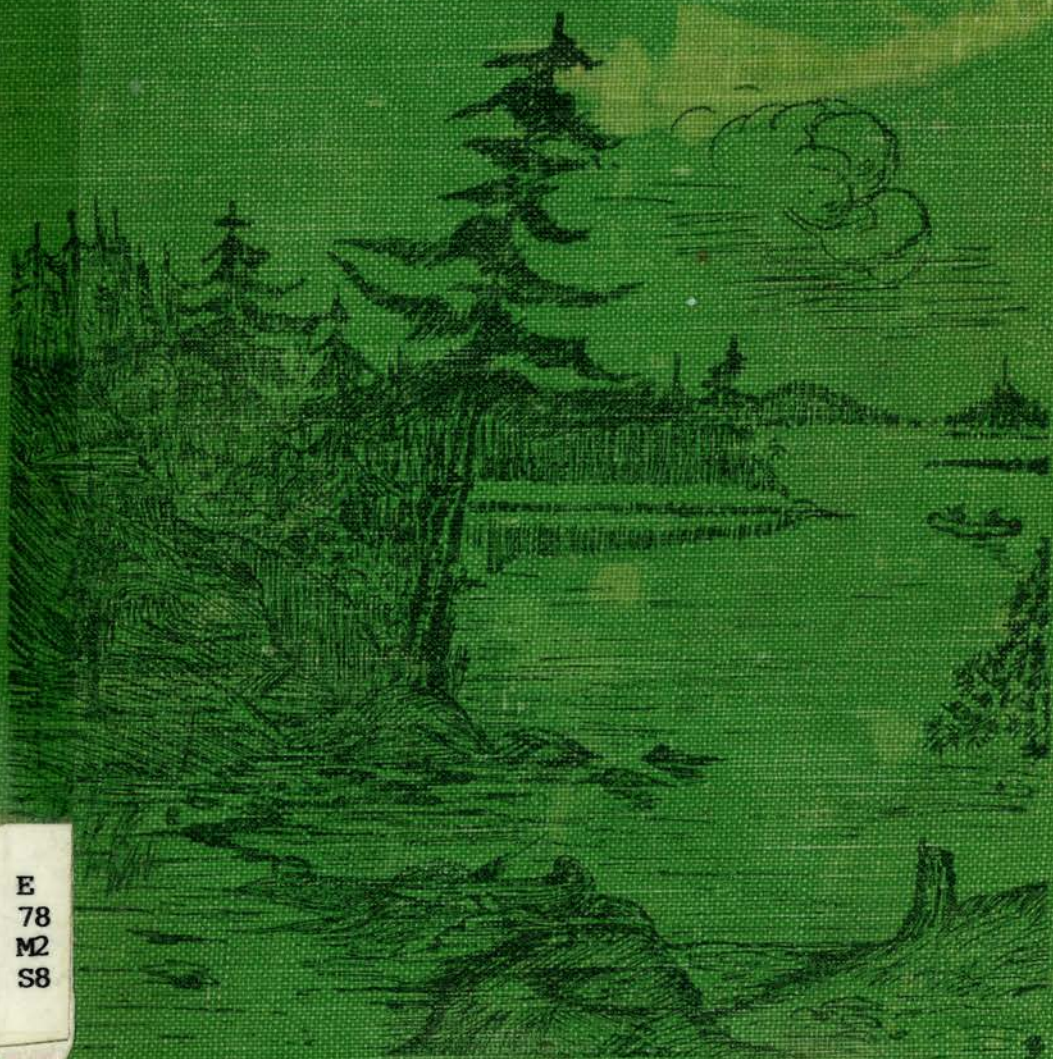


THE INDIANS OF THE
ANDROSCOGGIN VALLEY

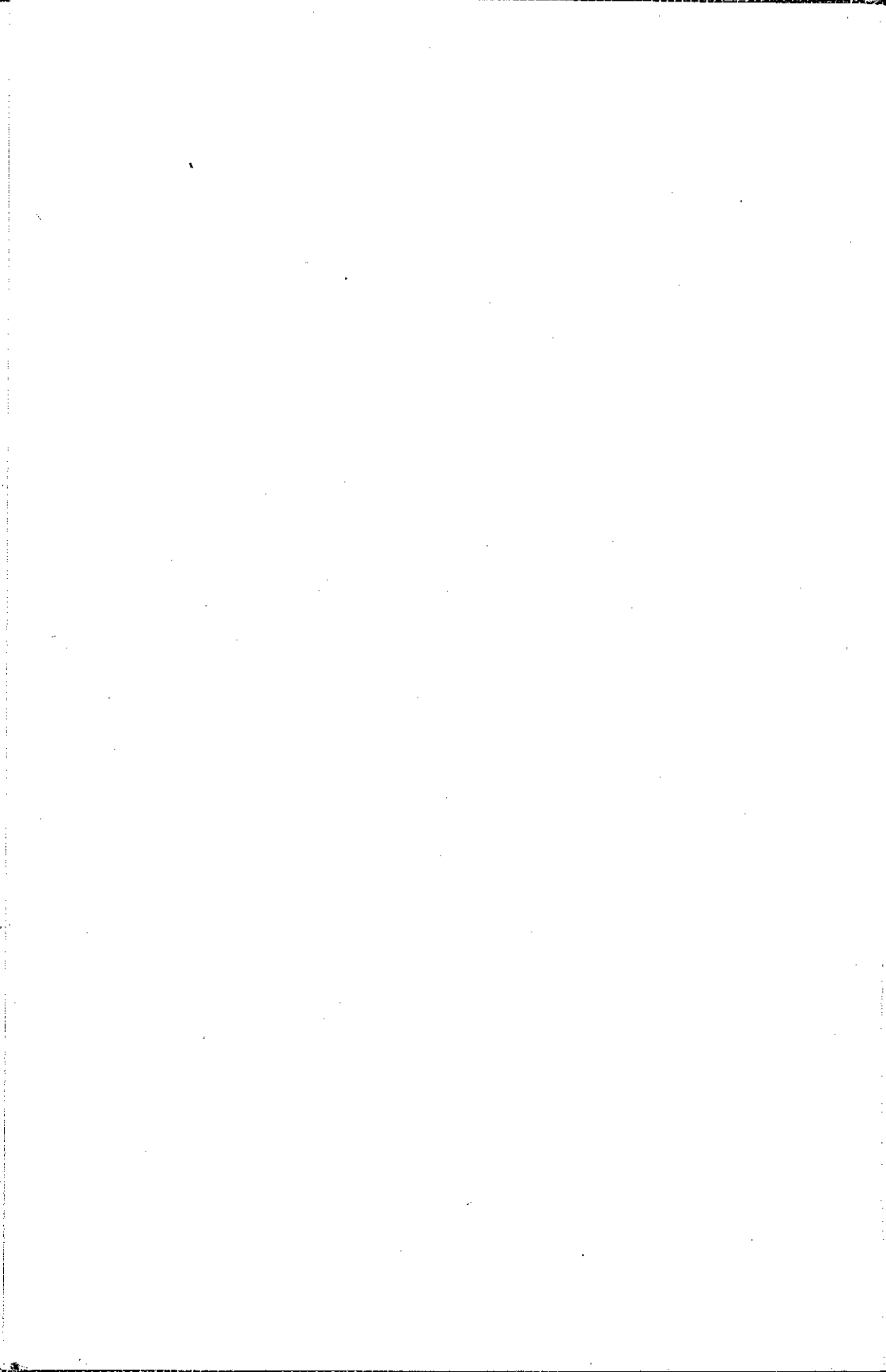


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The
Indians of the Androscoggin
Valley

*Tribal History, and their
Relations with the Early
English Settlers of Maine*



CHARLES M. STARBIRD

Lewiston Journal Printshop
1928

TO MY WIFE

*Whose helpful encouragement and criticism, whose
loving patience and forbearance, whose unswerving
loyalty and devotion, mean Success, Happiness, Life,
this little book is affectionately dedicated.*

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FOREWORD

THIS is the most important discussion of the Androscoggin Indians, since the publication of Williamson's *History of Maine*. Save in a few scattered compilations of that important work, little has been done to write history of Indian Tribes.

"Of the seven principal tribes of New England Indians, three were crushed in open conflict with the British," says Fannie Hardy Eckstorm in her chapter of a recent *History of Maine*, which is devoted to the discussion of Maine Indians. In other words, the Indians of Southern New England passed out of the picture with the end of King Philip's War. But the Indians of Maine were just beginning to fight. The Abnakis or the "Dawnlanders," as they have been appropriately termed from their name, fought this region from Berwick to the Penobscot in what is now the State of Maine.

Seven powerful tribes formed the general Abnaki "nation." These were Pennacooks of New Hampshire, always friendly and neutral; the Saco Indians, called Sokokis, friendly to the Pennacooks but warlike, whose power was broken in their sub-tribe, the Pequakets, by their defeat at Fryeburg, Lovewell's Pond; third, the Androscoggins, which included the Pejepscots of Brunswick; fourth, the Kennebec Indians, which included the Norridgewocks of the upper Kennebec, the Canabis, or Kennebecs, of the middle stretches of the river, and the Sheepscot Indians of the mouth of the river, this latter being a most powerful sub-tribe; fifth, the Wawenocks of Knox and Lincoln counties, dwelling in the region of the Georges River; sixth, the Penobscots and Pentagoets of the region of the Penobscot River; and seventh, the Passamaquoddies.

Mr. Starbird has confined his research and writing to the Androscoggin, or Anasagunticook Tribe. Whatever may be the verdict on the accuracy and new material presented in this volume, the purpose of it is worthy, and the diligence of the author, under adverse circumstances, merits

the approval and the support of all who appreciate the same. There are but few authorities upon Indian tribes, and in this instance Mr. Starbird has long been one of these authorities, especially in respect to the Indians of the Androscoggin River and its tributaries and confluences.

Here, in the neighborhood of Lewiston, Auburn, Durham, Brunswick, along this noble river of the Androscoggin, were camping places for Indians and hunting grounds for them of unsurpassed beauty. The soil is rich in relics. The great meeting place of Indian councils at Pejepscot Falls is rich in memorials of the men and women of Indian tribes who dwelt here, from time immemorial. Their arrows are broken and their camp-fires are not even in ashes. It is well to record such as we may be able to record, while it is yet available.

One of Mr. Starbird's most valuable contributions in this volume, is his description of trails, or means of rapid-transit through forests and by water, in the days of their ownership and supremacy in this region.

What could be more interesting than to follow these old trails to-day by canoe over the water-routes of the Anasagunticooks. Long have we desired to pass by canoe from what is now New Meadows River, through to North Bath or Whiskeag, and touch the Kennebec waters so close to the sea, yet so far from its mouth.

This was once an Indian canal, it is said, and the ancient City of Augusta on the Casco Bay side of Cape Small Point, was once set out and guaranteed as the coming metropolis of Maine. Water-borne produce and manufacture could thus drain two great rivers, without passing into the ocean.

Mr. Starbird has done this work out of a pure desire to be of use and in a spirit of diligence. His chief joy is in such accomplishment. We commend this book to the public; for what it purposes to be—a work of research into a subject, never before attempted with any such effort at thoroughness.

ARTHUR G. STAPLES.

INDIANS OF THE ANDROSCOGGIN VALLEY

CHAPTER I.

The Tribal Family of the Maine Indians—The Abnaki and Etechemins—Minor Tribes—The Sokokis, Anasagunticooks, Canibas, Wawenocks, Tarratives, and Openargos—The Androscoggin Valley—Indian Names and Their Derivations—Minor Anasagunticook Tribes—The Rockamekos and Pejepscots—The Caghnaugas and Sabatis—The Location of Their Villages and Encampments.

NO CHAPTER in Maine history is more fascinating, and none more repugnant measured by the standards of civilization, than the story of the Maine Indians. Inter-tribal warfare and feuds; cruel massacres of white settlers; wanton pillaging and destruction of property; all these paint a picture of misery and horror in the early settlement of many sections of our State. Yet, mingled with the terror of the situation, there is still an admiration for the Indian who was defending the lands in which he had his home, and through which he had hunted for countless generations. He partook of the fruits of natural resources without despoiling those resources. He lived by standards limited to the simple, crude instrumentalities at his command. He enjoyed his child-like pleasures, and bore his many pains and miseries in this land, long his tribal possession. He disturbed no one so long as his person and possessions were not disturbed.

There is little wonder that his simple processes of thought should dictate resistance by force to the seizure of property which he considered exclusively his own. Such is but the natural inclination of all peoples without regard to their state of enlightenment. Nor must we forget when we shudder at the cruelty of Indian warfare, that civilized nations, with the aid of modern science, wage war in a much more brutal manner, and with inestimably greater destructive effect.

The State of Maine possessed many physical features attractive to Indian habitation. Temperate climate; broken, wooded surface; a great network of rivers and lakes; and the natural fertility of the soil; all were circumstances par-

ticularly adapted to the simple needs of aboriginal life. An abundance of fish and game together with a soil easily susceptible of a crude agriculture assured a reasonably constant food supply. Natural highways over lakes and rivers, affording comparatively easy and rapid contact between scattered encampments and Canada, encouraged communication and trade. Defensive advantages of wooded, irregular land surface were especially valuable against aggressing enemies. An abundance of stones easily fashioned into crude instruments and utensils was available.

But weighed against naturally favorable characteristics were some equally adverse. Particularly was this true of rigorous winter weather which took its annual toll of human life. Then, too, topographic features had their disadvantageous side. The broken surface of the State made nearly impossible a strong federation of Maine tribes. When we remember that the total war strength of all Maine bands, if united, might have equalled 11,000 warriors, we realize what a formidable obstacle a federation of tribes would have presented to white settlement. But the defensive strength of the smaller tribes separated by geographical barriers was scarcely adequate for the protection of their own villages to say nothing of their extensive hunting and fishing grounds.

Despite handicaps of a serious nature, and the weakening effects of almost constant warfare and of devastating pestilence, the power of the red men was menacing well into the latter part of the Eighteenth Century.

The Indians of Maine claim descent from the powerful Algonquin Nation, one of the eight great North American tribes. The Algonquins occupied a broad domain, extending along the eastern coast from Labrador to Virginia and westward to the Mississippi River. At times as many as forty separate and distinct tribes are believed to have made up this nation. Although descended from common ancestors, those Algonquins occupying the present State of Maine separated into two distinct families. The Abnaki, a loose federation of four tribes—the Sokokis, Canibas, Wawenocks, and Anasagunticooks—occupied all western Maine to the

Penobscot River. Beyond the latter point and extending into New Brunswick was the territory of the Etechemins, remnants of whose two chief tribes, the Tarratines and the Openangos or Passamaquoddy Indians, still live in this State.

These six minor tribes living along the seacoast or inland rivers and lakes, have left many picturesque Indian names to mark their points of occupation.

The Sokokis or Sochigones lived along the valley of the Saco River. One branch of the tribe, the Pegwackets, occupied the present site of Fryeburg, Maine. The other branch, the Ossipees, lived at Conway, New Hampshire. Although the smallest of the Maine families, they were fierce warriors, and were engaged in many raids upon York County towns. In 1632 the Tarratines sent a party of forty war canoes against the Sokokis, but the fate of the expedition is not known. After frequent raids upon the Saco Valley, the government of Massachusetts despatched Captain John Lovewell from Dunstable to subdue the tribe. With a force of forty men he left Massachusetts on April 25, 1725. After marching up the Saco the party was divided, Captain Lovewell and thirty men going as far as a small lake now called Lovewell's Pond. Discovered by Pagus and Wahwa, Sokokis chiefs, they were ambushed and on May 8th, Captain Lovewell and nine of his men were killed and many injured. The total Indian losses were fifty-eight men. Peace was concluded at Falmouth in July, 1726. Broken in spirit and weakened in numbers, the Sokokis subsequently withdrew into Canada where they joined the St. Francis tribe.

The Wawenocks, living between the Sheepscot and St. Georges Rivers, were one of the earliest tribes visited by explorers along the Maine coast. It was from this tribe that George Weymouth kidnapped five warriors and took them to England. This act, together with the capture of others of this tribe by Thomas Hunt in 1614, enraged the chiefs of the Wawenocks and was undoubtedly largely responsible for bitter hostility toward later colonists. Allying themselves with the Canibas and Anasagunticooks, the Wawenocks brutally harassed white settlements, and were constantly taking revenge upon innocent persons for wrongs

done the tribe. In 1615 they were believed to have had as many as 1100 warriors. Losses by continual warfare and by disease greatly depleted their number, and in weakened condition they joined the Anasagunticooks.

The whole valley of the Kennebec was held by the Canibas, a federation of four tribes; the Sagadahocs; the Cusse-nocks; the Ticonnets, and the Norridgewocks, the latter being the most active and conspicuous of the Canibas family. Their supreme chief or Bashaba had his dwelling on Swan Island in the Kennebec, between the present towns of Richmond and Dresden. The Canibas and Anasagunticooks were the most powerful and warlike of the Abnaki Indians. During King Philip's War, however, the Canibas were much less cruel than their allies. The influence of Jesuit missionaries did much to maintain peace, especially the teachings of Father Rasle. For many years quiet prevailed along the frontier until the Canibas chief, Bomazeen, was seized at Pemaquid and taken to Boston a captive. The infuriated Norridgewocks immediately began raids upon white settlements, and continued hostilities until a treaty of peace was concluded at Mere Point, January 7, 1699.

Five English expeditions were sent against the Canibas village at Norridgewock. In 1705, as also in 1721, 1722, and 1723, the village was found deserted. On August 29, 1724, the final expedition left Richmond under Captains Harmon and Moulton of York. With a force of two hundred and eight men, the village was taken by surprise, Father Rasle and thirty Indians were killed, and the whole encampment burned. This inglorious episode of Maine colonial history so weakened the Canibas that for a quarter of a century no further depredations took place.

Having gained strength in years of peace, in 1746 the Canibas again appeared, making assaults upon Pemaquid, Topsham, and North Yarmouth. Intermittent attacks continued until 1760, when, completely reduced, they joined the remnants of other Maine tribes in Canada.

The most powerful tribe in Maine, the Tarratines, occupied the valley of the Penobscot River, with their chief village at Oldtown. Their war strength is believed to have

been as great as that of the combined Abnaki tribes of Western Maine. Obtaining food easily from the rivers and forests, they made no attempt to cultivate the soil. Like the Canibas, they called their supreme chief the Bashaba. His influence among Maine Indians was important, and it is believed that at one time he held loose dominion over all Maine tribes.

At a very early date the Tarratines came under the protection of the French. Samuel de Champlain met the Bashaba on the Penobscot in 1605. Jesuit fathers labored not merely to win the tribe for Catholicism, but to alleviate their sufferings, and to cure them in time of illness. This benign influence, together with unfortunate relations with the English, allied the Tarratines with the French for the conquest of North America.

In alliance with other Maine tribes, the Tarratines waged continual warfare upon the English settlements. In King Philip's War they spread terror along the greater portion of the Maine coast. Mugg, a Tarratine chief, led a siege as far south as the garrison at Black Point, Scarborough, in May, 1676. Equipped with modern weapons, and instigated by the French, they were better prepared to meet the English upon equal conditions than were other Indians. Baron de St. Castin married an Indian woman and lived with the tribe for many years, teaching the men the principles of military organization, and virtually leading the tribe in time of war. After the defeat of the French at Louisbourg, and until 1760, the Tarratines were continually on the war path, and did great damage. These conflicts so exhausted the tribe that their total numbers by the latter year were not over five hundred souls.

During the Revolutionary War, the Tarratines were loyal to the cause of the colonies, Orono and other Tarratine chiefs offering the services of the tribe to the Continental Congress. This loyalty has been rewarded by the care and attention which the State has long given to their needs.

Having played no conspicuous part in frontier massacres and depredations, the Openangos or "Quoddy" Indians have little of the picturesqueness of other Maine tribes. They

dwelt along the lower Schoodic Lakes and at several places in Washington and Hancock Counties. Most of their food was derived from hunting and fishing, and little attention was given to agriculture. Peaceful and gentle in manner, they never sought trouble, nor resisted seriously the colonization of their territory. An estimate of 1615, places the number of their warriors as 1400. The tribe remained in Maine, and some few in number still live near Princeton in Washington County.

The total Indian population of Maine before 1620 is thought to have been between 36,000 and 38,000, of which number 11,000 were fighting men. The warriors of the four Abnaki tribes probably numbered about 5,000, while those of the Etechemins numbered 6,000. If at any one time this force could have done battle as a unit, the whole course of Maine history would have been vastly different.

The Valley of the Androscoggin was the home of the Anasagunticooks, a powerful, warlike, relentless tribe, frequently characterized as the first to make war, and the last to conclude peace. They controlled the entire river valley from the source to Merrymeeting Bay, and along the banks built their encampments; gained their livelihood; and prepared points of vantage for their defense. Possessed of sufficient intelligence and genius to capitalize their advantages of location, the Anasagunticooks built up a civilization which challenges the thoughtful attention of all persons interested in Maine history.

The extent of the holdings of this tribe may be appreciated by recalling that the Androscoggin River rises in Umbagog Lake situated in Magalloway and Upton, Maine, and in New Hampshire, and has a length of 210 miles, and a drainage basin of 3,430 square miles. Of this drainage basin 2,750 square miles are within the present limits of the State of Maine. With seven principal tributaries and a vast number of small streams and creeks, the reservoirs of the river comprise 83 lakes and ponds with a surface area of 152½ square miles. All these reservoirs and tributaries opened to the Anasagunticooks large land areas for hunting, and a sufficient water area for excellent fishing.

There is considerable geological evidence to indicate that in ages past the course of the Androscoggin from Shelburne, New Hampshire, to East Livermore in Maine, was a series of lakes with natural dams and obstructive formations. Alluvial deposits peculiar to the bottom of a pond or lake form the soil composition of the greater part of the bottom lands of the Androscoggin between the points above mentioned. The broad, fertile intervalles of Jay and Canton Point indicate the correctness of the lake chain theory.

Game was formerly abundant in the Androscoggin Valley; the larger animals including bear, moose and deer. Beaver, otter, mink, foxes and sables were plentiful, as were many other valuable fur-bearing animals. Sturgeon and salmon were common in the Androscoggin River, and the lakes and streams were well stocked naturally with trout. A favorite salmon fishing ground of the Indians was at Lewiston Falls.

Fish and game in plenty; fertile lowlands for cultivation; heavily wooded banks and valleys; and a natural highway made the Androscoggin River Valley ideal for the location of Indian settlements.

The origin and derivation of the name Androscoggin has given authorities much trouble. The name has been written in no less than sixty different forms, those most commonly appearing being Amasaquanteg, Anasagunticook, Anconganunticook and Amascogan. The latter name was that generally applied by the Indians according to a deposition of Perepole, a minor chief of the Anasagunticook tribe. Vetromile believes that "coggin" means coming, and that "Amascoggin" means "fish coming in the spring." Willis believed that the name meant "the Great Skunk River." Potter in the Maine Historical Collections concluded that the word was derived from "naamas"—fish; "kees"—high; and "auke"—place; and meant "the high fish place." The Rev. Dr. Ballard of the United States Coast Survey derived Androscoggin from "Namas"—fish, and "Skaughigan"—a fish spear or "spearing fish." Although this latter explanation appears the more probable of those mentioned, still it is believed that the word may have come from the

Abnaki "Am-a-ra-skah-gin," meaning "the turbid, foaming, crooked snake." At any event the name is undoubtedly derived from the Abnaki tongue.

In searching for the derivations of names given various places by the Anasagunticooks, it must be remembered that their language was monosyllabic and that names applied by them were meant to bring to the mind some geographical feature peculiar to the place in question, or some event which had taken place at that point. Their proper names were, without apparent exception, descriptive. But probably in few instances has the original Abnaki meaning been applied because of the alteration in spelling necessary to conform to English or French rules of pronunciation. Besides, the names have been passed down from different sources, and have been often changed to suit the understanding of the individual to whom they were originally given.

How great is the confusion respecting Indian names may be well indicated by the fact that even the tribal name Abnaki is in dispute both as to proper spelling, and to origin and pronunciation. All the many spellings of the word appear to be modifications of four root words: Abenaki; Abenagues; Wabenakies, and Wapanachki. The more common English spelling is "Abnaki." The true Indian spelling is "Wanb-naghi," from which we derive our term. "Wanb-naghi" consists of two words, "wanb," probably an abbreviation of "wanbighen;" translated "it is light," or "the breaking of the day;" or may be a shortened form of "wanbanban," meaning the "Aurora Borealis." The generally accepted English translation is "of the East." The second Indian word "naghi" means "ancestors." Strictly rendered, then, the Abnaki word means "our ancestors of the East," but many writers have simplified this to "the Indians of the East," which seems a very sensible interpretation.

The passage of time has obliterated many of the picturesque Indian names of places in the Androscoggin Valley. A very interesting number have, however, been preserved.

We have spoken in another place of the Indian term for the Androscoggin. This name applied to that portion of the

river between "Amitigonpontook"—Lewiston Falls, and "Arockamecook,"—Canton Point. "Amitigontipontook" is the name applied to the falls at Lewiston, sometimes called by the English "Harris," or "Twenty Mile" Falls. A deposition of Perepole, an Anasagunticook chief, defines the word as meaning "Clay-land Falls." Canton Point was indicated by the word "Arockamecook," which Perepole designates to mean the "hoe-land." The word is also spelled "Rockomeko." The name seems particularly appropriate as Canton Point is known to have been the scene of an extensive Indian agriculture.

The portion of the river below "Amitigonpontook" and extending to "Quabacook" or Merrymeeting Bay was "Pygspquoit," or "Pejepscot," meaning "Crooked, like a diving snake." The name Pejepscot was also applied to the falls at Brunswick.

"Quabacook" according to Perepole, means "the duck water place." The name is certainly appropriate in view of the excellent duck hunting still enjoyed in Merrymeeting Bay. The reason for the English name is uncertain, tradition deriving its origin from the fact that it is the meeting place of five rivers. Dr. Ballard, however, believes that two surveying parties, meeting on the shores of the bay, celebrated the occasion, and gave the harbor the name "Merrymeeting."

The Indian name for that part of the Town of Brunswick near the falls was "Ah-me-lah-cog-netur-cook," a phrase meaning "a place of much game, of fish, fowl and beasts." This may be the place referred to by Father Rasle as "Ammessukkautti"—"where there is an abundance of large fish." This point he designated as a principal Abnaki dwelling in the State.

The land on the north side of the Androscoggin, where the present towns of Topsham and Lisbon are situated, was called "Sawacook." Authorities disagree as to its significance, some contending that it means "the burnt place;" others believing its translation to be "a tree forking in many branches;" and still others, "the place to find many cranberries."

Near the outlet of the Androscoggin River is a point of land frequently known to the English as Point Agreeable, but "Abagadusset" to the Indians. The Indian word "Bagadusset," one of the forms in which the name appears, means "to shine," and probably refers to the reflection of the light of the Bay upon the point.

"Maquoit," a point in Merrymeeting Bay, and a name often applied to a part of the Bay itself, is purely Indian, meaning "bear-place" or "bear-bay."

The Cathance River was known to the Indians as "Kathah-nis" and is said to have meant "crooked" or "bent."

A small stream flowing into the bay was called "Bunganunganock." The spelling is generally shortened to "Bunganock." The translation is "High Bank Brook," obviously picturing the fact that it runs at the bottom of a deep ravine.

Among the interesting Maine coastal names is Merri-coneag, applied to the whole peninsular known also as Harpswell Neck. The name originally indicated only the Indian carrying place at the upper end of the Neck. The Indian word is "Merrecoonegan" from "merru"—"swift or quick"—and "coonegan"—"portage," meaning, translated, the "Quick carrying place."

"Sebascondegan" was the aboriginal name for Great Island in the Town of Harpswell. Supposedly derived from the Indian words "k'tche"—"great;" and "t'bascoogan"—"measure," it may indicate that some method had been used by the Indians to measure the island and they had found it to be "great."

History has preserved to us fewer of the purely Indian names for locations in the upper Androscoggin Valley, due to the late date at which traders and colonists visited these regions. Those still known to us are:

"Aurconganunticook," the name applied to the Androscoggin River above Canton Point;

"Megalloway," the branch of the river near the lakes, and still called by that name;

"Oquassa" or "Argwas-cuc," the names for Rangeley Lake, from the former of which our word "Oquossoc" is clearly derived;

"Parmachenee" Lake, the source of the Megalloway River near the Canadian line;

"Kennebago," a name applied still to a river and lake in the Rangeley region;

"Umbagog," the first of the chain of lakes, and the source of the Androscoggin River.

"Aziscoos," the falls and a mountain in the Megalloway country.

Three other names applied to the lakes in the Rangeley chain are probably not purely Indian words, but combinations of the Indian and English. They are:

"Welokenebacook" or "Molechunkemunk," for Richardson Lake;

"Moosellocmaguntic," still applied by us, and

"Cupsuptic," the most northerly lake of the chain, and still bearing that name.

It is interesting to note that some Indian names of places in the river valley were given by white settlers in honor of some conspicuous Indian, or in memory of some mythical aboriginal character or event. We have our "Sabatis" Pond and village, the river of the same name, and a mountain in the Town of Wales, all named in honor of the minor Anasagunticook chief. The late Dr. N. T. True of Bethel, an authority upon Anasagunticook history, tells us that "Sabatis" is not a purely Indian word, but a corruption of "John the Baptist."

Rumford Falls were named by the early settlers "Pennacook Falls," because of the traditional settlement of a band from the Pennacook tribe of New Hampshire near that point.

Two points are named for the Indian woman "Mollocket." They are Mollocket Mountain in the Town of Peru, and Moll's Rock near the outlet of Umbagog Lake. Dr. True believes this name to be a corruption of "Mary Agatha."

"Anasagunticook" is the name not long since given to a Mountain in the Town of Bethel, and a point of land on the Androscoggin about a mile below Bethel village is called even today "Powwow" Point. Here the Indians were said

to have held councils. "Mattalluck" Island in Umbagog Lake takes the name of an Indian resident of the island.

Many other Indian names along the Androscoggin Valley have been lost to posterity. Two reasons account for this fact. Sections of the valley were not visited by white men until after the Indians had joined other Maine tribes, or had withdrawn into Canada. On the other hand, probably a large number of the pure Indian names were either so difficult for English spelling or for pronunciation that their preservation was practically impossible. In any case, it is to be regretted that so little of pure Indian terminology remains to us.

To designate the proper sites referred to by Indian names, and to determine their origin and meaning, presents a task scarcely more difficult than to orient the dwelling points, and to learn the names of the minor tribal divisions of the Anasagunticooks. Two major families of the tribe are known to have existed.

The largest group in the tribe were the Rockomekas, whose headquarters at Canton Point covered several hundred acres of land. Canton Point was, at an early period, the center of Indian population for the whole valley. Near this village were two others; one at Rumford Falls, and the other at a point about two and one-half miles north of Bethel village. The latter settlement were undoubtedly Rockomekas for many of their customs and practices were like those in vogue at Canton Point. How long the village existed, or the reason for its abandonment, will never be known. The inhabitants had left long before Bethel was settled, and the finding of twenty cellars for the storage of corn, and the discovery of numerous gun barrels, kettles, poles, and other implements, indicate that they hurriedly abandoned the site.

Tradition has maintained that the Indians at Rumford Point, so called, were Pennacooks. This fact can probably never be verified. The settlement was so small and inconspicuous that very little is known of it.

Of the great Anasagunticook family, and directly subsidiary to the Rockomekas, were the Caghaugas. They

were a widely scattered clan dwelling along "Thirty-Mile" River, Dead River and at the foot of Androscoggin Lake. The family center was in the present Town of Leeds, but their existence under even the crudest form of tribal government is exceedingly doubtful. Their tribal affairs were conducted at Canton Point.

The origin and significance of the name "Caghnaugas" will, perhaps, always remain unsettled. No writer has yet professed to understand its meaning. The group was, at an early date, populous and thrifty, and although of little historical importance as a tribe, yet were a powerful division of the Anasagunticook nation. Their location afforded many of the agricultural advantages enjoyed by the Rockomekas, and they were well supplied with fish and game. We know of no Caghnauga village of importance, their most outstanding characteristic being apparently their nomadic nature. In their wanderings, though, they were always careful to remain within easy communication of Canton Point.

By 1700 the greater number of the Caghnaugas had either died of plague; been destroyed in battle; or had removed to the center of the tribe at Canton Point. Aside from scattered wigwams only a few of this people remained.

The Pejepscots occupied the territory from Lewiston Falls to Merrymeeting Bay. Their two principal villages were at Laurel Hill, Auburn, at the junction of the Androscoggin and Little Androscoggin Rivers; and at Brunswick Falls, early known as Pejepscot Falls. The former village is believed to have been founded at a comparatively late date. The occupants were Anasagunticooks and Pennacooks who had sought refuge from their traditional enemies, the powerful Mohawks of New York. The discoveries of Major Church at this point would indicate a large encampment. The location and the carefully constructed stone fort at Laurel Hill show that the settlement was both a defensive outpost for the Canton village, and an asylum for the tribes' people at Brunswick Falls.

The village at Brunswick or Pejepscot Falls was one of considerable size and importance. In its earlier days it

was the dwelling place of several hundred Indians. These settlements, coming into direct contact with early English colonists along the coast, were first to be abandoned by the tribe.

A village at Mere Point or Mair Point, is believed to have been one of the most important Anasagunticook settlements as early as the Sixteenth Century. Relics found over a large territory indicate the presence at one time of many savages. Before the English began their explorations along the coast of Maine, the village had been deserted.

Along the Sabatis River, at Sabatis village, and in the present Town of Lisbon was a small encampment of Pejepscots. This settlement was the first to be visited by the English. Ruling over these Indians was the Chief Sabatis. We can arrive at no estimate of the population of Sabatis village, but relics found in the section point to the occupation of much of the shoreland along Sabatis Pond, as well as a principal encampment on the site of Sabatis village. The first settlement along the Sabatis River was, in 1607, about three miles from the point of convergence with the Androscoggin. The villages at these points were early abandoned and their inhabitants removed to Laurel Hill, Auburn.

Many of the tribe removed to the seacoast during the winter months. The difficulties of procuring fish through the thick river ice, and of pursuing game in the heavy snows made uncertain a proper supply of food. But the open seacoast furnished opportunity for fishing and for the digging of clams. The snow, too, was light, an advantage in hunting and trapping. One of the most popular winter resorts upon the coast was at Maquoit where clams in abundance could be found. This site seems to have been occupied in later years only as winter quarters.

In an interesting series of articles upon the Anasagunticooks published sometime ago in the Lewiston Evening Journal, Dr. N. T. True speaks of a tribe which he calls the "Sawacooks." It will be remembered that this name was applied to the land now comprising the Towns of Lisbon and Topsham. A small band of Anasagunticooks may

have lived at some point on the northerly side of the river and to them Dr. True has given the name. But the seemingly more reasonable explanation is that any village at Lisbon or Topsham was an outpost of the Pejepscots at Brunswick Falls, and not a distinct tribal family.

It is proper, also, to call attention to a small Indian village on the bank of the Sandy River near Farmington. These Indians called themselves "Amascontees" and from the fact that the root word of the name corresponds with the root word for the Anasagunticooks, it may be that these people were a branch of the larger tribe.

The inference must not be drawn from the location of particular sites of permanent residence that the remainder of the Androscoggin Valley was not inhabited. In the first place, our records of the tribe are, at best, glaringly imperfect. We cannot be positive as to how long a time they had occupied the valley. Encampments probably existed centuries ago of which we have no knowledge. If such be the case, we shall never have adequate information concerning them. Then, too, the Indian was nomadic by nature. He lived in the tribal groups essentially for protection. His normal inclination was to wander about from place to place seeking those spots where he could most easily supply his scanty needs. We may well assume that small camps of one or more families could be found along the entire Androscoggin shore line, and upon the Rangeley Lakes. Widely scattered families are known to have dwelt in the latter region, but their story exists in tradition alone. Little, if any of it, can be verified.

CHAPTER II.

The Physical Appearance of the Anasagunticooks—Their Customs and Manners—Tribal Life—Their Food Supply—Implements and Utensils—Government and Conception of Property Rights—Population—Transportation—Their Language and Culture—Religious Conceptions—Funeral Customs—Their Relations with Other Tribes.

TO UNDERSTAND and appreciate the circumstances and civilization of peoples, and to foresee their probable psychological reaction to a given combination of circumstances, human history concerns itself with the physical endowments; the customs and manners; the mode of life; and the intelligence and mental development of individuals and groups. So with the Indians. Those racial characteristics which distinguished them from all other human beings, reflect the reasons for their subsequent relations with the English colonists and explorers. We can excuse many things in the Indians' conduct when we remember that the ways and practices of the white man were misinterpreted by the Indian quite as much as the attitude and conduct of the Indian was misjudged by the white man. The many occurrences of everyday Indian life which to the English seemed uncouth and repugnant, were countered by traits in the white man which, to the Indian, appeared repulsive and barbarous. In our reading and study of Indian affairs, we should not be unmindful of these facts, because both races had commendable as well as contemptible traits; and both committed praiseworthy as well as blameworthy acts.

Even at the time of the earliest English visits to the Anasagunticooks, the latter had developed a civilization unexpectedly perfect when we consider the exceedingly humble beginnings from which it had sprung. Their material possessions were crude indeed, but they had developed a language, they had indicated a genius for government, they had perfected religious ceremonies, and they practiced a code of honor and morality that was exemplary. While they were always swept along by the dictates of primitive emotions, we cannot but admire the progress they had made.

Not unlike other Indians of New England, the Anasagunticooks were of medium stature, and great muscular de-

velopment. Their color was a reddish copper tinge easily distinguishable from the negro, mulatto, or Spaniard, and of a deeper shade than that of the Oriental. Their hair was long, coarse and black, and was worn bound up in a tuft on the top of the head. The men were beardless, whether by nature or as a result of some special treatment, is not known. Some have thought that the young men pulled their beards out, and continued the process until the roots were entirely destroyed. Others are of the opinion that a lotion with which they covered their bodies for protection against flies and other vermin, prevented the growth of beards.

Their features were regular and well-moulded, having little in common with the rough physiognomy of many Indians of North America. In bodily structure, they were wiry and lithe but never corpulent, probably due in part to their difficult struggle for existence. The deformed and crippled were unknown among them. In power of endurance they were excelled by no race. The most grievous hardships of exposure and hunger seem never to have depleted their strength nor to have dulled their mental faculties. The rigorous demands of the hard existence in the open developed a physical prowess and agility scarcely conceivable by us, and their senses of smell, touch, sight and hearing attained a keenness of great perfection. Their powers of observation were unusual. Nature provided them bounteously with personal weapons against the constantly lurking perils with which they were surrounded.

The dress of the Anasagunticooks consisted chiefly of skins; the pelts of the deer and the sable being preferred. For summer use they stripped the fur from the hides. The winter garment was worn with the fur next to the body. The mantle was often painted or embroidered with beads or bits of shells. Many of the garments of both men and women were interwoven with colored threads or feathers, bright tints having a singular fascination for both sexes. The exposed portions of the body were usually colored either black, red, or blue, and their methods of preparing paints for the purpose will always remain a mystery. The feathers of birds adorned the hair, the rank of the wearer

being indicated by the kind of feathers worn. Gaudy trinkets for decoration were much sought, and were purchased from traders at fabulous costs.

The Anasagunticook wigwam was built of boughs and bark, though skins were not infrequently used. The better habitations and the wigwams where councils were held often measured from twenty to forty feet in length and were oblong in shape. The supports for the sides were crotched poles tightly bound together at the top and thatched with bark. There were no windows in the structure, and a skin hanging over the small entrance served as a door. The floor was generally made of hemlock boughs, and around the walls were built platforms for seats. Soft skins were often placed upon these platforms for cushions, especially if the wigwam was the stopping place of some distinguished guest. Temporary homes and hunting wigwams were usually conical in shape, and although less firmly constructed and smaller, they were often from twelve to fifteen feet in diameter. A heap of stones piled in the center of the structure was the hearth upon which a small fire was kept burning, the smoke escaping from the top of the wigwam. These rude fireplaces served the purposes of heating, cooking and lighting, and were in the care of the Indian women, who were likewise charged with gathering the fuel. The cleanliness and tidiness of the wigwams were a noticeable contrast to the notorious personal filthiness of the inhabitants.

The tribal village was usually irregular in arrangement, the warrior building his house at almost any convenient place. The wigwams were huddled closely together both for protective purposes and as a means of breaking the ferocity of storms. There is some evidence of regular street arrangement but most of this belief is undoubtedly the figment of the white man's imagination. As a general proposition the village was built near the bank of some stream or lake, making both for easy communication and transportation and for easy access to the supply of drinking water. An enumeration of Anasagunticook villages gives the site of practically all of them near some sheet of water.

By nature the Anasagunticooks were gentle and kindly in manner, as the earliest visitors discovered. They gave friendship and expected friendship in return. They were originally trustful, and were hurt by a display of lack of confidence in them. They were slow to resent wrongs, but once aroused were all the more vindictive toward those who mistreated them. The mal-treatment of the Indians increased with the growth of English colonization and the wrongs perpetrated upon them became more and more grievous to the point of being practically unendurable. For years they bore in silence usage which no white man would countenance. Though frequently complaining bitterly at their treatment, and making their arguments with unusual clarity and invincible logic, they did not resort to force until all other means of retribution appeared closed to them.

Extremely hospitable in manner, the Anasagunticook denied his guest no comfort which his slender means afforded. He always welcomed strangers to his wigwam, and shared with them any food he might have at hand even to the last morsel. In receiving his enemies for conference he always permitted them to retain their arms, a fact which we cannot record with respect to many of the English with whom the Indians treated.

Among themselves they were essentially honest, and seldom gave occasion for fear of treachery. Their doors were never locked and they never attempted to steal whatever property might be held by the tribe in common. Petty thievery from each other was never practiced. They were, consequently, astonished at the too frequent practice of English traders to drive hard bargains with them, and their protests to whatever authority they might have recourse were often perfectly justified. The habitual disregard of these protests, and the persistent inattention to these wrongs, did much to shake the Indians' faith in the good intentions of the English.

In some respects the Indians were their own worst enemies. Their appetite for liquor was irrepressible. Traders, taking advantage of this fact, frequently secured valuable furs or even thousands of acres of land for a small amount

of rum. This exchange sometimes, however, turned to the decided disadvantage of the trader, because the Indian would drink until crazed by the liquor. Working himself into a terrible frenzy he was capable of any crime, and many a trader paid for his folly with his life.

The morals of the Anasagunticooks were good. Their home life was, generally speaking, pure and in conformity with a moral code which might well serve as an example to more enlightened peoples. The gratitude of the Indian was deep and lasting, some former act of kindness saving the lives of many of the settlers during the Indian border warfare. But the memory of a wrong was equally vivid. The Indian was jealous and revengeful and believed an evil deed done him called for an evil deed in retaliation. Human nature seems to move along a well defined plane, and we are not altogether above returning evil for evil. There are some very real excuses for the cruelty practiced by the Indian. In the first place, he saw more clearly than we can, the evils that existed among white settlers. He discovered that they, too, committed crimes upon each other, and too often treated the Indian with scorn and contempt. His simple mental processes gave the Indian little confidence of securing justice except by taking matters into his own hands. His experience with commissioners sent to treat with him, and with such courts of justice as then existed, was not particularly reassuring. He sensed that the English considered him stupid, and that they sought to take advantage of that fact. In fostering hostility between the races the attitude of the English was as culpable in the sight of the Indian as that of the Indian was in the eyes of the white man. Each misunderstood the other, and each suspiciously exaggerated signs of unfriendliness.

The ordinary demeanor of the Indian was grave and taciturn. In councils, however, he was far from retiring and often became an impassioned orator. While he cared little for the possession of real or personal property, he was a covetous seeker of honor and power among his tribesmen, and would bend untiring energies toward gaining whatever position he might desire. He was patient even to the point

where patience had long since "ceased to be a virtue." Much real abuse would be heaped upon him and pass off apparently unheeded.

The hardships of and constant struggle for existence made the Indian bold and daring. He often disregarded absolutely his personal safety in the pursuit of the end he sought to accomplish. He was proud of his deeds of skill and courage and not only enjoyed boasting of his own feats of daring, but admired those of others.

In woodcraft the Indian was necessarily highly skilled. He could travel through the most dense and intricate forest without losing his way. His food supply depended in large measure upon his expertness in those simple methods which brought fish and game to his larder and the products of a crude agriculture to supply the needs of a balanced diet. Since wampum was practically unknown among the Anasagunticooks the most advantageous medium of exchange he could devise was the pelts of fur-bearing animals. Here, again, he must necessarily be adept in devices for securing fur-bearing animals. He constructed rude traps with which he caught beaver, sable, marten, or otter whose furs he found to be most desirable in barter with other tribes or with the French and English.

The Anasagunticooks depended upon three sources of food supply: Fish; game; and what grain and vegetables they could easily raise. They favored particular places for hunting and for fishing, although the whole valley offered an abundance of fish, game and fowl.

The upper waters of the Androscoggin led to excellent hunting grounds. Transportation of the game down to Canton Point was an easy matter. Moose and deer were numerous in the Rangeley region. They were killed with the bow and arrow, many clever devices being practiced to lure the game within bowshot. The Indian usually shot from ambush, often covering himself with the skin of a moose or a deer and creeping upon a herd until he could easily use his bow. When hunting in bands a favorite method was to surround the herd, and by building fires, drive them into their well-known beaten paths. Great numbers were easily

dispatched by this method. By imitating the call of a wild animal the Indian could usually entice the animal within shooting distance.

Birds were taken in snares or shot with arrows. Most plentiful among the game birds were wild ducks. They lived in great numbers on the seacoast and along the rivers and ponds. In August when the young ducks were not sufficiently fledged to fly they would be driven up creeks and coves and killed in great numbers. The wholesale slaughter of either beasts or birds as a sport seems never to have been indulged in, the taking being solely as a means of sustenance.

Fish was the chief food after the hunting season had passed. Salmon was one of the important items of diet. They came up the Androscoggin as far as Rumford Falls, the pitch of the water there being too great for them to ascend further. Both there and at Lewiston Falls, the Anasagunticooks took great numbers of them with spears. Sturgeon came up over Pejepscot Falls, but probably travelled no further than the falls at Lewiston.

Together with the spear, a crude fishhook and sometimes weirs were used in the catch. Fishhooks were made of bones polished down and with a barb fashioned at the end. Weirs were made of the sinews of deer or other animals or from the roots of trees. Lines were also anchored in the streams by means of stones wrought out as sinkers. These various methods aided greatly in securing an ample supply of fish.

Unlike many of the Maine Indians, the Anasagunticooks were skilled in agricultural pursuits, and the fruits of their labors provided an important part of their diet. Corn, an important food item, was planted in fields that might be found near every village of importance. Evidences of corn fields have been found at Rumford Point, near Bethel, at Canton Point, at Laurel Hill in Auburn, in Leeds and Wales, at Southwest Bend in Durham, and in Brunswick and Topsham. The planting ground at Canton Point would be a credit to an extensive agricultural operation of today. The field there covered from six to seven hundred acres, certainly no mean activity for a savage people. Many of the root

vegetables found growing wild in the New England States were cultivated in the fields by the Anasagunticooks.

At best the Anasagunticook attempts to till the soil were crude, but they exemplified wisdom in planting at those places where naturally fertile. Of theories and methods of fertilization they knew little or nothing. But we may well assume that they conducted experiments to determine the most favorable places for sowing.

The Anasagunticook was prudent in preserving stores against a time when either hunting or fishing or cultivation might be impossible. He smoked and packed away fish for future use. He dried and smoked the flesh of game. He built corn storage cellars to preserve his surplus crop. These cellars have been found in great number throughout the valley of the Androscoggin. Necessity made him thrifty. He was compelled by experience to avoid needless waste.

The Indian has frequently been characterized as indolent and lazy, but this can scarcely be said of the Anasagunticooks. Among them industrial life was important, and their standard of living was higher than that of many other Maine Indians. They were skilled in the making of simple implements necessary to their use. There were a variety of utensils serving various purposes both as household necessities, and in the killing of game and the catching of fish. Their most important household article was a mortar and pestle used for grinding corn. The mortar was usually a stone with a cavity for holding the corn, almost any kind of stone apparently serving well the purpose. The pestle was long, made of the coarsest kind of slate rounded at one end, and usually having a small hole bored through the end of the handle. Suspending the pestle from the branch of a tree by means of a leather thong, the task of grinding the corn was simplified.

For the planting and cultivation of the corn they made a crude hoe of stone or wood or of a clam shell. These were used by the women of the tribe but could have been of little use except in planting. For transporting corn to the place of storage, baskets of reeds and skins were used. In later years they obtained hoes and kettles in trade with the French.

For the skinning of animals they used a chisel-shaped stone instrument and sometimes a sharp sea shell. At the time of their first intercourse with the white men they used wooden troughs for plates for the making of which a sharp gouge-shaped instrument was used. These wooden plates were later supplanted by tin ware acquired in barter. The greater number of the tribe, however, used no receptacle for their food other than the large kettle in which it was cooked.

By far the most interesting of their implements were those used in hunting and fishing and in warfare. Since the main part of their food supply consisted of fish or game, their weapons for securing them were the more numerous. The most important of their hunting equipment were the bows and arrows. The business of making arrow heads was confined to a few members of the tribe especially skilled in properly fashioning and balancing the delicate arrow points. The material out of which arrow heads were made was brought from sections outside the Androscoggin Valley. Mount Kineo was the source of the best raw material, the greater part of the mountain being hornstone well suited for arrow points. Another source of supply frequently resorted to was near Berlin Falls, New Hampshire, where striped jasper was found in abundance. Rough quartz was frequently used, but the finished product was rough and often untrue, due to the character of the stone. The stocks of the arrows were made of the toughest wood obtainable, the hornbeam and beech being preferred. Thongs for fastening the arrow heads to the stock were of the strongest deer or moose hide.

The bows were made of some tough elastic wood with leather strings. They were particularly heavy and difficult to bend, the average white man bending one only with the greatest difficulty. In the hands of the Indian they were a formidable weapon, a skilled marksman shooting with precision at a distance of forty yards or even more.

Spear heads were made of quartz, flint or jasper. They were wrought with great skill and care, and their excellent and precise workmanship excites the more wonder since they

could not have been fashioned by the use of iron or steel. Spear heads seven or eight inches long, and with razor sharpness have been found. Necessity had rendered the Indian observant of every kind of stone, and none have yet been found which would seem to have served better their purpose.

The war club was generally made from the root or branch of a tree, polished down and a heavy knot or prong left at the end. In close engagement this weapon was invaluable. Another kind of club was frequently used in battle. This consisted of a long pole sometimes eight or ten feet in length, to the point of which was fastened a deer's horn or a stone sharpened at both ends. The entire pole was generally hardened in the fire. This weapon resembled a pickaxe in shape.

A stone hatchet was a common implement. This was generally made of a tough green stone found in abundance along the shores of Casco Bay. Fashioned down to a sharp edge, these hatchets would bear a hard blow without breaking. The hatchet head was fastened to the wooden handle by a tough withe which was either passed through a hole in the center of the stone, or more often was wound around the stone in grooves made for that particular purpose.

The iron or steel axe was first sold to the Anasagunticooks by the French. They were clumsy and heavy, usually the product of the Canadian blacksmith. Although awkward to handle, these axes were a decided improvement over the rude stone implement of Indian manufacture.

That the Anasagunticooks employed traps and snares is evident by the number and character of fur-bearing animals which they procured, but we know nothing of their construction, or what shape or form they may have taken. Traps were in common use among the Indians of Maine long before the coming of white explorers and it is certain that their activities in this line were important. Captain John Smith tells us that he obtained from the Maine Indians within the distance of twenty leagues 11,000 beaver skins; 100 martens, and as many otter as early as 1614.

A gouge-shaped instrument was used in hollowing out boats, the larger of which were made from logs, and were capable of seating 30 or 40 persons. The surface of the log was burned on one side until the wood became sufficiently charred to be easily workable with the crude tools. This process was repeated until a very sizeable boat was completed. What could be said for this craft in the way of capacity was more than offset by its weight and its cumbersome handling. For most purposes the Anasagunticooks used canoes. These light, fragile craft were usually made of birch bark sewed over a rude frame, thongs of roots or leather being used for thread. For the difficulties of navigation which the Indian was obliged to overcome, the canoe was much more practical than the wooden boat. The Androscoggin was full of rapids through which the larger boat could not be navigated. The canoe, on the other hand, proved ideal for use in such places, and the Indian would guide it through rapids with great skill. Then, too, as the water was the course used for transportation and communication, the Indian required a craft which could be carried around points where water passage was impossible. For such purposes the canoe was admirable, being sufficiently light to be carried with ease. The seating capacity of the average canoe was as many as five persons. The Indians were exceedingly dextrous in the management of them, and could paddle with great speed. Captain Smith noted that five Indians could paddle a canoe faster than eight of his men could row a boat of even small size.

Since the water was the chief highway of the Anasagunticooks, and since many places could not be navigated, a well-defined network of carrying-places was developed by them. The places where they were obliged to leave the water either to go around falls and rapids or to cross from salt water to fresh, or from stream to stream, were called carrying-places, because at these points they were obliged to carry their canoes. From Berlin Falls down to Canton Point there was but one obstruction to navigation on the Androscoggin, this being at Rumford Falls. From Canton Point to Lewiston Falls there were many rapids dangerous

to the use even of the canoe. For a distance of ten miles below Lewiston Falls until Southwest Bend in Durham was reached, there were no obstructions of importance. Below the latter point to Brunswick or Pejepscot Falls many rapids obstructed free passage. No interruption existed from Pejepscot Falls to the ocean.

Many of the most important trails and carrying-places used by the Anasagunticooks are known to us. In their intercourse with the Amascontee Indians on the Sandy River they travelled from Canton Point by way of the Dead River, Wayne Pond, and other points to the Sandy River.

Several routes were used in reaching Canada. One was from Rumford up the Ellis River to the present Town of Andover and thence to Canada by the chain of lakes. Oftentimes they passed up Bear River to the foot of Umbagog Lake, from which they followed the Magalloway River, the route being one of easy transit to the sources of the rivers in Canada which empty into the St. Lawrence. Still another route frequently traversed after raids upon the seaboard settlements was up the Sabatis River, across Sabatis Pond, along the lakes and ponds and rivers to the Rangeleys, and thence into Canada.

A much travelled circuit of internal navigation was from the Little River Falls up the Sabatis River to Sabatis Pond. By a short portage they reached Caghnahwaggen Pond near Monmouth Center. From this point they went down to the chain of ponds near Winthrop and into the Kennebec River. On this route few portages were required.

The Sokokis village at Fryeburg was reached by a trail from Bethel, the exact line of which is not known. To reach the Connecticut River the Anasagunticooks travelled nearly to the headwaters of the Androscoggin. Crossing overland they easily reached the headwaters of the Connecticut.

In attacking towns along Casco Bay the route most frequently employed was from Lewiston Falls across country to the valley of Royal's River in New Gloucester, down Royal's River to North Yarmouth, and then out into the bay.

Many well-defined routes connecting points on Merry-meeting Bay were used. In Brunswick the trail most fre-

quently used was called the "Upper Carrying-Place." This trail covered a distance of about three miles from Pejepscot Falls to the winter quarters of the tribe at Maquoit. A short trail from the New Meadows River to Merrymeeting Bay was known as "Stevens Carrying-Place," taking that name from one Thomas Stevens who owned land there in 1673. A small point of land at Brunswick extending into the New Meadows River was called "Wigwam Point." While not strictly a carrying-place it was an Indian landing place and a wigwam was always maintained there. White settlers also gave the place the name "Indian Town."

Two carrying-places in Harpswell are referred to by historians. One on Great Island led from Condys Point to the northeast corner of the island. Another across the upper end of Harpswell Neck was called "Merriconeag"—"the quick carrying-place" because the trail was short.

In Topsham one trail led from Pejepscot Falls to Cathance Pond. Another at the head of Muddy River connected the Androscoggin and Cathance Rivers. Still another led from Pejepscot Falls to the Kennebec River.

How widely the Anasagunticook travelled, and how extensively he communicated with other tribes, we may gather from this long list of trails and carrying-places. We must remember that this list is probably far from complete, many others known only to the Indians themselves were doubtless in regular use.

No definite or safe estimate of the population of the Anasagunticook tribe is available. It has been stated that before 1615 the tribe probably had 1500 warriors. Such a number would indicate a total population of 5,000 or 6,000 in the Androscoggin Valley. Although always open to the likelihood of tremendous exaggeration, this estimate may be nearly correct. The location of the villages was such as to easily support that number. The extensive agricultural operations would indicate a fairly populous tribe. However powerful the Anasagunticooks may have been in earlier years, war and disease greatly depleted their numbers. Captain John Gyles in a statement of November, 1726, found only five in the tribe of 16 years and over. He also recounts

the population of other Maine tribes at so low a figure as to suggest practical extermination. But in the estimate of the Anasagunticooks it is probable that he had visited no village of the tribe other than that at Pejepscot or Brunswick Falls. The village at Canton Point was not visited by white men until a much later date. As late as 1780 there are said to have been as many as 500 Indians living close to the site of Arockemacook.

The government of the Anasagunticooks was necessarily simple in form. Many students of early Maine history believe that previous to visits of white settlers, the Indians of Maine lived under a sort of confederacy. The source of their information they do not divulge, but they insist that a supreme chief of the Maine Indians called the "Bashaba" lived somewhere near Pemaquid. His domain is said to have extended from the Saco River to the St. John and was called either "Moashamor," or according to Belknap "Mavosheen." This is, then, the most ancient name for the State of Maine.

The immediate subjects of the "Bashaba" were the Wawenocks, and the other Maine tribes were tributaries, with the exception of the Tarratines, who it is thought, overthrew him and gained temporary ascendancy in the State. After 1615 we hear no more of the "Bashaba."

The "Bashaba" is believed to have held councils in which the chiefs and minor dignitaries of smaller tribal divisions sat as representatives. The favorite place for councils was the Anasagunticook village at Pejepscot Falls, or some site near that point. This section was the most central place from which all tribes could be reached, and to which other tribes could easily send their representatives. The various ceremonies attending the declaration of war or the conclusion of peace were held here. Dr. True is of the opinion that the English name, "Merrymeeting Bay," was derived from the fact of the Indian councils held upon the shores.

The Anasagunticooks, like other Maine tribes, had their chief ruler, called the Sagamore. The Sagamore was elected for life, no provision being made, so far as can be discovered, for his impeachment or recall. At his death his eldest son was eligible to the office, and was without

exception chosen Sagamore, the election usually held being merely an empty form. The general oversight and management of the affairs of the tribe were in the hands of the Sagamore. Assisting him were a number of councillors called Sachems, who sat in council to advise the Sagamore upon tribal affairs. Of the tenure of office of the Sachems we know nothing, but we are told that in their election party spirit and excitement ran quite as high as in our own political campaigns. The old men of the tribe were a factor in government, their wisdom being sought particularly in the matter of declaring war. Together with the Sachems, they acted as a legislative body over which the Sagamore presided. All questions pertaining to war and peace were placed before the council by the Sagamore, and were decided, as Dr. True remarks, "with a degree of gravity hardly witnessed in our tribunals of the present day." The Sagamore was inducted into office with great pomp and ceremony, representatives of other tribes generally assisting in the festivities.

The capital of the Anasagunticook nation was at Canton Point. Here the Sagamore had his dwelling, and to this place came the various chiefs and minor officials for the conduct of business. Each of the several Anasagunticook villages had its own particular Sachem who was a member of the great tribal council, his duties being not merely to preside over the affairs of his encampment, but to legislate for the entire tribe in council at Canton Point. Representatives of other tribes engaged on a mission to treat with the Anasagunticooks were usually received at the tribal capital, but general councils of the Abnaki tribe were held at Pejepscot Falls, Brunswick.

There appears to have been little need for courts of justice among the Anasagunticooks. They were peaceable and orderly among themselves, and when an Indian was done a wrong he usually administered justice to the offender without the aid of a court. Whatever matters were not settled individually were business for the tribal council, the Sagamore performing the part both of Chief Justice, and executive officer to enforce the decision of the council. We may

be well assured that the number of disputes before this primitive court must have been small, because no cumbersome questions of property titles were ever involved. All questions dealt with rights in personam.

All manner of property in the Anasagunticook village was held in common. The Indian knew nothing of landed estates, and aside from possessing articles for personal adornment or for providing for his defense or his livelihood he showed no acquisitive instinct. The method by which he occupied the land and enjoyed the privileges of hunting and fishing was semi-feudal. He dwelt within the tribe, erected his wigwam at his choice upon land in the village, and shared in the fishing, hunting and planting grounds. He engaged in tribal wars not only to protect his own household, but as a duty to the chief whom he may have assisted in electing. But he knew nothing of property interests.

While the average Indian appears to have had little conception of property rights, the Sagamore, and the Sachems of the tribe not only had such a conception, but in countless instances disposed of property at will, and seemingly without the formality of consulting the tribe. At later times the Anasagunticooks had come into contact with the real property theories of the white man, and asserted property rights which had long before been bartered away by the chiefs. Perepole laid claim to all land at Canton Point, and the Indian woman, Mollocket, considered herself a proprietor in the Town of Bethel. These claims were not according to Indian code, but were prompted by English real property law and usage.

Of all the Algonquin tribes, the Abnaki, and consequently the Anasagunticooks, were the most intelligent. Their minds were constantly alert and their genius for perfecting the most complete civilization of all the Indian tribes of New England not only enhanced their influence in the Algonquin Nation, but stamped them among any peoples with whom they came in contact. While necessarily limited in the means of perpetuating a language, yet there has been preserved for us a very complete dictionary of the Abnaki language together with the rules of grammar in use among

them. To the Jesuit Fathers, whose labors among the Abnaki were both sincere and beneficial, we are indebted for our information of the Abnaki dialect.

Much interesting information could be written concerning Abnaki grammar. The language was developed to a perfection where the various grammatical rules so familiar to English were observed with such modifications as might be expected from a tongue in the evolution of which no English rules could have been introduced.

There were but nineteen letters in the Abnaki alphabet: a, b, d, e, g, h, i, j, k, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, z, and a nasal n. When we speak of letters it may be said that more properly they were symbols resembling the English letters mentioned. Other letters in the vocabularies indicate the sound when given an English pronunciation. The Abnaki consisted of all our parts of speech with the single exception of the article. There was no means by which they could indicate gender. The nouns and verbs were divided into two classes which Father Rasle termed noble and ignoble. To the former class belong the names of all living objects and of trees. To the ignoble class belong all nouns and verbs referring to inanimate objects. Because of this distinction some students of the language have designated them as animate and inanimate. But this distinction is subject to exceptions. A number of inanimate nouns are raised to the noble class, either due to the esteem in which the objects were held, or to the superstition with which they were regarded. Among inanimate objects made noble might be named: the sun, moon, and stars; ornaments and principal articles of dress in ancient use; some domestic utensils; and some materials used in the construction of wigwams and canoes; tobacco; fruits and berries most useful for food; almost all articles of food and clothing; and religious articles imported by traders; some parts of the human body; objects around which a superstitious belief was woven.

Singulars and plurals were used, and although nouns were declined, their declension had all the English properties of the conjugation of our verbs. By that is not meant that Abnaki nouns have the functions of verbs, or have mood or

tense in the same sense as verbs, but that their inflection in connection with pronominal marks is like the inflection of the verbs which correspond to them in class, and govern them.

Of the Abnaki vocabulary much interesting authentic information is available. The best source, of course, is the dictionary prepared with painstaking care by Father Rasle. In 1830 an Abnaki spelling book was published in Boston under the Indian title "Kimzowi Awighigan." In an article appearing in Vol. VI., Series I, Collections of the Maine Historical Society, Mr. Frederick Kidder treats of the language and includes extracts from the spelling book referred to above. A long dictionary is inappropriate for the purpose of this work, but an illustration of the spelling and meaning of Abnaki words is interesting. It will be noted that a number of the words included closely resemble the English in spelling. The following words sufficiently illustrate the vocabulary:

sop—soap.	wja kwam—butt end.
skog—snake.	wski gen—young vegetable.
pigs—hog.	wne kikw—otter.
chols—cricket.	wdup kwan—hair.
pots—boots.	tip wa bel—pepper.
tlaps—trap.	skip wo gan—eating raw.
wli—good.	chi git wa hi gan—a razor.
chignaz—thorn plum.	chi to ba hi gan—a wedge.
cho wi—must be, certain.	pok ja na hwi ka—stumpy.
pla nikw—flying squirrel.	psakw dam ni mo zi—blackberry.
kokw—kettle.	al no ba wo gan—human nature.
nibis—little water.	sen—stone.
a sokw—cloud.	piz—pea.
chog luskw—blackbird.	aples—apple.
chbo so—walks apart.	pins—pin.
po bakw—a bog.	moz—moose.
psi gaskw—board.	a ses—horse.
psan to—full.	kots—goat.
sko tam—trout.	nbes—lake.
psa na wi—full of	win—narrow.
as ma—not yet.	ne bi—water.
a la—or.	chi ga—when.
as ban—raccoon.	pa skwa—noon.
kda hla—it sinks.	psig ia—half.
kehim li—chimney.	kogw—porcupine.

psa nikw—black squirrel.
 sig wit—widower.
 ska wakw—fresh meat.
 musko da—prairie.
 am kwon—spoon.
 ag askw—woodchuck.
 a kwan—bitter, acid.
 kas ta—how many times.
 kchi tukw—great river.
 wig bi—stringy bark.
 wskat gua—forehead.
 wa japkw—root.
 wa guan—heel.
 wli gen—good.
 wig wom—house, camp.
 wji ia—belonging to.
 wla nikw—fisher.
 wa chli—oak nut.
 wa laskw—husk.
 wzukw na—tail.
 ma wia—better.
 ki zi—already.
 sikw hla—hail.
 ta bat—enough.
 tau bo gan—large trout.
 ska ho gan—a forked post.
 wa jo—mountain.
 wdol ka—breast, stomach.
 wlo gas—leather string.
 wikw kwa—thigh.
 na gakw—a scalp.
 wol kaa—hollow place.
 wokw ses—fox.
 sog mo—chief.
 msi wi—largely.
 kwa nak—length.
 mat guas—rabbit.
 mkwi gen—red.
 tlap so bi—trap chain.
 wji gon—desolate camp.
 wlo da—hot weather.
 wlom ka—fine grain.
 wzidakw—handle.
 kchi ia—aged person.
 piz wat—good for nothing.
 klo gan—door.
 ska wo gan—standing.

wins—black birch.
 cah kwat—daylight.
 chan naps—turnip.
 pne kokw—sandy hill.
 pe guis—gnat.
 tsan ta—a shed.
 ta lin—earthen basin.
 ska kwam—green stick.
 mski ko—grass.
 awk bi—rum.
 ak ikw—seal.
 ko wa—pine tree.
 ka ia—thick milk.
 kchin bes—great lake.
 ska hla—raw hide.
 ski bakw—green leaf.
 mska—lily root.
 al akws—star.
 a zip—sheep.
 kas ko—crane.
 ka oz—cow.
 kizokw—day.
 wo wan—egg.
 wuch ol—nose.
 wdel li—shoulder.
 weha too—sinewy.
 wsa wakw—ear.
 wsi sukw—eye.
 wa dap—root to sew with.
 to son—a shed.
 ska mon—corn.
 ab on—cake.
 a wip—pith.
 al wa—almost.
 ki kon—field.
 ki zos—sun.
 psan ba—full.
 te go—wave.
 ab in—bed.
 kzab da—hot.
 as kan—horn.
 ak sen—ox.
 pe laz—pigeon.
 ka wak—gull.
 ko jo—vein.
 wo bit—tooth.
 wo bi—white.

chi ha gi no kuat—looks very bad.	wle guan—wing.
pi mi zig ni gan—withe.	wi noz—onion.
skas kwat si gan—green dye.	wut tep—head.
a lo ko wo gan—a work, labor.	wha ga—body.
ska mon ta hi gan—corn meal.	wut tun—mouth.
kask—cap.	wpa nak—lights.
mke zen—shoe.	wo boz—elk.
wchat—sinew.	wi os—flesh.
cha kwa—morning.	a wan—air.
choi wi—apart.	wski a—new.
pi han—rope.	wi ka—fat.
kwat—cup.	wo lakw—hole.
sips—fowl.	wa gin—wagon.
wskan—bone.	pil tal—lead.
wkot—leg.	pa gon—nut.
chi bai—ghost.	a chi—also.
cha ga—now.	ngon ia—old.
ski ia—raw.	so ga—lobster.
o-kwa—maggot.	mo gis—monkey.
sa no ba wo gan—manhood.	a za to i wi—backwards.
a ses si ga mikw—stable.	ka dos mo wo gan—act of drink-
a ses wo bi al—harness.	ing.
kin ja mes wo gan—majesty.	ki to das wo gan—act of sharp-
kba hod wi ga mikw—jail.	ening.
ki no ho ma sin—preaching.	kin jes mes sis kwa—queen.
ka o zi ga mikw—barn.	ka wzo wan di gan—act of
ka sij wa hi gan—dish towel.	blowing.
pi da hla guo gan—scabbard.	pkwes sa ga hi gan—key.
po ba tam wo gan—religion.	po da wo gan—pride.
pa pa hwij wi ia—tin.	po ba tam win no—religious
pa pi tom wo gan—a plaything.	person.
ni mat gua hi gan—a fork.	pa pa whij wi jo—tin basin.
no ji mo ni kat—silversmith.	nkes kog wogan—nightmare.
no da wig hi gat—writer.	no da hla go kat—blacksmith.
o lo wat si gan—blue dye.	ni ji pak si kat—box maker.
po da woz win no—councillor.	no da ma guo gan—spear.
mos kwal dam wo gan—anger.	o do lib io gan—oar.
mak za wat si gan—copperas.	po da waz wo gan—council.
tmo kwa to hi gan—sword.	mi ga ka wo gan—act of fighting.
wi la wig win no—rich person.	si gua na hi gan—skim milk.
wa ji—for, to.	les sa ga gi gan—trunk.
a za wa skwi gen—square.	ka wzo wan di gan—sleigh.
am kwo ni no da—spoon basket.	
a ba kwa po gen—act of covering a roof.	
piz wa gi zo—he reads for nothing.	

In the pronunciation of these words the spelling book quoted gives an idea of the sounds of vowels as used by the Abnaki. They are:

Vowels	Sounded
A a	as a in father, psalm.
E e	as e in me, or in accident.
I i	as ee in seen, or in machine.
O o	as o in note.
U u	as u in tube, or in cube.
Diphthongs	
Ai ai	as i in pine, or in nine.
Au au	as ow in how, or ou in thou.

Not only was the Abnaki language highly developed, but a knowledge of it was general among even the most humble members of the tribe, and the uses to which it was put were unexpected of a savage people. Communication between the various Abnaki tribes by means of messages written upon bark or stones was frequent. Chiefs in this manner sent messages to other chiefs or to their warriors in the field. In several instances libraries consisting of bark or stone messages were preserved in the wigwam. Among Indian dialects the Abnaki language was a classic much as Greek and Latin are classics with us. Even after many of the Anasagunticooks had joined the St. Francis Indians in Canada, it is said that their persistent use of the Abnaki language made that tongue predominant among the scattered remnants of all tribes which had found an asylum there.

Many fascinating and fanciful legends have been developed around the religious ceremonies of the Indians, and stories of their spiritual devoutness fill the histories. Authorities, however, are beginning more and more to recognize that the worship of the mythical "Great Spirit" was attributed to the Indians by white explorers whose sense of the picturesque led them into speculations the foundations of which were, indeed, doubtful. All mortals have an irresistible impulse to worship some sort of deity whether material or mystical. The Indian, too, felt this yearning, but there seems to be little basis to the fictitious "Great Spirit" or to the "Happy Hunting Ground."

The Indian did have superstitious beliefs in some power for good or evil, much more frequently emphasizing the evil spirit rather than the good. Each tribe had a "Medicine Man" often called a "Pow-wow," who was both a physician and a priest. He was held in great veneration and carried much weight in tribal affairs. He was believed to commune with spirits and demons, and consequently to be possessed of supernatural powers. No important tribal undertaking was ever entered upon until he had consulted the oracles and returned their answers. We know little of their religious beliefs and ceremonies. It is apparent, though, that a life after the grave was one of their fondest hopes and expectations. Their burial customs clearly point to this belief.

One of the most solemn ceremonies connected with all the affairs of the tribe was the funeral for their dead. The burial rites of the Anasagunticooks, though complicated, were always rigorously observed. Shortly after death, the body was placed in a sitting posture beside the wigwam of the deceased. A narrow hedge of bushes was placed around the body, and here it remained for many days, during which the women came three times daily to weep over the body. This preliminary ceremony completed, the remains were wrapped in the finest furs and skins and placed in a lone grave, remaining in the sitting posture as before. Into the grave were placed the weapons or ornaments of the brave, and such utensils as he was expected to need on his long journey. In a few instances, sheets of copper, probably the fruits of some raiding expedition, were placed over the head. In graves discovered at Harpswell, tubes of copper coarsely wrought were discovered.

Each family had an ancestral tomb. Once every few years the bones of the scattered dead of the family were collected with great solemnities, all flesh cleaned away, and the family grave was opened to receive the bones. These consecrated tombs were guarded and cherished as holy family relics. The deepest sorrow of the Indian was that of being driven from the sacred ground where his ancestors lay in their last sleep. Throughout the whole Androscog-

gin Valley Anasagunticook tombs have been found. The more important burial places seem to have been at Canton Point; on Norris Island in Wayne Pond; at Bethel; at Auburn, and along the sea coast, in Harpswell, especially.

[The Anasagunticooks came under the influence of Catholicism to some extent, for a time having a resident Jesuit missionary to confirm and strengthen their faith.]

[Surprise has sometimes been expressed that the Indians adopted Catholicism in preference to the doctrines of the Protestant church. A little thought dispels the mystery. The Jesuit fathers lived among the Indians, sharing their prosperity and adversity; their joys and sorrows; their happiness and trials. They administered not merely to their spiritual needs but to their material needs as well. They healed the sick, taught the ignorant, and led the pagan to a belief in a Supreme Being whose influence was for good, not evil. The Protestant interested himself solely in religious doctrine. He dwelt aloof from the common herd; he sensed and made plain his superiority; he reprimanded where a kind word alone was needed. He engendered the suspicion and dislike with which he was regarded, and disliking him, the savage disliked his doctrine as well.]

The tribe was in close alliance with the Canibas and often visited their village especially at Norridgewock, where they undoubtedly heard and were induced to embrace the teachings of Father Rasle. Many of the tribe in later years would not bury their dead until the rites of the Catholic Church had been performed for them. It is said that one Indian dragged the body of his child to Canada on a hand sled in order to obtain the funeral rites of the Church.

There was a particularly appealing reason for the adoption of Catholicism by the Anasagunticooks; it was the religion of their allies. Common ties of intellect and civilization, as well as tradition, bound the Anasagunticooks, the Canibas, and the Wawenocks into close tribal relationship and alliance. Geographical proximity played an important part. At any event, the closest relations existed between the three tribes, who making war together, usually

signed treaties of peace as allies. Inter-tribal communication was frequent and cordial; they understood and talked a common tongue; and for a time, at least, they were associated under the same loose governmental union. This latter relationship is believed to have existed with the Sagamores of first the Wawenocks, and later the Canibas holding sway over the other two tribes. They were beset by the same enemy—the English,—and cherished the same friends—the French. It is little wonder that this triumvirate from the same Abnaki family tree should maintain a powerful coalition, offensive as well as defensive.

Amicable relations always existed between the Anasagunticooks and the Amascontee Indians on the Sandy River, the Pegwackets at Fryeburg, and the Pennacooks of New Hampshire. Many Indians of the latter two tribes took up their dwelling with the Anasagunticooks as the English crowded them from their hunting grounds.

The Tarratines were, at an early age, the bitter enemies of the Anasagunticooks, and all other Abnaki tribes. The belief is quite general that during the latter part of the Sixteenth Century a prolonged and bloody war was waged between the Tarratines and the allied Abnaki tribes. Gaining a temporary victory, the Tarratines held all other Maine Indians in subjugation, a condition which existed but a short time because of the apparent difficulty of ruling over such a large and widely scattered number of enemies. Confronted by the common danger of British colonization, all Maine tribes united, and raids upon the settlements were led by the chiefs of first one tribe and then another, the warriors frequently being drawn from every tribe in the State.

The fierce Mohawks of New York were always the enemies of the Anasagunticooks, as they were of nearly every other New England tribe. Before them, the Pennacooks had fled from New Hampshire, and found a haven in the Valley of the Androscoggin. Tradition relates that runners were constantly bringing news of a threatened Mohawk invasion of Maine. Certainly in one instance the Rockamekos and the Pejepscots united at Laurel Hill, Auburn, in antici-

pation of such an attack. But history leaves no idea that such plans were ever carried out, although there is ample evidence that the Mohawks were continually incited to such an undertaking by the Royal Governors of New England.

In examining the tribal life of the Anasagunticooks, and in studying their customs and civilization, we find much to admire as well as to condemn, and we are led to a more perfect understanding of the fundamental reasons governing their subsequent conduct toward the English explorers and colonists of Maine.

CHAPTER III.

Relations of the Anasagunticooks with the English—Earliest Visits to the Tribe—
Treachery and Unfair Practices of English Traders—Thomas Purchase—King
Philip's War, 1675-1678—Treaty of Casco—Sale of Land to Richard Wharton—
King William's War, 1688-1699—Expedition of Major Benjamin Church—Anasa-
gunticook Village Destroyed—Encounter with Tribe at Winter Harbor—Treaty
at Mere Point.

THE ABNAKI were particularly cordial and friendly toward the earliest English traders and explorers. They enjoyed the hospitality of the English, and shared with them of their own slender means. They met their visitors with guileless minds and with no thought of treachery. They wanted peace, and willingly endured many insults and sharp practices in order to retain peace. Child-like in their wants and desires, they gave untold value in trade for a few commercially worthless ornaments and trinkets, and too often for rum. But once aroused, neither promises nor offers of bribes served to abate the relentless fury with which the Indian wrought vengeance for wrongs committed upon him.

As the early relations of the civilized and the savage are viewed dispassionately we are forced to admit that, in the beginning at least, the Indian showed himself much more honorable in his conduct than did the Englishman.

The Anasagunticooks were first visited by white explorers on September 25, 1607. A party of explorers from the ships of Captain George Popham were skirting the shores of Merrymeeting Bay in an attempt to locate the Kennebec River. After sailing around the Bay they entered a river at the left, believing they were upon the Kennebec. But their description of the territory is unmistakable. They had entered the mouth of the Androscoggin. Passing the rapids at Pejepscot or Brunswick Falls, they went ashore about three miles above. While camping for the night they heard the shouts of Indians upon the opposite bank of the river.

The next morning a canoe paddled by four Indians, and bearing a chief, crossed the river and made signs of friendship. For fear of treachery, the chief would not land until an English hostage had been placed in his canoe. The chief

then entered the boat of the Englishmen and invited them to visit his village. Believing that the invitation had been accepted, the Indians began to paddle up river with the white hostage in their canoe. The English, misunderstanding the invitation, and believing that the Indians were trying to escape with their hostage, followed after as rapidly as possible. They took great care lest the chief should leap overboard and escape, but such an idea seems to have never occurred to him. After having passed up the river for about three miles, the canoe landed and the Indians with their white hostage entered upon a well beaten path to their village.

Captain Gilbert, in command of the exploration party, ran his boat upon the shore, and leaving nine men to guard it, set out with the rest of his company and the chief for the village. About a league from the river the party came upon an Indian hamlet. Captain Gilbert writes, "Here we found near fifty able men, very strong and tall, such as their like before we had not seen. All were newly painted and armed with bows and arrows." The fact that there were fifty warriors in the settlement would indicate that the population of the village must have been about two hundred and fifty souls.

Although the English feared some treacherous act on the part of the Indians, it is certain that such was not the intention. There was not even the remotest sign of hostility in the attitude of the Indians. Not an arrow was placed in a bow, nor was there a hostile word or look. The English themselves declared that "peaceful overtures prevailed and proposals for trade were made." But the visit to the village was a complete surprise to the Indians, and they had no commodities at hand with which to engage in barter.

After a brief visit the whole company returned to their boats unmolested. After reaching the river bank about sixteen Indians appeared upon the shore. The events attending the taking off of the Englishmen, while reflecting no credit upon the Indians, indicated their fear of treachery on the part of the English. The village had undoubtedly heard of the kidnapping of the Wawenocks by George Weymouth.

With unusual lack of foresight, upon leaving the shore, an Englishman lighted a torch with which to fire the guns. Considering this a hostile act, and undoubtedly believing that the English intended to fire upon the Indians left on shore, upon the impulse of the moment, an Indian rushed into the water, seized the torch from the man's hand and threw it into the river. The English grasped their muskets and lighted another torch; the Indians laid hands upon the boat's rope, seeking to prevent the boat from pulling out into the river. But, frightened by the muskets, the Indians dropped the rope and fled precipitously into the forest. Not an arrow was shot at the English who withdrew to the opposite shore. It is recorded that "a canoe followed to excuse the hostile bearing of the natives. Gilbert kindly entertained the messages of peace, but made the best of his way back to the settlement and fort."

From the description of the location of the village, Captain Gilbert had visited the Sabatis Indians, a division of the Pejepscots. The name of the chief as transmitted to us was Sabeona, and to him must go the credit of being the first Anasagunticook to entertain English visitors.

For many years no further visits of Englishmen to the Anasagunticooks took place. Popham's colony failed and was abandoned. The Indians who wished to be friendly were made hostile by acts of the settlers who even then were harassed by sufficient difficulties without incurring the hostility of a powerful enemy. The conduct of those with whom the Anasagunticooks first came into contact made the tribe suspicious of all Englishmen.

The first white settler within the lands of the Anasagunticooks was Thomas Purchase, who took up his residence somewhere within the limits of the present Town of Brunswick about 1628. He established a trading post, engaged in fishing, and rapidly developed a large commerce with the Indians. In 1632 Purchase and George Way were granted a patent of lands upon Merrymeeting Bay. There is no evidence that Way ever settled upon the patent and for several years Purchase continued undisputed in his trade. In 1639 Purchase conveyed to Governor John Winthrop and mem-

bers of the Company of Massachusetts certain of his land rights on the Bay, and presumably moved further up the Androscoggin River.

Settlement of the region was slow. Thomas Gyles located at Pleasant Point in Topsham in 1669, purchasing a tract two miles long and one broad, of Thomas Watkins and Darumkin, an Anasagunticook sagamore. Shortly afterward James Gyles, James Thomas, and Samuel York purchased land of the sagamores Robinhood and Eramet Daniels, and settled in Topsham near the clearing of Thomas Gyles. In 1675 Thomas Steyens from North Yarmouth purchased land on the New Meadows River from the sagamores Robinhood, Eramet Daniels, and Manassumet.

Merriconeag and Great Island in Harpswell, were purchased from the Indians by Nicholas Shapleigh in 1659. The purchase price is recorded as having been "a considerable sum of wampumeag, several guns, and a parcel of tobacco." We know of no settlement made here by Shapleigh.

Throughout these years the Indians had remained friendly, and had borne with remarkable self-control, atrocities committed upon them. We cannot doubt that English settlers had taken unfair advantage of them. The records left by the English indicate the fact. No trader along the coast was more harsh in his maltreatment than was Thomas Purchase. His methods of trade were particularly odious. We are told that it was his custom to serve liquor to the Indians until they became intoxicated, and then to drive the hardest bargains possible with them. This method prevailed whether he was trading for furs or for land. Other settlers followed the example of Purchase until the Indian regarded all white men as cheats and liars, but he still showed no outward sign of hostility. Purchase not only cheated the Indians out of their furs and lands, but he began cheating them of their liquor as well. Hubbard's Indian Wars relates that one Anasagunticook complained that he sold Purchase 100 pounds of furs for water taken from the Purchase well, the Indian believing that he was receiving liquor.

Jealousy and hatred once planted in the Indian's breast grew and flourished, and was fed by further unfair acts. Suddenly, on June 24, 1675, King Philip's War broke out in Massachusetts. The Maine tribes naturally became more and more restless and excited, and tactless acts of the settlers themselves continued to inflame the savages. The Government of Massachusetts Bay appointed Captains Lake, Petteshall, and Wiswell, "a committee of safety for the eastern parts." There were, at the time, thirteen English towns and plantations in Maine: Scarboro, York, Kittery, Wells, Cape Porpoise, Saco, Pemaquid, Falmouth, Pejepsco, Sagadahoc, Sheepscot, Damariscotta, and Monhegan. The committee of safety met and decided to organize an expedition to disarm the Indians. A company started up the Kennebec to accomplish the purpose. Proceeding up the river they met a party of five Anasagunticooks and seven Canibas. They disarmed them, but a scuffle ensued in which one Englishman was attacked. Despite this trouble, peace was concluded with Makotiwomet, the Canibas chief, and both parties celebrated the amicable settlement of their difficulties.

The English themselves, however, precipitated hostilities in Maine. Near the present site of Saco lived an Abnaki chief, Squando, a particularly popular chief among the Indians of Maine. Some English sailors encamped upon the banks of the Saco River, one day observed Squando's wife making her way up the river in a canoe, and holding an infant in her arms. Having heard that an Indian child could swim naturally, they decided to test the truth of the theory. Upsetting the canoe, they plunged the mother and infant into the water. The child sank to the bottom, and although recovered by the mother, it died in a few hours.

News of this latest English atrocity spread rapidly among the Abnaki, and preparations for war at once began. The war dance and similar ceremonies were celebrated in every Abnaki village in Maine. On September 5th the first act of hostility was committed. A company of twenty Indians went to the post of Thomas Purchase ostensibly to trade. Finding Purchase and his son away, they robbed the house of guns, ammunition, and such liquors as they could

drink or carry away. Killing a calf and some sheep they prepared a feast. In the midst of this revelry Purchase returned, and perceiving the situation, fled on horseback, an Indian pursuing him for some distance. Neither Mrs. Purchase nor any member of the family was molested, but the Indians warned them "others will come later and you will fare worse."

Exactly a week after the episode at the Purchase home, the first Indian massacre in Maine took place. One Thomas Wakely and eight members of his family were killed at Falmouth, one daughter being carried into captivity, and the house burned. A large party of Indians ravaged the settlements near Brunswick, killing, taking prisoners and burning houses. A relief party sent in a sloop to Merrymeeting Bay was defeated in an encounter, and many of the twenty-five English soldiers were either killed or wounded. On September 18th, an attack was made upon Saco. About 200 Indians drawn from every Maine tribe, made up the party, which, being unsuccessful, turned upon Scarboro, and, on September 20th, burned 27 houses and killed many men, women, and children. Wells, Berwick, and Salmon Falls were attacked with considerable loss of life. Until the winter of 1675-76 came, the whole seacoast was a scene of Indian massacres and depredations.

During this time no attacks had been made along the Kennebec, and traders in the section were trying by every means, to avert disasters there. Abraham Schute, a magistrate of Pemaquid, had long maintained friendly relations with the Indians. He had treated them fairly and honorably, and had won their esteem and confidence. Inviting some of the sagamores to Pemaquid, he learned of their grievances and promised them justice. Later he called a council of the sagamores of all tribes to meet him at Teconnet—the present site of Winslow. At the appointed time he met representatives of the Anasagunticooks, the Canibas, and the Tarratines, but the Sokokis, whose chief was Squando, were not represented. The spokesman for the Indians was Tarumkin of the Anasagunticooks. He urged peace, to which all other tribes present agreed, but no treaty

could be made because of the absence of Squando. The Indians presented their need for arms and ammunition in order to provide game for their winter food supply, and requested Schute to intercede that they might be procured. But these requests were denied, and in anger the Indians left the council. Minor disturbances continued but were conducted chiefly by the Sokokis under the leadership of Squando. The difficulties in the way of making war in the winter time brought a period of comparative peace until 1676.

Few deaths were reported during the early months of 1676, the Indians devoting their time to recruiting for their depleted ranks. While there were many among them who desired peace, the messengers and warriors of Philip were constantly inciting the Maine tribes to further acts of violence. A few minor raids were made in Cumberland County. On August 13, 1676, a large party of Anasagunticooks and Canibas plundered the trading post of Richard Hammond at the outlet of Merrymeeting Bay. Three were killed and sixteen were taken captive. From Hammond's they went to Clark and Lake's post on Arrowsic Island. Taking the fort by surprise, they gained entrance by strategy and after a hand-to-hand struggle of a few minutes the Indians were masters of the situation. A few fled, among them being Captains Lake and Davis. Captain Lake was killed and Captain Davis severely wounded. Thirty-five persons were either killed or carried into captivity.

Shortly after this attack a perfidious act of soldiers further enraged the Maine tribes. The General Court of Massachusetts sent an expedition of one hundred and thirty Englishmen and forty Indians to the relief of Maine. Reaching Dover, New Hampshire, this force was united with troops under Major Waldron. The Major invited four hundred Indian warriors and chiefs to meet at Dover for a friendly conference to see if peace could not be concluded. The Indians came truly desiring peace, but induced to engage in a sham fight, after discharging their muskets, they were disarmed and nearly two hundred of them were either executed or sold into slavery abroad.

Following this outrage, the war was prosecuted with even greater fury than before. Black Point in Scarboro was attacked and taken. Expeditions sent to the relief of Maine settlers were harassed and all but destroyed.

Early in the spring of 1677 aid was sought of the Mohawk Indians. News of the arrival of Mohawk hirelings spread rapidly among the Maine tribes. Attacks were planned at once upon York and Wells, and upon the garrison on Arrowsic Island. After the first assault, the Arrowsic garrison abandoned their post. Indians then began depredations around Wells and York, killing settlers located at some distance from these towns, and burning their homes. An expedition was finally sent from New York by Governor Andros with instructions to take possession of the Pemaquid region and to erect a fort. By tactful management, the confidence of the Indians was secured, and trade there resumed, all other tribes soon desiring to engage in friendly commerce.

In the spring of 1678 the Indians proposed peace. A commission was appointed consisting of Messrs. Shapleigh and Champernown of Kittery, and Fryer of Portsmouth. Meeting the sagamores of all the Maine tribes at Casco—now Portland—articles of peace were drawn up and signed on May 12. The terms of the treaty were simple and the Indians extremely moderate in their demands. The people were permitted to return to their habitations and it was agreed that they should occupy them unmolested, paying annually to the Indians one peck of corn per family, except Major Phillips of Saco, who, having a larger estate, was required to pay one bushel annually. The captives held upon both sides were restored.

Thus ended the first Indian War in Maine—victory for the savages without any doubt. The havoc wrought by them had been appalling. The settlements at Cape Neddock, Scarboro, Casco, Arrowsic, and Pemaquid, had been completely ruined. Losses of white settlers had been enormous. Two hundred and sixty were killed or carried into captivity from which they were never returned. One hundred and fifty men, women and children had been taken captives and

restored. Many others of whom we have no reliable account, had been either killed, captured, or severely wounded. The losses in property cannot be estimated.

The years of peace following the Treaty of Casco witnessed the renewal of prosperity both for the white colonists and for the Indians. The settlers reconstructed their homes and villages, rebuilt their trading posts, and once more began the tedious process of transforming the wilderness into farm lands and villages. The Indians returned to their ordinary pursuits of hunting, fishing, trapping, and trading with the English and French, all the time recruiting strength for their depopulated tribes. New grants and purchases of land were made by white settlers. Conveyances from the Indians provided new fields for development and for business activities. By far the most important acquisition within the State during this time was secured by Richard Wharton from six Anasagunticook sagamores.

In July, 1683, Wharton, a Boston merchant, had bought of the heirs of Thomas Purchase and George Way, the lands covered by their patents of 1632, together with all additional holdings which they had acquired. This tract, extensive though it was, did not satisfy Wharton's acquisitive instinct. The deed from the Indian sagamores is dated July 19, 1684. The tract conveyed ran from the seacoast to the "uppermost falls in said Androscoggin River," and included territory on both sides of the river extending on the easterly side to the Kennebec. Wharton was granted all privileges and profits, the Indians reserving to themselves merely the right to continue to improve "Our Ancient Planting Grounds;" to hunt "in any of said lands being not enclosed;" and to fish "for our own provision so long as no damage shall be to the English fishery." This conveyance was signed by Warumbee, Darumkin, Wehikermett, Wedon Domhegan, Neenongassett, and Nimbanewett, all sagamores of the Anasagunticooks. The witnesses were John Blaney, James Andrews, Henry Waters, John Parker, and George Felt. According to old English Common Law custom, Warumbee delivered "Possession and Livery and Seizin by a Turf & Twig and Bottle of Water taken by himself of the Land and

out of the Main river above Androscoggin Falls to Richard Wharton."

Wharton sailed for England to secure a Crown patent for his estate, but failing, died there in May, 1689. On November 5, 1714, Ephraim Savage, Administrator for Wharton, sold the tract to the Pejepscot Company in order to settle Wharton's debts.

Despite this sale, the Anasagunticook villages at Pejepscot Falls, and at Laurel Hill, Auburn, continued to flourish and prosper. Peace with the English had not brought peace with the Mohawks, the allies of the English. They continued raids upon the tribes formerly hostile to the English colonists, venting their wrath particularly upon the Pennacooks of New Hampshire. Kankamagus, the Pennacook sagamore, had repeatedly appealed to the authorities of New Hampshire for protection, but little, if any, effort was made to assist the tribe. During most of the border warfare the Pennacooks had remained neutral, and had taken no part in the massacreing and pillaging. But Governor Canfield of New Hampshire had become fearful of Indian attacks, and in 1684 was seeking to promote a war between the Mohawks and the Maine tribes. Finding his appeals to be in vain, Kankamagus, with the remnants of his tribe, joined the Anasagunticooks at Canton Point.

The Wawenocks, too, had found their position upon the seacoast untenable. The increasing numbers and activities of the English colonists were slowly pushing them from their ancient domain. They also joined the Anasagunticooks, and the tribe thus became much larger in population, and much more formidable in war strength. The sagamores of the Pennacooks and of the Wawenocks were given places of high honor in the strengthened tribe, and became conspicuous leaders in tribal affairs.

The spring of 1685 brought a great panic among the Indians of Maine. Word was passed rapidly that the English had fostered a Mohawk invasion of the State. The Indians became suspicious and unfriendly. Minor acts of hostility were committed. An era of ill-feeling was again beginning. The Indians disappeared from their accustomed

abodes and withdrew inland. This fact excited the fear and suspicion of the colonists. But a fresh outbreak of hostilities was prevented by Governor Andros. He commanded the Mohawks to cease their raiding and called a conference of Maine tribes to be held at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1685. The sagamores from Maine attended and declared they were for peace. A new treaty was concluded, Governor Andros promising English protection against the Mohawks. For three years, although peace prevailed, suspicion and animosity were growing upon both sides. Acts committed by both the Indians and the English were becoming increasingly hostile.

Governor Andros himself precipitated the second Indian War. In the spring of 1688, he plundered the home of Baron de St. Castin at Pentagoet—now Castine. In justification of this act, the Governor declared that the Penobscot region, within which Castine was located, was a part of the King's province, and therefore under the Andros jurisdiction. French hostility was naturally aroused at once, and bands of Indians were organized in Canada to plunder the English settlements. Maine tribes, having long pledged allegiance to the French, became ugly and excited, and again began raids upon the border towns. Indians killed cattle and insulted and threatened English inhabitants. At Saco a party of twenty unoffending Indians were unjustly seized. The Indians retaliated by seizing some Englishmen. Then suddenly a party of eighty Indians made an attack upon North Yarmouth, and war had again broken out.

In November, 1688, seven hundred English soldiers were sent to Maine and a garrison of one hundred and fifty was left at the fort at Pemaquid. The remainder proceeded into the Penobscot region suffering greatly but encountering not a single Indian. The growing unpopularity of Governor Andros caused the troops to rebel against their officers, and to abandon their posts. In the spring of 1689, the French, Indians from Canada, the Canibas, and the Anasagunticooks, began wholesale plunder of the settlements. They captured the forts at Pemaquid, at New Castle, and at Falmouth, and massacred and burned along the entire coast-

line. At Saco they were repelled, but a surprise attack was made upon Dover, New Hampshire, during which Major Waldron was taken, horribly tortured, and finally permitted to fall upon his sword.

Aroused to the most brutal frenzy by these tastes of victory, the Anasagunticooks now placed their forces at the disposal of the French. They became more daring, and more desirous of attacking over a more widely scattered field. In January, 1690, a large body of Caghnauga warriors from Leeds joined with the French forces under D'Aillebout, De Mantel and Le Moyne. The objective of these allies was towns and villages in northern New York State. Falling upon the settlement at Schenectady on the night of February 8, 1690, they spread horrible destruction, and succeeded in razing nearly the entire town. But the Caghnaugas did not care to operate so far from home. They returned to their homes, many of them locating at Canton Point. This raiding expedition is the only one recorded in which the Caghnaugas made war as a distinct tribal unit.

Thoroughly aroused by the critical situation in Maine, the General Court of Massachusetts raised an army of 600 men and placed Major Benjamin Church in command. He sailed for the District of Maine, landing at Falmouth, and there engaged a body of 700 French and Indians, finally beating them off with heavy losses. Continuing up the coast, Major Church visited several garrisons, and satisfied with the success of the expedition, returned to Boston.

But the French and Indians were far from subdued. Early in 1690 they destroyed Salmon Falls and Berwick, and in May, 1690, a force of 400 or 500 attacked Falmouth again. After a siege of four days and nights the besieged sent out a flag of truce. The gates of the stockade were thrown open, but no sooner had the Indians entered the village before they violated the terms of the truce, killing many and burning the entire town. Turning to the valley of the Androscoggin, Fort Andros at Brunswick was taken, and here, too, death and destruction reigned.

Again the General Court was stirred to rapid action. They had observed that the more hostile of the Indians in

Maine were the Anasagunticooks, and determined to attack the tribe. Major Church was encamped at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, with a force held in readiness to embark to the relief of Maine. On September 9, 1690, the Governor instructed Church "to sail Eastward by the first opportunity to Casco, or Places adjacent that may be most commodious for Landing with safety, and to visit the Enemy, French & Indians at their headquarters at Ameras-cogen, Pejepscoot or any other Plat according as you may have hope or intelligence of the Resident of the Enemy; killing, destroying & utterly rooting out the Enemy wheresover they may be found; as also as much as may possibly be done for the redeeming or recovering of our Captives in any Places."

Obeying this urgent summons, Major Church immediately embarked for Casco, and upon his arrival there learned that the Indians had repaired further to the eastward. His instructions were explicit, and he sailed at once for Merry-meeting Bay, anchoring at Maquoit. Landing his forces, the march to Fort Andros was taken up, where, upon arrival, they met only the ruin wrought by the savages. From the few unmolested settlers, Major Church learned of the Indian encampment at Brunswick Falls, and of the Indian fort at Laurel Hill, Auburn. Proceeding up the westerly side of the Androscoggin River, the troops came to the site of the Anasagunticook village at Brunswick Falls. This they found to be totally abandoned, not even a deserted wigwam remaining. Pushing onward, Major Church determined to attack the fort at Auburn as soon as a forced march could bring him to the spot. The troops hurried up the river bank, coming to the junction of the Androscoggin and Little Androscoggin Rivers at about two o'clock in the afternoon of September 14th.

Within about a mile of the fort, Major Church took particular precautions lest his party should be discovered, hoping to take the fort by surprise assault. Drawing off about 60 of his men, the meanest of his command, Major Church deposited the baggage, established his doctor, and left this force as a guard. With the rest of the company he proceeded toward the fort. Coming over the brow of the hill

upon which New Auburn is now located, Major Church's forces were discovered by young Doney, who was probably the son of Worumbee. Doney, his wife, and two English captives, were in the open some distance from the fort. Leaving his wife and the captives, Doney ran for the fort. The Indian woman was shot down, and the captives released. Major Church and Captain Walton set out to intercept Doney, but coming to the Little Androscoggin River were obliged to remove their breeches, and the Indian reached the fort in time to give the alarm to those within.

Running into the fort at the south gate, Doney warned the braves there who followed him out the north gate, the greater number of them running up the great falls and disappearing under them. Reaching the northerly bank of the Little Androscoggin, Major Church ordered Captain Walton to enter the fort while he searched at the falls for those Indians whom he had seen run under them. A few Indians, unable to reach the falls, ran into the river and were shot by the muskets, only one man succeeding in swimming across the river to the Lewiston side. Arriving at the falls with several men, Major Church made diligent search for the Indians there, but discovered none. After spending a considerable time in the search, a sentinel was posted at the falls, and Major Church, with the rest of his men, returned to the fort.

Captain Walton was in complete possession of the Indian defences. He had discovered but one Indian brave, but several women and children had been unable to escape, among the women being the wives of both Kankamagus and Worumbee, with their children. Church spared their lives, as he did the life of the Indian man at the fort, the women and children being taken to the Wells garrison. Questioning the captives, Major Church learned that the main body of the Anasagunticooks who resided at the fort, had gone to Winter Harbor to carry supplies for the Bay of Fundy Indians who were to come to the assistance of the Anasagunticooks in their struggle against the English. He also learned that there were about eighty captives held at Canton Point, and was promised their release in return for sparing the wives and

children of the chiefs. Several English captives were in the fort and were taken by Major Church.

Having accomplished his purpose, Major Church encamped for the night in the fort, placing a strong guard lest any of the Indian captives should escape. The next morning he discovered corn cellars in great number, and ordered a large amount of corn destroyed. He inquired concerning furs that might be stored, and was told that the only furs had been beaver skins which the warriors had taken as a present to the Bay of Fundy Indians. Having prepared to depart, Major Church designated two squaws to remain at the fort to give news of the attack to the Indians should they return. He called the squaws to him and told them "that he was known by the name of Captain Church, & that he lived in the Westerly part of the Plymouth Gov't; & that those Indians that came with him were formerly King Philip's Men, & that he had met them in Philip's War & drew them off from him to fight for the English against the said Philip and his associates, who then promised him to fight for the English as long as they had one enemy left; & said that they did not question before Indian corn was ripe to have Philip's head, notwithstanding he had twice as many men as was in their country; and that they had killed and taken one thousand three hundred and odd of Philip's Men, Women and Children, & Philip himself, with several other Sachems, etc., and that they should tell Worumbo & Kankamagus, That if they had a mind to see their Wives and Children they should come to Wells Garrison." Having delivered these instructions, Major Church withdrew with his entire company, marching to the anchorage of his transports at Maquoit.

The wind being fair, and Major Church having learned that a part of the Anasagunticooks were at Winter Harbor, he determined to sail up the coast in search of them. Arriving near Winter Harbor the next morning he observed smoke rising near the site of Scammon's garrison. He ordered the anchor cast, and sent ashore a scouting party of 60 men, following closely with his entire force. The scouts coming to a river, discovered the Anasagunticooks to be encamped upon

the opposite shore. Three of the Indians were on the same shore occupied by the scouts, and were killed in an attempt to cross. Hearing the firing, the Indians abandoned their encampment, leaving their canoes and provisions behind. Worumbee, with an English prisoner named Barker, were at the falls some distance above the camp. Hearing the firing, they believed that the Bay of Fundy Indians had arrived and came down stream immediately in a canoe. Perceiving the English forces, Worumbee ran his canoe ashore, and escaped, leaving the English prisoner to Major Church.

Pursuit of the Indians in the dense wilderness was inadvisable, and the forces were returned to the transports to await until the next day, when he might engage the foe in combat. But dissension arose among the troops. The majority of the officers and men were for leaving at once, and sailing back down the coast. Major Church called a council, and was outvoted in the matter of staying. He then asked for 60 men with whom he proposed to stay in search of the enemy. But receiving no volunteers he was obliged to set sail for Casco Bay. The vessels skirted the coastline as far as Purpooduck, where they anchored for the night, the Major landing a part of his forces because of the crowded condition of the transports. Early the next morning those forces quartered on the shore were attacked by Indians. As soon as the alarm was given, Major Church landed all his troops as rapidly as possible, and after a lively skirmish beat off the enemy. During the encounter the English captured 13 canoes, and killed several of the Indians, losing a few men themselves. After the fighting had ceased, the Major again set sail, landing at Piscataqua, and travelling overland to Wells. Having fulfilled his mission, he repaired to his home in Boston. Major Church's report appears in the records of the General Court of Massachusetts, and tells of the expedition in great detail.

In spite of the fact that the Church expedition had ruined a very important Anasagunticook village, it had accomplished little in the way of subduing the tribe. Rather, the destruction wrought by the English had more solidly allied the Indians with the French, and had furnished reasons for still other Indian outrages.

On September 21, 1690, a strong band of Indians had attacked three companies of Church's forces who had been landed at Purpooduck. Beaten off with a loss of eight or ten warriors, the savages took revenge by putting to death an equal number of English prisoners. In November, a truce was signed to last throughout the winter of 1690-91. The condition of the colonists was deplorable. Only four settlements remained in the State, those at Wells, York, Kittery and Isle of Shoals having escaped utter destruction. But few deeds of barbarism were noted in 1691, the Indians and English both replenishing their depleted strength.

Furious fighting took place in 1692, the first attack being made upon York in February, but the Indians were repulsed with comparatively no loss to the settlement. Wells was attacked on June 9th, but baffled in the assault the Indians turned again upon York, where they killed a few people and all the cattle they could find. The next day they again attacked Wells with a force of 500, but in spite of the overwhelming numbers, and the ferocity of the attack, the garrison held firmly, and the French and Indians were obliged to retire.

On August 11, 1693, both sides having become thoroughly weary of the destructive warfare, a treaty of peace was arranged, and eighteen sagamores present at the conference indicated their desire for a cessation of hostilities. The treaty properly drawn was not ratified, however, until 1699, when a conference of the sagamores of the Anasagunticooks, the Sokokis, the Canibas, and the Tarratines was held at Mere Point in the presence of English commissioners. The text of the treaty has, unfortunately, not been preserved.

The close of the Second Indian War, commonly known as King William's War, found the English in Maine in greater misery than ever before. Losses of life and property had been beyond estimation. With few exceptions the Indians had been victorious in all the engagements, and had spread in their wake terrible destruction. The settlers remaining in Maine were completely disheartened, and few inducements were left to bring other families to the State.

The greatest advantage on the side of the English was the fact that the Indians of Maine did not realize the tremendous tactical advantage they had won, nor the fact that they possessed the power and ability to completely rid Maine of white colonists. Had this fact been appreciated, the settlement of the State would have suffered a severe set-back.

But their advantage had passed with the passing of the century. The struggles taking place during the Eighteenth Century demonstrated that they could no longer boast either the strength or the stamina to save their home lands from colonization.

CHAPTER IV.

The Indian Wars of the Eighteenth Century—Queen Anne's War, 1703-13—The Treaty of Portsmouth—The Haughty Attitude of the English—The Treaty of Georgetown, 1717—Lovewell's War, 1722-25—Treaty of Falmouth—The Fifth Indian War, 1745-49—The Dummer Treaty of 1749 at Falmouth—The French and Indian War, 1754-60—Restoration of Amicable Relations with the English.

AT THE opening of the Eighteenth Century, tribal lines among the Maine Indians had all but completely disappeared. The Sokokis had been considerably reduced. The Wawenocks had disappeared. The Anasagunticooks and Canibas were in closer alliance than ever before, and with the Tarratines, were aiding the French to drive the English far from the State. The pursuits of peace had been short lived.

Upon the succession of Queen Anne to the throne of England in 1702, the English had laid claim to the French province of Acadia. Another clash between these ancient enemies was inevitable. Governor Joseph Dudley of Massachusetts, foreseeing the seriousness of this new situation, called a conference of Indian sagamores to meet him at Casco on June 20, 1703. Among those present at the conference was Father Rasle, who was treated with suspicion and contempt by the English. The conference resulted in an exchange of friendly greetings, and in assurance by the Indians that they wanted peace, not war.

In August, 1703, a body of 500 French and Indians entered the eastern frontiers of Maine. Among the Indians were warriors from practically every tribe in the State, as well as Indians from Canada. They divided into several parties, and on the 10th of the month assailed Wells, Cape Porpoise, Saco, Scarboro, Spurwink, Purpooduck, and Casco, spreading death and destruction. Flushed with the complete success of their raids, the war party continued atrocities all along the coastline. On October 6th, Black Point, Scarboro, was attacked, but few escaping the carnage. Raids were made upon Berwick and York, although little damage was done.

In the early summer of 1704, Major Benjamin Church at the head of 500 men, was sent to attack Canada and Nova Scotia, and thus remove the scene of fighting from Maine.

The plan was eminently successful, no Indian attack of any importance taking place in Maine during the year. To encourage the destruction of the Indian enemies, the General Court drew up and passed a schedule of bounties which would be paid for live Indian captives, Indian children and scalps. Several parties were organized to cover the State in search of Indians. Of these parties one of 20 or 30 men came to Maine in the spring of 1704 under command of one Peter Rogers. On snowshoes this company travelled up the valley of the Androscoggin to Arockamecook, or Canton Point, but with no success, the Anasagunticook village being completely deserted.

During 1705, small bands of Indians wandered over the State attacking outlying settlers, especially at Kittery and York. The French Governor of Canada, weary of the continued warfare, proposed that it should cease, and that the English and French colonies in America should maintain neutrality with respect to the war then raging between England and France. Governor Dudley of Massachusetts, however, declined the proposal. Colonel Hilton and Colonel Church were sent with a force of 270 men, to destroy the Canibas village at Norridgewock. After the most severe privations, occasioned by the winter weather, they arrived at the village, but not an Indian was left there. The party satisfied their warlike purpose by burning the deserted camp. The Indians were thoroughly sick of the war, and confined their activities to attacking remote settlers. Treachery was practiced by both sides, and one warring party appears in little better light than does the other in this respect. Fishing vessels along the coast were an easy prey of the savages, and during 1706 the Indians confined their operations almost exclusively to this form of plundering.

The war had been prosecuted with such vigor up to the year 1707, that only six English settlements remained in Maine. They were at Kittery, Berwick, York, Wells, Casco, and Winter Harbor. The English expedition against Port Royal, the French stronghold in Nova Scotia, having failed, the French retaliated by organizing new Indian raiding parties. On the 21st of September, 1707, a party of 150 Indians

made an attack upon Winter Harbor. In 50 war canoes, the Indians came into the bay. Two shallops manned by eight men, were there, and were first attacked. Abandoning one ship, the English finally escaped after a fight lasting three hours, and with the loss of one man. The Indians lost thirty, killed and wounded, which so discouraged them that they abandoned the attack.

Small bands continued to prowl near all the English towns, making the best of every opportunity to kill unprotected Englishmen. The greatest suffering during the whole war occurred during 1707. It was unsafe to venture beyond the protective walls of stockades. Agriculture, hunting, fishing, and lumbering were of necessity, completely abandoned. Food and fuel were scarce, and most of the settlers suffered hunger and cold. This complete paralysis of the English towns continued during the whole of the year 1708.

In 1709, Governor Dudley sent a scouting party of 150 men to visit all the ancient settlements, and to completely exterminate the savages in Maine. The party met with absolute failure on the score of extermination, for they encountered no Indians, either at the villages or upon the routes of march.

About this time, the Canibas sued for peace, but their offer was coldly rejected. Exhausted by constant warfare, the Indians possessed but feeble attacking power, and consequently, made no serious, well-organized raids for several years. But their barbarity increased with their diminishing numbers. An English captive at Saco was skinned, and his skin cut up into belts. Similar horrors took place at other points.

The English retaliated with torturous acts. Colonel Walton, with a large body of men operating on the Sagadahoc river, by use of a decoy, captured a sagamore, his wife, and several warriors. Not satisfied with the answers to questions put to the sagamore, Colonel Walton permitted Indians connected with his command to hack him to pieces with their tomahawks.

In 1710 Port Royal had capitulated to the English, and Nova Scotia had been completely reduced. The war was promptly pushed into Canada. As a means of diverting the attention of the English, the French appealed to their Indian allies to renew the war in Maine, and in 1712, with considerable vigor the Indians again attacked the Maine settlement. A scouting party marching from York garrison to Cape Neddick was ambushed on May 14th. Several were killed or captured, and the remainder fled in great disorder. On the 16th of September, a party of 200 Indians fell upon a wedding party at Wells, and killing several guests, finally captured Elisha Plaisted, the groom, holding him for ransom. A company of seventy soldiers set out in pursuit, but being greatly outnumbered, ceased firing after a brief skirmish. Plaisted was finally ransomed by the payment of £300.

The Treaty of Utrecht was signed by England and France on May 30, 1713. The Indians had long desired peace, and hastily made arrangements for a council to be held at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. On July 11th, eight sagamores of the Canibas, the Tarratines, and the Sokokis, met the English commissioners. Haughty and domineering in their attitude, the English were severe in their exactions. The Indians were forced to confess their acts of infidelity; to assume entire blame for precipitating the war; to acknowledge themselves subjects of Queen Anne, and to admit their subjugation to the Crown of Great Britain. The course of conduct of the Indians was subscribed. They should cease and forever forbear all acts of hostility toward all English subjects. English colonists were to return to their homes "and be in no ways molested, interrupted, or disturbed therein. Saving unto the sd Indians their own Grounds, and free liberty for Hunting, Fishing and Fowling, and all other Lawful Liberties & Privileges as on the Eleventh day of August in the year of our Lord One thousand six hundred & ninety-three." All trade and commerce with the English "shall be in places & under such management & regulations as shall be stated by her Mjty's Government of said Provinces respectively." No Indian was to come near any plantation

or settlement east of the Saco River, unless by permission. The Indians were further forced to declare that they had always been well treated by the Governors and "being sensible of our great offense & folly in not complying with the aforesd Submission agreements, and also of the sufferings & mischiefs that we have hereby exposed ourselves unto, do, in all humble and submissive manner, cast ourselves upon her Majty's mercy for pardon for all our past rebellions, hostilities, and Violations of our promises praying to be received unto her Majty's Grace and Protection."

The original treaty was signed by representatives of the Canibas, the Tarratines and the St. Johns. One year later on July 28th, at Portsmouth, the other tribes entered upon the engagement. Principal among the Anasagunticooks to sign were Kankamagus, Wenemoet, Wohonumbamet, and Sabatis.

For a considerable period of time the English authorities had been suspicious of the influence of the Jesuit missionaries. By every means available they had tried in vain to drive them from the Indian villages. It was finally determined to supplant the French missionaries by establishing English missions among the tribes. The General Court offered to pay any minister one hundred and fifty pounds annually who would reside at Fort George (Pemaquid); learn the dialect of the Indians; and become their instructors. In order to put the plan into effect, Governor Dummer called a conference of a large number of chiefs at Arrowsic in August, 1717. In a haughty manner the Governor presented the chiefs with a Bible in the Abnaki language, and told them that it contained the true religion. The Indians replied that all people have their own religious teachers; that when the English first knew the Indians the English were interested only in the trade in furs and skins; but now that furs and skins were scarce they—the English—were ready to talk religion. The spokesman for the Indians also pointed out that the French first taught the Indians religion and then began trade afterward. Finally, angered, the chiefs left the council.

The occupation of the lands east of the Kennebec River by the English had been a source of dispute at the council; the Indians claiming that it had never been conveyed to the English; Governor Dummer asserting that the English claim was based upon the Treaty of Utrecht by which France had ceded those lands to England.

After leaving the conference the Indians repaired at once to consult Father Rasle. He wrote a letter to the Governor declaring that France had never ceded land to the English which belonged to the Indians. He pointed out that the King had merely withdrawn his protection for the tribes in that section, and had surrendered to the English the right to purchase land and make improvements there. Upon the presentation of the letter, Governor Dummer became very angry and threatened to draw the sword again against the Indians of Maine. The threat was all the more reprehensible in view of the fact that the Governor knew of the serious condition and the weakened state of the Indians. The Indians begged to be spared another war, and consented to sign a treaty conforming to the Governor's interpretation of the far-reaching effect of the Treaty of Utrecht. Accordingly a treaty was drawn and signed at Georgetown, on August 12, 1717. Representative chiefs signing for the Anasagunticooks were Sabatis and Sam Humphries. The new engagement provided among other things that "we freely consent that our English friends shall possess, enjoy & improve all the Lands which they formerly possessed, and all which they have obtained a right & title unto, Hoping it will prove of mutual and reciprocal benefit and advantage to them & us, that they Cohabit with us." Other tribes signing were "Kennebeck," "Penobscuit," and "Pegwackit."

The English continued colonization; opened new territory in the present Knox County; and built a strong fort at Thomaston. The Indians, meanwhile, were dissatisfied because of further encroachments upon their tribal possessions, and especially because of the erection of strong forts. The Governor was suspicious of Father Rasle, and was waiting for an excuse to exterminate the Maine tribes. An Indian attack was made upon an English post in Nova

Scotia. The Indians of Maine had nothing to do with the outrage, but the General Court at Boston voted to send a detachment of one hundred and fifty soldiers to Norridgewock, and offered a reward of £500 if the body of Rasle should be brought to Boston dead or alive. War seemed imminent, but the Governor's Council felt that the reward was excessive, and reduced it to £250.

Thoroughly alarmed by the war-like demeanor of the English, the Norridgewocks sent an envoy to Boston with a present of 200 beaver skins as a pledge of their desire for peace. They also offered to leave four hostages at Boston for their future good behavior. But word of the state of affairs was sent to Canada by Father Rasle, and a conference of the Tarratines, the Canibas, and Canadian Indians was held on Padeshal's Island near Arrowsic, August 1, 1721. Father Rasle and Castin the Younger, were present at the council. No overt act pointing to a breach of treaty engagements took place.

The Indians were in deplorable condition. In population they were few. There was little opportunity for trade. They had agreed not to purchase any goods except at regularly established trading posts, and no such posts had been opened. Private adventurers bartered with them; defrauded them grossly; yet there was no redress because such trade was in contravention to treaty provisions. Their fire-arms and tools were in sore need of repair, and the English had promised to send smiths and armorers among them; but none had been sent.

At this stage we may truthfully say that the government at Boston was obviously seeking any plausible excuse to fall upon the Indians of Maine and exterminate them completely. The hatred of the English found its chief goal in the village of Norridgewock, for French influences were powerful in defense of the Canibas tribe. Although the Anasagunticooks and the Tarratines were without question better prepared for war, the Canibas were most zealous in asserting their rights. As Messrs. Coolidge and Mansfield remark in their excellent "Description of New England:" "In all the ulterior designs of the English upon the Indians,

whether in cheating them in trade or wresting territory from them, they were held in check by their dread of this tribe—Canibas. Under these circumstances only one remedy remained, which was the destruction of the village, and the murder of Rasle and the Indians.”

The ill-guarded Canibas hostages who had been stationed upon an island in Boston Harbor, escaped, and the Government regarded this as an act of the gravest hostility. The General Court was convened in special session, and on August 23, 1721, voted to “pursue and punish the Indians for the crime of Rebellion against the English government.” Three hundred soldiers were enlisted to prosecute the war. Governor Dummer issued a proclamation demanding that the Indians deliver up Father Rasle to the English, and likewise every other French missionary among them. If these terms were not promptly complied with, the soldiers were instructed to seize the Indians wherever found and to send them to Boston as captives. Even before this order was given the English had seized many peaceful Indians whom they accused of no crime, but were holding them as hostages. In June, 1721, a party of Anasagunticooks and Canibas met in Merrymeeting Bay. There were twenty canoes in the party containing, in all, sixty warriors. By way of reprisal for the seizures of the English, the Indians took nine families. All were treated with the utmost kindness, and all but four men were soon released. War had flamed up at once. Later in the season an attack was made upon Fort George at Thomaston; a sloop was burned, and several persons were killed. The fort could not be taken, and a second attack was equally unsuccessful. In Casco one Englishman was killed and several Indians were pursued and shot down. Two or three Englishmen were captured in Passamaquoddy Bay. Captain John Harmon, working up the Kennebec in pursuit of the enemy, came upon a camp of fifteen Indians, unguarded and asleep. They were all shot, and their muskets and impediments of war taken.

In July, 1722, the Governor and Council declared war upon the Indians of Maine, holding them to be traitors and robbers and enemies of the King. To bring as many per-

sons under arms as possible, bounties were offered for the scalps of Indians. To all who would embark for the war at their own expense a bounty of £100 was offered for each scalp taken. We even find a bounty of £15 offered for the scalp of each Indian boy of twelve years. During the winter of 1721-22 parties of English soldiers had covered the entire coastline in search of Indians, and had found none even at the accustomed villages. An Indian fort in the Penobscot was burned, and an attempt was made to go to Norridgewock, but it failed.

The only noticeable Indian activity of 1722 was at Georgetown—now Arrowsic. Early on the morning of September 10th, a large party of Indians attacked that settlement. The inhabitants all took refuge in the garrison house. Finding that the garrison house was too strong for them to capture, the Indians burned twenty-six houses, shot fifty cattle, and turned their attention to Fort Richmond. This fortification also proved too strong, and they retired up the Kennebec.

During the year 1723 neither foe prosecuted the war with especial vigor. The Indians continued to prowl about the State in small, ill-equipped bands, killing and capturing for the whole period not more than 20 or 30 white inhabitants. Nor were the English particularly successful. An attempt to enlist Mohawks for the war failed signally, only two of that tribe entering the service, and these for but a short time. English soldiers patrolled the Kennebec to prevent hunting and fishing in the hope of bringing starvation upon the Indians. On the 25th of December the Indians laid siege to the fort at Thomaston. For an entire month their efforts continued with a persistence hitherto not shown. The timely arrival of re-enforcements blasted the expectations of the Indians, and they were forced to retire in defeat.

During the winter another attempt was made to destroy the Norridgewock village, but the vigilant Indians fled into the forest, taking Father Rasle with them. Captain Moulton, a humane man, and the leader of the expedition, refrained from wantonly destroying the village.

In March, 1724, new Indian depredations were commenced. During the three months that followed, more than thirty people were killed, wounded, or carried away into captivity. Attacks were made at Berwick and Kennebunk. A fishing party in Penobscot Bay were completely annihilated. During the summer the savages captured twenty-two fishing vessels. Their fleet of fifty war canoes travelled nearly the entire length of the Maine coast. In these skirmishes twenty-two men were killed, and twenty-three carried away prisoners of war. Flushed with these victories, the Indians turned upon Georges fort, killing sixteen of the garrison who were trapped away from the stockade. But the barriers of the fort proved too strong, and the siege was abandoned. A sudden assault was made upon Arrowsic where three men were captured and many cattle were killed. An attack upon Spurwink in July closed the Indian warfare of the year.

Throughout the entire period of the Indian wars in Maine the essential objective of the English soldiery had been the destruction of the Canibas village at Norridgewock. Four attempts upon the village had already failed. The complete devastation of this ancient Indian stronghold in August, 1724, has been spoken of in another place. The brutality of the attack, and the wanton destruction wrought, cast a cloud over the English relations with the Indians of Maine.

Desultory fighting continued throughout the entire State. Two Anasagunticooks captured a man at Maquoit, but the following evening he succeeded in loosening his bonds, and in killing both his captors. From that time forward fewer attacks, each feeble in force, and of greater infrequency, indicated both the broken spirit of the savage, and the growing strength of the English.

We are little concerned with Lovewell's War. Its effect upon Indian strength despite the complete English victory, is comparatively unimportant. Its importance lies solely in the fact that it hastened the conclusion of a new treaty of peace. The Pegwacket tribe alone was affected and that very slightly. The destruction of Tarratine villages upon

the Penobscot in May, 1725, was an additional factor in the rapid destruction of Indian power in Maine. The Anasagunticooks, although still powerful, were appallingly weakened by the annihilation of the Canibas; the weakening of the Sokokis; and the panicky fear of the Tarratines.

On June 20, 1725, a few chiefs under a flag of truce were attacked while approaching Fort St. George at Thomaston. The assault was beyond excuse or justification, because the Indians were coming to sue for peace. No act of retaliation was attempted by the Indians who continued to plead for an amicable settlement of the difficulties. Finally, thirteen chiefs met two commissioners at Fort George. The Commissioners, John Stoddard and John Wainwright, were both discourteous and haughty in their attitude. Arrangements were finally concluded for a general council to be held in Boston. In November, four chiefs representing the Canibas and Tarratine tribes, and appearing in proxy for the Anasagunticooks, met the English at Boston. For more than a month discussion of the terms of a treaty took place. The Indians felt that their hunting ground was being encroached upon, and that while intoxicated they had been induced to deed away their lands. But the complaints were of no avail. They were finally compelled to relinquish all demands, and submit themselves in unconditional surrender. The formal treaty was signed by four chiefs of the Tarratine tribe. Hostilities ceased, and friendly relations were renewed. The winter and early spring passed quietly and with no evidence of hostility upon either side.

Authorities in Massachusetts were not satisfied with the treaty, since it had been signed by members of the Tarratine tribe alone. The Indians desired a further conference, and a discussion of several features of the treaty. A conference was promptly arranged, and on July 10, 1726, a large number of Tarratine chiefs met Lieutenant Governor William Dummer of Massachusetts, and Lieutenant Governor John Wentworth of New Hampshire, together with a large number of representatives from each province. The discussion continued until August 11th.

Among the Indians the most ardent laborer for peace was Wenemonett, Sagamore of the Tarratines. Upon the

first meeting he requested that no drink should be sold to the Indians present, pointing out the certain ill-effects that it would produce. His request granted, negotiations were begun at once. Although other tribes were not represented by their own chiefs, Loron, a Tarratine chief, pointed out that the Canibas, the St. Francis, the Wawenocks, and the Anasagunticooks, had been notified of the conference and had authorized the Tarratines to ratify the treaty in the names of the respective tribes.

Ratification of the treaty took place on August 5th, the Indians pledging allegiance to the British Crown; agreeing to the English claim to all lands for which they had deeds; and to the English interpretation of those deeds. The Tarratines also agreed to take up arms with the English in the event of war with other Maine tribes.

Following formal ratification, Governor Dummer inquired as to English prisoners of the Tarratine tribe. Loron informed him that all prisoners taken by the tribe had been turned over to the Anasagunticooks, and that they were then held by that tribe. The Tarratines were authorized to procure such prisoners as might be held and to return them to the English. The conference adjourned amidst the greatest rejoicing and satisfaction among both the Indians and the English.

Governor Dummer had, so far, been successful in bringing hostilities to a close, but he was still fearful of acts of hostility upon the part of those tribes which had not personally ratified the articles of peace. Some of the English settlements were likewise fearful lest the Anasagunticooks or the Canibas or Wawenocks should make a fresh attack. To quell all fears and suspicions, and to bind all the tribes to the treaty a new conference was appointed to meet at Falmouth in July, 1727.

The Indians, for some unexplained reason, were opposed to meeting at Falmouth. Representatives of the Canibas and Anasagunticooks repaired to Fort Richmond on Arrowsic Island. They sent messengers to the Tarratine tribe requesting them to join in insisting upon Arrowsic or Sagadahoc as the place of conference. The latter tribe

consented and a letter was drawn to the Governor. Upon the arrival of the Governor and his party at Falmouth on July 11th, he received the message from the hands of Captain John of the Canibas, Squaduck of the Anasagunticooks, and Quinoise of the Wawenocks who had been sent in person. The letter read:

"Richmond Fort, July 7th, 1727.

"The Sun shines bright this Day, we fear God that made it, and Salute you with a Friendly Heart. You and the Penobscot Indians sent for us, and we come to Teconick in the Spring. The Penobscots afterwards sent to have us come to them, but we did not hear them.

We cannot come to Falmouth, having come thus far with great Difficulty, we hope you will let us see you at Sagadahock or Arrowsic, where we expect our Brethren of Penobscot will also meet. This message we send by Capt. John, Quinoise and Squaduck.

Toxas
Jummaway
Etserraboonet."

The three signers were all chief sagamores of their respective tribes; Toxas being a Canibas; Jummaway—more properly Ausummowett, an Anasagunticook—and Etserraboonet, a Wawenock.

To this letter Governor Dummer replied, sending Captain Sanders with a vessel to transport the Indians to Falmouth. The Indians arrived at Falmouth on July 17th, encamping upon an island in Casco Bay. A large tent pitched upon Munjoy Hill, served as a meeting place for the conferees. The English representatives were among the most influential men in New England, the party consisting of Governor Dummer and all the members of His Majesty's Council for Massachusetts, and Governor Wentworth with three members of the Council for New Hampshire together with Major Paul Mascarene, acting for the Royal Governor of Nova Scotia. All the Maine Indian tribes were represented, delegates being present from the Anasagunticooks, Canibas, Wawenocks, and the Tarratines. Fifteen delegates

were sent by the Anasagunticooks. They were Auyaummowett, Captain and Councillor, and brother of the chief sachem, Loror, Pierresonqk, Nackbanumbawmett, Sabbatist, Baquabaret, alias Nathaniel, Saaroom, Stzabauckaum, Schowess, Maguowaudoeck, Squaduke, Erremanceseck, Shawseen, Praussoway, and Saqack, son of Beawando.

Upon convening, the Indians appointed Auyaummowett of the Anasagunticooks as their orator, and on July 19, 1727, the business of the conference was begun. Auyaummowett requested first the reading of the treaty drawn December 15, 1725. The document was worded as follows:

"The Submission and Agreement of the Delegates of the Eastern Indians.

"*Whereas*, the several Tribes of the Eastern Indians, Viz., The Penobscot, Nerridgewock, St. Johns, Cape Sables, and other tribes Inhabiting within His Majesties Territories of New England and Nova Scotia, who have been engaged in the present War, from whom we, Saquaarum alias Loron, Arexis, Francis Xavier & Maganumbee, are Delegated and fully Impowered to enter into Articles of Pacification with His Majesties Governments of the Massachusetts-Bay, New Hampshire and Nova Scotia, have contrary to the several Treaties they have Solemnly entered into with the said Governments, made an Open Rupture, and have continued some years in Acts of Hostility against the Subjects of His Majesty King George within the said Governments.

"They being now sensible of the Miseries and Troubles they have involved themselves in, and being desirous to be restored to His Majesties Grace and Favor, and to Live in Peace with all His Majesties Subjects of the said Three Governments, and the Province of New York and Colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island and that all former Acts of Injury be forgotten, have in the name and Behalf of the Said Tribes, made our Submission unto his Most Excellent Majesty George by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, etc., in as Full and Ample Manner as any of our Predecessors have heretofore done.

"And we do hereby promise and engage with the Honorable William Dummer, Esq.; as he is Lieutenant Governour and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesties Province of the Massachusetts-Bay and with the Governours or Commanders-in-Chief of the said Province for the Time Being, That is to say

"We the said delegates for and in behalf of the several Tribes abovesaid Do Promise and Engage, that at all times for Ever, from and after the Date of these Presents, We and They will Cease and Forbear all Acts of Hostility towards all the Subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, and not offer the least Hurt, Violence or Molestation to them or any of them in their Persons or Estates, But will hence forward hold and maintain a firm and constant Amity and Friendship with all the English, and will never confederate or combine with any other nation to their Prejudice.

"That all the Captives taken in this present War, shall at or before, the Time of the further Ratification of this Treaty be restored without any Ransom or Payment to be made by them or any of them.

"That His Majesty's Subjects the English shall and may peaceably and quietly enter upon, improve and for ever enjoy all and singular their Rights of Land and former Settlements, Properties and Possessions within the Eastern parts of the said Province of the Massachusetts Bay, together with all Islands, Islets, Shores, Beaches and Fishing within the same, without any Molestation or Claims by us or any other Indians, and be in no ways Molested, Interrupted or Disturbed therein. Saving unto the Penobscot, Nerridgewock, and other Tribes within His Majesties Province aforesaid, and their Natural Descendants respectively, all their Lands, Liberties and Properties not by them conveyed or Sold to or Possessed by any of the English Subjects as aforesaid, as also the Priviledges of Fishing, Hunting and Fowling as formerly.

"That all Trade and Commerce which hereafter may be Allowed betwixt the English and Indians, shall be under such Management and Regulation as the Government of the Massachusetts Province shall Direct.

"If any Controversie or Difference at any time hereafter may happen to arise between any of the English and Indians for any real or supposed wrong or Injury done on either side, no Private Revenge shall be taken for the same but proper Application shall be made to His Majesties Government upon the place for Remedy or Redress thereof in due course of Justice.

"We Submitting Our selves to be Ruled and Governed by His Majesty's Laws and desiring to have the Benefit of the same.

"We also the said Delegates, in Behalf of the Tribes of Indians, inhabiting within the French territories, who have Assisted us in this War, for whom we are fully Impowered to Act in this present Treaty, Do hereby Promise and Engage, that they and every of them shall henceforth Cease and Forbear all Acts of Hostility Force and Violence towards all and every Subjects of His Majesty the King of Great Britain.

"We do further in Behalf of the Tribe of the Penobscot Indians, promise and engage, that if any of the other Tribes intended to be Included in this Treaty, shall notwithstanding refuse to Confirm and Ratifie this present Treaty entered into on their Behalf and continue to Renew Acts of Hostility against the English, in such case the said Penobscot Tribe shall joine their young Men with the English in reducing them to Reason.

"In the next place we the aforementioned Delegates Do promise and engage with the Honorable John Wentworth, Esq.; as He is Lieutenant Governor and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesties Province of New Hampshire, and with the Governours and Commander-in-Chief of the said Province for the time being, and we and the Tribes we are deputed from will henceforth cease and forbear all Acts of Hostility, Injuries and Discords towards all the subjects of His Majesty King George within the said Province, and we do understand and take it that the said Government of New Hampshire is also included and comprehended in all and every the Articles foregoing excepting that respecting the regulating the Trade with us.

"And further we the aforementioned Delegates do Promise and Engage with the Honorable Lawrence Armstrong, Esq.; Lieutenant Governor and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesties Province of Nova Scotia or L'Acadie to live in peace with His Majesties Good Subjects and their Dependents in that Government according to the Articles agreed on with Major Paul Mascarene commissioned for that purpose, and further to be Ratified as mentioned in the said Articles.

"That this present Treaty shall be Accepted, Ratified and Confirmed in a Publick and Solemn manner by the Chiefs of the several Eastern Tribes of Indians included at Falmouth in Casco Bay some time in the Month of May next. In testimony whereof we have signed these Presents, and Affixed Our Seals. Dated at the Council Chamber in Boston in New England, this Fifteenth Day of December, Anno Domini One Thousand Seven Hundred and Twenty-five, Annoque Regis Georgij Magnae Britanniae, &c Duodecimo."

Upon the completion of the reading of the treaty, Auyammowett arose and addressed the conference in these words: "What we have heard from your Honour at present we shall take into consideration 'till to Morrow, and then you shall hear from us; as for the Articles which have been read over to us, we have heard of them, but never heard them read so fully to us, and are very glad we have now heard of them for we came for that purpose. As we are now sitting before your Honour and see the Faces of one another, we say, This is the place which God has appointed for us to see one another at, and as God is the Master of Prayer, we pray he would direct us all in the ways that may tend to Peace, and we desire your Honour would let us know and be so free as to hide nothing from us, and if we say anything that is amiss or look like an affront, that you would let us know it that we may avoid it, and we shall be so on our part as to keep nothing back nor hide any thing from you in the Treaty, we ought to join heartily and be strong in the Affair, it is of great Weight and Moment, it weighs heavy. We have said."

The various tribes took the treaty into tribal councils. If there were features which met with disapproval, they had

the choice but to submit. The ravages of the war and of disease had greatly reduced their numbers. They had been so long upon the warpath that time had not been given to the securing of proper food. Their supplies of firearms and ammunition were running low, and they had no furs to trade for more. Their condition was serious; complete extermination of all the tribes seemed close at hand. On July 20th they agreed to ratify the treaty, but the formal ceremony of signing the document did not take place until August 5th. During the interim discussions of the various terms of the treaty continued.

The more important provisions of the treaty were under consideration for two days, July 25th and 26th. Auyaummowett, the Anasagunticook Councillor, continued to speak for the Indians. He agreed, on their behalf, that the tribes would join the English to put down any savage uprising which might occur. In reply to questions concerning captives, Auyaummowett said:

"As to what your Honour has said about Captives, and People taken at Kennebunk we have thought of that. As to the Captives it is true we have taken some, but when we have taken them home, it has not been above a Day or two before the French have taken them, and when the French had them and carried them to their Houses, it was all as one as if the English had them themselves, for the English and French are brothers. As to the people taken at Kennebunk, there was a boy brought to us, but it was all one with him as with the other Captives, he is in the Hands of the French as others were. We have something more to offer now.

"So far we had a good Understanding in what we have said, I would say now further, I desire your Honour would have a thought as to Pejepscot and Saco, we shall have a great number of People come here quickly, and we desire there may be a Sufficient Supply of Goods for us in each of those Places. I have one Word more on Account of the Lands we are owners of that is our Hunting Ground, we desire your Honour would take care none of the Mohegans or others of the southern Indians may be allowed to come

into our Hunting Ground, or even to the Eastward of Merri-mack-River, for therein they very much damage us, and take our Game from us, which we expect to get when we go a Hunting, but may otherwise wronged therein, if care be not taken effectually to prevent those Indians, and their coming among us may breed misunderstanding and be of very ill Consequence."

The Indians were promised a careful consideration of these matters.

The Anasagunticooks were instructed to bring in an account of all English captives held by the tribe.

On July 26th, Auyaummowett declared with respect to captives:

"Brethren, As you mentioned concerning the English captives yesterday morning, in the Afternoon, and now to Day again, I shall now go from this place, and I shall acquaint the Tribes of every thing that has happened, and shall do my Endeavour to get the English Captives back, but I would not have you think hard, I will do what I can, but I cannot promise certainly, I shall Endeavour to deliver up all the English Captives, those that have been there these Forty years I will do my utmost Endeavour to accomplish this, and if I cannot succeed in the Affair I shall return back and Acquaint you, but nothing shall be wanting that I can do to have the English restored.

"I am acquainted of Five Captives at Arrasagunticook, there are some that are married, taken at North Yarmouth, and two Boys and two Girls taken at Lamprey-River or Oyster-River and Cochecke."

Final arrangements concerning captives were made and the conference closed with a banquet on Munjoy Hill.

The conclusion of hostilities was a source of tremendous joy both to the Indians and to the English. About 200 of the inhabitants of Maine had been either killed or carried into captivity. The anguish which was thus sent to many a humble cabin no pen picture can properly describe. The misery of the Indians was acute. Nearly one-third of the total population of the four Maine tribes had perished either at the hands of the English soldiers, or because of starvation,

disease, or exposure. In money it has been estimated that the Province of Massachusetts had been obliged to make expenditures amounting to £250,000 or in excess of \$1,250,000.

Returning to the pursuits of times of peace, the English continued to rapidly develop resources within Maine, and to settle constantly increasing numbers of colonists. Trade with Great Britain was increasing. New farm lands were being cleared. Trading posts presented busy scenes.

Relations with the Indians during this time were friendly enough, although it was becoming more and more apparent to the tribes that further settlement of the State would mean additional land losses to them. The Governor made an annual visit to the State, upon each occasion conferring with the Indians, and renewing pledges of loyalty and friendship on the part of both peoples. A general conference was held at Munjoy Hill, Falmouth, in July, 1732. Two hundred Indians were present to express their good-will and co-operation in solving the problems confronting the State.

In 1735 the white population of Maine was about nine thousand souls. Nine towns and several plantations were constantly increasing both in population and importance. Fish, fur, and lumber were being exported in large quantities. The forests were being cut into masts, boards, shingles and timber. More settlers were arriving and new townships were being laid out. Territories recognized as belonging to the Indians were being encroached upon. Complaint of this fact was made, the sachems merely requesting payment for the lands taken. The subject was referred to the General Court and a committee appointed to investigate. The report was favorable to the Indian claims, and the sum of five hundred pounds was voted to be paid the injured tribes. This relief was but temporary.

The French had finally been drawn into an alliance with Spain in the war then being waged against Great Britain. With their ancient allies at war the Indians once more began to sympathize with the French and to become increasingly suspicious and hostile toward the English. After an attack by the Indians in Nova Scotia, the government called upon

the Maine Indians for assistance in accordance with the provisions of the treaty ratified in 1727. After numerous councils, the Sagamores reported that it was impossible to induce the young men to take up arms against their brother Indians on the St. John River. To increase the tension of the situation a vagabond band of white men fell upon some Indians on the eastern side of the Georges River, killing one Indian and wounding several others. The government made atonement and peace was maintained.

Upon the fall of Louisburg, June 15, 1745, attention was again turned to Indian affairs. The refusal of the Maine sagamores to furnish warriors for service in Nova Scotia, was considered practically equivalent to a declaration of war. All trade with the Indians ceased, and vigorous preparations were made for a conflict. Scouting parties were sent out; block houses and ramparts were constructed. Every able-bodied man was trained for war. All preparations having been attended to, on August 23, 1745, the government of Massachusetts declared war upon all the Indians in Maine without exception.

History gives us no valid reason for a declaration of war at this time. The justification urged by the government was an excuse rather than a reason for hostilities. The Indians had certainly committed no overt act leading to war. The English were strong; the Indians weak. The English who could have no doubt of success against so feeble a foe, could add to their territorial possessions vast regions of fertile lands then the tribal possession of the Indians. Covetousness was once more the real reason for war against a numerically inferior people.

The Indians were wholly unprepared for this outbreak. The warriors were not only few in number, but were ill-equipped for fighting. The closing of English trade had made necessary purchases from the French. Difficulties of transportation and the long distance which must be travelled made it impossible to procure arms and ammunition in appreciable quantities. All these facts are conclusive evidence of the continued friendly intentions of the Indians. War had been forced upon them. They were fighting as defenders, not as aggressors.

Unlike former wars with the Indians, there was no battle with the English. English scouting parties scoured the woods, hunting Indians as they would game. They trained dogs to chase Indians, and to tear them down, men, women, and children. Large bounties were offered for captives or scalps. During the war the English drove the Indians and French from Nova Scotia, or "Acadia."

The Indians made no concerted attack at any point. They prowled through the forests in small bands, killing cattle and swine; occasionally burning a house; and killing or capturing settlers and their families in outlying sections. Williamson in his History of the District of Maine, summarizes admirably the activities of the Indians in these words:

"In none of the Indian wars were the savages more subtle and inveterate, yet in none less cruel. They despaired of laying waste the country, and expelling the inhabitants. They rather sought to satiate their revenge upon particular individuals or families; to take captives and scalps, for the sake of the price or premium paid them by the French, and to satisfy their wants by the plunder of houses or slaughter of cattle; a cow or an ox being frequently killed by them and nothing taken out but the tongue."

This miserable warfare lasted until the spring of 1749. On June 23d a party of sagamores from the Maine tribes met the Governor of Massachusetts in the Council Chamber at Boston. They urged peace and asked that a conference be called to draw the terms. One chief addressing the Governor, declared:

"We speak from our hearts the words of sincerity and truth. We have brought with us other credentials than our hearts. These brothers present know that the voice of peace makes the Indians everywhere smile and rejoice."

Satisfied finally that the Indians were driven to such a strait of desperation that they would accept willingly any terms dictated to them, the Governor finally appointed September 27, 1749, as the day for the opening of negotiations. As upon other occasions, Falmouth was selected as the meeting place. Thomas Hutchinson, John Choate, Israel Williams, and James Otis were selected by Lieutenant-Governor

Spencer Phips to represent the Massachusetts-Bay government. Six Indian tribes were represented at the conference; the Tarratines, the Canibas, the Pegwackets, the St. Francis, the Anasagunticooks, and the Wawenocks. Because of their feeble condition and the loss of the greater part of their ancient domain the latter tribe had already united with those of the Androscoggin Valley, both nations being represented by the same commissioners. Unfamiliar names appear in the Anasagunticook delegation which consisted of Sawwaramet, Aussaado, Waanunga, Sauquish, Wareedeon, and Wawawnunka. From this number we cannot determine who were properly Anasagunticooks and who Wawenocks. At any event they appeared primarily in the interests of the Anasagunticook tribe.

At the opening of the conference, the Dummer treaty of 1727 was read and discussed by articles, and both parties agreed to the principles of that document for the superstructure of the new agreement. But two articles in the earlier treaty required any particular interchange of ideas. The most important matter of discussion related to captives, both the English and the Indians admitting that a few were among them. The Anasagunticooks answered for two at the Canton Point village. Agreements were quickly reached for the return of prisoners by each party.

Trade was an interesting topic, the Indians considering themselves to have been wronged in exchange of goods. The English, as had been the case many times before, were required to promise to furnish articles to the Indians at cost plus the expense of freight and handling. The establishment of a trick-house at Saco was requested by the Anasagunticooks.

Throughout the discussions no mention was made of the land rights of the tribes. The low degree to which these formerly powerful tribes had been reduced may be well imagined in their assent to a document entitled articles of "Submission and Agreement." There is little in the tenor of the treaty or in the ready sanction by the Indians which could even suggest their puissant position in the early annals of Maine. The English prepared the treaty; the Indians accepted it in toto without exceptions or debate. It read:

"Province of Massachusetts-Bay in New England, at Falmouth, in Casco-Bay, the sixteenth day of October, in the twenty-third year of the reign of our sovereign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c., in the year of our Lord, 1749.

"The Submission and Agreement of the Eastern Indians.

"*Whereas* a war has for some years past been made and carried on by the Indians of the Tribes of Penobscot, Norridgewock, St. Francis and other Indians inhabiting within His Majesty's Territories of New England, against the Government of Massachusetts-Bay and New Hampshire, contrary to several treaties heretofore solemnly entered into; And the said Indians being now sensible of the miseries and troubles they have involved themselves in, and being desirous to be restored to His Majesty's Grace and Favor and to live in Peace with all His Majesty's subjects; and that all former acts of injury may be forgotten

"We, the underwritten, being delegated to represent and act for and in behalf of the Indians aforesaid, have concluded to make, and do by these presents in their name make, our submission unto his most Excellent Majesty George, the Second, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c., in as full and ample a manner as any of our predecessors have heretofore done.

"And we do by these presents engage with Thomas Hutchinson, John Choate, Israel Williams, and James Otis Esqrs., commissioned by the Honorable Spencer Phips Esq., as he is Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay, and with the Governors or Commanders-in-Chief of said Province for the time Being, That is to say;

"In the name and behalf of the Tribes and Indians aforesaid, we do promise and engage that at all times for ever, from and after the date of these presents, we and they will cease and forbear all acts of hostility, injuries, and discards towards all the subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, and not offer the least hurt, violence or molestation to them or

any of them, in their persons or estates; but will henceforward hold and maintain a firm and constant amity with all the English; and will never confederate or combine with any other nation to their prejudice.

"That all the captives taken in the present war shall forthwith be restored, without any ransom or Payment to be made for them or any of them.

"That His Majesty's subjects, the English, shall and may peaceably and quietly enter upon, improve and enjoy all and singular their rights of land, and former settlements, properties and possessions within the Eastern part of the said Province of Massachusetts-Bay, together with all Islands, Inlets, Shores, Beaches, and Fishery within the same, without any molestation or claims by us or any other Indians, and be in no ways interrupted or disturbed therein. Saving to the Tribes of Indians within His Majesty's Province aforesaid and their natural descendants respectively, all their lands, liberties and properties, not by them conveyed or sold to or possessed by any of the English subjects as aforesaid; as also the priviledges of fishing, hunting and fowling as formerly.

"That all trade and commerce which hereafter may be allowed between the English and the Indians, shall be under such management and regulation as the Government of the Massachusetts Province shall direct.

"If any controversy or difference at any time hereafter happen to arise between any of the English and Indians, for any real or supposed wrong or injury done on either side, no private revenge shall be taken for the same; but a proper application shall be made to His Majesty's Government upon the place for remedy or redress thereof in due course of Justice; We submitting ourselves to be ruled and governed by His Majesty's Laws, and desiring to have the benefit of the same.

"We do further engage, that if any Indians shall at any time hereafter commit any act of hostility against the English, we will join our young men with the English in reducing such Indians to reason.

"In the next place, we the underwritten, do promise and agree with Theodore Atkinson and John Downing, Esqrs., Commissioned by His Excellency Benning Wentworth Esq.; Governor and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Province of New Hampshire, and with the Governors and Commanders-in-Chief of said Province for the time being; that we, and the Indians we represent and appear for, shall and will henceforth cease and forbear acts of hostility, injuries and discords, towards all the subjects of His Majesty King George within the said Province. And we do understand and take it that the said Government of New Hampshire is also included and comprehended in all and every the foregoing, excepting that respecting the regulation of trade with us.

"In testimony whereof, we have signed these Presents and affixed our seals."

The Indians signatories to the treaty represented four tribes only; the Anasagunticooks, the Wawenocks, the Canibas, and the Tarratines. It is interesting to note that Toxus, principal sagamore of the Canibas, and in many respects the most respected and best beloved among the Maine tribes, was a signer of the treaty of 1727, as well as of this treaty. His position was unique and with great veneration he was regarded as the sound, loyal advisor of all the Indians in the State.

The ink had scarcely dried upon the treaty before the Anasagunticooks began to withdraw into Canada. English hunters and trappers were invading their territory. Individual settlers were making clearings and cultivating the soil where once the tribe had dwelt undisturbed. Their forests were being felled to meet the increasing demand upon the lumberman. The tribe was too weak in numbers and too conscientious of its treaty obligations to risk an encounter which would spell utter destruction. Armed private adventurers, respecting neither the rights of the Indians nor the authority of the government, prowled through the beautiful valley, killing a redskin on sight. From these torments the French offered the only asylum safely open to the Indians.

That the Anasagunticooks took part in the French and Indian War goes without the saying, but the assistance which they rendered the French was an individual matter rather than a tribal affair. We should not condemn them too severely for indicating their gratitude to their natural allies. Since we cannot identify their activities as a tribe in the atrocities of the struggle, we can at least leave them in peace, facing that inevitable extermination decree by an all-merciful Providence.

CHAPTER V.

The Reduction of the Anasagunticooks—Their Withdrawal into Canada—The Location and Condition of Those Remaining in the Androscoggin Valley—Extermination of the Tribe and Reasons Therefor—Some Noted Anasagunticooks—Various Spelling of Names in the Androscoggin Valley—Bibliography.

AT THE close of the French and Indian War the Anasagunticooks were facing inevitable extinction. Disease and the bullets of the white man had taken a terrible toll of life among them. Driven from place to place by English colonization they were widely scattered over the upper Androscoggin Valley. They possessed no conspicuous leader. No chief remained to whom they could swear allegiance, and under whom they could plant anew a tribal village and revive their waning power and prosperity. Not even the remotest vestige of Indian government could be found in the entire Valley of the Androscoggin. No village remained. A few families dwelling together in remote places told of the completeness of their destruction as a tribal unit. Their forest hunting grounds were yielding to the axe of the pioneer. The rich prizes from the river and lakes were becoming the rewards of the white man's fisheries. Like so many other savage, picturesque peoples, their contact with the gentilities of civilization was working their complete and certain extinction.

With stoical calm the Anasagunticook awaited his fate. He made no determined resistance; he was too feeble to resist. He had no allies. The other Abnaki tribes had passed the same way he must travel. First the Wawenocks had ceased to exist, the victims of English avarice. The Sokokis were no longer masters of the Saco Valley. Even the proud and powerful Canibas had passed into history. Among the Tarratines and Openangoes the Anasagunticook could find little sympathy.

Confronted by conditions which they were unable to withstand, many of the Anasagunticooks accepted the invitation of the French Governor General of Canada to locate near Quebec. Opposite the City of Quebec he had placed land at the disposal of the harassed Indians of New England, and in their care and general welfare he had shown a sincere

interest. If his motive was selfish, we can commend him none the less for his generous treatment.

There was no general or distinct movement into Canada, a few families moving north at a time. The general removal of the Anasagunticooks had begun to some extent even before the outbreak of the French and Indian War, and continued with greater rapidity after hostilities had opened. By 1760 among the Indians settled near Quebec, the Anasagunticooks were most numerous. They are said to have been able to muster 150 warriors settled on Canadian soil.

The influence of the Anasagunticooks in their new home was far-reaching. Of keener intellect and greater culture, they soon became the leaders of the Indian village to which was gathered refugees from nearly every tribe in New England. Their language became the tongue of the new village. Their customs and manners and mode of life were predominant. They continued loyal and cordial in their relations with the French, and as bitter and hostile as in former times in their attitude toward the English. Here they remained, intermarrying with members of other tribes and with the French until their identity was completely lost.

Many Anasagunticooks remained in Maine. We can estimate with a reasonable degree of reliability their numbers in the State at a late period. In 1750 there must have been about 300, of whom 160 were sixteen years of age or older. Despite the fact that the French and Indian War brought further losses to the tribe, in the years of peace that followed the population reached 500 by 1780, the greater number of these living in the present Town of Leeds. The opening of Leeds to white settlement caused many of the Indians there to remove either further up the Androscoggin or into Canada.

At a late date scattered families of Anasagunticooks were living near towns in the valley. At Rumford, Bethel, and Canton a few Indians clung tenaciously to the lands of their fathers. Near Auburn, Sabatis, Lisbon, and Brunswick a small number of lone Indians continued to dwell. In 1773, six Anasagunticooks were dwelling in Bakerstown—now Poland and Minot. Their names were Philip, Swanton,

Lazarus, Cookish, Perepole—probably a relative of the more famous Perepole who made a deposition in connection with the Wharton deed, and Sabatis, without doubt a descendant of the line of chiefs of that name. In many other sections might be found a few members of the once powerful tribe.

The Indians remaining in the Valley of the Androscoggin lived usually in lone wigwams built by them near some English village or town. Their condition was one of abject poverty and sadness. They continued to hunt and fish for their sustenance for they knew little of other ways of procuring food. Some few made small clearings upon which they raised corn or potatoes, but the greater number engaged in no agricultural pursuits at all. Trapping remained popular among them and it was an easy matter, indeed, to barter their furs for the simple necessities which they could not produce. Some were engaged in the making of reed baskets for which they always found a ready market. Those skilled in the knowledge of roots and herbs gathered them for the alleviation of the ills of their white neighbors. They were friendly with the white man, but always remained aloof—the last sentinels of a broken, vanishing race; the lone survivors of the once powerful Anasagunticook nation.

Even after the withdrawal of the Anasagunticooks into the upper Androscoggin Valley and into Canada they continued to make two annual pilgrimages to the seacoast. Two purposes were accomplished upon these journeys: the more important was to visit the graves of their dead and to consecrate them anew; this ceremony performed, they sold their furs and passed on down to the seacoast where they hunted sea fowl. Their course on these trips was down the Androscoggin to the mouth of the Dead River up which they paddled, usually encamping at Leeds. Here they waited for a few days until the arrival of all members of the party who had scattered along the route on holy missions. They then divided into two parties for the remainder of the journey. One party returned to the Androscoggin River down which they wended their way to the sea. The other party crossed to Wilson Pond; worked along its waters to Anabessacook, thence Cobbosseecontee, following its outlet to the Kennebec and thus down to the sea.

Arriving along the coastline, the two parties fished and hunted for ducks in Merrymeeting Bay. By the use of smoke they cured fish and fowl in great quantities to be taken back to their abodes. Often the fish or fowl were dried in the sun, and the large quantities taken furnished a very substantial supply of winter food stores.

All members of the tribe made these pilgrimages except those who were too old and infirm to withstand the hardships incidental to it. The squaws and children were present to bring water, dress and cure the fish and fowl, and to perform such other duties as the warriors' dignity forbade them.

These journeys were always made in canoes and with full ceremonial tribal dress. The warriors were colored with bright paints, and wore the feather plumages so fascinating to their tastes in personal adornment. We may well suppose that this brilliant array wending its way down the Androscoggin presented a sight worth seeing. The last tribal trip to the sea was made in 1796, on which occasion they bade a last farewell to their few white friends on the lower Androscoggin waters, abandoned the graves of their ancestors to the watchful care of here and there a lone Indian in solitude, and returned to the broken fragments of their kinfolds of the Abnaki nation in Canada.

With the final visit of the Anasagunticooks to the Valley of the Androscoggin nearly two centuries had passed since the tribe had first been brought into contact with the white man. Misunderstanding and jealousy; sharp practices and dishonesty; cruelty and bloodshed; these all had characterized the relations of the two peoples. To the everlasting credit of the Anasagunticooks the fact remains that their advances to the early English explorers and settlers had been friendly and kindly. Throughout the intercourse of the two nations the many acts of kindness and faithfulness on the part of the Indians cannot be blotted from the pages of history. Had the colonies reciprocated their kindness and the white people treated them with a degree of fairness, thousands of innocent lives, both English and Indian, would have been spared the sacrifice.

The Indian was right in defending his homelands. Cowardly, indeed, would he have been to have given up his lands, without resistance, to the invaders. The Indian could not understand why the homes of his fathers should be peaceably delivered up to the hands of an overpowering foe. Nor would the Englishman countenance the resistance of a savage people to the exploration and colonization of lands claimed by the early British voyagers for their sovereigns. The resistance of the Indian was considered presumptuous by the English adventurers. Out of this misunderstanding grew all the hatred; all the misery; and all the hostility that had endured for nearly two hundred years.

We cannot, in justice, condemn the Anasagunticooks for improving every opportunity to engage their foes in mortal combat. If they contested the encroachments of the white settlers with all vigor and strategy peculiar to their race; and if their methods appear to have been cruel and barbarous, we cannot forget that they were struggling by the only means known to them, nor can we fail to admire their courage and determination when their methods of defense were so hopelessly inadequate.

Neither the Indians nor the English were wholly responsible for their inability to live in friendly intercourse. Both committed acts in their treatment of each other equally unwarranted and equally unpardonable. To both nations must we give credit for deeds of toleration and kindness, and both we must likewise condemn for unfairness and cruelty. Each was struggling for what he believed to be just and right; the English for new colonies and landed possessions; the Indians in defense of the only homeland they had ever known. The contest was inevitable.

It is not out of place to point out that in their relations with the Indians the French had always been more patient and gentle than the English. The latter had, at this time, developed little of the tact and self-control in empire building, which so markedly characterizes the British people of today. The French not only possessed favorable traits for colonization, but treated the Indians as brothers. They dwelt among them; shared their hardships; intermarried with them;

directed their religious instincts; and instructed them in many of the useful arts which did much to improve their situation in life. Naturally enough the Indian, in his hour of sore trouble, looked to the French for consolation, advice and assistance.

With the beginning in earnest of English colonization in Maine, the fate of the Anasagunticooks was sealed. They were struggling against the most fearful odds. They were unequal to the test, not alone in the matter of numbers, but in intellect and equipment as well. Their primitive weapons and crude plans of campaign were their own undoing. They could not withstand the determined effort of a foe superior in every respect, save perhaps, in sincerity and valor.

The clearing of the forested hills and valleys was a death blow to the Anasagunticooks. They were nowhere at home except in the chase, or gliding along some lake or stream in their canoes. Nature had endowed them with propensities befitting these surroundings alone. Such a race could live only in a country of woods and wild animals. Deprived of these, the Anasagunticooks pined, languished, and died broken-hearted.

Intermarriages with other tribes and with the French undermined their tribal identity, and gave rise to dual loyalties which would overthrow any people associated under a common government.

All influences were present to hasten the complete obliteration of the tribe.

No longer do the proud and powerful Anasagunticooks hold dominion over the Valley of the Androscoggin. Their race has vanished. Their villages are the sites of the white men's homes; their hunting grounds are the location of his fertile farms and busy towns; their valley the source of a mighty natural power, and the scene of a prosperous industrial development. But the memory of this once populous people lingers on to enrich and adorn the history of their State, and of the towns in which they had their homes.

In Volume 9, Number 3, of Sprague's Journal of Maine History appears a poem by Nellie Ricker of Winthrop, Maine, with which it seems appropriate to close this work.

PEJEPSCOT

All alone and unmolested
Dwelt a tribe of the Anasagunticooks
By the Androscoggin River,
Dwelt this tribe of the Pejepscots.

Up and down the mighty river
In canoes they paddled daily;
Through the forest roamed for hunting
All young braves of the tribe so dusky.

Then the white man came among them,
Built his cabin near their lodges
By the Androscoggin River,
River of the mighty waters.

Time went on, one day at evening
By the Androscoggin River,
Sat a hunter with his peace pipe,
Of the tribe of the Pejepscots.

Long he sat there thinking, dreaming
Of the people come among them,
Of the many pale-faced people
Who had settled there among them.

Then the smoke from out the peace pipe
Curled and wreathed and wandered skyward,
Till at last this dusky dreamer
Saw therein a mighty vision.

Saw beside that mighty river
Flickers of the lights and firesides,
That no longer came from camp-fires,
But from homes pale-faces builded.

Then he saw beside the river
Mighty wheels by water turning;
Heard the roar of bridled water
As it tumbled down the courses.

Then he rose, this dark-hued hunter,
Paddled back to tribe and kindred,
Told them of his dream and vision,
As the western sun was setting.

Years have gone, as have the red men,
From among the pale-faced people,
And we see no longer visions,
Visions as he saw at sunset.

Mighty wheels are there in motion,
Run by water where he paddled;
Logs are fallen by the river,
Where he sat and smoked the peace pipe.

He no longer sits there dreaming,
But the kindly, pale-faced people,
Ever mindful of the tribe so dusky,
Call the land for the Pejepsots.

SOME NOTED ANASAGUNTICOOKS

We are unfortunate, indeed, in not having preserved for us any line of succession of the chiefs of the Anasagunticook tribe. We know little of their noted personages. All that can be offered in the way of biography is a partial list of notables compiled from fragmentary and imperfect sources. These are unsatisfactory, but better cannot be had.

The first chief of whom we have knowledge was called Sabeona in the accounts prepared by Captain Gilbert of the ill-fated Popham colony. Sabeona had his village near the junction of the Androscoggin and Little—now the Sabatis—Rivers in the Town of Lisbon. It is undoubtedly from him that the line of chiefs bearing the name Sabatis is descended. What may have been his fate we are forced to yield up to conjecture. The only mention of the name appears in 1607.

Darumkin, a sagamore presumably of the Pejepsot village, sold land in Topsham to Thomas Gyles in 1669. He appears as a signatory to the Wharton deed, 1683, which

would seem to fix his domain near the seacoast, and within the limits of the Wharton purchase.

Tarumkin, chief sagamore of the Anasagunticooks, served as spokesman for the Abnaki at a conference held at Teconnet—now Winslow—in 1675. At this meeting he was a stalwart advocate of peace, despite the fact that his influence had been largely responsible for bringing on the first Indian War, 1675-78. He was a representative at the Casco conference and a signer of the Treaty of Casco, 1678. His village was at Canton Point, the tribal capital of the Anasagunticooks.

Warumbee—often spelled Worumbee, and sometimes Orumby—was a sachem of the tribe in 1676. He was one of the chiefs mentioned in the deed to Wharton. Imperfect evidence would indicate that he presided over either the Lisbon village, or over the fortified outpost at Laurel Hill, Auburn. In 1685 he was at the head of his warriors located at the Auburn fort and was prepared to repel a rumored Mohawk invasion of the Androscoggin Valley. For many years he was principal sachem of the Pejepscots, and later became sagamore of the whole Anasagunticook tribe.

Wehikermett was a sagamore who signed the deed to Wharton, 1683. We have no other mention of his name.

Wedon Domhegan signed the Wharton deed.

Neonongassett was a signer of the Wharton conveyance, as was also

Nimbanewett. All these are styled in the document as "Sagamores of the Anasagunticooks." The position in the tribe held by the last four was certainly unimportant because history unfolds to us no other record of their activities.

Perepole—a common tribesman, and not a tribal official—signed a deposition in connection with the Wharton deed. He was undoubtedly an ancestor of the Perepole who much later laid claim to all the land at Canton Point.

Kankamagus or Cancamigus was an important figure at Canton Point. He was originally the chief sagamore of the Pennacook tribe of New Hampshire. Fleeing before assaults of the Mohawks, he had located with the remnants of his tribe at the Canton Point encampment of the Anasagunti-

cooks. Here his skill and prowess in warfare won for him the place of sachem, from which he was advanced by election to the office of chief sagamore of the Anasagunticook tribe. He held a bitter hatred for the Mohawks, and in 1685 was united with Warumbee at the Auburn fort to repel an expected invasion. He was the principal signatory for the Anasagunticooks to the Treaty of Portsmouth, July 28, 1714. By some writers and adventurers he is given the name of John Harkins.

In 1703, Mesabomett was chief at the Canton Point village, and chief sagamore of the Anasagunticook tribe. He was present as tribal representative at the council held with Governor Dudley at Casco, June 20, 1703. His influence was on the side of peace. We find no other notice of him.

Wexar, sachem at the Pejepscot village, was also present at this conference, but so far as can be determined took no other part in the relations of the tribe with the English settlers.

Wenemoet, a leader of the tribe in Queen Anne's War, 1703-1713, was a signer of the Portsmouth Treaty ratifying the settlement of the struggle, 1714. This chief receives no other mention. What may have been his village we cannot say. Nor can we indicate beyond doubt the abode of

Wohonombamet, who likewise signed the Treaty of Portsmouth for the Anasagunticooks.

At this conference the name of Sabatis first appears. His village was located near Lisbon on the river that bears his name. His signature appears upon the Treaty of Portsmouth. The Treaty of Georgetown, 1717, also bears his name. At this time he seems to have been the chief sagamore of the tribe. He was a signer of the Treaty of 1727, and left a long line of descendants of the same name. It is reasonable to suppose that Sabatis was a descendant of Sabenoa.

Sam Humphries, designated as a sagamore, also signed the Georgetown Treaty, 1717.

For the next ten years we find mention of the name of no Anasagunticook sagamore. We are unable to identify

other chiefs until the Dummer Treaty of 1727 was drawn and signed. At this time

Auyaummowett, sometimes spelled Ausummowett, was the Captain and Councillor of the Anasagunticook tribe, and brother of the chief sagamore, whose name we do not know. The name is also spelled Jummay, the latter appearing as the signature to a letter addressed to Governor Dummer, and dated at Richmond, July 7, 1727. He was a leader of much ability, and was chosen Orator for all the tribes at the Falmouth Conference, 1727. His dignity of bearing, his pure language, and his candid conduct, won him the respect and confidence of the English commissioners. His dwelling was at Canton Point, and he was later raised to the position of chief sagamore of the Anasagunticook tribe.

Among other signers and representatives to the conference of 1727, the Anasagunticooks sent:

Pierresongch,
Loror,
Backbaunumbaumett,
Baquabaret, alias Nathaniel,
Saaroom,
Stzabackaum,
Schowess,
Magnowandoeck,
Squaduke,
Erremaneeseck,
Praussoway, and
Sazack, son of Beawando.

This is the only place where mention of the names of these Indians appears. Some of them were probably sachems, and later sagamores. Others were doubtless men who had been chosen as representatives because of their prowess in war, or wisdom in council.

Again we have a break in the succession of Anasagunticook chiefs. Until the treaty of 1749 no mention of members or rulers of the tribe can be discovered by even the most diligent search.

Saawaramet was the chief sagamore at Canton Point, and, consequently, in the Androscoggin Valley, in 1749,

when negotiations opened at Falmouth. Together with the famous Loron of the Tarratines, Saawaramet was the most conspicuous figure at the discussions, and both the Indians and the English recognized his superior abilities, and treated him with cordiality and respect. He was the principal signer for the Anasagunticooks to the treaty. Some few years later he settled opposite Quebec with a portion of the members of his tribe.

Other signatories to this treaty for the Anasagunticooks and the Wawenocks were:

Assaado,
Waaununga,
Saquish,
Wareedeon, and
Wawawnunka.

All these were designated as sagamores and sachems, but since they were from both the Anasagunticook and the Wawenock tribes, it is an impossibility to distinguish between them.

While we cannot learn the names of other chiefs, William Willis names Robinhood as an Anasagunticook sagamore in the First Indian War. But this is obviously a mistake, since that Indian was, at the time, the principal chief of the Canibas, and was then living at Norridgewock.

Any complete account of the Anasagunticooks must mention the names of two other Indians famous in the Valley of the Androscoggin.

No list of conspicuous Anasagunticooks would be complete without mention of the Indian woman, Molloket. She had removed to the St. Francis tribe about 1755, with her family, who had settled there from Canton Point. In later years she returned to Maine, living at Fryeburg, Andover and Bethel. For a time she was the wife of Sabatus, a refugee from the Sabatis village. They had three children. One daughter, Molly Susup, was born to her by a previous marriage. She subsisted by hunting and fishing, and was skilled in the preparation of roots and herbs for medicinal purposes. She had been converted to Christianity, and exemplified a truly Christian spirit in the many deeds of

kindness which she performed for white settlers of the upper Androscoggin. At her death she was buried at Andover, Maine, having had a Christian funeral. She was said to have been more than 100 years of age. Her name has been spelled in many ways: Molly Ockett; Mollyloket, Mollyrocket, Mollyockett, and Mollynocket.

Metalluck, a common tribesman, lived for many years in the most northerly portion of the valley, at times on the Magalloway River, and later on an island in Umbagog Lake. Governor Lincoln paid him several visits and the two were on terms of intimacy. Metalluck was probably the last Anasagunticook in the valley, living here as late as 1832. Two sons, Parmagumet and Wilumpi, and a daughter who married a white man by the name of Moulton, are believed to have been the last surviving Anasagunticooks.

VARIOUS SPELLINGS

In any research into the early annals of our State, much confusion and doubt arises from the multiplicity of forms in which the spelling of proper names appears. To obviate these difficulties involves much study and thought. To illustrate the problem, and to clear the way and ease the task of one who may wish to delve further into the subject matter of this work, it is proper to note some of the varied forms in which common names appear.

The word Abnaki has many varied spellings, the forms more frequently found being:

Abanaquois	Abinokkie
Abenakias	Abnasque
Abenakkis	Abonnekec
Abenaquioicts	Aubinantee
Abenaquione	Akotsakannka
Abenatiquas	Ajuanoxgi

ANDROSCOGGIN

This name is said to appear in no less than 60 different forms, all of which are apparently minor modifications of the following:

- "Ambrosecoggin"—Indian deed to Wharton.
"Amoscoggin"—Collections of the Maine Hist. Soc.
Series I., Vol. III., p. 32.
"Ameriscoggin"—Ibid.
"Aurconganuntocook"—Ibid.—Note.
"Andros-Coggin"—Ibid., p. 333. Deposition of Philip
Lewis.
"Amariscoggin"—Ibid., Vol. IV., p. 104.
"Aumaughcongen"—Ibid.
"Aucongannunticook"—Ibid., p. 95.
"Amerescoggin"—Ibid., Series II., Vol. I., p. 275.
"Ammoriscongin"—Ibid., Vol. V., p. 371.
"Agnascorongan"—Ibid., Vol. VI., p. 401.
"Arumascogin"—Ibid., Series III., Vol. II., p. 241.

ANASAGUNTICOOK

This word most commonly appears in the following forms:

- "Amasagunteg"—Collections of Me. Hist. Soc., Series L.,
Vol. III., p. 35.
"Ammarascoggin"—Ibid.
"Arresaguntoocook"—Ibid., pp. 386 on.
"Assagunticooks"—Ibid.
"Amonoscoggin"—Ibid., Vol. V., p. 253; Vol. VI., p. 261.
"Armouchiguois"—Ibid., Vol. III., p. 305. Account of
Father Pierre Baird.
"Ameriscoggins"—Ibid., Series II., Vol. III., p. 11.
"Aresequenticooks"—Ibid., p. 264.
"Arsegunticook"—Ibid., Vol. X., p. 95.

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Volume III., pps. 321-23, 362, 412, 439.

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Indian Conferences and Treaties:

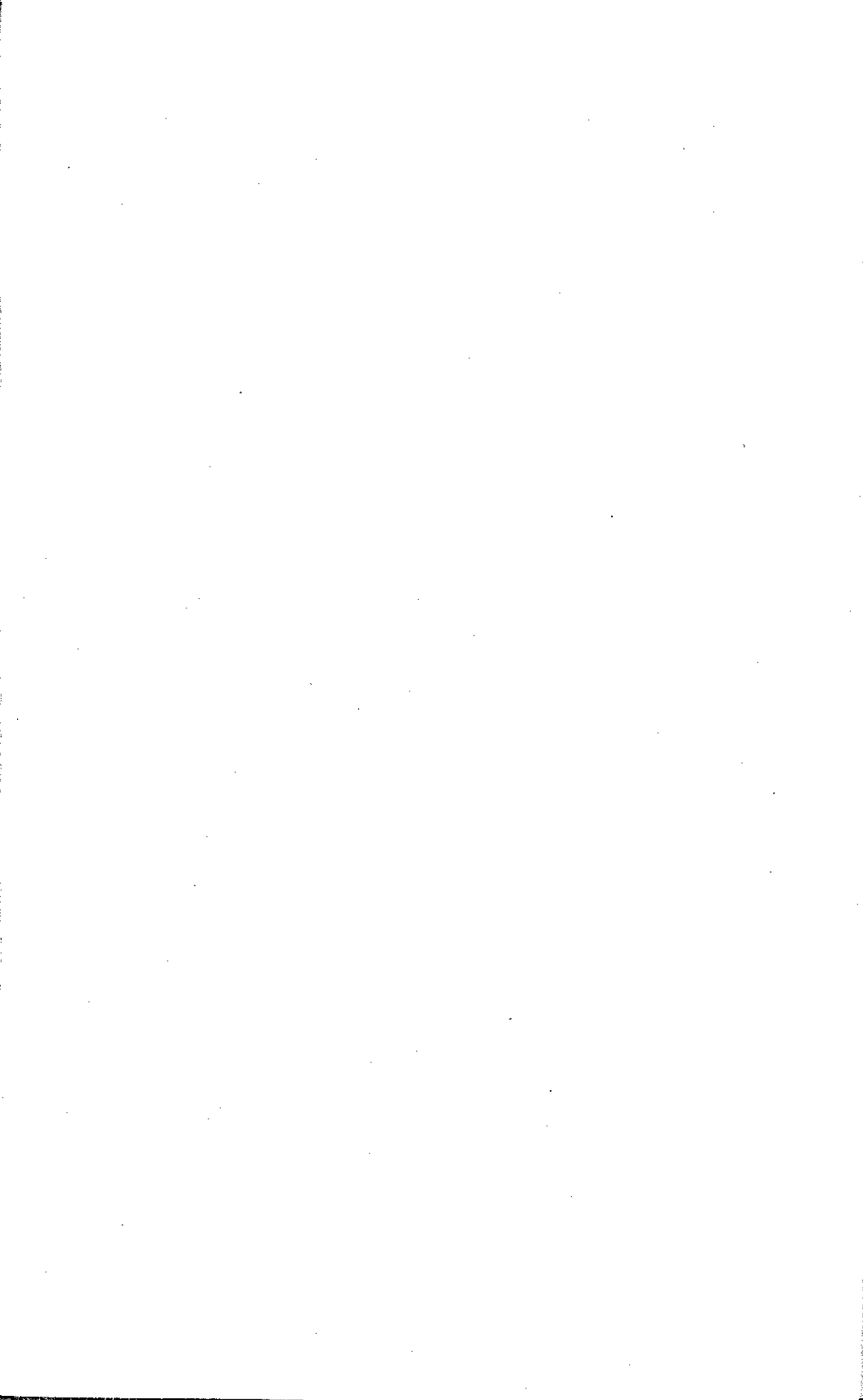
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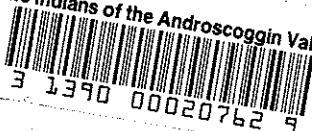
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