Richard LeBaron Bowen, "The Arms of Richard Scott: Additions and Corrections," *Register* 96 [1942]:192; *Rehoboth Carpenter Family*, 47).

¹⁰ *Court of Trials of Warwick*, in *Rhode Island General Court of Trials* [note 5], 230; *Court of Trials of Providence Plantations* [note 5], 2:22.

¹¹ *Court of Trials of Providence Plantations* [note 5], 2:22.

¹² *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island* [note 6], 1:19–20; Daniel Carpenter, *Carpenter Family at Providence* [note 9], 13–16, 20–26 (citing *The Early Records of the Town of Providence*, 21 vols. [Providence, R.I.: Snow & Farnham, 1892–1915], 6:138–50), 31, 313–14; *Rhode Island Land Evidences, Volume I, 1648–1696, Abstracts* (Providence: Rhode Island Historical Society, 1921; repr. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1970), 47. William of Providence was also father-in-law of co-defendant Benjamin Smith, husband of William's daughter Lydia.

¹³ De Forest, *Brady Ancestry* [note 3], 135.

¹⁴ See Carpenter, *Rehoboth Carpenter Family* [note 2], 58–59; Austin, *Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island* [note 9], 35–36; de Forest, *Brady Ancestry* [note 3], 135–36; also Seversmith, *Colonial Families* [note 9], 2:559. Relying heavily on the first two of these sources, Alden G. Beaman combines their mistakes and ascribes nine children to Abiah; the paragraph he devotes to Abiah himself is similarly replete with errors (see "A Line of Descent from Abiah Carpenter of Warwick," *Rhode Island Genealogical Register* 20 [1996]:8).

¹⁵ Austin, *Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island* [note 9], 36; de Forest, *Brady Ancestry* [note 3], 135.

calculated birth year of 1678 so closely matches the record of Solomon Carpenter—born at Rehoboth on 23 December 1677, son of Abiah and Joseph Carpenter's brother Samuel and his wife, Sarah (Redway) Carpenter—that without evidence to the contrary, the South Kingstown man must be considered that couple's son.^[16] Oliver and Joseph Carpenter, on the other hand, generated records naming Abiah as their father (see note 6). To them must be added Rebecca, whose paternity is also a matter of record (see note 6).^[17] Evidence of other children has not been found.

Children of Abiah Carpenter, born probably at Pawtuxet (Warwick), i probably to wife Mary Redway, ii almost certainly so, iii perhaps not:

- i. OLIVER⁴ CARPENTER, b. probably by 1667 or 1668; d. North Kingstown, R.I., between 4 Oct. 1727 and 20 Nov. 1727;^[18] m. (1) say 1693, a first wife, perhaps identical with his wife SARAH _____ who was the mother of his son William born in 1701;^[19] m. (2 or 3) Yarmouth, Mass., 6 Nov. 1721 SARAH OKILLEA.^[20]

On 3 Sept. 1675 the Providence constable was ordered to bring more than a dozen people, including "Abiah Carpenter, & olivour Carpenter," before a colony magistrate to answer the complaint of Samuel Reape, apparently arising from an incident the previous year.^[21] Presumably Oliver had by then reached the age—seven, under English common law—at which moral discernment was thought possible.^[22] When in July 1687 and again the following December he killed a wolf,^[23] Oliver was presumably at least in his late teens. The birth year of John Carpenter of Norwich/Windham/Stafford, Oliver's eldest son and probable first child,^[24] is roughly estimated as 1694 (see the preceding article).

¹⁶ Rehoboth Vital Records, 1:6, 44. Amos Carpenter makes two men out of Solomon, attributing him to both Abiah³ and Samuel³ (see Carpenter, *Rehoboth Carpenter Family* [note 2], 59).

¹⁷ See also Plymouth Colony Probate, 4:2:73; Bowen, *Early Rehoboth* [note 6], 1:57, 129.

¹⁸ Letters of administration granted him on son Oliver's estate (East Greenwich Probate, 1:71); his own estate inventory presented, widow granted letters of administration (North Kingstown Probate and Town Council Records, 6:253, 254).

¹⁹ Arnold, *Vital Record of Rhode Island* [note 3], 1:1 (Warwick):154 (birth of child William 9 June 1701, son of Oliver and Sarah Carpenter).

²⁰ R. Dudley Kelley, "David Okillea of Yarmouth, Massachusetts, and Some of His Descendants," *Register* 151 (1997):141; North Kingstown Probate and Town Council Records, 6:251.

²¹ *Early Records of Providence* [note 12], 15:141–43, 144, 146–47.

²² See William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 2nd ed., 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1765–69), 4:23, online at www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/blackstone/bk4ch2.htm.

²³ *More Early Records of Warwick* [note 3], 260.

²⁴ Amos Carpenter identifies the first-mentioned son in Oliver Carpenter's will (proved November 1727) as Oliver (Carpenter, *Rehoboth Carpenter Family* [note 2], 58). In fact, however, the name was obliterated by fire damage in 1870, as were the will's date and certain other information (see North Kingstown Probate and Town Council Records, 6:249–51; Lucille B. Beaman, "Abstracts of North Kingstown, R.I., Wills," *Rhode Island Genealogical Register* 7 [1984]:56). The testator had given "him a Considerable part of my Estate a[ready]," as he had the next-named son, "Christo[pher]" ("he having Received a[ready] a Considerable Farme"). These two are the only legatees so described, and, accordingly, their bequests are by far the smallest.

Applying to his father the same assumptions used to approximate John's birth year (i.e., marriage at age twenty-five, first child born the following year), we arrive at a birth year for Oliver in the neighborhood of 1668. This comports well with his minimum age when named in the aforementioned 1675 complaint and with the earliest record of his father's being married, dated in 1667 (see note 7).

If, as above, Oliver's mother was probably Mary Redway, one might ask why her father's will (1677) names Abiah's daughter, Rebecca (see note 6), but not his son Oliver.^[25] The answer lies in the age-sex profiles of the other two of James' Redway's several grandchildren (mostly boys) to receive bequests. One is "David Carpenter the son of Samuel Carpenter," seventh and, at age two in 1677, then youngest child of Samuel and Sarah (Redway) Carpenter; the other is to be the first child (whether boy or girl) of the testator's expectant daughter Rebecca (Redway) Carpenter.^[26] Rather than favoring his older, male grandchildren, Redway's bequests commemorate recent and impending births, regardless of sex. So while it is possible that Oliver was born to someone other than Mary (Redway) Carpenter, his omission from her father's will is not evidence of it.

- ii. REBECCA CARPENTER, b. after 26 Dec. 1668 and by 7 March 1676/7; living (and under 21) on 26 Dec. 1689 (see notes 6, 8, 38).

Of the sources that name Abiah Carpenter's children, only the bloated list first presented by Amos Carpenter includes a Rebecca.^[27] His brief account of her—"probably m. *Samuel Wilson* of Norton, Mass."—is nevertheless problematical: Samuel Wilson was not of Norton (adjacent to Rehoboth) but Newton (contiguous with Boston and Brookline).^[28] The Rebecca whom he married (as his second wife) was a widow and had acquired from her previous husband the Carpenter surname under which she married Wilson. She married four times in all: first to Ephraim Hunt of Rehoboth (m. ca. 1686 [first child b. 1687]); second to David Carpenter of Rehoboth (m. there 22 Nov. 1697); third to Samuel Wilson (m. Rehoboth 25 Nov. 1706); and fourth to Lt. John Wilson

Oliver is recorded as having in 1724 given land to three sons—Oliver, John, and Christopher—but the first of these died about two months before his father (East Greenwich Land Evidence, 4:33–34, 52–53, 62–63; East Greenwich Probate, 1:67–69, 71). It is thus reasonable to conclude that the elder Oliver wrote his will after his namesake son's death and that the missing name of the first legatee is not Oliver but John. The first daughter named in Oliver's will (after all seven sons) is Sarah (surname burned). That she did not marry until 1739/[40] makes it likely that John rather than Sarah was Oliver's eldest surviving child (see Arnold, *Vital Record of Rhode Island* [note 3], 7:139 [Narragansett Monthly Meeting]). Oliver's Carpenter's will, incidentally, does not mention a son Solomon, the name substituted for Christopher in several abstracts (see *Rehoboth Carpenter Family*, 58; Austin, *Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island* [note 9], 35; de Forest, *Brady Ancestry* [note 3], 136).

²⁵ Plymouth Colony Probate, 4:2:73; Bowen, *Early Rehoboth* [note 6], 1:129.

²⁶ Plymouth Colony Probate, 4:2:73; Bowen, *Early Rehoboth* [note 6], 1:129; Rehoboth Vital Records, 1:6, 35; Zubrinsky, "The Family of William² Carpenter" [note 1], *The American Genealogist* 70:203–04.

²⁷ See Carpenter, *Rehoboth Carpenter Family* [note 2], 58–59.

²⁸ Rehoboth Vital Records, 1:174, 193; *Vital Records of Newton, Massachusetts, to the Year 1850* (Boston: NEHGS, 1905), 517; Middlesex County Probate, File 25176.

of Billerica, Mass. (m. Rehoboth 25 May 1713).^[29] She died at Rehoboth on 14 April 1749 in her 85th year.^[30]

In that Amos Carpenter clearly stumbled into identifying this Rebecca as Abiah Carpenter's daughter, it is ironic that considerable circumstantial evidence supports that conclusion, even though the following discussion will show that the much-married Rebecca was not the daughter of Abiah Carpenter. Two of her four children with first husband Ephraim Hunt—Daniel (b. Rehoboth 1687, m. Dorothy Ballard) and Sarah (b. there 1690, m. Thomas Bowen)—had sons named Oliver (b. Rehoboth 1721 and 1718/9, respectively).^[31] There is no known precedent for this relatively uncommon name among Hunts, Ballards, Bowens, or their relevant allied families, and its only instance theretofore among Carpenters is as the name of Abiah's son. Rebecca's second husband, David Carpenter, was the son of Samuel [and Sarah (Redway)] Carpenter named in James' Redway's will (above) and therefore a nephew by birth of both Abiah Carpenter and Mary Redway.^[32] David and Rebecca Carpenter's daughter, Rebecca, married at Rehoboth in 1720, Joshua Abell, son of Preserved and Sarah (Bowen) Abell; Preserved Abell's first wife had been Mary Redway's sister Martha.^[33] And Rebecca's fourth husband, John Wilson, was the brother of Elizabeth (Mrs. Isaac) Hildreth of Woburn and Chelmsford, whose daughter Joanna married at Rehoboth in 1719, James' Redway.^[34]

As suggestive as the foregoing facts may seem, important evidence distinguishes Rebecca of the four husbands from Abiah's daughter: By December 1689, when Abiah's daughter was listed among Rehoboth freeholders under her maiden name and as an orphan (see note 6), Rebecca (Mrs. Ephraim) Hunt had been married for about three years.^[35] As administratrix of her first husband's estate, moreover, Rebecca Hunt presented (on 23 Oct. 1696, almost two and a half years after his death) an account of debts chargeable to it that includes the following items: "Payd to David Carpenter when his time was out - - [£]13=00=00" and "Payd to David

²⁹ Rehoboth Vital Records, 1:64, 89 (not 91, as in Arnold, *Vital Record of Rehoboth* [note 8], 838), 92, 93a, 157, 164 (not 96), 171, 174 (not 170), 193; *Vital Records of Newton* [note 28], 517; Bristol County Probate, 12:68; Middlesex County Probate, File 25176. The birth years of Rebecca's four husbands (the last two were not related) range from ca. 1651/2 to 1675; she survived the last one by fourteen years (*Vital Records of Bedford, Massachusetts, to the Year 1850* [Boston: NEHGS, 1903], 141; *Vital Records of Roxbury, Massachusetts, to the End of the Year 1849*, 6 vols. [Salem, Mass.: Essex Institute, 1925], 1:387; Rehoboth Vital Records, 1:6, 11).

³⁰ Rehoboth Vital Records, 2:257; Marion Pearce Carter, transcriber, *The Old Rehoboth Cemetery* . . . (Attleboro, Mass.: the author, 1932), 57 [FHL 0,022,366, item 14].

³¹ Rehoboth Vital Records, 1:64, 126, 177, 2:194; Arnold, *Vital Record of Rehoboth* [note 8], 464; *Vital Records of Lynn, Massachusetts, to the End of the Year 1849*, 2 vols. (Salem, Mass.: Essex Institute, 1905–06), 2:32.

³² Plymouth Colony Probate, 4:2:73; Bowen, *Early Rehoboth* [note 6], 1:129.

³³ Rehoboth Vital Records, 1:12, 22, 45, 48, 92, 2:135. The printed record of Preserved Abell and Sarah Bowen's marriage mistakenly gives his forename as James (see Arnold, *Vital Record of Rehoboth* [note 8], 3, 42).

³⁴ Eugene Cole Zubrinsky, "Joanna Hildreth, Wife of Captain James' Redway of Rehoboth, Massachusetts . . .," *Register* 146 (1992):339–40.

³⁵ Rehoboth Vital Records, 1:64; Bristol County Probate, 12:68.

Carpenter in Cloathing before & at the Expiring of his time --- [£]12=08=06.^[36] David Carpenter, born in 1675 and fourteen years Ephraim Hunt's junior,^[37] clearly had been bound out to him and presumably remained in the Hunt household until turning twenty-one, if not longer. Rebecca Hunt's taking him as her second husband a year and a half thereafter probably grew out of their close living and working conditions, which extended through at least the first two years of her widowhood.

Rebecca Wilson's age at death implies a birth year of about 1665, and from the approximate year of her first marriage is calculated a birth year of say 1666 (the average colonial New England woman first married at age twenty). While Abiah and Mary (Redway) Carpenter were both old enough to have married in 1664, a birth year of 1665 for daughter Rebecca is about three years too early for her to have been called an orphan (under age twenty-one)^[38] in

³⁶ Bristol County Probate, 1:160.

³⁷ Rehoboth Vital Records, 1:6, 11.

³⁸ "Legal age" varied in relation to the specific rights involved and, in certain respects, according to one's sex (see *The Book of the General Laws of . . . New-Plimouth* [Boston, 1672], 13, 27, and [1685] 6, 13, 63, in John D. Cushing, ed., *The Laws of the Pilgrims: A Facsimile Edition of The Book of the General Laws of . . . New-Plimouth[,] 1672 & 1685* [Wilmington, Del.: M. Glazier, 1977]; *Commentaries on the Laws of England* [note 22], 1:451, online at www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/blackstone/bk1ch17.htm). Analysis of early Bristol County estate-division records indicates that by at least 1694, intestate property was distributed directly to male heirs at age twenty-one and to female heirs at eighteen (see Bristol County Probate, 1:94–95, 108, 171–72 [with Rehoboth Vital Records, 1:7], 223, 2:66). (While it is not certain that this had been the practice in 1689—colonial authority over Bristol County passed from Plymouth to Massachusetts Bay in late 1691—no contrary evidence is found.) Direct bequests not delayed by age- or time-related provisions, on the other hand, passed to legatees, regardless of age or sex, upon the death of the testator. The age at which owners of land were free to dispose of their holdings, however, was twenty-one for both sexes (*General Laws of New-Plymouth* [1672], 13, and [1685] 6; *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 1:451, online as above).

That the 1689 Rehoboth freeholders' list has a separate, "Orphants" section suggests that the quality of their landownership differed from that of others, probably as to the aforementioned right to personally convey their own land. If the Rehoboth orphans lacked this right, then their ages should range up through twenty years. And in fact, of the twenty-five explicitly named orphan landowners other than Rebecca Carpenter (twenty-three males, two females), at least twenty-three were then less than twenty-one years old; of these, three males were between eighteen and twenty (Bowen, *Early Rehoboth* [note 6], 1:57; Rehoboth Vital Records, 21, 29; Swansea Vital Records, A:37). (Twenty-two-year-old Thomas Smith was presumably either incompetent or included by mistake with two minor siblings; Mary Walker's age could not be determined.) A 1685 Plymouth Colony law implies that orphans of both sexes were termed such until turning twenty-one and therefore required a guardian to sell land on their behalf: "[N]one shall have power to pass away Lands, Hereditaments, or other Estate; or be capable of Suing, or being Sued at any Court in their own Person . . . , until he or they attain unto the age of *twenty one years* : But any Parent or Master, shall or may Require and Sue for Satisfaction for any wrong or damage done their Children or Servants. And any Orphan may have liberty to chuse their Guardian to act for them at *fourteen years*, to Secure or Defend their Estate, or otherwise act for them as may be requisite. . . . [italics in original]" (*General Laws of New-Plimouth* [1685], 6; see also *ibid.* [1672], 13). More explicit is Blackstone, who, after discussing "the several species of guardians," their appointment, powers, and duties, says the following: "Let us next consider the ward, or person within age, for whose assistance and support these guardians are constituted by law; or who it is,

late 1689. (One might argue that the ages of those venerated for outliving their contemporaries were [are] often exaggerated and that Rebecca Wilson may have been born later than her reported age at death implies. But see below.)

The most illuminating evidence of the oft-married Rebecca's identity is found in the will of her second husband, David Carpenter (dated 12 May 1701 and proved 8 Sept. 1701): named as overseers (to assist executrix Rebecca) are "my two brothers Samuel Carpenter & John Ward."^[39] In that the testator's mother, Sarah (Redway) (Carpenter) Brooks, had not married a Ward (all her children were with first husband Samuel³ Carpenter),^[40] John Ward was almost certainly David Carpenter's brother-in-law (in the modern sense). It was not unusual for a man to name a member of his wife's family, often along with a blood relation of his own, to assist her in executing his will; nor was it uncommon for him to refer to his wife's siblings simply as "[my] brother" or "[my] sister." And since David Carpenter's sister, Sarah, married only Nathaniel Perry,^[41] it is probable that John Ward was a brother [or half-brother] of Carpenter's wife, Rebecca, and that her maiden name was Ward.^[42]

that is said to be within age . . . [F]ull age in male or female, is twenty one years, which age is completed on the day preceding the anniversary of a person's birth; who till that time is an infant, and so stiled in law" (*Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 1:448–51, online as above).

³⁹ Bristol County Probate, 2:31–32. H. L. Peter Rounds's abstract of the will incorrectly identifies Samuel Carpenter and John Ward as executors and mistakenly refers only to the former as "brother" (see *Abstracts of Bristol County, Massachusetts, Probate Records*, 2 vols [Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co, 1987], 1:23).

⁴⁰ Rehoboth Vital Records, 1:6, 44, 48; Rehoboth Proprietors' Records, 2:11.

⁴¹ Rehoboth Vital Records, 1:47, 55, 2:257; Bristol County Probate, 3:222, 264–65, 267.

⁴² That no Wards lived in Rehoboth during this entire period conforms with the fact that a record of Ephraim and Rebecca Hunt's marriage is not found and strongly suggests that she was an out-of-towner. A Rebecca Ward of Cambridge and Newton had a brother John, but she was born in 1655 (ten or eleven years too early to be a match) and died unmarried at Newton in 1735, aged 83 [sic] (*Vital Records of Cambridge, Massachusetts, to the Year 1850*, 2 vols. [Boston: NEHGS, 1914], 1:731–32; *Vital Records of Newton* [note 28], 200–02, 511). While there were many Wards at Newton, no record is found there of another Rebecca of that surname whose birth year comes close to that of the four-times-married Rebecca of Rehoboth. (But since the latter woman's third husband, Samuel Wilson, was of Newton, it should be noted that in 1677 her first husband Ephraim Hunt's sister Judith Cooper [widow of Nathaniel] married, as his second wife, Isaac Williams of Newton, and about 1683 Ephraim's brother John Hunt married Williams's daughter Martha [Rehoboth Vital Records, 1:45, 46, 53a, 63; Bristol County Probate, 1:59; Robert Charles Anderson, *The Great Migration Begins: Immigrants to New England, 1620–1633*, 3 vols., (Boston: NEHGS, 1995), 3:1388, citing Suffolk County Probate, 6:499; William Henry Harrison Stowell, "Four Generations of Descendants of Jonathan Hyde of Newton, Mass.," *Register* 71 (1917):267; *Vital Records of Cambridge*, 1:767–69; *Vital Records of Newton*, 213–15, 516]. Of course Rebecca's marriage to Samuel Wilson may well have stemmed from these facts, rather than from her possibly having come from Newton.)

Insofar as a testator was unlikely to appoint an overseer who lived at a considerable distance (such as that of Newton from Rehoboth), the most plausible candidate for the John Ward named by David Carpenter was living at Portsmouth, Rhode Island (fifteen miles from Rehoboth), when Carpenter made his will (see Austin, *Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island* [note 9], 216). Any siblings he might have had are not found, however. Another possibility is the John Ward whose footstone inscription in the Common Burial Ground at Newport gives his year of death as 1724 (age not given); his wife Anna died on 31 October 1721 age 45 (Alden Gamaliel Beaman, comp.,

- iii. JOSEPH CARPENTER, b. say 1678; m. (1) Warwick, 18 March 1702/3, MARY BROWN,^[43] m. (2) before 29 April 1732, HANNAH _____,^[44] In that Joseph's first known marriage occurred twenty-six years after Mary (Redway) Carpenter's omission from her brother James's estate division (see above), it is uncertain that she was his mother.

APPENDIX 1: WERE WILLIAM¹ CARPENTER OF PROVIDENCE AND WILLIAM² CARPENTER OF REHOBOTH FIRST COUSINS?

The broadly accepted claim that the two William Carpenters were closely related ultimately derives from Amos Carpenter's interpretation of references to "Cozen Carpenter" (presumably Joseph² of Warwick) and "my brother Carpenter" (presumably William¹ of Providence) in the will of William² Carpenter of Rehoboth (see the chart at page 54).^[45] The de Forests argue, however, that the two men's relationship was "not necessarily one of blood kinship, but [that 'brother' and 'Cozen'] may have referred to the projected [*sic*] marriage of Hannah³ Carpenter, [Rehoboth William's] daughter, to Joseph Carpenter, son of [Providence William], which took place on 21 April 1659 [*sic*], the day on which her father's will was probated."^[46] Holman takes the same position, stating that the will's reference to "Cozen" was intended to denote *kinsman*, or relative by marriage, a familiar usage of the time.^[47]

Births 1590–1930 from Newport Common Burial Ground Inscriptions, Rhode Island Vital Records, New Series, Volume 11 [East Princeton, Mass.: the compiler, 1985], 435; Beaman calculates a birth year of 1676 for Anna and 1672 for John [citation courtesy of Judy Williams of St. George, Utah]. No further record of this man has been found.

⁴³ Warwick Vital Records, 1:2:16.

⁴⁴ East Greenwich Land Evidence, 4:443–44 (also 513).

⁴⁵ See Carpenter, *Rehoboth Carpenter Family* [note 2], 41–42, 46; Bowman, "Plymouth Wills and Inventories" [note 3], *Mayflower Descendant* 14:231, 233. Amos Carpenter claims that Providence William is also called cousin in a deed of Warwick land from him to Rehoboth William (*Rehoboth Carpenter Family*, 42). A record of land conveyed by either man to the other is not found, however. It was customary, moreover, for the grantor to use family terminology, if any, to describe the grantee, not himself.

⁴⁶ De Forest, *Brady Ancestry* [note 3], 124; see also Carpenter, *Rehoboth Carpenter Family* [note 2], 46.

⁴⁷ See Mary Lovering Holman, *Ancestry of Colonel John Harrington Stevens and His Wife Frances Helen Miller*, 2 vols. (Concord, N.H.: Rumford Press, 1948–52), 1:264. Contrary to the de Forests [note 3] and to Amos Carpenter (see note 46) and also to Daniel Carpenter (*Carpenter Family at Providence* [note 9], 31), Holman believes, as does this author, that Joseph and Hannah Carpenter married *before* her father made his will, dated "the 10th month [December] the 10th Day of the month" (no year given but probably 1658) (Bowman, "Plymouth Wills and Inventories" [note 3], *Mayflower Descendant* 14:231; William Carpenter died 2 February 1658, probably 1658/9, per Rehoboth Vital Records, 1:50). She reasons, however, that the oft-repeated marriage year of 1659 is a misreading of an actual (but unidentified) record dated in 1657, whereas the present writer considers the entire marriage date—undocumented and coinciding with the will's probate date—highly suspect.

While the two William Carpenters may indeed have been no more than in-laws, records linking them precede by several years their respective children's marriage: in 1652 the Rehoboth man twice bought Pawtuxet land from the other's brother-in-law Benedict Arnold; in 1653 the two Williams (with two others) paid Pawtuxet Indians to build a fence to keep their animals out of the planters' cornfields.^[48] Providence William's presumed home of Amesbury, Wiltshire,^[49] moreover, is less than twenty miles from Rehoboth William's former residence at Shalbourne.^[50]

Genealogical data purporting to trace the ancestries of William¹ Carpenter of Providence and William² Carpenter of Rehoboth to about 1300 in England and up to five centuries earlier in France presently circulates via CD-ROM, pamphlet (also on microfilm), personal web pages, and online databases.^[51] Built largely upon the assertions of Amos B. Carpenter (1898), Joseph Hatton Carpenter (1925 and undated notes), and Raymond G. Carpenter and Harry F. Rogers (1971),^[52] this material contains little in the way of genealogical proof. While most of the English ancestry and the entire French lineage attributed to the two Williams is demonstrably false,^[53] the ascription to both men of paternal grandparents Robert

⁴⁸ Warwick Land Evidences, 1:64–65, 103, 104–05.

⁴⁹ In 1671 William¹ Carpenter of Providence gave the Amesbury message he had inherited from his father, Richard^A Carpenter, to his only known sibling, Frideswide (variant spellings), wife of Nicholas (not Thomas) Vincent; she lived at Amesbury from at least 1635 until her death in 1680 (*Early Records of Providence* [note 12], 5:323, transcribed from Third Book of the Town of Providence, 463 [*sic*, 477; FHL 0,915,084]; Amesbury Parish Register, vol. 1 unpagged [baptisms, 1635, 1638], vol. 2 unpagged [burials] [FHL 1,279,337, items 25, 26]; see also Daniel Carpenter, *Carpenter Family at Providence* [note 9], 9–10 [citing Providence Book of Deeds, 449 (*sic*; actually an imperfect extract from Providence Third Book, 477)], 321n).

⁵⁰ See Zubrinsky, "The Family of William² Carpenter" [note 1], *The American Genealogist* 70:194.

⁵¹ See John R. Carpenter, comp., *Carpenters' Encyclopedia of Carpenters 2001*, CD-ROM 1 (La Mesa, Calif., 2001), folder CE, files 85sd, 86a, 91sd; idem, "Ancestors of Godefroid/Godefroy Carpenter b. 1100," online (link) at <http://members.cox.net/jrcrin001>; Donald A. Carpenter, comp., *The 916-Year Family Tree of Donald Arlington Carpenter*, pamphlet (Holly Hill, Fla., 1997) [FHL 1,425,303, item 16]; Ancestry World Tree Project, online at www.ancestry.com; International Genealogical Index, online at www.familysearch.com.

⁵² See Carpenter, *Rehoboth Carpenter Family* [note 2], 32–34; J. H. Carpenter, "The Carpenter Family of England and the United States," *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 16 (1925):60–61; J. H. Carpenter notebooks (data copied, organized, and held by John R. Carpenter of La Mesa, California); R. G. Carpenter and H. F. Rogers, "From England to America: 3 Centuries of Carpenters," *The Carpenter Family News-Journal* 1 (1971):3:unpagged [microfiche 3 of 18; FHL 6,047,153].

⁵³ First published in 1971 and popularized since is the claim that the father of Robert Carpenter of Upton Scudamore, Wiltshire (died about 1545), putative great-great-grandfather of the subject Williams, was Rev. Richard Carpenter of Herefordshire and Wiltshire (died 1503), doctor of civil law and priest (see "3 Centuries of Carpenters" [note 52]; *Family Tree of Donald Carpenter* [note 51], 4; *Carpenters' Encyclopedia* [note 51], file 91sd, nos. 5, 17; online databases [note 51]). In support (albeit inadequate), Richard's will is said to name sons Robert and Peter (see "3 Centuries of Carpenters"; *Carpenters' Encyclopedia*, file 91sd, no. 5). But in a careful review of the original record (dated 19 August [proved 28 September] 1503), the author has determined

Carpenter of Marden, Wiltshire, and his widow, Elinor, is merely dubious.^[54] Robert's will, dated 12 January 1606[/?] and proved 21 May 1607, names sons William, Robert, John, and Charles, daughters Edith and Alice, brother Richard, "my sonnes childe Will[ia]m," and (as co-executors and principal legatees) son Richard and wife Elinor.^[55] Neither the will nor any other known record indicates which, if any, of Robert's children he fathered with Elinor. More important, no satisfactory evidence has been produced establishing that either, let alone both, of Robert Carpenter's sons Richard and William is identical with Richard^A of Amesbury or William¹ of Shalbourne, Wherwell, and the *Bevis* (1638), respective fathers of William¹ of Providence and William² of Rehoboth.^[56] In that Robert's son Richard is the implied recipient of his father's Marden real estate—with Elinor, he is to receive "[a]ll the reste of [Robert's] goods moveable and unmoveable unbequeathed" (all specific bequests are of money, animals, and/or barley)—his being the Amesbury man is doubtful. (For clues to the possible origin of Richard^A of Amesbury, see note 63.)

Current results of the Carpenter Cousins Y-DNA Project seem to show that the Providence and Rehoboth Carpenters are related,^[57] given the relative proximity of Amesbury and Shalbourne, this is not surprising. But only a broad inference can be made as to the interval—perhaps several hundred years—between the immigrant Williams and their nearest, common Carpenter ancestor. If the ancestries of Richard^A Carpenter of Amesbury and William¹ Carpenter of Shalbourne are to be determined, beginning with the parents of each, it will be through more traditional research methods. Until then the issue of their respective sons' precise relationship will likely remain unresolved.

that Robert and Peter (the only named legatees whose surnames are omitted) are each described therein as "my s[er]v[ant]" (Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 13 Blanyr [PDF file, obtained online at www.documentsonline.nationalarchives.gov.uk by John R. Carpenter (note 52); also available on FHL 0,091,903]). The bequest to Robert, moreover, includes a "lyvery gowne," typically a servant's attire. *That the Robert named in Rev. Richard Carpenter's will was not his son (Richard appears not to have married) positively invalidates from that point backward the lineage claimed for the Providence and Rehoboth Carpenters.*

⁵⁴ See, with extreme caution, *Carpenters' Encyclopedia* [note 51], file 91sd, nos. 57, 91, 92, 199, 201; *Family Tree of Donald Carpenter* [note 51], 5.

⁵⁵ Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 109 Huddleston, fol. 42 [FHL 0,092,029]. The misidentification as his mother-in-law of Robert's stepmother, Elizabeth/Isabell (Stockham?) Carpenter (she calls Edward "Stockeham" [not Storke] "my Brother"), has produced the erroneous claim that Robert and Elinor were cousins (see Archdeaconry Court of Sarum, Box 17C, 5 Oct. 1596 [FHL 0,097,436, item 2]; idem, Reg. 7, fol. 71 [FHL 0,0994,488, item 3]; "3 Generations of Carpenters" [note 52]; *Carpenters' Encyclopedia* [note 51], file 91sd, no. 57; *Family Tree of Donald Carpenter* [note 51], 5).

⁵⁶ See Zubrinsky, "The Family of William² Carpenter" [note 1], *The American Genealogist* 70:193, 194, 203; *Early Records of Providence* [note 12], 5:323.

⁵⁷ See "Carpenter Cousins Y-DNA Project," online at <http://members.cox.net/johnrcarpenter>.

APPENDIX 2: THE MARRIAGE AND IMMIGRATION OF WILLIAM¹ CARPENTER OF PROVIDENCE

Since first asserted in 1901, it has become dogma that the marriage of William Carpenter of Providence to William¹ and Christian (Peak) Arnold's daughter Elizabeth occurred in England and that the nascent Carpenter family (including son Joseph) came to Massachusetts with the Arnolds,^[58] who arrived on 24 June 1635.^[59] There are several reasons to doubt that Carpenter had any contact with the Arnolds in England, however. First, his probable former home of Amesbury, Wiltshire, and that of the Arnolds, at Ilchester, Somersetshire, are more than forty miles apart.^[60] "[H]oping to assist further research," Elisha Arnold (1935) introduces the 1606 marriage of Richard Carpenter and Susanna Trevelian, recorded at Nettlecombe, Somerset (seventy plus miles from Amesbury), as "seem[ing] to connect in some way with a John and Richard at Salisbury, 7 miles from Amesbury."^[61] So as to put William Carpenter and Elizabeth Arnold in close proximity in England, overzealous researchers have converted this item into the now frequently seen (online) assertions that Richard and Susanna (Trevelian) Carpenter were Providence William's parents and that Richard died at Ilchester in 1625. Trevelian's husband, however, died at Loxhore, Devonshire, in 1627 and left neither a son William nor a daughter Frideswide (see note 49).^[62] And the Richard Carpenter buried at Amesbury, 21 September 1625, is far more likely to have been William's father than one said to have died at Ilchester that year.^[63]

⁵⁸ See, for example, Daniel Carpenter, *Carpenter Family at Providence* [note 9], 8–9, 30, 31; Elisha Stephen Arnold, *The Arnold Memorial: William Arnold of Providence and Pawtuxet, 1587–1675* . . . (Rutland, Vt.: Tuttle Publishing Co., 1935), 9, 52; Mildred Mosher Chamberlain, "Early Rhode Island Settlers," *Rhode Island Roots* 13 (1987):75.

⁵⁹ Edwin Hubbard, "Early Records of the Arnold Family," *Register* 33 (1879):428.

⁶⁰ See *Early Records of Providence* [note 12], 5:323; Edson Salisbury Jones, "The Parentage of William Arnold and Thomas Arnold of Providence, R.I.," *Register* 69 (1915):66–68.

⁶¹ Arnold, *Arnold Memorial* [note 58], 35.

⁶² Charles William Boase, ed., *Registrum Collegii Exoniensis: Register of . . . Exeter College, Oxford* (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 1894), 86; Frederick Brown, *Abstracts of Somersetshire Wills, etc.*, Frederick Arthur Crisp, transcriber, 6 vols. (London: the transcriber, 1887–90), 2:109–10.

⁶³ See Amesbury Parish Register, vol. 1, unpagged; Daniel Carpenter, *Carpenter Family at Providence* [note 9], 8n. On Amesbury's eastern border is the parish of Newton Toney, where on 7 August 1603 a Richard Carpenter married Alice Knight and another Richard Carpenter married Ann Kent on 31 October 1603 (Newton Toney Parish Register, unpagged [FHL 1,279,336, item 13]). The latter man died at Newton Toney in 1614 (*ibid.*; Archdeaconry Court of Sarum, Reg. 8, fol. 226 [FHL 0,994,489, item 1]); the only Newton Toney record surely of the former is that of his marriage. Among a dozen or so legatees named in the 1599 will of Robert Carpenter of Newton Toney is Richard Carpenter of "Aymbsbury" (relationship not stated), quite possibly the man of that name who married Alice Knight (see Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 93 Kidd, fol. 47 [FHL 0,092,005]). Evidence of this or of the couple's being Providence William's parents is not found, however. The apparent family connection between Robert Carpenter of Newton Toney and Richard Carpenter of Amesbury nevertheless tends to diminish further the likelihood that the latter was the son of Robert Carpenter of Marden (see Appendix 1, paragraph 3, above). (The

A second reason for skepticism as to Carpenter–Arnold contact in England is that while William¹ Arnold—like William¹ Carpenter, an original Providence proprietor—was granted a house-lot at Hingham, Massachusetts, on 18 September 1635, William¹ Carpenter was not.^[64] Had the latter man already married Elizabeth Arnold and immigrated with her family, he, too, almost certainly would have become a Hingham proprietor; the town's records fail altogether to mention him, however. William¹ Carpenter first appears in New England records at Providence, no earlier than mid 1637, under "Agreements & orders the second year of ye Plantation" (begun at Seekonk in the spring of 1636 and relocated to present-day Providence that summer).^[65]

Third, that Providence William's son Joseph witnessed a deed at Providence on 3 May 1656 is mistaken as evidence that he was then an adult and must therefore have been born about 1635, presumably at Amesbury.^[66] Witnesses as young as fourteen are found in early New England records, however. (This was the *age of discretion*, at which a child could witness documents, choose a guardian, testify in court, and indenture oneself without parental consent.)

Finally, a deposition given by Benjamin Smith and Joseph Carpenter on 16 October 1664 describes the latter man as "Aged 26 yeeres," implying a birth year of about 1638.^[67] It is thus evident that William Carpenter did not come to New England in mid 1635 with and as an in-law of the Arnolds, but arrived sometime during the next year or two and married Elizabeth Arnold about 1637, probably at Providence.^[68]

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author was alerted to the above-cited marriage and probate records and their potential implications by John R. Carpenter. While his CD unfortunately omits any qualifying language in presenting Alice Knight as the wife of Richard^A of Amesbury and mother of William¹ of Providence [it also gives her an unsupported Sussex origin], he informally acknowledges that this is not confirmed [see *Encyclopedia of Carpenters* (note 51), file 91sd, no. 92].

⁶⁴ Hubbard, "Early Records of the Arnold Family" [note 59], *Register* 33:428; Bartlett, *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island* [note 6], 1:19–20; Glenn W. LaFantasie, *The Correspondence of Roger Williams, Volume 1, 1629–1653* (Providence, R.I.: Rhode Island Historical Society, 1988), 55 notes 2, 3; Daniel Carpenter, *Carpenter Family at Providence* [note 9], 13–16; Hingham Book of Possessions, 1:29v ("Hingham Proprietors Grants of Land, 1635–1677," microfiches 13–18 on *Massachusetts Vital Records, Hingham 1635–1900* [Oxford, Mass.: Holbrook Research Institute, 1990], microfiche 13).

⁶⁵ See *Early Records of Providence* [note 12], 1:3; Howard M. Chapin, *Documentary History of Rhode Island*, 2 vols. (Providence, R.I.: Preston & Rounds, 1916–19), 1:42–43.

⁶⁶ See Daniel Carpenter, *Carpenter Family at Providence* [note 9], 20, 30–31.

⁶⁷ *Harris Papers*, Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society, Vol. 10 (Providence, R.I.: the Society, 1902), 72–73.

⁶⁸ William¹ Carpenter is shown as marrying Elizabeth Arnold "by about 1635" in the sketch of William¹ Arnold in Robert Charles Anderson, George F. Sanborn Jr., and Melinde Lutz Sanborn, *The Great Migration: Immigrants to New England, 1634–1635, Volume I A–B* (Boston: NEHGS, 1999), 84–91, at 88. That there is no sketch for William¹ Carpenter in the next volume, however, indicates the lead author was in agreement with the argument given above.

THE ORIGINS OF BENJAMIN¹ NYE: EXAMINING THE SOURCES

Ian Hilder, George R. Nye, and Jonathan A. Shaw

(continued from 158:360)

We now turn to what is known about Benjamin¹ Nye in New England, first to examine if the *Nye Genealogy* uses these sources accurately, second to summarize some of the most significant data regarding Benjamin¹ Nye in New England, and third to present, in standard format, genealogical data for him and his children.

An examination of the records of Saugus (now Lynn) was requested to see if there were indications, in addition to the Geere will,^[53] of Benjamin¹ Nye's presence there and any relationships he might have had with other settlers. As early as 1820, the Town Clerk of Lynn noted that he had found the records of Lynn and preserved them but Volume I of the records, which might have mentioned Benjamin¹ Nye, was missing. In a letter to George R. Nye, Marcia Wiswall Lindberg, CG, an authority on Lynn, wrote: "I am sorry to report I have exhausted all sources here [town and Essex County probate and court records] and can find no mention of Benjamin Nye, who was supposedly originally of Lynn."^[54]

A Genealogy of American Nyes of English Origin (1977), the most recently published revision of the *Nye Genealogy*, suggests that there was a formal connection between Thomas Tupper and Benjamin Nye in 1635 when they were both at Lynn, and perhaps Benjamin was Tupper's apprentice or under his protection. However, there is nothing in any primary record, or plausible secondary record, that provides evidence for this other than Thomas Tupper's known presence in Saugus (now Lynn), payments to Benjamin Nye and several others (including Thomas Tupper) in the Geere will, and Benjamin's later marriage in Sandwich to Katherine² Tupper. The 1977 genealogy explicitly says that "Benjamin Nye's uncle Philip" had "secretly scoured the English countryside for Dissenters willing to make the voyage to New England" and that "Benjamin, it seems, took his advice."^[55] However, as shown earlier, Philip Nye

⁵³ See the previous installment of this article, *Register* 158 (2004):347–60, at 357–58.

⁵⁴ Peter H. Viles to George R. Nye, 8 July 2002, having examined *Massachusetts Vital Record Transcripts to 1850, Lynn 1635–1849* (Oxford, Mass.: Holbrook Research Institute, 1997); Letter from Marcia Wiswall Lindberg, CG, to George R. Nye, 12 November 2000. Moreover, Robert Charles Anderson in his "Focus on Lynn" in *The Great Migration Newsletter*, 1:3 (July–Sept. 1990), 19–22, has pointed out that there are no early lists of grants of land or a compiled list of possessions for Lynn such as exist for many other Massachusetts towns. Also, no mention of Benjamin Nye occurs in the Alonzo Lewis and James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts* (Boston: John L. Shorey, 1865).

⁵⁵ *American Nyes* [note 40], 26.