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History of Pemaquid Maine - Ancient Pemaquid

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ANCIENT PEMAQUID:

AN

HISTORICAL REVIEW.

PREPARED AT THE REQUEST OF THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY FOR
ITS COLLECTIONS,

BY J. WINGATE THORNTON.

PORTLAND:
BROWN THURSTON.
MDCCCLVII.

P R E F A C E .

WITHIN a few years, several of the States, awakened to a just sense of the value of their legislative records, and archives, as indispensable to an accurate knowledge of our institutions, their origin and developement, safeguards and dangers, have adopted means for their collection and publication.

The voluminous collections of New York, edited with distinguished judgment and learning, are of national importance; Connecticut emulates the great example; Rhode Island publishes her proud annals, enriched with illustrative contemporary documents; Massachusetts presents a rigid copy of her Colonial records, in the costliest style of typographic art; and Maine yields to the noble impulse, by judicious aid to her Historical Society.

By this beneficent act of the State, we have a collection of original documents, touching one of the most interesting portions of our territory, of which ANCIENT PEMAQUID was, in fact, the Capital.

I have not attempted a *town history, a task said to be already taken in hand by Mr. Johnston, a faithful son of Pemaquid, but rather a general review, dwelling on the more salient points, illustrating our ante-colonial history; on the nature, and design of her settlements, the political and social theories tested by them, and the relations of the Colonists, to the French Papists and their Indian allies on the North and East, and to the Puritans on the South; the effects of European politics, reaching even these distant and obscure hamlets, and on the position of Pemaquid, the Capital of the East, as the great outwork of Protestantism, at whose base surged the waves of savage passion, stirred by Jesuit intrigue and brutality.

*"The genuine history of a country can never be well understood without a complete and searching analysis of the component parts of the community, as well as the country. Genealogical inquiries and local topography so far from being unworthy the attention of the philosophical inquirer are amongst the best materials he can use; and the fortunes and changes of one family, or the wants of one upland township, may explain the darkest and most dubious portions of the annals of a realm."

It would be difficult to find a history so romantic, and replete in examples, distinct in their teachings, as is that amid the ruins of Ancient Pemaquid. The citations are chiefly from original authorities, so far as they have been within my reach, and the favors of correspondents, which are gratefully acknowledged, are particularly noticed in the appropriate notes. I am indebted to my friend Samuel F. Haven, Esq., for the privilege of verifying my copy of the Pemaquid Charter, by that in possession of the American Antiquarian Society, and to the Rev. John L. Sibley, Librarian of Harvard College, for valuable references.

APRIL, 1857.

CHAPTER I.

The first voyagers—a Spanish shallop left at Pemaquid, before 1607—Samaset, Sagamore of Pemaquid, speaks English—welcomes the Pilgrims—Fishermen early at Pemaquid—Codfisheries and Colonization.

On the outskirts of our historical panorama, we can just descry, here and there, wanderers along the solitary shore; but their foot-prints were effaced by the tide, before the Chronicler appeared, and even the names of these earliest voyagers are lost in the twilight of history.¹

They were among those adventurous spirits, who are the forerunners in every realm of discovery, but scarce leave a shadow behind them. We only know that they were here.

Thus, on Gosnold's visit to the coast in 1602,² some of the aborigines stepped upon the deck of the "Dartmouth," clothed in European apparel, and with a boldness, in striking contrast to the awe excited by the ships of Columbus;

¹ In Captain Smith's "Historie" he entreats pardon for omitting to mention "divers others that have ranged those parts whose true descriptions were concealed or *died with their authors*. He had purchased six or seven different maps of the coast, but true neither to each other, nor to the country." Lib. vi, fol. 207. Perhaps one of these lost worthies may have been Capt. Hanam, in 1606—see Maine H. C. iii, 297.

² iii Hakluyt's Voyages, Lond. Ed. 1810.

and in 1607,¹ Popham and Gilbert had not been at anchor, near Pemaquid, two hours, when they were visited by a party of savages, in a Spanish shallop, a part of whom remained on board all night.

So the Pilgrims at Plymouth,² were surprised to hear their mother tongue from the lips of the Indian, Samoset, in the pleasant greeting of "much welcome Englishmen!"

This man, so celebrated from this incident, was "a Sagamore towards the North, where English ships came to fish, from a very early period." Those fishing vessels sometimes took savages to England, as curiosities. At that time, says Shakspeare,³ "when they would not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they would lay out ten to see a dead Indian."

It has been well suggested, that this welcome from Samoset leaves no unfavorable impression of the early English fishermen, and visitors at Pemaquid, and its vicinity, and tends to relieve the dark shades of character sometimes given to them.

Recent collations of the early historical narratives demonstrate, that the progress of geographical discovery in

¹ Maine H. C. iii, 293.

² "Wonder working Providence," 1654, ch. viii. "Mourt's Relation," New York Ed. 1848, p. 57. Smith's Historie p. 233. Bradford's Hist. of Plymouth Plantation, p. 93; for a brief notice of the discovery of Bradford's Mss., and the singular and very honorable appropriation of it by another, see the N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg, October 1856, vol. x, 353,354, compare with p. 5 of the "Editorial Preface" of Bradford.

³ Tempest, Act ii, sc. ii, acted at Whitehall, Nov. 1, 1611. About 1615, Epenow an Indian, from Martha's Vineyard was shown up and down London for money, as a wonder. Smith, fol. 206. Drake's Book of the Indians, p. 72. Strakey refers to "the Salvages at this tyme showed in London from the river of Canada."

America is to be credited to the fisheries more than to all other causes.¹

The accomplished author of the Congressional "Report on the principal fisheries of the American seas," regards it as "historically accurate, to say, that the earliest considerable demand for English ships, of proper size and strength to perform long and perilous voyages, was for explorations and fishing upon our coasts; that British navigation increased with the growth of the fisheries, without which fleets there would have been neither ships nor seamen to execute the plans for the colonization of New England, and of other parts of the continent during the reign of James and Charles."

From the fisheries originated the first of the series of disputes that sealed the fate of King Charles, 1st., and gloriously revolutionized England.

The great navigator, Davis, of the Arctic "Straits," having shown to Walsyngham some of the "great cods," taken in his voyage to the North West; in 1586, that sagacious minister told him to present some of them to Cecil, the Lord Chancellor; and, says Davis, "when his Lordship saw them, and heard the relation of my second voyage, I received favorable countenance from his honor, advising me to prosecute the action of which his Lordship conceived a very good opinion."²

Thus did a few "great cods" secure the good will of the government to the highest interests of this country; and now, three centuries later, a figure of the cod, in the Capitol of the commercial metropolis of New England, still symbolizes one of the chief sources of our prosperity.

¹ Sabine's Report, 1853, pp. 45-47. Biddle's Memoir of Cabot. Barrow's Chronological Hist. 1818, pp 35-38. Maritime and Inland Discovery, ii, 138.

² Hakluyt, Ed. 1810, iii, 166.



CHAPTER II.

Relation of Pemaquid to English Commerce—Bristol on the Avon—Political Elements of the Colony—A private not a royal enterprise—The Aldworths—They befriend Hakluyt—Thomas Aldworth's death—Robert Aldworth equips Pring in 1603—His description of Monhegan and Pemaquid—Families of Aldworth and Elbridge—Thomas Elbridge comes to Pemaquid.

THE history of ANCIENT PEMAQUID has a peculiar interest not belonging to any other point on our shores. It unites us intimately to one of the principal commercial cities of England, for a lengthened period, second only to ¹London; and, with singular happiness, this historical affiliation is perpetuated in her recent corporate name, BRISTOL.

Seldom has a simple name transmitted greater and richer historical associations. There is a moral beauty in the present quiet and solitude of this ancient capital, whither the man of reflection may retire and more freely contemplate the wonderful history of his country.

No other point, no other name, in our land, concentrates so *entire* a view of the historical connection between America and England. In its colonial period, and by its Patentes, we are at once introduced to the statesmen who guided

¹ McCulloch's Dict. Art. Bristol.

our mother country in the most critical period of her modern history; to Walsingham, the father of the Protestant policy of England, the great promoter of English commerce, and the patron of Gilbert and Hakluyt; to Cecil, the prime minister, and to some of the best names in the annals of Bristol commerce.

The merchants of Bristol were early and deeply engaged in the enterprises of American discovery,¹ and England's most distinguished navigator was from that port.

"In the year 1497, the 24th day of June, on St. John's day, was New Foundland found by Bristol men in a ship called the *Matthew*." Thus England was indebted to Bristol for the acquisition of her American Dominions.

They waited, not as in France and Spain, for the direction and help of the government; but at the outset with a noble independence and self-reliance, assumed that "the planting of the western world was a thing that might be done without the ayde of the Prince's power and purse."²

The English Colonies were founded by private adventurers, and at their own expense and risk. New England was colonized by a People, New France by a Government.³ The one is a nation of citizens, a people; the other has continued a government of subjects.

Thus may be traced to the very beginnings of their history, the distinguishing organic elements of these future na-

¹ Hakluyt's *Voyages*, Lond. Ed. 1810, iii, 167, 189, 234, 237, 238, 241, 531, 573. Biddle's *Memoirs of Cabot*, Lond. 2nd Ed. 79. Corry's *Hist. of Bristol*, i, 213, in the library of the New England Hist. Genealogical So'y.

² Sir George Peckham's *Tract on "Western Planting,"* 1583, in ch. vii, Vol. iii, p. 222, of *Hakluyt's Voyages*, Lon. Ed. 1810.

³ Warburton's *Conquest of Canada*, N. York, 1850, vol. i, iii—xxiii, 219.

tions. In the course of events, we shall find those conflicting principles to have been the sources of the bitter rivalries, the sanguinary conflicts, the irreconcilable hostilities, which crimson almost every page of our Colonial history.

The principles of freedom were wrought out by the English Colonies, while yet in their dependency; and it is the confession of a modern High Church and Tory Reviewer¹ of our history, "that in the annals of the first two Republics of New England we must trace the origin and history of almost every institution now existing in the United States," except slavery, and "that to ascribe to Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, or Adams, and their contemporaries, the whole merit of the invention and creation of that wonderful Republic, would be to rob the early planters of Massachusetts of their well earned fame."

The principles and feelings of the American people were defined and fixed long prior to open hostilities with the mother country; the great cause of writs of assistance in 1761, and the apprehension of Episcopacy about that time, were incidents very late in the history of the revolution which abolished even the name of Royalty.²

Among the British merchants we recognize the names and families of ALDWORTH and ELBRIDGE, attractive to us as the Patentees of Pemaquid. The Aldworths were particularly distinguished for their spirit of enterprize in the colonization of New Foundland, and for their commercial transactions with that country and the more Southern coasts.³

¹ Haliburton's *Rule and Misrule of the English in America*, New York Ed. 1851, chap. 1.

² *The Life and Works of John Adams*, x. 180—185.

³ *Evans' Hist. of Bristol*, 1816, ii, 132—191.

We may indulge an honest pride, a filial satisfaction, in lingering for a moment, on the history of these worthies, our civil fathers.

It is significant of Queen Elizabeth's interest in her American possessions, that Spencer dedicated the "Fairy Queen" to her majesty as Queen of England, France, Ireland and VIRGINIA.

The great statesman Walsingham, introduces us to ALDWORTH, merchant and mayor of the city of Bristol, by a note to Mr. Richard Hakluyt of Christ Church, Oxford, as follows: "I understand as well by a letter I long since [in November last] received from [Mr. Thomas Aldworth] the Maior of Bristol, as by conference with Sir George Peckham, that you have endeavored and given much light for the discovery of the Westerne partes yet unknowen; as your studie in these things is very commendable, so I thanke you much for the same; wishing you do continue travell in these and like matters, which are like to turne not only to your owne good in private, but to the publicke, benefit of this realme. And so I bid you farewell. From the Court the 11th of March, 1582-3. Your loving Friend,

FRANCIS WALSINGHAM."

Thus it appears, that Hakluyt, the great master of the naval history of England, then in the beginning of his studies, and not yet thirty years of age, found in Aldworth, his first friend, and to him he was indebted for his introduction to the notice and encouragement of the Court.

This incident shows the eminent position of Aldworth; yet while all writers eulogize Walsingham's generous patronage of Hakluyt, they, in no instance, pay to Aldworth the tribute of gratitude due to him as the first to appre-

ciate the student's labors and to start him in the path of success. Hakluyt himself was more just, and inserted the letter in the midst of his page.

The introduction was successful, and on the same day, Walsingham wrote to Aldworth, hoping that "the Westerne discoverie will prove profitable to the adventurers, and generally beneficiall to the whole realme," and asking for "some further supply of shipping" for Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who was readie to imbarke within these ten days for those parts."

Aldworth's reply is a valuable record of these initiatory steps in American colonization, and shows him to have been a chief promoter of these enterprises.

"Right honorable, upon the receipt of your letters directed unto me and delivered by the bearers hereof, Mr. Richard Hakluyt and M. Steventon, bearing date the 11th of March, I presently conferred with my friends in private, whom I know most affectionate to this godly enterprise, especially with Mr. William Salterne, deputie of our company of merchants: whereupon, my selfe being as then sicke; with as convenient speede as he could, hee caused an assembly of the merchants to be gathered; where, after dutifull mention of your honourable disposition for the benefit of this citie, he by my appointment caused your letters, being directed unto me privately, to be read in publicke, and after some good light given by Mr. Hakluyt unto them that were ignorant of the country and enterprise, and were desirous to be resolved, the motion grew generally so well to be liked, that there was eftsoones set downe by mens owne hands then present, and apparently knowen by their owne speech, and very willing offer, the summe of one thousand markes and upward; which summe, if it should not suffice,

we doubt not but otherwise, to furnish out for this Westerne discovery, a ship of three-score, and a barke of forty tunne, to be left in the country, under the direction and government of your sonne-in-law M. Carlile, of whom we have heard much good, if it shall stand with your honours good liking and his acceptation. In one of which barks we are also willing to have M. Steventon, your honours messenger, and one well known to us, as captain. And here in humble manner, desiring your honour to vouchsafe us your further direction by a general letter to my selfe, my brethren, and the rest of the merchants of this city, at your honours best and most convenient leisure, we meane not to deferre the finall proceeding in this voyage, any further than to the end of April next comming. I cease, besecching God long to blesse and prosper your honorable estate.

*Bristol, March 27, 1583.*¹

By the mutual regard and interests of Hakluyt, and his friends in Bristol, he was induced to leave Oxford, and become Prebendary of St. Augustine's Church in that city. His early patron, THOMAS ALDWORTH, died in 1590, but happily for Hakluyt, his successor, ROBERT ALDWORTH, inherited his intelligence and enterprise, and the spirit of adventure still held sway.

By their efforts, on Gosnold's return from America, two vessels, the "Speedwell" and the "Discover," were equipped, and sailed April 10th, 1603, for the discovery of the North part of America, under the command of Martin Pring, and with the permission of Sir Walter Raleigh who was the proprietor of the whole coast, by patent from Queen Elizabeth.

¹ Hakluyt's Voyages, Lon. Ed. 1810, iii, p. 228.

By Hakluyt's assiduity two of the best of Gosnold's men, John Angell and Robert Salterne, were in this expedition. Before they cleared the coast they heard of Queen Elizabeth's death.

In June they found good anchorage among the islands in the Penobscot, or Pemaquid bay, and plenty of cod, better than those of New Foundland, and rocky shores for drying them. Pemaquid and Monhegan were in view. The islands were "very pleasant to behold, adorned with goodly grape and sundry sorts of trees, as cedars, spruce, pines, and fir trees." Thence they sailed to the South; and "finding a pleasant hill," supposed to be near what is now Edgartown,¹ they "called it *Mount Aldworth*, for Master ROBERT ALDWORTH'S sake, a chief furtherer of the voyage, as well with his purse, as with his travel."²

Thus we find, in the family history of the Patentees of Pemaquid, the story of English discovery on the American coast, and in our Robert Aldworth, a chief adventurer in the voyage which was, perhaps, the first step in the Colonial greatness of England, and which first opened to her industry and enterprise, one of the most fruitful sources of wealth and prosperity.

In St. Mark's church, Bristol, there is a stately monument with two statues, one in memory of Thomas Aldworth, who died in 1590, and the other of his son John, who died in 1615. At the time of the father's death, Robert Aldworth, the Pemaquid Patentee, was in the thirty-eighth year of his age, still engaged in the extensive mercantile transactions in which the family had acquired their wealth. He died in 1634, in

¹ Belknap's American Biography, Hubbard's Ed. 1841, ii, 232,253.

² Purcha's Pilgrimage, Lond. 1625, iv, folios 1654, 1656, in Library of Mass. Hist. Society.

his seventy-third year. The historian of Bristol says that he enjoyed his wealth merely because it furnished him the means of alleviating the distresses of the indigent. On his tomb in St. Peter's church, it is recorded, that leaving no issue, he bequeathed all his estate to Giles Elbridge, merchant of Bristol, who married his niece. These gentlemen, many years associated in business, were the Co-patentees and Founders of Pemaquid.

John Elbridge, a descendant, the founder of Bristol Infirmary, died in 1739, and upon his memory rests the splendor which is derived from beneficent activity.¹ Thomas, the second son of Giles Elbridge, removed from Bristol to Pemaquid.²

¹ Evans' Hist. of Bristol, 1816, ii, 132-191.

² Report on Difficulties in Lincoln Co. 1811, p. 50.

CHAPTER III.

Weymouth in 1605 notes "that little river of Pemaquid,"—carries five Pemaquid Indians to England, who were "the means under God of putting on foot" our plantations—Gorges—Pemaquid, the initial—Popham and Gilbert at Monhegan—Purchas' account of the coast, and the tribes—features of Pemaquid and Monhegan, and their inhabitants before colonization. Indian hospitality—explorations—Pemaquid chiefs—Puritanism at the outset.

From about the time that Gosnold christened "Cape Cod," the English fisheries gradually extended South, to the New England shores. Pemaquid and Monhegan were very early favorite resorts of the fishermen, but the period of their first occupation lies far back of any record, and is as indefinite as the early geographical nomenclature of our coast, which as Captain John Smith wrote in 1624, had "formerly been called Norumbega, Virginia, Muskoncus, PENAQUIDA, Cannada, and such other¹ names, as those that ranged the coast, pleased."

¹ Purchas in 1625, (Pilgrimage, Lon. Ed. iv, 1673-1674,) describes the country of *Mawooshen*, discovered by the English in the yeere 1602, 3-4-5-6-7-8 and 9," as forty leagues long from East to West, and fifty leagues from North to South, and bounded on the East by the country of the *Tarranteens*, supposed to be identical with the *Suriquois*. On the South it bordered on the "mayne ocean sea and many islands." This would give a

The reports by Gosnold and Pring, and by Weymouth, who in 1605, specially noted "that the little river of Pemaquid," interested some of the best minds in England.

Weymouth seems to have sailed from Pemaquid directly

sea coast, of one hundred and twenty miles. The chief Lord, or Sagamore of the whole was *Bashabez*. His dominions were watered by nine rivers, of which the *Quibiquesson* was on the East, and the *Shawakotoc*, or *Saco*, on the West. From the following account derived by Purchas from Hakluyt's papers, it seems that a journey across this territory from East to West, occupied thirty days, or more, and as the distance, in a right line, was about a hundred and twenty miles, "a daies journey" must have been about four miles. This estimate may aid us in the journey with Purchas; he says that on the *Quibiquesson* there is one towne . . . *Precaute*. The next river is *Pemaquid*, four daies journey [sixteen miles] from the mouth of the *Quibiquesson*, with ten fathoms of water at the mouth, and forty miles up the river, there were two fathoms and a half at *low water*; on both sides of this river for a good distance, the ground is like unto a pleasant meadow, full of long grass. Four daies journey [sixteen miles] from the mouth of the *Pemaquid* is the third river called *Ramassoc*—twelve fathoms at the entrance, and half a mile over—; upon it a towne named *Penobscot*, the Lord whereof is called *Sibatarhood*—it hath fiftie houses, and eightie men; . . . three daies journey [twelve miles] South and West from *Ramassoc*, is the fourth river *Apananawapeske*, twentie fathoms at the entrance and a mile broad—on it a town *Mecombe* of fiftie houses and eightie men, where dwelleth *Aramasoga*, and a town called *Chebegnadose*, of thirty houses and ninety men, whose Lord is *Shanke*; four daies [sixteen miles] to the South West is another river, with twenty fathoms water, and a quarter of a mile broad at its mouth; the sixth river is *Appowick*, to the Westward is *Aponeg*, with ten fathoms water and a mile broad at its entrance, three dayes [twelve miles] journey to the Westward is the *Sagadahoc*, where Capt. Popham built St. George's fort and planted the entrance is a mile and a half over. Some thirteen or fourteen dayes from the entrance there is a little arme of the river upon which there are four townes; *Kenebeke*, *Ketangheanycke*, *Naragooe* and *Massakiga*: four daies journey [sixteen miles] Westward of *Sagadahoc* is the river *Ashamahaga*, six fathoms water, and an eighth of a mile wide at its entrance, and seven days [twenty-eight miles] further to the

for England, carrying away five of the savages who were on his deck for traffic. He arrived in the month of July at Plymouth, where Ferdinando Gorges was in command. He took the Indians into his special custody, and the Knight declared that "this accident must be acknowledged the means, under God, of putting on foot, and giving life to all our plantations." Verily, Pemaquid forms the initial in New England Colonization, and this we have on the high authority of him whom we proudly claim as the Founder of Maine.

Several voyages² were made at the charge of Popham and Gilbert; and under the authority of the Royal patent, the Sagadahock planters were sent out in 1607; on the first of August they fell in with Monahigan, near which they "intended³ to begin their first plantation." It was the place of ren-

South West is the *Shawakotoc*, or *Shawakatoc*, with six fathoms water and half a mile broad, at the entrance. This places Pemaquid as the second river from the Eastern side of *Bashabez's* dominions and from its extent, we might suppose it to be our *Penobscot*, but there is a town of that name sixteen miles farther West on the Ramassoc, which make it doubtful; the distance between Pemaquid river and the Sagadahock is more than sixty miles by Purchas' account, while it is only forty-four miles from the latter to Saco. The whole number of days from Quibiqueston to Shawagotuck is twenty-nine, equal to one hundred and sixteen miles; but the day's journey from Appowick to the river East of it, are not given: now if we add a day for this, equal to four miles, it will make the full one hundred and twenty miles, or thirty leagues, as stated by Purchas.

¹ Maine H. C. ii, 17. Harris' Voyages, Lon. 1705, i, fol. 817-818.

² "Generall Historie," Lib. vi, folio 203-204. Maine Hist. Col. iii, 287.

³ Hubbard's N. E. 39. This voyage must be identical with that mentioned by Capt. Smith, folio 203; though he says they "set sail" from Plymouth the last of May, and fell in with Monhegan the eleventh of August while Strachey says, (Maine H. C. iii, 292-293,) they "brake ground" in Jun^y, and landed here August first.

devzvous for the ships; agreed upon before leaving England. "Mynes were the mayne benefit expected to uphold the charge" of the colony! The President of this enterprise, Popham, died there, and thus New England counts among the earliest if not the very first of her "illustrious dead," the worthy brother of the Lord Chief Justice of England.

On the day of their arrival, the pilot, Robert Davies,³ with twelve others, rowed out into the bay wherein the ship was anchored and landed on a galland island, where they found gooseberries, strawberries, raspices, hurts, and all the island full of hugh, high trees of divers sorts; after they had delighted themselves there awhile they returned on board againe.³ Such was the auspicious welcome from fair Monahigan, and here did the feet of the pioneers of English Colonization on our shores, first press American soil; the glad land mark for the sea-worn Puritans, as they neared their new home.

To Strachey we are indebted for a distinct and interesting view of Pemaquid and its people, just as it was seen and described, when Europeans had only traded with the Indians, and had not colonized their shores. This may be considered the first entry in Pemaquid annals, and is fairly entitled to be set forth at length.

On Saturday, August 8th, "Captain Gilbert caused his shipp's boat to be mannde with fourteen persons and the Indian Skidwares, (brought into England by Captaine Way-

¹Folsom's Saco and Biddeford, 21.

²Smith's Gen. Historie, fol. 203, calls him the "Sargeant Marshall" of the new Colony. He was soon despatched to England in Raleigh Gillbert's ship the "Mary and John," with letters to Ch. J. Popham.

³Maine H. C. iii, 294-295, note *.

man) and rowed to the Westward from their shipp, to the river of Pemaquid, which they found to be four leagues distant from the ship, where she road. The Indian brought them to the Salvadge's houses, where they found a hundred men, women and children, and their commander or sagamore amongst them, named Nahanada, who had been brought likewise into England, by Captain Wayman, and returned thither by Captain Hanam, setting forth for those parts and some part of Canada the year before; at their first coming the Indians betooke them to their armes, their bowes and arrowes; but after Nahanada had talked with Skidwares and perceaved that they were Englishmen, he caused them to lay aside their bowes and arrowes, and he himself came unto them and ymbraced them, and made them much welcome, and entertayned them with much chierfulness, and so did they likewise him; and after two hours thus interchangeably spent, they returned abourd againe."

On the next Monday, "Captaine Popham manned his shallop, and Captaine Gilbert his ship boat, with fifty persons in both, and departed for the river of Pemaquid, carrying with them Skidwares, and arrived in the mouthe of the river; there came forth Nahanada, with all his company of Indians with their bowes and arrowes in their handes. They being before his dwelling-house, would not willingly have all our people come on shoare, using them in all kind sort after their manner; neverthelesse, after one hower, they all suddenly withdrew themselves into the woodes, nor was Skidwares desirous to returne with them any more abourd. Our people loth to proffer any voyolence unto them by drawing him by force, suffered him to stay behind, promising to returne to them the next day following, but he did not. About a month after, these Pemaquid Chiefs. in nine

canoes, with a retinue of forty savages the ¹Wawenocks, were entertained by President Popham, at the Fort with much kindness. They "promised Captaine Gilbert to accompany him in their canoes to the river of Penobscot, where the bashaba dwelt," and seem to have continued on friendly terms with the Colonists. On Sunday, the fifth of October, Nahanada, and the other princes accompanied the President to the publicke prayers, both morning and evening, with great reverence and silence;"² and so they no more appear to us.

One incident in Strachey's narrative must not be passed without notice. On the only two occasions of special religious celebration, the first Sunday, and the organization of the government, "they heard a *sermon* delivered unto them by their *preacher*, Mr. Richard Seymour."³ Thus "Puritanism" tintured New England history at the start; the *preacher*, and the *sermon*, already detested in England, were happily inaugurated on New England soil, the chiefest feature in her future policy and history, her very life.

¹ Maine H. C. iii, 96-106.

² Maine H. C. iii, 298-302-307.

³ Maine H. C. iii, 96-106-298-302-307.

CHAPTER IV.

Pemaquid and Monhegan described by Smith in 1614 — his ship rides at Monhegan, while he surveys the coast — staples of trade — the French — Smith suggests permanent plantations — his arguments — Monhegan probably settled before Plymouth — colonists — Rocroft's men winter there in 1618-1619 — Dermer's ship loaded there in 1619 — Gorges' men there in 1620-1623 — Samoset's evidence — Effects of Hunt's rascality.

Captain John Smith's first voyage to this coast in 1614, gives a peculiar interest to Monhegan, (the first land he discovered,) as his rendezvous while surveying the coast for the, now, oldest extant map of New England. At the main land opposite Monhegan, probably Pemaquid, he found a ship of Sir Francis Popham's, which had for many years past visited that place.¹

Smith places Monhegan "among the remarkablest Iles and Mountaines, for land markes," and describes it as a round high Ile, and close by it Monanis, betwixt which, is a small Harbour, where² their ship was anchored. He says, "whilst the Sailors fished, myselfe with eight others of them who might best be spared, ranging the Coast in a small Boat, we

¹ Lib. vi. fol. 215.

² Princes Annals, Ed. 1736, 2d pt. pp. 39, 40.

got for trifles near eleven thousand Bever skins, one hundred Martins, as many Otters, and the most of them within a distance of twenty leagues: we ranged the coast both east and west much farther, but eastward our commodities were not esteemed, they were so neere the French who afforded them better, with whom the Salvages had such commerce, that only by trade, they made exceeding great voyages, though they were without the limits of our precincts."¹ Being sent more to get present commodities, than for discoveries, Smith had not liberty to search as he would like, yet he drew a map from point to point and Harbor to Harbor as he "passed close along the shore in a little boat," and called the coast New England. This map he presented to Prince Charles, who gave to "Pemmayquid," the name of John's town, and to Monahigan, "Batties ³Iles."

Captain Smith's observations convinced him of the utility of permanent³ settlements in this country, and he passed years in setting forth its advantages to England and her commerce. He scattered his maps in the seaports of the west of England and in London. He argued that "Adam and Eve did *first* begin this innocent work to plant, that Noe and his family began the *second* plantation, and that had our Saviour Christ and his apostles exposed themselves to no more dangers to teach the gospel than we, even we ourselves, had, at this present, been as salvage and as miserable as the most barbarous salvage yet uncivilized." They

¹ Lib. vi. fol. 204.

² Lib. vi. fol. 206, 207.

³ Cabot "in 1498 proposed to people the country with new inhabitants and to establish there a new England."—Biddle's Memoir of Cabot, Lond. 1832, pp. 76, 88, 89.

were slow to perceive what was so clear to his sagacious foresight.

As Monhiggon lay directly in the way of ships bound to our coasts, it must have been a familiar object to the mariner from the beginning, and so we find it in the early narratives. It was the head quarters for all; the ship news from all parts was gathered here; it was the refuge for the unfortunates on the whole coast, and was probably permanently occupied before Plymouth was settled, though by a changing population, mere sojourners or casual visitors rather than by colonists.

Captain Smith intended to plant a colony here, if he had been successful in the whale fishery. In the fall of 1618, Rocroft left several refractory men at Sawguatock, or Saco, providing them with arms and provisions, but they soon found their way to Monhiggon, with which they must have been familiar, and "there they remained all that winter with bad lodging and worse fare;" yet but one of their company, "a sickly man," died there.¹

They were the first who are known to have wintered on this coast since the sad experience at Sagadchock where a noble name lay sleeping. In the spring of the next year, 1619, Thomas Dermer, master of a fishing ship of two hundred tons, equipped by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, found "people at Monhegan," among whom were Rocroft's men. On the twenty-seventh of May, he left the island in an "open pinnace" of five tons burden, and sailing south westerly "found some antient [Indjan] Plantations not long since populous, now utterly void;" in other places there were "remnants, but not free from sickness." In this excursion

¹ Prince's Annals, 55. President and Council's Brief relation.—Mass. H. C. xxxix. 9.

he found among the Indians two forlorn Frenchmen, one of whom, three years before, had "escaped shipwreck at the north east of Cape Cod;" with them he returned to Monhegan on the twenty-third of June. In the six weeks his ship had been there, she had been loaded with fish and furs, and soon set sail for home with a company of thirty-eight men and boys, a portion of Rocroft's crew. This shows that a considerable trade, and the community necessary to its transaction, were already at Monhegan.¹ From Captain Dermer's language, it seems that none, at least none of *his* company, remained there; for he regrets "the fewness of his men, not being able to leave behind a competent number for defence:"² but Samoset's story related by Mourt,³ affords incidental evidence that "Monahiggan" was not desolate; for almost immediately after Dermer's departure, Sir Ferdinando Gorges³ had men there, or near by, and early in the summer of 1620, five of them had wandered towards Plymouth, where the Indians killed three of their number, the survivors escaping, with difficulty, to Monhegan. There are indications of this settlement as late as 1623, when John Sanders, the Chief of Weston's unfortunate company, in their extreme destitution, went to Monhegan for bread, from the fishing vessels, and many of Weston's men there shipped for England.⁴

At this early period, even before the Pilgrims were at Plymouth, there had been aroused in the Indian breast that

¹ Purchas' Pilgrimage, London 1628, iv. 1778, copy in Mass. H. S. Library.

² Cheever's N. Y. Ed. 1848, pp. 57, 58.

³ Gorges' "Brief Narration," chaps. 14, 15, in Maine H. C. ii.

⁴ Winslow's "Good News from New England."

jealousy of the English, which animated the patriot King Philip, half a century later; and Dermer, in his cruise of 1619, noticed that "now almost everywhere, where the savages were of any strength, they sought to betray us."¹ They remembered Hunt's treachery.

¹ Purchas' Pilgrimage, London, 1628, iv. 1778, copy in Mass. H. S. Library.



CHAPTER V.

Levett's voyage, 1623 — Samoset's kindness — state of the country — traders on the coast — Abraham Jeanens, of Plymouth, sends two ships to the coast, and buys Monhegan of the Plymouth Council in 1622 — notice of Jennens, father-in-law of Goodyear, of Richmond's Island plantation ; their family history — Jennens sells Pemaquid to Robert Aldworth, the first bill of Exchange drawn in New England — these transactions of great value to the Pilgrims.

Modern historical research has brought to light nothing more valuable than the voyage of Christopher Levett¹ to the coast of Maine in the years 1623 and 1624. The simple beauty of the narrative, and the interest of the story, are hardly surpassed by the pages of Robinson Crusoe. Levett was "His Majesty's woodward of Somersetshire, and one of the Council of New England, to which he was admitted on the fifth of May, just before he sailed on the present voyage. He had a grant of six thousand acres of land in the Company's territory, at an expense of one hundred and ten pounds sterling."²

First setting foot on "the Isle of Shoulds," he coasted eastward, in an open boat, touching at various points. At

¹ Printed entire in the Maine H. C. ii., pp. 75—109.

² Plymouth Council Records.

Capemanwagan, on the east shore of the Sheepscot river, he met with several Indian Chiefs, one of whom was Samoset, Sagamore of Pemaquid.¹ The Indians were on their way to Pemaquid with "some store of beaver coats and skins," "to truck with one Mr. Witheridge, master of a ship of Bastable;" but by Samoset's kind offices, Levett obtained the prize. The ship "Eagle", of which Witheridge was master, belonged to Melshare Bennett, a merchant of Barnstable, and was on the coast under a special license from the Council, issued May fifth. This was granted on the same day that Levett became a member of the ²Council. The Indians confirmed, what Levett had heard, "that Pemoquid, Capemanwagan, and Monhiggon were already granted to others." Levett found thirty or forty ships trading and fishing along the coast, one of which was "a great ship with seventeen pieces of ordinance, and fifty men." He says that the Plymouth colonists had "one ship fishing at Pemoquid, and another at Cape Ann, where they have begun a new plantation."³

Somerset or Samoset, will again appear in the course of our history, parting with his hunting grounds to the English, an act, which, however fairly entered into by them, could not possibly have been appreciated by the Indians, in its full consequence and meaning. The severe moralist, like Edmund Andros, might well call it no better than the "scratch

¹ Same, page 87, note *

² I am under obligation to the Rev. Joseph B. Felt, LL. D., for these facts taken by him from the Plymouth Council Records.

³ Here was the first permanent occupation of Massachusetts proper, and here her civil government was commenced under the Sheffield Charter, Roger Conant, Governor, the true beginning of Massachusetts, to which Endicot's and Winthrop's companies were accessions, and of which they were subsequent Governors.

of a bear's paw;"¹ but, if the lands were not purchased, the only alternative must have been the utter abandonment of the country by the Europeans, or, worse, its acquisition by the violence, which, in later times, is mildly designated "fillibustering."

The full historic interest of Pemaquid in the dignity of her fathers, and her antiquity is not yet unfolded. The vigorous assaults of Sir Edward Coke in the House of Commons, upon the monopoly of fishing conferred by the Royal Charter upon the great Plymouth Council, so embarrassed the Company in its corporate capacity, that they divided the coast of New England into three portions, and cast lots for their shares. James Stuart, the King, was present, and approved this very modest proceeding, which was pleasant to the man, because it was an exercise of his prerogative. Admiral Smith's map² is the basis of the division in Purchas' Pilgrimage, and it is nearly covered with the names of the twenty³ patentees. Among them was Mr. ABRAHAM JENNENS, a merchant of Plymouth, engaged in business with Mr. Ambrose Jennens, of London. These gentlemen employed a large tunnage in the cod fisheries and trade of this coast, and were among the first to adopt the suggestion of Captain Smith, to establish fishing plantations. Smith gives the name of two of their vessels, here in the year 1622,—the "Abraham," of Plymouth, of two hundred and twenty tons, and the "Nightingale," of Portsmouth,

¹ Rev. in N. E. Justified, 21.

² Smith's General Historie, continuation, ii. 203.

³ See Harris' valuable note to Hubbard's N. E., p. 705, and "The Landing at Cape Anne." Chap. 3, p. 6, in the latter, is a fac-simile of Purchas' map. The whole number of patentees was forty, but many "quitted their interest," says Gorges, ch. xxi.

of one hundred tons burden.¹ In the Fall of that year, Mr. Abraham Jennens and Lord Sheffield, each bought of the Plymouth Council, lands in New England, of the value of £110. Under this, Jennens held Monhegan, and established a plantation there, probably one of those referred to by Bradford as "beginning" in 1623. Thus again, the personal history of our first Chief Adventurer introduces us directly to the legal and political history of our country, under the royal grants, on which the name of Jennens is honorably engraved, witness Purchas' map. But he is intimately connected with another of our plantations, as the father-in-law of Moses Goodyear, co-patentee with Robert Trelawney, of the Richmond Island enterprise, where the names of John Wynter and his son-in-law, the Rev. Robert Jordan, are conspicuous.³

¹ New England Trials in Force's Tracts, vol. 2, p. 17.

² "Here lieth the body of Judeth, late the wife of Mr. Moses Goodyear merchant, daughter of Mr. Abraham Jennens, merchant, aged 24 years, who died in child-bed of a sonne dead-borne, 21 October, 1642. Here also is interred their sone Abraham Goodyear, aged . . . years, who died 30 September, 1641."

"A younger son of the ancient and respectable family of Trelawney came to Plymouth about the latter end of Queen Elizabeth, and settled himself in the mercantile way. The family soon became opulent, and made considerable purchases in Plymouth and the tything of Weston Peverell. Robert Trelawney, of Ham, had a patent from Charles 1st for a large lot of land in Massachusetts Bay in North America, which through negligence of the family, treachery of agents, and the subsequent independence of the Colony, is in danger of being lost. This Robert Trelawney and some of his successors, represented the borough of Plymouth in Parliament for many years."—Polwhele's Devonshire, iii. 453, 454. See also Bloomfield's Norfolk, vi, 12.

³ Folsom's Saco and Biddeford, 29. Willis' Portland, ii. 222. Williamson, i. 244.

At this time, Robert Aldworth, Hakluyt's friend, with his partner, the benevolent Gyles Elbridge, also of Bristol, hearing of Mr. Jennens' purpose to break up the plantation at Monhegan, authorized Abraham Shurt to buy the island. Their agent then crossed the Atlantic, and, after examination, negotiated the sale with Jennens' factor, for the sum of fifty pounds sterling, by a draft on his principals; this is, perhaps, the earliest bill of exchange distinctly mentioned in our commercial history. Unless there were instances at Plymouth, this must have been also the first written conveyance of real estate from man to man, in New England annals.

When Governor Dudley, "having yet no table, nor other room to write in, than by the fireside, upon his knee, in the sharp winter" of his first year in New England, indited his famous letter to the Countess of Lincoln, his apology for the petty details in his narrative, was that "small things in the beginning of natural or political bodies are as remarkable as greater in bodies full grown." Even the dissolution of Mr. Jennens' settlement excited no little interest in the scattered hamlets just dotting New England's coast, embryo sovereignties. The tidings were soon wafted abroad by the fisherman's sail.

Bradford's account of the sale of the plantation property, at which he was present, affords too near a view of Monhegan life to be omitted in her history. It appears that at Plymouth "they understood that a plantation which was at Monhegan, and belonged to some merchants of Plymouth, was to breake up, and diverse goods was ther to be sould; the Gove^r. and Mr. Winslow¹ tooke a boat and some

¹ Bradford, pp. 208, 209, 210. Gov. Bradford and Gov. Edward Winslow, two of the noblest names in our history.

hands and went thither. But Mr. David Thompson, who lived at Pascataway, understanding their purpose, tooke oportunitie to goe with¹ them, which was some hinderance to them both; for they, perceiving their joynte desires to buy, held their goods at higher rates; and not only so, but would not sell a parcell of their trading goods, excepte they sold all. So, lest they should further prejudice one another, they agreed to buy all, and devid them equally between them. They bought also a parcell of goats,² which they distributed at home as they saw neede and occasion, and tooke corn for them of y^e people, which gave them good content. Their moyety of y^e goods came to above 400 lbs. sterling. There was also that Spring a French ship cast away at Sacadahock, in wh^{ch} were many Biscalle ruggs and commodities, which were falen into these³ mens hands & some other fishermen at Damerins-cove."

¹ It seems they hugged the shore, and did not make a direct course to the island. This was probably the custom of the colonists in their early travels from point to point.

² The first mention of these animals in New England.

³ Of Monhegan.

CHAPTER VI.

Objects of the first plantations; advantages of their locations—why afterwards abandoned—progress—French and English rivalry and its disastrous effects—the Jesuit's mission and teachings—Acadia undefined—bounded by the Kennebec—Pemaquid the English out post against the French—its political relations—the first conflict.

Present gains¹ by the fisheries, peltry and precious metals were the chief inducements to discovery and colonization. Even such men as Popham and Gilbert, placed their chief reliance on mines² for the support of the Sagadahock Colony; though Lord Bacon had years before uttered his warning that "the hope of mines is very uncertain." The prominent headlands and the mouths of the great rivers offered the greatest facilities for trade; the hunters from the interior periodically visited³ these points. They

¹ Lord Bacon said let the plantation depend upon "noblemen and gentlemen, rather than merchants, for they ever look to present gain." Of Plantations, "Smith's Generall Historie" *passim*.

² Strachey in *Maine H. C.* iv. 309. This fact indicates Gilbert as the projector of that Colony. The Gilberts were deeply engaged in the Devonshire and Cornwall mines. Westcote's *Devonshire, Exeter*, 1845, 65, 254 421, 422.

³ Hubbard's *Hist. N. E.*, Harris' Ed. 30.

also presented great advantages for fortification and economical defence, and commanded a large extent of coast on either hand, thus tending to centralize the traffic then confined to the sea and sea-shore, the only highways for more than a century.

Thus, as the country has become peopled, and the interior threaded with roads, many of the positions of importance in the Colonial period are now isolated and almost desolate. Pemaquid illustrates this movement. Once the bulwark of Protestantism in the East, the Capital of a Colony with its dependencies; as a military post and mart, second only to Boston, it is now dwindled to a mere hamlet, a way-mark in history.

Richmond's Island, near Portland, was also a very early and important post; here were a church and a considerable settlement; ships here discharged their cargoes, and reloaded for Europe; courts were holden here, and here centered all the interests of a broad territory; all this long since disappeared, and has given place to a solitary farmhouse.¹

The pretense of each nation to exclusive territorial jurisdiction, and the struggle for a monopoly of trade² and fisheries, were the prolific sources of evil to the English and

¹ Willis' Hist. of Portland, Folsom's Hist. of Saco and Biddeford. The baptismal font there used by the REV. ROBERT JORDAN about 1640, is now owned by his descendant, Seth Storer, Esq. of Scarborough, Maine. On the 11th of May, 1855, money, some of a coinage prior to 1607, was discovered on the island. A learned and interesting account of this *treasure trove*, by Hon. Wm. Willis, is in the Eastern Argus of May 24, 1855.

² Of De Mont's four ships, in 1604, one was for the fur trade, and another to indicate his exclusive privilege of trade. Cape Rosignol perpetuates the name of an *unlicensed* trader, whose ship and cargo were confiscated by De Mont. Haliburton's Nova Scotia, i. 12

French in America, and a synopsis of French colonization and claims will develop the secret causes of many of the crimson pages of the early annals of Maine.

Maine was distinctively Episcopalian, and was intended as a rival to her Puritan neighbors, yet the record of her mission to the red man is a blank; happier, perhaps, had been her story, had the record proved her more faithful to the professions of her founders.

The French, not less mercenary, but more crafty, early won the savage heart, and turned it against the English, infused with the animosity of religion. The Jesuit did not carry civilization to the Indian, for he adopted the life of the savage; not the gospel, for he but supplanted the powwow; and the new superstitions were scarcely better than the old diabolisms; it was almost an apostasy; he did not "preach the gospel," but debased it to a few manipulations. Father Le Moine re-visiting the Iriquois in the summer of 1653, says that he "baptized little skeletons, who awaited, perhaps, only this drop of the precious blood of Jesus Christ;" and the natives, with superstitious awe, thought that he, like their own wizards, "had to do with the 'Devil.'" Such was the Christian faith the poor savage gained from "this zealous priesthood." The Indian was better than his teacher.

By the superiority of civilization the Jesuit became the head of the tribe. Of implicit faith, disciplined to self-negation in the school of Loyola, the progeny of the Inquisition, and envenomed with its deadly hatred, unscrupulous masters of intrigue, these men, the worthy emissaries² of

¹ Doc. Hist. New York, i. 30, 37, 40, 49.

² Kalm, in Pinkerton quoted Warburton's Conquest of Canada, New York Ed. 1850, ii. 276, 277.

Papal France, instigated the savage to hostilities to the English heretics,¹ whom they represented as the enemies of the true God. They waked the deadly war-whoop, incited the stealthy Indian to fire the planter's solitary cabin with the midnight torch, and scatter the brains of the helpless inmates with the tomahawk;² and at their feet were laid the bloody trophies of the scalping knife. The promised boon of these ghastly deeds was Heaven!

In the midst of the universal joy and gratitude in New England, excited by the surrender of Canada in 1760, the patriotic MAYHEW, referring to the savage cruelty and treachery of the French, said, "whatever they may deserve, we certainly owe more reverence to ourselves and to human nature, than at once to dishonor and debase both, by retaliating their perfidy and barbarity. This were as much beneath us, and even more, than for a man of virtue and true honor to become a common executioner. Such work is fit only for them, and for *him*, "whose works they use to do."³ A century later, in this year of Grace, we are told

¹ Bommaseen, a principal Sagamore of the East, and several other Indians, in the year 1696, said "the French taught 'em, that the Lord Jesus Christ was of the French nation; that his mother the Virgin Mary, was a French lady; that they were the English who had murdered him, and that whereas he rose and went up to the Heavens, all that would recommend themselves unto his favor, must revenge his quarrel upon the English as far as they can." *Magnalia*, ii, 546. Jeremy Dummer's Memorial, 1709. These Jesuit impositions and falsehoods are still held among the stolid, ignorant, but amiable French Indians. An intelligent traveller devotes a page to them, as they were in 1836. "One inquired if Bethlehem, where Christ was born, was not a town in France?" Dr. Charles T. Jackson's *Geology of Maine*, 1837, p. 72.

² Belknap's *Hist of New Hampshire*, Farmer's Ed. 1831, 145-147. Douglass' Summary, i. 191.

³ Discourses on entire reduction of Canada, Boston, 1760, p. 31-57.

by a son of New England, that "pure Romanism was perhaps never exhibited more gracefully, than in the French and English settlements of the New World. Let all honor then," he says, "be paid to the memory of the Jesuit missionaries in America." The modern eulogies of the Romish priest as a missionary of Christianity and civilization, are falsified by his own record. Literature can afford but few parallels to the missionary journals of the Jesuits. Never was Christianity so utterly degraded, so abominably defiled as by them.

A sagacious writer has observed, that the threatening power of France in the New World, served to retain the English Colonies in interested loyalty to England. Notwithstanding the immense superiority of the British Americans, the fleets and armies of the whole country, were indispensable to break the barrier raised up against them by the union, skill and courage of the ²French.

In the same year that Aldworth and Hakluyt sent Pring on his voyage thither, De Mont, a Frenchman, received from his King, a gift of the whole coast, including Nova Scotia, and reaching far South of New England, under the name of ACADIA. Acadia was long a vague territory and scattered among the *debris* of those early days may be found frequent tokens of the several nationalities of the fishermen and traders—the Pilgrims — to this celebrated ground.

The superior right of actual settlement, disposed of mere constructive titles, and the limits of Acadia fast receded till the Kennebec river was its Western bound, as claimed, by

¹ "Puritan Commonwealth," 1836, Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 253-258.

² Warburtons' Conquest of Canada, New York, 1850, ii. 366.

either party.¹ Pemaquid, the fortress of a large territory East of this, continued to suffer the fortunes of war, till the decisive year of 1759.

A whole century before Raleigh Gilbert wintered at Sagadahock, Jean Denys, a man of Harfleur, a little seaport of France, drew a map of the Gulf of the St. Lawrence,² and an hundred years before Epenow was shown in the streets of London, a Dieppe pilot exhibited natives of the New World to French curiosity.

In the summer of 1604, De Mont's friend, Poutrincourt, selected the site of Annapolis, as a retreat from the world, and became the first known resident in Acadia.

On the third of July 1608, the zealous Romanist, Champlain, laid the foundation of Quebec,³ the magnificent promontory, fitted by its grandeur and natural strength for the metropolis of New France; here was to be a decisive battle of the two nations, whose politics—so irreconcilable in their principles, so restless and irritating in their mutual repugnance—could not co-exist, but struggled on, till the freest and strongest should triumph, when Wolfe died happy on the plains of Abraham.

From the time of De Mont, the French continued to build their cabins here, till Captain Argal of Virginia was cast ashore at the mouth of the Penobscot, in the year 1613. There he heard of the French at St. Saviour on Mount Desert, and treating them as trespassers on the grant to the Virginia Company of 1606, destroyed their settlement, sent

¹ Charlevoix, *Hist. Gen. de la Nouv. France*, ii. Lib. xvii, p. 237, Haliburton i. 145.

² Warburton's "Conquest of Canada," New York, 1850, i. 49, 84, the work of an accurate and accomplished Historian.

³ Hawkin's *Quebec*, Quebec, 1834, p. 96.

some of them to France, and carried fifteen of the Colonists, with the Jesuit priests, captives to Virginia.

Upon this evidence of French encroachment, Argal was at once appointed to the command of the three armed ships, and commissioned to raze all the settlements and forts to the forty-sixth degree of North latitude. It was done effectually. A cross bearing the name of King James was set up at St. Saviour, in token of possession.¹ Thus commenced the sanguinary conflicts which lasted an hundred and fifty years.

¹Holmes' Annals, i. 145. Williamson's Maine, i. 210-211. In 1618, Edward Rocroft, in a ship belonging to the Plymouth Council, captured barque fishing and trading within the Company's territory. Williamson i. 217, *Haliburton's Nova Scotia, Halifax*, 1829, vol. i. chap. 1.

CHAPTER VII.

Territory of Pemaquid — settlement as a recruiting station — tributes to Captain Smith as the projector — Hubbard's History — did Pierce plant at Pemaquid? notice of him—the probability—priority to Jennens' plantation—Samoset, or Sommerset, Sagamore of Pemaquid, his history and character—contrast with Levett.

Pemaquid, like Acadia, appears to have been of indefinite extent; but under this general name there seems to have been embraced at a later date Monhegan, and its companion, the islet of Monanis, the cluster of the Damariscove islands, and territory somewhat beyond the limits of the peninsula of Pemaquid proper. This euphonious title, which had designated this locality, for centuries, perhaps, before the discovery of the New World, and now so happily preserved, is supposed to be in the Indian tongue, nearly equivalent to our word promontory—land jutting or reaching out into the sea,—a beautiful instance of the pictorial language of the primitive race.

The date of the permanent occupation of Pemaquid cannot be determined with precision. The plantation schemes originated by Admiral Smith, which had been gaining ground for several years, considered in connection with the early fame of these localities, render it very probable that its settlement was at least coeval with that of Plymouth.

The plea was, that actual settlements here would facilitate the fisheries, by economy in time and general expenditures, and thus, by increasing the revenues of the merchants, enable them to establish plantations; it was a system of compensation. The plan has a general resemblance to the commercial stations in the Pacific, as the recruiting ports for whalers, by which their voyages may be indefinitely lengthened without a necessity of return to their distant homes.

This was the argument urged so zealously by the benevolent Puritan churchman, John White, among the Dorchester merchants, of his parish, which resulted in the establishment of the Massachusetts Colony at Cape Anne, and Salem, under Roger Conant, her first Governor.¹

The sagacious Admiral's "General Historie" is interspersed with poetical tributes from his friends, according to the usage of that time. Among them was the famous Puritan poet, George Wither, who contributed these lines:

"Your Proict's good ;
 And may, if followed doubtlesse quit the paine,
 With honor, pleasure and a treble gaine ;
 Besides the benefit that shall arise
 To make more happy our Posteritics * * *
 And the spacious West,
 Being *still more with English bloud possest*,
 The proud Iberians shall not rule those Seas,
 To checke our ships from sailing where they please ;
 Nor future times make any forraïne power
 Become so great to force a bound to our." * * *
 Or, whatsoever Fate pleaseth to permit,
 Be thou still honour'd *for first moving it.*"

¹ "The Landing at Cape Anne," Boston, 1854, pp. 40, 41, 69, 72, and the authorities there cited. Douglass' Summary, Lond. 1755, 373, 407. Backus' Hist. New Eng. p. 44. Neale's Hist. of N. E., London, 1720, 122, 125.

Thomas Carlton bears witness to Smith's nobility, which challenges our remembrance here—he says

“ I never knew a Warrior yet, but thee,
From Wine, Tobacco, debts, dice, & oaths so free.”

Hubbard, of Ipswich must be considered as an original authority for many of the facts found in his pages. He was contemporary with the first colonists, and therefore had access to the best sources of information. It is to be regretted that, for the most part, he transmitted to us only the prominent features adapted to the plan of his general history of New England.

He suggests the fuller knowledge of the country, gained by every year's experience of those who came to fish upon the coast, eastward, about the island of Monhegan, Damerille Cove, and other points, “although no [permanent] colony was ever settled in any of those places till the year 1620, when New Plimouth was first planted.” This language seems to afford an inference that there were settlements at the eastward in 1620; but we have already found strong presumptive evidence that Monhegan had the precedence of Plymouth, by at least two years.

There was a popular tradition² in the year 1750, that John Pierce settled on the eastern shore of Pemaquid, at Broad Bay, under the charter³ which he obtained from the Plymouth Council, June 1st, 1621, to his own use, but in truth,

¹ Harris' Ed. p, 14.

² See the interesting statement by Samuel Welles, of Boston, in 1750' first published in Willis' History of Portland, 1831, vol. i. p. 13, note *.

³ This patent, the *first* grant from the Plymouth Company, was in the hands of Samuel Welles, of Boston, in 1750. Judge Davis used it in editing Morton's Memorial. Two hundred and thirty-three years from its date, it was printed entire in the Mass. H. C. xlii., 158-163.

as agent for the Plymouth Pilgrims. This establishes the general repute respecting the great antiquity of the Pemaquid settlement, though it is certain that if Pierce himself ever came to New England, his arrival must have been at a later period.¹ The tradition assigned to the supposed settlement a date "some time" before the year 1625. It is not improbable that a man of Pierce's wealth and known enterprise, and especially of his strong interest in New England colonization, may have commenced a plantation there; he held the Plymouth Council's grant in his own name; and in the Spring of 1623 embarked for Plymouth in his own ship, "ye Parragon," freighted with goods and passengers for that Colony; this, Bradford² says, "was set out at his own charge, upon hope of great maters, and that he meant to keep the patent to himselfe, and allow the Plymouth planters what territory he pleased, they to hold of him as tenants, and sue to his courts as chief Lord." These known facts are in harmony with the tradition, and seem to entitle it to a rational belief. Possibly that part of the story that Pierce, himself, settled here, originated in the fact that persons of the same surname, *idem sonans*, did actually dwell there from an early period;—a coincidence quite sufficient to warrant the popular conjecture that they were descendants of the Plymouth patentee. Assuming it as true that Pierce did establish a plantation at Broad Bay, (this *exact* location of the settlement is worthy of notice,) it must have been in 1622, or earlier, as his misfortunes by sea and by land

¹ Pierce was baffled by the winds and waves, lost his property, tarnished his character for integrity, tormented himself and the adventurers with tedious litigation in courts and in parliament, and died in poverty.—Bradford's Hist. of Plymouth Colony, 107, 123, 128, 138, 140.

² p 138, 139.

began with the voyage of 1623, he being driven back to England, when half way across the Atlantic. By this casualty he was so crippled in his finances as to preclude any further prosecution of such an enterprise. As he embarked on a private adventuré, his "hope of great matters" could not have centered at Plymouth, but at some other important point, and this would be at the most famous fishing locality on the whole coast, Pemaquid,—Monhegan being then held by Jennens under the purchase from the Plymouth Council in November of the year 1622.¹

This harmony of the details of the tradition with facts in authentic history, goes far to establish it as a probable statement, that John Pierce did, under authority of the patent of June, 1621, commence a plantation at Pemaquid, within a year, or a year and a half, after that date. The Jennens purchase being made late in the fall of 1622, they probably planned for a start at Monhegan in the next spring or summer; and this was doubtless one of the movements named in Bradford as beginning in the year 1623: this difference of two years, and the zeal and activity which marked that period, justify the assignment of a priority to the Pierce plantation at Pemaquid.

Other portions of the tradition coincide with the facts found in deeds and other documentary proofs; and the whole affords unequivocal evidence of its substantial truth. It cites that "*some time after* Pierce's settlement was begun, one Mr. Brown made a purchase of a large tract of land of the natives, and as Mr. Pierce's was the most ancient grant thereabouts, they united the grants from home

¹ "Landing at Cape Anne," 1854, p. 16.

with the purchase¹ of the natives." As we have seen, Pierce had defrauded the Plymouth Colony by taking the patent to his sole use, he had become bankrupt, and was not in a way to trouble John Brown or anybody else about Pemaquid land titles.

Levett, in the winter of the years 1623 and 1624, hearing "that Pemoquid and Capmanwagan and Monhiggon, were granted to others," and that one Mr. Witheridge, master of a ship of Barnstable was already in possession of the Pemaquid station, for trade and truck with the ²Indians, went to the vicinity of Portland, and there fortified his house "in a reasonable good fashion, strong enough against such enemies, as are those savage people."

The purchase of Pemaquid in the year 1625, by John Brown, constitutes one of the most memorable epochs in New England history, and introduces to our attention SAM-OSET, one of the most beautiful and noble characters that adorn the annals of any people.

It is a glory to Pemaquid, that she can claim Samaset,¹ or Sammerset, as her Lord or Sagamore, and as such he is entitled to our special attention. It was he who welcomed

¹ Mr. Willis first found and noted this most interesting document.—Hist. of Portland, 1831, vol. 1, p. 13, note *. It was written by Samuel Welle of Boston. Notices of him are in Hutchinson's Hist. iii. 20, 21, 51.

² In 1623, Melshare Bennett, of Barnstable, paid to the Plymouth Council 16*£*, 13*s*, 4*d*, for a fishing license for his ship "Eagle," Capt. Wetheridge, on a voyage to this coast. Did the Council levy a duty on the tunnage, or how was this exact value of the license determined?—Maine Hist. Col. ii., 87, 89, 90, 93. Plymouth Council Records from MSS. of Rev. Joseph B. Felt, LL. D. Maine H. C. ii. 87, 90, 93.

¹ Hist. Plymouth Col. 93-97. Mourt's relation, N. Y. Ed. 1848, 57-64. Among the early readings of this name are Samoset, Sammersant, Sommerset, and Samaset.


the Pilgrims at Plymouth, and seemed to them as God's messenger to prepare the way for them in the wilderness. Gov. Bradford says that *Samaset* "came bouldly amongst them, and spoke to them in broken English, which they could well understand, but marvelled at it. At length they understood, by discourse with him, that he was not of these parts, [about Plymouth,] but belonged to y^e eastrene parts, wher some English-ships came to ffish, with whom he was acquainted, & could name sundrie of them by their names, amongst whom he had gott his language." He told the Pilgrims that he was Sagamore of *Morattiggon*, distant from Plymouth "a dayes sayle with a great wind, and five dayes by land * * * He had a bow and two arrows," and though it was but the middle of March, his only clothing was "a leather about his wast, with a fringe about a span long, or little more." He was a tall, straight man, beardless, with long black hair, cut only on his brow. By his agency and that of his friend Squanto, the Pilgrims made a treaty with Massasoit, which continued uninterrupted down to Philip's war. He extended to Levett the hand of friendship in the visit to his dominions in the year 1623. This voyager says that he was "a Sagamore who hath been very faithful to the English and hath saved the lives of many of our nation, some from starving, others from killing." With the simplicity of Nature, and a generosity peculiarly his own, he proposed to his "cousin" Levett that their sons should be as brothers, and that there should be "*mou-chicke legamatch*,"¹ that is, great friendship between them until Tanto carried him to his wigwam, that is, till they died. In every view, Samoset appears in a very attractive

¹ Captain Smith, in his list of Indian words, folio 40 of the Gen. Hist.—"*Mawchick chammy*, The best of friends."

and interesting light. He seems to have been unalloyed with the jealousy which is said to mark the Indian character. His manly confidence and sincerity are in humiliating contrast with the mercenary and sordid spirit of Levett. The savage, as we to our own shame call him, was an honor^r to humanity, for though untaught, he exemplified the virtues which our representative only professed. So steeped in selfishness was the traveller, that he was unconscious of the shame his own pen was leaving on his character. He 'writes, "The sagamore told me that I should be very welcome to sit down on his lands, and that he and his wife would go along with me in my boat to see them; which courtesy I had no reason to refuse, *because I had set up my resolution before to settle my plantation at Quack, which I named York,* and was glad of this opportunity, that I had obtained the consent of them, who as I conceive hath a natural right of inheritance, as they are sons of Noah, and therefore do think it fit to carry things *very fairly without compulsion (if it be possible,) for avoiding of treachery.*"

We behold Samoset once again, and then he is heard of no more² — sadly prophetic of the fate of his peo-

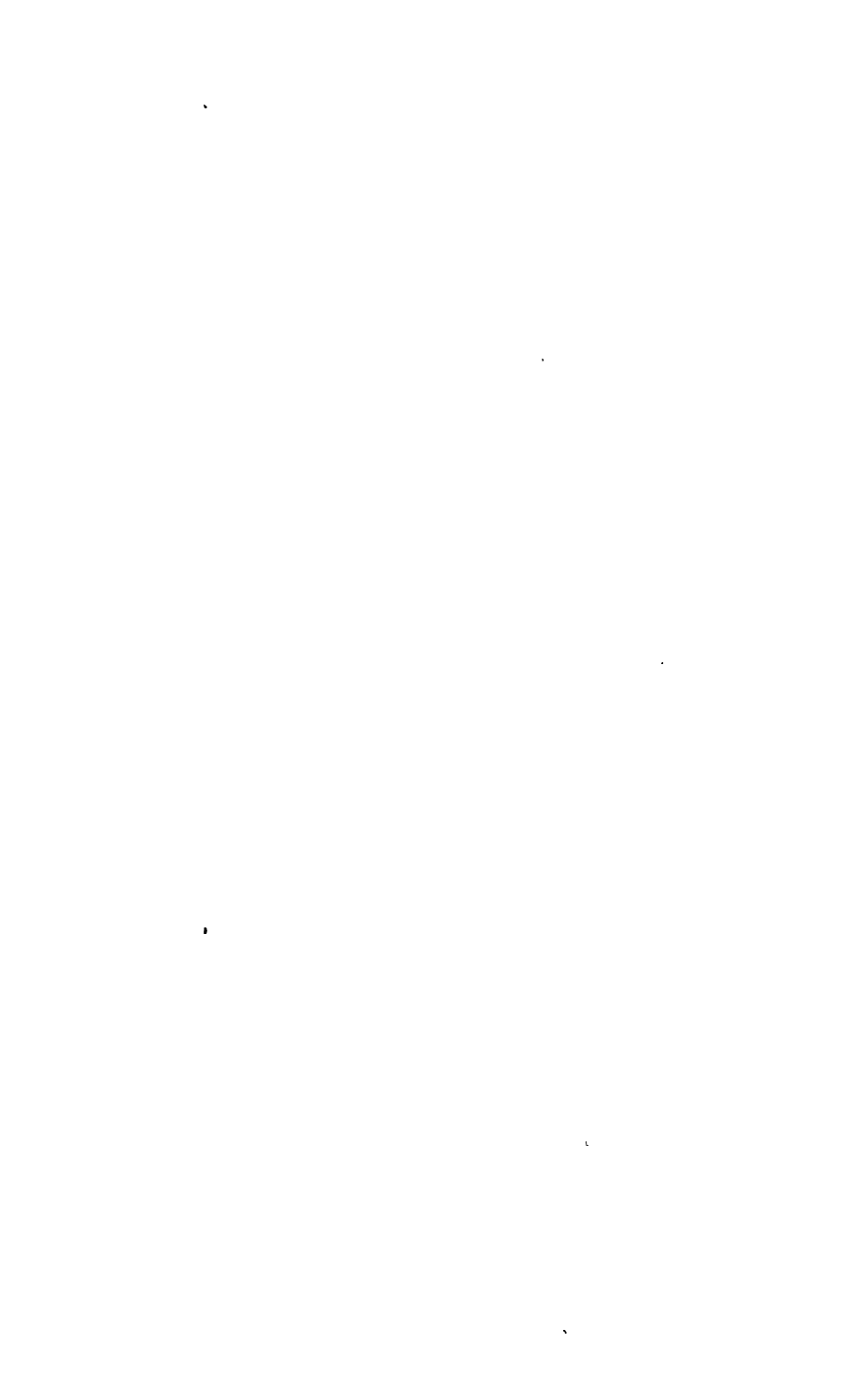
¹ Maine H. C., ii. 87, 90, 93.

² I have since found an original MS., bearing the mark made by Samoset's own hand; it is a bow and arrow. The MS. is as follows; "These present Obellygcaion . . . mee Captaine Sommarset of M . . sc . n . . s [Muscongus?] have sold unto William Parnall and Thomas Way and William England one thousand hakkurs [acres] of land in Soggohannago being Quite England the day of July, 1653. The mark of Captaine  Sommarset." Jocelyn wrote in 1673, that "amongst the Eastern Indians, *Summersant* was formerly a famous *Sachem*." "Sumorset's Island" was at the mouth of Broad Bay. John Brown's dep. p. 115 of Com. Rep. Lincoln Co.

It is said that Tappan's Island, near Damariscotta, was the burial place

ple. His last act was true to every known deed and word of his life; he, who was the first to welcome the English, was now the first of his race to part with his hunting grounds; to fix the irrevocable seal, significant of the doom of the red man, all whose race, like Samoset, will soon have passed into history. In this view, a mystery and a sadness envelope the simple instrument, now laid before the reader; more potent in its meaning, for a whole race of men, peopling a continent, than all the bulls of Popedom or the royal acts of Christendom are to the poor Indian's successor.

of the Monhegan Indians, whose skeletons are found about two feet beneath the surface; their uniform position is with the knees drawn up, and the face to the East. Sometimes sheets of copper were placed over their heads—one of them had a copper knife blade set in a bone handle. Dr. Chas. T. Jackson's 3d. Annual Report on Geology of Maine, 1838, 57-58.



CHAPTER VIII.

Somerset's deed to Brown, of New Harbor — its import — its interest as a legal antiquity — Gov. Pownall's view — Abraham Shurt, the Father to American Conveyancing — business at Pemaquid — its relative importance — Shurt's administration of affairs — prosperity — Incidents of Pemaquid life — lawlessness — no authority — Weston's vagabonds — population in 1630 — fortification — trade — Shurt's good faith with the Indians — his tact — Allerton from Plymouth; incidents of his voyage — trouble to the adventurers — the Patent — its advantages — military importance of Pemaquid — affected by European politics.

In the summer of the year 1625, Brown, probably one of the planters sent to New England by Pierce or Jennens, had been so long here as to have ingratiated himself with the Indians, and to be commonly known as "John Brown, of New Harbour." The story of their dealings is told in

SOMERSET'S DEED.

"TO ALL PEOPLE whom it may concern. [Ah, my friends, it concerns, fatally, your people on the whole continent.] Know ye, that I, Captain JOHN SOMERSET and UNONGOIT, Indian Sagamores, they being *the proper heirs* to all the lands on both sides of Muscongus river, have bargained and sould to John Brown, of New Harbour, this certain tract or parcell of land, as followeth, that is to say, beginning at Pemaquid Falls and so running a direct course to the head of New Harbour,¹ from thence to the South End of Muscongus Island, taking in the island, and so running five and twenty

¹ New Harbour was a cove on the Eastern shore about two miles from Pemaquid, much frequented by the fishermen.

miles into the Country north and by east, and thence eight miles northwest and by west, and then turning and running south and by west, to Pemaquid, where first begun. To all which lands above bounded, the said Captain JOHN SOMERSET and UNNONGOIT, Indian Sagamores, have granted and made over to the above said John Brown, of New Harbour, in and for consideration of fifty skins, to us in hand paid, to our full satisfaction, for the above mentioned lands and we the above said Indian Sagamores, do bind ourselves and our heirs forever, to defend the above said John Brown, and his heirs in the quiet and peaceable possession of the above said lands. In witness whereunto, I the said Captain JOHN SOMERSET and UNNONGOIT, have set our hands and seals this fifteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord God, one thousand six hundred and twenty-five.

His

" Captain JOHN SOMERSET,¹



Mark.

his

" UNNONGOIT, } [L. S.]

mark.

" Signed and sealed in presence of us :

" MATTHEW NEWMAN, }
" WILLIAM COX, }

¹ The figure is a fac-simile of his mark, or sign, affixed to the paper of 1653, before given.

Governor Pownall, one of the ablest statesmen in the provincial administration, remarks¹ that "the European land-workers, when they came to settle in America, began trading with Indians, and obtained leave of them to cultivate small tracts, as settlements or dwellings. The Indians, having no other idea of property than what was conformable to their transient, temporary dwelling-places, readily granted this. When they came to perceive the very different effect of settlements of land-workers creating a permanent property, always extending itself, they became very uneasy; but yet, in the true spirit of justice and honour, abided by the effects of concessions which they had made, but which they would not have made, had they understood beforehand the force of them."

The conveyance from Somerset, and acquisition by Brown, marks the distinct legal boundary between barbarism and civility; the hunter, all unconscious of the nature and consequences of the legal formulas of the stranger, alienated his forests and hunting-grounds, and relinquished the streams which had yielded their treasures every summer; he admitted the tiller of the soil to a permanent abode on his ancestral domain, and now the earth, for the first time, consecrated by the hand of labor, will yield her increase; migratory life must disappear before the tenure of the fixed cultivator of the soil; and the ensuing struggle between these hostile conditions of life could end only in the destruction of the weaker. The savage state of vagrant liberty could not co-exist with individual permanent domain in the soil.

Thus the life of the Pemaquid chief, Samoset or Somer-

¹ "Administration of the Colonies."—*London*, 1765, 160, 161.

set, must ever awaken the most tender and interesting reflections; and the generosity, the genuine nobility of soul, displayed by this son of the forest, must be allowed as a fairer index to the true character of the aborigines, than their deeds of resentment or cruelty in after days, when goaded to madness by the cunning, cupidity, and treachery of the European.¹ Only the humanity of an Eliot, or the Christian zeal of a Mayhew, can be shown by us as a parallel to the generous and ingenuous Somerset. The worst portions of the Indian history must be charged, in truth, not to them, but to the French or English.

There is no record of Brown's family² at the time of his purchase; but it is certain he was not a hermit; for Pemaquid and Monhegan already presented the busy scenes of trade, the bustle and excitement of coming and departing ships, whose holds were well filled with the homeward cargoes of fish and peltry, and on whose decks were mingled throngs of fishermen, planters and factors, of Indian traffickers, and Sagamores eager for the knives and hatchets of iron, trinkets and glittering baubles, most inviting to savage tastes, — the English stock in trade. At this period, Pemaquid was probably the busiest place on the coast, though Conant was then laying the foundation of Massachusetts at Cape Anne, and the Pilgrims at Plymouth were struggling for life. Weston, Thomson, and Gorges, were here. At the east and north, the French were diligent in their rival plantations, and each watched the other with a jealous eye.

¹ The infamy of the French Jesuits and priests, in their relation to the aborigines is indelible, lurid.

² An interesting sketch of Brown's life and family, and of his property, might be gleaned from the Lincoln County Commissioners' Report, 1811. See also Barry's History of Framingham.

It was not yet a quarter of century since Robert Aldworth and his associates had commissioned Admiral ¹Pring to survey the New England shores. Every haven, and river, and island had become familiar to the fishermen, and, as we have seen, the old Bristol merchants again appeared, and now became owners of New England soil.

Their agent, Shurt, possessed or assumed the authority of a civil magistrate, and Brown availed himself of the earliest opportunity after his arrival to complete the formality of Somerset's sale of two hundred square miles of his domain.

The precision and conciseness of this first deed of conveyance of American soil, written at Pemaquid, and the neat and compact formula of acknowledgment, drawn up by Abraham Shurt, and still adhered to in New England, word for word, are interesting to the jurist. There was no precedent for the acknowledgment, or the formula, and Mr. Shurt is well entitled to be remembered as the Father of American Conveyancing. The first legislation in Massachusetts, providing for this mode of authenticating deeds, did not occur until the year 1640, when commissioners were especially appointed for the purpose, and Plymouth Colony did not adopt this security against fraudulent conveyances until six years later, in 1646.

THE ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

July 24, 1626, Captain John SOMOSET and UNONGOIT, Indian Sagamores, personally appeared, and acknowledged this instrument to be their act and deed, at Pemaquid.

Before me,

ABRAHAM SHURT.

¹Harris' Collection of Voyages, Lond. 1725, i. 182, 183. Pring was eminent among his contemporaries.

His magistral power would often be called into use in the plantation, which, but for his presence, would have been lawless; though I am at a loss to know the source of his authority.

For several years, the planters pursued a gainful trade with the Indians for their furs, and gave a practical demonstration to the sagacity and foresight of Capt. John Smith's schemes for colonization, and it is a pleasant thing to know that he lived¹ to witness its auspicious beginning.

The ships brought frequent tidings from home; and the incidents of border experience, and of rival plantations, broke the monotony of the planter's life. One source of uneasiness was lessened by the extinction of the French interests, which were surrendered by Champlain to David Kirk at Quebec² on the 19th of July, 1629, though they still hovered about the coast. At this time, Pemaquid was a larger and more important settlement than the capital of Canada.³ The weakness of authority invited lawlessness and crime, which, in the crude societies of primitive settlements, always hope for the impunity not to be found in older communities; and their cupidity was tempted by the prosperity which distinguished Pemaquid, since the purchase by Jennens, and especially under the judicious management of the agent of the new proprietors, Aldworth and Elbridge.

Next to his own ruin, the chief results of Weston's treachery to the Pilgrims, in attempting a rival plantation, was to scatter along the shore the idle and profligate men whom he had gathered, at hap-hazard, in England.⁴

¹ Virginia Hist. Reg. 1848, p. 19. Drake's Hist. Boston 25, 26.

² Haliburton, i, 46. Warburton, i, 94.

³ Warburton's Conquest of Canada, i, 94, *.

⁴ John Pierce thought "them so base in condition (for ye most parte) as

There seems to have been no discord between the various interests at Pemaquid, and they were united for general safety and peace.

Within about three years after Shurt's arrival, his plantation extended to Pemaquid,¹ and in the year 1630, no less than eighty-four families, besides the fishermen, were settled at this place and in its vicinity,² constituting in the aggregate, probably, a population of between five hundred and six hundred English. The legal services rendered by Shurt to Brown, in perfecting his Indian title to a portion of the soil, indicates a friendship between them; and it may have been under cover of this claim, that Shurt now occupied Pemaquid, some three years before he received formal possession under the patent to Aldworth and Elbridge. The increasing value and population of the colony required a stronger defence, and a fort was erected at the entrance of the harbor. This was four years before the building of the "castle" at Boston. The latter was at first of mud walls, rebuilt with pine trees and earth, and then "a small castle built with brick."³ The Pemaquid "castle" was probably about as formidable.

Shurt extended his business to the bottom of Massachusetts bay⁴ on the west, and far along on the eastern shore, yet, amid the competitions of trade by the various colonies, there is not left on record against him even one complaint: this indicates a high character for fairness and prudence.

in all appearance not fit for an honest man's company." — Bradford's Plymouth, 123, 133.

¹ In the Patent of Feb. 29, 1631-2, it is said that they had occupied Pemaquid "for the space of three years last past."

² Sullivan's Maine, 167. Williamson's Maine, i. 242.

³ Roger Clapp's Memoir, pub. by Dorchester Ant. Society.

⁴ Hubbard, 145. ⁹ Hubbard, 163.

It was the policy of the Pilgrims to observe perfect faith with the Indians,¹ as the best security for their fidelity; and this seems to have been the principle adopted by Shurt.

The Tarratines, whose territory included Pemaquid, were hostile to the western tribes, and for this reason sought the friendship of the English.² In the summer of 1631, a war party of about a hundred of the Tarratines made a murderous assault at midnight upon the wigwam of the Ipswich Sagamore, and carried his wife a captive to ³Pemaquid. Not long after, Shurt, who had long dealt with those at the west, and was well known to them, was about to dispatch an agent on a trading voyage thither, and to him they committed the captive, for whom a ransom was demanded. The confidence reposed in him by both parties, reflects the highest credit on his integrity.

Every year added to the number of settlements, and Pemaquid was now looked upon as an old colony. There were Mason, at Piscataqua, Cammock, at Black Point, Bonython, at Saco, and the Kennebec Patent. The conflicting titles to lands about the Kennebec, and at Pemaquid, were not set at rest till a late period. They served to ⁴collect and perpetuate much historical matter, which would otherwise have been lost.

It was in connection with this patent and the Plymouth trade, that Allerton visited Pemaquid in 1630. Sailing along the shore, eastward, in his shallop, not venturing in a direct course across the sea, but hugging the coast, as the colonists were wont to do for safety, the Plymouth factor had reach-

¹ Bradford, 122, 129, 130.

² Hubbard, 30.

³ Hubbard, 145. Winthrop, i, 59, 60. Lewis' Hist. of Lynn, 75, 76.

⁴ Report, Lincoln Co. Commissioners.

ed Cape Anne: it was just at sunrise, about the middle of June, that he went on board the *Arbella*, which had not yet let go her anchor in the waters of New England; and so it pleasantly happened that a pilgrim of the *Mayflower* was the first to welcome Johnson, and Winthrop, and Dudley, and Bradstreet, and Saltonstall, to New England.

Winthrop came to *supersede*¹ Endicott, governor of the colony, as he had succeeded² Conant, the first governor thereof.³ Thus, amid the various fortunes of the different settlements, Shurt at Pemaquid now saw the plantation that struggled for existence at Cape Anne in 1626, suddenly expanded into the most important colony on the whole coast.

¹ Winthrop, i, 30, 50, Mr. Savage's note, 491. Hubbard's, N. E. 124. Felt's Salem, i, 106. Hutchinson's Mass. Ed. 1795, i, 16, 17. Young's Chron. Mass. 145, note.

² Winthrop, i, 52, note ii. 200, Savage's note². Hubbard, 106, 109, 111. Hutchinson, i, 14, 15. Thornton's "Landing at Cape Anne," chaps. v-viii. pp. 69-71.

³ Hutchinson's Mass. i, 14, 15. Felt's Salem, i, 106. Hubbard's N. E., 102, 106,-110, 116. Douglass' Summary, 1755, i, 373, 407. Mather's *Magnalia*, i, 62. Neale's Hist. N. E. 1720, 122, 124, 125. Backus' Hist. N. E. i, 44. Barry's Hist. of Mass. i, 153, 157. Everett's *Dorchester Oration*, July 4, 1855, p. 26. *Modern Univ. Hist.* London, 1763, xxxix, 277. Rev. John White's "Planter's Plea," in *Force's Tracts*, Vol. ii, No. iii, 37-44. Mr. White is often styled "*the Father*" of the Colony, and he was its first Historian; his narrative was not intended as a complete history, but to prove the single point that the Colony was not to be "a Nursery of Schismatics," not "a seminary of faction and separation." It is a sketch of "this Colony" from its "foundation" at Cape Anne, under Gov. Conant, to the date of the departure from England of the fleet of 1630, under the lead of Winthrop—being an outline of the first seven years of our civil existence, before Winthrop joined the Company.—*Memoir of Roger Conant* by Joseph B. Felt, LL. D., in the *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.* 1848.

"Landing at Cape Anne," pp. 44, 70, ch. vi. Winthrop's *Journal*, ii, 200, note², by James Savage, LL. D. Sabine's "Report on the Principal Fisheries of the American Seas," 1853, pp. 117-120, with notes.

The futile and unhappy attempts to monopolize the trade and fisheries on our seas were a prolific source of discord and petty quarrels, highly injurious to the interests of the colony, and detrimental to the adventurers in England, because it embroiled them in the angry political strifes of the times. Their misery was the price of our liberty. The exclusive grant of the fisheries in the American seas was prominent in the catalogue of royal offences, — the abuses of prerogative, and violations of the constitution. The last of these patents was that given to Aldworth and Elbridge. They had extended their settlement from Monhegan to the main land and had fortified¹ the southern point at the mouth of "that little river of Pemaquid" which pleased Captain Weymouth so much in his voyage of the year 1605. Their expenditures were unsafe without a better territorial title than mere occupation afforded; besides, their holding from the Plymouth Council, which was but one move from the crown, gave them a national prestige,—no slight safeguard against foreign adventurers. The grant bears date not long after the treaty² of St. Germain, when "baby Charles," with that recklessness of national interests and honor which made the Stuarts detestable, conveyed to France the whole of Canada and Acadia. This folly was the greater, because the limits of Acadia were left undefined. Pemaquid was within this doubtful jurisdiction, and from this time became one of the most important points in the colonial struggles of the two nations, and its fate depended chiefly on interests external to itself. It ranked as a military post, and its history is to be found in the State archives at Paris and

¹ Williamson, i, 242.

² Holmes' American Annals, Ed. 1829, i, 213, note 2.

London, at Boston and Albany, and at Toronto. From this it will be seen that Pemaquid has a twofold interest,—one, as illustrating the influence of European politics on the American colonies, and the other, the no less exciting story of its own romantic fortunes, akin to the age of Froissart, and worthy the genius of a Scott.



CHAPTER IX.

Credulity — the French — Piracy — Dixy Bull — first naval fleet — Massachusetts refuses to aid Maine — Winthrop's Journal — the Patent, or Charter to Aldworth and Elbridge, Feb. 29, 1631-2 — possession under it — Acadia ceded to France — Pemaquid claimed by the French — Gov. Bradford's prediction unheeded — scene at Bristol, England — Gorges' good will — Wm. Laud — shipwreck of the "Angel Gabriel" — John Cogswell, Richard Mather — Shurt's prudence and tact — D'Aubrey and La Tour at Pemaquid.

The year 1632 must be counted as unlucky in the annals of Pemaquid. In the month of June, Mr. Shurt embarked for the western settlements with a cargo of about two hundred pounds sterling in value; while at Piscataqua, perhaps to seek an interview with Neale at Little Harbour, or Warnernton at Strawberry Bank, both his vessels and goods were totally lost by the explosion of a barrel of powder, caused by a spark from a pipe; the smoker's carelessness cost him his life. The honest chronicler, Winthrop, relates that "some in the boat were so drunk and fast asleep as they did not awake with the noise!" This story of so profound a slumber might grace the pages of Munchausen, and is equal to Falstaff's "three mis-begotten knaves in Kendalgreen." Winthrop, sometimes, shows a view of the marvelous, and though this foolish version of a simple accident has

been stereotyped in New England History, it is evidence only of no special good will to the Eastern colonists. It is worthy of notice as an instance of the sometimes groundless evil reports raised against the planters of Maine.¹

Another incident in Winthrop's Journal illustrates the inconveniences to which Pemaquid was subject, in common with all the plantations, at that early day. Captain Cammock, of Black point (Scarboro') and Godfrey, of Piscataqua, arrived at Boston, in the month of October, with a pinnace load of sixteen hogsheads of corn, to be ground there. The windmill at Boston seems to have been the only corn mill in New England, and Pemaquid had to take her grist two weeks' distance from home. Their bread was made of meal from England, or of grain from Virginia, from which the Boston miller took his toll.²

More than enough of the refuse and scum of the world always drifts around border life, and Pemaquid with her sister colonists, was not exempt from this evil. From Weston's notable importation of vagabonds, alone, the buccaneer could whistle to his decks whole crews of graceless followers. Allerton, a renegade from Plymouth, early in this year, "set up a company of base fellows, and made them traders" along the coast at the Kennebec, Penobscot, Machias, and wherever they could barter.³ The French robbed the Penobscot trading house of its contents, coats, rugs, blankets and bread, the usual assortment for Indian traffic. At about the same time they captured the shallop

¹ Winthrop's Journal, i. 94, 95. Hubbard, 195. Magnalia, vi. Prince judiciously omits the scandal in his abstract of Winthrop.

² Winthrop i. 104, 108. Belknap's N. H. Farmer's Ed. 13. Memoirs of Roger Clap, Boston, 1850, 20, 31, 42.

³ Bradford, 291, 292.

and cargo of Dixy Bull, whom they caught trading within their territory.¹

Then Bull took to himself a company of desperadoes, and raised the black flag of piracy, which now for the first time, waved on the coast of New England. They took several vessels at sea, and rifled the fort at Pemaquid, and plundered the planters. As they were weighing anchor, one of the leaders was disposed of by a well aimed ball from a musket in the hands of one of Shurt's men on the shore. Fear seized on some of the less hardened, the crew was weakened by desertion, and the more desperate fled to the eastward.

Their threats to the western plantations, were soon spread abroad by visitors from the Penobscot, and then "perils did abound as thick as thought could make them." Neale and Hilton at Piscataqua, "sent out all the forces they could make against the pirates,—four pinnaces and shallops and about forty men, who, arriving at Pemaquid, were there wind-bound about three weeks." This was the first hostile fleet fitted out from New England, the first naval demonstration, and doubtless the little squadron, as it rode at anchor in friendly alliance with our brave colony, had a most dissuasive and healthy influence upon the sons of violence in all the region round about.

Neale wrote to Winthrop about the pirates, asking help; but they felt and showed no great zeal for the safety or thrift of their eastern neighbors; "the extremity of the snow and frost hindered the making ready of the bark;" John Gallop was sent to Pascataquack "to learn more;" the friendly northerly winds of winter delayed his return for a whole month, and by this time, "about the beginning of

¹ Winthrop, i. 94.

January," Neale's vessels had returned to Strawberry bank, the cold being so great that they could not pursue the pirates. It is but fair to state that the Bay people did afterward, in the pleasant month of May, send off Lieutenant Mason, the famous Pequod warrior, to capture Mr. Bull; but he and the "extremity of snow and frost" had both disappeared. There is an amusing coincidence of Winthrop's policy here, with an occurrence of the year before. Gov. Wigginn, of Pascataquack, notified Winthrop of an outrage perpetrated at "Richman's Isle," and urged him to send twenty men to revenge it; but that was an Episcopal plantation; so, says Winthrop, in his journal, "the Governor thought best to sit still awhile, partly because he heard that Capt. Neale, etc., were gone after them, and partly because of the season, (it being then frost and snow,) and want of boats fit for the expedition." To be sure, there must have been an "extremity" of frost and snow on that twenty-second day of October, though two or three days after, the governor entered in his journal that he and Captain Underhill walked to Salem,¹ comfortably enough. This "masterly inactivity" of the "bay" folk had *one* great merit, they promised no more than they did; their leisurely way of sending "help" was unmistakeably significant.

So far as relates to the grants from the King and the great Council of Plymouth, the distinction sometimes made between them as Patents or Charters, is one of words, rather than of substance. Some define a charter as emanating

¹ Roger Clap's Memoirs, Boston, 1850, pp. 35, 36. Winthrop's Journal, i. 94, 114, 116, 118, 123, 75. Hubbard, 160. Prince's Annals, sub anno. In Pynchon's account to the General Court, Sept. 8, 1636, is this entry, "Paid by a bill from Mr. Samuel Maverick, being husband and merchant of the pinnace sent out to take Dixie Bull, for a month's wages to Elias Maverick, £2.0.0.—Mass. H. C. xxxviii. 224.

ting from the Crown directly, but the exercise of this power of the Crown was delegated to the Plymouth Council, in the affairs within its jurisdiction. Another difference is that named by Judge Williamson¹ in commenting on the Pemaquid Patent, that it is "a charter as well as a patent, because, in addition to the rights of property, it confers the power of establishing civil government;" and it may be added, that without this power, the express object of the Plymouth Council would have been defeated: their charter described it to be, "to replenish those deserts with a *People, governed by Lawes and Magistrates.*"

The Patent.

This Indenture made the Nine and twentieth day of February Anno D'm 1631, And in the Seaventh² yeere of the Raigne of our Sovraigne Lord Charles by the grace of God King of England Scotland Fraunce and Ireland, Defender of the faith, &c. **Betweene** the President and Councill of New England on the one parte, And Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge of the City of Bristoll merchants, on the other parte, **Witnesseth** That whereas our Sovereigne Lord King James of famous memori late King of England Scotland Fraunce and Ireland, by his hignes Letters Pattente and Royall graunt vnder the great Seale of England bearing date the Third day of Nouember In the eighteenth Yeare of his Raigne [1620] of England Fraunce and Ireland &c

¹ Vol. i. 241. "The Landing at Cape Anne," Chap. ii. contains an examination of this question. The Virginia Charters of 1606, 1609, 1612, and that of 1628, were all styled "Letters Patent."

² As the 7th of Charles began March 27th, 1631, this must have been 1631-2: Feb. 29th, leap year, also proves it to have been 1632. This has been overlooked.

for the causes therein expressed did absolutely giue graunt and confirme vnto the said President and Councill and their Successors forever, All the land of New England in America lying and being from fortie to fortie eight degrees of northerly Latitude and in length by all that breadth aforesaid from Sea to Sea throughout the Main land, Together with all the woods, waters, soils, rivers, havens, Harbors, Iselands, and other commodities whatsoever therevnto belonging with divers other priviledges preheminenes profits and timbers, by Sea and land As by the said Letters patents amongst other things contayned wherevnto due relacon being had it doth and may appeare Now this Indenture ~~witnesseth~~ That the said President and Councill of New England by vertue and authoritie of the said L'res Pattent and for and in consideracon that the said Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge have and will transport and doth vndertake to Transporte att their owne Costs and Chardges divers persons into New England and there to erect and build a Town and settle diuers Inhabitants for their own safetie better assureance and advanceme^t of the generall plantacon of that Country and for the furtherance of the said Plantacon and Encouragement of the said Vndertakers ~~have~~ agreed and doe hereby agree graunte assigne allott and appointe to the said Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge their heirs and assignes and every of them one hundred acres of ground for every Person soe by them, or anie of them Transported or that shall now or hercafter be Transported besides diurse other priviledges liberties and Comodities hereafter menconed. And to that intent they have graunted allotted assigned And confirmed And by theis P'sents doe grante allot assign And confirme vnto the said Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge their

heires and assignes and euerie of them, One hundred several acres of ground in New England for every p'son transported or to be transported within the Space of Seaven yeeres next ensuing That shall abide and continew there Three yeeres either att one or severall times or dye in the meane season after hee or they are Shipped wth an Intent there to inhabite The same lands to be taken and chosen by them or either or anie of them their deputies or assignes in anie place adjacent to the said Twelve thousand acres of land hereafter menconed to be granted and not lately granted, settled and inhabited by anie English and wherein noe English person or persons are allreadie placed or settled, Togeather with free libertie to ffish in and uppon the Coste of New England in all Havens, Ports, Rivers, and Creeks, thereunto belonging and not granted to any others And that noe person, or persons whatsoever shall take anie benefit, or lib'tie of or to anie of the said grounde, (excepting the free use of high*waies by land, and Navigable Rivers) but that the said Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge their heires and assignes, shall haue the Sole right, and use of the said grounds with all their proffitts and appurtenances AND the said President and Councell doe further graunte assigne allott and confirme vnto the said Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge theire heires and assignes Twelve Thousand acres of land more over and above the foresaid proporcon of One hundred the person for every person Transported or to be Transported as foresaid as his or their proper inheritance forever, The same land to be bounded, Chosen, taken and laid out neare the River Comonly called or known by the name of **PEMAQUID** or by what other name or names the same is or haue ben or hereafter shal be called or knowne by and next adioyning by both along the Sea

Coast as the Coast lyeth, and Soe upp the River as farr as may Containe the said Twelve Thowsand acres within the said bredth and length Togeather with the said hundred acres for overy person by them the said Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge to be transported as aforesaid Togeather alsoe with all the Iselands and Iselettes within the lymitts aforesaid Three leagues into the Main Ocean Yeelding and paying vnto our Sovereigne Lord the King his heires & Successors One fifth parte of all the Gould and silver Oare to bee found and had in and on the premises or any parte thereof and one other fifth part of the same to the said President and Councell aforesaid and their Successors for ever **and** alsoe **Yeelding and Paying** to the said President and Councell in the name of all other rents services duties and demands whatsoever for every hundred acres of Arrable lands soe obtained by the same Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge their heires and assignes and every or any of them And by those said other P'rson or p'rsons, their heires and assignes The yearely rent of twoe shillings of lawful money of England At the feast of S' Michaell the Archangell [September 29th] To the hands of the Rent gatherer of the said President and Councell and their Successor forever (when it shall be by him the said Rent gatherer lawfully demanded) The first payment to begin after the expiracon of the ffirst Seaven yeares next after the date hereof And it shall and may be lawful for the said Vndertakers and Planters, thaire heires and Successors ffreely to Truck Trade, and Traffique in all lawful comodities, with the salvages in any parte of **New England** or neighbouring thereabout att their wills and pleasures without lett or disturbance, As also to have libortie to hunte hawke ffish or fflowle in any place or places whatsoever now or hereafter, by any English Inhabited **and**

the said President and Councill doth Covenant and promise to, and with the said Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge their heires and assignes and everye of them and others the prson or prsons as aforesaid his and their heires and assignes ; That their Tenants or servants shall not be taken from their owne imployments, by any Governor or other there to be established but only for the publique defence of these Countries, or suppression of Rebellion, Riotts, or Routs, or other unlawful assemblies ~~and~~ further it is Covenanted uppon lawful survey to be had and made att the chardge of the said Vndertakers and Planters, and lawful Informacon given of the bounds meets and quantitie of the lands soe as aforesaid to bee by them Chosen and Possessed, They the said President and Councill uppon surrender of this present grante and Indenture and upon reasonable request made by the said Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge their heires or assignes or any of them, within Seaven yeares now next comeing shall by their deede Indented and Vnder their Common Seale graunte, enfeoffe and confirme All and every of the said lands sett out, and bounded as aforesaid to the said Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge and their associats and such as Contracte with them, their heires and assignes in as large and beneficiall manner as the same are in theis presents granted or intended to be granted or hereafter to be granted to all intents and purposes with all and every pticular priviledges and freedoms reservations and conditions with all dependancies And shall also att any time within the said Terme of Seaven yeares uppon request vnto the said President and Councill made, grannte vnto them the said Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge their heires and assignes letters and grants of Incorporacon by some usuall and fitt name and title with

libertie to them and their successor from time to time to make orders, Laws, Ordinances, and Constitucons for the rule, government, ordering, and directing of all persons to be Transported and setled upon lands hereby graunted intended to be granted, or hereafter to be granted And of the said lands and profits thereby arising, And in the meane tyme and untill such grant be made, it shall be lawful for the said Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge their heires and assignes from time to time, to establish such laws and ordinances as are for the better Governme^t of the said prsons soc Transported and the same by such officer or officers as they shall by most voices Elect, and choose to putt in execution.¹

AND that it shall be lawful for the said Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge their heires and assignes or either or any of them from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter for their severall defence and safetye to encounter expulse expel fortifie defend and resist by force of Armes as well by sea as by land, and by all wayes and meanes whatsoever and to take apprehend seize and make prize of to their owne use, and behoofe All such prson and prsons, their Ships and goods, as without the Speciall license of the said President and Councill and their Successors or the greater parte of them, shall attempt to inhabite or Trade with any of the Salvadge people of that country within the severall precincts or lymitts of their said Plantacon, or shall enterprize or attempt att any tyme hereafter destrucon, invacon or annoyance to the said Plantacon And further that it shall be lawful to and for the said Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge their heires and assignes, or either of them

¹ This, and every clause of the patent, are drawn evidently with the nicest reference to the provisions in the patent creating the Plymouth Council.

from tyme to tyme to Transport and carry such powder. Shott, provision and Ordonances as shall be necessarie for their defence **and** further That the said Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge their heires or assignes shall not anye tyme hereafter aliene their p'mises or any parte thereof to any foraigne Nation [especially the French] or to any other prson or prsons whatsoever without the Spetiall License consent and agreem^t of the said President and Councill and their Successors and assignes, Except it be to their owne Tenants or Vndertakers, belonging to the said Towne by them to be Erected as aforesaid appon paine of forfeiture of the said Land soe Aliened, To the Vse of the said President and Councill againe **and** further know yee that the said President and Councill have made constituted and deputed Authorized and appointed and in their steade and place, doe put Captaine Walter Neale and Richard Vines, gent. or in his or their absence to anie person that shall be their Governour or other officer to the said President and Councill to be their true and lawful Attorney or Attorneys, and in their name and steade to enter the said Porcon of land, and other the premises, apprtenances or into some Part thereof in the name of the whole soe had and taken then for them, and in their names to deliver the full and peaceable possession and seizen of all and singular the said granted premises vnto the said Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge or to their certain Attorney or Attorneys in that behalf according to the true intente and meaning of these p'sents Ratifying, allowing and confirming all, and whatsoever their said attorney or Attorneys shall doe in or about the p'mises by their p'sents. **In Witness** whereof, the President and Councill to the one part of these p'sent Indentures have set their Seale and to the other part thereof

the said Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge have sett their hands and seals. Given the day and year first above written.

R. WARWICK. [L. S.] FERD. GORGE.


This is a true copy of the Letters pattents under the Seale of the President and Councill of New England signed by the Earle of Warwicke and S^r Ferdinando Gorge, examined with the same Letters patents this twenty and sixth day of March 1648, By us whose names are subscribed viz

FRA. YEAMANS, No^r Pubb.

ROBT. DENNIS,

DEW TONY, Servants to the said No. P^c'¹

After a delay of more than a year, formal possession was given to Shurt, on the 27th of May, by WALTER NEALE, of Piscataqua, to the use of Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge, merchants of the city of Bristol.



The witnesses to this delivery were Captain Thomas Cammock, Founder of Scarboro', and nephew of the Earl of Warwick,² Christopher Barkhead, George Newman, Robert Knight, and William Hooke, afterward one of the council of Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

¹ Verified by the notarial copy preserved in the library of the American Antiquarian Society.

² Maine H. C. iii. xv. The valuable fac-similes of the signatures of *Neale Wynter*, and *Shurt*, are furnished by the taste and skill of Miss McKeen, daughter of John McKeen, Esq., of Brunswick. They are from the original document, deposited in the Archives of the Historical Society, by Wm. S. Southgate, Esq., and published in his history of Scarboro', in Hist. Col. vol. iii. 229.

Charles Stuart's cession of Acadia to France, without defining its limits, alarmed the New England colonies for their safety. Pemaquid stood in the greatest danger, as on doubtful frontier territory, and the late robbery at Penobscot increased the apprehension of further hostilities from the French; but a still greater and more immediate evil was the number of disorderly people drawn hither by the partial abolition of the Plymouth Council's monopoly of trade and fishing,¹ consequent on this alienation of territory.

However unlike the character and domestic policy of the colonies of Maine were to those of Puritan Massachusetts, the growing strength of the Papal French tended gradually to unite them as against their common foe. It was by the treachery of the King, that so dangerous and implacable an enemy had been admitted to their northern and eastern confines.

In the midsummer of the year 1635, D'Aulnay captured the Plymouth fort on the Penobscot, and claimed the territory "as far as Pemaquid" in the name of the French King; but says Winthrop, "they professed all courtesy to us here;" even so; *to us here*, but not to our neighbors of Plymouth, whose possessions on the Kennebec are in danger; so felt Winthrop. A more generous, would have been a wiser policy. The Plymouth Colonists sought the aid of Massachusetts against the French, and Gov. Bradford complained that their merchants furnished the enemy with provisions, powder and shot in the course of trade, "so as in truth ye English themselves have been the chiefe supporters of these French; for besids these, the plantation at Pemaquid, (which lyes near unto them) doth not only supply them with what yey want, but gives them continuall intelligence of all

¹ Holmes' Annals, i. 212, 217. Sullivan's Maine, 160.

things that passes among ye English,¹ (espeticially some of them,) so as it is no marvell though they still grow & in-croach more & more upon ye English, and fill ye Indeans with gunes and munishtion, to the great deanger of ye English, who lye open, & unfortified, living upon husbandrie; and ye other closed up in their forts, well fortified, and live upon trade, in good securitie. If," said the Governor, "these things be not looked to, and remeady provided in time, it may easily be conjectured what they may come to; but I leave them."

The day of retribution did come, and terrible were the fruits of their cupidity. Better for New England, had "their merchants" heeded the apostolic warning to them "that will be rich," and her magistrates listened to the voice of the venerable Pilgrim² "to provide remedy in time."

A pleasant incident now carries us to ancient Bristol, and, fortunately enough, we are indulged with a brief yet kindly interview with the foremost friend of our Maine colonists, in all England. On the last Wednesday of May, in this year, the "Angel Gabriel," a strong ship of two hundred and forty tons, and carrying a heavy armament of sixteen guns, swung at her moorings in the King's road, four or five miles distant from the city. Her chief port of destination was Pemaquid, and on her deck was a company of many godly christians, some from other ships, bound for New England;—one of them was Richard Mather,—venerable name! Presently there came across the bay three or four boats, with more passengers, and in one was Sir Ferdinando Gorge, who came to see the ship and the people. He inquired

¹ Winthrop, ii. 318, says, "D'Aulnay had intelligence of all our proceed-
ngs."

² Hist. of Plymouth, 336, 337.

whether there were any there for Massachusetts bay, and professed his good will to them, and promised that if he ever came there, he would be a true friend unto them.¹ These were kind words, and we will remember them to the honor of the Founder of our State. Could a tithe of his nobility have found harbor in the narrow heart of William Laud, the history of both Englands had not been half so glorious, so noble, but "the Governor among the nations" had destined Laud to be a modern Pharaoh. Sixty years after, the voice of contrition came from the Primate's chair; so eloquent and earnest were Tillotson and other prelates against the follies and crimes of Laud that Increase Mather, to whom they said these fine things, exclaimed that, if such had been the Bishops, "there had never been a New England."² But these civilities did no harm. New England did not forget her history, nor the instructions of the Fathers, and a century later, the mere apprehension of Episcopacy, with its Lords, and tithes, contributed as much as any other cause to our political separation from Old England.³ "No Lords Spiritual, or Temporal in New England" was the toast at their political gatherings.⁴

Mr. Shurt had hardly welcomed the good ship "Angel Gabriel" to her anchorage before his fort, when in the fury of an easterly storm, the vessel and cargo were totally lost, some of the passengers not escaping death. The chief personage in the Company was JOHN COGSWELL, a London

¹ Richard Mather's journal, 7, 8, 10, 13—18, 33, 73. Mather came in the "James," Capt. Taylor. Winthrop ii. 14, says that Gorges "sided with our adversaries against us, but underhand pretending by his letters and speeches to seek our welfare."

² Mather's Magnalia, i. 227.

³ Adams' works, x. 185.

⁴ Frothingham's Siege of Boston, 1849, 24, 25.

merchant, of wealth and position, who with the fragments of his freight, and accompanied by his servants, settled at Ipswich, where he was received with much consideration and respect.¹ His family has in every generation done honor to the name, and in our own day it is recognized in the higher walks of learning and social worth. This ²shipwreck has ever been remembered as one of the most disastrous events in the local annals of Pemaquid. More than one hundred and thirty years afterward, the seal of "The Pemaquid Proprietors" bore a device of the ship, and the legend was "THE ANGEL GABRIEL. A. E. PEMAQUID: 1631,"³ of which a good representation is here given.

¹ Felt's Ipswich.

² Mather's Journal, 78.

³ A. E. were the initials of the Patentees; 1631 was the date of the Patent, or 1632, New Style. As no mention of this seal occurs in the extant records of the Pemaquid Proprietors, it is not improbable that it may have been used in the early days of Pemaquid. "The Gabriel" a "little Barke," was one of Frobisher's discovery-ships, engaged in no less than three of his expeditions, the voyages of 1576, 1577 and 1588, and she was, it may be supposed, a favorite vessel with him. That ship may be taken as a representative of the naval architecture of that period, which was not essentially modified even down to the days of her namesake the "Angel Gabriel" of Pemaquid memory. Fortunately the contemporary accounts of Frobisher's

“Mnhiggin” was noted by Mather on his arrival here in August as “an Iland without inhabitants.” Perhaps, the apprehensions from the French, or the greater safety of a compact settlement, had induced the removal of the planters to Pemaquid.

The incidents of the next few years may be deemed inconsiderable in themselves, but apparently trifling objects often divert the current into other channels, and are thus of great import in after times. In this plastic period were fashioned many of our present customs. This is peculiarly true of Maine, for though the peculiar civil and religious features, which the Founders sought to establish, were hopelessly against the spirit of the period, and unsuited to the life of the pioneer in the wilderness, yet it will be seen that their plans were turned awry by petty accidents, against which no foresight can provide:—besides, they illustrate the planter’s daily life, the rivalries of neighboring colonies, and the more intimate, personal history, which interest us more

voyages, furnish hints for a general description of this pioneer ship in the mission of christian civilization to the new world. She was of about thirty tons burden, low in the poop, and was laced fore and aft with ropes breast high, a mode of guarding the quarter decks within the memory of the elder portion of our own mariners, but now abandoned for the more permanent and comfortable shelter known as the “monkey rail.” She was provided with three anchors and cables, an amount of “ground tackle” that would astonish the modern skipper of so small a craft; nor would he know how to dispose of the ship’s company, were he informed that there were to be, “in all, eighteen persons, whereof six were soldiers, and the rest mariners.” In the voyage of 1577, “Master Edward Fenton, a gentleman of my Lord o Warwikes was Captaine,” and this “small Barke” was of sufficient service.’ “Madre de Dios,” “Cinque Chaques,” or “the five wounds,” “The Iesus of Lubec,” “Vobiscum Deus” were the names of ships of that date. Sir Humphrey Gilbert’s discovery ship was of 120 tons, and yet drew 14 feet of water.—Hakluyt, Ed. 1810, iii. 52, 56, 63, 89, 93, 102, 103, 207.

than the abstract of the popular feeling and condition as expressed in laws.

Shurt seems to have had great tact, for the dangerous position of Pemaquid, as a boundary between the French and English claims became, under his prudence, a neutral ground, where he saw the diplomacy of public or private disputants, and won the confidence of both, greatly to the advantage of his trade and fisheries. In the bitter quarrel between La Tour and D'Aulnay, they shared alike the hospitalities of the Pemaquid magistrates. Thus in the year 1641, La Tour's messenger, to Massachusetts, left his boats at Pemaquid, and obtained a letter from Mr. Shurt to those in authority. And in the year following, the Boston merchants, on their way home from a trading voyage to La Tour's establishment, found D'Aulnay upon a visit at Pemaquid;¹ and three years after, when Mr. Richard Vines, of Saco, and the inebriate Thomas Wannerton,² of Pascataquack, went to see La Tour, they were arrested by D'Aulnay, but for Mr. Shurt's sake, who was with them, they were soon³ released. D'Aulnay was in debt to Shurt, and this was a part of the creditor's thrift. Pending her negotiations with D'Aulnay in the year 1646, it was urged by Massachusetts, that the Commissioners should meet at Pemaquid, as compromising the dignity of neither party.⁴ The letters and journals all show that Shurt exerted an important influence in public affairs.

¹ Hubbard, 478. Winthrop, ii. 109. Hutch. i. 122, 125.

² See Mr. Willis' sketch, nearly all that is known of Wannerton, in the Hist. Gen. Reg.

³ Winth. ii. 217. Williamson, i. 315.

⁴ Winth. ii. 318.

CHAPTER X.

Puritanism — blunders at Whitehall — mercantile pressure — prohibitions withdrawn — Bristol ships for New England — the prosperity of Pemaquid — Phipps' prolific family — Pemaquid planters migrating — friendship between Shurt and Wynter of Richmond's island — Colonial life and incidents — Pemaquid sends cattle to Massachusetts — Elbridge's claim against Wannerton's estate in 1651 — he appeals to Massachusetts — Elbridge holds a manorial court at Pemaquid — difficulties — reasons for them — contrast between Maine and Massachusetts planters — Law and no Law — Shurt's personal influence — his character — Pemaquid a chief station for vessels — Elbridge alienates his estate — land titles — friendship with Rev. Robert Jordan — obtains judgment against Cleeves.

The orders in Council, prove that Laud ruled at that table, and that all interests yielded to his hobby of conformity to the puerilities which he had introduced from the service of the Papal church. His hatred to the Puritan colonists was injurious to the Episcopal enterprises in Maine; for the proclamations that prohibited the exportation of provisions to the plantations did not distinguish between them, and even operated with greatest hardship on his friends; for while Massachusetts and Plymouth began to cultivate the land, each planter his own lot, the Maine settlements, being chiefly trading establishments, depended mostly on England

for provisions. This reliance on others, for the supply of daily necessities, strongly favored the design of their employers to retain them as servants, or in a condition of vassalage.

In England, as the people grew strong, Laud became weak. The Council were besieged by petitions, and in the year 1638, under the mercantile pressure "that the prohibiting of Ships by proclamation to goe for New England, without speciall Warrant, was a foundation to deprive the Kingdome of much Trade, the importacion of much money, his Majestie of much custome, [always a consideration with Majesty,] and many Ships and Seamen of employment," their Lordships began to give way. Among these petitions, one from our patentee appears on the record in these words :

" Att Whitehall, the 21st of July, 1639.

Libertie given to Elbridge to export 80 Passengers and other provisions for New England, they taking the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy."

" Upon the humble petition of *Gyles Elbridge*, of the City of Bristoll merchant, praying Licence for the exportacion of about eighty passengers and some provisions, formerly accustomed for the encrease and Support of his fishing plantacion in New England, Their Lordships did this day give leave unto the said Elbridge to exporte for New England the said 80 Passengers, together with such provisions as hath bene formerly accustomed, Provided that hee doe give Bond here by himselfe, or some other Sufficient man to the Clarke of the Counsell, to his Majestic's use, that none of the said persons shall bee shipped untill publickely before the Maior of Bristoll, they haue taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacie. And the Lord Treasurer is

hereby prayed and required to give order to the Officers of the Port of Bristoll accordingly, any former order of the Boord, or other restrainte to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding."¹

Of the thirteen ships and nineteen hundred and thirty-five passengers allowed to emigrate to New England, within five months after the 22d of November 1639, six of the vessels, and ten hundred and twenty-five of the emigrants were from Bristol.

At this date, Pemaquid had all the outward signs of prosperity. By his mediation in the restoration of Wenuchus, the Indian Queen, to her Lord, Montowampate, the Sagamore of Lynn,² and by his uniform fair dealing, Shurt had secured the good will of the natives and their trade; he was at peace with both the English and French; even Massachusetts valued his friendship; the rich invoices of fish and furs to Elbridge brought, in return, a plentiful increase of planters, and replenished the colonial stores. These were the halcyon days of this great outpost of English life.

Here we may collect some of the fragments of her history. A worthy gunsmith of ancient Bristol, a young man, found employment in his trade, in the young colony; he arrived here about 1638. His faithful wife had no less than twenty-six children.⁴ This worthy matron lived to witness the distinction of her son, Sir William Phipps.

¹ The orders in Council, relating to New England, from 1630 to 1692 are published in the N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg. for 1854, pp. 135—145, and in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. vol. 42, pp. 279—304.

² Lewis' History of Lynn, Chap. 3.

³ Maine Hist. Col. ii. 239, but authority for the date is not given.

⁴ Magnalia, Book ii. Chap.

His biographer remarks that Sir William was "equivalent" to the remaining quarter of a hundred of the brood, and it is not surprising that the prolific couple, in their later years, should try their fortune in a new location; but kind Providence followed them, and their famous son William first saw the light at "a despicable plantation on the river of Kennebeck, *almost* the furthest village of the Eastern settlement of New England." To learn to read and write formed no more a part of Gorge's system, than it did of Sir William Berkley's in Virginia, and the young ship carpenter learned the alphabet after his removal to Boston. In the year 1639, John Brown, the friend of Somerset in 1625, had removed to the Kennebeck, and with Edward Bateman, in the Fall of that year, purchased of the sagamore Robinhood, the site of the present town of Woolwich. In the conveyance they are styled "lately of Pemaquid, Planters."¹ These migrations indicate an increasing population, and the Phippses testify to loud cries for more room.

In 1640, Mr. John Wynter at Richmond's Island being defendant in an action to test the validity of Trelawney and Goodyear's patent, his friend Shurt, with Mr. Thomas Williams of Saco,² became special bail for him in the sum of £1000.

J^{mr} John Wynter

In the terrible winter of 1641, eight men from Pascataqua, bound to Pemaquid, were driven to Monhegan, where

¹ Maine H. C., iv. 232.

² Folsom's Saco and Biddeford, 40, 41, 120.

four of them perished with cold; the rest were discovered by a fisherman some time after, and brought off the Island. They found refuge in the deserted houses of the fishermen.

Upon a Sunday, in the spring of the year 1640, Winthrop made this entry in his Journal,—“Joseph Grafton set sail from Salem, the 2d day [of the week] in the morning, in a ketch of about forty tons, (three men and a boy in her,) and arrived at Pemaquid (the wind easterly) upon the third day in the morning, and there took in some twenty cows, oxen, etc., with hay and water for them, and came to an anchor in the bay the 6th day [of the week, Saturday] about three after noon.¹ This shows an agricultural community, and a high degree of prosperity, that Pemaquid can export their farm products to Massachusetts, but it is significant, too, of the prosperity of the Puritan neighbor, that she needed and could pay for these good things, and before many years poor Pemaquid found herself sorely weakened by repeated losses like this. Unwarily she neglected one of the most essential elements of colonial growth and strength, husbandry. The quickness of the voyage, begun on Monday morning and ended on Saturday, was so remarkable as, though a secular matter, to trespass on the Puritan's thoughts and occupy his pen even on the Lord's day.

The wretched Thomas Wannerton of Pascataqua, who was killed in 1644, left his estate loaded with debt. Among the claimants were Mr. David Yale, Robert Saltonstall, Mr. Richard Cutts, and Mr. Shurt. This involved them in litigation, which, after about three years, was ended

¹ Winth. ii. 72.

² Winthrop's Journal, i. 400. Savage's notes.

adversely to Shurt.—The question seems to have been as to the priority of various mortgages.¹ About five years after, in May, 1651, Elbridge petitioned the Massachusetts General Court for relief in the same matter, but they left him to his remedy at law against the administrators of Saltonstall, “as in other cases.”

Upon the death of Mr. Aldworth in the year 1634, the patent became the sole property of his nephew Elbridge, and at his decease and that of his eldest son John, it passed to the second son, Thomas Elbridge, in about the year 1647. Not long after this, Mr. Elbridge, who was not blessed with the imposing stature, or commanding mien, best suited to his position as Lord Proprietor, inspiring his dependents with fitting reverence, visited the colony and held a court there to which the inhabitants generally repaired, and recognized him as their liege Lord by paying a certain acknowledgement for the privilege of fishing.²


 A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Thomas Elbridge". The signature is written in dark ink and includes a decorative flourish at the end.

This scene would have gladdened the heart of Sir Ferdinando, as the harbinger of success to his darling projects for Maine, but the Knight's scheme was impracticable.

The most simple-minded planter was compelled by the novelty and necessity of his own position and of every thing about him, to think and act for himself; there were no lords here, no traditionary rights; no *aula regis*, with its boundless power to enforce a palpable wrong: no walls, no castles; he left all those at home; he was literally in a new world, “in the wilderness, in a land that was not

¹ Mass. Col. Rec. May 6th, Nov. 4th, 1646, March, 1647—8.

sown;" and amid the forests, or on the sea, all was free to him who would occupy, and make it his own, by his own labor; necessity was upon all, and placed all on a level; all must labor, and labor became honorable; to each planter, freed from the trammels of prejudice and custom, safe from force, his right to himself, to the fields he had won from the forests, and to the fruits of his labor, became slowly, but divinely clear; Puritanism had leavened the whole English mind, and the colonist proposed to make a personal thing of the liberty which had been only a vague theory at home. All the accidents of time and place were adverse to Gorges' plan of vassalage and dependence; Liberty was the spontaneous growth of New England life. Every one of the anti-puritan colonies, south of the St. Lawrence, though nursed by wealth and power, languished and died, except where Puritanism electrified them by a spark of her own vitality and vigor and political common sense.

The political relation which Elbridge held to the planters was not to last. It was an exotic, whose feeble life, prolonged by expensive and artificial culture, only demonstrated the fact that it could not take root in New England. Tradition, Precedent, Authority, were baseless here; the New Englander ignored their musty accumulations, and simple truth, practical justice, resolved every question, determined every emergency. While our Pemaquid planters were doing homage to their Lord, the puritan planters in Massachusetts were vindicating their rights to self-government, enacting laws, organizing courts, establishing trial by jury, and regulating matters for their own convenience and happiness. The example was infectious, and their frequent resort to the courts of the latter, could not fail to impress the more intelligent of the planters with the

humiliating contrast which the Maine settlements presented to the solid and vigorous character of their Puritan neighbors. The natural results were yearly becoming more and more apparent. The alternate appeals of all parties to Massachusetts could but increase her growing favor.

In Pemaquid, as in the neighboring plantations, the proprietors had not the power to enforce authority, nor a system¹ of laws to enforce, nor did they have any community of interest with the planters, which would beget in the minds of the latter an idea of society, or reverence for law, as operating to their own benefit.

In this condition of carelessness, the general character of the Maine settlements fast degenerated,² and the better portion were prepared to welcome the jurisdiction which Massachusetts gradually extended over them.² The opposition, sometimes violent, was from the great land proprietors,² and from those who feared the halter,³ two classes acting together, but from very different motives. Massachusetts did not usurp this jurisdiction; the colonists petitioned for her protection, because of the total inefficiency of their would-be Lords.

The accurate and candid biographer of the American Loyalists, in concluding an outline of the controversies about the timber lands of Maine, says, "But I cannot leave this part of the subject without commending the indomitable spirit evinced by Massachusetts in her struggles to root out Gorges and the cavaliers of his planting, out of Maine, and

¹ Sullivan's Maine, 160.

² Hutchinson's papers, 314. Williamson, i. 335—337, 404, 405. Sullivan, 318—373. Hutchinson. Hubbard, 542—543. Mass. Coll. Records. Willis's Portland, Chap. iv—vi.

³ Royal Commissioners' Rep., 1667, in Hutchinson's Papers, 424.

to put in their places the humbler but purer Roundheads of her own kindred. Had she faltered when dukes and lords signed parchments that conveyed away her soil; had she not sought to push her sovereignty over men and territories not originally her own; had she not broken down French seignories and English feoffdoms,—Maine, east of Gorges' eastern boundary, the Kennebeck, might have continued a part of the British Empire to this hour." He adds, "this opinion is given considerably, and not to round out a period."¹

Though agent of the Patentees, and acting as a magistrate, whatever of deference was paid to Mr. Shurt was not to his authority, but a voluntary tribute to his private worth, and the respect with which a long life of integrity and energy had inspired them. "It is not a work for every one to manage such an affaire," wrote Admiral Smith, "it requires all the best parts of art, Judgment, courage, honesty, constancy, diligence, and industry to doe but neere well."²

Meantime Pemaquid continued to increase in trade; her port was the great entrepot between the east and the west; it was the principal mart for fish, and the chief resort for vessels on the coast:³ and in population she was the principal plantation between the Penobscot and the ⁴Kennebec, and, perhaps, as far as the Piscataqua. Elbridge's experience was not, at the last, more satisfactory than that of

¹ From a series of able articles on the Public Lands in Maine, published by Hon. Lorenzo Sabine, in the Boston Courier of Feb. 13, 14, 21, 26; March 14, 19, 21; April 15, 23; May 1, 1851.

² "General Historie," folio, 208.

³ Sabine's Report, 107.

⁴ Williamson, i. 388.

other Proprietors, and in a few years he alienated the property. Captain Paul White, a successful trader at Pemaquid, and who is styled, in the deed of conveyance, "Merchant," bought a moiety of the Patent, but retained it only two years, and then removed to Newburyport, where he built the first dock, wharf, and warehouse in that ancient port,¹ and there died in 1679, in his ninetieth year. Elbridge sold his remaining interest to Nicholas Davison, a mariner of Charlestown, who had the misfortune to bequeath the whole Patent to his family. It laid dormant through the Indian wars, but was revived in the next century, and from this originated the land company known as the Pemaquid Proprietors, and since then called the Drowne claim. This, with other conflicting titles, led to grievous ills in Lincoln County,² almost equal to the Indian wars, till they were ended by legislative mediation in 1811 and 1812. Elbridge became embroiled in political and personal difficulties. In 1659 he recovered heavy damages against George Cleaves in two actions, one for defamation, and the other for assault and battery.³ He was intimate with the Rev. Robert Jordan of Falmouth, a friendship strengthened by their political affinities.

¹ Com. Rep. 1811, p. 10, 41. Coffin's Newbury, 60, 321.

² The "Boston Journal" newspaper contained a graphic account of these difficulties, by an eye-witness, John H. Sheppard, Esq. They should be put in a permanent form.

³ Willis's Portland, 1, 83.

CHAPTER XI.

Acadia taken from the French—Temple appointed Governor—his friendship for Massachusetts—Pemaquid declines in importance—visit of the Royal Commissioners—their unfavorable report—its exaggerations and falsities—Pemaquid statistics bad enough—good reasons for it—Puritan vigor—Josselyn's account of Pemaquid life—the Dukedom—the colonists neglected—their misfortunes—an Ecclesiastical Court among the fisher men and its absurdity—moral influence of Massachusetts irresistible—testimony of Thomas Elbridge—popular will—contrast between the colonies and its causes—political changes at Pemaquid—the Jesuits and the Indians—danger—Charles Stuart's treachery—defrauds Temple.

Cromwell and England being in the zenith of prosperity and power, New England enjoyed the friendship of the home government. His Highness' Commissioners, Robert Sedgwick and John Leverett, both New England men, arrived here to oust the Dutch from New York; but news of the peace with Holland prevented. Sedgwick, the Commander-in-Chief, then joined his forces with those of Massachusetts, against the French Forts at the East, and Acadia again became English territory. Charles I. had dishonestly bestowed it, as his own, on the French Monarch, violating his patents to Sir David Kirk and Sir William Alexander, who had been at all the expense and labor of colonizing and cultivating the country. Cromwell righted this wrong. This was in 1654.¹ The inhabitants

¹ Holmes' Annals, i. 300, 301, with facts and authorities there given at large. Modern Univ. Hist., Lond., 1753, xxxix. 256.

were secured in their religion and property, and Sir Thomas Temple was appointed governor of the conquered territory. He was a friend to Massachusetts. This change in the east seems to have affected the channels of trade, and increased the direct intercourse with Massachusetts,¹ to the disadvantage of Pemaquid. There is but little to interest us in her history for the next few years, which seems to have been a period of decline. Though the religious and political sympathies of the Royal Commissioners were with the eastern settlements, still they made a very unfavorable report respecting them; saying that "upon Shipscot river and upon Pemaquid, 8 or 10 miles asunder, are three small plantations belonging to his royal highnesse, the biggest of which hath not above thirty houses in it, and those very mean ones too, and spread over eight miles at least. Those people for the most part are fishermen, and never had any government among them, most of them are such as have fled from other places to avoide justice,"² "the worst of men."³

¹ In 1665, the Royal Commissioners reported that Massachusetts had "ingrossed the whole trade of New England." Hutchinson's Papers, p. 421.

² Hutchinson's Collection of Papers, p. 424.

³ Doc. Col. Hist., New York, iii. 101. They add "as many men may share in a woman as they do in a boat;" undoubtedly the "Royal Commissioners" lied, but granting it to be true, they (the fishermen), were less public in their filth than was their "Royal" master, the Prince of Cuckolds who not only had many bawds, but they had many friends. It is not at all probable that the morals of the Sagadahock fishermen were a tithe so vile as Charles II. and his court are known to have been; and the criminal records of Massachusetts and Josselyn's narrative brand "Commissioner" Maverick with the deepest infamy!

One of these Commissioners was Mr. Samuel Mavericke

Samuel Mavericke

of Boston, a man of bad reputation; *their* harsh and wholesale depreciation of one of the principal Episcopal settlements on the coast, and the severe reflection that "they never had any government among them," may well arrest our attention: it was not an enemy that said this, no Puritans, but the Commissioners of Charles II.; it is the language of contempt towards a people always obedient, and without a trace of Puritanism, but loyalty itself—a people whose social and material condition was the legitimate result of the system adopted by Gorges, favored by Laud, and hated by the Puritans. It fulfilled the great law of "the tree yielding fruit after his kind."

But these sweeping statements from the Commissioners were exaggerated; they must be taken as a brief and careless, or ill-natured survey. Our neighbor Josselyn of Blackpoint was in the same fault, when he described Boston in 1638 as "a village of not above twenty or thirty houses"¹ but this author reported of these settlements soon after the Commissioners' visit, that there were many houses scattered all along, and stages for fishermen, and that it was well stored with cattle and corn-lands.¹

The magistrate of Pemaquid was not a shiftless man, but possessing, in an unusual degree, integrity and tact; and by these qualities he exerted a conservative influence on those who gathered about him as their principal and example; the population was greatly understated by the Commissioners, as in 1630 there were about five hundred

¹ Williamson, i. 423.

inhabitants, and Sullivan states it at a much higher number, a few years after, in 1673.¹ Still their dark and unfavorable report was not without truth. That the inefficiency of the authorities in Maine made her coast a refuge for fugitives from justice, was just what the Puritans had always feared and alleged; and it was argued by them, that, if the prelatical colonies were too helpless to enforce justice, their more vigorous neighbors might rightly interfere for the general benefit, and, as we have seen, the best part of the Maine people thought so too.² Josselyn, who left Black Point for England in the summer of 1671, describes the people of Maine after several years' residence among them. He classifies them as "Magistrates, Husbandmen or Planters, and fishermen; of the Magistrates, some be Royalists, the rest perverse Spirits, the like are the planters and fishers, of which some be planters and fishers both, others meer fishers; there are but few hand-craftsmen, and no shopkeepers; English goods being kept by the Massachusetts merchants, here and there, on the coast, at a profit of cent. per cent., in exchange for fish." "They have a custom of taking Tobacco, sleeping at noon, sitting long at meals some-times four times in a day, and now and then drinking a dram of the bottle extraordinarily: the smoaking of Tobacco, if moderately used refresheth the weary very much, and so doth sleep"! The fisherman of that day he paints to the life. He says "to every Shallop belong four fishermen, a Master or Steersman, a midship-man, and a Foremastman, and a shoreman who washes it out of the salt, and dries it upon hurdles

¹ *Mass. H. C.*, xxiii. 345; also Report of Commissioners.

² The best outline of this point in our history is by the late Mr. Harris, among his valuable notes to Hubbard's *Hist. of New England*, pp. 744—766.

pitcht upon stakes breast high and tends their Cookery; these often get in one voyage Eight or Nine pound a man for their shares, but it doth some of them but little good," for there comes in "a walking Tavern, a Bark laden with the Legitimate bloud of the rich grape"; "the conclusion of which is the costly sin of drunkenness." Of this nature, says Josselyn, "are the people in the Duke's Province, who, not long before I left the Countrey, petitioned" "Massachusetts to take them into their government; Birds of a feather will rally together."¹ We protest that this was not Puritan plumage, and that such fowls never were raised on the Puritan farm.

The interests or wishes of the people, if they presumed to have any, did, in fact, enter not at all into the consideration of the King, who disposed of their territory upon the caprice of the moment, and for merely personal objects, so that we are but little surprised by the gift of March 12th, 1664-5, to his brother James, the Papist, of the territory between the St. Croix and Pemaquid² river. This was included in the Patent with New York. The Duke left them for years without any attention; yet if they had attempted self-government, after the precedent in Massachusetts, they would have been crushed. They stood in an anomalous position; their owners would not govern them, nor yet were they permitted to govern themselves; and then comes the vilifying report of the Commissioners, that they "never had a government," heaping on them censures which belonged to any body but the colonists. But, about this time, the visit of the Royal Commissioners

¹ Josselyn's two voyages. Mass. H. C. xxxiii. 348-352.

² Holmes' Annals, i. 333. Hubbard's N. E., Harris's note 719. Williamson, i. 407.

caused a spasmodic action; they commissioned Henry Jocelyn,¹ Esq., Rev. Robert Jordan, Mr. Thomas² Gardner of Pemaquid, Mr. George Munjoy, Capt. Nicholas Raynol, and Mr. William Dyer, who took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and of a justice of the peace, on the fifth of September, in John Mason's house, on the Sheepscoot. But the Royal benevolence looked beyond their temporal welfare; it sought also the spiritual safety of these worthy fishermen, far distant from the home of "the Holy Mother Church," yet her faithful children; they were in dangerous contiguity to the recreant and apostate Puritans, and as a precaution against this moral poison, the Commissioners instituted an ecclesiastical tribunal!—such is the record³—and when this venerable body was divided in opinion,

"in wand'ring mazes lost,"

on any question of heresy or schism, of errors theological or ritualistic, which could be supposed to agitate such a community, then the judicious Jocelyn was to decide:

"deep on his front engraven
Deliberation sat and public care."

Sullivan assures us that this institution is the only one of the kind, ever heard of here, or in England. It would not be uninteresting to compare the proceedings of this Episcopal Council, among these humble fishermen, with some of the discussions in the Puritan colony, the Hutchinson trial,

¹ *Samuel Small*, aged about 73 years, testified, 11 Nov., 1737, that he was "in his youth, a servant to Henry Joslin, Esq, then a magistrate in the eastern parts, and lived with said Joslin several years at Pemaquid." *Com. Rep. Lincoln Co.* 1811, p. 99.


² Probably this was the Thomas Gardner at Cape Anne in 1623. Hubbard, N. E. 106.

³ Sullivan's *Hist. of Dist. of Maine*, 283. Williamson i. 423.

for instance; but the existence of this tribunal is the only evidence that the Pemaquiders ever fished in these muddy waters.

The Massachusetts, puritan, or republican influence was steadily progressing, and only a small minority of the inhabitants appeared to swear allegiance to the new authorities. There were none from Monhegan, and only four from Pemaquid; Henry Chamness, Edmund Arrowsmith, George Buckland, and last of all, "Mr. Thomas Elbridge."*

* "John Cock aged about Seventy Eight years declares and says that he was born at the Eastward parts of New England on the Eastern Side of Kennebeck River and lived there till he was driven away by the Indians about the year 1676 But while he lived there, he very well knew a man Called M^r Elbridge but does not well remember his Christian Name but he was a small man in Stature That s^d Elbridge Lived at Pemmaquid & was Accounted one of the Princepall men in them Parts and that he has often Seen S^d Elbridge at his fathers house that he also well remembers that Richard Paddishall who used the Coasting trade had an Island on s^d Kennebec River on which Island he lived for many years & his father before him which Island Was Called Paddishale's Island and that he never heard S^d Paddishall Laid any Claim or Pretended any right to Damares Cove Island till Since the last Indian Warr. That he well remembers that one Trick one ——— Hunnewell one Soward & Richard Reading lived on S^d Damares Cove Island and had been old Settlers there & that, about Sixty years agoe the Declarant went a fishing from s^d Island & well remembers that there were Seven fishing Boats that Continually used s^d Place and that he never heard that any of the afores^d Persons ever pretended any right thereto but only Used it as a fishing Place which they Esteemed free for any Person That he never knew or heard that the afores^d Rich^d Paddenshall ever Lived on said Damare's Cove Island Butt he well remembers that Said Rich^d Paddeshall Carried his family from s^d Island in Kennebeck River to Pemmaquid where he was killed as he afterwards Heard Boston Sept 18 1736

his
JOHN  COCK
mark

Suffolk ss. Boston Sept^r 18 1736 John Cock appearing Made oath to the truth of the above Declaration by him Subscribed taken in Perpetuam rei memoriam

13

Before Samuel Checkley Just Pacis
Wm. Tyler Quorum Unus

Unhappy man! where but a few years since he held the manorial court, he now survives bereft of all his honors, his lands alienated, and himself neglected even by the Royal Commissioners. Still the ruined man clung to the old ways, animated, perhaps, with the hope that each successive attempt to secure the royal mode would prevail. It was all in vain; and Thomas Elbridge lived long enough to sign with his fellows, a "Humble Request" to the Puritan Commonwealth, that they would "please so farr to favour us as to take us under your government and protection, that we all may have the Benefit of all those Laws settled amongst yourselves granted unto us."

The petition is of special value as a representation, by the people themselves, of their forlorn and helpless condition; the tone of the petition, and its not very cordial reception by Massachusetts, vindicate her from the common as well as very unjust charge of "usurpation" over Maine.

Historically the most important name in the list of Petitioners, is that of Mr. Elbridge, whose ingenuous yet humiliating confessions, reflecting on his own career and personal interests, give a peculiar force and credibility to the statements signed by him. Indeed, the declaration of the Royal Commissioners that this miserable collection of colonists "never had any government" is strengthened by the absence of any evidence of laws among them, or of their auxiliaries, schools and churches, or, with one or two exceptions, of even the rudest forms of primitive civil organization; helpless and demoralized under the steady policy and influences which had, for half a century, kept them a distinct people from the Puritans, and had been fatal to their manhood, these wretched planters, the forlorn hope of feudal and royal schemers, supplicate, in abject humility,

for "protection" under the laws and vigorous government of the Puritan Commonwealth. Two distinct social and political theories had been fairly tested under equal conditions of favor, and the full results appear in the ingenuous confessions of

THE HUMBLE REQUEST.

To the Honoured Governour, Deputy Governour, Majestrates & Deputies Assembled in the General Court now sitting in Boston this 18th day of May, 1672.

The petition of * * * * * several of the Inhabitants of the Eastern parts of New England viz^t Kenebeck Cape Bonawagon Damares Cove Shipscoate {Pemaquid} & Monhegan.—

{Humbly Sheweth that whereas the Providence of God hath stated our habitations into those parts wherein ¹ *some times* past we have had *some kind* of Government settled amongst us; but *for these Several years have not had any at all* which is greatly to our Prejudice & damage having *no way to Right ourselves upon any Account whatsoever* & have little hopes of obtaining any to be helpfull to us for the good of our *Soles* unless we have Government settled amongst us; The *Humble Request* therefore of your *Petitioners is that you will please so farr to favour us as to take us under your Government and protection* that we may all have the *Benefit of all those Laws settled among yourselves granted unto us*; which if this Honourable Court shall accept of & granted to us we have desired our loveing friend M^r Richard Collacott to advise with this honoured Court or committee w^h they shall appoint for that purpose, & so to act in our behalf what shall be

Judged meet or convenient for us whereby your Petitioners shall be ever engaged to pray &c.

KENNEBECK.

Richard Hamon,
Laurance Denic,
Silvanus Davis,
John Gutch,
Thomas Bowles,
Thomas Stephens,
W^m Beckford,
John Parker,
Th^s. Parker,
The. Lock,
Nath^l. Harris,
W^m. Baker,
Rob^t. Edmans,
David Crocker,
Ambros Honywell,
John Lock,
Nich^s. Peterson,
Edw^d. Cole,
James Cole,
Alex Frizell,
Jn^o. Layton.

Ralph Andrews,
Thom^s. Gimpse,
Philip Bendall,
W^m. Loveren.

CAPE BONAWAGON.

Robert Gamon,
John Nide [or Pride,]
Edw^d. Barton,
Henry Walderne,
Stephen Woolfe,
Mathew Dyer,
Rich^d. Seeth,
Nicholas Bond,
Benj^s. Barton,
Jn^o. Anthers,
Aaron Beard,
Tho^s. Salton,
W^m. Dane,
Tho^s. Haalfe,
Gab^l. Skinner,
Rob^t. Baker.

SHIPSCOATE.

W^m. Dyer,
Nath^l. Draper,
Tho^s. Dwinthine,
Tho^s. Morrer,
W^m. Cole,
Sam^l. Coxbinson,
John Whyte,
W^m. Collecott,
Christ^o. Dyer,
Jn^o. Dyer,
W^m. James,

PEMAQUID.

Thom^s. Gardner,
Jer. Hodsdon,
Jn^o. Cole,
Jn^o. Hinks,
Alex. Gold,
Jn^o. Browne,
W^m. Phillips,
Tho^s. Harwood,
THO. ELBRIDGE,
Walter Phillips,
Jn^o. Taylor.

DAMARIS COVE.

Richard Honywell,
 Jon^a. Allen,
 Roger Seaward,
 Jn^o. Wrieford,
 Elias Trick,
 Jn^o. Bedwell,
 Rob^t. Parker,
 Emanuel Whitehance,
 Leonard Alber,
 William Lee,
 Symⁿ. Lewsombe,
 Nich^o. Oyand,
 Rich^d. Friend,
 Th^s. Alger,
 Edm^d. Robins.

MONHEGAN.

Jn^o. Palmer,
 Jn^o. Dollen,
 Antho. Pedell,
 Geo. Bickford,
 Reynold Celer,
 Jn^o. Dare,
 Rich^d. Woorring,
 Edw^d. Dary,
 Tho^s. Flewen,
 Rich^d. Boone,
 Rich^d. Oliver,
 Roger Willis,
 Hen. Stokes,
 W^m. Sanders,
 Rob^t. Wittell,
 Abr^m. Larkrow,
 Abel Horkridg,
 Peter Widgor.

These were the names of the Persons Subscribers of the several Papers sent to Rich^d. Collacott for Petition aforesaid.

In answer to this Petition the Committee understanding that the line being drawn since the Petitioners first made this Petition it takes in the most part near all the p[']sons & places above mention'd do judge the Court may Grant the Petition* provided they pay all publick Charges especially with the rest of the inhabitants of this Colony

EDW^d. TYNG. GEORGE CURWIN. HUMPHREY DAVIE.

The Deputies approve of the Return of the Committee in answer to this pet. so far as the proviso marked*, our hon^{ble} majestrates Consenting hereto. W^m. Torrey Cler.
 28 May 1672. The majestrates Consent not hereto

EDWARD RAWSON Secry.

For the next few years, there is little of moment in the local events. The struggles for jurisdiction in the east waxed warmer between Massachusetts and the crown: the former had the advantage of popular favor; but this belongs rather to the general history of the State. The ever varying territorial names sufficiently indicate the fluctuating and uncertain tenure of authority. "The Duke of York's property," "The Territory of Sagadahock," "New Castle," "County of Cornwall," "Devonshire," appear in quick succession. The condition of the people was awful; the perils long ago noted by the forewarning voice of the venerable Bradford, were fast maturing: the French Jesuits had debauched the Indian mind, and a part of its religion was to extirpate the English; this, they were taught, was laying up treasures in heaven.

Jocelyn wrote in 1673 that he was a poor Indian that was not master of two guns with powder and shot, which they purchased of the French, and that they were generally excellent marksmen.¹ They also had a thorough knowledge of the vulnerable points in the English settlements. The frontiers were greatly alarmed, and in imminent danger during the Dutch war, in which France aided Holland, but an early peace delayed for a while the murderous attacks of the French and Indians. It was by the criminal conduct of the Stuarts,² that the French occupied a single

¹ Mass. H. C. xxiii. 309.

² "The French Colonies in Canada having great communications with the Indians who lay nearest to New England, used all means to distress those settlements: and it is certain that the French Councils at home had a great effect on the mind of Charles, and were a principal means of the impolitic discouragement which he now gave to his New England subjects." *Modern Universal Hist.* xxxix, p. 284.

foot of ground in Canada, but their evil genius still followed them, and in the treaty of Breda, July 31, 1667, the English colonies were completely hedged in, by the cession of Nova Scotia to the French, thus giving them the most important military posts on the coast, but, worst of all, strengthening the reverence of the natives for the apparent superiority of the French. If ever subjects had reason to curse the selfish recklessness of their King, they were the loyal and submissive people of the East. Charles Stuart did not only a public wrong in this, but he was guilty of dishonesty and meanness towards a subject; dishonest because the fee of the territory was in Sir Thomas Temple, and extorted by power, without compensation,¹ and mean, because the subject was without redress; an act which would place the subject in the penitentiary, and where, by the same reason, his "Majesty" ought to have been lodged.

¹ Williamson, i. 425, 428.

CHAPTER XII.

At the Council Table of Foreign Plantations—Independence of Massachusetts in 1671—Gorges—not safe to use force against Massachusetts—President Oakes' Political Sermon—Munjoy's Eastern Survey in 1671—Massachusetts initiates a Government at Pemaquid in 1674—Andros appointed Governor between the St. Croix and Pemaquid—Prelude of Indian hostilities—their origin—mutual distrust between English and Indians—the suffering of the poor savages—August, 1676, Casco, Pemaquid, New Harbor, Arrowsick destroyed—Thomas Lake and his family.

The diary of John Evelyn gives us a most interesting view of our affairs at this date, and admits us to the secret consultations at the table of the Council of Foreign Plantations. The latest maps of New England were open before them. At the sitting, March 26th, 1671, "what we most insisted on," says Evelyn, "was to know the condition of New England, which appearing to be very independent as to their regard to Old England, or his Majesty, rich and strong as they now were; there were great debates in what style to write to them, for the condition of that Colony was such, that they were able to contest with all other Plantations about them, and there was *fear of their breaking from all dependence on this nation*; his Majesty, therefore commended this affair more expressly. We, therefore, thought fit, in the first place, to acquaint ourselves as well as we could of the state of that place, by some whom we heard of that were newly come from thence, and to be informed of their present pos-

ture and condition; some of our Council were for sending them a menacing letter, which those who better understood the peevish and touchy humor of that Colony, were utterly against." Two months passed, and June 6th Evelyn enters in his journal, "I went to Council, where was produced a most exact and ample information of the best expedients as to New England, on which there was a long debate; but at length it was concluded that, *if any*, it should be only a conciliatory paper at first, or civil letter, till we had better information of the present face of things, since we understood they were a *people almost upon the very brink of renouncing any dependence on the crown.*" Such was the trepidation excited by New England, in the Council Chamber, more than a century before the separation. June 21st, "To Council again, when one Colonel Cartwright, a Nottinghamshire man, (formerly in commission with Colonel Nicholls,) gave us a considerable relation of that country; on which the Council concluded that in the first place a letter of amnesty should be dispatched." July 4th, "To Council, where we drew up and agreed to a letter to be sent to New England, and made some proposal to Mr. Gorges, for his interest in a plantation there." August 3d, "A full appearance at the Council. The matter in debate was, whether we should send a Deputy to New England, requiring them of the Massachusetts to restore such to their limits and respective possessions, as had petitioned the Council; this to be the open commission only; but, in truth with secret instructions to inform us of the condition of those Colonies, and whether they were of such power as to be able to resist his Majesty, and declare for themselves as independent of the Crown, which we were told, and which of late years made them refractory. Colonel

Middleton being called in, assured us they might be curbed by a few of his Majesty's first-rate frigates, to spoil their trade with the islands; but, though my Lord President was not satisfied, the rest were, and we did resolve to advise his Majesty to send Commissioners with a formal commission for adjusting boundaries, &c., with some other instructions." ¹

Contrast with this spirit of fear, the temper of President Oakes' Election discourse, of about the same time; a specimen of the political sermons of the Fathers of New England. "Keep to your patent, your patent was a royal grant indeed; and it is instrumentally your defence and security. Fix upon the patent and stand for the liberties and immunities conferred upon you therein, and you have God and the King with you, both a good cause and a good interest; and may with good conscience set your foot against any foot of pride and violence that shall come against you." ² While the Council at Whitehall were fearful, and hesitating, Massachusetts proceeded with firmness in her rights. Under an act of May, 1671, George Munjoy of Falmouth ascertained by actual survey that Pemaquid and Monhegan, and other settlements were within her charter limits, and reported that "all the inhabitants East along, seemed much to desire" their government. This report was made in May of the year 1672. In the spring of the next year, the "Gents," "inhabitants of Pemaquid," were surprised by a letter from their "very affectionate friend," Lovelace⁴ of New York, deprecating censure for the Duke's

¹ Diary and Correspondence, Lond. 1854, ii. 59, 60, 61.

² Belknap's N. H. Farmer's Ed. 63.*

³ Mass. Col. Rec. Vol. iv. p. ii. 487, 519.

⁴ Albany papers, 6, 7, 8.

total neglect of them for eight long years, and asking them what government would most conduce to their happiness and increase, and offering to invest them with ample power in both "Ecclesiastick and civil affayres." The solicitude of the Royal commissioners, seven years before, and now of Lovelace, in respect to Church affairs among the Pemaquiders, indicates perhaps, some internal commotion, in this highly respectable branch of the Anglican Catholic Church, but the records are silent on these exciting difficulties. Indeed, there is not a word about preacher, or pulpit, priest or prayer, among these sons and daughters of the Church Apóstolic, at Pemaquid, or its vicinity, from the days of Popham until now, a most painful hiatus in the history of Episcopacy in these parts. This benevolent design was frustrated by the Dutch, who captured New York, in the next July, and the pious Lovelace fled ⁴ to England. Again the Pemaquiders were without a shepherd. As abundant evidence of the popular wish and favor towards Massachusetts accumulated, the Puritan Commonwealth yielded to their prayers, and under her authority a Court was held at Pemaquid on the 22d of July, 1674, the Commission for which, and the report of the proceedings under it, are found in the Colony Records.⁵ This peaceful revolution, in the political condition of Eastern Maine, from dependence, on Manorial Lords and the beggarly experience of the Dukedom, to a union with their republican neighbors and the choice of magistrates by themselves, and from among their own numbers, marks an important epoch in her history, and one of much significance, if we are wise enough to learn a lesson from so humble a history.

⁴ Doc. Col. Hist. New York iii. 205. ?

⁵ M. C. Rec. V. 17-19. Present state of New England. Hubbard, Lond. 1677, p. 3.

THE COMMISSION.

{ } Att a General Court, held at Boston, 27th day of
 { L. S. } May 1674. In pursuance of an order at the Gener-
 all Court in Oct. 1673, it is ordered Majo^r Thomas Clarke,
 Mr. Humphrey Davy, Mr. Richard Collecott, and Lieut. Thos.
 Gardiner, or any three of them, whereof Majo^r Thomas
 Clark to be one, are fully hereby empowred to repaire to
 Pemaquid, Capenwaghen, Kennebec, &c. or some one of
 them, to the eastward. . . . to keep a County Court,
 to give oaths to the constables there appointed, and to ap-
 point meet persons, inhabitants there to offices and places
 within our patent, according to God, and the wholesome laws
 of this Jurisdiction, that the way of Godliness may be en-
 couraged, and Vice corrected. . . . to appoint Commission-
 ers Courts for the ending of small causes, which Commis-
 sioners shall have magistratical powers in marrying such
 as are duly and legally published according to law, as also
 to punish criminal offences to settle the militia, &c.

The commission being read to the inhabitants, and ¹ many
 of them desiring it, the territory within the northern line
 of the patent, eastward from the Kennebeck was called the
 county of DEVON, of which Lieut. Thomas Gardner of
 Pemaquid was appointed Treasurer, and chief of the mili-
 tary forces. Richard Oliver of Monhegin was made Clerk
 of the County Courts; Constables, Clerks of the writs and
 the officers provided for by law took their oaths of office.
 Twenty pounds were levied for court charges, law books,
 constable's staves, &c. The distribution of this tax indicates
 the relative importance of the plantations at this date; to
 "Saggerdehoc" and Kennebeck four pounds, Monhegan five

¹ Doubtless "many of them" were from Devonshire, England, and sought
 to keep alive the memories of home in the new "Devon."

pounds and ten shillings, Capenawaggen three pounds, ten shillings, Damerills Cove and Hyppocrass ¹ five pounds, and Pemaquid, only forty shillings; from this it appears that Monhegan had regained her primitive importance, since the depression of trade, and the return to the fisheries.

Thus, for the first time, there was an attempt to regulate the community by laws and magistrates, backed by an authority capable of enforcing them, and possessing the confidence of the colonists.

On the first of July, 1674, Major Edmund Andros was commissioned Governor of the territory between the St. Croix and Pemaquid.² This did not disturb Massachusetts, and in May, 1675, she appointed Capt. Thomas Lake and others, to hold the courts in "Devonshire," as usual, and again, in 1676, May 5th, they were commissioned to the same duty.³

But tragic and fearful events were now rapidly approaching; the gathering cloud hushed every thought but that of personal safety; at first, mere whisperings of danger startled the defenceless planter; the unwonted smiles and silence of the natives were of portentous meaning; but ere thought had become action, escape was too late, and every settlement, yesterday in security and peace, was now laid waste by indiscriminate slaughter; a thrill of horror, of awful fear, a faintness, swept over the heart of New England, as if the heathen⁴ had God's commission against them, robbing them of their children, destroying their cattle, making them few in number, and their highways desolate.

¹ *Hypocrits*, a locality in Booth-Bay Harbor. *Rev. R. K. Sewall*.

² *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.* iii. 215.

³ *Mass. Col. Rec. V.* 30, 87.

⁴ *Hutchinson Papers*, 491.

Various were the causes assigned for this war; some attributed it to an imprudent zeal in christianizing the Indians, but certainly this was not true of Maine; some, to vagrant Jesuits, who had for years gone from Sachem to Sachem, to exasperate the Indian against the English, and to bring them into a confederacy, and that they were promised supplies from France and other parts to extirpate the English nation out of the continent of America.¹ This is in harmony with all history, and doubly confirmed by the fact that the eastern tribes were always in alliance with the French, who, be it ever remembered, were here solely by the will of the mercenary Stuarts, and against the will of the people. On their memory rests this stain of blood and crime.

There had been jealousies of the eastern Indians, twelve or thirteen years before, but they had faded away; indeed, for the space of above fifty years, harmony had existed between them and the eastern colonists. Henry Sawyer of York sent the first news of the Indian troubles about Plymouth, to the Kennebeck, on the eleventh of July, 1675. In the Spring of 1676, one Laughton, from Piscataqua, or that vicinity, enticed some Indians about Cape Sable aboard his vessel, and sold them into slavery. This was charged by the Indians to the inhabitants of Pemaquid, as one of the principal grounds of their quarrel, but without reason, because Mr. John Earthy, one of the principal men of Pemaquid, had warned the natives of the report of Laughton's wicked designs.² Mr. Earthy, a gentleman of prudence,

¹ Hutchinson Papers, 490, 491. Doc. in Col. Hist., New York, iii. 240—244. Hubbard's narrative, London, 1677, 11, 13, 30.

² Hubbard's narrative, 30, 36, 37.

moderation, and courage, might, perhaps, have been successful in his negotiations¹ with the natives, but for the violence and indiscretion of the timid. Hubbard says that "those who were so violent against the Indians in their discourse, would not be persuaded upon any terms, then, or afterwards, to go out to fight against the Indians in an orderly way; as appeared both by their security in not standing better upon their guard, and by their sudden flight afterward, running away like a flock of sheep at the barking of any little dog."²

There were two sides in this quarrel, and Hubbard himself, who seems to intend an impartial narrative, says there were "different opinions about it."

After Mr. Earthy of Pemaquid had made peace with the Sachems, at Totonnock, Madockewando, the Chief, "asked what they should do for powder and shot, when they had eaten up their Indian corn; what they should do for the winter, for their hunting voyages; asking withall, whether the English would have them dy, or leave their country, and go all over to the French?" This was a question to be asked. Since King Philip's troubles, it was forbidden to sell ammunition to the Indians on the ground that they would use it against the English; on the other hand they often complained to the Pemaquid authorities of the injury they suffered, from want of powder and shot to kill venison and fowl, for want of which many of them had died the previous winter, "adding withall," says Hubbard, "that if the English were their friends, as they pretended, they would not suffer them to dy for want thereof," promising to keep true friendship, and to hinder their bitterest enemies,

¹ Hubbard's narrative, 35—39.

² Hubbard, 36.

the Amonoscoggan Indians, from troubling them, if by any means they could." The planters replied, "if we sell you powder, and you give it to the western men, many of whom, you say, would not have peace, what do we but cut our own throats?"

Both sides are entitled to commiseration, and not to our censure. The direct guilt rested on the fiends, Laughton and Hunt, the evil geni of both the red and the white man; they had rum in those days.

News of the violence at Casco reached the Kennebec, and the next two days, August thirteenth and fourteenth, 1676, witnessed the destruction of the English settlements in "Devonshire County;"—Pemaquid, New Harbor, Corbins' Sound, and Windgin's were all seen on fire within the same two ¹ hours."

The most conspicuous victim,² in property, position, and character, was Captain Thomas Lake, one of the most eminent merchants of Boston, and a gentleman of distinguished worth and usefulness. The Indians intended to save him, but in his flight from his fort at Arrowsick, he was shot. His father was Richard Lake of Erby in Lincolnshire. By his wife Mary, daughter of Stephen Goodyear, Deputy Governor of New Haven Colony from 1640 to 1650, he had several children, one of whom, Anne, was the wife of the Rev. John Cotton of Hampton, and upon his death, of the Rev. Dr. Increase Mather.³ Thomas, another child, became a respectable barrister in London, and took

¹ Hubbard's narrative.

² Hubbard, 2, 13, 14, 35, 38, 41—43, 72. Williamson, i. 536.

³ From the writer's family papers. See also appendix to Richard Mather's Journal, Clapp's edition, Boston, 1850, pp. 97—106. Hubbard's Narrative, Ind. wars.; Mathers Ind. wars.; Bridgman's Copps' Hill Epitaphs. Boston. Betham's Baronetage.

the property of his father's brother, Sir Edward Lake, L. L. D., Baronet, Chancellor of the Diocese of Lincoln. The Barrister's son was the Sir Bibye Lake, who afterwards claimed, under his grandfather's title, on the Kennebeck. The present Baronet, his descendant, has won honorable distinction in the British service in the Crimea.

CHAPTER XIII.

Relief for the East—Contrast between the policy of Andros and that of the Puritans—the refugees—Randolph's account—the French—Major General Dennison and forces ordered to Maine—Andros' complicity with the Indians and French in the wars of 1676, 1677—the falsity of his reports to the Council—Pemaquid re-fortified—the Ducal government at Pemaquid—revenue orders—Exclusion of traders from Massachusetts—Courts organized—Pemaquid police—taverns licensed—Indians regulated—religious services—coasting licenses—map of Pemaquid in 1677.

The action of Andros, the Duke's governor, and of Massachusetts, after these disasters, was characteristic.— Though the Puritans had been deeply involved in the expense of life and money already consequent upon Philip's war, they promptly raised an efficient force, well furnished, in suitable vessels, to recover the East. Most of those men that fled from the deserted places at the eastward were pressed into this service. Andros' only care was that those who had escaped should not remain in Massachusetts but come to New York. His littleness and inefficiency appear in humiliating contrast with the humanity and energy of the Puritans. We cannot do better than quote the words of the record of Oct. twelfth, 1676 :

“In answer to a motion made by the Governor of New Yorke, who *hath sent his sloop* to transport sundry of the inhabitants that are fled to these townes from the merciless cruelty of the enemy in the easterne parts, this Court doth

declare, that as they may not justify the act of sundry of the abovesaid inhabitants, who have, in a very dishonorable manner, forsaken those places that might, with meet care, have been kept out of the enemies hands, so they cannot countenance or incourage the motion made by the governor of Yorke, the tendency thereof being apparently for the damage of his Majestie's interest in those parts, and quitting the same to be a prey, not only to the Indians, but also to the French,¹ who are said by themselves to be their abettors² in the depopulation there made, but doe judge it farr more conducible to his majestie's interest that with one shoulder all his majestie's subjects in these plantations doe joyne in driving the enemy thence, and for that end that all meete endeavors be used to engage the Mohawks, or other

¹ "The French have held a civil correspondence with the inhabitants of Hampshire, Main, and the Duke's Province, although the government of Boston, upon all occasions is imposing upon the French, and encouraging an interloping trade, which causeth jealousies and fears in the inhabitants bordering upon Acadiaie, that the French will sometime or other, suddainly fall upon them to the breach of the national peace. The government of the Massachusetts hath a perfect hatred of the French, because of their too near neighborhood and loss of their trade, and look upon them with an evil eye, believing that they have had a hand in the late wars with the Indians." *Randolph's Report in Hutchinson's papers and N. Y. Col. Doc.. iii. 241.*

² Randolph said, "Some impute the present Indian war" "to an imprudent zeal in the magistrates of Boston to christianize those heathen, before they were civilized:" "some believe that there have been vagrant and jesuitical priests who have made it their business and designe for some years past to goe from Sachem to Sachem, to exasperate the Indians against the English and to bring them into a confederacy, and that they were promised supplies from France and other parts to extirpate the English nation out of America." *N. Y. Col. Doc. iii. 242. Hutchinson's Mass. i. 490. Trumbull's Connecticut, 367.*

Indians, friends to the English, for their help and assistance therein." They also "ordered away with all speede one hundred and forty men, with provisions, ammunition and clothes, to Captain Hathorne, for the security of what is remaining in Yorkshire, and if possible to annoy the enemy in their quarters." Dennison, the Major General was appointed to command the forces raised "against the incursions of the common enemy in those eastern ¹ plantations.

James Stuart was on good terms with the French; Charles Stuart was immersed in the grossest sensualism; and what did "Royal Highness" or "Majesty" care for eastern lands or fishermen, *provided* Puritan Massachusetts did not get them? We must thank the old Bay State, under God, that Maine was not left to Canada, and that, at this moment, her inhabitants are not "subjects," but American citizens.

Piqued by this deserved rebuke, Andros vented his spleen against Massachusetts by complaints to the Council. These papers, in the British archives, have been published in the New York Documents, and seem wholly to change the face of received history on some of the points involved. They were written by Andros himself, and prove him guilty of the meanest of all vices.

Andros was much annoyed by the printed declaration of war which had been issued by Massachusetts in the beginning of the winter of 1675, stating that Philip and the hostile Indians had received the muniments of war from Albany, a fact obtained from captive Indians, or English, escaped from Andros'² government. He discovered great sensitiveness in regard to this war, and labored to criminate Massachu-

¹ Mass. Col. Rec. V. 123, 124, Oct. 12, 1676.

² N. Y. Col. Rec. iii. 253, 263.

setts and exonerate himself. Fortunately he made several reports, at different times, and their various discrepancies are fatal to his honor.

In November, 1677, he sent to the Council "a short account" of his administration, in which he dates the sending of the Duke's sloop to convey the Pemaquid refugees to New York, as having been done in December, but the Massachusetts' record proves that it was on the 12th of October preceding, and, at the same time, they had suggested the enlistment of Mohawks, a proposition originating with them, and not with Andros; yet did Andros affirm to the Council that he had offered the aid of the Mohawks to Massachusetts, and that she had refused them! and Randolph repeated the falsehood at length.

Again, in November, 1677, he reported to the Council that "the Eastern parts were wholly *deserted* by the Indians, and neglected" by Massachusetts, yet in the next April he represented to "Majesty" his "*subjection* of the Eastward Indians at the very great charge and expense of 'Royal Highness:'" at the same time he renews his dolorous complaints that Massachusetts did not retract her charge that Albany supplied the Indians with munitions of war, "but doo still continue and allow the said printed Declaration and Books which are dayly sold in their Colony."¹ Massachusetts refused to retract what she believed to be true, and the total disregard of truth in Andros' representations to "Majesty," confirm the charges against him. There is no doubt that Edmund Andros winked at the beginning of King's Philip's terrible career, that he abandoned the Duke's Eastern territory and settlements, that Massachusetts was at first alone in aiding the

¹ Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y. iii. 256—259, 266, 242.

Maine frontiers, and that when the country was, as he himself reported, "wholly deserted by the Indians," this Munchausen again took possession. This was in June, 1677. They loaded four sloops with heavy timber, to fortify ¹ Pemaquid. The fort was a redout with two guns aloft, and an outwork about nine feet high, with two bastions in the opposite angles in each of which were two great guns, and another at the gateway. There were fifty soldiers with sufficient ammunition, stores of war, and spare arms, and provisions for about eight months. "Royall Highness' sloop with four guns, was appointed to guard the coast and fisheries."² The enterprise was conducted by Lieut. Anthony Brockles, Ensign Cæsar Knapton, and Mr. M. Nicolls, under instructions of June 13th.³ They were directed to send one of the sloops, with letters to Mr. Henry Joselin, Rev. Robert Jordan, and Major Nicholas Shapleigh, inviting them to settle at Pemaquid. If Mr. Joselin was willing to stay there, they were to deliver to him his commission as a magistrate, and to advise with him in all matters of consequence, particularly about the Indians. Andros endeavored to create a monopoly of fishing on the Duke's coasts, and established a custom house at Pemaquid, with a view to exclude Massachusetts from any further interference⁵ there.

They soon made peace with the Indians, in which Massachusetts was included, and thirty-five or forty captives and

¹ Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y. iii. 260, "a tract beyond Kennebec River called Pemaquid."

² *Ibid*, 248, 256.

³ N. Y. Col. Doc. iii. 248, where their instructions are given in full.

⁴ *Ibid*, 249.

⁵ *Ibid*, iii. 256. Mass. C. R., V. 162, 164.

several vessels were restored by the natives.¹ Mr. William Bowditch, Collector of the Port of Salem, ancestor of the illustrious mathematician and astronomer, Nathaniel Bowditch,² was an owner of these vessels; after tedious negotiations and journeys he obtained his property. The correspondence indicates no great cordiality between Andros and the Massachusetts authorities³ and people. Stringent directions were given to the commander and magistrates at Pemaquid, for safety against the Indians, regulating trade and fisheries, excluding all intruders on pain of seizure, prevention of fraud and intemperance, promotion of amity between the fishermen and planters, confining trade at or near to the fort, and authorizing civil and criminal trials, New York being the appellate court in cases of moment. Andros was determined to exclude all Massachusetts people from the territory. All trade was confined to a single broad street, protected by the fort; the dwellings to open only on this avenue, and business to be done "between sun and sun, for which the drum to beate or bell ring, every morning and evening and neither Indyan nor Christian to drink any strong drink, or lye ashore, in the night, on the point where the fort stood." The interior arrangements of the fort to be kept absolutely secret from all but the garrison forces. These regulations were to be extended "as farr westward as Blackpoint," and magistrates were commissioned to enforce them.⁴ The militia were to

¹ N. Y. Col. Rec. iii. 256, 265. Mass. C. R., V. 162, 164. Albany papers, 9, 15, 23.

² Memoirs of Nathaniel Bowditch, by his son N. Ingersoll Bowditch, Esq., prefixed to the 4th volume of the *Mécanique Céleste*, pages 9, 16.

³ *Ibid*, 254, Mass. C. R., V. 165—167.

⁴ Albany papers.

be kept in good order and discipline, the public revenue of the customs and excise due to "Royall Highness in Pemaquid and its dependancies," to be collected by officers appointed to that service.

Efficient measures were adopted for the settlement of Pemaquid, "the extreme parts of his Riall Hiness territory Betwene the River Kenybeke and St. Croix" Taverns were opened at every fishing station, only one dog was allowed to a family, all planters and fishermen were to have arms and ammunition, to trade with the Indians only at Merrymeeting and at Pemaquid; ¹ "no stragling farmes to be erected, and no houses built any where under the number of thirty;" and for the promoting of piety, prayers and the Holy Scriptures were to be read by a person

¹ Hubbard's map of New England, the first engraved here, and published in 1677, affords curious evidence of the relative importance of Pemaquid at that period. As to its fidelity to the coast of Maine, we might well date it back to the time when Delian tells us the artists were obliged to write above their productions, "this is a Tree," "this is a horse," &c.; but the familiar names, Portsmouth, Winter Harbor, Casco Bay, Kennebec, Pemaquid, declare the country.

Evidently the map was drawn on the inductive method, for the projector fancied that there must be some relation or proportion, between the physical and the commercial or political features of a place. And so he pictured Pemaquid many times beyond its true area, and reaching far out into the Atlantic, almost ready to greet Cape Cod.

This great geographical blunder merely signifies that Pemaquid was, at the time, the foremost settlement in Maine, and thus the very defects of the map constitute it a fair historical index of the relative importance of the principal settlements. It is prefixed to Hubbard's "Present State," and bears this apology: "being the first that ever was here cut and done by the best Pattern that could be had, which being in some places defective, it made the other less exact, yet doth it sufficiently show the Situation of the country and conveniently well the distance of places."

“appointed for the purpose.” For further encouragement of planters, they were exempted from arrest for debt, for seven years, and all persons not under the government of “Royall Highness” were obliged to obtain a license, at a cost of “four kentalls merchantable fish for a decked vessell, and two kentalls for an open boate.”

CHAPTER XIV.

'Riall Hiness" is "altogether arbitrary"—Gyles Goddard chosen representative to Albany—revolt—refugees return from Massachusetts—insubordination—James II.'s accession to the crown—Andros Governor of New England, Sept. 1686—the Duke's Eastern possessions annexed to Massachusetts—Thomas Gyles, Esq.—rascality of Palmer and Weston—Louis XIV., and not James II., was the real sovereign—an "absolute government" designed for New England—in 1688 Andros visits Pemaquid—robs Castine's fort—intrigues with the French Indians—his singular conduct and its meaning.

The inhabitants and fishermen of Pemaquid cared no more for "Riall Hiness," than did their fathers for Royal patents. At last these Pemaquiders, eighteen of them, in the year 1683, said to "Riall Hiness," in tolerably plain English, that they did not like his laws, or his governors, and that they would like to "bee a member of that Boody," at the other end of "Royall Hiness territory," and try to govern themselves. They very distinctly said that "Riall Hiness" was "allto gether arbytrary," that "Grand abusses and Villifying Lang^e were not to be endured any longer," and that his laws and officers were as bad as they could be. This serious remonstrance from the next door neighbors of the impracticable Puritans, was not ineffectual; they "met and chose one Representative" of "the freeholders of Pemaquid and Dependancies," to go to New York. Mr. Gyles Goddard was the man; he carried two petitions

from the people, but they were returned to him, with an order to wait the governor's leisure to visit Pemaquid. This is the whole record of Mr. Giles Goddard's parliamentary life. To induce people to immigrate to Pemaquid, large grants of land were made, with a recklessness that led to endless "disorders and confusions." They first made grants, and then sent a surveyor to locate the territory, if it could be found.

The revenue officers and coast guards were ineffectual against the illicit trade, and the intruders, from the Puritan colonies. They complained that Capt. Elisha ¹ Hutchinson of Boston, and several others, "gave out severare Threttenings," and claimed title to the lands under "old morgages y^t were made before the warrs wth y^e heathens." They were also annoyed by "one Nicholas Manning, Capt: of a company that is very Troublesome," and "who makes Parties and Divisions amongst vs," which "wee feare will grow worse." Many of these wretched and helpless colonists were sent hither by Andros, from New York, probably as more plastic materials for "the great Turke" government which might be established; some were the old planters, returned to their possessions, after a temporary refuge in the shore towns of Massachusetts; they were remote from New York, and the Ducal government was feeble and inefficient; they had neither the intelligence nor the spirit to take care of themselves, and would welcome any Power that would relieve them from the miseries of anarchy, and political imbecility.

His "Riall Hiness" became his "Majesty" James II., and his province reverted to the Crown; he appointed the detested Andros "Governor of New England," and on the

¹ Pemaquid Papers, p. 99. Hutchinson's Papers, 561—565.

nineteenth day of September, 1686, ordered that the fort and country of Pemaquid, with the great guns, ammunition and other stores of war, should be transferred to the government of New England.¹ Thus was dissolved an unnatural and inconvenient political relation between the remote territory of New York and Pemaquid, made by Stuart, regardless of the welfare² of the people, and merely for the personal interest of his brother James. But this Royal bigot intended no benefit to Massachusetts, or to "Pemaquid and its dependencies." The promotion of Andros to the government of Massachusetts gratified his master's bitter personal hatred to the Puritans; in spirit and motive it was precisely akin to the commission of the distinguished general and terrible scoundrel, Claverhouse, over the Scotch.

Dongan had represented that Pemaquid was of no advantage to the Dukedom, was four hundred miles distant, that there were always at the fort the officers and twenty men in full pay, as useless expense, and suggested its annexation to Boston, as valuable to them for its fisheries.³

Thomas Gyles, Esq., driven from Merrymeeting Bay by the late war, and finding that "plantations were going on at Pemaquid, bought several tracts of land there," and was appointed Chief Justice "of the County of Cornwall," erected by Gov. Dongan. He complained of "the immoralities of a people who had long lived lawless."⁴ The fort

¹The details of these general statements may be found in the Albany Pemaquid Papers.

²Hutchinson Papers, 489. The same recklessness marked the alienation of Acadia to the French.

³Doc. Col. Hist. Rec. iii. 391.

⁴Gyles' narrative in Drake's "Tragedies of the Wilderness," 1846, 74.

was in ruins, and the unfortunate planters were oppressed by the villainy of Palmer and West, in enforcing new land titles.¹ The Council, in July, 1687, Andros presiding, ordered that the Court for "the County of Cornwall" should include the inhabitants on the western banks of the Kennebeck; while they had jurisdiction in all matters of life and liberty, "noe title of land"² could be there mooted, but was referred to the rapacious scrutiny of Andros and his creatures at Boston.

In this rapid survey, much has been necessarily omitted which will richly reward the attention of the historian of Pemaquid. From this date she is found in a more natural alliance with the Puritan Commonwealth, though the government expenses of the East far exceeded the taxation levied upon them. Charles and James Stuart's plot to subvert the Constitution, to introduce Papacy into England, and their ignoble relations with France, and James' consequent expulsion, had a direct bearing on the affairs of Pemaquid. He was "capable of committing any crime." Louis³ XIV. governed New England as really as he ruled over Canada, and the Ducal proprietor of Pemaquid, and Barillon, the French minister, were his agents. Barillon had sent to France a minute account of the Duke's plans for "an absolute government" in New England, and of the opposition of Halifax. The King replied from Versailles on December 13th, 1684, that "The reasoning of Lord Halifax upon the mode of governing New England ill entitled him to the confidence which the King reposed in him;

¹ Hutchinson papers, 561—565. Palmer was afterward appointed Chief Justice! Hutch. Hist. i. 331, note.

² Council Records, July 27th, 1687.

³ Hume's Eng. ch. LXX.

and I am not surprised to learn that the Duke of York has particularly directed the attention of the King his brother to their consequences." ¹

From the revolution of 1688, our French neighbors hated us more cordially than ever, and their revenge was satiated by the terrible sufferings inflicted by them and their Indian allies, ² on our Eastern frontiers.

In the summer of 1688, Andros and Randolph went on a pleasure excursion to the East; "by easy motions they got to Pemaquid where they stayed three or four days to refresh themselves with sheep and soules;" they thought that as Pemaquid would "in time be a very good place, being the only good porte for all vessels eastward, to ride well and secure from danger, the fort should be well repaired." James Stuart, Dongan, and Andros were alike, but the last two fell out, and the wicked Randolph, "a bird of their own feather," lets out a few words of truth. He wrote, the colonists "have been squeezed dry by Colonel Dongan, and his agents West and Graham;" and "there is no good understanding betwixt Col. Dongan and Sir Edmund, and 'twas not well done of Palmer and ³ West to tear all in pieces that was settled and granted at Pemaquid by Sir Edmund; that was the scene where they placed and displaced, at pleasure, and were as arbitrary as the great Turke; some of the first settlers of that eastern country were denied grants of their own lands, whilst

¹ These letters are most important documents in *New England History*.

² Douglas' Summary, i. 190. *Magnalia*, ii. 524.

³ These legal rascals "produced to the planters a commission from Col. Dongan to dispose of all their lands to whoever would take leases at 5s the hundred acres quit rent!" Randolph's letter. *Hutch. papers*, 561—565. *Magnalia* ii. 510.

these men have given the improved lands amongst themselves," eight or ten thousand acres to each.¹ Andros signalized the expedition by robbing Castine's fort, and thus provoking another war.² His complicity in the hostilities of the noble King Philip has been referred to, but the villainy of this man is again exhibited at Pemaquid, in the year 1688, while doing the will of his master, the same who commissioned a Jeffreys, and delighted in his cruelties. The evidence is direct and complete. Lenox Beverly and Gabriel Wood testified that Andros entertained two squaws, Madockawando's sister and Moxies' wife, in the fort, at Pemaquid, several days; and that when they and other women left the fort "half drunk," two files of soldiers were appointed for their safe conduct to New Harbor, two miles east of Pemaquid, on the other shore; that these women were supplied with ammunition, powder and bullets, which they saw in the several baskets, and which the squaws said they had from Andros, and that they were to have more. The Indians also testified³ that it was well understood among them that Andros was their friend, and tampered with them against the English, of whom he was then the Governor. This is in exact parallel to the conduct of the Stuarts in their intrigues with Louis XIV.

We have detected him not only in falsehood, in reporting to the Council in 1677 that he had offered to procure the alliance of the Mohawks, but in the meanness of filching to

¹ Randolph's letter, Boston, June 21, 1688.

² Mather's *Magnalia*, ii. 508. Hutch. papers, 562, 563. Dr. Belknap, (*Hist. of New Hampshire*, ch. x.), says this war "was really kindled by the rashness of the same persons who were making havock of the liberties" of New England.

³Rev. in N. E. Justified—Ed. 1691.

his own credit, the merit of the suggestion which distinctly originated with Massachusetts; and now, when he is Governor of New England, and we are again in hostilities with the Indians, it is this same Andros who influences the Mohawks to make peace with the French. Faithful to his master, he sought the interests of France, not of his own country, traitorously using his official influence against the very people whom he governed. He ordered the inhabitants in Maine to desist from fortifying and garrisoning their houses, leaving them defenceless. To complete his treason, about the beginning of winter he marched a force of about a thousand men to Pemaquid, some of the principal officers being Papists, where, it is said, that the New England soldiers who died from the extreme hardship, and exposure of the winter service, outnumbered all the Indians at that time in hostility.¹ Not one Indian was killed. Andros knew,² and the people told him, that it was in vain to prosecute a war, at this season, which might have been effectually done the past summer. It was at this time that he enjoyed the companionship of the Indian squaws, and supplied them with ammunition. These are well authenticated facts.³

¹ Andros' report of this expedition is in *Doc. Col. Hist. New York*, iii. 723.

² *Williamson* i. 590. This author's apologies for Andros are inconsistent with the facts and the spirit of his administration. *Book VII., Articles 1, 2, 3*: also *Vol. i. p. 162, 163, 164*, of *Mather's Magnalia*, leave no doubt of Andros' rascality and inhumanity in this part of his administration in New England.

³ This and abundant evidence of the same tenor is preserved in the pamphlet of 1691 entitled "The Revolution in New England Justified." *Hutch. Hist. i. 330, 331. Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y. iii. 581.*



CHAPTER XV.

The treachery of Andros—its effects on the soldiery—desertion at Pemaquid—the Jesuit Thury—Indian crusade against the English heretics—Frontenac's reply to Phipps—its significance—Andros' reports—his mendacity and cunning—the true state of the case—Andros deposed and imprisoned—exposure of his villainy—the provisional government—its energy—recruits for Pemaquid—the colonists quit the East—statistical committee—guns and ammunition at Pemaquid—attempted alliance with the Maquas.

The treachery of Andros was so ill concealed, that the whole country was rife with rumors of disaster and coming war, and the soldiers sent to Pemaquid were persuaded that he designed rather to sacrifice them to the French and Indians, than to defend the colonists. Andros hastened from Pemaquid to Boston upon hearing the tidings of revolutionary tendencies in England, and the troops left without discipline, and without faith in the honor of their chief, deserted their posts² at the same time, leaving the inhabitants without protection. Fort Charles and Jamestown, (so Andros designated the Pemaquid fort and settlement,) were laid waste in August, 1689. Lahontan says that the garrison made a brave defence, but there being great quan-

¹ The design of this paper compels us to omit the details of this war, but they will form chapters of intense interest in the enlarged and minute history of Pemaquid now in hand by her accomplished son, Professor Johnston.

² Magnalia, Book VII. art. 3, 4.

tities of grenadoes and other fireworks thrown in upon them, while the savages (contrary to their custom,) scaled the palisadoes on all hands, the Governor was obliged to surrender upon discretion. Without the assistance of the savages, the fort could not have been taken, though it was a frail structure.¹ The best of his men being killed and himself wounded, Captain Weems capitulated on the second day, and carrying off the few remaining people in Mr. Pateshall's sloop, left Pemaquid and its dependency to the enemy. This disaster but completed the long cherished purpose of Charles and James Stuart, the vile stipendiaries of Louis XIV. Charlevoix states that the Indians, avowed friends of the French, who broke up the fort at Pemaquid were Penobscots, among whom a Jesuit, named M. Thury, a good laborer in the faith, had a numerous mission. It was to the Indians, simply a crusade against heretics. The same author tells us that "the first attention before setting out of these brave christians was to secure aid of the God of battles, by confessions and the sacrament; and they took care that their wives and children performed the same rites, and raised their pure hands to heaven, while their fathers and mothers went out to battle against the heretics."² To exclude all doubt as to the correctness of these views, we quote from Sir William Phipps' summons to Count Frontenac to surrender, in the Canada expedition of 1690: "The wars between the two crowns of England and France, doth not only sufficiently warrant, but the destruction made by the French and Indians under your command

¹ "Travels in Canada," letter XIX.

² Quoted in note to Gyles' "Memoirs," republished in Drake's "Tragedies of the Wilderness," 1846, pp. 73—109: see also Bradstreet's letter, Doc. Col. Hist. N. York, iii. 770. Randolph's letter, *ibid.*, 580.

and encouragement, upon the persons and estates of their Majesties subjects of New England, without provocation on their part, hath put them under the necessity of this Expedition for their own security and satisfaction, and the cruelties and barbarities used against them, by the French and Indians, might upon the present opportunity prompt unto a severe revenge." Count Frontenac's answer is a condensed history of the Stuart policy and hypocrisy, which caused the revolutions in Old and New England and a complete vindication of both. It was "that Sir William Phipps and those with him, were *heretics* and traitors to their King, and had taken up with that Usurper, the Prince of Orange, and had made *a revolution, which, if it had not been made, New England and the French had been all one*¹; and that no other answer was to be expected from him, but what should be from the mouth of his ²cannon." Here is a distinct development of the plot, disclosed in Louis XIV's letter of December 13th, 1684, and from which both Englands were preserved by the leaven of Puritanism, resulting in the glorious redemption of 1688; a second triumph of the principles which led the first Charles and William Land to the scaffold; the requirement of simple justice.

In May of 1690, Andros sent another of his remarkable "reports" to the Lords of Trade. It was a review of his administration in New England, from 1688 to his imprisonment, and exhibits his usual mendacity, and tact in filching to his own credit whatever might seem desirable, and mis-

¹ James Stuart wrote to the Pope his full purpose to establish papacy in New England as well as in Old England *Magnalia* i. 163. A part of his scheme was to colonize N. E. with Irish.

² *Magnalia*. Life of Sir William Phipps.

construing every act of the colonists. His impudence is amusing. "The Confederates and chief actors in this revolution took upon them the government by the name of a Council, who not content with the inconveniency they had brought on themselves in the Massachusetts Colony" (by ridding themselves of Andros and his vampires) "but to the ruine of the poore neighbors, on the twentieth of April gave orders for the drawing off of the forces from Pemaquid and other garrisons and places in the Eastern partes, far without the lymitts of their Colony¹ and where the scate of warr with the Indians was, and to seize several of the officers, and for calling home the vessels appointed to guard the coast and fishery, which was done accordingly, and the forces disbanded when most of the soldiers belonging to the standing companies there, were dispersed; of which and their actings at Boston, the Indians having notice, (and being supplied with ammunition and provision out of a vessel sent from Boston by some of the chief conspirators *before the insurrection* to trade with them) they were encouraged and enabled to renew and pursue the war; and by the assistance of some French who have been seen amongst them, and engaging of several other Indians before unconcerned, increased their numbers, that in a very short time, several hundred of their Majesties' subjects were killed and carried away captive; the Fort at Pemaquid taken, the whole Country of Cornwall, the greatest part of the Province of Maine, and part of the Province of New Hampshire

¹ This is a singular statement, to the very Council which had itself annexed that part of the country to Massachusetts. Andros' papers abound in such foolish and palpable falsehoods.

destroyed and deserted," and fisheries and lumber trade nearly ruined. ¹

The absolute falsehood of much of this narrative and its perversion of facts, become evident by attention to a few dates and details.

Immediately after the deposition of Andros on the eighteenth of April, 1689, ² the venerable Bradstreet and the magistrates of the former Commonwealth, having resumed the government, ³ "to the security and satisfaction of the subjects in that Colony," ⁴ they adopted energetic measures to shield their fellow colonists from the horrors of the Indian war. "Somewhile before the Revolution," attempts were made to conciliate the Eastern Sagamores, and, though the ranks of the Eastern forces were thinned by the apprehensions excited by Andros' inexplicable and treacherous conduct while at the East, "they sent unto the soldiers yet remaining at Pemaquid to keep their post, engaging to them that they should not want their pay. ⁵ Andros had placed public affairs in a most disastrous and alarming condition; his tyrannical and lawless proceedings at home, and his treacherous dealings with the Indians had paralyzed the

¹ Doc. Hist. New York, iii. 722—726. Randolph's Report to the Lords "from the Common Goal in Boston the 29th of May, 1689," and of course, reviewed and endorsed by his fellow culprit, Andros, is in same volume, pp. 578—583.

² Andros' "report." Andros, after his expulsion from Massachusetts, played the tyrant in Virginia, with impunity. There he was "frequently pleased to say they had no Title to their Lands, for a reason which neither himself nor any body else knew." *Beverley's Virginia*, 1705; § 141.

³ Hutchinson's Massachusetts, 1795, i. 330—340.

⁴ The king's letter of approbation, Aug. 12, 1689; *ibid* i. 347.

⁵ *Magnalia*, ii. 511.

government, and both people and soldiers were in uncertainty whether their rulers and officers¹ were in the interests of France or England. The provisional government was beset with difficulties. Daily the tidings of Indian massacre, and cries for help, came from their Eastern brethren. Unhappily the records of this exciting period are lost. The earliest Council minutes,² are dated July 3d, when a Committee was sent to Albany, with suitable presents to enlist the "Maquas" or allies to the English against the Eastern Indians, and on the sixth of the same month it was "ordered that speedy care be taken for the preservation of Pemaquid, and their Majesties' people and interest there," and special instruction to James Weems,³ the Commander at

¹ "Some of the Chief Commanders" of the army at Pemaquid were "Papists." *Magnalia*, i. 163.

² The earliest I have found.

³ The following document is printed from an early and probably contemporary copy, in the possession of Charles H. Morse, Esq., of Cambridge. It throws a gleam of light on the affairs of Pemaquid and our Colonial difficulties. Probably Lt. Weems' petition may be found in London. It must contain interesting particulars:

"To y^e R^t. Hon^{ble} the L^{ds} of their Ma^{ties} most hon^{ble} privy Council.

The Answer of S^r Henry Ashurst Barronet, Increase Mather, Elisha Cooke & Thomas Oakes, gentlemen (so far forth as they are concerned) to y^e petition of L^t James Weems.

Having received a Copy of y^e s^d pe'tion and your Lordships Order for the Agents of New England to put in their Respective Answers Doe with all humility lay before your L^{ds}pp's That they are Only Employed and intrusted by the Governor Council and Representatives of y^e Colony of the Massachusetts Baye in New England & for no other part of New England And the s^d Respondents S^r Henry Ashurst & Increase Mather doe humbly represent unto your L^{ds}pp's that neither of them was in New England during the Transaction in the petition mentioned & know nothing thereof. And the Other Respondents Elisha Cooke & Thomas Oakes doe most humbly acquaint your L^{ds} pp's that they doe not know that y^e ffort of *Pemaquid* was so distressed or taken by reason of such Defect or in such manner as the

that port: but in less than twenty days "Richard Pierce, and Hosea Mallett and sundry others, out of the five of the seven fishing boats at Sagadahoc," a part of Cornwall County, "appearing in Council and declaring that they were resolved to leave the place, and Elisha Andrews, Commander of the garrison there, writing also that the planters were out of provision" and would not remain longer, they sent orders to Andrews, in case of desertion by the inhabitants, "to draw off the soldiers sent from Boston, by the Council, and to remove them together with the artillery, armes, ammunition and stores, belonging to the garrison to Falmouth, under command of Captain Sylvanus Davis." The planters and soldiers of the East fled to Massachusetts in great numbers. ³

petition sets forth. And with submission your L^d pp's doe apprehend that y^e govern^t of y^e s^d Colony can make it appeare that the petitioner hath not truly represented matters in his petition. And none of the Respondents know that y^e 172—06—10^d in the petition mentioned, or any part thereof is Due or unpaid to the petitioner. And if any thing appeare to be Due to him They humbly conceive that had he remained upon the place Or shall make application to y^e Governm^t: that he might or will there receive satisfaction for his Demands. However these Respondents deny that they were or are any waies entrusted or had or have any Authority from or effects of the s^d governm^t in their hands or power to pay the petitioner his Demands or any part thereof. But shall by the first opportunity represent to the Governm^t there w^t L^t Weems has Represented to your L^dpp's in his petition. And doe not question but they will enable us to returne your L^d pp's a very satisfactory Answer. All which is most humbly Said before your Lordships.

March: 18: 169^q

ELISHA COOKE. HENRY ASHURST.

THOMAS OAKES. INCREASE MATHER.

¹ Early in August six of these Sagadehoc soldiers were sent to the defence of Worcester. *Council Records*.

² *Magnalia*, i. 512.

³ A very useful synopsis of the political changes of Maine, in the Colonial period, is given by Williamson, i. 600—601.

On the twentieth of August, Mr. Timothy Thornton, merchant of Boston, and others were appointed to ascertain the number of Eastern refugees, and the places from which they fled, to facilitate the more effectual organization for defence; at the same time Major Thomas Savage, Capt. Andrew Belcher, and Col. John Pynchon were sent to Albany to negotiate anew with the Maquas against the Eastern foes.¹

By the criminality of the Stuarts, Pemaquid, instead of being the centre and Capital of a great Eastern territory, under the English flag, stood as the forlorn hope of Protestantism, on the very frontier of English territory. The planters and soldiers at Pemaquid looked upon Andros as the secret friend of the French, and knew not the possible extent of his treachery; they were remote from the authorities at Boston, and hated by the French Jesuits; the priest consecrated the tomahawk of the savage by special religious service, and then sent them to exterminate the English heretics.

The details of the Indian cruelties and faithlessness at their capture of the fort at Pemaquid, in August 1689, are narrated in the *Magnalia*. The fort was overlooked from a rock near to it, a fatal mistake.²

In compliance with an "order in Council" of the twenty-sixth of April, 1691, at Kensington, Gov. Bradstreet and the Council of Boston, delivered to the order of Governor Slaughter of New York, "the great guns belonging to Pemaquid Fort, that were brought to Boston." It appears that

¹ Council Records.

² *Magnalia* ii. 512. *Hutchinson* i. 352. Mather says, Aug. 3d, *Hutchinson*, that Aug. 23d was the date.

a sloop for the government, was built by order of Andros, in Maine, probably at Pemaquid.¹ The fort was dismantled, and the country depopulated, and Pemaquid with its "dependencies," was left desolate.

¹ The order also mentions "ammunition and stores of warr lately brought to Boston by the people of New England from Pemaquid, a Fort belonging to the government of New York." The littleness of this proceeding and the false information laid before the Council, on which the "order" was based, indicate its origin in the petty soul and characteristic revenge of the degraded Andros. Compare the "order" and Bradstreet's reply, as given at length, in Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y. iii. 711, 769; also 710, 724, 770.



CHAPTER XVI.

Colonial policy changed—the war carried into Canada—Phipps' patriotism—Port Royal captured—Quebec—Indians seek peace—Walker's influence at Whitehall—Phipps at Pemaquid in August 1692—erects there the strongest English Fortress in America—it is called Fort William Henry—French villainy with the Indians—they are for peace at Pemaquid—priestcraft—treachery, murders—a flag of truce—the result.

The defensive policy of New England thinned her population and wasted her treasures, with no promises of relief. The Indians were armed, and instigated by the French, and to subdue them was hopeless.¹ War with the French, and the capture of Canada were resolved upon. Phipps, the son of Pemaquid, had, with equal sense and virtue, refused the treasonable offer of James Stuart to commission him as *absolute* Governor of New England. He proposed the reduction of Canada, and offered his person and estate in the cause. Massachusetts approved the plan, and on the eleventh of May, 1690, Port Royal was captured, and the whole sea-coast, from thence westward was again English territory.² The attempt against Quebec was unsuccessful, but in the beginning of the next winter, the Indians made overtures for peace: during this brief cessation of arms, the sea-ports were fortified with all diligence, against the French.³ The

¹ Holmes' Annals, i. 430, 431, 442, 441.

² Magnalia, 162, 172. Holmes' Annals, i. 431; Hutchinson, i. 396, 397.

³ Gov. Bradstreet's letter, May 8, 1691, Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y., iii. 769, 770.

ministry at Whitehall, enlightened upon New England interests by Dr. Mather and his associates, resolved to protect the East against French aggression. Under royal instructions Sir William Phipps from Boston, arrived at Pemaquid, in August 1692, with 450 men, and in place of the flimsy stockade made by Andros, erected a fort, in extent and strength superior to any English fortress in America, and called it Fort William Henry.¹ The famous warrior Benjamin Church, whose advice was asked by Sir William as to the structure, replied that "he had never any value for them, being only nests for destruction."² There was too much truth in his judgment.

This fortress "in the Heart of the Enemys Country," was built of stone,³ in a quadrangular figure, 737 feet in circumference without the outer wall, and 108 feet square within the inner ones. It had 28 ports, and 18 guns mounted, six being 18 Pounders. The Southern wall, fronting the sea, was 22 feet high, and above 6 feet thick at the ports, which were 8 feet from the ground. The great flanker, or round tower at the West End of this line was 20 feet high, the wall on the East line was 12 feet high, on the North 10 and on the West 18. It stood twenty rods from high water mark and was garrisoned with sixty and sometimes one hundred men.⁴ The expense of this enterprise was a great

¹ It was commonly called "Pemaquid Fort," "one of the strongest and largest in all North America." Dummer's Defence of N. E. Modern Univ. Hist. xxxix. 319. British Empire in America, i. 146.

² Holmes' American Annals, i. 442.

³ Above 2000 cart loads.

⁴ Dummer's Defence of N. E. Magnalia, ii. 536. Holmes' Am. Annals, 442. Neal's N. E. ii. 489. Douglass' Summary, 555. Hutchinson ii. 68, 138.

burden to the Province, and the cause of much complaint, but it awed and restrained the Indians. Still the French, with persistent cruelty, urged the savages to further outrages, and the country was filled with most depressing anxiety.¹

In the Spring of 1693, there were rumors that the enemy were "embodying to make an attack upon Pemaquid, or some of the towns westward,"² but the erection of a stone fort at Saco Falls some time in July, and the presence of Captain Converse, with a force of about 500 men, effected peace. On Thursday, the 20th of July, Madockawando, Edgeremet, and several other Indian Sagamores came to Pemaquid with a flag of truce, surrendered some of their English captives to Captain John March, the commander, and agreed to a cessation of arms till August 18th, when they proposed to make a treaty of peace, which was done a week earlier than the date proposed. There were present thirteen of the principal chiefs or warriors, with their four interpreters, representing the Indians on the Penobscot, Kennebec, Androscoggin, and the Saco rivers. "The submission and agreement" signed by them recited that "whereas a bloody war had for some years now past been made and carried on by the Indians, . . . through the instigation and influences of the French," they will now "abandon and forsake the French interest."⁴ This promise was

¹ Doc. Col. Hist. N. York, iii. 855. Except the few scattering English at and near Pemaquid, the country between Maine and Nova Scotia was nearly depopulated. Hutch. ii. 14.

² Letter from Capt. Convers, May 23, 1693, Council Records.

³ Council Records.

⁴ Magnalia, ii. 542, 543.

violated in less than a year, and the Jesuits again became masters of the Indians. ¹

Several Indians having been recently captured at Pemaquid, in December 1694, Major James Converse was sent with a force of fifty or sixty soldiers, in suitable vessels, to reinforce the garrison and to learn from the captives the designs of the French. In the next month, Capt. John March and Mr. Pike, the minister of Pemaquid, were particularly directed by the Council to elicit from 'Sheepscote John,' all the information respecting the enemy's condition, but these precautions were of but little use in the end, ² and prevented their restoring the English prisoners as they had promised to do. The Summer of 1694, was a bloody time. On the approach of winter, Bomazeen, the Chief of the Norridgewocks, who had signed the treaty a year before, and was the ringleader in the brutalities and murders perpetrated upon the English, appeared beneath the walls of Pemaquid, with a flag of truce, pretending that he and his companions were just arrived from Canada, acknowledging their crimes, and promising better for the future. The following account was from one present at the interview:—

"November 19th, [1694,] Bomazeen, with ten or a dozen Indians, called over the barbican, desiring to speak with Capt. March, and set up a flag, by which they did implicitly own themselves enemies and breakers of the peace. We did not put out ours until an hour or two after theirs; would have persuaded them there was no reason for it; minding them of the late agreement at Pemaquid; but they called earnestly for it. We resolved to seize Bomazeen at any rate, except positive violation of promise. We made no

¹ Hutchinson, ii. 68, 72, 79—81, 84, 86.

² Council Records.

other promise before he came over but that we should be glad of his company, would treat him kindly, and do him no hurt. After he was seized, we told him the same, and observed it punctually, so long as he staid here; but withal told him we must know who did the mischief at Oyster-River and Groton, &c. of which they made themselves ignorant; why the peace was so soon broken and by whom; that they must go to Boston and abide there till Sheeps-cote John was sent to fetch in the other Sagamores, and then they should come again with some of the English to treat, &c. We thought it not unlawful, nor culpable to apprehend such perfidious villians and traitors (though under a white rag) that have so often falsified their promise to the English, viz: at Coheco, at Casco fort, at Oyster-river and other places; that makes no conscience of breaking the peace whenever it serves their turn, although never so solemnly confirmed with subscriptions and oaths. They have no regard to the law of nations, and therefore deserve no human respect. Besides, we are credibly informed, they came with a certain design to destroy their Majesties' fort here, under pretence of trade, friendship, &c. and so they are fallen into a pit of their own digging. Neither did we aim at any thing more than their detainment as prisoners, supposing some advantage might occur to the poor captives, if not to the country thereby. If your honors judge it not fairly done, they are now in your hands to dispose of and deal with them as may be for their Majesties' honors, and as the circumstances of the case require."

Hutchinson, while condemning this gross violation of the public faith on the part of the English, says that he knows "of no other action of this sort which can be justly charged upon the government." Of course, the habitual treachery

of the French,—for the Indians were their subjects and acting under their instructions,—could afford no sufficient justification of even one instance of bad faith in others. Captain March considered the Indians as rebels, and Massachusetts thought that “for their perfidy they ought to be treated as land-pirates and murderers.”¹

The author of this narrative was the minister of Dover, in New Hampshire, and a graduate of Harvard College. These are indications of the public temper among all classes.

¹ *Hutchinson*, ii. 81.

CHAPTER XVII.

A truce—Indian hostages—Sheepscoate John, a mediator—scene at Pemaquid, May 20th—mutual distrust—no agreement—conference ended—naval expedition from Quebec against Pemaquid—the French capture the English man-of-war Newport, and use her at the siege of Pemaquid fort—Baron Castine at the siege—bombs, cowardice, threats, trepidation, and surrender of Pemaquid by the poltroon, Chubb—supposed condition of the fortress—the French dismantle and abandon it—Pemaquid desolate—reflections on the extinction of the Colony.

The loss of their warriors, and apprehensions for their safety, compelled the Indians to a peaceable demeanor for a while; by reason of this, and a fatal distemper which prevailed among them in the year 1695, “the French found it impracticable to send them out in parties upon our frontiers. Besides the hostages they had given in 1693, the Indians seized at Pemaquid, were in the prison at Boston; Bomazeen in particular they greatly valued, and they were ready to submit to almost any terms to obtain their release. The French represent the English as treating the hostages and prisoners with cruelty; but there was no other cruelty than a confinement in a prison in Boston, which, it must be acknowledged, was a very bad one. The English were not less desirous of peace than the Indians, if they could have had any security for the continuance of it. One of the hostages, Sheepscoate John, undertook to go from Boston as a mediator, and, by his influence, fifty canoes of Indians

came within about a league of the fort at Pemaquid, the twentieth of May, and sent in eight captives; acknowledged their fault in violating the last treaty, and proposed the release of the captives on both sides, and the establishment of a durable peace. A truce of thirty days was agreed upon, and the Commissioners were to come from Boston, to settle the terms of peace. The Commissioners, Colonel Philips, Lieutenant-Colonel Hawthorn, and Major Convers, soon after met delegates from the Indians at Pemaquid, but refused to enter upon any treaty with them until all the English in their hands should be delivered up. Bomazeen, their great warrior, and some others, were left in prison at Boston. The Indians looked upon themselves as not well used; sensible that when they had parted with all their prisoners, they should have no way of obtaining the release of their own people, except by a new set of captives. They, therefore, refused to treat any further, and left the place abruptly. The government, I imagine, expected that, by retaining some of the Indians as hostages, some restraint would be laid upon the rest, from exercising cruelty towards English prisoners, seeing we should have it in our power to retaliate it upon their own people; and chose rather to risk the continuance of the war than part with this security. Charlevoix, who supposes the Lieut-Governor, Stoughton, to have been there in person, says, 'the Abenakis insisted upon the release of their brethren, who were detained in violation of the flag of truce, and the laws of nations, and Stoughton only returned bloody reproaches for their late hostilities, and terrible threats if they did not deliver up the authors of them. The Indians were as stout as he was. At length both sides began to soften. Stoughton was not willing to drive to extremity a people who had

formerly known how to make themselves a terror. They were desirous, at any rate, of recovering their relations out of the hands of the English; being fully determined, that when they had accomplished their ends, they would revenge the blood of such of them as had been murdered; but perceiving, that, while they were in treaty, the English were preparing to surround them, they ran to their arms.' This, no doubt, was the account they gave to their priest, when they returned home." ¹

"Captain Paxton, in the Newport came to New England in company with the Sorlings in 1694, and both ships were ordered, together with a yacht or tender, in the Province service, to lay off the river St. John, to wait the arrival of the store-ship. It happened, unfortunately, that the French at Quebec were, at the same time, fitting out two men-of-war, with the addition of two companies of soldiers and fifty Mickmack Indians, in order to reduce the New England fort at Pemaquid. These ships were of superior force to the English ships, and Iberville, an experienced officer, commanded. When they had put into a port upon their passage, Villebon, from St. John, informed them of the situation and circumstances of the small English fleet. They went immediately in quest of them, and came upon them when they were not expected. The Newport, ² after the loss of one of her top-masts, surrendered. A fog arose, which gave the Sorlings and the tender an oppor-

¹ Hutchinson, ii. 84, 85—88.

² July 9, 1696,—At a Council, etc.,

"Upon receipt of a letter this day from Lieut^t-Gov^r Usher of the arrival of the Yacht, Tender upon his Maj^{ty} two Frigats in the Bay of Funday, advising of the loss of his Maj^{ty} Ship the Newport, being taken by 2 French Ships of War.

Ordered, That there be an embargo laid upon all outward bound ships,

tunity for their escape, and they returned to Boston, with the news of this second disappointment. The French commander, being strengthened with the Newport, went into St. John, and there refitted. From thence, he proceeded to Penobscot, where the Baron St. Castine was waiting for him, with two hundred Indians. The whole force arrived before the fort at Pemaquid, the 14th of July.

“Capt. March, who was a good officer, had resigned the command of the fort a few months before, and was succeeded by a very different man, Captain Chubb. Iberville, upon his arrival, sent a summons to surrender. Chubb returned a vain, foolish answer, ‘that if the sea was covered with French vessels, and the land with Indians, yet he would not give up the fort.’ The Indians thereupon began their fire, and return was made by the musketry, and with a few cannon from the fort. This brought the first day to a close. In the night, Iberville landed his cannon and mortars; and the next day, before three in the afternoon, he had raised his batteries, and thrown five bombs into the fort, to the great terror of Chubb and the garrison. Castine, about this time, found some way of conveying a letter into the fort, and let them know that, if they delayed surrendering until the assault was made, they would have to do with savages, and must expect no quarter, for he had seen the and other vessels to continue until further order, [repealed Sept. 4, 1696.]
W^m Stoughton.”

“Advised, That a Shallop be forthwith dispatched with an Express to Pemaquid, to acquaint the Captain of his Majesty’s Fort there of the taking of the Newport Frigate, and of the French Ships of War being gone to St. Johns River, and the preparations making by the Indians, to advise him to be careful in keeping good lookouts, and to be upon his guard.

Which was accordingly ordered.”

Council Records.

King's order to Iberville to give none. This did the business; the chamade was beat immediately, and the fort was surrendered, upon the terms offered by the French, that the garrison should be sent to Boston, and exchanged for the like number of French and Indian prisoners; only, a special security or engagement was insisted upon from the French commander, that their persons should be protected against the rage of the Indians.¹

“Chubb's conduct was universally censured, and at first he was put under arrest; but came off without any other punishment than being laid aside. The fort had fifteen cannon mounted, and ninety able men to manage them, and no want of ammunition or stores. The French supposed that if there had been a brave defence, the event would have been doubtful; at least, that the fort could not have been carried without a great loss of men; and attribute the surrender to the cowardice of the garrison, who compelled the commander to act contrary to his own inclination.²

“After all, there is room to doubt whether a better garrison could have withstood that force, until relief might have been afforded from Boston. The French were provided with cannon and mortars; were numerous enough to resist any sallies from the garrison, without interrupting the siege; there were no casemates nor other shelter for the men, and the magazine itself was bomb-proof in one part of it only, which was under a rock.”³ It is certain that the gov-

¹ *Hutchinson's Mass.*, ii. 88—90.

² *Modern Universal Hist.*, vol. 39., pp. 323—326.

³ This rock is the only portion which remains intact; though the outlines of the fort and many features of antiquarian interest will reward the pilgrim to these ancient grounds. Several gentlemen of the Maine Historical Society, and others, in August, 1855, enjoyed a delightful excursion to Mon-

ernment, and people had been sometime in a listless, apathetic mood, and greatly neglected¹ their works of defence; that the French took advantage of this lethargy, and found Pemaquid Fort ill prepared, in force or discipline, for so formidable an assault.

“The reason of the garrison’s requiring an extraordinary caution against the rage of the Indians, was this: They were conscious of their own cruelty and barbarity, and feared rovenge, and a security from it might probably hasten the surrender, lest it should afterwards not be in their power to obtain it. In the month of February before, Egremet, a chief of the Machias Indians, came to the fort, to treat upon exchange of prisoners. Chubb with some of his garrison fell upon the Indians in the midst of the treaty, when they thought themselves most secure, murdered Egremet and Abenquid with two others. Toxus and some others

begun, Pemaquid and Boothbay, the “Pentecost” of Weymouth in 1635. The party consisted of Hon. Charles S. Daveis, L. L. D., Hon. William Willis, John McKeen, Esq., the Rev. Messrs. John S. C. Abbott, James B. Thornton, Jun., and William Scott Southgate, Mr. Waldo Abbott, and the writer. An account of this excursion from the elegant pen of Rev. Mr. Southgate, appeared in the *Portland Advertiser* of Aug. 29 and 30, 1855.

¹ July 13, 1696,

“His honor the L^t Gov^r acquainted the Council that he ordered a Detachment of Forty men, for the Enforcement of the Garrison at Pemaquid.”—*Council Records*.

Mather charges Chubb “with an unaccountable baseness,” and says “there were 95 men double armed in the fort, which might have defended it against nine times as many assailants.” Charlevoix says that the fort was not so strong as it appeared to be, but that if it had been bravely defended, the issue would have been doubtful, and the victory a bloody one. Dr. Holmes thinks that Mather underestimated the force of the assailants. *Holmes’ American Annals*, i. 458.

The best detailed account of this siege and surrender is in the *Modern Univ. Hist.* vol. 39, p. 325, 326.

escaped, and some remained prisoners; one Indian was found in the fort, in irons, when the French took possession of it. Such was the fury of Castine's Indians, that there was no way of securing the garrison but by removing them to an island, under a constant guard of French troops, until provision was made for transporting them to Boston. Some writers palliate and seem inclined to justify this action of Chubb. Surely the cruelty shewn by Indians to the English must have biased and blinded them. Private letters which passed at this time between some of the best men in the Province, condemned it as a horrid piece of villainy.

The French remained at Pemaquid until the 18th of July, demolishing the fort (their plunder was small) and then went to Penobscot where they tarried until the 3d of September." Though the fort was dismantled and wholly abandoned by the French forces on the third day after the shameful surrender by the poltroon in command, the valorous achievement was relied upon by the French as a conquest of Acadia, when negotiating the treaty of Utrecht in the year 1712.

Those who had looked to the Fortress for protection had fled, or perished; none went out of its open gates, none came in, Pemaquid was desolate, and this was the inglorious close of the first period of her history.

What extreme vicissitudes of fortune, what diverse and opposite characters, interests, passions, hopes and fears, had here found play? Problems in government, in social ethics, in religion, which make up the history of centuries and of nations in the old world, were here again tested by zealous and able partisans; it is true the time was brief, the territory was limited, the population not large; the whole was condensed in space and time, but though the whole was in miniature, the actors were able and earnest

men, who ventured reputation, fortune, and even life, in their attempts, and whose passions, pride, and will were roused to the utmost.

Thus ANCIENT PEMAQUID presents materials for a history, not less varied or instructive, than that which may be gathered from more imposing annals. We have traced the colony from its conception to its utter extinction.

The subsequent settlement at Pemaquid may be deemed the subject of a distinct and independent history, belonging especially to the annals of the present town, under its modern corporate name of Bristol, though embracing only a portion of the ancient territory.

CHAPTER XVIII.

French policy and tactics—their perfidy to the Indians—shall we refortify Pemaquid?—its condition—it is not to be done, and why not—value of our naval stores—England needs them—Indian treaty July 13, 1713—Ralle's intrigues with the Indians—the east resettled by the English.

The peace of Ryswick, September tenth, 1697, brought no peace to the Colonial interests represented at Pemaquid. The curse¹ of the corrupt Stuarts still rested on the shores of Sagadahock and Acadia; our fishermen and traders were driven from the coasts, a French priest erected a Romish altar on the Kennebec, the Indians were claimed as French subjects, and all this was fruitful of irritation and personal hatreds, keeping alive the embers of war.

The Earl of Bellamont, in his gubernatorial speech used good plain English about this matter. He said that “the parting with Canada to the French and the Eastern country called Acadia, or Nova Scotia, with the noble fishery on that coast, were most execrable treacheries to England, and intended, without doubt, to serve the ends of popery. It is too well known, what interest that king favored, who parted with Nova Scotia, and of what religion he died.”—The population of New France, consisting at this time of probably less than nine thousand souls, was hopelessly in-

¹ Hutchinson ii. 124, 125, 138. Belknap's Hist. N. H., Farmer's Ed., 167. Williamson ii. 34, 50.

ferior, not only in numbers, but in military prowess to their English¹ neighbors, and unable to cope with them successfully in honorable warfare.

Frequent representations of the critical condition of the English interests in New England, at last gained the attention of the lords of trade, who wrote, October 30th, 1700, to the Earl of Bellamont, we "shall insist upon the English right as far as the river St. Croix, but in the mean while, in relation to the encroachments of the French, and their building a church on the Kennebec River, that seems to us a very proper occasion for your lordships' urging the general assembly of Massachusetts to rebuild the fort at Pemaquid, which they ought to have done long ago, and thereby they might have prevented this and many other inconveniences."

The dictates of humanity and honor are held sacred among civilized nations, even in war, and their violation is deemed a national disgrace. But in the struggles between the French and English for national supremacy in America, it was the uniform policy of the former to employ the savages in their fighting and to adopt the features of cruelty and diabolism which distinguish Indian warfare. This offered the only chance of exterminating the English heretics, and the French persistently, and under the garb of religion, involved the Indians in the ineffable miseries of continued hostilities, to secure an object of no possible benefit, or real interest to them as a people. This view is justified by every page of our history, and exhibits the odious conduct and mercenary relation of the French priests to the poor Indian.

¹ Hutchinson ii. 105; Mather ii. 154; Holmes' Annals i. 464, 465. Williamson ii. ch. i.

The foundations, the entrenchments, and most of the walls of Pemaquid Fort, remained entire, but the whole country was deserted, and there was great commercial distress in the Province. The promises of the Crown, and the importunity of Dudley, were ineffectual; the House of Representatives, in 1705, "referring to her Majesty's directions for the building a fort at Pemaquid," declared, "we are humbly of opinion, that her Majesty hath received misrepresentations concerning the necessity and usefulness of a fort there; wherefore this house, in their humble address to her Majesty, dated the 27th of March, 1703, and since twice repeated, did among other things lay before Majesty our reasons why we could not comply with her expectations in that affair; as

First, the little benefit said fort was to us, not being, as we could discern, any bridle to the enemy or barrier to our frontiers, being out of the usual road of the Indians, and *one hundred miles distant from any English plantation*; and seemed only to make an anchorage for a few fishing boats that accidentally put in shore; but the expense thereon was very great, not less than twenty thousand pounds.

Secondly, the charge of the said fort will be such that we cannot see how the province can possibly sustain it."

The Council coincided in these views, advised against a compliance with the wishes of the Crown, and Pemaquid remained in ruins. An earlier adoption of this policy would have avoided vast expenditures, in really useless fortifications, and by concentrating the population into compact settlements, have lessened the points of attack, facilitated an efficient system of guard and resistance, and thus

prevented the torrents of blood, and terrible visitations, which desolated the scattered hamlets.

Within a few years England had begun to appreciate the value of our forests as a supply for her naval stores, which had been obtained from the north of Europe, especially from Sweden.¹ The territory from the Piscataqua to the St. Lawrence, now attracted their attention, and it is not improbable that in this we may detect the reason of the earnestness of the Crown in urging the military occupation of Pemaquid, to be held as a *point d'appui* for future operations, wrest from the French this inexhaustible supply of timber and masts for the commercial and naval marine. The French remained masters east of the Kennebec, and the only pastime left to them was piracy whenever an unwary fisherman or trader should approach too near their shores.

For many years Casco was the utmost frontier town of the English. After the treaty of July 13, 1713, signed by "*Warrueensit, Wadacanaquin* and *Boomazeen* for Kennebeck," the gentlemen holding the ancient titles to the lands in that vicinity, attempted the resettlement of the Country, and were favored by the government² there. The husbandman with his cattle, the fisherman's flakes, the ring of

¹ Cokes' "*State of England*," Lond. 1696, ii. Appendix. pp. 52, 58, 60. Raynall's *Brit. America*. Book 4, ch. 6. "Other and better Returns than Money itself they make in Masts, the fairest and largest in the whole World, besides Pitch, Tarr, Turpentine, Rosin, Plank, Knees for Ships, and other species of Timber for various uses. These, especially Pitch and Tar, were formerly purchas'd of the *Swede* with Crown Pieces at intollerable Prices; but since the Encouragement given for their Importation from NEW ENGLAND, they have fallen to half the Value. It is to be farther consider'd, that what we take of these Commodities from our own Plantations, is brought Home in our own Ships, and paid for with our Manufactures."—*Jer. Dummer's "Defence of the New England Charters."*

² *Pennhallow's Indian wars*, 1726.

the woodman's axe, the sound of the water-wheel, the trading house, the coaster laden with lumber for Boston, or even for a foreign market,—the sights and sounds of civilized life—again broke the solitude; but the Jesuits renewed their fiendish work, in which Sebastian Ralle became conspicuously infamous; and under his teachings and leadership, assassination, brutality, treachery, and villainy became virtues. These specimens of "pure Romanism"¹ are "gracefully exhibited" in Penhallow's history of the Indian wars from 1703 to 1726. ² The custody of the Eastern forests, the rights of the proprietors, and a jealous care of the royal prerogative, led to sharp discussions, in and out of the legislature; alleged trespasses on the royal woods and violations of rights of property, continually attracted attention to the East and greatly promoted its settlement. ³


It was the dying wish of the venerable Shurt "that Pemaquid might remain the Metropolitan of these parts because it ever had been so, even before Boston was settled;" the aged magistrate lived not too long, and saw not the ruins of this Ancient Capital of the East.

¹ Peter Oliver's "Puritan Commonwealth," 1856. 253, 258.

² Boston. 1726. Hutchinson Ed. 1795, ii. 198.

³ The late Indian wars, Dunbar's settlement of Pemaquid, "Fort Frederic," land titles, the "Pemaquid Proprietors," the incorporation of "Bristol," and the career of its distinguished citizen Commodore Tucker, one of the earliest of the naval heroes of our revolution, belong to modern Pemaquid. Williamson ii. 91—95, 87.

Albion Shurt 2/16



A P P E N D I X .

My researches about Pemaquid have brought to light some matters not pertaining to ANCIENT Pemaquid, but valuable in its later history, and worthy of preservation.

WORCESTER, May 19th, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,—

In looking over a portion of our manuscripts that I had not examined for many years, I have met with two thin unbound volumes that profess to contain the Records of the Pemaquid Proprietors, from August 31st, 1743, to Nov. 24th, 1774. They are numbered, No. I, and No II. At the first meeting, Thomas Drowne was chosen Clerk, and kept the records till February 27, 1772, when he enters his own resignation.

There is very little matter of any historical interest in these records, The first volume contains a plan of High Island, drawn by Elijah Packard, for Shem Drowne, in 1762. The names of the Proprietors I suppose are all entered; among them I see George Craddock, Adam Winthrop, and Ezekiel Cheever.

Very truly yours,

S. F. HAVEN.

J. WINGATE THORNTON, ESQ.

WORCESTER, May 22, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,—

I do not find any reference to a *seal* in the Pemaquid Proprietors' Records, that I wrote you about. I do not observe a list of proprietors,

except in a division of lauds. For example, on the second page is the following division of 9000 acres :—

' Boston, Tuesday Nov. 15th, 1743.

The Proprietors met according to adjournment and settled each proprietor's proportion in y^e aforesaid lands agreeable to the following list, viz

	Habijah Savage, Esq.,	30 votes.	
	George Craddock, Esq.,	5 "	
	Adam Winthrop, Esq.,	5 "	
			———40
PRESENT.	John Alford & Joshua Winslow, Esq ⁿ ,	2½	
Habijah Savage, Moderator.	Sarah Sweetser,	2½	
George Craddock,)	John Philips,	2½	
Jonas Clark,)	Joanna Philips,	2½	
Ezekiel Cheever,)	Benj ^a Stevens,	2½	
Thomas Jenners,)	Ezekiel Cheever, Esq.,	2½	
John Chandler,)	Shem Drowne,	15	
			———30
Capt. Joseph Fitch,	Jonas Clarke, Esq.,	2	
Capt. John Philips,	Sam ^l Clarke,	2	
Capt. Thomas Ruck,	Thomas Ruck,	1	
Mr. Shem Drowne,	John Chandler, Esq.,	2	
Mr. John Kneeland,	Joseph Fitch,	1	
Mr. Seth Sweetser,	Timothy Parrott,	} 1	
Mr. Christ ^a Tilden,	Abigail Tilden,		
	Christopher Tilden,	} 1	
	John Kneeland, guardian to his daughter Prudence,		
	Anderson Philips,	1	
	Henry Philips,	1	
	Shem Drowne,	8	
			———20
			———90

Which was unanimously voted to be entered in y^e Book pr Thomas Drowne, who was chosen Clerk at a former meeting, and sworn at the present meeting by Habijah Savage, Esq.⁷

Truly yours,

S. F. HAVEN.

J. W. THORNTON, Esq.

Samuel W. Johnson, M. D., of Bristol, informs me that the Church Records of the town "were burnt about sixty years since."

Wm. McClintock, Esq., in 1815, surveyed a large portion of the Peninsula of Pemaquid. The original survey is in the Massachusetts Land Office at Boston.

Thos. McClure, Esq., a native of Bristol, is well informed in its later history.

Rev. John A. Vinton, formerly in the ministry at Bristol, gave much attention to its history, and generously opened to my use his manuscript collections. He collected traditions and facts from several of the ancient townsmen, who have since died, so that he is possessed of valuable information not to be found elsewhere—matter indispensable to the historian of Bristol. Two elaborate letters on Pemaquid history were contributed by Mr. Vinton to the Boston Traveller, of October 21, 28, 1848.

Mr. John B. Mansfield, has shown to me several pages of a historical gazetteer of New England, now in the press, in which he has given, from personal examination, a minute account of the present appearance of the objects of historical interest in Bristol. It is well done and worthy the attention of Pemaquid citizens.

“AT A LEGAL MEETING of the Pemaquid Proprietors Held by Adjournment at Boston, On Thursday the Eighteenth Day of August Anno Domini One Thousand Seven hundred and Sixty-Three.

Voted, That whereas Francis Brindley Esq^r in right of George Cradock Esq^r: has agreed to Part With His Lot of Land Letter C The Third Division Number Forty Seven To The Dutch, at or near Broad Bay, On The Same Conditions The Other Proprietors dispose of Theirs, to The Said Dutch,—This is Therefore to Direct, and empower, The Clerk of the Said

Propriety For the Time being To Certifie, To the Said Francis Brindley, affixing the Common Seal of the Said Propriety, That if the Said Lot Number Forty Seven aforesaid, should have been Laid Out To Any of Leveretts, and Beauchamps, Heirs, Or assigns, and set of to any, That The Said Brindley now Claims Under, And Brigadier Waldo's Pretensions To The Same Should Take place, in Such Case, The said Brindley Shall have a Grant, From The Said Propriety of Land Equivalent Thereto, For quantity, and Quallity as it now is.

Boston, Aug^t 27th 1763.

This may Certifie That The Above Votes is a True Copy—From The Pemaquid Proprietors' Book of Records. And That The Seal Thereunto Affixed is The Common Seal of The Said Propriety.

Pr THOMAS DROWNE,
Prop: Clerk.

E R R A T A .

On page 12, for *Strakey*, read *Strachey*; on p. 24, 2d line from top, for that *the* little, read that little; 2d line from foot of p. 25, for *thirty*, read forty; 16th line from foot of p. 43, for *Iriquois*, read *Iroquois*; p. 45, for 1836, read 1856; p. 47, 4th line from top, for of *the* three, read of three; p. 47, 3d line from foot, for captured, read captured a; p. 51, for *xlii*, read *xxxii*; p. 54, 11th line from foot, for *Welle*, read *Welles*; p. 71, 9th line from top, for *D'andrey*, read *D'aulnay*; p. 74, for *xxxviii*, read *xxviii*; p. 88, 5th line from top, for claims became, read claims, became; p. 160, for 1635, read 1625; other typographical errors, as *Gillbert*, and *Gubert*, for *Gilbert*,—*traffickers*, for *traffickers*,—*hasurd*, for *hazard*—*proceengs*, for *proceedings*,—*thei*, for *their*,—*weakt*, for *weak*,—p. 144, 9th line from top, *or*, for *as*,—*Lord o*, for *Lord of*,—and the like, are too obvious to require special notice here. The author had a *revise* of but few of the pages.

“An answer to S^r Edmond Andros' acco^t of the forces raised in New England for defence of the Country against the Indians &c in y^e year 1688 humbly offered by the Agents of the Massachusets Colony.

To the R^t Hono^{ble} y^e L^{ds} of y^e Comitty for y^e plantations.

Begging your Lord:ps Leave to observe in y^e preamble of S^r Edmond Andros' acco^t: the words (Subversion of the Government) and afterwards Insurrection) which with submission we take to be Expressions of Disaffection to y^e present and a Vindication of the Late so Illegal and Arbitrary Government and doe most humbly Besech your Lord:ps that w^t was don by the people of New: England with so much zeale and good affection to secure the Govern^t: there to their present maj:^{ties} may be favorably accepted and vindicated from such unworthy and unjust reflections.

Upon the whole we humbly represent unto your Lord:ps that the New fforts built by S^r Edmond Andros were meer ffancies of his owne, useless (& so esteemed by the experienced Officers of the Army and others well acquainted with the Country,) to any purpose of Defence as was pretended. And may be easily made [to] appeare unto your Lord:ps: by the map of that Country. And consequently the Drawing the souldiers from thence hath been no prejudice to the Country. Nor hath any Loss or Damage hapned thereby But our ffrontier Townes strengthened which

in S^r Edmond's time were not only Left naked but also several persons threatened for fortifying their houses.

As to the particulars in this account we declare as followeth.

Pemaquid was a Garrison settled by S^r Edmond Andros whilest Govern^r of New: Yorke and in the beginning of the present war put under the comand of Capt: Brockholes a papist & for that reason [he] was ordered home upon the happy Revolution which Order he never observed, But afterwards being suspected to be in a plot for Deserting and runing over with the sloop *Mary* to y^e ffrench was seized by the Inhabitants of Dartmouth and brought to Boston, And his Leiftenant Weems at the request of the Inhabitants put in his roome with all the standing Garrison, not a man drawne off. The other souldiers were Dispersed by Coll: Tyng, and the rest of the chiefe Officers. Those that were sick to their owne homes, those that were fitt for service to Posts that required their assistance, there being force sufficient Left as they Judged to defend the fort.

True it is that afterwards that ffort and about twenty houses were taken and destroyed by the Indians, But it was Imputed to the Careless Security of the Garrison and not [to] want of men, The towne being Surprised at Noonday and no Scout abroad.

New Dartmouth was destroyed all but four or five houses,

New Towne. And Newtowne all but one by the Indians in the time of S^r Edmond Andros' government, Don as was supposed in revenge of S^r Edmond's seizing Monsicur Casteens house and taking thence all his Armes merchandise and house hold goods in time of profound peace. The s^d Casteen having marryed an Indian Sachims daughter & so the In-

dians were allyed to his Interests. The towne being destroyed & the Inhabitants sent to Boston by S^r Edmond, A ffort was needless there being nothing to preserve.

Redoubt on Damrascotty river. There being no Inhabitants there after that Dartmouth was destroyed and deserted Coll: Tyng & Major Thomas Savage Officers in S^r Edmond's army and one of them of his Council Advised the deserting that place and the Insignificant fforts of Fort Ann and Pegipscott &c as useless there being no plantation [with] in many miles of them. Coll. Math: Gregory was seized by his owne souldiers in regard of his Cruelty and severity towards them, several for that reason having deserted him before the Revolution.

Sagadehock: Being a ffort erected at the charge of the fishermen they withdrawing their ffishery in the ffale of the year this Garrison was withdrawne at their owne Instance.

Falmouth in Cascoe Baye. A fort formerly built by the Massachusets Colony is still continued and better finished & provided than in S^r Edmond's time. Capt. Lochart a reputed papist, was by order of Council for that reason dismissed and Silvanus Davis an Inhabitant of that place & formerly Comander of y^t fort in his roome. here it was the Indians career was stopt and they defeated by the forces raised since the Revolution by the united Colonys.

Saco River fort was deserted in S^r Edmond's time for want of Necessaries and provisions for the souldiers: And Capt. floyd himself made a prisoner by S^r Edmond upon his coming to aske provisions for the necessary subsistence of that Garrison:

Kennebunk we know of no fort there.

Wells is still well Inhabited and many houses there fortified & Capt: Willard with his Company posted there by Order of Council for their Security.

Merimack River—And many other places upon the Revolution changed the Officers they could not trust, But Major Henchman keeps both his station and comand there. All our frontier townes have had recruits sent them by order of Council for the security of the Country which was much neglected and weakened in S Edmond's time by drawing souldiers thence to build and supply the trifling forts before mentioned.

Connecticott River—Continues as it was only Coll^o Treat finding no Occasion for so great force as was sent thither by S^r Edmond drew them off before the Revolution; After which that Colony reassumed their ancient Government, chose the s^d Coll: Treat Governor & hath suffered no damage by the Indians.

The sloop & Briganteen with other vessels pretended to be prest for his maj^{ties} use in the service of the Country were chiefly employed to carry Souldiers to and fro at S^r Edmond's pleasure. We know not that they were at all made use of for the security of the Coast or fishery, Or that they were fit for that purpose: or need be so employed at that season of the year: True it is there was great Complaint that those who served with them were never payed which made S^r Edmond's Government more uneasy.

The standing forces S^r Edmond was reputed to have brought with him to New England were about 120 men which he posted at Pemaquid Boston & the Castle: some of which dyed some deserted in S^r Edmond's time. And when the war with the Indians broke out he tooke parte of

them at Boston & at the castle with him for that service; what became of them S^r Edmond can best tell: we are well assured not a man [of them] perished by the Indians, nor any Indian was hurt by them or any of his forces.

We have not an exact Inventory of the provisions and stores found in the Garrisons at the time of the happy Revolution: But can averr that the principall Garrisons were supplied from Boston. And the men that were sent out for the Reinforcement of the Army were furnished with Necessaries for war at the charge of partikular persons: And not one penny from the treasury.

All which acco^t: afores^d we have either by our owne knowledge or the best informations which were transmitted from time to time to the Government during our aboade in New England.

The Occasion of our present distress is the war between the two Crownes of England & ffance which prevents all supplys from England & by the Act of Navigation we cannot have y^m elsewhere:

That as our stores are Lessened So our Necessitys are encreased the french being a potent enemy & a near neighbor we need not Labour under greater Inconveniencies. And the mischiefs of y^e Interruption in our Ancient Govern^t not yet recovered. We therefore humbly propose that for a present Releife The Vessell may be dispatcht with Convoy. And Leave given to merchants to ship Armes & ammunition as followeth, viz : 1000 ffuries 200 barrells pistoll powder, 50 barrells Cannon powder 20 tuns Lead. Whereby we shall be able (God blessing endeavours) to defend ourselves. And if his maj^{ty} shall thinke fit to attempt y^e Reduction of Canada (now so prejudiciall to their maj^{ty}'s Colonys in America) we shall with all cheerfulness & resolution give our ut-

most assistance thereto, not doubting but his maj:^{ty} will of his inviolable Justice and Royall bounty Continue and Establish to us our ancient Rights and Privileges.

[London] May 30, 1690.

ELISHA COOKE.

Vera Copia.

THO. OAKES.