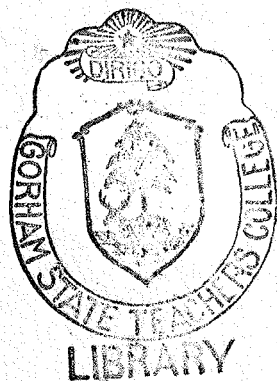
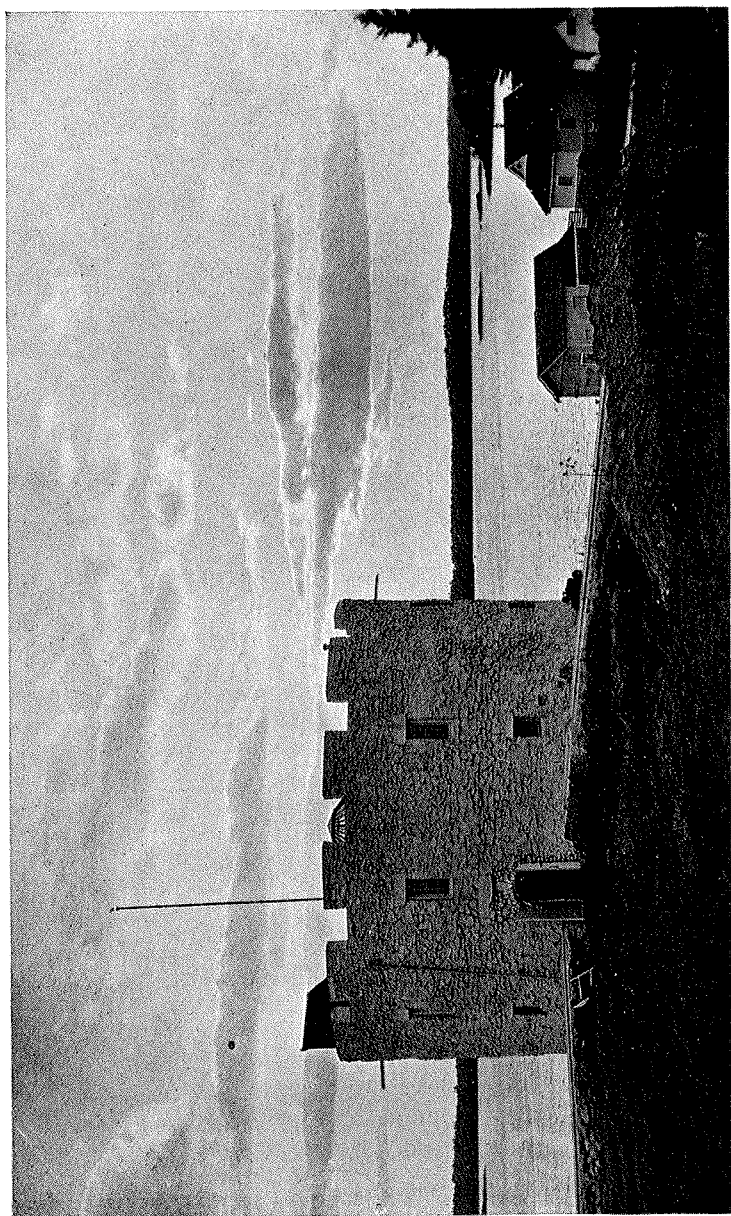


Nellie Woodbury Jordan
from the Rindells
August 10, 1931 at
Pemaquid 3536 8





MEMORIAL TOWER OF FORT WILLIAM HENRY, PEMAQUID

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A HISTORY OF PEMAQUID

WITH SKETCHES OF

MONHEGAN, POPHAM AND CASTINE

BY

ARLITA DODGE PARKER

BOSTON, MASS.

MACDONALD & EVANS

1925

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P238

To

My Mother

CLARA PARTRIDGE DODGE

WHO WAS BORN IN PEMAQUID
AND WHOSE FAMILY AND ANCESTORS
HAVE RESIDED THERE
FOR MANY GENERATIONS

Det. 58

PREFACE

In the following narrative much space has been devoted to the contest, during a century and a half, between the French and English for territory in New England. In that struggle events at Pemaquid played often a decisive part. Much space has been devoted to Castine and the missions there because, although the various events which occurred at Pemaquid have been frequently rehearsed, the background of its history in the history of New France and Acadia has been, perhaps, somewhat neglected in previous works on Pemaquid.

To Dr. Henry S. Burrage, State Historian of Maine, the author wishes to express her gratitude for his personal assistance. She wishes further to acknowledge her deep indebtedness to Dr. Burrage's written works, particularly to that invaluable book, "The Beginnings of Colonial Maine."

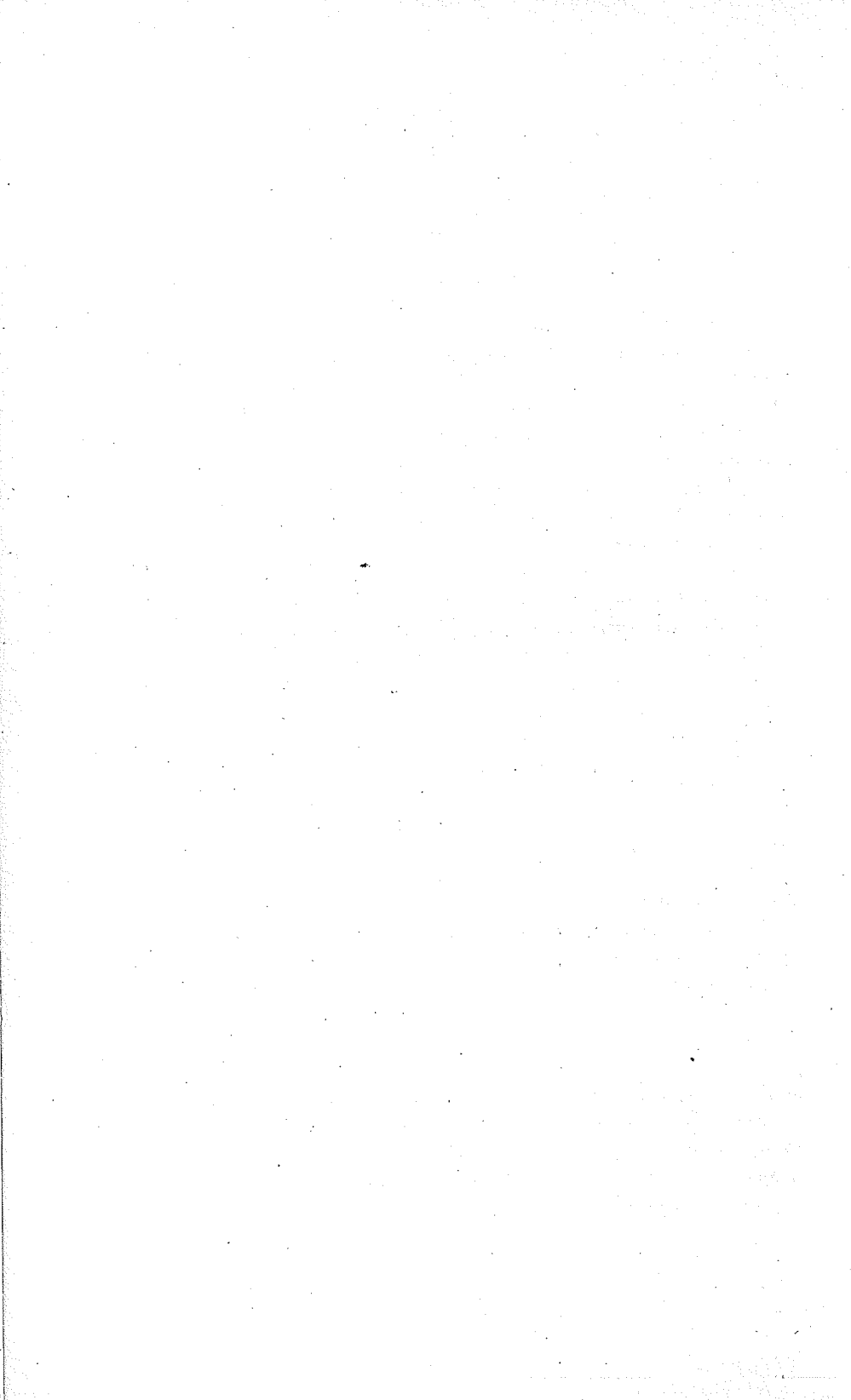
To William D. Patterson, Esq. of Wiscasset, Maine, the author is indebted for his painstaking interest in her book, and for the contribution of valuable information concerning the local history of the region.

To Mr. Patterson, to the Hon. Frank B. Nichols of Bath, Maine, and to Mr. Charles B. Meserve of New Harbor, Maine—the Commissioners of Fort William Henry—the author is indebted for their courtesy and co-operation.

To Mr. Nichols the author wishes to express her sincere appreciation for the kindest encouragement during the preparation of this work.

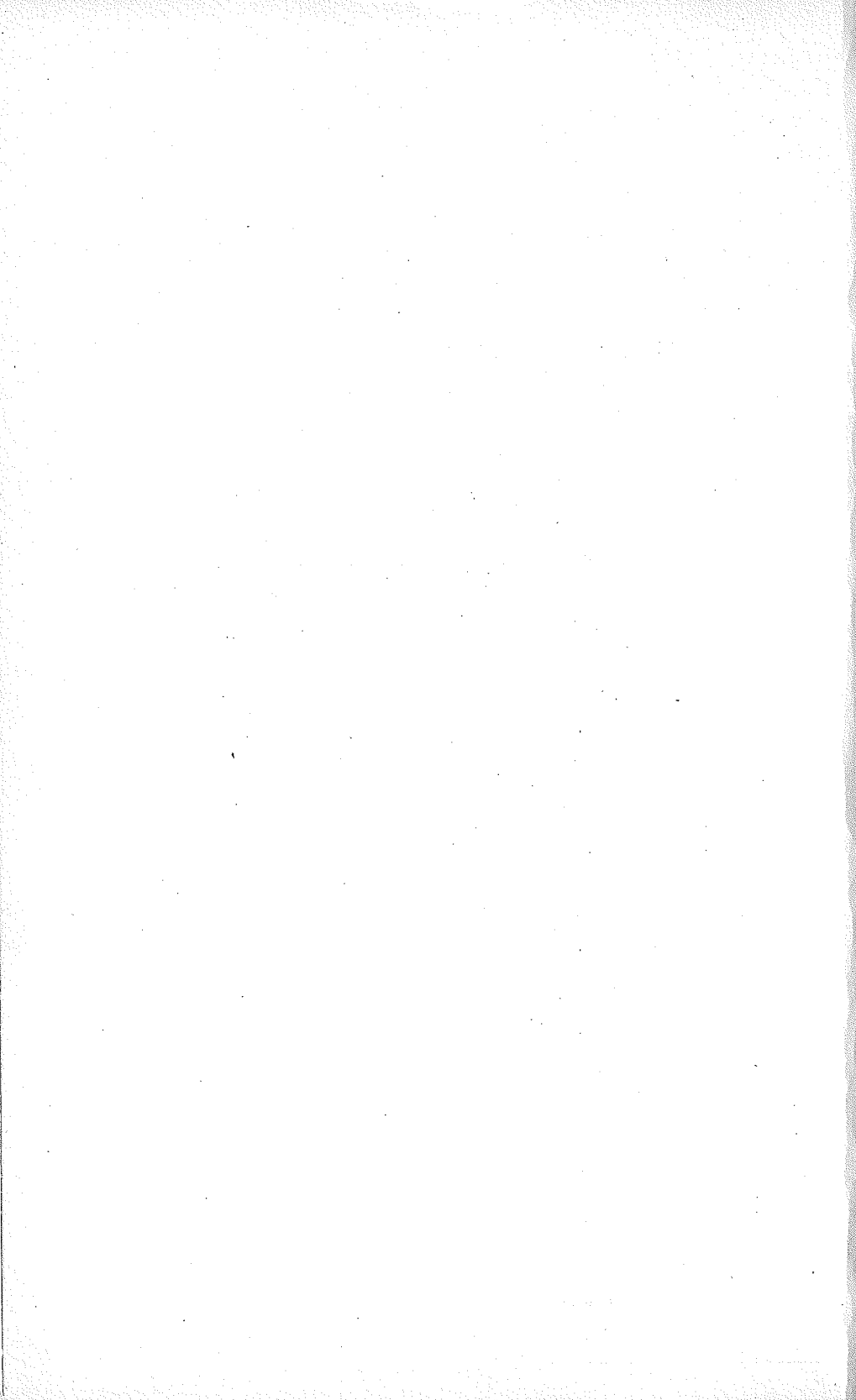
The author's thanks are due to Prof. Warren K. Moorehead of the Andover Museum for permission to reproduce in these pages his map of the paved streets and cellars located by him at Pemaquid during his excavations there in 1923.

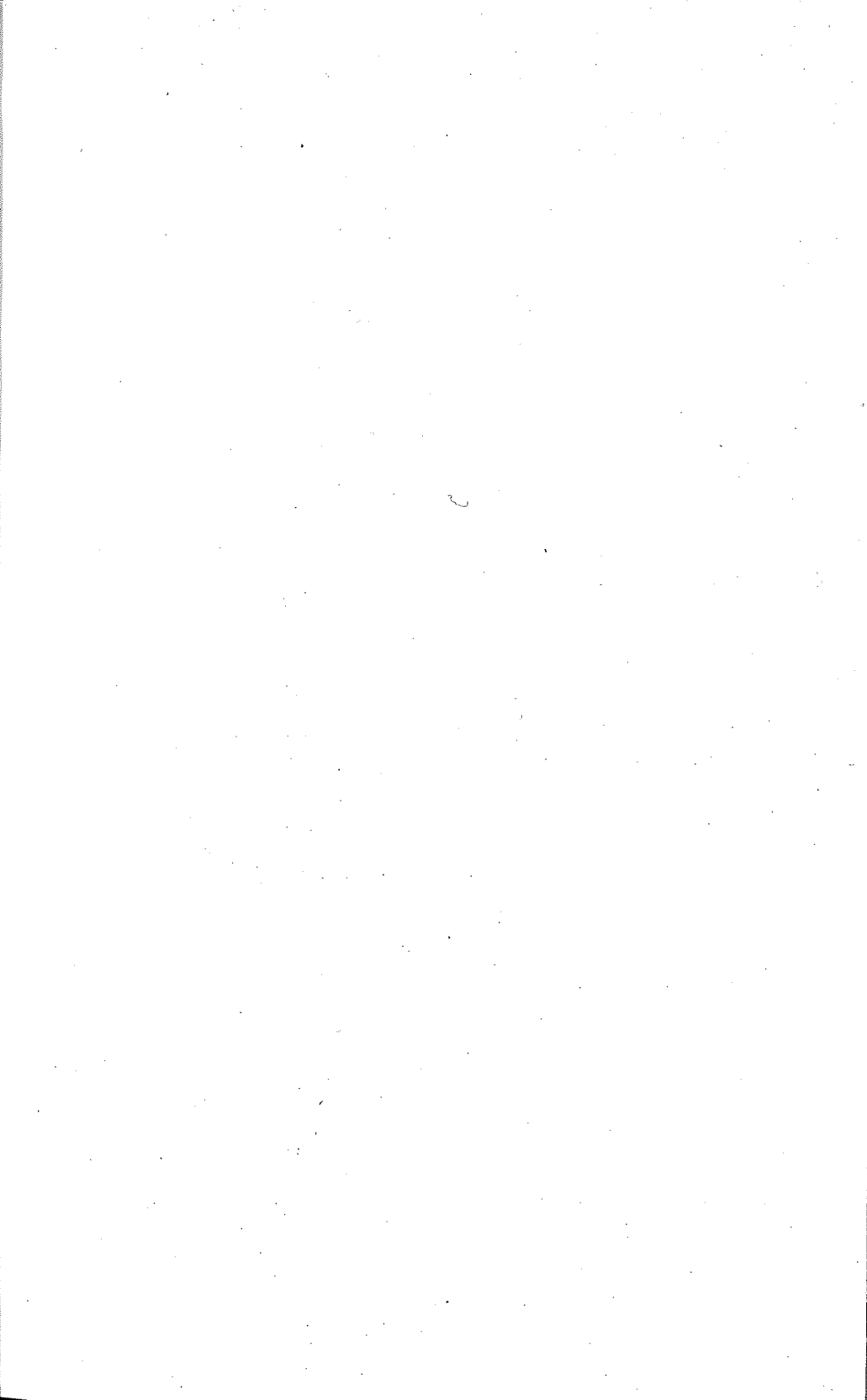
Footnotes have been omitted because they seemed unsuited to the nature of this work, but the author has endeavored to incorporate into the text itself some mention of the works consulted, especially the most modern and authoritative.

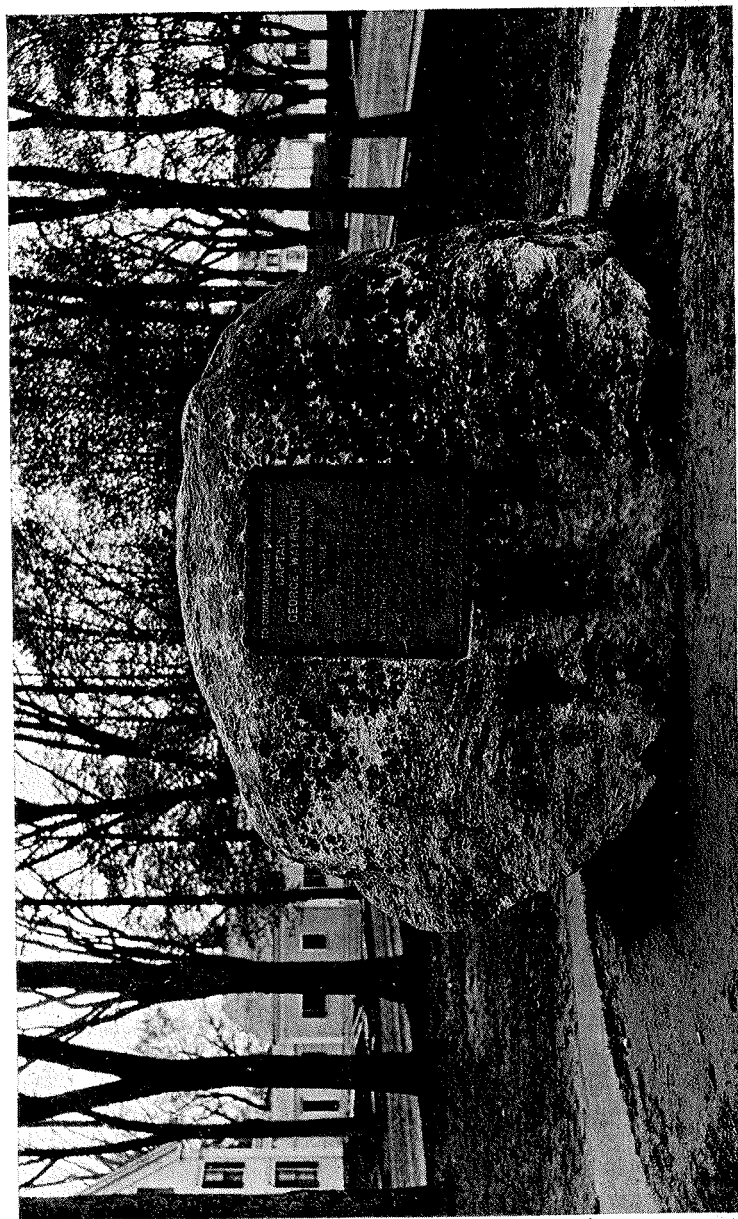


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WAYMOUTH MEMORIAL IN THOMASTON

CHAPTER I

PEMAQUID AND THE FIRST EXPLORERS

The Pemaquid country was first known to Englishmen, so far as any written narrative relates, when it was visited by George Waymouth and his men, twenty-nine in number, June 3, 1605. Waymouth's ship was not the first that had skirted this rocky shore, but it was the first English ship that had come near enough to the Pemaquid peninsula to pass under the very eyes of that tribe of the "Abenakis," or eastern savages, known as "Wawenocks." How Pemaquid became known to Englishmen long before many now more famous places is told by James Rosier, who accompanied Waymouth and was the chronicler of the voyage. Rosier's narrative is so fascinating that the story of that voyage is best told, so far as space permits, in Rosier's own words. He is indeed the one authority for the details of the events about to be related.

Waymouth put to sea from Ratcliffe, England, March 5, 1605 in a ship called the "Archangel." He first saw the coast of the new world near Cape Cod, where, because of sands and shoals, he dared not anchor. He sailed north, hunting for land, and "much marvelled" that he "descried it not." "We much desired land," Rosier writes, "and sought for it." "Friday, the 17th of May, about six o'clock at night we descried the land . . . but because it blew a great gale of winde, the sea very high and neere night, not fit to come upon an unknowen coast, we stood off till two o'clock in the morning, being Saturday; then standing in with it again, we descried it by eight a clock in the morning, being north-east from us. It appeared a meane high land, as we after found it, being but an island of some six miles in compasse, but," says Rosier, "I hope the most fortunate ever yet discovered." So Monhegan—for such it was—enters history. Rosier records their landing on the island at two o'clock that day, making Monhegan the first spot in New England where it is definitely recorded that Englishmen ever stood.

Rosier describes Monhegan as an island "woody, grown with firre, birch, oke, and beech, as farre as we saw along the shore; and so likely to be within. On the verge grow gooseberries, strawberries, wild pease, and wild rose bushes. The water issued forth down the rocky cliffes in many places: and much fowle of divers kinds breed upon the shore and rocks.

"While we were at shore, our men aboard with a few hooks got above thirty great cods and hadocks, which gave us a taste of the great plenty of fish which we found afterward wheresoever we went upon the coast.

"From hence we might discern the maine land from the west-south-west to the east-north-east and a great way . . . up into the maine we might discern very high mountaines, though the maine seemed but low land.

"The next day being Whit-Sunday; because we rode too much open to the sea and windes, we weyed anker about twelve a clocke, and came along to the other ilands more adjoyning to the maine, and in the rode directly with the mountaines, about three leagues from the first iland where we had ankered.

"When we came neere unto them (sounding all along in a good depth) our captaine manned his ship-boat and sent her before with Thomas Cam, one of his mates, whom he knew to be of good experience, to sound and search between the ilands, for a safe place for our shippe to ride in; in the meane while we kept aloofe at sea, having given them in the boat a token to weffe in the ship, if he found a convenient harbor; which it pleased God to send us, farre beyond our expectations, in a most safe berth defended from all windes.

"We all with great joy praised God for his unspeakable goodness, who had from so apparent danger delivered us, and directed us upon this day into so secure a harbour: in remembrance whereof we named it Pentecost Harbor, we arriving there that day out of our last harbour in England, from whence we set saile upon Easterday."

So with a paean of praise Rosier reaches that point in his narrative where the mariners find a safe harbour. This harbour which Waymouth reverently named "Pentecost" was among the George's Islands, the group next east of Monhegan, and about twelve miles distant. To this group the name given by Waymouth to Monhegan—"St. George's"—must have been

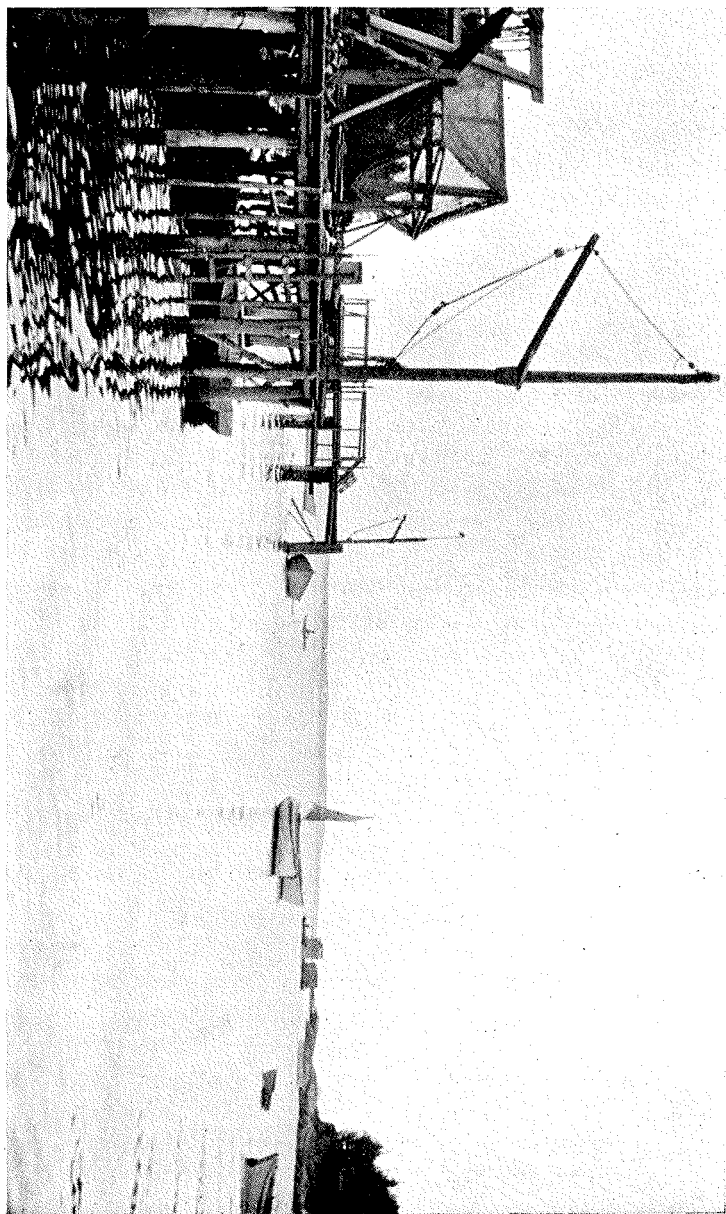
transferred very soon, for John Smith in 1616 writes of Monhegan by its ancient Indian name. On one of the George's Islands, now known as Allen's, Waymouth set up a cross, after the quaint custom of explorers of that day. "We set up a crosse," Rosier writes, "upon the shore side upon the rockes." Waymouth and his men spent a week in exploration. They discovered on the mainland directly opposite their island anchorage a river, now called St. George's River, of which Rosier gives a glowing and somewhat exaggerated description.

It was on the afternoon of May 30th that Waymouth's men first saw the savages. They were Wawenock braves who late in May had left their wigwams in Pemaquid to go "fishing and fowling" down the shores in the St. George's region. Here is Rosier's description of their sudden appearance to the men on the Archangel. "This day, about five a'clocke in the afternoone, we in the shippe espied three canoas comming towards us, which went to the iland adjoining, where they went a shore, and very quickly had made a fire, about which they stood beholding our ships: to whom we made signes with our hands and hats, weffing unto them to come unto us, because we had not seene any of the people yet. They sent one canoa with three men, one of which, when they came neere unto us, spake in his language very lowd and boldly: seeming as though he would know why we were there, and by pointing with his oare towards the sea, we conjectured he ment we should be gone."

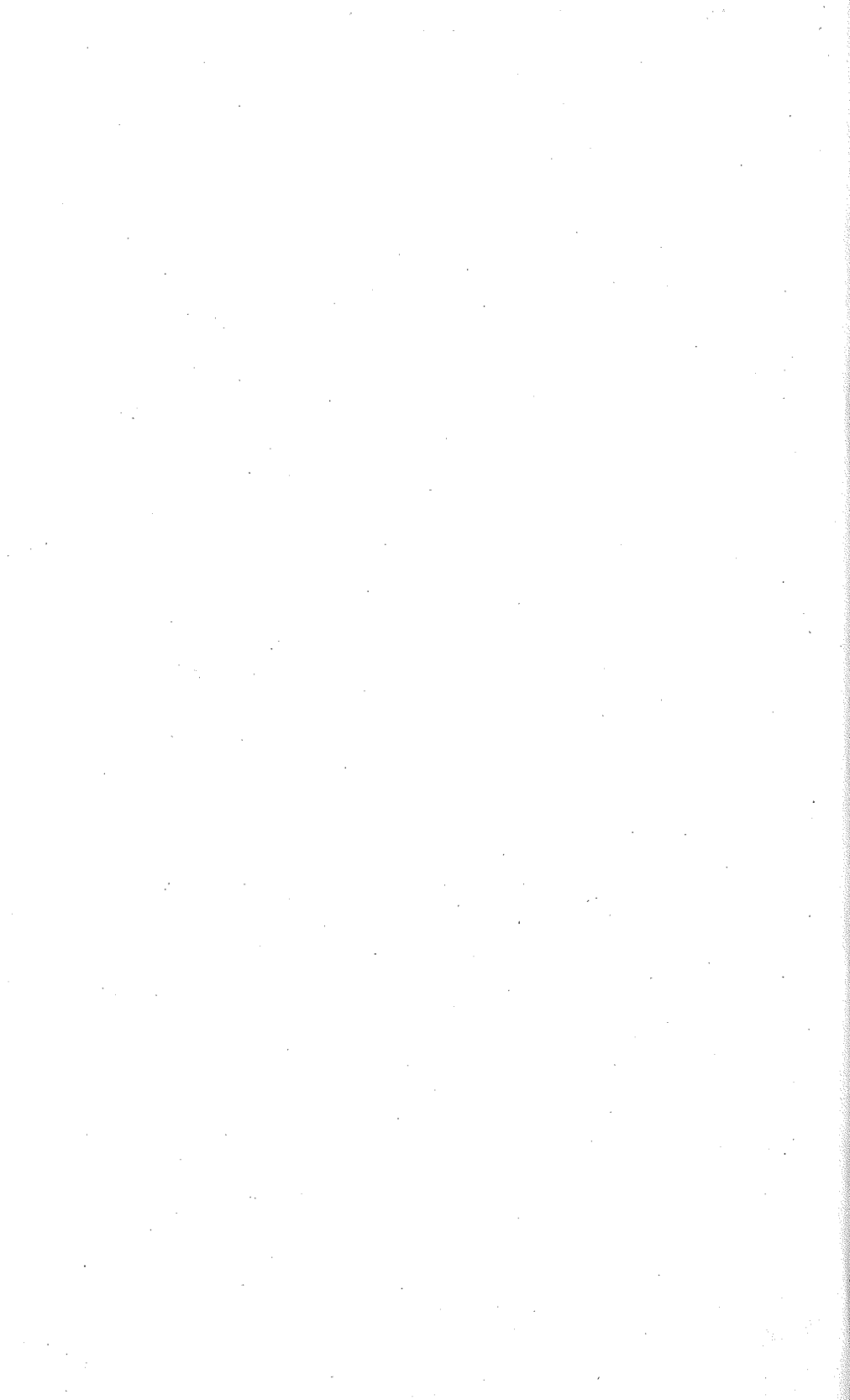
The scene is picturesque and easy to imagine; the Englishmen crowding to the rail of the "Archangel," curious to behold the mysterious beings in the birch canoe; the savages who had never seen a white man, nonplussed and alarmed by their sudden discovery among the islands, of the English ship with strange beings on her decks whose heads gleamed yellow in the sun. It is dramatic and prophetic, too, that first encounter—the Englishmen nonchalantly curious on the deck of their firm ship quietly moored among the strangers' islands—the dusky natives protesting against their presence vehemently but vainly from their frail canoe. One can see the naked Abenaki savage standing tall and straight in his canoe, gesturing with his paddle to the English to be gone by the same sea by which they had so strangely come.

Rosier tells how they enticed the savages into intercourse. "But when we shewed them knives and their use, by cutting of stickes and other trifles, as combs and glasses, they came close aboard our ship, as desiring to entertaine our friendship. To these we gave such things as we perceived they liked, when wee showed them the use: bracelets, rings, peacocke feathers, which they stucke in their haire, and tabacco pipes. After their departure to their company on the shore, presently came foure other in another canoa: to whom we gave as to the former, using them with as much kindnes as we could." Overcome by curiosity and somewhat reassured, they "seemed all very civil and merrie." They slept that night on the shore "right against" the mooring of the ship, reappearing very early the next morning. Rosier tells how they "enticed" three of the savages into the ship "and under the deckes," entertained them with food, and gradually led them into barter. "I signed unto them," Rosier writes, "that if they would bring me such skins as they ware I would give them knives, . . . which the chiefe of them promised to do by that time the sunne should be beyond the middest of the firmament." "The next day being Saturday," Rosier says, "I traded with the salvages all the fore noone upon the shore . . . where for knives, glasses, combes, and other trifles to the valew of foure or five shillings, we had 40 good beaver skins, otters skins, sables, and other small skins." The savages, Rosier says, made it clear that they had nothing with them for traffic, but would indicate "by pointing to one part of the maine eastward . . . that their Bashabes (that is, their King) had great plenty of furies and much tabacco." Several times the savages invited the English to accompany them to their houses, and on "Munday the third of June, when they had brought our men aboard, they came about our ship, earnestly by signes desiring that we would go with them along to the maine."

It is here that the history of Pemaquid begins, for the "maine" to which they guided Waymouth on Monday, June 3, 1605, was the Pemaquid peninsula. "Our captaine," Rosier writes, "manned the light-horseman with as many men as he could well, which were about fiteene with rowers and all; and we went along with them. Two of their canoas they sent away before, and they which lay aboard us all night, kept company



ENTRANCE TO NEW HARBOR



with us to direct us. . . . They in their canoa with three oares, would at their will go ahead of us and about us, when we rowed with eight oares strong; such was their swiftnesse—" "When we came neere the point where we saw their fires (the entrance to New Harbor), where they intended to land, and where they imagined some few of us would come on shore with our merchandize . . . when they had often numbered our men very diligently, they scoured away to their company, not doubting we would have followed them. But when we perceived this, and knew not either their intents, or number of salvages on the shore, our captaine after consultation stood off, and wefted them to us." Both sides temporized. Finally one of the Englishmen, Owen Griffen, went on shore to reconnoitre, and one Indian came aboard the pinnace as a hostage. Griffin returned to the ship to report that there were "two hundred and eighty-three salvages, every one with his bowe and arrowes, with their dogges and wolves, which they keepe tame at command," and "not anything to exchange at all." The English, somewhat staggered by the great number of savages as compared with their own company, became alarmed, and suspected treachery. They "would have drawen us up further into a little narrowe nooke of a river," Rosier says, "for their furies, as they pretended." The "narrowe nooke of a river" must have been New Harbor; thus a total stranger might describe that narrow inlet of the sea. But the white men dared not follow the savages, or so the narrator asserts. "These things considered, we began to joyne them in the ranke of other salvages, who had beene by travellers in most discoveries found very treacherous; never attempting mischiefe until by some remisnesse, fit opportunity affordeth them certaine ability to execute the same. Wherefore, after good advice taken, we determined so soone as we could to take some of them, least (being suspitious we had discovered their plots) they should absent themselves from us." On this pretext, they captured five savages. This was probably part of their design from the beginning as the narrative elsewhere betrays, the fear of treachery being given merely as a plausible excuse. Three of the savages the English lured on board their boats, and two of them they overcame by main force on the shore. Just where they captured them—whether at New Harbor, as the position in the narrative of the statement of their

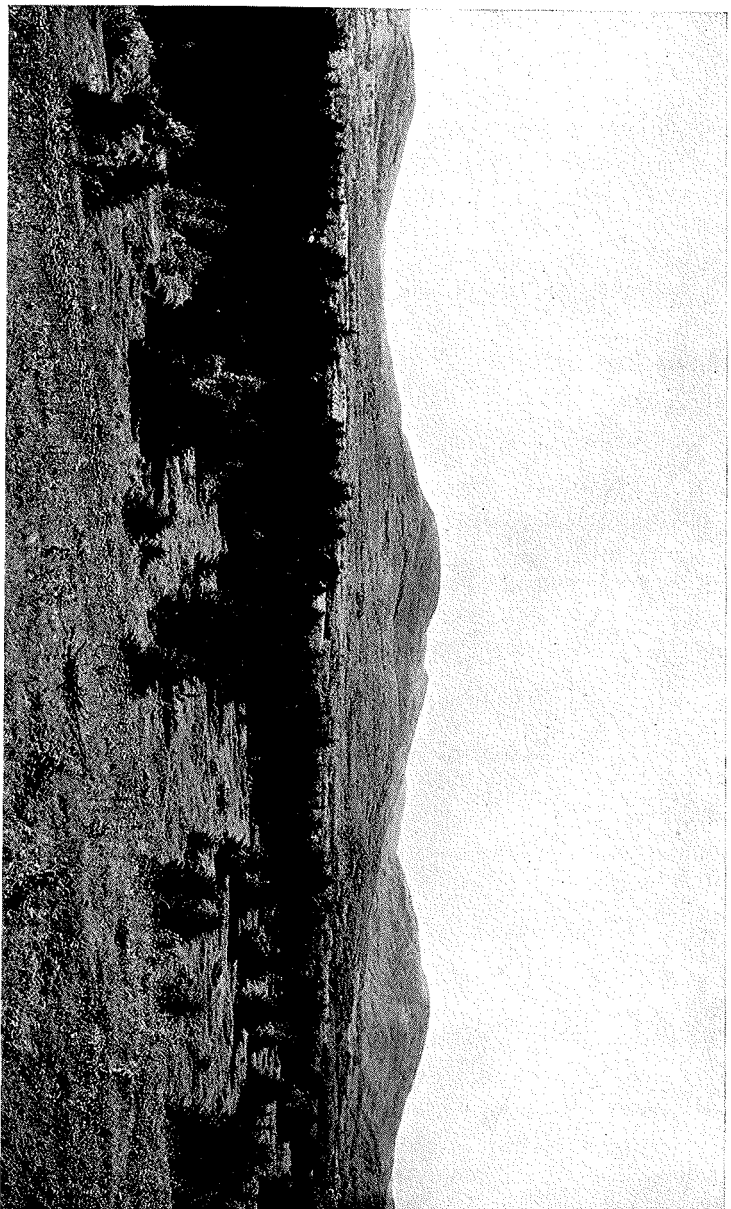
capture would suggest, or on one of the George's Islands—Rosier does not make clear. Two of them at least were savages of Pemaquid. The narrator gives their names as follows:

“Tahanedo, a sagamo or commander
Amoret)
Skicowaros) Gentlemen
Maneddo)
Saffacomoit, a servant.”

The name “Tahanedo” was written by Gorges later in his account of the savages as “Dehamda,” but it was written more commonly as “Nahanada.” The name of the third savage is elsewhere written as “Sketwarroes” and “Skidwarres.” The fate of each of Waymouth's captives will be mentioned later. Strange to say, whatever may have been the feelings of the other savages after the capture, we hear of no allusion on their part to their kidnapped comrades. Waymouth acted very warily, avoiding them, however; and when on two occasions the savages approached the ship, fearful lest they might discover the captives in the hold, he discouraged any prolonged visit.

On June 11th the voyagers ascended a second time a river they had discovered on May 30th, known today as St. George's River. Sailing some distance up into the river, and leaving six men aboard the light horseman, Capt. Waymouth and ten of the Englishmen, fully armed, disembarked, and started to march to the mountains on the main. The day was so hot, however, and their armor so heavy, that they became discouraged. After travelling four miles and passing over three hills, they became weary of “so tedious and laborsom a travel,” and although they believed that they were distant only a league from the mountains, they gave up the attempt to reach them, returning in the light horseman to their ship.

On their way thither they encountered the savages once more. “We espied a canoa,” says Rosier, “comming from the further part of the cod of the river eastward, which hasted to us; wherein, with two others, was he who refused to stay for a pawne: and his comming was very earnestly importing to have one of our men to go lie on shore with their Bashabes, who was there on shore as they signed. . . . This we perceived to be only a meere device to get possession of any of our men, to



THE CAMDEN MOUNTAINS TOWARD WHICH WYOMOUTH MARCHED

ransome all those which we had taken, which their naturall policy could not so shadow, but we did easily discover and prevent." This is the last episode connected with the savages which Rosier relates.

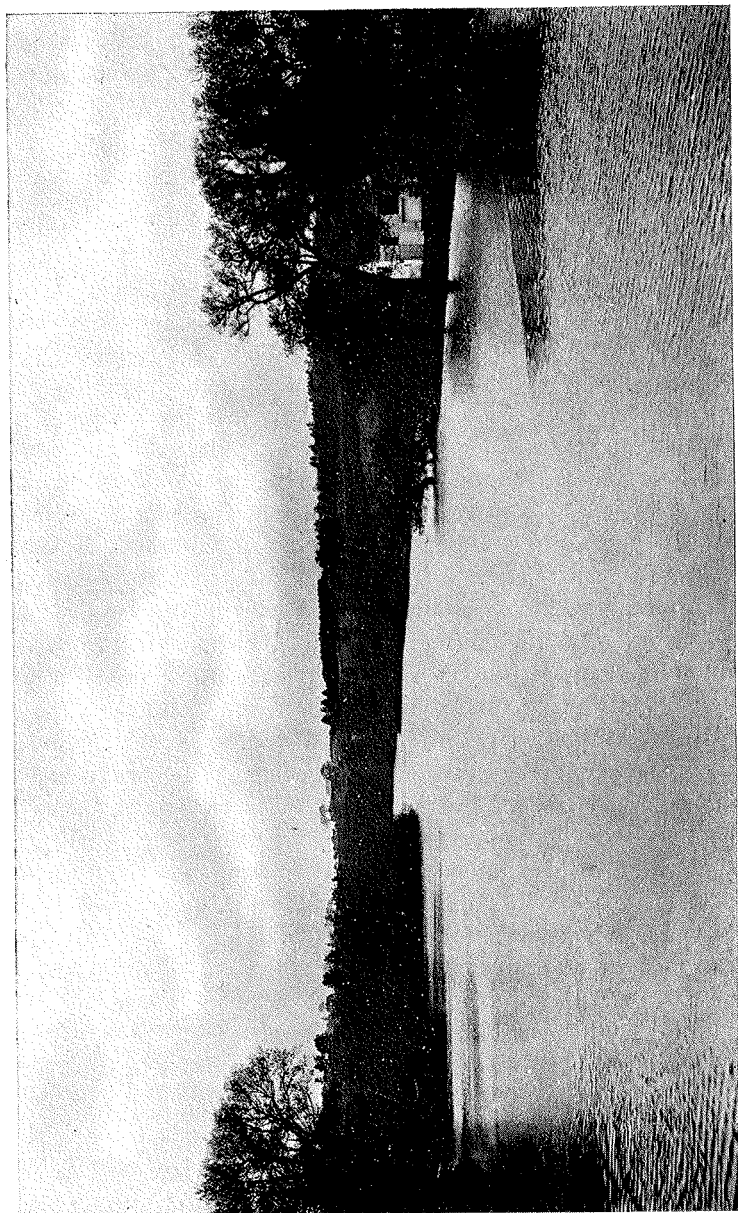
The next day they resumed their exploration of the river, searching particularly that "part of the river which trended westward into the maine." At this point they erected a cross. They believed they had ascended the river about twenty leagues. Nowhere did they find any evidences that civilized men had been there before them. Waymouth's ship remained in St. George's Harbor until Sunday, June 16th, when "the winde being faire," it set sail for England.

The voyage had come about as follows. George Waymouth, a man of some education, and a student of mathematics, ship-building and fortification, was engaged in 1605 by the Earl of Southampton (Shakespeare's friend) and his son-in-law, Thomas Arundel, the Baron of Wardour, to explore the coast of New England, and discover a suitable place for a plantation. That such was the object of the voyage Rosier himself states; he writes of the place explored as "answerable to the intent of our discovery, being fit for any nation to inhabit." And Owen Griffin, one of Waymouth's men, is spoken of as "one of two we were to leave in the country if we had thought it needful or convenient." DeMonts, a Frenchman, had been granted in 1603, by Henry IV of France, all the land from the St. John's to the present Philadelphia. The English knew the French were becoming active on this coast, and determined to discover what was being done, and to compete. Rosier explains that he refrained from publishing the narrative of their adventures until "some honourable gentlemen of good worth and qualitie and merchants of good sufficiency and judgement . . . have at their owne charge . . . undertaken the transporting of a colony for the plantation thereof." Rosier expresses fear lest the publication of his narrative may be of too much service to "some forrein nation," and states that there has been an unsuccessful effort on the part of such a nation to "obtain their purpose in conveying away our salvages which was busily in practice. . . . And this is the cause that I have neither written of the latitude or variation most exactly observed by our capitaine."

Rosier's intentional obscurity led to much controversy as to

the scene of Waymouth's explorations. All writers were agreed that his landfall was Monhegan, and that Monhegan was the island visited for wood and water, but historians claimed erroneously that Waymouth's "Pentecost" was Boothbay Harbor, while the river explored by him was identified by some as the Kennebec, by others as the Penobscot. The controversy hinged principally on the statement of Rosier that from their anchorage near Monhegan they sailed "in the road directly with the mountaines" and so sailing among the islands found a safe haven for their ship, and upon his account of their movements on June 12 when, having sailed up the river to "the codde thereof," the captain and ten of the crew marched across the country towards the mountains, which they estimated to be but three miles distant. Those who held the river explored to have been the Kennebec believed the mountains descried from Monhegan to have been the White Mountains of New Hampshire. These mountains are sometimes faintly discernible from the heights of Monhegan on a clear day, yet it seems hardly credible that men would land anywhere on the banks of the Kennebec with the notion of reaching the White Mountains on foot by a journey of three miles. The St. George's River runs in the direction of the Union and Camden mountains, visible all the way as one journeys up that river. Only the St. George's River fits into the narrative of Rosier. The Penobscot theory was untenable because the mouth of that river is too remote from Waymouth's anchorage for him to have sailed up into the river about forty miles, as Rosier states he did, and to have returned to the ship within twenty-four hours.

The distances as given by Rosier are too great, of course, for the St. George's, and his description of that river is very glowing and exaggerated, but we must remember the description is from an Englishman's point of view. There are other very potent reasons for accepting the St. George's theory based upon the movements of another expedition, which will be discussed in a later chapter. Dr. Burrage in his "Beginnings of Colonial Maine," gives a résumé of the whole discussion, which should settle forever any question on this point. Dr. Burrage publishes in his work the Simancas map of 1610, and points out that on that map a cross appears on the St. George's River



THE ST. GEORGE'S, WAYMOUTH'S RIVER

(given there its Indian name "Tahanock") at the very point where Rosier says the cross was planted.

This little river of St. George's bounding the Pemaquid country on the east was the river explored by Waymouth, and must have been the river referred to by Sir Ferdinando Gorges when he wrote that Waymouth, "falling short of his course, happened into a river on the coast of America, called Pemaquid." Here "Pemaquid" was doubtless used to signify the region in general, the St. George's being referred to as its river. In 1616 John Smith wrote: "There is also another (narrative) by Captaine Waymoth of Pemaquid," and Strachey stated that Waymouth discovered both the Sagadahoc and the Pemaquid rivers. Strachey wrote of Waymouth: "What paines he took in discovery may witness the many convenient places upon the maine and isles and rivers, together with the little one of Pemaquid."

Two weeks after Waymouth turned his prow toward England, another famous voyager rounded Pemaquid Point, this time a Frenchman, Samuel de Champlain. In July, 1605, Champlain sailed from Mount Desert. "This day," he writes, "we made some fifteen leagues between Bedabedic Point and many islands and rocks which we explored as far as the River Quinebequy." Champlain sailed up the Sheepscot to the present Wiscasset Point, where he entered into an alliance with some friendly Indians, probably the Wawenocks, the same tribe with which Waymouth treated. By the back river he reached the Kennebec. Champlain coasted as far south as Cape Cod, whence he returned to the Kennebec; and on July 31st he sailed "east northeast for twenty leagues to the Isle Haute." Champlain makes one reference to the Waymouth ship. He says that Anasou, a native, told him while in the Kennebec, "that there was a ship ten leagues off the harbor which was engaged in fishing, and that those on board her had killed five savages of this river, under cover of friendship." This goes without doubt to show that the other savages believed their comrades had been killed, not captured, by Waymouth's men. "From his description of the men on the vessel," Champlain writes, "we concluded that they were English, and we named the island where they were 'La Nef,' for at a distance it had the appearance

of a ship." Such was Champlain's very apt picture of Monhegan.

So close in point of time were the early explorations of the French and English on the coast of New England. It was on the voyages and settlements of De Monts and Champlain that France based persistent claims to "Acadie," including soil in the present state of Maine, and it was partly on Waymouth's voyage that England based her rights. But both Waymouth and Champlain had predecessors on these shores. We know of the voyages of the Cabots, and the visit of Sir Humphrey Gilbert to Newfoundland, when he claimed that island in the name of Queen Elizabeth in 1583. Sir Humphrey was lost at sea on his way home to England in his tiny ship, but his descendants and relatives were prominent in later explorations. In 1602 Bartholomew Gosnold with thirty-two men coasted down these shores, visiting Cape Cod and Martha's Vineyard. In 1603 Capt. Martin Pring was sent out by Richard Hakluyt and by "sundry of the chiefest merchants" of Bristol, England, including Robert Aldworth, of whom we shall hear more later. Pring sailed April 10th, 1603, in two vessels, the "Speedwell" and the "Discoverer." He coasted down the shores of Maine and probably reached Plymouth Harbor which he named "Whitsun's Bay," and which Gosnold had passed far out of range. It was probably the encouraging reports of these earlier voyagers which incited the Earl of Southampton and the Baron of Wardour to send out George Waymouth of Devonshire in 1605.

The results of Waymouth's voyage were considerable, not in actual gain or profit, nor in extent of exploration, but in the interest excited by Rosier's narrative and by the captured savages. Waymouth on his return put into Plymouth Harbor, where Sir Ferdinando Gorges was in command. Gorges became much interested in Waymouth and his captives, three of whom he took into his family. These captives, he says, "must be acknowledged the means under God of putting on foot and giving life to all our plantations." The captives told Gorges of the "goodly rivers" and the "stately harbors" of America, of the different savage tribes and where they were seated, and awakened in his soul an interest in the new world which did not perish with the years. Gorges is full of admiration for

the savages, in whom he observed "an inclination to follow the example of the better sort" and who "in all their carriages" manifested "shows of great civility far from the rudeness of our common people."

From this time on we find Sir Ferdinando Gorges a leading spirit in furthering American exploration, and the captured savages, of whom Nahanada of Pemaquid was one, must be remembered for the important part they played in the opening of that early drama. Nahanada was brought back to Pemaquid in 1606 by Capt. Martin Pring of Bristol, who in that year made a second voyage. Gorges wrote that Pring brought back to England "the most perfect discovery of that coast that ever came to my hands since." In August, 1606, Henry Challons was dispatched to America, and two months later Capt. Martin Pring and Capt. Hanham, to join him at Pentecost Harbor, but when Pring and Hanham reached St. George's, Challons was not there. Disobeying his instructions for taking the most direct route, and steering a southerly course, he had been captured by the Spaniards. With Challons the two savages, Maneddo and Saffacomit, whom he was returning to America, were captured also. Gorges particularly bemoaned their loss. One of these savages, Saffacomit, was recovered later, but the fate of the other is unknown. Pring and Hanham explored the coast with Nahanada as their pilot, and it was from Pring's explorations in 1606—and not from those of Waymouth, as so many have contended—that Gorges and the other English adventurers derived their knowledge of the river Kennebec.

The term "Pemaquid" seems to have been used somewhat vaguely. Purchas makes the "Pemaquid" one of the nine rivers that water the dominions of the Bashaba in a strange land called "Mavooshen," confusing the river perhaps with the Penobscot, while Strachey and Gorges apply the name "Pemaquid" to the river explored by Waymouth. John Smith spoke of the whole coast as having formerly been called "Norumbega, Musconkus, Penaquida, Canada, and such other names as those that ranged the coast pleased." Maurault, in his "History of the Abenakis," states that the name meant in Abenaki, "the land which continues." He points out that the territory from the Kennebec to Pemaquid is much broken and indented, but that from Pema-

quid east it is more even and continuous, whence its Abenaki name. Other authorities find the name to mean "long point" and "crooked river." The Rev. Paul Coffin makes it mean "a point of land running into the sea," while still another Indian authority makes it mean "the place where the land slopes."

Pemaquid bore a dozen different names in the days that followed Waymouth. The English conquered Pemaquid and rechristened it according to their fancy, but the savage name—whatever it may have signified—survived, conquering the conquerors. The naked Abenaki who guided Waymouth west from St. George's Islands to the point where the fires of the savages were burning—the entrance to New Harbor—knew the land on which his wigwam stood that June morning in 1605 as "Pemaquid," and "Pemaquid" we call it to this day.

CHAPTER II

A SUMMER IDYLL

To know the history of Pemaquid is to know the history of English exploration on the coast of New England, for nearly all the very early expeditions were identified in some way with Pemaquid or the adjacent islands. The glowing reports of George Waymouth and his men enlisted the interest of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, as we have seen. They engaged also the attention of other prominent English noblemen and merchants, whose thoughts began to turn across the sea. A joint stock company was formed in 1606 for the purpose of planting two colonies in America: one to be located in the southern part of "Virginia," as the English then called the entire seaboard, between 34 and 38 degrees north latitude; the other to be between the forty-first and the forty-fifth parallels. Those interested in planting the northern colony were west of England men; those who undertook the southern plantation had headquarters in London; and the two companies became known as the Plymouth and London companies. The story of the settlement of Jamestown by the London Company is well known; but the activities of the Plymouth Company, of which Sir John Popham, Chief Justice of England, was a leading spirit, are a somewhat forgotten chapter in our history.

In 1606 this company sent out Capt. Martin Pring and Henry Challons, with what results we have seen, Pring reporting to Sir Ferdinando Gorges a "most perfect discovery" of the coast. Pring probably visited the Sagadahoc, suggesting the mouth of that river as the best place for a settlement, for the voyagers next sent out sought Seguin, a landmark Pring must have suggested as Rosier does not mention it. Pring no doubt saw that if Waymouth had located a fine place for a plantation in St. George's, he had found a better in Sagadahoc. Here the colonists would be seated on a great river, with all the advantages it would afford: water-power, opportunities for traffic with the natives, and ready access to the sea. With the purpose of

planting a settlement in this region, the Plymouth Company equipped an expedition in 1607, putting it in charge of George Popham, nephew of Chief Justice Popham, and Raleigh Gilbert, son of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. One hundred and twenty planters were sent out in two ships, the "Mary and John" and the "Gift of God."

What hopes must have followed them as the sails of these two ships faded out of Plymouth Harbor June the first, 1607! The "Mary and John" sighted land off the coast of Nova Scotia the last day of July, having already taken "great stor of cod fyshes, the bigest and largest," the chronicler of the voyage "ever saw or any man in the ship." They anchored in 44½ degrees, and while at anchor saw a "bisken shallop" coming toward them "having in her eyght salvages and a lyttell salvage boye." These natives visited the colonists, spending a night aboard. They used many French words, having trafficked evidently with people of the French nation. The English "believed these peopell to be the tarentyns." The voyagers coasted southward with a fair wind down the shores, and on August 5th they sighted the Blue Hills of Camden; "three heigh mountains," the narrator calls them "that lye in upon the mainland near unto the ryver of penobskot in which ryver, the bashabe makes his abode, the cheeffe commander of those pts." The land under the Bashaba's command "streatcheth" he says, "unto the ryver of Sagadahock." Next day they saw the Islands of Matinicus, "whytt rocks makinge show a far of allmoste lyke unto Dover Cleeves." Continuing eight leagues in the same direction they found "three other illands . . . lyenge from these illands beffor spoken of 8 leags, and about ten of the klok att nyght . . . recovered them." Next day the sunrise told them they had reached their haven among St. George's Islands, for it revealed the cross of George Waymouth standing among the rocks upon the solitary shore.

The narrator records a remarkable bit of seamanship for those early days. The course of the voyage as traced thus far is that of the "Mary and John." The narrator, it is believed, was James Davies, pilot of that ship. Early in the voyage the two ships had become separated, and Davies tells us nothing of the route taken by the "Gift." But just five weeks from the day the "Gift" left England, and two days after the "Mary

and John" anchored in St. George's Harbor, the men on the latter ship, James Davies says, "descried a sail standing in towards this illand." Going out to meet it, they found it to be "the gyfte" their "consort." They "stood in again for the illand" they "ryd under beffor and theare anchored together."

Now follows the story of a visit to Pemaquid fraught with less significance than that of Waymouth, but delightful as a little summer idyll. Aboard the "Mary and John" was Skidwarres, one of Waymouth's captive savages, brought back by Raleigh Gilbert to serve as pilot on the American side of the sea. Leaving the "Mary and John" at anchor in St. George's, Captain Gilbert departed at midnight for Pemaquid, taking Skidwarres thither in the ship's boat. Imagine the emotions of that savage as the darkness lifted from the sea and the rising sun revealed every curve and headland of the shores he loved! "The weather being faier and the wynd calme, we rowed to the weste," says the narrator, "in amongst many gallant illands, and found the ryver of Pemaquid to be but 4 leags weste from the illand we call St. George's where our ships remained still att ancor. Hear we landed in a lyttell cove by skydwarres direction and marched over a necke of land near three mills. So the Indyan skidwarres brought us to the salvages housses where they did inhabitt . . . whear we found near a hundredth of them, men, wemen, and children. And the cheeffe commander of them ys Nahanada." At first the savages were very much alarmed, and "issued forth . . . with thear bowes and arrowes." Skidwarres spoke, however, and when Nahanada heard and recognized the voice of his fellow-savage, "he caussed them to laye assyd thear bowes and arrowes," and "cam" to them and "imbrassed" them. "So we remained with them near to houers and were in thear housses."

This first visit to Pemaquid occurred on August 8th. On Sunday, August 9th, the voyagers held at St. George's the first religious service ever conducted by Englishmen in New England. The service took place, the narrator states, on the shore "wheare the crosse standeth." "Thear we heard a sermon delyvered unto us by our preacher" (Richard Seymour) "giving god thanks for our happy metinge and saffe aryvall into the country." This ceremony antedated by thirteen years the first service of the Plymouth Pilgrims.

Next day, August 10th, the colonists again visited Pemaquid. "Early in the morninge Capt. Popham in his shallop, with thirty others, and Capt. Gilbert in his shipes bott with twenty others accompanede deputed from thear shipes and sailed towards the ryver of Pemaquid and caryed with us the Indyan Skidwarres, and cam to the ryver ryght beffor thear housses, whear they no sooner esyped us but presently Nahanada with all his Indians with thear bowes and arrowes in thear hands cam forth upon the sands." Both Skidwarres and the English spoke to Nahanada, assuring him that their "cominge tended to no yvell towards hem selffe nor any of his peopell," but the savages, who had not forgotten the treachery of Waymouth, remained somewhat skeptical, as their later movements showed. Nahanada "told us again that he wold nott thatt all our peopell should land. So beecause we woud in no sort offend them, hearuppon som ten or twellfe of the cheeff gent landed and had some parle together, and then afterward they wear well contented that all should land." So fifty-two Englishmen landed upon the sands, and talked with Nahanada and his people.

"Nevertheless after an houer or to" the savages "all sodainly withdrew themselves from us into the woods and lefte us." The English re-embarked, leaving only Skidwarres who remained, promising to rejoin the party the next morning, but he did not keep his promise. "So we imbarked ourselves," the narrator states, "and went into the other syd of the ryver, and thear remained uppon the shore the nyght followinge." Their ships evidently rode that night for greater safety in the inner harbor on the western side. Next day the English returned to their ships at St. George's. On August 12th they sailed for the river of Sagadahoc, where they began a settlement.

These two visits to Pemaquid under Skidwarres' direction throw some light on the movements of Waymouth's men two years before. The narrative locates Nahanada as a Wawenock chief of Pemaquid, where Skidwarres finds him just as he expected. The savages' houses were near the beach at Pemaquid, reached on the first visit by "rowing" and walking overland as the narrator states; on the second by "sailing" around Pemaquid Point and coming up to the harbor directly before the houses of the savages who "cam forth upon the sands" to meet them. Having been in captivity two years, Skidwarres must

have sought his tribesmen in the same place in which he had left them in 1605. There, in 1605, when Waymouth anchored at the entrance to New Harbor, must have been their houses and their furs and tobacco for traffic, but Waymouth either did not wish to follow them to their houses, or else he dared not do so. The colonists of 1607 anchored in the same harbor as did Waymouth, and rowed west, the narrator says, to the river of Pemaquid which they found to be four leagues distant. This locates Waymouth's anchorage and breaks down utterly the theory that Waymouth's river was the Kennebec.

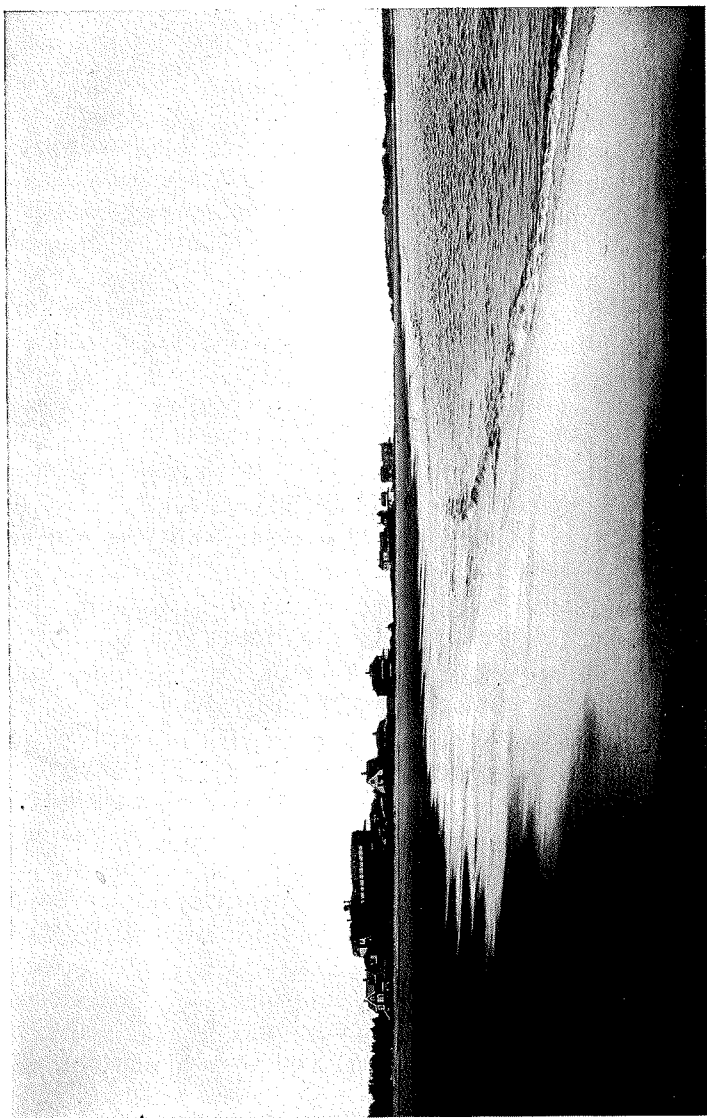
CHAPTER III

THE COLONY AT POPHAM BEACH

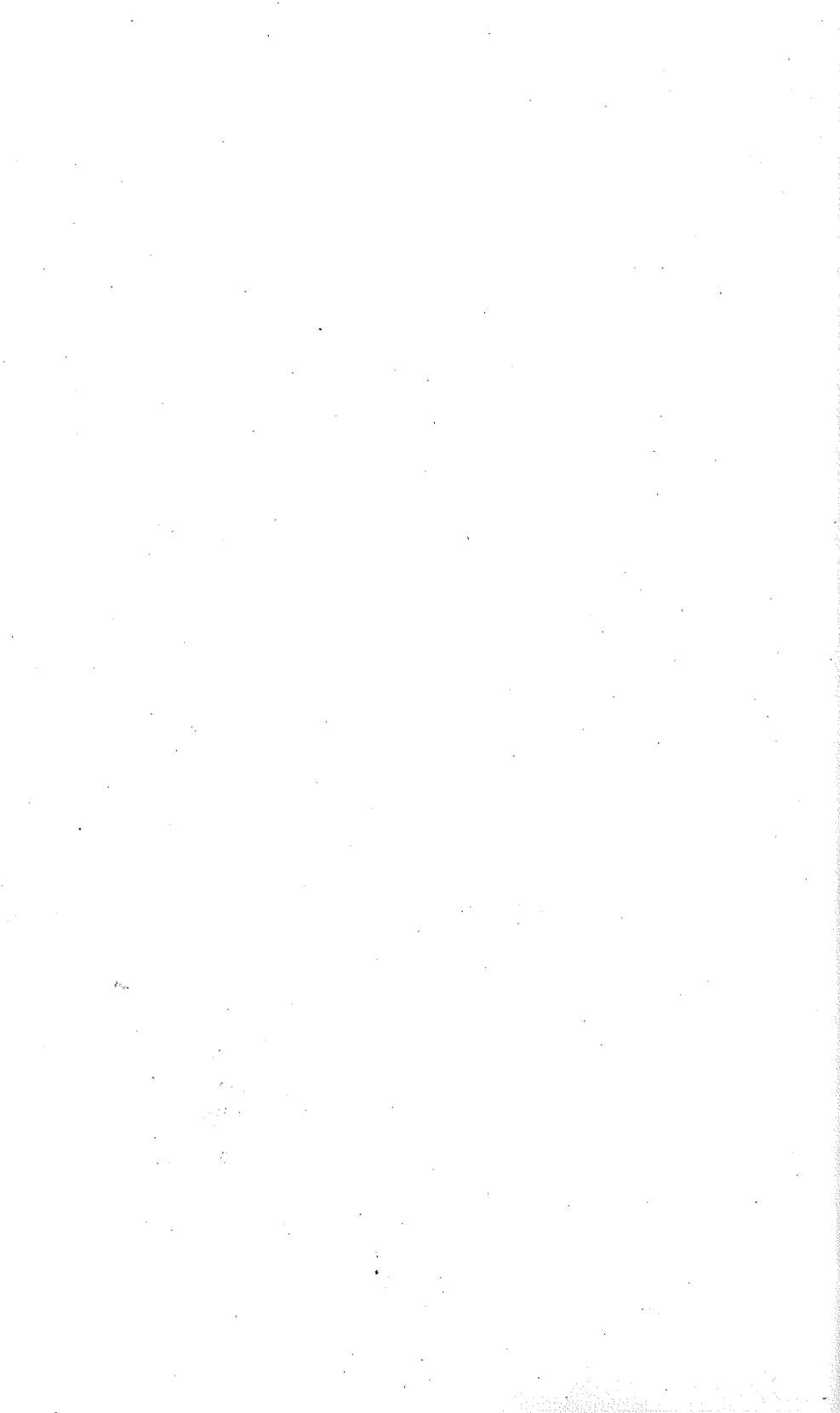
Just where the colonists settled when they sailed west from St. George's Islands has been a much mooted question. Historians have claimed Stage Island or Parker's Island as the site, but modern authorities locate the plantation at Sabino Head. On Sabino Point, which looks east across the Kennebec to Arrowsic and Cape Newagen and west across the curving shores of Popham Beach to the Atlantic and Seguin, stands today a monument to George Popham, the first president of the colony, who lies buried in an unknown grave somewhere among the sands and pines of Popham.

He who would visit this lovely spot may reach it from the sea, or he may travel by a circuitous highway from Bath down the west side of the Kennebec, a route almost as primitive and unpeopled today as in the time of the first colonists. The highway runs for miles through unbroken woodland, emerging now and then into an open space upon some height to vouchsafe glimpses of the river winding through the land. As one nears Popham Beach, firs and pines supersede the oaks and birches; the dirt road becomes one of sand; and at Silver Lake, a little crystal basin in the woods, looms up the first glimpse of the sea. Then the woodland closes in again until the traveller at last emerges under the shadow of Sabino Head, upon the snow white sea blown sands of Popham. Popham is a land of delight in summer, with its stately river, its great pines growing to the very sands, and with Seguin breaking the broad sweep of the Atlantic—a land of variety, clean, fragrant and inviting.

On August 22nd, while the planters were busy in constructing their fort and houses, Capt. Popham went on a tour of exploration to the river of "pashipskoke," where he met some savages who told him of a recent battle with the Tarratines, in which Sasanoa had been engaged and in which his son had been slain in fight. "Skidwarres," the narrator says, "and Dehamda (Nahanada) were in this fight." Early in September



POPHAM BEACH



came a visit from the savages of Pemaquid. Their confidence had evidently been restored by the peaceful departure from Pemaquid and St. George's of the colonists, and now they craved their company. It is gratifying to know that Waymouth's captives retained friendly feelings toward the English, which goes to show that they must have received kindly treatment at their hands. The remarks of Gorges would indicate such treatment, and a courteous reception of it on the part of the savages. On September 5th nine canoes filled with savages appeared before Sabino. The Indians were headed by Nahanada and Skidwarres, and had come to pay the colonists a visit. After a day with the English at Sabino, they retired to the opposite shore and made camp, where Capt. Gilbert joined them and spent the night with the whole Indian company. Next morning the Indians departed for the river of Pemaquid, inviting the English to join them later in a visit to "the ryver of penobskot whear the bashabe remayneth." The English lost no time in accepting, and on Sept. 8th Capt. Gilbert and twenty-two others set sail for the Penobscot, "takinge with them divers sorts of merchandise for to trad with the Bashabe who ys the cheiffe comander of those pts but the wind was contrary" so they could not "come to dehanada and skidwarres at the time apointed," for it was the 11th day "before the English could get to the river of Pemaquid" where the savages "do make their abode." On the 11th in the morning early, the narrator says, "we came into the ryver of Pemaquyd thear to call Nahanada and Skidwarres as we had promyst them, but being thear aryved we found no lyving creatuer. They all wear gon from thence." The English nevertheless departed east, attempting to find the Penobscot for themselves, but they were unsuccessful, and their supplies being exhausted, they were forced to return to the Kennebec.

Davies' narrative relates two odd circumstances. The first savages seen at the Kennebec, of the Canibas tribe no doubt, had in their canoes "two great kettles of brass"; and on September 23rd when Capt. Gilbert, having sailed up the Kennebec as far as the present site of Augusta, was encamped on the river bank for the night, he was suddenly saluted by savages from across the river on the other shore, who called to him in broken English. When the English answered them they departed, but they appeared next day, among them a chief named "Sebanoa"

who made himself "to be lord of the river of Sagadahock." Both circumstances argue some previous intercourse between the savages of the Kennebec and the English, for which the voyages of Waymouth and Pring hardly account.

The narrative of the Popham Colony ends abruptly with the relation of this incident. The manuscript was found among the papers of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, without mention of its author's name, but historians believe that the narrator was James Davies, as already mentioned. We are indebted for our further knowledge of this colony to William Strachey, secretary of the Virginia Colony, whose source of information is unknown. Strachey tells of a later visit from the Indians of Pemaquid, another little summer idyll so different from most early accounts of intercourse with savages. Since Nahanada and Skidwarres figure in it, let us quote from Strachey: "There came a canoa unto some of the people of the fort as they were fishing on the sand, in which was skidwarres, who badd them tell their president that Nahanada with the Bashaba's brother and others, were on the further side of the river, and the next daie would come and visitt him." "Next day they appeared in two canoes. Nahanada, with his wife, Skidwarres, the Bashaba's brother and one other called Amenquin . . . all whome the president feasted and entertayned with all kindness." They remained all day Saturday and Sunday, attending worship twice on Sunday "with great reverence and silence." They departed, bearing presents from the English, who again promised a visit to the Bashaba in his "court in the river of Penobscot."

This visit was never made, and one cannot but regret that circumstances prevented Gilbert and Popham from appearing before the courts of that mysterious and challenging figure, the "Bashaba." About him much has been written, but little is really known. Purchas in his "Pilgrims" makes him the chief lord of an extensive country called "Mawooshen," stretching from the Tarratines at the east to the River Piscataqua at the west. Purchas' whole description is too fanciful, however, to carry any weight. Rosier evidently believed that the savages with whom they treated used the word "Bashaba" as a general term for ruler. "They gave us some (tobacco)," he writes, "to carry to our Bashaba." Gorges says: "That part of the country we first seated in seemed to be monarchical," its ruler

having the title of "Bashaba." "The Bashaba," he writes, "and his people seemed to be of some eminence above the rest. . . . His own chief abode was not far from Pemaquid." John Smith enumerates, under their several Indian names, the countries from the Penobscot to Massachusetts, and adds: "Though most be lords of themselves, yet they hold the Bashabes of Penobscot the chiefe and greatest amongst them."

All that we know about the "Bashaba" comes to us from these early writers, who believed him to be an emperor over several different tribes, whose sagamores came under his dominion. Our general knowledge of Indian nature, however, precludes such a possibility. The American Indians were highly individualistic. They were divided into petty tribes, each under its own sagamores or sachems, one tribe constantly at war with other neighboring tribes. Alliances were common, but there was no federation in the sense of one tribe's paying tribute to the people and rulers of another. The notion that the Bashaba was a sort of emperor was current with the early English, but not with the French who knew the savages more intimately. The "Bashaba" was doubtless merely a prominent savage chief.

Some writers make him out to have been a chief of the Tarratines or Penobscots, but such evidence as we possess concerning him does not point that way. Champlain saw him in person on the Penobscot near the Kenduskeag, but he did not visit his residence, and we have no evidence to locate him definitely. There is considerable to prove, however, that he was not a Tarratine. The Tarratines were one tribe of the Etechemins who resided between the Penobscot and the St. John's, and these Tarratines were constantly at war with the tribes west of the Penobscot. A particularly fierce war between the Tarratines and the western Indians broke out in 1615 which, followed by some mysterious pestilence, depopulated the whole coast as far as Plymouth. Williamson says under date of 1616: "These Tarrantine warriors and their eastern allies cut their way to the residence of the Bashaba, and when they had killed him and his adherents, they carried away his women and all his valuable effects in triumph, laying waste his immediate territories." The Bashaba could not have been a chief of the Tarratines, a tribe with which he was at war. John Smith purposed to defend the Wawenocks against the Tarratines. Since Wawe-

nock chiefs were constantly alluding to him, and since his brother appeared at Sabino in company with Nahanada, it would seem altogether probable that the Bashaba was a Wawenock. His residence, however, must have been east of the dominions usually thought of as those of the Wawenocks, perhaps somewhat east of the St. George's. From the fact that the Popham colonists were unable to locate his residence in September, 1607, it would seem probable that they were trying to locate a particular spot then called Penobscot which was the Bashaba's residence, rather than the great river, which it would seem they could hardly have failed to find. The Wawenocks from 1605 to 1614 seem to have resided chiefly in the vicinity of Pemaquid, with hunting-grounds as far east at least as the St. George's, but later they removed to the Sheepscot region. In 1747 only a few members of the tribe remained, and these removed later to one of the mission villages of Canada. The Bashaba was probably a Wawenock chief of unusual prowess whose residence was somewhere between the St. George's and the Penobscot.

Before the winter of 1607 set in, the Popham colonists had built up a considerable settlement. A church, a storehouse, a fort mounted with twelve cannon, and numerous dwelling houses were erected. They built also "a pretty pynace of about some thirty ton which they called the Virginia" and which they launched in the Kennebec. She was the first ship built in New England. Strachey's narrative tells of the departure for England in the "Mary and John" of Capt. Robert Davies, to report the safe arrival of the colony and to ask that supplies be sent out next year. The winter set in very cold, and this severity of the weather prevented Capt. Gilbert from exploring as much as he desired, "it being in the year of 1607 when the extraordinary frost was felt in most parts of England; it was here likewise as vehement." Next year Capt. Davies returned, bearing the colonists bad news. Chief Justice Popham, a prime furtherer of the colony, had died. Sir John Gilbert had died also, which meant that his brother and heir, Raleigh Gilbert, must return to England to settle the estate. Other evils had befallen the colony. During the winter their aged president, George Popham, had died. This brave pioneer, seventy years of age when he ventured out of England as head of a colony in a new land, lay buried within the fort at Sabino, a great loss to the

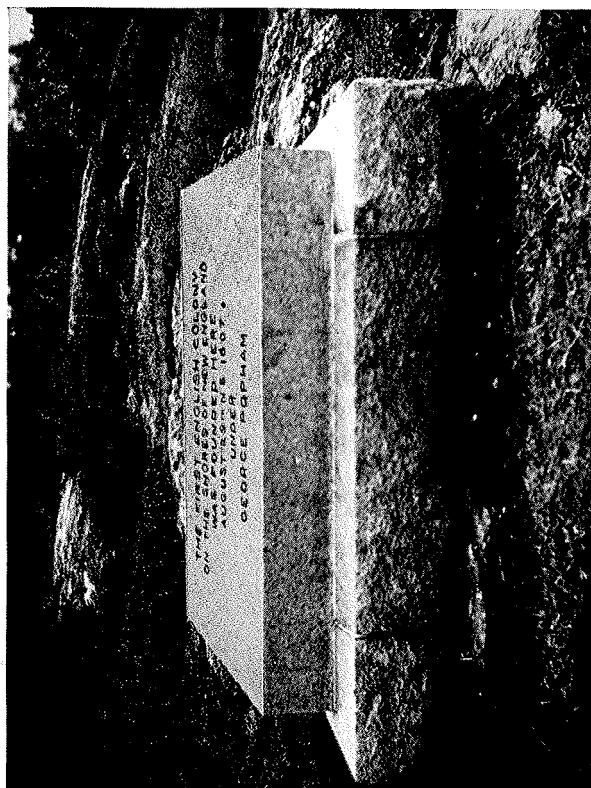
colonists. Now that Raleigh Gilbert, their other leader, must leave them, and two of their foremost supporters in England had passed away, it is no wonder that the planters became discouraged. Their storehouses, too, had been burned in the dead of winter, their supplies had not proved to be of the quality the men who fitted out the voyage had thought them, and they had suffered deeply from exposure in a winter of unusual cold. These accidents, and the failure to discover mines, on which the planters had naïvely based their hopes, are given by Strachey as the reasons for the dissolution of the colony. "Wherefore they all embarked in this new arrived ship and in the new pynnace, the Virginia . . . and set saile for England. . . . And this was the end of that northern colony uppon the river Sagadehoc."

Much has been written concerning the return of the Popham Colony to England. Some of the earlier writers contended that the Popham Colony removed to Pemaquid, and the errors of these writers were unthinkingly repeated. They based their theory on statements of Purchas, Smith, and others. Purchas gives an abbreviated account of the fortunes of the colony, in which appears the following: "Forty-five remained there." Smith in his "Description of New England," states concerning his stay at Monhegan Island: "Right against us in the main was a ship of Sir Francis Poppames, that had there such an acquaintance, having many yeares used only that porte, that the most parte (that is of the trade) was had by him." The port opposite Monhegan must have been New Harbor, whence the inference was deduced that Popham's ship went yearly to trade with the remnants of the Popham colony, now transferred to Pemaquid.

Some of the older writers contended that the Popham colonists withdrew from Popham to Pemaquid because the Indians of the Kennebec were hostile while those at Pemaquid were friendly. They inferred this from statements of Charlevoix and the inaccurate Sullivan. Charlevoix wrote of the Kennebec: "A short time before some English had attempted to make a settlement in their river, but so bad had been their conduct toward the savages that the latter forced them to withdraw." Sullivan tells the story of the killing of several savages at Sabino through the explosion of a cannon, stating that Indian

resentment forced the withdrawal of the colonists. Hubbard tells a somewhat similar story, giving it a different turn, not prejudicial to the colonists. The Jesuit Relations state that the English were at the Kennebec in 1608 and 1609, and that after the death of their first president, the colonists illtreated the Indians, who retaliated and caused them to disperse. Williamson says that Sagadahoc "had attracted early and perpetual attention." Hubbard relates: "Dermer was employed to settle the affairs of the plantation now a third time revived about Kennebec in the year 1619." The Jesuits seem merely to have made an error in the date, placing the settlement a year too late. All the colonists returned to England, but in two groups; all but forty-five going back in the "Gift" in February, 1608; the others returning in September, 1608. The story of the ill treatment of the Indians by the English, told somewhat differently by different writers, is not told by Gorges, and there seems to be no good ground either to believe or doubt it. The ship of Sir Francis Popham which went to Pemaquid each year did so solely to traffic with the natives, and there is no good reason for reading a colony into the circumstance.

The fact that Gorges does not mention the removal of the Popham Colony to Pemaquid seems conclusive evidence against it. One statement of John Smith's, too, militates against the theory. He mentions a scheme he had for remaining in New England with ten men to hold the country, stating that he had "accepted the overtures of Nahanada, the friendly Pemaquid chief, to locate there, and defend him from the Tarratines." Had there been a colony of Englishmen at Pemaquid at the time, 1614, is it likely that Nahanada would have issued such an invitation? Williamson writes: "Sir Francis Popham, son of the late Baronet, sent a ship annually into these waters for several years; in anticipation of benefits from the fishery and fur trade . . . till overcome by losses and discouragements he was obliged at last to give up the pursuit. Some adventurers may have met with better success, for it is confidently asserted that the coasts were afterwards never for any considerable length of time entirely deserted by Europeans until the country became settled." But the Europeans on the coast, so far as we know, were fishermen, birds of passage remaining only for a season.



POPHAM MEMORIAL ON SITE OF FORT GEORGE

Another much mooted point in connection with the Sagadahoc Colony is the character of those who participated in it. To the unprejudiced reader of these estimates of the colonists, it would appear that many writers have taken one side or the other of the controversy with undue heat, the prevailing motive in the writer being pride of native place. Those who wish to aggrandize the antiquity of Massachusetts dislike to admit that even a short lived colony was planted in Maine by honorable men prior to the Pilgrim settlement; some sons of Maine would like to demonstrate that the colony of 1607 was not only founded by honorable men but that the settlement endured or carried on a languishing existence at Sheepscot Farms or Pemaquid, thereby robbing Massachusetts of the honor of the first permanent settlement. In both instances the argument has been defended by an unwarranted stretching of the facts. These have been set forth fully by the Rev. H. O. Thayer in his "Sagadahoc Colony," to which the reader is referred for an exhaustive and authoritative treatment of the subject. There is not sufficient evidence to prove that the Popham Colony was continuous, nor is there evidence to warrant disparagement of those who participated in it. Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Chief Justice Popham have been berated for their colonial schemes; it has been stated that the Sagadahoc colony was a plan of Popham's to rid England of its criminals, and that the colonists were recruited from prison goals. The character of Raleigh Gilbert has been disparaged on the evidence of Gorges, and the youth of Chief Justice Popham has been scoured for evidences of immorality. It may therefore be worth while to consider somewhat in detail the personnel of this colony in New England.

Sir John Popham came of an old English family. He was educated at Baliol College, and was made Chief Justice of England by Queen Elizabeth in 1592. His early life appears to have been somewhat loose and wild, but in later years he bore a good reputation. Had his object been to make Sagadahoc a refuge for English criminals—for which there is no evidence—such a plan might have counted in his favor. England suffered in his day from poverty and unemployment. Vagabondage and some ill doing no doubt resulted, but the great crime of the people then was poverty; many so called criminals were but laborers robbed of their land by the inclosures. To have found a refuge for such

men, where they might have obtained free soil to till, would have been the best of statesmanship. Gorges saw the need of such an outlet for the energies of the people, and dwelt much upon the necessity of economic readjustments. The Pilgrims themselves were men of the lowest classes, laborers on the lands of others; economic pressure was one of the chief factors which sent them hither; and if ever a nation needed colonies, with new land and new outlets for endeavor for its common people, it was England in the days of Chief Justice Popham. The only evidence that criminals were recruited for this colony lies in a statement of Chief Justice Popham advocating such a plan in general for colonizing the new world; but he was speaking, when he made the statement, to the Spanish ambassador, with whom he might have dissembled, and he was not referring to the Colony at Sagadahoc.

George Popham was a man of integrity and education. No comment disparaging to his character has ever been discovered. Gorges stated that he felt the choice of George Popham as president of the colony was unwise because of his advanced years and lack of force. But he pays Popham elsewhere in his writings a fine tribute when he says of him: "Willing he was to die in acting something that might be serviceable to his God and helpful to his country."

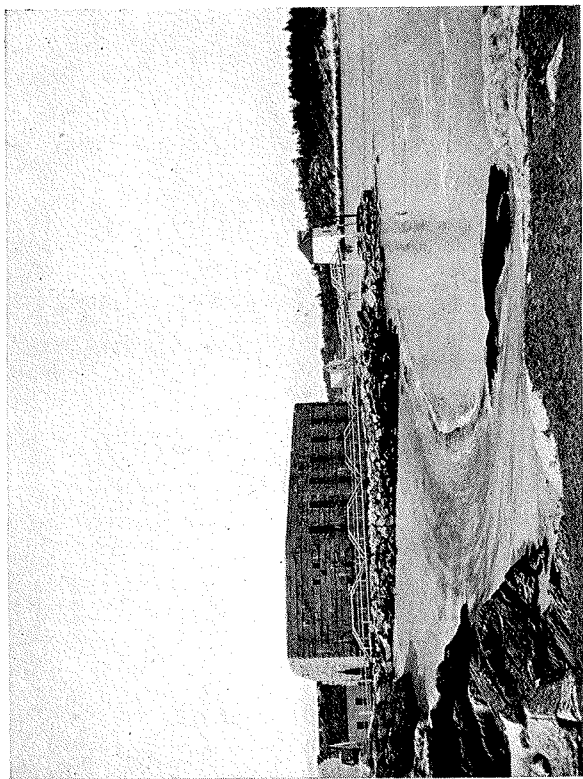
Sir John Gilbert, president of the Plymouth Council, was the eldest son of brave Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Raleigh Gilbert, a younger son of Sir Humphrey, who succeeded Popham as president of the colony, was one of those to whom the charter for the company of 1606 was granted. Much has been made of a reference to Raleigh Gilbert in a letter to Cecil in which Gorges expresses the fear that Gilbert's attitude may, through some foolhardy act on his part, work to the prejudice of the colony. But Gorges makes his meaning very clear. He says that Gilbert is overambitious, and that he is resentful, now that he has beheld them, because the treasures of America, which he deems to be his by inheritance from his father, have been granted to others. Later, in 1658, Gorges in the "Brief Narration" speaks of Gilbert as "a man worthy to be beloved of them all (that is, the colonists) for his industry and care for their well-being." Gorges has evidently found cause to revise the estimate of Gilbert recorded in his letter of 1607; it is this

later estimate we must accept. In writing of the personnel of the colony in general, Gorges speaks of "Capt. Raleigh Gilbert and divers other gentlemen of note."

Interpretation in the light of the context of Gorges' statement that the colonists were "not such as they ought" shows that far too much has been read into the remark. His reference is directly to the leaders of the colony, Gilbert and Popham, whom he goes on at once to characterize. On the whole his estimate of these two men was high. In a letter to Salisbury he expressed the belief that Gilbert would be able to "bring to pass infinite things." After speaking of Popham's handicaps and Gilbert's ambitions, he adds: "They are all fit for their places or tolerable." And he praises Capt. Robert Davies, the physician, Mr. Turner, and the preacher, Richard Seymour. When we consider all the circumstances attending its brief existence, it seems unnecessary to deduce any lack of moral fibre on the part of the colonists in order to account for the dissolution of the colony. The planters had met with unusual fatalities in the death of three of their leaders and promoters, and in the recall to England of a fourth. Their storehouses and dwellings had been burned in midwinter and their sufferings must have been considerable. They had left many of their natural interests at home in England, and none of their women folk were with them. It does not seem so strange, then, that they should have abandoned their enterprise after the hardships of an unusual winter. In contrast with the Pilgrims who came in families of men and women, who had left neither lands nor congenial employments behind them, who had in fact little choice except to remain, the men of the Sagadahoc Colony had left in the old world almost everything men value, wives and kindred, friends and fortune. It is not necessary, therefore, to believe them criminals or cowards in order to understand their desire to return.

After Gorges' death his grandson published his "Brief Relation and Brief Narration," together with his own account of the new world in a treatise which he called "America Painted to the Life." This work reveals both Gorges and his grandson in a pleasing and dignified light. Any one who questions the high character of Gorges can find his personality revealed between the lines of his own works. The Puritan writers depict

him always as their enemy, but their biassed way of setting forth every one who does not think exactly as they do themselves contrasts unfortunately with the kindly attitude of Gorges, whose habit it was to give to every man his just meed of praise. Gorges led an active life. He spent no time in denouncing any, having none to spend. He is always objective, impartial and enthusiastic. Historians of high standing have paid their tributes to Gorges. James Phinney Baxter writes of him: "In all his acts and in his various writings his motives appear to have been elevated above the mercenary spirit of his trading compatriots. His zeal for discovery and colonization was always conspicuous, maintaining a clear glow even after the mists of age had gathered about him."



MODERN FORT AT POPHAM BEACH



CHAPTER IV

CAPT. JOHN SMITH AND MONHEGAN

The first mention of Monhegan by its ancient Indian name, the name it has ever since retained, was by Capt. John Smith in his "Description of New England." Champlain, as we have seen, had christened the island "La Nef" from its resemblance at a distance to a ship. Waymouth had named it "St. George's," whence on the Simancas map of 1610 it appears as "I. St. George," but this name did not persist. In his "Description of New England" Smith mentions Monhegan frequently, for about this island and the adjacent shores and seas, his description centers. To this scene Smith came in the spring of 1614, here in Monhegan Harbor he left his ships at anchor, and from this point he ranged the coast, gathering during the summer months data for his "Description."

Remarkable man he surely must have been so to impress upon his age and upon posterity the memory of his name and personality. There has been in recent times a movement to discredit him, to doubt the truth of much of what he wrote, and to make him out a swaggering braggart whose work is to be questioned at every point. This adverse criticism of him, however, has been met by other criticism quite as good, which finds written between the lines of Smith's own work the proof of his veracity. Remarkable do his adventures seem in the commercial atmosphere in which we live today, when machinery does our work and fights our battles, when the riches of the earth are rained into our laps, and we bend our energies toward taming and exploiting everything that is yet left us of the wild and unbelievable and beautiful; but we live in a different age, a motor-driven "Iron Age," which contrasts sharply with the days of Queen Elizabeth and the Stuarts, which begot John Smith. Smith's hazardous adventures in strange parts of the world, his soldiering in many lands, his combats hand to hand with savage men, ring improbable and strange in modern ears, but when one stops to think about it, they were quite in keeping with the generation of John

Smith. Industry was undeveloped in England in that day, and many common men found employment as hired soldiers in the service of various foreign monarchs. Such a man might knock about the world for years, fighting the battles first of this king, then of that. Another common occupation was exploration. Much of the world was as yet so little known that men with a taste for adventure might spend years exploring in lands first seen—except for savages and barbarians—by themselves and their associates. Gorges writes naïvely of this second group. “Those free spirits,” he calls them, “that rather choose to spend themselves in seeking a new world than servilely to be hired but as slaughterers in the quarrels of others.” John Smith belonged to both these groups and to others; he soldiered in his youth, later he explored and colonized, later still he turned to authorship; and in each of these pursuits he excelled. John Smith, whom the Virginia colonists arrested on the way to Jamestown, and whom, after he became their governor in 1609, they sent back to England, is the one man of them all whom posterity bothers to recall. In Smith’s exploits generations of men have taken joy, finding delight in his buoyant tales, famous and familiar from his day to ours, while the very names of the men who founded Jamestown are forgotten.

Virginia is the place with which every American school child connects John Smith, but of the other region visited by him, which he dreamed of conquering and settling for himself, and of which he wrote with great enthusiasm, he has never heard. Yet this is how Smith begins his “Description of New England”: “In the month of Aprill, 1614, with two ships from London, of a few marchants, I chanced to arrive in New-England, a parte of Ameryca, at the Ile of Monahiggan, in $43\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of northerly latitude; our plot was there to take whales, and make tryalls of a myne of gold and copper. If those failed, fish and furies was then our refuge.” Smith had been sent out, as he indicates, by some London merchants who had engaged him to fish for whales and cod, prospect for mines, barter for furs, and explore the country. Since mines and whales were not forthcoming, Smith set his men to fishing, while he ranged the coast east and west, exploring, gathering data for a map, and bartering his commodities for furs. Smith says: “Monahigan is a round Ile, and

close by it Monanis, betwixt which is a small harbor where we rid."

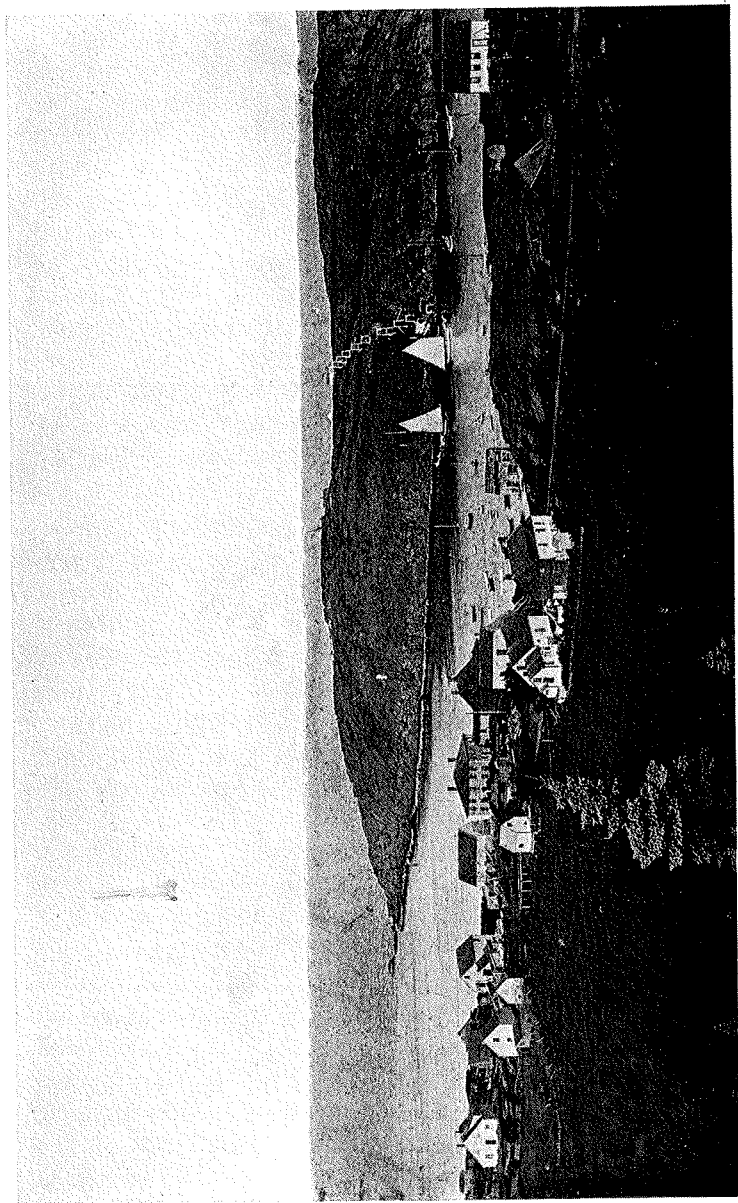
Here is Smith's account of what he was able to accomplish: "Whilst the sailors fished, my selfe with eight or nine others of them might best be spared; ranging the coast in a small boat, wee got for trifles neer 1100 bever skinnes, 100 martins, and neer as many otters; and the most of them within the distance of twenty leagues." One is surprised by the amount of commerce on the coast. Smith found Europeans active here even in that early day. "We ranged the coast both East and West much further; but eastwards our commodities were not esteemed, they were so neare the French who affords them better; and right against us in the main was a ship of Sir Francis Pophames that had there such acquaintance, having many years used onely that porte, that the most parte there was had by him. And forty leagues westwards were two French ships, that had there a great voyage by trade." Smith speaks as from Monhegan; the port "against" him "in the main" was therefore New Harbor.

Smith states that he would rather live here in New England "than in any of the four parts of the world" that he has "yet seen not inhabited." He praises the productivity of the soil, painting by way of illustration a little picture of Monhegan that lingers in the memory: "I made a garden upon the top of a rocky isle in $43\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, four leagues from the main, in May, that grew so well as it served us for sallets in June and July." Of the fishing about Monhegan he cannot say enough. He calls the sea on this coast "the strangest fishpond" he "ever saw." Smith was much charmed with the whole coast, which opened to him vistas of possibility, and for years after his visit he dreamed of a plantation in the region. "The savages," he wrote, "have entreated me to inhabit if I will." Smith had a scheme for settling permanently and for holding the country, for which purpose he had been supplied for his second voyage in 1615 with sixteen men. The place of which Smith was thinking as a site for settlement—though the reference in his history of New England is not clear—seems to have been the vicinity of Pemaquid and Monhegan. His plan was apparently to afford the savages military protection in return for aid and territory. "I had concluded to inhabit," he says, "and defend them against the Taratines." This statement follows a reference to Nahanada, whom

Smith calls "Dohoday," and whom he pays a high tribute: "The maine assistance I had next to God to this small number, was my acquaintance amongst the salvages, especially with Dohoday, one of their greatest Lords, who had lived long in England by the meanes of this proud salvage, I did not doubt but quickly to have got that credit amongst the rest of the salvages and their alliance, to have had as many of them as I desired in any designe I intended, and that trade also which they had by such a kinde of exchange of their countrey commodities, which both with ease and securitie might then have beene used with him and divers others." With this reference to him by Smith we must take our farewell of Nahanada, for his name never reappears in English annals. He was doubtless swept away by the plague which occurred shortly after Smith's visit to the country. When next we get a view of the savages of Pemaquid, strange names have replaced those of the savages of the days of Weymouth, Smith and Raleigh Gilbert.

Smith's expedition consisted of a ship and a bark; and in the bark Smith set sail July 18th for England, leaving his anchorage at Monhegan with many plans for his return to this land which he had found so profitable and so delightful. Yet he was destined never to carry out his project, for contrary winds, tempests, and French pirates frustrated his two later attempts to visit New England. But for these fatalities, who knows what might have happened, and how this bold adventurer might have altered the map and history of this section of our country? Perhaps the earliest permanent settlement in New England might have been made by John Smith at Pemaquid, for he was surely the man with the ability to make such an attempt bear fruit.

But though he did not return, Smith's visit was fraught with many consequences for the region he named "New England." He at once set about giving it publicity, drawing up his map of the coast, and writing his history and description of New England. He went up and down England, doing much to advertise the new country, distributing tracts and conversing with leading merchants and adventurers, urging the importance of America and earnestly endeavoring to enlist men's interests in a permanent settlement. The name "New England" was bestowed by Prince Charles at Smith's request. In his "General History of New England," Smith says: "Now this part of America hath



MOHEGAN AND MANANA, SHOWING SMITH'S ANCHORAGE

formerly beene called Norumbega, Virginia, Nuskoneus, Penaquida, Cannada, and such other names as those that ranged the coast pleased." Smith tells how after he had named the coast "New England" others "drowned that name with the echo of Cannaday," till Prince Charles was pleased to confirm it by Smith's title. Smith's description is excellent, covering the whole coast from Penobscot to Cape Cod. He grasps the vastness of the country: "Only hear and there," he says, "we touched or have seen a little the edges of those large dominions."

"The most northern part I was at," he writes, "was the Bay of Penobscot," and he notes the "high mountaines of Penobscot, against whose feet doth beat the sea." "Segocket (St. George's) is the next; then Nufconcus (Muscongus), Pemaquid, and Sagadahock." "But all this coast to Penobscot, and as farre as I could see eastward of it is nothing but such high craggy, cliffy rocks and stoney iles that I wondered such great trees could growe upon so hard foundations." He sums up his description in one of those cryptic sentences of his: "It is a countrie rather to affright than delight one."

Smith makes a schedule of the "barbarous names" given to the places on the coast by those who frequent it, entreating His Highness to "change their barbarous names for English." Opposite the "barbarous names" in his schedule appear the English names by which he wishes the places to be known. Many of the names bestowed by Smith have endured to this day, but those he gave to Pemaquid and to Monhegan were soon forgotten. Pemaquid he christened "St. John's Towne," and Monhegan and Manana "Barties Isles," by which titles these places appear on his map. The one survival of these names is the word "John's,"—the "St." being forgotten—which still lingers in the names of the river, bay, and island before Pemaquid. But the "barbarous" names, "Pemaquid" and "Monhegan," triumphed over the English titles bestowed by Smith and other explorers and owners of the soil.

The name "Monhegan" is said by some writers to mean "Great Island," and "Monanis," "Little Island," the root of both names being the Indian "mona," island. Still others find "Monhegan" to mean "Island in the sea." One writer believes it to be reminiscent of the Mohican Indians, members of this tribe having wandered as far east as the seaboard opposite this

island. Père Aubrey says the Mohicans spoke Abenaki, and La Hontan mentions them as one of three errant tribes that come and go in Acadie. The derivation of the name "Monhegan"—like that of many other names of Indian origin—is uncertain. A full discussion of the name may be found in Charles Francis Jenney's "The Fortunate Island of Monhegan," where various interpretations are suggested, and numerous authorities are cited.

In "New England's Trials," published in 1622, Smith gives the best account of the early voyages to be found in history. When Smith set sail for England from Monhegan, he left his second in command, Thomas Hunt, to complete the fishing and return with the cargo. Smith on his arrival in England put in at Plymouth, attracting the attention of Sir Ferdinando Gorges in command there, as Waymouth had done before him. That nobleman at once undertook to send Smith out again. "We found the meanes," writes Gorges, "to send Capt. John Smith from Plymouth in a ship, together with Master Dermer, and divers others with him, to lay foundations of a new plantation, and to try the fishing of that coast, and to seek a trade with the natives." Gorges recounts the storms and tempests by which the masts of Smith's ships were broken, and Smith was forced to "come back again." A second venture was made under Smith, however. This time Smith was chased by pirates, and, partly through the perfidy of his own sailors, made prisoner and taken to France. Having miraculously escaped from France and gotten back to England, we find him in 1617, preparing again to sail for New England, still sponsored by Gorges. On this occasion, however, he was wind bound in Plymouth Harbor for three months, whereupon his "undertakers" became weary of the whole affair, so attended did it seem with evil fortune. This was particularly hard for Smith, who had foregone a good opportunity of embarking under some London merchants only because he felt himself already bound to "those of the west." Just what happened and just why Smith's patrons failed him, is not very clear. Gorges gives no definite explanation, merely dismissing Smith with the comment that this was "the ruin of the poor gentleman, Capt. John Smith."

Smith narrates what went on in New England after his departure. He particularly resented the conduct of Thomas Hunt, whom he had left at Monhegan to complete the cargo of fish, and

who after a tarry there, perpetrated one of those injustices upon the Indians that stain the records of the early English in their dealings with the savages. Free of Smith's restraining hand, Hunt captured twenty-four natives, and set sail with them for Malaga, with the purpose of selling them into slavery. Some of them were rescued from this fate by kindly friars; some found their way back to England, and thence to America; and some were lost sight of altogether.

In 1615 London merchants sent out Michael Cooper with four ships. Sailing in January, this expedition reached Monhegan in March, remaining until June. The course of the vessels, after the summer's fishing had been completed, is of interest. One vessel, starting with its cargo of fish for Spain, a Catholic country which furnished a fine market for this commodity, was captured en route by Turks. One vessel took its cargo to the South Virginia Colony. The other ships returned direct to London. This account is typical; it illustrates the usual time spent on a voyage, and the course pursued by successful ships, with the ports where they disposed of their cargoes, while capture by pirates of one ship out of three or four was quite to be expected.

Of voyages of profit in 1616 Smith mentions "four or five sail" from Plymouth, and from London six or seven. One ship returned to England, and one went to the Canaries with dry fish, "which they sold at a great rate." The crew, Smith says, "as I am told, turned pirates." The year 1617 was signalized by the mishaps of Smith, as already narrated. The year 1618 saw the departure of two ships from Plymouth, the year 1619 one, and 1620 six or seven "from the west countrey." During the year 1622, at the time Smith writes, three ships had already returned with good cargoes. Ten or twelve ships went from the western ports in 1621. Of 1622 Smith wrote: "There is gone from the west of England onely to fish 35 ships, and about the last of April two more from London." The number of ships leaving England to fish in New England waters increased yearly until Smith in 1630 wrote in his "True Travels," that "thirty, forty and fifty sail went yearly onely to trade and fish."

"Now all those ships," writes Smith, "till these last two yeeres have been fishing within a square of two or three leagues." This square of two or three leagues was that part of the ocean

between the islands Monhegan and Damariscove and off the shores of Pemaquid, where the fishing is excellent to this day. Damariscove is mentioned first by Smith, and it is probable that this island was occupied before 1614 by a man named Humphrey Damerill, who, dying in Boston in 1650, claimed to own all or part of Damariscove. Dr. Burrage, State Historian of Maine, and an authority on the whole period, writes: "For nearly a score of years (before 1620) . . . the little harbor at Monhegan and that at Damariscove, as well as the waters about these islands, presented busy scenes as the vessels from English ports came hither with each opening spring." Monhegan and Damariscove were the general rendezvous for English fishermen. Monhegan is often referred to as "the usual place" that is, of fishing. Dr. Burrage says: "All of the prominent voyagers to the coast of Maine, from Gosnold's exploration in 1602, had emphasized the very great value of the coast fisheries. The waters around the island kingdom, and even those of the North Sea to which English fishermen were wont to repair, offered no such opportunity for successful fishing as the waters about Monhegan."

Smith mentions Monhegan as among "the remarkablest iles and mountaines for landmarks," and so other English voyagers must have found it. It is interesting to speculate upon the landfalls of these early voyagers. Gosnold in 1602 probably first saw land in Casco Bay, "the land being full of faire trees . . . somewhat low . . . the shore full of white sand but very stony and rocky." Pring in 1603 descried much the same shore, but sailed north as far as Penobscot, whence he again turned south, reaching "Savage Rock," probably in the vicinity of Cape Neddock, which Gosnold had discovered the previous year. Monhegan was the landfall of Weymouth, of Capt. John Smith, of Thomas Dermer and of a majority of the voyagers before 1620.

The first locality in New England well known to Englishmen was this region of Pemaquid, "that part of the country we first seated in," as Gorges describes it. Upon Pemaquid and Monhegan shines the romantic light which falls on all early, first discovered things. Plymouth and Boston were more significant, the doings there more serious and more fateful for coming generations, but by the time the Pilgrims came, Englishmen had been surveying the more northern shores in wondering rapture for two decades. Many brave little ships had cut these waters

with their prows. Bold unfearing seamen and explorers had steered with steady hands into the dark silent coves of Maine, not knowing where they were, what sort of beings they might find, nor what the natives called the places where they dwelt. Wawenock chiefs had told English noblemen in far-off English palaces the secrets of these shores. Monhegan had become the center of a considerable fishing industry. Good maps of the coast had been made, and James Rosier, James Davies, and Capt. John Smith had set forth the beauties of New England in the most naïve of all romances.

Smith estimated shrewdly the value of the New England fisheries. He ends his plea for the planting of a colony in New England and the building of "a little navy royal," with this prediction: "Let not the meanness of the word fish distaste you, for it will afford as good gold as the mines of Guiana or Potassie, with less hazard and charge and more certainty and facilitie." Two centuries later William Cullen Bryant in his "Popular History of America," was to write: "The mute fish piloted history to the scene of her most speaking achievements." And again: "They (the early colonists) stepped from the deck of a fishing smack and began the work of founding a republic by tending the rude stages where the fish were dried."

In 1631, Smith wrote of the adventurers: "They promised me the next year twenty sail . . . made me admiral of the country for my life . . . and promised to make me a patentee for my pains . . . yet," he adds, "nothing but a voluntary fishing was effected for all this air." After recounting his adventures in America and his numerous ill-starred attempts to further enterprises thither, he says: "By that acquaintance I have with them, I may call them my children, for they have been my wife, my hawks, my hounds, my cards, my dice, and in totall my best content, as indifferent to my heart as my left hand to my right." Ill fate seemed to pursue Smith, who wrote thus of his evil fortune: "In neither of these two countries (Virginia or New England) have I one foot of land nor the very houses I builded nor the ground I digged with my own hands, nor ever any content nor satisfaction at all." What he himself says seems to have been true of Smith, who received for all his efforts not material reward but an enduring name.

The tercentenary of Smith's visit to Monhegan was appropriately celebrated on that island in 1914, when a memorial tablet with an inscription by Dr. Burrage was unveiled. The inscription is as follows:

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH

Adventurer in many old world countries
A pioneer in the new world
Governor of Virginia
Came here with two vessels in 1614
Anchored in this island harbor
And explored the coast from Penobscot Bay to Cape Cod
Discovering a large opportunity
For adding to England's glory by colonization
He returned home and spent his remaining years
In advancing American enterprises
Because of his great interest in the future of America
And to commemorate his connection with this island
This tercentenary tablet is placed
By Monhegan residents
1914

CHAPTER V

THE PLYMOUTH COMPANY AND THE COUNCIL FOR NEW ENGLAND

During the years that followed 1607, the one promoter of English activity in the new land whose enthusiasm never flagged, was Sir Ferdinando Gorges. Gorges sums up his grief over the failure at Sagadahoc in a single cryptic sentence: "All our hopes were frozen to death." He mentions Sir Francis Popham, the son of the Chief Justice, who "could not so give it over," but who "sent divers times to the coast for trade and fishing." "He found it fruitlesse and was necessitated at last to sit down with the losse he had already undergone." But Gorges, though deeply chagrined, was not one so to give it over, either; more farsighted than any of his associates, he soon regained his faith in the new country. As for the "coldness of the clyme," he knew "many great kingdoms and large territories more northerly seated," and he felt confident that the new land "when God should be pleased to make it appeare would yield both profit and content to as many as aimed thereat," these being truly "the motives that all men labor, howsoever otherwise adjoynd with fair colors and goodly shadows."

There is throughout his writings this vein of philosophy in Gorges which charms the reader of today, revealing a combination of practical sagacity and farsighted idealism which are not common. Whatever ideas the old knight may have had which would be inharmonious with the democratic views of the present day, yet his theories were in perfect keeping with his own generation; he was wholly loyal to the faith he had; and he was ever wonderfully zealous, practical, wise, and optimistic. Others might be turned aside from their endeavors by the failure of a single effort—not so Gorges!

"Finding that I could no longer be seconded by others," Gorges writes, "I became an owner of a ship myself fit for that employment, and under colour of fishing and trade, I got a master and company for her, to which I sent Vines and others, my owne servants, with their provisions for trade and discovery,

appointing them to leave the ship and ship's company for to follow their businesse in the usuall place"—no doubt, Monhegan. By these means "and the help of those natives formerly sent over," he becomes assured that in time he will "want no undertakers." He tells of the war that has "consumed the Bashaba" and of the plague that is decimating the natives of the country, an illness to which Vines and his associates "that lay in the cabbins" with the suffering savages did not succomb. "Not one of them ever felt their heads to ake while they stayed there." The plague, at its height in 1615, was so severe that "the country was in a manner left void of inhabitants." Gorges is very indefinite in his references to Richard Vines, in whom he seems, however, to have reposed great confidence. We know that Vines was here as early as 1609, and that he spent the winter of the plague, 1615-1616, on the coast; we get the suggestion also that other winters in these early years were so spent, but Gorges does not definitely tell us so. He speaks of hiring men to spend the winter in New England "at extreme rates," because of the native war and the plague then raging. He says in the "Description of New England," that in 1636 William Gorges found Vines settled near the present Saco, where he had been for some years; we also know that in 1630 the Council for New England granted to Vines and John Oldham the land south of the Saco River, on which land they founded Biddeford. The later history of Vines will be mentioned in succeeding chapters.

Gorges does not mention Henry Hudson, another navigator who rounded Pemaquid Point in very early days, and who coasted from Penobscot to Cape Cod in 1609. Nor does he refer to the encounter between two English ships and a French ship in 1611. Capt. Plastrier, a Frenchman, was on his way to the Kennebec to trade when he was taken prisoner by the English. "His release was effected by means of presents," says Father Biard, putting it diplomatically, "and by his promise to comply with the interdictions laid upon him not to trade anywhere upon the coast, for the English want to be masters of it." This is probably the first clash between the French and the English in New England.

Gorges does, however, dwell at some length upon the exploits of Samuel Argall in 1613. After the abandonment of St. George's Fort at Sagadahoc, writes Gorges, "the Frenchmen immediately

took the opportunity to settle themselves within our limits." The settlement to which he refers was made on the island Champlain had named "Mount Desert." The French ship sailed from Honfleur, France, in March, 1613, with the object of removing two Jesuit priests, Father Biard and Father Massé, from Port Royal, a French settlement, to a point on the Penobscot called "Kadescuit." The expedition was financed by Mme. de Guercheville, a French lady interested in the conversion of the savages to the Catholic religion. But owing to fogs and the great distance to Kadescuit (Kenduskeag), the colonists finally seated at Mount Desert. The infant colony, which the French called "St. Sauveur," came to a summary end. Every summer, according to Father Biard, the Virginia Colony sent ships north to the islands of "Pemeuit" (Pemaquid) to fish. In 1613 they sent their ships under Sir Samuel Argall, who while at Matinicus learned through some savages of the proximity of the new settlement. The Indians guided Argall thither very innocently, believing they were conducting him to his white brothers. When they discovered the truth, they were full of contrition.

The French were wholly unprepared for the attack which followed. The commander of the expedition, la Saussaye, was on shore, and according to the Jesuit relations, remained there through fear. After capturing the French ship easily, Argall proceeded to rifle the commander of his commission, and then, when la Saussaye at last appeared, demanded at once to see it. When la Saussaye could not produce it, Argall, affecting great wrath, branded him as a pirate, and proceeded to rifle him of his possessions. He then set la Saussaye adrift, with one of the Jesuits and thirteen others, in an open boat to meet what fate they might; for these were days of intense rivalry and little mercy. Argall took fifteen of the colonists aboard his own ship, and transported them to Virginia. Fifteen others escaped; and joining the fifteen set adrift, reached Nova Scotia, whence they all embarked for France. The Jesuits were taken to England, where, like Weymouth's Indians, they were looked upon as "wonders." They were civilly entertained, however, and then sent back to France. Argall's act was commended by Sir Thomas Dale, who at once dispatched him north again to destroy all traces of French occupation of territory within the limits of the Virginia patent. In obedience to his commission,

he destroyed the forts and stores of the French at St. Croix Island, Port Royal, and Mount Desert.

For Argall's piratical act there is this defense; he was sailing under orders to expel any French intruders he might find within the limits of the Virginia patent. Gorges defends Argall's decisive action. From the point of view of the English of that day, determined to hold territory to which they felt they had a right, it was perhaps a prompt measure dictated by necessity. Its importance politically was seen in later years when the soil of Maine was contested by France and England; Argall's act then held equal weight with the voyage of Weymouth and the settlement at Popham in holding the soil of Maine for England.

Gorges does not refer to Capt. Edward Harlow who in 1611 "fell in with Monhegan." Harlow kidnapped two natives at Monhegan and three at Cape Cod, taking them to England. As the voyages of Challons and Popham were largely due to interest stirred up by captured natives, so it was with later voyages. In 1614 Epenow, a captured savage, came into the possession of Capt. Henry Harley, a member of the disbanded Popham Colony. Capt. Harley took Epenow to Gorges, and the savage reawakened his interest in America. An expedition, financed partly by Gorges, was sent out under Capt. Nicholas Hobson, a fruitless expedition, for "they brought home nothing," Gorges writes, "but the newes of their evill successe." Hobson took with him three savages, Epenow, Wanape, and Assacomet, one of Weymouth's captives. Assacomet perhaps returned with Hobson to England, but Epenow was left at Martha's Vineyard, the region to which the expedition sailed. Of Epenow, Harley said he found him "to be of acquaintance and friendship with those subject to the Bashaba." He was captured by some unknown navigator, perhaps Harlow, and "had been shown in London for a wonder."

In October, 1615, Richard Hawkins, president of the Plymouth Company, sailed for Monhegan, and thence to Virginia and to England via Spain. "The war was at its height and the principal natives almost destroyed," Hawkins reported. In this war, our friends, Nahanada and Skidwarres, doubtless perished. It is probable that Hawkins wintered at Monhegan in 1615-1616, for in April, 1616, Edward Brande reached Monhegan to find Hawkins there.

In 1619 occurred a voyage of whose details we know more. Capt. Dermer in this year ran across in Newfoundland a savage named Tisquantum, who had, perhaps, been captured at the same time as Epenow. Dermer notified Gorges, whose interest was again aroused by the finding of this savage and by the information that Capt. John Mason, then in Newfoundland, would be glad to do anything in his power to further a voyage of exploration to the former scene of their activities. "Dermer advised us," Gorges writes, "to send some one to meet him at our usual place of fishing"—Monhegan. Gorges sent a Capt. Rocroft to meet Dermer, but meantime Dermer, having been advised by Mason to see Gorges in person before proceeding further, had embarked for England. Rocroft, reaching Monhegan and not finding Dermer there, sailed for Virginia in a French bark of Dieppe which he had captured, leaving his own ship at Monhegan. Some of his crew proved mutinous, so Rocroft determined to set them on shore rather than to take more drastic measures. He left them near the present Saco whence they found their way to Monhegan, the general rendezvous in those days. At Monhegan they spent the winter of 1618-1619, "with bad lodging and worse fare." Dermer arrived at Monhegan in May, 1619, to find only the remnants of Rocroft's mutinous crew, and to learn that Rocroft had sailed for Virginia. Dermer set sail south to find him, "searching every harbor and compassing every cape-land to Virginia," but Rocroft had suffered shipwreck in Virginia and later had been killed in a quarrel.

Dermer remained in the country nearly two years, making thorough explorations. Gorges urged him to return for a time to England, because of trouble he was having with his patent; but Dermer remained, only to be wounded in 1620 at Martha's Vineyard by the Indian Epenow. He went to Virginia to recuperate, but died there of his wounds. The loss of Dermer, whom they had held in high esteem, was a great blow to Gorges and the Plymouth Company, one of their innumerable reverses, for Dermer seems to have been a man of high type, himself enthusiastic about the new world. Smith calls Dermer "an understanding and an industrious gentleman."

An interesting letter written by Dermer to "Samuel Purchas, Preacher of the Word, at the Church a little within Ludgate, London," is worth quoting. Dermer writes in part as follows:

“Sir,—

It was the nineteenth of May before I was fitted for my discovery, when from Monahiggan I set sayle in an open pinnace of five tun for the iland I told you of. I passed alongst the coast where I found some antient plantations not long since populous, now utterly void; in other places a remnant remains but not free of sicknesse. Their disease, the plague, for wee might perceive the sores of some that had escaped who described the spots of such as usually die.” Dermer describes his journey down the coast, until he arrived at his “savage’s native country,” Cape Cod. Here apparently he left Tisquantum. Dermer “redeemed a Frenchman and afterwards another at Mastachusit who three yeeres since escaped shipwracke at the Northeast of Cape Cod. The time being farre spent, bare up for Monahiggan, arriving the three and twentieth day of June, where wee found our ship ready to depart. To this ile are two other neere adjoining, all which I called by the name of King James, his Iles, because from thence I had the first motives to search for that (now probable passage) which may hereafter be both honorable and profitable to his Majestie. When I had dispatched with the ships ready to depart, I thus concluded for the accomplishing of my businesse. I put most of my provisions aboard the Sampson of Cape Ward, ready bound for Virginia, from whence hee came, taking no more into the pinnace then I thought might serve our turnes.” Dermer describes his second journey down the coast, and his disappointment that he “had not now that faire quarter amongst the savages as before.” This he believed to be due to the fact that Tisquantum was again among his fellow savages. He had perhaps reawakened by his presence memories of the treachery of Hunt. “Now almost everywhere where they were of any strength they sought to betray us.” On the northern shore of Cape Cod, Dermer was taken prisoner, but escaped “after a strange manner.” At Martha’s Vineyard he met Epenow, the Indian, with whom he had friendly intercourse and “much conference.” Dermer passed through Long Island Sound, to Chesapeake Bay, finally reaching James City, Virginia. During the winter there he suffered from a fever. At the time of the writing of his letter, December 27, 1619, he was in Virginia awaiting fair weather to venture forth exploring.

Such is Dermer's own account of his exploits up to December, 1619. His later history we know. He returned to Monhegan in the spring of 1620 and spent the summer exploring. He then set sail once more for Virginia, calling at Martha's Vineyard to visit Epenow again. But Epenow's temper had changed, there was an encounter, and all Dermer's men but one were killed, Dermer himself escaping with many wounds, from which he died in Virginia later. This story from Samoset's point of view is told in Mourt's Relation. Samoset told the Pilgrims that eight months before his visit to Plymouth, the Nausites had slain some Englishmen—Sir Ferdinando Gorges' men—in revenge for the treachery of Capt. Hunt who had captured some of their people at Plymouth, and sold them for slaves at 20 pounds a man. Two of the Englishmen had hardly escaped to Monhegan, Samoset said.

Gorges in his "Briefe Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England," published in 1622, gives details of the proceedings of the Plymouth Company and the voyages from 1607 to that date, writing with much enthusiasm, and never losing sight of the magnitude of the project, which enlisted all his ardor. Of the country Gorges wrote: "It is able to invite any actively minded to endeavor the possessing thereof if only to keep it out of the hands of others." The benefits to be derived from colonizing New England he states to be "the increase of the King's navy, the breeding of mariners, the employment of his people, filling the world with expectation and satisfying his subjects with hope who are now sicke in despaire and in time grow desperate through necessity."

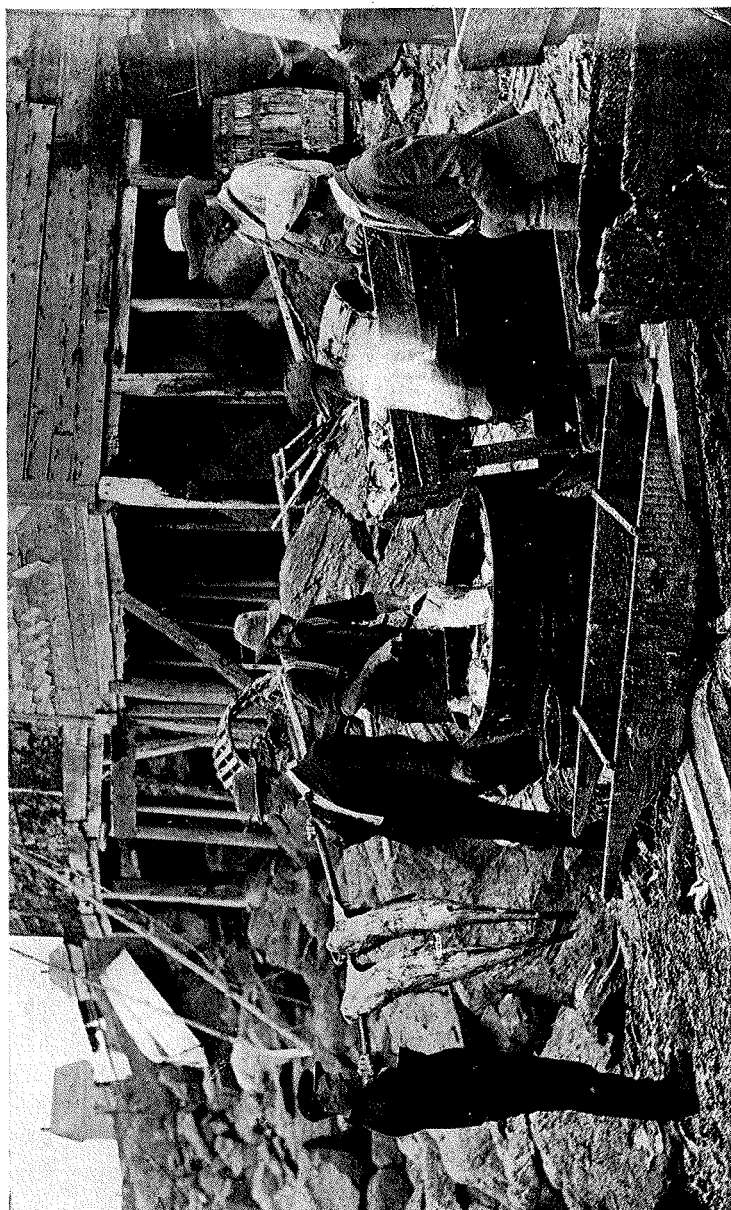
Gorges had urged Dermer's return as we have mentioned, because of troubles he was having with his patent. These troubles had come about as follows. The South Virginia or London Company had twice secured new patents with enlargements of their privileges, and—lacking the opportunities for fishing which the northern company possessed—had sought an amalgamation of the patents of the two companies with the object of bringing the northern fishing grounds within their own limits. The Plymouth Company had objected, and now thought fit to seek a new patent for themselves. In this effort the Plymouth Company was almost too successful. A royal charter, the great patent for New England, granted by James I November 3, 1620, created a new

company superseding the Plymouth Company and known as the "Council for New England."

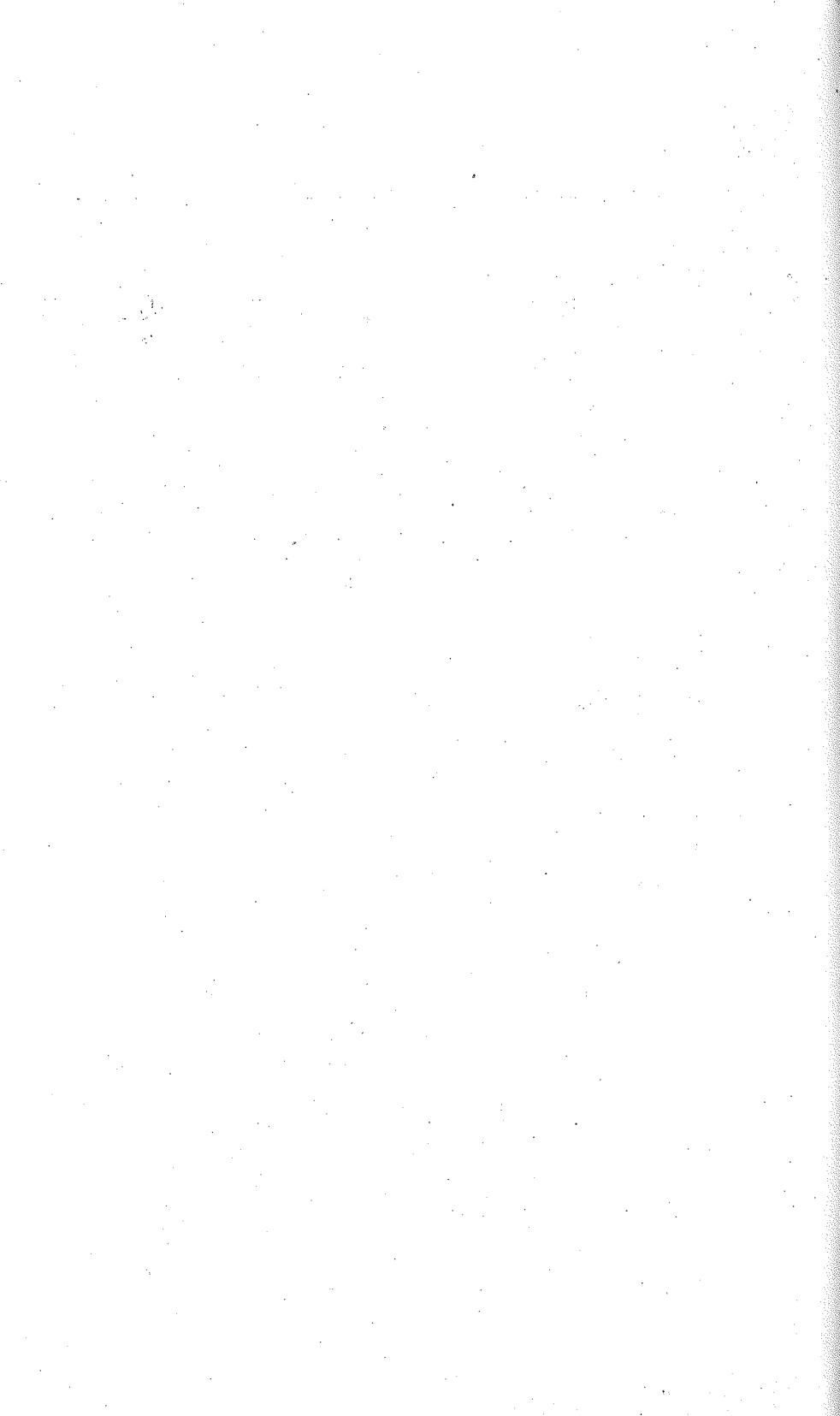
Now opens a little known chapter in our history, to which attention has been called by Dr. Henry S. Burrage in his "Beginnings of Colonial Maine." Those who are interested in the subject are referred to that work, in which Dr. Burrage sets forth the details of a struggle which now began. The following is but a résumé of the facts which are fully presented therein but it is of so much interest to our narrative that it should be mentioned here. The new charter to the Council for New England conveyed to that company the exclusive right to fish off the shores of the territories included in the patent, while no one might enter a New England port, or trade or traffic there "without a license from the Council for New England, on penalty of seizure of their ships and goods." The zone in question of course included the already famous Monhegan fishing grounds, where west of England merchants sent ships yearly, and where ships from the Virginia Colony did their fishing also.

When the terms of the patent became known, there was a great cry of monopoly. "The rumour" of their "hopes was so publicly spread abroad," in Gorges' words, "and the commodities of fish and fur so looked into," that much jealousy of the new company became aroused. The South Virginia Company objected vigorously, and several west of England ports, including Plymouth and Bristol, protested also. The matter was brought before Parliament by the introduction of a bill for "free fishing," the king was petitioned to withhold the patent, and the matter became one of the popular grievances of the day. This was quite in keeping with the spirit of the age, which was seeing the beginning of the popular feeling against monopoly and kingly privilege under the first Stuart. "By reason of the monopoly thus secured," Sir Edwin Sandys urged, "English fishermen are denied their free fishing rights, a loss to them and to the nation."

The brunt of the attack fell on Gorges, who appeared in Parliament several times to defend the Council and to fight for the charter. Gorges said of the Virginia Company that they had no just cause of complaint, since it had been their policy to debar the northern company from "intermeddling" within their limits. To the claim of his opponents that their monopoly of the sea was



MONHEGAN FISHERMEN



unwarranted, Gorges replied that theirs was a joint stock company which any could enter by taking stock, and that those who so desired might fish within the prescribed area by obtaining a license to do so from the Council for New England. He claimed that regulation of the fishing was a necessity because of the loose conduct of the fishermen in the region, who cheated the Indians in trade, sold them rum and ammunition, and conducted themselves otherwise to the detriment of English interests. But Parliament continued to inveigh against the patent, claiming that it was only a cover for an attempt to secure a monopoly of trade and fishing. The day was saved to Gorges finally by the dissolution of Parliament by an angry monarch. This was the famous Parliament which expressed its right to freedom of speech, the account of whose proceedings the king tore from the records.

The bill for free fishing was never carried; it dragged on from June, 1621 to May, 1624, when it disappeared. Meantime, the Council for New England took steps to defend the privileges of its patent, dispatching Robert Gorges, son of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, to New England as Governor and Lieutenant General of the territory, and Francis West as Admiral "to restrain interlopers and such fishing ships as came to trade and fish without a license from the Council for New England, for which they should pay a round sum of money."

The "round sum of money" was five pounds for every thirty tons of shipping. But West found the fishermen difficult to deal with, as did Robert Gorges; "stubborn fellows," Gov. Bradford calls them. West gave up the attempt to carry out the duties of his office, and Robert Gorges soon returned to England also. Sir Ferdinando relates that supporters had abandoned the company because of the long drawn out fight in Parliament over fishing, that his son was not provisioned with supplies as had been promised, and that it seemed best, therefore, that he should return. Robert Gorges made a journey east and no doubt saw the shores of Pemaquid and Monhegan, though we have no detailed record of his movements. The Pilgrim chroniclers relate that New England was not to Gorges' liking, and that he departed for England, having scarcely "saluted the country." No further effort was made by the Council for New England to carry out the provisions of its patent, or to enforce the restrictions upon fishing, the

Council gradually yielding to the voice of public opinion while fishermen fished where they would.

This fight in a far off English Parliament three hundred years ago over the right to fish in New England waters seems odd today, yet this was a live issue to the Englishmen of that generation. The principal scene of the fishing over which the controversy was waged was the little "square of two or three leagues" between Monhegan and Damariscove, of which Smith wrote—a somewhat lonely, inconspicuous spot today. But it was dotted then in spring with the white sails of English ships and represented, next to the banks of Newfoundland, the best fishing on the coast.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges was the leading spirit in both the Plymouth Company and the Council for New England. He was born near London about 1568, of an ancient Norman family. Educated for a military career, he was early identified with the defense of Devonshire. He was for many years in command of fortifications in Plymouth Harbor. His mind as revealed in his works and letters was constantly upon England's naval affairs, and the means to be taken to defend England from English and foreign pirates. He thinks much of Spain and the menace which she holds for England. Though an ardent royalist, much attached to the person of the king, and though unaffected by the liberal stirrings among the people of that era, Gorges was not narrow. He was rather something of a statesman; he brooded much upon the unfortunate economic condition of the country, and dreamed of colonies as a means of alleviating the sufferings of the common people. There is a vein of philosophy throughout his writings and a largeness of sympathy and outlook that are most appealing.

Though unaffected by the new political outlook of the era, Gorges is very forward looking. By temperament and breeding he was debarred from sharing in the more advanced political movements of his day, yet no Englishman of that age was more fascinated by the spirit of adventure which seized upon the seaport towns, and no one threw himself more ardently than Gorges into the hazards with which the first attempts to explore and colonize upon our shores were fraught. His zeal in such efforts was unflagging, and he must have squandered a fortune upon his various enterprises. In telling of the voyages sent out,

he states he had held this course "for some years together," but without private profit, for what he "got one way" he "spent another." "I dealt," he wrote, "not as merchants or tradesmen are wont, seeking onely to make mine owne profit, my ends being to make perfect the thorough discovery of the countrey, as I opened the way for others to make their gaine which hath been the meanes to encourage their followers to prosecute it to their own advantage." And elsewhere he says wistfully: "Were the strength of my body and means answerable to my heart I would undertake the discovery of the uttermost extent thereof." It took many years and many fortunes to carry out that "uttermost discovery," yet one cannot but regret that the brave old knight could not have lived to know more of the country which so engaged his imagination, and to see tall cities rise and flower on the shores of which he dreamed.

CHAPTER VI

THE DEBT OF MASSACHUSETTS TO THE PIONEERS OF MAINE

A strange fate pursued the first attempts to colonize in Maine. The Puritans laid this evil fortune to the fact that those whose efforts centered there were godless men, and to the dealings with the savages of Hunt and Waymouth, forgetful of some of their own harsh treatment of the natives. It does seem strange that after all the efforts before 1620 centering in Maine, made by men like Smith and Gorges and the members of the Plymouth Company, the first permanent settlement in New England should have been in Massachusetts. A permanent colony on the shores of Maine was the avowed aim of John Smith for years, and it was Gorges' daily dream. Some of the very first explorers coming out of England—Gosnold and Waymouth and Martin Pring—came not primarily to fish and trade, but to hunt suitable sites for settlements. Gorges contended in Parliament, in defense of the great patent of the Council for New England, that permanent colonies on the mainland were a necessity, if only from a commercial point of view, to the success of the fishing voyages. Many expeditions came with the definite purpose of founding settlements, led by men little known today, like Hawkins and Hobson, for example. The colonists of the Plymouth Company actually remained a year at Popham Beach, Vines spent at least one winter on the coast of Maine, Hawkins one winter, and Dermer was on the coast two years. Yet the second decade of the century closed without a permanent settlement upon the coast, and it remained for the Leyden Pilgrims, arriving at Cape Cod by accident in 1620, to found the first permanent colony in New England.

When one comes to think deeply about it, however, did it not all happen much as one might expect? Did not the first efforts to colonize in Maine meet perhaps a fate that might have been foreseen for beginnings in so great a field? Early failures taught later pioneers what errors to avoid, these so called failures being really the successes that charted out the way.

Before colonies could be successful, there must be exploration, some advertising of the new land and its advantages, and some charting of the coast. After his return to England in 1614, John Smith worked for years untiringly to give publicity to New England and its possibilities as a permanent abode. Before the Pilgrims set sail for the new world, Gorges and other English noblemen and merchants had spent fortunes in financing expeditions thither, and English fishermen returning annually from their voyages had made the new land famous by the tales of their adventures. The comments of Gorges on his own fate with relation to America are interesting: "We have made the discoveries and opened the field for others," he writes, "to take the harvest." And he puts his finger on one reason why the early settlements were retarded and why they failed to flourish. "Trade, fishery, lumber, these have been the phantoms of pursuit, while there has been a criminal neglect of husbandry, the guide to good habits, the true source of wealth, and the almoner of human life."

Raymond MacFarland says: "The work of preparation for extensive colonization in New England was complete by the time the Pilgrims sailed for Plymouth. The coasts had been explored, and carefully mapped out; many islands, headlands and bays had already received names; the island of Monhegan was famous across the ocean as a fishing station; one band of explorers had experienced the winter on the coast of Maine, and doubtless the agents of trading companies had passed the winter there. The people of England had been informed of the advantages that the new country possessed, they knew of the illimitable forest with its splendid material for ships and spars for the royal navy—they had learned of the marvelous wealth of the American seas."

That MacFarland does not err in his judgment is seen by the sudden burst of colonization that followed the Pilgrim settlement. History is a record not of isolated occurrences but of sequences of events; the settlements of the Pilgrims and the Puritans were the natural outcome of many previous voyages for trade and exploration, of the efforts of the Plymouth Company, and of the publicity campaign of Smith. The stage was set for permanent colonization; it wanted only a combination of favorable circumstances to make a settlement continuous.

Before the first settlement in Massachusetts, the Plymouth Company had had to teach the English tongue to captured savages in order that those savages might tell to them again the secrets of their country; the emissaries of that company had had to feel their way along these shores, in equal danger from unknown rocks and shoals, and from natives whose temper and attitude were yet untried.

The most elaborate attempt to colonize, that at Sagadahoc, was ill fated in many ways, but the Pilgrims came under another combination of the stars; their first winter here was unusually mild, their sufferings and great loss of numbers being due to unwise exposure only; they were much further south than the colonists of 1607, where the ordinary winter was then as now more element, and the natives to whose fields they fell heir had been almost exterminated by wars and plagues.

The Pilgrims were fortunate indeed in being befriended by two natives who spoke English. These natives had learned their English from those pioneers of the eastern parts whose work, extending over two decades, had blazed and charted out the way. One of these natives, the famous Samoset, of whom every schoolboy knows, had learned his English at Pemaquid, where he was a sagamore. The figure of Samoset is epic in its simple dignity. Mourt's Relation gives perhaps the best picture of him. Under date of Friday, March 16, 1621, this narrative records: "There presented himself a savage; which caused an alarm. He very boldly came all alone, and along the houses, straight to the rendezvous; where we intercepted him, not suffering him to go in, as he undoubtedly would, out of his boldness." Imagine the surprise of the Pilgrims who had been at Plymouth since the previous November without meeting a single savage face to face! All they had seen of the natives before this time was their shadows, so to speak, their half seen figures moving skulkingly among the trees, forms to alarm but not to welcome them. "The Indians," Nathaniel Morton writes, "after their arrival, would show themselves afar off, but when they endeavored to come near them, they would run away." Now a tall savage walks with dignity into their village, straight to the place where they are holding an assembly, and makes as if to enter. Morton says: "He saluted us in English and bade us 'Welcome!' He was a man of free speech so far

as he could express his mind and of seemly carriage. . . . He was the first savage we could meet withal." "He said he was not of these parts but of Moratiggon, and one of the sagamores or lords thereof, and had been eight months in these parts. It lying hence a day's sail with a great wind and five days by land." The Pilgrims put a cloak about him, "for he was stark naked, only a leather about his waist with a fringe about a span long or a little more. He had a bow and two arrows, the one headed, and the other unheaded. . . . He was a tall, straight man."

When Samoset appeared at Plymouth he had been with Massasoit, he said, for eight months. It is therefore probable that Dermer, when he went down the coast the previous summer, had taken him from Monhegan to Cape Cod. When Samoset said he was of "Moratiggon," he may have meant Monhegan, or he may have alluded to some place in the vicinity, perhaps Muscongus Island, which he doubtless owned. This island was called "Somerset Island," and was an appendage of Samoset's extensive tract of land, which ran east from Pemaquid toward Muscongus. Or Samoset may have been looked upon as lord of all the islands off this eastern shore, including Monhegan Island, "Moratiggon" being merely a corruption of the name "Monhegan." This matter is discussed fully in Albert Matthews' "The Indian Sagamore Samoset."

Bradford says that Samoset "came bouldly amongst them and spoke to them in broken English, which they could well understand, but marvelled at it. At length they understood by discourse with him, that he was not of these parts, but belonged to the eastern parts, where some English ships came to fish with whom he was acquainted, and could name sundrie of them by their names, amongst whom he had gott his language. . . . He became profitable to them in acquainting them with many things concerning the state of the country in the east parts wher he lived, which was afterwards profitable unto them."

Samoset made the Pilgrims a visit, and introduced to them the Indian Squanto, the one surviving savage of all those who had dwelt at Plymouth, a captive whose absence had saved him from the plague. Squanto lived with the Pilgrims till his death, teaching them how to plant their fields, how and where

to fish, and how to make the best use of the advantages of their location. So the Pilgrims fell heir not only to the Indians' cultivated but abandoned fields, but also to that thing most coveted by pioneers, an interpreter to the natives. Of Samoset and his friendship for the English we shall hear more later.

It is uncertain by whom Squanto was captured, and just what his history had been. Morton ascribed his capture to Hunt, Gorges to Waymouth; but Hunt was probably his captor, since Squanto's name does not appear in Rosier's list. It is possible that he was first captured by Waymouth, and that after his return, he was recaptured by Hunt. We know only that Dermer found him in Newfoundland, that he took him to England, and then again as his pilot to America; and that it was the finding of Squanto in Newfoundland which led to the sending out of Dermer.

In 1622 occurred some intercourse worth recording between the eastern fishermen and New Plymouth. In the spring of that year a boat came from the east bringing a letter from Capt. John Huddleston, then fishing at Damariscove, which read:

"To all his good friends at Plymouth:

Friends, countrymen, and neighbors, I salute you and wish you all health and happiness in the Lord. I make bold with these few lines to trouble you, because unless I were unhumane I can doe no less. Bad news doth spread itselfe too farr; yet I will so farr informe you that myselfe with many good friends in the south collonie of Virginia have received shuch a blow that 400 persons large will not make good our losses. Therefore, I doe intreat you (although not knowing you) that the old rule which I learned when I went to schooll may be sufficiente. That is 'Hapie is he whom other mens harmes doth make to beware.' And now againe, againe wishing all those that willingly would serve the Lord all health and happines in this world, and everlasting peace in the world to come. And so I rest,

Yours,
John Huddlestone."

The letter was taken to Plymouth by the "Sparrow," a ship of Thomas Weston's, which set some of his men down at Plymouth. The Pilgrims, after receiving this warning of the rising of the savages in Virginia, determined to fortify them-

selves against attack, especially in view of the menacing attitude of the Indians, who traded on the weakened condition of the Pilgrims, then suffering from want of food. They built a fort "which the danger of the time required," and "the hearing of that great and sad massacre at Virginia above named."

This ship Bradford says arrived by special providence, "when famine began now to pinch them sore, they not knowing what to doe." "By this boat the Governor returned a thankfull answer, as was meete, and sent a boate of their owne with them, which was piloted by them, in which Mr. Winslow was sent to procure what provisions he could of the ships." Winslow tells of this mission upon which Gov. Bradford dispatched him, and of the "Sparrow" "which made her voyage at a place called 'Damerill's Cove,' about which place there fished about thirty sail of ships and whither myself was employed . . . with orders to take up such victuals as the ships could spare; where I found good entertainment." Bradford writes that Huddleston received Winslow kindly, and "not only spared what he could, but writ to others to doe the like. By which means he gott some good quantitie and returned in saftie." "What was gott . . . came to but a litle, yet by Gods blessing it upheld them till harvest. It arose but to a quarter of a pound of bread a day to each person; and the Governor caused it to be dayly given them, otherwise, had it been in their owne custody, they would have eate it up and then starved. But this, with what els they could get, they made pretie shift till corne was ripe."

Winslow found the Pilgrims much weaker when he returned than when he left them, their summer's crop having proved "scanty, partly through weakness to tend it, from want of food." Winslow says that Huddleston and the other captains who spared him food, would accept no pay, but "did what they could freely, wishing their store had been such as they might in greater measure have expressed their love and supplied our necessities, for which they sorrowed." Maverick, writing in 1660, says that the Pilgrims settled at Plymouth, "liveing extream hardy for some yeares and in great danger of the Indians, and could not long have subsisted, had not Plymouth merchants settled plantations about that time at Mon-

hegan and Pascattaway, by whom they were supplied and the Indians discouraged from assaulting them."

Bradford makes reference to an important result of the mission of Edward Winslow to Monhegan. "And by this voyage," he writes, "we not only got a present supply, but also learn the way to those parts for our future benefit." The Pilgrims not only learned "the way to those parts," but they learned also the value of barter with the Indians. They soon afterward established a very profitable trading house on the Kennebec, which proved to be the source of the revenue which enabled them to pay their debts to the adventurers in England who had fitted out the "Mayflower."

The first attempt at a colony on Boston Bay was, like the colony at Plymouth, connected by a thread with Monhegan Island. This was the unsuccessful settlement of Thomas Weston at Wessagusset. Weston left Plymouth to plant a colony of his own, but the short-lived settlement soon dispersed after serious difficulties with the Indians. Miles Standish was sent by the Pilgrims in 1623 to the relief of Weston's men, with orders to bring them back to Plymouth, or to assist them to embark for Monhegan. "Most of them desired he would help them with some corne, and they would goe with their smale ship to the eastward, where hapily they might here of Mr. Weston, or some supply from him, seeing the time of the year was for fishing ships to be in the land. If not, they would worke among the fishermen for their liveing and get their passage into England."

The debt of Massachusetts to various English royalists was not fully recognized by her early writers. In 1621 a region called "Acadia," which included the eastern part of Maine, was granted by James I to Sir William Alexander, and became an appendage of Scotland, with the object of keeping the French as far as possible from the proposed English settlements. Gorges for years kept up unofficially a vigorous defense of English rights to New England territory as opposed to French. On one occasion he was called upon officially to defend English claims. France, through her ambassador, in the early twenties laid claim to all New England as New France, and James I commanded Gorges to defend the claims of England. Gorges based his defense of English claims upon the

discoveries of the Cabots, the acts of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the voyages of Waymouth and others, and upon actual possession in the Sagadahoc region by the Popham colonists. Gorges made "so full a reply that there was no more heard of that their claim." Acadia, which overlapped New England, was held by England until it was ceded to France by the Treaty of St. Germain in 1632.

In 1622 Gorges wrote: "Further we have settled at this present several plantations along the coast, and have granted patents to many more that are in preparation to be gone with all convenience." "We have so far forth prevailed as to make ourselves into familiarity with the natives (which are in no great number) whither is gone this year (1622) already for trade and fishing only, thirty sail of the better sort of ships belonging to the western parts besides those which are gone for transportation of the planters, or to supply such as are already planted." It is uncertain just what Gorges means by "several plantations." We have no definite data of any settlements in 1622 other than those at Plymouth and Wessagusset, but his words seem to indicate other settlements. In the summary of his report of the Plymouth Company, with its reference to "thirty sail of the better sort of ships," is represented a business which, gradually growing for more than a decade, had by 1622 become considerable.

When we realize that the earliest efforts to explore and colonize in New England were inspired by the accounts of the Waymouth voyagers and Martin Pring, their praises being directed particularly to the region between the Kennebec and the Penobscot, and the islands off those shores, and that expeditions to that region were the first extensive activities upon our coast, we get the modern view of the beginnings of New England.

That Massachusetts owed any debt to pre-Plymouth pioneers will be a new idea to some, so biassed has been the presentation of our early history. To state that Massachusetts first stood for law and order in New England and that she was the mother of our democratic institutions, is to accord her a high place; but there has surely been a tendency to give to her first settlers a prominence in initiating beginnings in New England which belongs rather to English royalists and merchants and west of

England seamen. We used to think that the Pilgrims in 1620 traversed an unknown sea to a wholly unknown land, and that theirs was the first experiment in colonizing on our northern shores, but the real history of New England sheds a different light upon it all. The coming of the Pilgrims, brave little experiment though it was, was but one link in a chain—a chain forged by Sir Ferdinando Gorges and other royalists, and by those famous merchants of London, Bristol, and Plymouth, England, who blazed the trail the Pilgrims trod.

James Truslow Adams closes one of his recent books with these sentences: "In the founding of New England and the development of her liberties, we must find place for English kings and statesmen, for colonial liberals and martyrs, as well as for Pilgrim father and Puritan priest."

CHAPTER VII

CHRISTOPHER LEVETT AND CAPEMANWAGAN ANOTHER SUMMER IDYLL

The next explorer to these shores, the quaint narrative of whose adventures is well worth reading, was Christopher Levett. Since Levett spent several days in the vicinity of Boothbay, his story is of interest here. Levett styles himself quaintly "His Majesty's Woodward of Somersetshire." He had been both forester and sea captain; he knew timber and he knew ships; he had acted as guardian of the royal forests, marking with the broad arrow of the king trees suitable for ships' masts; and he had served as captain in the royal navy. When he conceived the idea of planting in New England a city to be called "Yorke," after his native town in England, Levett received the approbation of the king himself, and in consideration of the sum of 110 pounds, was granted by the Council for New England, of which he was a member, a tract of 6000 acres to be selected in any part of New England which might suit his fancy best. In the fall of 1623 Levett arrived at the Isle of Shoals, a young man of thirty-seven, full of ardor for his enterprise.

Robert Gorges, younger son of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, had been made by the Council, Governor and Lieutenant General of New England. He arrived in Massachusetts Bay in the autumn of 1623, to make the beginnings of a plantation. Other members of the new government were Capt. Francis West as Admiral, and Capt. Thomas Squibb as Vice Admiral, while West, Gov. Bradford of New Plymouth, and Levett were to act as Councillors. David Thompson, a Scotchman representing Sir Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason, had settled a colony at the mouth of the Piscataqua early in 1623, and to his plantation Christopher Levett upon his arrival in the country at once repaired, to take council with the members of the new government. "At this place," Levett writes, "I met with the Governour, who came thither in a barke . . . about

20 dayes before I arrived in the land. The Governor then told me that I was joynd with him in Commission as a counsellor, which being read I found it was so. And he then, in the presence of three more of the counsell, administered unto me an oath."

Of Thompson's plantation Levett writes: "There I stayed about one moneth in which time I sent for my men from the East; who came over in divers shippes." Although it was so late in the season Levett set forth on a journey up the coast of Maine, seeking a site for settlement. He visited the shores of Saco, Old Orchard, Casco Bay, and Sagadahoc. Of Sagadahoc he says: "The place is good; there fished this yeare two shippes. . . . The next place," continues Levett, "I came to was Capemanwaggan, a place where nine ships fished this yeare. But I like it not for a plantation, for I could see little good timber and lesse good ground." Levett's "Capemanwaggan" was the present Boothbay or perhaps Southport, where an echo of the ancient name still lingers in "Cape Newagen," a fishing settlement on the southern end of Southport Island. Levett remained four nights at Capemanwaggan, where he had a pleasant meeting with the savages, including the famous Samoset. "There came many savages," he says, "with their wives and children, and some of good accompt amongst them, as Menawormet, a sagamore, Cogawesco, the sagamore of Casco and Quacke . . . Somerset, a sagamore, one that hath been found very faithfull to the English, and hath saved the lives of many of our nation, some from starving, others from killing."

The savages were on their way to Pemaquid to "truck with one Mr. Witheridge, a master of a ship of Bastable." They were about to continue their journey east when they learned of Levett's presence in the harbor, and forthwith came voluntarily to visit him. Levett at once endeavored to persuade the chiefs to trade with him instead of going further, but found them somewhat loath to part with their beaver skins. "After some compliments they told me that I must be their cozen and that Capt. Gorges was so (which you may imagine I was not a little proud of, to be adopted cozen to so many great Kings at one instant)." "At last," writes Levett, "Somerset swore that there should be none (that is, of their furs for traffic) carryed out of the harbor, but his cozen Levett should have all, and

then they began to offer me some by way of gift, but I would take none but one pair of sleeves from Cogawesco, but told them it was not the fashion of English captaines alwaies to be taking, but sometimes to take and give, and continually to truck was very good."

Cogawesco, sagamore of Quacke and Casco, invited Levett to "sit down at either of these two places," offering to accompany him thither. Levett, who had already seen and favored "Quacke (the present Portland Harbor)," accepted with alacrity. So the "king, queene and prince, bowe and arrowes, dogge and kettell" were put in Levett's boat, whereupon the entire party set sail for Quacke. The shipmasters of Quacke, when Levett reached there, came to bid him welcome, and the wife of Cogawesco, "the woman or reputed queene," learning that these shipmasters were Levett's friends, "drank to them and told them that they were welcome to her countrey. . . . She dranke also to her husband, and bid him welcome to her countrey too . . . for her father was the sagamore of this place, and left it to her at his death, having no more children."

Levett has some reflections in his narrative upon the merits of Massachusetts as compared with what is now called Maine. He seriously questions whether the "Massachusetts" is "the paradise of New England." He believes "there hath been too faire a gloss set upon Cape Ann" and deems New Plymouth over-estimated. "I fear," he says, "that place is not so good as many other, for if it were in my conceite they would content themselves with it and not seeke for any other, having ten times so much ground as would serve ten times so many people. . . . But it seems they have no fish to make benefit of, for this yeare they had one shippe fisht at Pemaquid, and an other at Cape Anne."

Levett now built and fortified a house at Quacke, and attempted to gain control of the traffic with the natives, but a shipmaster who was already trading in the harbor, ignoring Levett's protests, continued to barter with the natives and practically monopolized the traffic. The sagamores, however, became friendly to Levett finally, bringing him, he says, whatever they believed would give him pleasure, "yea, the very coats of beaver and otterskinnes from off their backes."

Levett at length decided to depart for England, to lodge with the council complaints against those shipmasters who had usurped the traffic in his harbor, and to secure further backing for his colony. He writes that a little before his departure for England "there came three sagamores" to visit him, "Sadamoyt, the great sagamore of the east countrey, Manawormet, Opparunwit, Skedraguscett, Cogawesco, Somersett, Conway, and others." These savages expressed their grief at the departure of Levett. "And Somersett," Levett writes, "tould that his sonne (who was borne, whilst I was in the country, and whom hee would needs have to name) and mine should be brothers, and that there should be muchicke legamatch, (that is, friendship) betwixt them, until Tanto carried them to his wigwam." Levett rejoiced the sagamores by telling them that he would return within a few months and they charged him not to forget his promise. They asked him what he would do with his house. Levett replied that he would leave ten men in it "and that they should kill all the Tarrantens they should see (being enemies to them). . . . At which they rejoiced exceedingly, . . . and then agreed among themselves that when the time should be expired," which he spoke of for his return, "every one at the place where he lived would looke to the sea, and when they did see a ship they wold send to all the sagamores in the countrey, and tell them that poore Levett was come againe." Surely this little summer idyll is worthy of a place beside the picture painted by James Davies of the visit of Nahanada and Skidwarres to the men of Popham's colony.

Levett had selected Quacke for settlement both from the fact that Cogawesco welcomed him and that he fancied it himself. His fortified house was probably on House Island in Portland Harbor. From this island he now departed, hoping for a speedy return, with all his affairs adjusted. But he found little enthusiasm for his project in England, where men's minds were occupied with other matters, and instead of returning to New England, he was forced to enlist in an expedition against Spain. Cogawesco and Samoset must search the seas for Levett's returning sail in vain, for he was destined never to revisit his infant colony. What became of it is not known, but it is probable that his men drifted to other colonies along the coast.

But Levett did not forget his New England, of which he

daily dreamed. On several occasions which he deemed auspicious, he addressed to King James's secretary pressing appeals for help and royal patronage, begging His Majesty to turn his attention to New England. "Let not the multiplicity of weighty and chargeable affairs, . . . cause this to be neglected," Levett urged. He fears that during the months when the fishermen are absent from New England, some enemy will enter the country, seizing the good harbors. He makes the following suggestions:

"The first thing wich I conseve fitt to be done is that all men be commanded at the end of there voyage to bringe all there shallops into one harbor and there to have them untill the next yeare. And the fittest harbor I conseve of to be quacke . . . beinge the most principall in the country and in the mydst of all the fishinge.

"The next thing is to fortifye that harbor wch may be donne with 4 ships wherof three to be colyers of 16 peece of ordnance and one good marchant man.

"The next is to draw all the planters to that place—"

At last Levett reached the king's ear, his project won the royal favor, and the result was an extraordinary proclamation in which the king in 1627 explained to all the realm the importance of Levett's plans, commanding the clergymen of all the churches to collect voluntary contributions toward the enterprise, the sums donated to be turned over to Levett. How much was collected we do not know, evidently not enough to forward Levett's project. Though the proclamation of the king did not accomplish the purpose Levett had in mind, it must have done much to advertise the new country and to stimulate emigration thither.

We get one more glimpse of Levett, this time in his New England. When John Winthrop arrived in Salem Harbor in 1630, he records that he was welcomed by Mr. Pierce, Mr. Endicott, Mr. Skelton, and "Capt. Levett." How Levett came to be there, history does not tell us. He was in command of a ship in Salem Harbor, and soon set sail for England, dying on the voyage and receiving ocean burial, as became the sea rover that he was. Levett's own narrative of his adventures, several letters from his hand, and everything that has yet been

learned concerning him may be found in James Phinney Baxter's "Christopher Levett of York."

Levett's statement that "Pemaquid and Capemanwaggon and Monhigon were granted to others" is of much interest as offering a clue to the date of the first settlements at Monhegan and Pemaquid. Levett doubtless refers in connection with Pemaquid, to the plantation on its eastern shore—a settlement of which we shall learn more later—by John Brown of New Harbor. We know that a plantation had already been begun at Monhegan, and it was probably at about this time that permanent settlements were first made at Pemaquid.

CHAPTER VIII

SIR FERDINANDO GORGES' PROVINCE OF MAINE AND OTHER GRANTS AND SETTLEMENTS

Fully to understand the place of Pemaquid in the history of New England, one must know something of its neighbors, and the important steps in the settlement and development of the territory in the present State of Maine. In September, 1621, a grant of the northern part of the territory covered by the Great Patent of New England for lands east of the St. Croix was made to Sir William Alexander, as the province of Nova Scotia, to be held as part of Scotland, the granting of the Great Patent being still considered somewhat tentative. In 1627 and 1628 Alexander took possession, routing the French settlers from the region and introducing settlers of his own. In 1630 Alexander granted to Claude and Charles de la Tour that part of his patent known as Acadia.

France, claiming the whole territory as part of "New France," prepared for opposition. The territory called Acadia was granted to the "Company of New France" in the hope that this company would send out settlers, and Isaac de Razillai was authorized to dislodge the English and take possession. In 1632, however, much to the disappointment of the English in New England, Charles I, by the treaty of St. Germain, ceded Acadia to France. Razillai, arriving in America, appointed Charles de la Tour as his lieutenant in that part of his territory east of the St. Croix, and M. d'Aulnay de Charnisé in that part west of the St. Croix, with instructions to hold Penobscot and to dispossess the English as far west as Pemaquid. The French in 1635 ousted the Plymouth Pilgrims—who refused to recognize the claims of France—from their trading house at Penobscot, which the Pilgrims still seemed to consider English territory. Since the territory had been ceded to them by treaty, the French and not the English seem to have been within their rights.

Under date of August 10, 1622, the Council for New England granted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. John Mason all the territory extending from the Sagadahoc to the Merrimac and from the seaboard inland sixty miles. Capt. Mason as Governor of Newfoundland had acquired an experience which awakened in him an interest in colonial undertakings equal to that of Gorges. The patent stated—probably at the suggestion or request of Gorges—that the territory should be known as “the Province of Maine,”—the name “maine” having long been applied to all the territory on the mainland of New England by sailors and fishermen, whose activities were first confined to the islands off the shore. In 1629 John Mason and Sir Ferdinando Gorges divided their holdings; all the land west of the Piscataqua being thereafter held by Mason and known as “New Hampshire”; all the territory east of the Kennebec being held by Gorges and known as the “Province of Maine.” In 1631, the Council for New England granted to Ferdinando Gorges, grandson of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Lieut. Walter Norton, and others, 12000 acres of land on each side of the Agamenticus River, with 100 acres for each colonist who should be transported thither within seven years; the conditions of this patent were similar to those of a grant to Aldworth and Elbridge at Pemaquid in the same year, details of which will be given later. William Gorges, the nephew of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, was sent over to lay the foundations of a settlement.

In 1630 occurred the Muscongus grant, a patent to John Beauchamp of London and Thomas Leverett of Boston, England, for the land adjoining Pemaquid at the east and reaching from Muscongus Broad Bay to the Penobscot river. Leverett was a friend of John Cotton. Both Leverett and Beauchamp later came to Boston, Massachusetts, but no beginnings in the territory were made within the limits of Muscongus patent until the grant came later into the hands of Samuel Waldo of Boston. Of the use made of it by Waldo, when it became known as the “Waldo Patent,” and of the towns he settled, some mention will be made later.

A patent for lands on the Sagadahoc of which a grant was made in the same year as that of the Muscongus lands, must be mentioned because of the trouble and dissensions in Maine to which it led. This grant was made to a group of Familists who

did not find it to their liking; the survivors of the group accordingly in 1643 sold out their patent for the "Province of Lygonia," as their grant was called, to Sir Alexander Rigby, who purchased it through the influence of George Cleeve.

Walter Bagnall came to Richmond's Island in 1624 and established a trading station there. Grants were made of lands on the Saco in 1630 to Thomas Lewis, Richard Bonython, John Oldham, and Richard Vines. In 1636 Thomas Cammock settled at Black Point. To Black Point came his friend, who later succeeded to possession of his estates, Henry Josselyn. Josselyn is of interest to this narrative because he later removed to Pemaquid. Sir Thomas Josselyn, the father, and John Josselyn, the brother of Henry Josselyn, visited the latter at Black Point in 1638. John Josselyn left an interesting account of this and of a later visit to his brother in a quaint tale of travels, full of many marvels as well as many facts! To him we are indebted for an early picture of life among the pioneers of Maine.

In 1649 John Parker settled on the west bank of the Sagadahoc river. In 1660—having purchased lands there of Robinhood, a chief—the Rev. Robert Gutch occupied the present site of Bath. In 1658 Maj. Clarke and Capt. Lake of Boston purchased Arrowsic Island, dividing it up into ten acre lots. These grants and purchases from the savages, covering a considerable period, are important; from these first plantations in Maine, as centers, its early settlements spread out.

In 1635 the Council for New England surrendered its charter to the king. The events which led to this surrender are too complicated to consider fully here. It was partly a move to combat the growing power of Massachusetts, whose aggressiveness in establishing an independent government was causing alarm in England, and over which it was thought desirable to establish some sort of control. Those who wished to surrender the great patent were doubtless moved by some self-interest, also. The plan was urged and favored by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who as a result secured in 1637 an appointment as governor of all New England, a position he had long sought.

The Council for New England had not been in a flourishing condition before the surrender of the charter, the numerous grants of the early thirties having been forced upon it by public pressure and the need of avenues of expansion for the activities

of the English people. There had been a renewal, also, of the difficulties over fishing privileges, and a reiteration of the outcry against monopoly. Gorges, being summoned once more before the House of Commons to answer charges made against the Council, reminded them of his labors, and of the discouragements the Council had encountered. "I have spent," he said, "20,000 pounds of my estate, and thirty years, the whole flower of my life, in new discoveries and settlements upon a remote continent." He stated that the members of the Council could show that "their disbursements" had "far exceeded their receipts."

The land held under the Great Patent was divided among eight members of the Council four months before the surrender of the patent to the king. The most easterly division, from St. Croix to Pemaquid, fell to Sir William Alexander in lieu of his province of Nova Scotia, which had been ceded to France by the treaty of St. Germain. A second division, covering land from Pemaquid to Sagadahoc and including the western part of the Pemaquid patent, fell to the Marquis of Hamilton. Gorges was confirmed in his possession of the Province of Maine, that is, the territory from the Sagadahoc to the Piscataqua. The King appointed eleven of his Privy Councillors Lords Commissioners of all his American Plantations, a Board which forthwith appointed Gorges Governor General of all New England. Gorges had dreamed of establishing a New England empire. Anticipating trouble with Massachusetts Bay when he should come to assume the duties of Governor General, he had assailed the charter of Massachusetts, hoping to curtail the powers and independence of that colony before entering upon his duties. It was this fact which made the Massachusetts Puritans so inimical to Gorges. Yet in their unbending enmity toward him, the Puritans perhaps overlooked many kindnesses extended them by Gorges and his followers. The Pilgrim attitude toward Gorges differed from the Puritan, for in 1628 Bradford wrote to Gorges: "You have ever been not only a favorer but also a most special beginner and furtherer of the good of this country, to your great cost and no less honor." And though the Puritans so distrusted Gorges, he was in ill favor in many English circles for his reputed friendship to them. Gorges no doubt had the Governorship of New England in mind when in 1635, as we shall see, he

sent a friendly message to be delivered to the people of the Bay. Only an accident in the launching of the ship that was to bring him, prevented Gorges from coming to New England when he was sixty years of age, and still keen for the enterprise. But in old England troubles were brewing destined to occupy all the thoughts and energies of men prominent on either side in the approaching civil strife, especially of men like Gorges, staunchly loyal to the king and fated to be on the losing side. It was the state of affairs at home, no doubt, which prevented Gorges from ever entering upon the duties of Governor of New England, and from ever realizing his great dreams of establishing a palatinate in Maine.

In 1636 William Gorges, the nephew of Sir Ferdinando, was sent over as governor of Gorges' province, which for the next half dozen years was known as "New Somersetshire." He established a court of seven commissioners at Saco, consisting of Richard Bonython of Saco, Thomas Cammock and Henry Josselyn of Black Point, Thomas Purchase of Pejepscot, Edward Godfrey of Agamenticus, Thomas Lewis of Winter Harbor, and himself. Such was the personnel of the first government established in the Province. William Gorges remained only a year, but the other members of the first government were men who continued to be prominent in the province and whom we find as its leaders in the following years. The régime of Gorges was resumed in 1640 under Thomas Gorges, a cousin of Sir Ferdinando, who was appointed as its governor in that year.

It is probable that Sir Ferdinando in 1640 still hoped to come to America. Meanwhile, in 1639, he procured a new charter for his province, restoring to it the name of "The Province of Maine." The charter he received "contained more extreme powers and privileges than were ever granted by the Crown to any other individual." He appointed a Council of seven members to govern the province, his kinsman, Thomas Gorges, being made Deputy Governor. The other members of the government were Richard Vines, Richard Bonython, Henry Josselyn, Francis Champernoun, William Hook, and Edward Godfrey. Instructions which he issued to these Councillors were to serve as a basis for the government. Thomas Gorges came over in 1640, and called court at once in Saco. He remained until 1643. He made a grant of land to the Rev. John Wheelwright, brother-

in-law of Anne Hutchinson, who was banished from the Bay Colony, and who founded on this grant the town of Wells. During his administration Thomas Gorges stood for law and order. He won the respect of everybody in the province, and of all his neighbors, Puritan as well as Royalist. Burrage characterizes him as "the one conspicuously attractive personality in the province in all its early history." Thomas Gorges, oddly enough, was Puritan in sympathies; he returned to England in 1643, to fight in the Civil War on the side opposed to that of his uncle, Sir Ferdinando. It is possible that Thomas Gorges imbibed his Puritanism during his sojourn in America, shaking off some of the shackling theories and burdens of an ancient and stereotyped social order to breathe in the atmosphere of freedom that abounds inevitably in new lands, far from long established institutions.

Gorges made Agamenticus a borough by charter in 1641, and in 1642 he elevated it into a city, giving it exceptional powers and privileges, and a form of government elaborate far beyond its needs, his object being to center the government of his province there, and to make it unusually attractive to those who wished to emigrate to the new world. He named it "Gorgeana." Edward Godfrey was its first mayor.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges died in 1647—his last thoughts centering about his city—having seemingly accomplished very little in New England, considering the fortune he had expended and the hopes and dreams he had harbored for so many years. Even before his death, strife had arisen in his province. John Winter, who represented Robert Trelawney at Richmond's Island, denied the rights of George Cleeve to the land on which he had settled in Casco Bay, charging him with being a trespasser upon the territory of Robert Trelawney. A long drawn out controversy ensued which was destructive to the peace and the best interests of the colony. Cleeve finally secured in England an ally in Sir Alexander Rigby, who purchased the dormant Lygonia Patent, covering a block of land forty miles square between Cape Porpoise and the Sagadahoc and who set up a government in the territory. With two rival governments in the same territory, inevitable strife and weakening of authority ensued. Richard Vines as Deputy Governor of the Province of Maine represented Gorges, as opposed to Cleeve who represented Rigby in Lygonia. Massachusetts was asked to arbitrate the question,

but hesitated, until finally Vines, becoming wearied with the controversy, sold out his holdings at Saco, and removed to Barbadoes. No instructions came out of England as to how the matter should be settled. Henry Josselyn succeeded Vines as governor, and the strife went on between Cleeve and Josselyn. The case came finally before the Commissioners of Foreign Plantations in England who rendered a decision favorable to Rigby, finding that the original patent for Lygonia had been duly granted by the Council for New England under Gorges' own signature. This made Cleeve supreme from the Sagadahoc to the Kennebunk. The settlement of the case adversely to Gorges occurred in 1647, his interests being at that time represented by his grandson. The Province of Maine was now much diminished in proportions, comprising only the territory from the Kennebunk to the Piscataqua, and including only the settlements of Piscataqua, York, and Wells.

Upon the death of Gorges, there was no duly constituted authority in his province. In 1649, at the summons of Edward Godfrey, the inhabitants assembled to consider what was to be done. They entered into an agreement for their own government, making Godfrey governor, till instructions should come out of England. Upon the death of Sir Alexander Rigby, the Province of Lygonia found itself in a similar situation to that which had prevailed in Maine. The two provinces, realizing the danger of their position, petitioned Parliament for relief from the encroachments of Massachusetts Bay, which had already absorbed New Hampshire, and now indicated a disposition to encroach similarly upon the provinces east of the Piscataqua. By a re-interpretation of its charter, Massachusetts suddenly discovered that its limits stretched further east than had been supposed, its boundary in that direction being located as near the mouth of the Prejumpscoot River, and its territory including all the Province of Maine and part of the Province of Lygonia. The success of the Puritans in England favored Massachusetts, who exhibited much decision in making its claims good. Cleeve and Godfrey protested in vain against the action of Massachusetts. Massachusetts won by a direct appeal to the inhabitants, who as far north as Saco submitted themselves to the Bay Colony in 1653. In 1658, by the same procedure, Massachusetts moved further east, appointing commissioners to hold court at Spur-

wink, when the inhabitants at Black Point, Spurwink and Casco submitted to Massachusetts.

Such was the fate of the province whose foundations were laid by Sir Ferdinando Gorges; it had first shrivelled into narrow limits, and had then become absorbed by his Puritan rivals. The spirit of the age favored Massachusetts Bay. Gorges represented an authority that was waning; out of harmony with the new forces that grew and gathered gradually throughout his lifetime, he stood with feet firmly set upon the past. We get our last glimpse of him at Ashton Phillips, his wife's home near Bristol, where during his last years he wrote his "Brief Narration," a résumé of colonial activities. We can see him there, an old man of eighty years, after many disappointments, with senses dulled, scarcely aware of the actual events occurring in his beloved province, but doting on it still, full of dreams and visions of that brave new world which he would never see. So he passes from our sight after his long and active life, a man of impaired fortunes and broken dreams, worn out by the toils and loyalties of four score years, a man too much neglected by his own age and the present, a man whose story should be known and whose memory should be cherished by every citizen of Maine.

Perhaps we of today are fortunate that Gorges met with no greater measure of success. Had he done so, Maine might have had a different story, but one wonders. Though Gorges was wholly royalist in his ideas, and though all the early leaders of Maine were largely royalist as well, yet the course of events in the new world was perhaps shaped by forces other than those which governments of any type might bring to bear. Gorges did represent the past—albeit the best and finest in that past—yet it is a question whether, had he met with greater and more prolonged success in his undertakings, his attitude would have had a derogatory effect upon the development of Maine in the succeeding eras. A new spirit was in the air, which showed itself in England under the first Stuart. When the pioneers reached New England it found room to expand and blossom. The new freedom was partly the free gift of the soil, and whether the pioneers left England as High Church or Puritan was perhaps a matter of indifference. Having shaken off the weight of long established and aristocratic institutions, they developed

as pioneers develop everywhere. A sympathetic reading of Maine's early history, High Church and royalist though its leaders were, reveals as much independence among the first settlers of Maine as among those of Massachusetts. In early Maine one finds, I believe, as strong a tendency toward democracy as elsewhere in New England, and in religious matters far more tolerance. Maine furnished an asylum for many religious exiles from Massachusetts Bay, while persecution for religious reasons was a thing unknown in Maine.

CHAPTER IX

BRISTOL OLD AND NEW

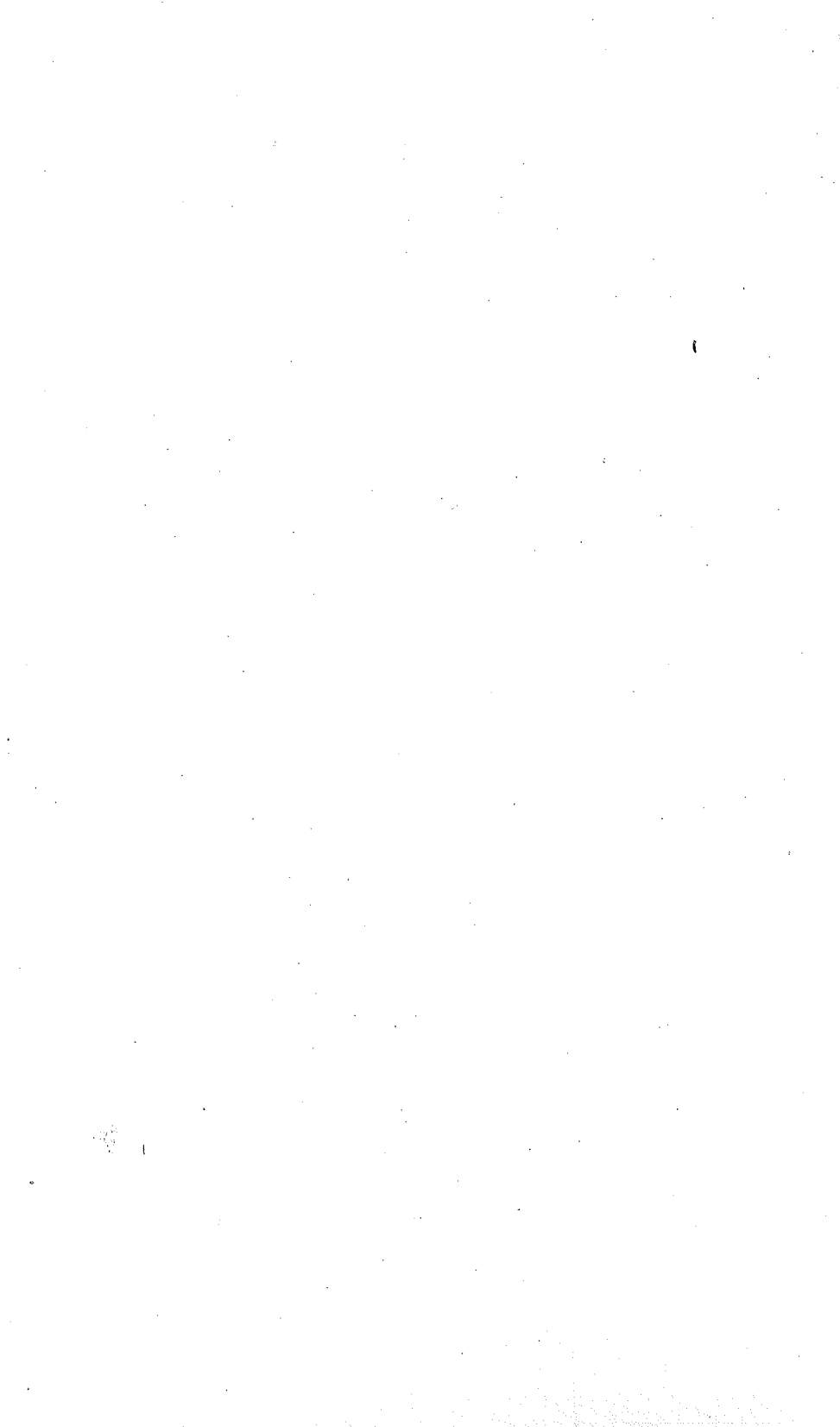
In every New England state there is a Bristol, but Bristol, Maine, is the oldest of the daughters of Bristol, England, that west of England port from which the earliest ships departed for these shores. Bristol is a picturesque old English city, into the very heart of which a ship can sail, the tall masts rising amid the traffic of the city streets, bespeaking in early days the very nature of the town. It is the home of many mariners. Sebastian Cabot was born in Bristol; from Bristol John and Sebastian Cabot sailed for the new world in 1497. Martin Pring sailed twice from Bristol to New England. In St. Peter's Church in Bristol, England, are bronze tablets in memory of Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge, two merchants of Bristol, who in 1626 purchased Monhegan Island, and who in 1631 procured from the Council for New England a patent for 12,000 acres of land at Pemaquid.

Before stating the circumstances of this important grant, it may be worth while to consider another grant which may or may not have an important bearing on the history of Pemaquid. The Council for New England made the first grant of territory within its patent to John Pierce of London and his associates in behalf of the Plymouth Pilgrims; the patent, secured for them by Pierce through the co-operation of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, was dated June 1, 1621. In April, 1622, Pierce, without the knowledge of the Pilgrims, obtained a second patent which superseded the first, whereupon the Pilgrims when they learned of it, applied to the Council for redress. In 1623, upon payment to Pierce of 500 pounds, they obtained another charter. This patent confirmed to them all their holdings under the first grant, and stated that the "surplus, that is to remain over and above by reason of the late grant, the said Pierce to enjoy and make his best benefit of, as to him shall seem good."

Some writers have believed that Pierce made use of his powers under the first patent to make an early settlement at



SAMOSET MEMORIAL AT NEW HARBOR



Broad Bay just east of Pemaquid peninsula, but Johnston, the historian of Bristol and Bremen, who made some study of the subject, did not find the fact substantiated. John Pierce did fit out a ship, "The Paragon," with one hundred settlers for the new world; but when half way across the ocean, this expedition was forced by the adversities of the voyage to turn back. Nothing more is known of Pierce's activities. Richard Pearce, a son of John Pierce of London, became a resident of Muscongus on Broad Bay soon after; Johnston believed that it was merely to strengthen their claims to lands in this vicinity that descendants of Richard Pearce a century later claimed an early settlement in the region under the Pilgrim charter. In support of this belief Johnston makes the point that the descendants of Pearce previous to this time always mentioned the deed of Samoset as the basis of their claims, but never before made any reference to the patent of 1621. There are some facts which make the claim of Pearce's descendants seem at least a possibility, however. The first patent was very vague as to location and limits, merely guaranteeing to the patentees one hundred acres of land for every person transported to the country and remaining three years, with an additional 1500 acres to the undertakers of the enterprise. A settlement might have been made at Broad Bay as well as at Plymouth, and yet have been within the provisions of the charter.

Samuel Welles made in Boston in 1755 an affidavit to the effect that he held in his hands the original patent to John Pierce and his heirs, and that, "as I am informed and hear it is agreed on all hands, Mr. Pierce came over and here settled, that is, at a place called Broad Bay, and there his posterity continued above one hundred years; some time after the settlement was begun, one Mr. Brown made a purchase of a large tract of land of the natives; and as Mr. Pierce's was the most ancient grant thereabout, they united the grant from home with the purchase from the natives; and it is said that the Indians have ever acknowledged the justice of their claims and never would burn Pierce's house, even though he left it."

The name Pierce is spelled differently by different writers, and was spelled variously also by the members of the family themselves. The man in whose name the first Pilgrim patent was issued spelled his name "Pierce" though it is sometimes

written "Peirce." John Pierce's son, Richard Pearce, the settler at Broad Bay, and his descendants, wrote the name oftenest as "Pearce," but sometimes as "Pearse."

Richard Pearce married the daughter of John Brown, just when is not known. In 1641, Samoset gave to Pearce a deed witnessed by John Brown himself, of part of the territory which he had already deeded to John Brown in 1625. This deed covered land in the vicinity of Round Pond. It seems singular that this deed to Pearce should have come through Samoset rather than through Brown himself. It is certain that Richard Pearce was one of the earliest settlers here, but how he came and whether he came in company with John Brown, is not known. The circumstances are strange in any case, and until we have further light on the settlement of Pemaquid, must remain something of a mystery.

John Johnston says: "Did Pierce immediately after (1623) send his son Richard to this place, accompanied perhaps by Brown and others, with the view of establishing another settlement under the patent (The Pilgrim Patent)? This seems probable. . . . It may have been that those were the very men who had taken possession of Pemaquid, and of whom Samoset informed Levett at Capemanwagen late in the autumn of 1623."

The term "Broad Bay," inasmuch as it is no longer used, perhaps needs explanation. It is very common in old documents relating to land titles in the region, and survives only in the name "Broad Cove," an indentation of the sea on the eastern shore of the present town of Bremen and just north of Long or Bremen Island. The "Broad Bay" of the early settlers designated probably a larger area of the sea, including the present Broad Cove and the present Muscongus Sound on the eastern shore of the town of Bristol. Albert Matthews in his "Indian Sagamore Samoset," writes as follows: "While doubtless the name Muscongus Bay is usually applied to the sheet of water south of Long or Bremen Island and the name Broad Bay is usually applied to the sheet of water north of Long Island, yet sometimes Broad Bay and Muscongus Bay are used interchangeably." He goes on to show that the term was also sometimes used to include both indentations of the sea, and quotes from a deposition of 1764 in which Broad Cove is spoken of as "in the westwardmost part of Broad Bay."

The very earliest recorded data upon the settlement of Pemaquid—which is the southern part of the town now known as Bristol—relates to that proud savage who walked so boldly among the Plymouth Pilgrims and welcomed them in English. The deed of Samoset, the Wawenock chief, to John Brown of New Harbor, is the first deed of land ever executed in New England. The tract deeded to Brown by Samoset covered the land in Nobleboro, Jefferson, part of Newcastle, and most of Bristol. The following is the text of the document, an attested copy of which is now to be seen in the files of the court house at Wiscasset, Maine:

“To all people whom it may concern. Know ye that I, Capt. John Somerset and Unongoit, Indian sagamores, they being the proper heirs to all lands on both sides of Muscongus River, have bargained and sould to John Brown of New Harbour this certain tract or parcell of land as followeth, that is to say, beginning at Pemaquid Falls and so running a direct course to the head of New Harbour, from thence to the south end of Muscongus Island, taking in the island, and so running five and twenty miles into the country north and by east, and thence eight miles northwest and by west, and then turning and running south and by west to Pemaquid where first begun. To all which lands above bounded, the said Captain John Somerset and Unongoit Indian sagamores, have granted and made over to the above said John Brown, of New Harbour, in and for consideration of fifty skins, to us in hand paid, to our full satisfaction, for the above mentioned lands, and we, the above said Indian sagamores, do bind ourselves and our heirs forever to defend the above said John Brown and his heirs in the quiet and peaceable possession of the above said lands. In witness whereunto, I the said Capt. John Somerset and Unnongoit have set our hands and seals this fifteenth day of July in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred and twenty-five.

Capt. John Somerset	His mark
Unnongoit	His mark

Signed and sealed in presence of us:

Matthew Newman
William Cox

July 24, 1626, Capt. John Somerset and Unnongoit, Indian sagamores, personally appeared and acknowledged this instrument to be their act and deed, at Pemaquid, before me, Abraham Shurte.

Charlestown, December 26, 1720. Read, and at the request of James Stilson, and his sister Margaret Hilton, formerly Stilson, they being claimers and heirs of said lands, accordingly entered.

Per Samuel Phipps,

One of the Clerks of the Committee for Eastern Lands."

Of Unongoit we have no other record than the mere mention of his name in connection with this deed. Of Samoset and his friendship for the English we have already spoken. There is record of a deed of land at Round Pond to Richard Fulford, husband of Elizabeth Pearce, granddaughter of John Brown. This deed is interesting as showing the continued friendship of Samoset for the early English settlers, especially the families of Brown and Pierce. With this last friendly gesture he passes from our sight, the first of the Indian chiefs to sign away his hunting grounds. On the western shore of New Harbor was placed by the Lincoln County Historical Society in 1905, on land conveyed by him to John Brown, a tablet in honor of Samoset, that tall straight savage, whose memory is so stainless and so pleasant.

John Brown was of Bristol, England, the son of Richard Brown of Barton Regis in Gloucester, England. His wife was Margaret Hayward of Bristol, England. When John Brown came to Pemaquid we do not know, but in 1625 he had resided at New Harbor long enough to be known as "of New Harbor." It was doubtless to Brown's settlement there, and perhaps to that of Richard Pearce as well, that the sagamores referred when they told Levett in 1623 that Pemaquid was taken. Later Brown purchased land on the Kennebec, in the present town of Woolwich. At subsequent periods he lived in Damariscotta and in Boston. One of his daughters, as has been narrated, married Richard Pearce of Muscongus. Another daughter married Alexander Gould. John Brown conveyed in 1660 to this son-in-law, Alexander Gould, about a third of his purchase. The daughter of the Goulds married James Stilson and the descendants of the Stilsons were living on the premises in 1718.

The sale of the land to John Brown by Samoset occurred in 1625, but the acknowledgement before Abraham Shurte was not made until 1626, in which year Abraham Shurte came to Pemaquid as the agent of the Bristol merchants, Aldworth and Elbridge, in whose behalf he purchased Monhegan Island of Abraham Jennings, a Plymouth merchant who had bought the island as a base of activity for his fishing interests. It is conjectured that alarm aroused by the long drawn out controversy in Parliament over "free fishing" may have led to the sale by Jennings. At any rate the land was conveyed by him to Abraham Shurte, and paid for by a bill of fifty pounds drawn upon Robert Aldworth.

An account of this purchase and of other activities of Shurte in behalf of those whom he represented is given in the following:

"The Deposition of Abraham Shurte, aged fourscore years, or thereabouts, saith—

That in the year 1626, Alderman Alsworth (often written Aldsworth) and Mr. Gyles Elbridge of Bristol, merchants, sent over this deponent for their agent, and gave power to him to buy Monhegan, which then belonged to Mr. Abraham Jennings of Plimouth, who they understood was willing to sell; and having conference with his agent about the price thereof; agreed to fifty pounds and the patent to be delivered up; and gave him a bill upon Alderman Alsworth; which bill being presented, was paid, as the aforesaid wrote me. The deponent further saith, that about the year 1629, was sent over unto him by the aforementioned Alderman Alsworth, and Mr. Eldbridge a patent granted by the patentees, for twelve thousand acres of land at Pemaquid, with all islands, islets adjacent within three leagues; and for delivery was appointed Captain Walter Neale, who gave me possession thereof; and bounded the twelve thousand acres for the use above named, from the head of the river of Damariscotta, to the head of the river of Muscongus, and between it, to the sea. . . . Likewise this Deponent saith, that Damariscove was included, and belonging to Pemaquid . . . and some years after Mr. Thomas Eldbridge coming to Pemaquid, to whom the patent by possession did belong, and appertain, called a court, unto which divers of the then inhabitants of Monhegan and Damariscove repaired, and continued their fishing, paying a certain acknowledgement—and further saith not.

Sworn the 25th day of December, 1662, by Abraham Shurte, Before me, Richard Russell, Magistrate."

Little evidence exists concerning Jennings' connection with Monhegan, but we know from John Smith that Abraham and Ambrose Jennings sent two ships to Monhegan—the "Abraham" and the "Nightingale"—in 1622. Jennings was the son of William Jennings of Birmingham. He was a merchant of Plymouth, and is known to have been the owner of several ships and to have engaged in business of some magnitude. At a meeting of the Council for New England July 24, 1622, the first division of the land held under the Great Patent was made, by which the Earl of Arundell was to receive land east of the Kennebec, and "further unto his devident the island of Menehigan,"—but nothing is known of his ever taking possession of the island. In November, 1622, Abraham Jennings joined the Council, and soon after, the island seems to have come into his possession, by what course of procedure is not known. Jennings had fishing interests on the coast, and desired Monhegan as a base for these activities. It was doubtless to the ownership of Jennings and beginnings at occupation there, that the sagamores referred who told Levett in 1623 that Monhegan was already granted. We also have a reference to the settlement in Winslow's "Good News from New England." Winslow wrote in 1623 that the men of Weston's Colony, being in sad straits for want of corn, "intended to go to Munhiggen (where is a plantation of Sir Ferdinando Gorges) to buy bread from the ships that come thither a fishing."

Another entry in Pilgrim records gives us some notion of this plantation at Monhegan. When Monhegan was sold in 1626 and the plantation broken up, a stock of goods was also sold, and of these goods the purchasers were David Thompson of Piscataqua and the Pilgrims of Plymouth. David Thompson was a Scotchman who had established himself at the mouth of the Piscataqua shortly before. The stock of goods consisted no doubt of materials for fishing and articles kept on hand for traffic with the Indians of the region. There were also some Biscay rugs which had been rescued from the wreck of a French fishing vessel by fishermen of Damariscove. Edward Winslow and Gov. Bradford of Plymouth went to Monhegan to transact the business, calling en route upon David Thompson. Thompson had not

heard of the prospective sale, but when he did so, he desired to accompany them. The purchasers bought the whole stock jointly, dividing it between them later. The purchases amounted to 500 pounds, representing a considerable stock of goods, and including "a parcel of goats." Bradford writes: "Wanting goods, they understood that a plantation which was at Monhegan and belonged to some merchants of Plymouth was to break up, and divers useful goods was there to be sold; the Governor and Mr. Winslow took a boat and some hands and went thither. . . . The merchant (who was one of Bristol) would take their bill to be paid next year." Jennings must have sold out his goods as well as the island to Aldworth and Elbridge, and the merchant who managed the transaction when the goods were sold again, "one of Bristol," was doubtless Abraham Shurte of Pemaquid, agent for the Bristol owners.

Pemaquid was granted to Aldworth and Elbridge in February, 1631, or 1632. The patent was dated February 29, 1631 and Johnston calls attention to the fact that if the 29th of February was the correct day, it must have been in Leap Year; he conjectures, therefore, that the year was 1632. But an error of date would seem quite as likely in the day of the month as in the year. The proper date for the patent should probably have been some day in February, 1631, other than the 29th, especially since Shurte, making his deposition in 1662, and evidently not recalling the date exactly, made the year "1629." Shurte is more likely to have erred by two years than by three.

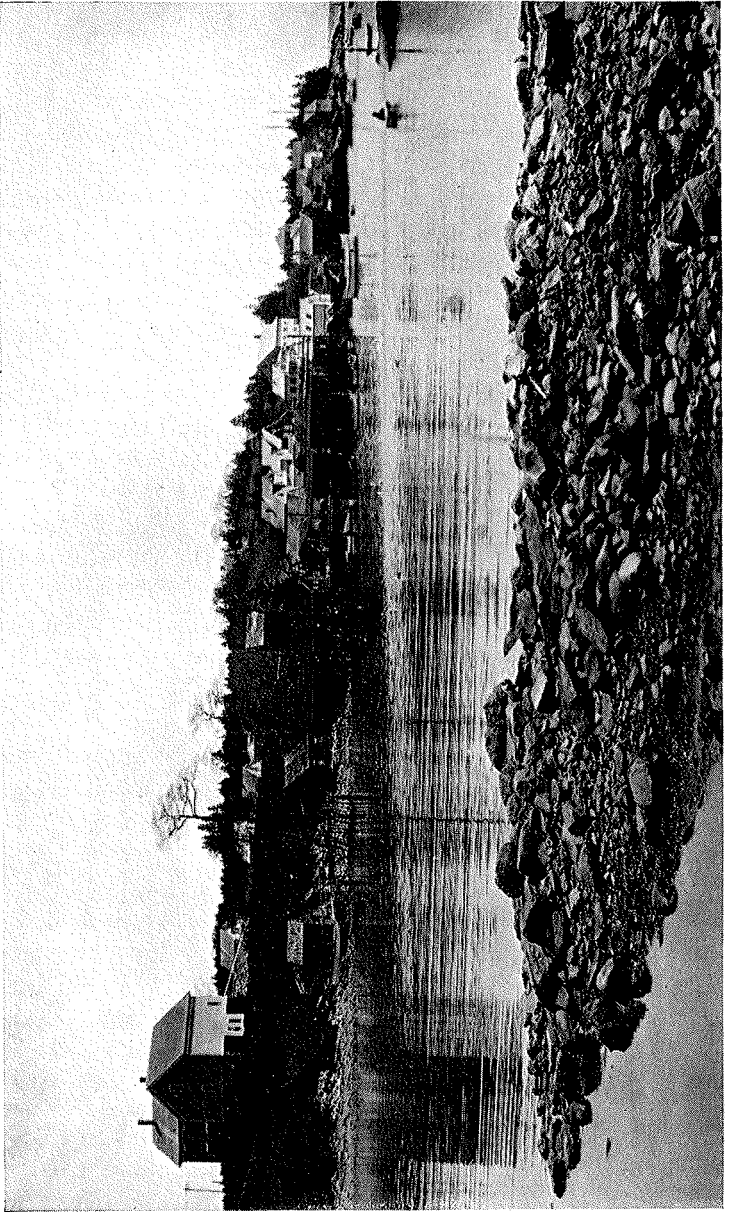
This grant of Pemaquid was the eighth and last grant of the Plymouth Council. It was for 12,000 acres of land "to be bounded, chosen, taken, and laid out near the river commonly called or known by the name of Pemaquid . . . both along the sea coast as the coast lyeth and soe up the river as far as may containe the said Twelve Thousand acres . . . together with the said hundred acres for every person by them the said Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge to be transported as aforesaid together also with all the iselands and iselettes within the limits aforesaid three leagues into the main ocean." These acres were to be taken "together and not stragglingly." For this land the grantees were to give "one fifth of all the gold and silver ore" therein found, and a yearly rental of two shillings, to be paid "at the feast of St. Michael, the Archangel, to the hands of the

rent-gatherer." The patent was signed by Sir Ferdinando Gorges and the Earl of Warwick. The attorneys to deliver it to Shurte, the agent of the patentees, were Walter Neale of Piscataqua, agent of the Council, and Richard Vines of Saco. Johnston makes this comment: "According to Shurte's deposition, when possession was given under the patent, it was agreed to bound the twelve thousand acres from the head of Damariscotta River to the head to the Muscongus, and 'between them to the sea,' but this tract contained much more than the quantity mentioned. And more than a century later the proprietors of the patent laid claim to ninety thousand acres. The only pretense for making so large a claim must have been because of the large number of settlers introduced by the proprietors in accordance with the provisions of the patent."

The patent says the 12,000 acres were to be located "next adjoining to the lands where the people or the servants of the said Robert Aldworth and Gyles Eldridge are now seated or have inhabited for the space of three years last past," thus indicating a considerably earlier beginning for the settlement than the date of the patent.

We know very little of who the settlers were, or of how they reached these shores. References to the settlers and the date of the settlement are very vague indeed. Sullivan says only: "The plantation of Pemaquid was settled before Boston." Hubbard in his History of New England says, referring to the eastern places: "No colony was ever settled in any of these places till 1620." It is probable that Aldworth and Elbridge, first locating at Monhegan but soon seeing the need of plantations on the mainland, gradually transferred their interests thither. And before them at New Harbor was John Brown and perhaps Richard Pearce, and we know not what others. Williamson merely says that we do not know "from the annals of the time in what years, and by what persons, habitations for families . . . were first formed; yet it must have been as early as the present year (1623)."

Perhaps among old archives in Bristol or Plymouth, England, or in some less likely place, documents may yet be found throwing light upon the early settlements in Maine, veiled thus far in obscurity and especially on those at Pemaquid and Monhegan. Morton wrote in 1623, in "New England's Memorial":



NEW HARBOR

—"There were also scattering beginnings made in other places, as at Piscataqua by Mr. David Thompson, and at Monhegan and some other places by sundry others." This was the region on the coast of Maine first well known to Englishmen, these were the waters where the fishing was the best, and naturally on these shores sprang up, just how we do not fully know, the first settlements in Maine. Every move of the Pilgrims and the Puritans was meticulously recorded; not so with the doings of the settlers at Pemaquid, a different, un-self-conscious type of men, who have left not a pen scratch in their own hands to tell us what they did.

We have just one little note bearing directly upon emigration to Pemaquid. In the late thirties of the sixteenth century the king, becoming alarmed at the flocking of so many people to New England, gave orders that emigration thither should be restricted and carefully supervised. When Gorges was appointed governor of New England in 1637, it was ordered by the Lords Commissioners for Plantations that any desiring to go to New England to "plant" or "inhabit" must first secure a license from "our governor." In accordance with this direction, a license was granted in 1639 "upon the humble petition of Gyles Elbridge, of the city of Bristol, merchant. . . . for the exportation of about eighty passengers and some provisions, formerly accustomed for the increase and support of his fishing plantation in New England."✓

We are indebted to Richard Mather for the one good account we have of the coming of a vessel with colonists to Pemaquid. Richard Mather kept a journal of his voyage to this country in the "James." In this journal he records that while the "James" lay at anchor in Bristol Harbor, waiting for a favorable wind to set sail, there appeared on the 26th of May, 1635, "another ship also bound for New England, which other ship was called the 'Angel Gabriel.'" Mather, with the captain of the "James" and others, made several visits to the "Angel Gabriel," and from his account we get some knowledge of that ship. On May 27, "there came three or four boats with more passengers, and one wherein came Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who came to see the ship and the people." On the "Angel Gabriel" were some Puritans bound for Massachusetts Bay, whom Gorges, after he had conferred with other passengers, asked to see. By these Puritans

Gorges sent kindly messages to the people in the Bay, "promising if he ever came there, he would be a true friend unto them."

There set sail from Bristol, June 4, 1635, five ships, three bound for Newfoundland, the "James" for Massachusetts Bay, and the "Angel Gabriel" for Pemaquid. The "Gabriel" was "of 240 tons, the 'James' of 220 tons." On June 22 they were still at Milford Haven, where passengers of the "James" and the "Gabriel" attended a nearby church. The clergyman preached from the text, "He will give his angels charge over thee," the subject being selected evidently "for the comfort and encouragement" of those who were setting out for the new world. Mather speaks of passengers on the "Gabriel" whom he visited, "among them some loving and goodly Christians that were glad to see us there." June 29th the captain of the "James," with Mr. Mather and others, visited the "Gabriel" and were dined on "mutton boiled and roasted, roasted turkey, good sack, etc." There was evidently good fare on the "Gabriel." The two ships sailed in company till July 4th, when the "James" outsped the "Gabriel."

The "James" made her landfall August 8th, "at an island called Menhiggen, an island without inhabitants." "This mercy of our God," writes Mather, "we had cause more highly to esteem of because when we first saw land this morning there was a great fog, and afterward when the day cleared up we saw many rocks and islands about on every side of us, as Menhiggen, St. George's Islands, Pemaquid, etc." "While the 'James' lay anchored at the Isle of Shoals, occurred that memorable storm of wind and rain," writes Morton, "as none now long in these parts, either English or Indian, had seen the like, being like unto those hurricanes or tuffins that writers mention to be in the Indies." In this storm a ship of Isaac Allerton's was wrecked at Cape Ann; the "James" lost her cables, escaping shipwreck only by putting on sail and making out to sea; and "Mr. Witheridge and the Dartmouth ships cut all their masts at St. Georges." The "James" weathered the storm, but the "Angel Gabriel," being then at anchor in Pemaquid, "was burst in pieces and cast away in this storm, and most of the cattle and other goods, with one seaman and three or four passengers did also perish therein, besides two of the passengers that died by the way the rest having their lives given to them for a prey." This storm was so

violent and created so deep an impression that the Pemaquid proprietors adopted a seal bearing a device of the lost ship with the words, "The Angel Gabriel, 1631."

There is a queer old English ballad telling how this ship, the "Angel Gabriel," once fought three French ships for the honor of Bristol. The "Angel Gabriel" is the only vessel of which we know on which early settlers arrived at Pemaquid. But this vessel is, no doubt, typical of most of those which came, laden with passengers and supplies and setting sail from Bristol, England, to make a landfall at Monhegan. James Phinney Baxter writes: "The wreck of the Angel Gabriel was long a fireside story throughout New England. From the character of some of the furniture which was saved, and is now greatly prized in Massachusetts as heir looms, the passengers must have been persons of some wealth and social importance."

Robert Aldworth, one of the patentees of Pemaquid, was the son of Thomas Aldworth, that mayor of Bristol, England, who in 1583 secured the co-operation of Bristol merchants in sending out Sir Humphrey Gilbert to the New World. Robert Aldworth inherited the father's taste for enterprises overseas. One of the adventurers who sent out Martin Pring in 1606, he was a highly honored citizen of Bristol, who took part in every forward looking enterprise. He was mayor of Bristol in 1609, and alderman from 1614 to 1634. His tombstone in St. Peter's Church is inscribed as follows: "A famous merchant, a successful voyager through many seas, seeking rather the glory of his country and the relief of the poor than thirsting for the accumulation of hoards of wealth."

Gyles Elbridge, the business partner of Robert Aldworth, whom Aldworth states that he found "always true, honest and careful in managing of my businesses and in his employment in mine affairs," was the husband of his niece. To him Aldworth bequeathed the major part of his estate. He was connected with the Merchant Venturers of Bristol, serving in the capacity of warden, treasurer and sheriff during several years. Bristol merchants of the family of Elbridge were interested in the new world through several generations. In St. Paul's Church in Marblehead, Massachusetts, the oldest Episcopal Church standing in America, and built in 1714, hangs a chandelier, the gift of John Elbridge, merchant of "Ye City of Bristol, England."

The Pemaquid patent became the property of Gyles Elbridge upon the death of Thomas Aldworth, descending later to Elbridge's eldest son, John Elbridge. John Elbridge died in 1646 and the patent passed into the possession of a younger brother, Thomas Elbridge, who came to Pemaquid about 1650. According to Shurte, Thomas Elbridge "called a court here, unto which divers of the then inhabitants of Monhegan and Damariscove repaired, continuing their fishing, and paying a certain acknowledgement." There are no records of proceedings in this court, and we have no knowledge of the extent of its jurisdiction; it was perhaps only for the purpose of collecting toll from those fishing in that region. It was at any rate the first semblance of government in Pemaquid. Thomas Elbridge spent his life in Pemaquid and died there, but we know little of him except that a contemporary spoke of him as a man of small stature and little force. In 1672 Thomas Elbridge was still living, styling himself "merchant of Pemaquid." Had he possessed the endowments either of his grandfather or of his father, he would have made a mark upon the history of the times which could not have escaped the notice of contemporary writers. Shurte probably represented law and order in Pemaquid, and exercised, together with Elbridge, a moral influence. Elbridge was an Episcopalian, but he established no church, services being held at Pemaquid only occasionally by visiting clergymen. We know from the correspondence of John Winter that when the Rev. Robert Jordan located at Richmond's Island in 1641, there was some talk between the settlers of Pemaquid and those of Richmond's Island with reference to securing the services of that clergyman between them—Jordan to minister half the year at Pemaquid and half the year at Richmond's Island. But the plan was not carried out, Jordan remaining at Richmond's Island.

The fate of the patent is of some interest. In 1651, only a year after settling at Pemaquid, Thomas Elbridge for 200 pounds sold half his rights in the patent to Paul White, a merchant of Pemaquid who later moved to Newburyport. During the next few years Elbridge and White sold their shares to Richard Russell and Nicholas Davison of Charlestown, Nicholas Davison in 1657 becoming sole proprietor. A daughter of Davison married Shem Drowne, whence originated the "Drowne Claim," only one of numerous claims which arose as years went on, to the land

in the vicinity, causing much contention and insecurity. The "Brown Right" originated in the purchase of John Brown from Samoset, and in Brown's conveyance of a third of his property to Alexander Gould. The "Brown Right" partly overlapped the "Drowne Claim." Other claims arose as years went on, which conflicted with these. Like the "Tappan Claim," they were based largely on Indian purchases. So complicated became the land titles in Pemaquid that they were settled finally only by an appeal to the Legislature of Massachusetts and by the appointment of a commission which did not complete the adjustment of the matter until 1813.

In 1630 the Pemaquid proprietors erected a fort to guard their possessions and to serve as a storehouse for their supplies. The exact site of this fort is unknown. Johnston believes it stood on the same site as the three later forts, at that strategic point on the peninsula that makes out between the sea and the river as it seeks the harbor. It may, however, have been on Fish Point near the sand beach in Pemaquid. Such was the opinion of one investigator who made some study of the subject. This fort was probably only a blockhouse, and was called "Fort Pemaquid."

The first pirate to descend on any part of the New England coast—known as "Dixy Bull"—took this fort and rifled it in 1632. He had been carrying on trade in the vicinity of Monhegan, when he with sixteen confederates hoisted the black flag and fell on Pemaquid. He took the fort, meeting with little resistance, though one of his men was killed by a bullet from the fort as he sailed away. Roger Clapp writes of the fears that pursued these men. He says that "One Anthony Dicks, a master of a vessel, did endeavor to persuade him to pilot them into Virginia," but he refused. The pirates told him that they were filled with such fear and horror that they were afraid of the very rattling of the ropes. Winthrop in his journal tells how the people of Boston considered sending a ship to pursue the pirates, but delayed and did nothing. Finally they sent a shallop to Piscataqua to learn the news, which brought back word that the men at Piscataqua had "sent out all the forces they could make against the pirates, viz., two pinnaces and two shallops and about forty men, who coming to Pemaquid were there wind bound for about three weeks." The pirates had sent a letter "directed

to all the governors and signifying their intent not to do harm to any more of their countrymen but to go to the southward and to advise them not to send against them, for they were resolved to sink themselves rather than be taken. Signed underneath 'Fortune le Garde' and no name to it." Bull met the fate common to pirates. He was captured off the coast of England and hanged at Tyburn.

The one outstanding figure in Pemaquid in those days was Abraham Shurte. He took acknowledgement of deeds as we have seen, and contemporary records show that he performed other semi-official acts. He was the duly accredited agent of the proprietors, and he seems to have exercised considerable authority also, not duly constituted, but derived rather from his position as the best informed and most trusted man in the plantation. In those days when legal forms were secondary, men of Shurte's type were accredited at their real worth. There are references to Shurte of Pemaquid by all contemporary writers, who seem to have held him in high esteem. Some letters of Shurte to Winthrop may be found reprinted in Winthrop's diary. They give warning to Winthrop of hostile intentions toward the English on the part of the French at Bagaduce.

Abraham Shurte was well known as a trader with extensive interests along the coast from Massachusetts to Nova Scotia. By its very situation Pemaquid held a strategic position, and Shurte as its outstanding citizen acted more than once as mediator between hostile parties. In 1631 some of the Penobscot Indians went with a fleet of 30 canoes to Agawam (now Ipswich, Mass.) and fell upon the Indians there, carrying off as captive the wife of Lynn, a sagamore. Through the mediation of Shurte she was returned to her people, the service being performed so tactfully that the savages of both parties were ever after friendly to Shurte. Even the Puritan writers speak highly of Shurte, though they had a tendency to under-estimate and belittle the leaders in the eastern settlements. Any man situated as was Shurte, trading east and west for many decades, and performing the services for his plantation that Shurte performed, who could retain a reputation for probity and fair dealing quite untarnished, must merit high recognition and respect.

Williamson credits Shurte with certain other diplomatic services highly valuable to the eastern settlements at the opening

of King Philip's War, but there is considerable question as to whether Williamson can be correct in his assumption that Shurte was the agent who performed these acts. Williamson states that Shurte held parleys with the Indians in the vicinity of Pemaquid, negotiating with them a treaty whereby peace was for some time maintained in the vicinity. He further states that Shurte went east to meet the Indians and treat for peace with the tribes there, and that at the invitation of the savages themselves, he attended an important conference at Teconnet. Johnston points out that since Shurte stated in his deposition, already quoted, that he was 80 years of age at that time, 1662, he would by 1675 have been too old to have performed such services for his people. Hubbard is the only original authority for Williamson's statement, and Hubbard refers to this mediator merely as "the agent." This "agent" Johnston believes to have been John Earchy. The fact that Edmund Randolph refers, in a letter written in 1688, to applying, concerning some land question, to "one Shurte, town clarke of Pemaquid," seems to favor the view that it was Shurte, but Johnston believes that Shurte died soon after 1662, since he did not take the oath of allegiance in 1665 or in 1674, which does seem singular, if he were living. Since Williamson gives Shurte's age and date of death differently in different places in his work, he is surely discredited as an authority upon the subject, and the Rev. Jacob Bailey, missionary of St. John's Church in Pownalborough from 1760 to 1779, states in an unpublished manuscript that it was John Earchy who attended the Teconnet conference.

Though governmental forms were lacking in Pemaquid in the early days, the settlement was prosperous. Varying comments of contemporaries are of interest. In 1665 when the royal commissioners appeared at Sheepscot to investigate conditions in the territory and receive oaths of allegiance they reported disparagingly of the whole region. There were three plantations they said, east of the Kennebec, of "which the greater hath not more than twenty houses and they are inhabited by the worst of men." Sylvanus Davis made in 1701 an affidavit as to the population of the region. Davis said he knew of 84 families at St. George's, as many more farmers between Kennebec and Matineus, and 91 families with land, of which fifty were at Sheepscot, "some

seventy and some forty years since." Davis lived in Boston during the latter part of his life, was one of the Council appointed for Massachusetts Bay in the charter of William and Mary in 1692, and performed many services, especially military services, for the English. His words should carry weight. Williamson estimated the population of Sagadahoc, Sheepscot, Pemaquid, the Islands, and St. George's as 500 in 1631.

That Pemaquid was prosperous in 1640 is indicated indirectly by notes in Winthrop's Journal for that year: "May 17, 1640—Joseph Grafton set sail from Salem the second day in the morning in a ketch of about 40 tons and arrived at Pemaquid the 3rd day in the morning, and there took in some twenty cows, oxen, etc., with hay and water for them." The value of this purchase is indicated by another note in Winthrop: "In 1636 cows sold in Massachusetts as high as twenty-five and even forty pounds a head, and oxen at 40 pounds per pair, but after this the price was lower."

At the period of which the three commissioners reported so unfavorably of the plantations east of the Kennebec, we have another witness, whose testimony accords ill with theirs—John Josselyn, who wrote as follows in 1672: "From Sagadahoc to Nova Scotia is called the Duke of York's Province. Here Pemaquid, Metinicus, Monhegan, Cape Newagen . . . are all filled with dwelling houses and stages for fishermen, and have plenty of cattle, arable land and marshes." Williamson says of Pemaquid: "The plantation had a gradual uninterrupted growth till the 1st Indian War." Davis said that there were in 1675 "near 100 fishing vessels between Sagadahock and St. George's." Evidently the fishing grounds about whose privileges so long a war was waged had lost none of their productivity.

Fishing was one of the principal industries of early residents of Pemaquid, but it was the mainstay of Monhegan. Judge Jenney has collected in his "Fortunate Island" all contemporary references to the fishing industry on Monhegan. After the purchase of Pemaquid by Aldworth and Elbridge, the fishing interests were transferred thither and the importance of Monhegan, whose harbor had been for so many years a busy one during the fishing season, dwindled until in 1635 Mather speaks of Monhegan as "an island without inhabitants." It soon regained its importance, however, and in 1674 the records show a prosperous

settlement with taxable property three times the value of that at Pemaquid. Its importance continued to the outbreak of Indian hostilities in 1689, when the whole region was deserted. During the decades that followed 1689, Monhegan is found to be the occasional dwelling place of settlers from the mainland who sought it as a refuge from Indian hostility. It continued to be the occasional resort of fishermen until the beginning of its modern occupation, about 1790. Unlike Damariscove, Monhegan was not included in the Pemaquid patent, since it is more than three leagues from the mainland. But it happened that it was in the hands of the Pemaquid proprietors until it was sold by the Drowne owners in 1770.

With this meager account of early Pemaquid and the adjacent islands we must be content. It is gleaned from contemporary documents, from the side glances, as it were, of writers whose gaze was bent more intently in other directions. Pemaquid, though its beginnings are veiled somewhat in obscurity, was to become an object of contention between rival nations, and to have a lengthy and well known history. We can only wish its earlier days were as well known as the later. After a century and a half, in 1765, the town of which Pemaquid became a part, was incorporated and named "Bristol," from the connection of its early history with so many citizens of Bristol, England.



CHAPTER X

MANY MASTERS

Pemaquid until 1664 was under the jurisdiction of the proprietors who exercised their authority very mildly if at all. Thomas Elbridge had opened court at Pemaquid as we have seen, but Abraham Shurte probably represented such authority as actually existed there. In 1664 the territory of which Pemaquid formed part was granted by Charles II to his brother ✓ James, the Duke of York, a grant which ignored all previous grants and rights, including those at Pemaquid under the patent to Aldworth and Elbridge, the claim of the heirs of John Brown of New Harbor, the rights of Sir Thomas Temple, proprietor of Acadia with territory stretching west to St. George's River, the Muscongus grant to Beauchamp and Leverett, and French claims which will be dealt with in a later chapter.

This grant by Charles II was only one of a series of new moves by the English government with relation to the colonies in America. Previous to the Restoration the English government had been occupied with domestic affairs, the colonies being left much to themselves. With the Restoration a new era opened in England, characterized by intense interest in commercial enterprises and in colonial expansion. The initial period of settlement in North America by sects seeking freedom for religious worship was over, and an era of settlement fostered directly by the government for commercial reasons was beginning. The proprietary provinces of North and South Carolina were founded with purely commercial ends in view, and the Anglo-Dutch rivalry culminated in the seizure of New Netherlands by the English.

New Netherlands with its rare location on the Hudson River, and with its lucrative fur-trade, was in itself a valuable prize, but its location between the northern and the southern colonies of England, causing a gap in the English possessions, made it doubly desirable as an acquisition. England took possession of New Netherlands in a fairly simple way. In 1664, while peace

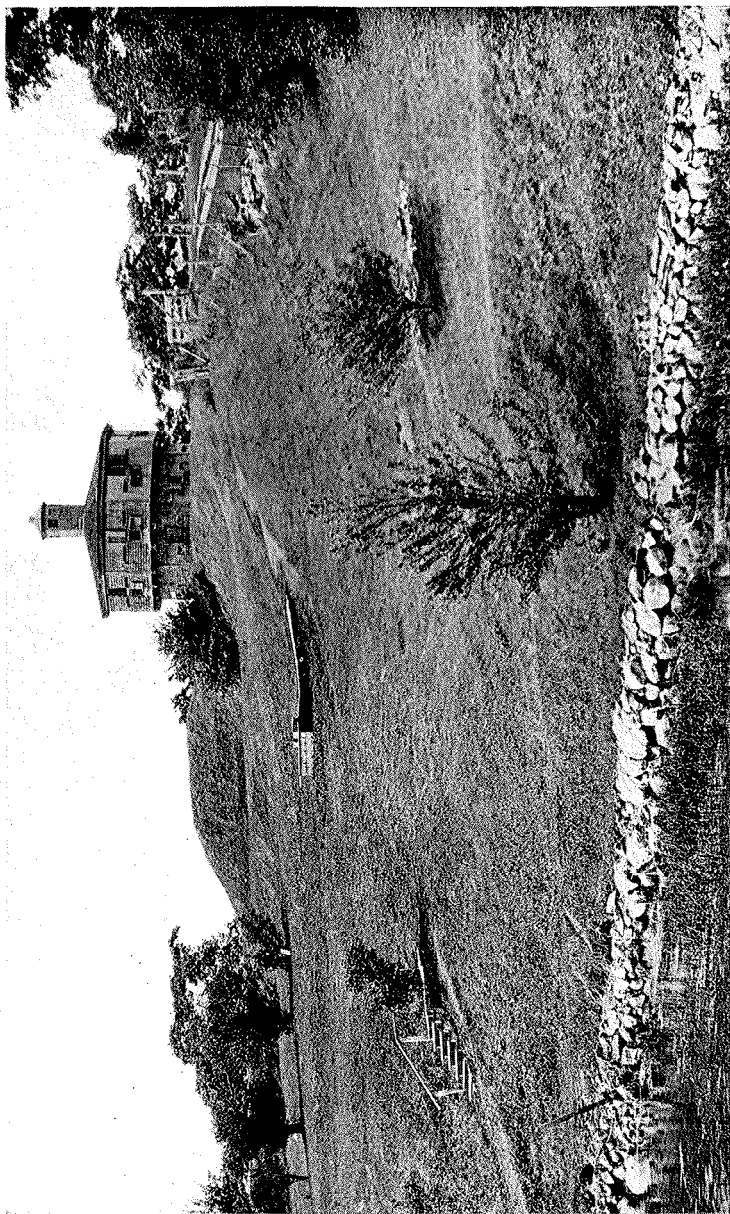
prevailed between England and Holland, Charles II calmly granted to his brother James, then Duke of York, a patent for all the territory from the Connecticut to the Delaware. The new proprietor at once sent out as governor to represent him, Richard Nicolls. Peter Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor, confronted with a force too strong for him, had no recourse except to yield, and "New Netherlands" became "New York."

This province as granted to the Duke of York had certain dependencies, consisting of some islands on the southern shores of New England and a strip of territory in the eastern part of these dominions extending from the St. Croix River to the Kennebec—in the words of the patent: "all that part of the Main land of New England beginning at a certain place called and known by the name of St. Croix, next adjoining to New Scotland in North America, and from thence extending along the sea-coast into a place called Petaquine or Pemaquid, and so on up the river thereof to the farthest head of the same as it trendeth northwards, and extending from thence to the river Kinebequi and so upwards by the shortest course to the river of Canada." This grant was strengthened by a purchase. The territory from St. Croix to Pemaquid, as has been indicated, was apportioned in the division of the Great Patent in 1635 to Sir William Alexander, and was known as the County of Canada. In 1663 the Earl of Clarendon bought from his descendants the rights of Sir William Alexander in this County of Canada, bestowing it upon his son-in-law, James, Duke of York. The territory of which the Duke of York had thus become proprietor now became known as "The Province of Sagadahock" and "The Duke of York's Territory."

The reason for the grant by Charles II of this particular part of the present state of Maine must be sought in the history of the decades immediately preceding 1664, and in the relations which had been developing between Massachusetts and the government of England. During the Civil War, England had been obliged to permit the colonies in America to go much their own way. Massachusetts had become practically self-governing, and it gradually became apparent that she now resented as mere intrusion any attempt on the part of England to regulate her affairs. She had refused particularly to comply with the acts of trade and with the orders of the English government

regarding an extension of the suffrage. She had also, as we have seen, become very aggressive toward her less powerful neighbors at the east and north. She was favored in this policy of expansion by the fact that she was flourishing, and that she had—what in those uncertain days was most to be desired—a settled government. By taking less strongly governed neighbors under her protection she soon acquired jurisdiction over them. She bore also by natural channels from within, through the removal of many Puritans into the eastern regions, who of course welcomed an extension of authority by Massachusetts over the territory of their adoption. The progress of Massachusetts was by gradual steps; it was based upon a policy of “noblesse oblige”; and its avowed object was always to confer upon weaker neighbors the benefits of better government. Massachusetts presented also as we have seen, a show of legality for her encroachments east, accomplished in every case by skillful readings and re-interpretations of her charter, and by re-surveys of her dominions. In 1641 Massachusetts assumed jurisdiction over the Piscataqua settlements. In 1643 Massachusetts objected to any representation of the eastern provinces in the New England Confederacy then being formed; because, no doubt, she did not wish to recognize their separate entity, though other reasons were advanced. In 1653 Massachusetts assumed dominion as far east as Saco; in 1658, by a similar procedure, she moved east to Casco.

Charles II, becoming alarmed lest Massachusetts should attempt to absorb the territory east of the Kennebec, now endeavored to annul the steps that province had already taken and to curb further encroachments. The king first turned his attention to Sir Ferdinando Gorges’ Province of Maine, which upon that nobleman’s death had descended to his grandson. In 1664 he ordered Massachusetts to restore to Gorges the province she had usurped; in this same year he granted to the Duke of York the territory east of the Kennebec; and in 1665 he delegated commissioners to investigate the numerous charges that had been made against the Bay Colony, and to settle the controversies in the eastern parts. The commissioners appointed were Robert Carr, George Cartwright, Col. Richard Nicolls, and Samuel Maverick. In Massachusetts the commissioners were ill received, their authority was flouted, and their work wholly ob-



FORT EDGECOMB ON THE SHEEPSBOT

structed. In the Province of Maine they declared the authority of Massachusetts void, and likewise the government set up under Edward Godfrey, instituting a government of their own.

They journeyed east, holding court at several places and annulling existing governments. They arrived finally in Sagadahoc where they opened court Sept. 5, 1665, at the house of John Mason, who lived on the eastern bank of the Sheepscot. In Sagadahoc these commissioners were peaceably received. Elsewhere there had been at least unspoken opposition, but in this province, where the only government had been a mere conservation of the peace under Abraham Shurte, it was otherwise, though when summoned to take the oath of allegiance only twenty-nine of the inhabitants appeared, the Puritans who favored Massachusetts absenting themselves. From Pemaquid and Winnegance came Thomas Elbridge, Edmund Arrowsmith, George Buckland, Henry Champness and Thomas Gardiner. The commissioners formed the entire territory into the County of Cornwall and from the royalists who appeared appointed a chief constable, three justices and a recorder. Thomas Gardiner of Pemaquid was appointed one of the justices; Walter Phillips of Damariscotta was appointed clerk and recorder. His records, covering a period of fifteen years and called the Sheepscot Records, were unfortunately lost, probably being burned in the Boston courthouse after his flight to Charlestown at the time of the Indian Wars. The Commissioners named the settlement at Sheepscot "Dartmouth" or "New Dartmouth" and determined a dividing line between it and Pemaquid.

Despite their peaceable if somewhat cold reception the commissioners reported of the province disparagingly, grossly underating the population and representing the morals of the province with equal ill will. There seems always to have been some one to take a shot at the eastern pioneers, those "hewers of wood and drawers of water" who had no historian to do their annals justice. Cotton Mather writes under date of 1676: "The design of lumber and fishing, and especially of the beaver trade with the Indians had produced many fine settlements in the Province of Maine and the County of Corwall" but cannot refrain from adding, "a great part of the English there grew to be like the Indians among whom they lived in their unchristian way of living." This is the comment of a Puritan, of course, but the

King's Commissioners had not the same excuse. The fishermen of Maine met the fate of the French *coueurs de bois*; it was left to biased Puritans and Jesuits to recount the undertakings in which these hardy pioneers were often the unnoticed leaders.

The Commissioners negotiated a treaty with the Indians and then departed. They returned to England the next year, their work in establishing government in Sagadahoc proving as evanescent as the ripples made on the surface of a stream by the casting of a pebble. "Distracted with political dissension," comments Williamson, "the eastern people had none to help or protect them, though it were well known how many claimed to control and rule them. In three or four years all traces of the King's Commissioners were obliterated," and "Massachusetts was evidently the only power to which the inhabitants could look with any prospect of assistance either in war or peace."

Massachusetts was soon in the field again to extend her jurisdiction further east. Her encroachments, it should be said in justice to that colony, were due as much to the proximity of the French as to the desire to extend her boundaries. The Treaty of Breda occurred in 1667, whereby England ceded to France all Acadia without specification as to its limits. This included Pentagoet on the Penobscot, now turned over to the French, and there Grandfontaine took up his residence. Pentagoet was too near the English borders for the liking of the Puritans; and it was this fear of her French neighbors to which Williamson credits the next move of Massachusetts. The French, as soon as they were established on the Penobscot, set up a claim to the territory as far west as the Kennebec. The English royal family were under French influence, and after the treaty of Breda the Puritans feared that the Duke of York might sell Sagadahoc to the French. Besides, the New York government was sadly neglecting its dependency. It seemed the part of wisdom, therefore, to establish a strong rule as far east as possible. In 1668, Massachusetts reassumed jurisdiction in the Province of Maine. John Josselyn wrote that Massachusetts entered the Province "in a hostile manner with a troop of horse and foot," and "turned the judge and his assistants off the bench." The reference was to his brother, Henry Josselyn, who was judge in Maine and Sagadahoc.

Massachusetts was favored in her next move, which was to extend her authority as far east as Pemaquid, by the temporary loss of New Netherlands to the English. New York was recaptured by the Dutch in 1673, all semblance of the authority of the Duke of York over New York and Sagadahoc in this way disappearing. A petition was also conveniently received in 1672 by the general court of Massachusetts signed by numerous settlers of Kennebec, Pemaquid, Sheepscot, Monhegan, Newagen and Damariscove, requesting that they be taken under the protection of the Bay Colony. The general court acted favorably upon this petition the following year, meanwhile proceeding in its customary way to make its claims seem legal.

Massachusetts as usual ordered a re-survey of her territory. Thomas Clark, of Clark and Lake, landowners of extensive tracts in Sagadahoc, was appointed agent to act for them in the matter. The boundaries of Massachusetts depended, according to its patent, upon the exact location of the sources of the Merrimac. The surveyor employed by Clark found these to be two leagues farther north than any previous survey had made them. A line drawn due east from this newly determined point put Massachusetts conveniently in possession of "an extensive seaboard, also Arrowsic, Parker's and George's Islands, Monhegan, Matineus, and all other islands on the coast, likewise the principal settlement at Pemaquid." In 1674 accordingly, after the capture of New York by the Dutch, Massachusetts appointed commissioners with instructions to hold court at one of the settlements in Sagadahoc and settle a government. At the suggestion of these commissioners the territory from Sagadahoc to St. George's River was erected into the County of Devon. Court was opened at Pemaquid July 22, 1674. Thomas Gardiner of Pemaquid was appointed Treasurer for Devonshire, and Richard Oliver of Monhegan clerk of court and recorder. Thomas Cox was appointed constable of Pemaquid, and Thomas Gardiner of Pemaquid was put in charge of the military affairs of the county. Eighty-four freemen appeared to take the oath of allegiance to Massachusetts, showing how many had failed to respond to the call of the King's Commissioners in 1665, a fact which may have accounted for their under-estimate of the population.

The settlement reached by the Treaty of Breda turned over to France all the territories within the Duke's patent lying be-

tween the Penobscot and the St. Croix, but the Duke seems not to have protested. In 1671 Grandfontaine, who was then at Pentagoet, wrote the minister at Paris that he conceived it "to be necessary to occupy the river St. George's which bounds the English settlements." He recommends that the king should get the "Duke of York to restore Quinebequy and Pemcouet (Pemaquid), the inhabitants of which do not wish to recognize Boston, and would only demand liberty of religion, and that His Majesty would profit by the fishery and coasting trade which would prove of great value." Grandfontaine was shrewd enough to see how new territory and advantages could be won for France by trading on the strife between Puritan and Cavalier still being waged though transplanted to new soil. But the Crown was negligent of these suggestions, as Crowns are apt to be, and the plan was never executed. The French continued at Pentagoet, and the English continued at Pemaquid and Sagadahoc, while New York, Massachusetts, and the French in Acadie watched the entire territory with jealous eyes.

In 1676 the controversy over the possession of the Province of Maine was settled—much to the displeasure of Charles II—by the purchase of the province by Massachusetts from young Sir Ferdinando Gorges for 1270 pounds. So quietly was the negotiation put through by the agents of the colony that Charles did not know of it for several months. So there could be no further question of the authority of Massachusetts in that province. But her reign in Devonshire was doomed to interruption; her government had hardly become established there when Holland and England made peace, and the Duke of York came again into possession of his Provinces, for which he was granted a new charter, covering the same limits as the charter of 1664. No measures were taken, however, for the defense of Sagadahoc, and it was not until the laying waste of the whole province by the Indians and the burning of Pemaquid in King Philip's War that New York began to take an active interest in its eastern dependency.

It seems strange that this strip of territory of which Pemaquid was part should have excited so much strife. It was undoubtedly the timber, the good harbors and especially the fishing grounds off the shores of Pemaquid, first rendered famous by John Smith, which made it an object of contention among so

many masters. Gorges had fought for a fishing monopoly in these waters against an angry Parliament which strove to win free fishing for the people; Massachusetts had long coveted these selfsame shores and seas; and now France sought the territory west to the Kennebec, while the government in England prepared as stubbornly to hold it.

CHAPTER XI

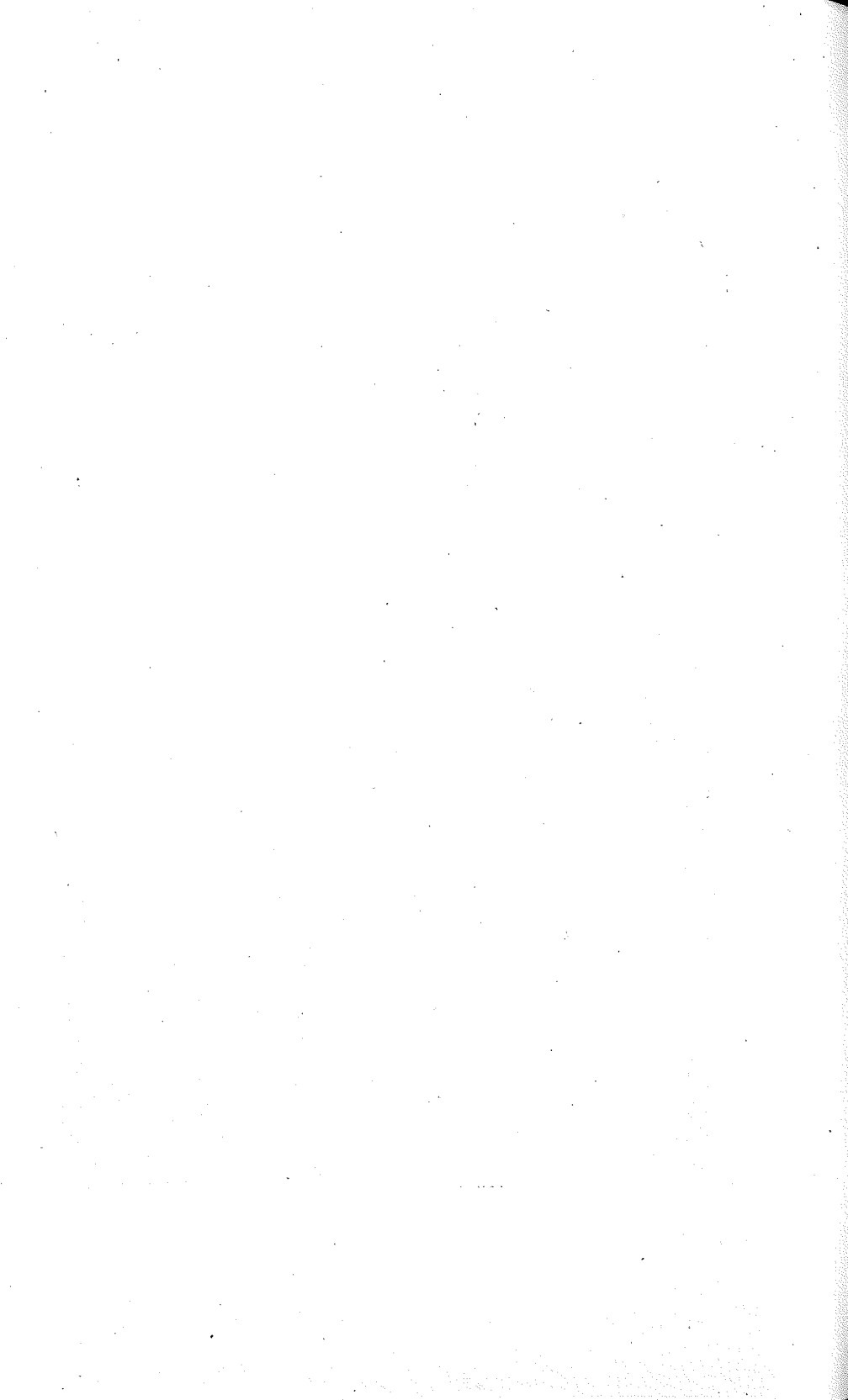
PENTAGOET AND THE INDIAN MISSIONS

Castine stands at the water's edge on a long peninsula which makes out into the Penobscot River near its mouth. Its shores are low and safe and inviting. There ships of many tons can ride at anchor, and there the Pentagoet Indians once beached their canoes with ease, as they came and went at the bidding of the Baron de Castine. Before he crossed the sea to stamp his name and memory upon this western outpost of the French in "Acadie," it was known as "Pentagoet." It was an ideal camping place for savages, who could paddle east by sea to join the Micmacs on the St. John's at their village called "Medoktek," or west to "Nanrantsouak," the headquarters of the Canibas on the Kennebec, while the Penobscot River afforded them a waterway into the very heart of the hunting region which stretches from Bangor to Moosehead and Mount Katahdin. The Pentagoet Indians resided in their village called "Panawaniske," a few miles up the Penobscot, but to Pentagoet they went to camp in summer and to sell their otter skins to the Frenchmen who came early to this region.

From the Pentagoet Indians the Penobscots are descended, wards now of the State of Maine, who live on the reservation at Old Town Island in the Penobscot River, eleven miles from Bangor. It is possible that Old Town Island is the site of ancient Panawaniske, though the village is modern as it stands, but more probably the ancient village was at Penobscot Falls, for the savages have always laid peculiar claim to the land at the head of the tide. The English derived Penobscot from "Panouamske," the French version of the Indian name. The savages called Mount Desert Island "Pematig," and the river "Pematigoett," whence the French derived "Pentagoet," which they applied not only to the river but to the peninsula which is the site of present day Castine. This site, where the Indians trafficked from the earliest days with white men, was coveted



SITE OF THE MISSIONS NEAR FORT PENTAGOET



by both French and English, and early became an object of contention.

The extinction of the Penobscot Indians was long ago predicted, but one can still see these Indians paddling out into the river from their island, weaving baskets at their doorways, or entering their chapel to pray after the manner taught them by the priests of the Penobscot. The first priest to set foot on Pentagoet was probably Father Biard from the Mission of St. Sauveur at Mt. Desert in 1611. Father Biard carried the gospel to the Canibas of the Kennebec in that same summer, and he ministered also to the tribes at Pentagoet. Just what place Father Biard described in the following is uncertain: "At the confluence of these two rivers (the Kenduskeag and the Pentagoet), there was the first assemblage of savages that I have yet seen. There were thirty canoes and a boat, eighteen wigwams, and about three hundred people. The most prominent sagamore is called Betsabes, a man of great discretion and prudence." This may have been the Panawaniske of the Taratines, or it may have been a Wawenock village.

The question of the Bashaba is considered elsewhere; Champlain makes reference to this chief, with whom, however, he was not much impressed. But Champlain was on a search for the mythical Norumbega, "a city of great wealth and numbers, whose golden turrets glistened in the sun," and for a chief who would comport well with such a city. No wonder he was disillusioned! The Penobscot as Norumbega, the river of a wonder city, had long been famous, and Champlain who had heard and half believed these fanciful tales of previous explorers, could not be expected to appreciate the true charms of that river, or of its savage chiefs. Champlain was the one explorer to meet the Bashaba in person, but he gives us no description of him. Champlain's ship was anchored in the Penobscot, near the mouth of the Kenduskeag, when the savages who had piloted him thither "went to inform Bessabes, their captain, and give him warning of our arrival," Champlain writes. A few days later Champlain was visited by Bessabes, who "also came . . . to us that same day with six canoes." The explorer visited Bessabes on shore, where the savages spent a day and night in feasting, dancing and singing, withdrawing in the morning, Bessabes with them. Champlain wrote that he saw

on the Penobscot "no city nor village nor appearance of there having been one, but indeed one or two savage huts where there was nobody." Perhaps Champlain did not go far enough up the river, but since he did not visit the Bashaba's village, his account tells us nothing of where the Bashaba really dwelt, or of what tribe he was a chief.

In 1611 Fathers Biard, Quentin, Massé and Lalement planted a short lived mission on Mt. Desert, a settlement soon destroyed, as related in a previous chapter, by Samuel Argall of Virginia. Father Biard and his confrères were the first of the Black Gowns to minister to the Abenakis of Maine, and we hear no more of the Jesuits till 1646. It was twenty-one years before French priests were again at Pentagoet, and this time it was Capuchins who established a mission there, after the treaty of St. Germain, whereby England ceded all Acadia "to prevent the progress of Puritanism." On Razillai's ship, "The Hope of God," sailed July 4, 1632, three Capuchins; three more followed in a second vessel. The mission center was at Port Royal, but "two other more important points were the settlement at Pentagoet with the fort of St. Pierre near the mouth of the river Penobscot and that at St. John's." The Capuchins probably established a hospice at Pentagoet as early as 1640. We know from a copper plate unearthed at Castine in 1863 that the Capuchins built a chapel there in 1648. The Latin inscription on the plate reads: "June 8, 1648, I Father Leonard, a Parisian Capuchin missionary, have laid this foundation in honor of Our Lady of Holy Hope." This was not the first church erected at Pentagoet, for Jéron mentions two Capuchin missions at "Port Royal and Port St. Marie near the borders of the English Colony and yet in New France."

In 1646 Father Dreuilletes, a Jesuit from "Nanrantsouak," visited Pentagoet, and was welcomed cordially by several Capuchin Friars and their Superior, Father Ignace. How Father Dreuilletes came into the region is interesting. Before 1646 the Abenaki Indians, when they went to the St. Lawrence with their furs to barter, were ordered to retire, because the French regarded them as English Indians buying for the Boston market. But in 1642 Charles Meiaskat, a Christian Indian, interested the Abenakis in the Catholic faith, and in 1646 the Canibas of the Kennebec asked that a priest might be

sent to "Nanrantsouak," now known as "Norridgewock." Père Dreuilletes was sent to Nanrantsouak in response to this request, remaining until 1647, when he left, to return again in 1650, and remain till 1657.

In 1646, the Jesuit Relations state, Father Dreuilletes left Nanrantsouak, perhaps to reconnoitre. He descended the Kennebec to the sea and paddled along the shores to Pentagoet, visiting as he went seven or eight English settlements, where to his surprise, he was well received. The seven or eight settlements visited must have been Cushnoc on the Kennebec, Sagadahoc at the mouth of the river, Capemanwagen, Damariscove, Monhegan, Pemaquid, New Harbor, and St. George's. Of these Pemaquid was the most populous. One thrills at this picture of the black robed father and his befeathered guides slipping noiselessly along these ancient shores, and one likes to fancy the still priest stepping from his canoe upon the white sands of Pemaquid, as Popham and his men had done forty years before, a wholly unexpected but a welcome guest. His welcome we understand when we remember that he was far from the center of Puritan influence. Boston rose haughtily two hundred miles away, with her scorn of Jesuits and her threats of banishment and death, but the dwellers on the shores of Maine in 1646 were largely fishermen—those most cosmopolitan and generous of human beings. One can understand even more readily the warm welcome from the Capuchins at Pentagoet! What a rare sight this French brother must have been to them! How lonely must have been the lives of these messengers of the "good news of peace," how lost they must at times have felt themselves among the shadows of that wide wilderness! It is almost incredible when one stops to think of it, these men of learning, these carriers of all the culture the Old World had then to offer, passing their best days in these forest solitudes, trackless except to the savage trained to them from childhood.

In 1650 when he returned to Nanrantsouak for the second time, Father Dreuilletes was charged with a diplomatic as well as a religious errand. The New England Confederacy had some years before attempted to open relations with Quebec, and had written the governor asking for reciprocity in trade. After a silence of several years the French dispatched their answer by Father Dreuilletes, who proceeded from Nanrantsouak to

Boston to expedite the business. The governor of Canada sent word to the Confederacy that he would be glad to trade with them, provided they would join the French in fighting the Iroquois and protecting the Abenakis from these much dreaded savages at the west. Dreuilletes visited Plymouth and New Haven on his errand, and gives interesting accounts of meeting leading Puritans and Pilgrims, including John Eliot of Roxbury. He was given some encouragement at Plymouth in view of the fact that the Pilgrims had a grant of land on the Kennebec and the Abenakis were in a way their wards. To the Pilgrims went one-sixth of all the profits of the fur trade on the Kennebec, so it was to their interest to protect the Abenakis in their hunting grounds. But the Iroquois were too powerful for the English to offend, and in the end, despite the leaning of the Pilgrims, the New England Confederacy would not promise to fight the Iroquois and protect the Abenakis, an error perhaps from which later came much bloodshed.

Dreuilletes makes an interesting reference to Damariscove, an island which he visited twice, first on his voyage to Boston and again on his return. He writes: "On the 25th of November we set sail, and on the way we found at Tamereskau some English fishermen, some of whom complained to the agent because he was conducting a Frenchman along the coast, who was a spy to serve the French who were likely to ravage their settlements." On Feb. 7th Dreuilletes was again at Damariscove "where the fishermen," he writes, "showed me much friendliness. They were the very ones who had accounted me a spy on the way to Boston."

But to return to the Capuchins at Pentagoet. Their mission was short lived, for things were happening in England, where a power was growing and gathering force which portended the downfall of their work. The second Stuart had been put to death, and the Puritans were in the ascendancy in England. To the Puritan of that day a Catholic priest was more execrable than a witch, and just as dangerous. The English, acting under Cromwell's orders, expelled the French from all Acadia in 1654. Father Ignatius had gone to Paris in 1652 to seek help from the French court for his mission at Pentagoet, to which he foresaw danger in the dominance of the Puritans. He was right, and when Cromwell's men fell

upon Acadia in 1654, they insisted that every French priest should leave. "Father Bernardin of St. Pierre in the present State of Maine" was the last of the French priests to go. He was sent to England, and thence dispatched to France by Cromwell.

One feels moved to tell the religious history of Pentagoet before the civil, so powerful was the part played by religion in that history. The Penobscot goes farther back into history and tradition than any other part of New England. As "Norumbegue" and under many other titles, it appears on sixteenth century maps. From 1500 on, it was known to Breton fishermen. Numerous are the references to Norumbega in the earliest writers, and its lost city has been located by historians in places as far apart as Rhode Island, the banks of the Charles in Massachusetts, and Bangor and Damariscotta in Maine. Of this fable Charlevoix says: "About midway between St. Croix and the Quinebeki River is the Pentagoet River which traverses midway what is called Norumbega, of which writers so long made a fair and powerful promise, where there have really never been but a few scantily peopled villages of the Etechemins."

In 1603 Pierre du Guast, Sieur de Monts, was granted all the territory in America from 40 degrees to 46 degrees north latitude, extending from the St. Lawrence as far south as the present Philadelphia, and in his patent first called "Acadia." In all the vast region the only point settled by the French was Port Royal which was soon abandoned, to be reoccupied later and retained. It proved to be the starting point of all the efforts of the French in this vicinity. We have already spoken of Champlain's visit to the Penobscot. De Monts in 1605, with Champlain as geographer, with sailors and Indian guides, explored the coast of New England, hunting a new site for settlement. They sailed west to Cape Cod and then turned back, skirting the shores of New England till they reached their settlement at St. Croix, which they removed to Annapolis Basin, having found nothing on the shores of Maine attractive enough to allure them.

To recapitulate a little, Sir William Alexander in 1621 was made lord of New Scotland, which included the present Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and part of Maine. In 1628, with the

aid of David Kirk, he disrupted the French colony on the St. Lawrence. He made some attempts at settlements in his province, but little came of his possession. In 1630 he sold his rights in the territory to Claude and Charles de la Tour, who were to hold it as subjects of the King of Scotland; but in 1632, by the Treaty of St. Germain, Great Britain surrendered to France all the places occupied by the English within the limits of Acadia. Isaac de Razillai was appointed by Louis XIII governor of Acadia. He deputed Charles de Saint Etienne, Sieur de la Tour, as his lieutenant in the territory east of the St. Croix and Charles de Menou, Sieur d'Aulnay de Charnisé, in the territory west of that river.

Now occurred a struggle with the English over the possession of Pentagoet. De Razillai was commissioned by Richelieu to take possession and to drive out all English subjects from his territory. His first difficulty was with the Plymouth Pilgrims, who, learning the value of the fur trade, set up at Pentagoet in 1626 the first trading house of the kind in New England. In 1628 they opened another at Cushnoc on the Kennebec. Both trading posts proved lucrative, but the house at Pentagoet was destined to a stormier existence than that on the Kennebec. The former was twice attacked, the second time by d'Aulnay, who was obliged to remove the Pilgrims by force. Miles Standish attempted in vain to recapture Pentagoet, and in 1635 the Pilgrims were permanently ousted and d'Aulnay took possession.

Isaac Allerton of Plymouth set up another trading house at Machias, from which he was removed by la Tour. La Tour served notice to Allerton that if the English traded east of Pemaquid, he should seize them. "My authority," said la Tour, "is from the King of France." "My sword is all the commission I shall show." The French seem to have had the better of the argument. The Pilgrims had ignored the Treaty of St. Germain, and d'Aulnay was quite within his rights. Pentagoet is mentioned by Frenchmen from the earliest times as an important post in Acadia, where the explorations of De Monts and Champlain gave the French some title.

The Pilgrims seem to have known that they were merely squatters at Penobscot, for although they were at great pains to obtain a grant of the land on which their trading house at

Kennebec was located, they sought no grant at Pentagoet. Yet they appeared to be much aggrieved at being expelled from Pentagoet, and sought the aid of Massachusetts to help them regain it. Massachusetts promised some assistance but did nothing, being unwilling to go to any expense in the effort. Bradford complains bitterly of both Boston and Pemaquid as follows: "Some of the merchants of Boston sent often to trade with them and furnished them both with provisions and shot, and so have continued to do until this day (1647) as they have seen opportunity for their profit. So as in truth the English themselves have been the chiefest supporters of these French; for besides these, the plantation at Pemaquid (which lies near unto them) do not only supply them with what they want, but give continual intelligence of all things that passes among the English, so it is no marvel though they still grow and encroach more and more upon the English, and fill the Indians with guns and ammunition to the great danger of the English who lie open and unfortified living upon husbandry, and the others closed up in their forts, well fortified and live upon trade in good security." Whatever may have been the ground of the complaints against Boston and Pemaquid, Bradford surely struck a true note in his little comment contrasting the two peoples, and showed a grasp of the false security of the French in their mode of living.

Writing in this same connection Abraham Shurte makes an interesting reference to the visit of a Franciscan priest to Pemaquid, to whose name we have no clue. It is perhaps worth while to digress and make reference to his letter here. Shurte writes to Gov. Winthrop from "Pemaquid, June, 1636," to say that he has received warning that "the French were gone to the eastward to fetch more help to take this plantation (Pemaquid) and others." Shurte evidently feels his confidence betrayed. "It is lamentable," he says, "that a handful should insult over a multitude. They wrote unto me and desired amity with mutual confidence, and they pretended the same at the time of their being here, a Franciscan friar insinuating unto me that Mr. Commander and Mr. Daulnay desired nothing but fair passages betwixt us, and that he was sent purposely to signify so much unto me." Dreuilletes was therefore not

the first priest to act as ambassador between French and English.

All traces of the mission in Acadia had vanished before Cromwell, but the embers of Catholicism burned on, and with the return of the French under Grandfontaine and the appearance at Pentagoet of Baron Castine in 1667, the missions were resumed. To Nanrantsouak came Father Bigot in 1688 and to Pentagoet came Father Pierre Thury. Thury was a member of the Seminary of Foreign Missions at Quebec, and had established a mission at St. John's in 1685. He came to Pentagoet at Baron Castine's request. Thury, of whom we shall hear more later, remained at Pentagoet till 1699, dying there among his neophytes. After Thury's death, came Gaulin and Rogalt of the Seminary of Quebec, and in 1703 the mission was continued by the Jesuits.

The missions stood on the shore near Old Fort Pentagoet, part of whose outlines are still visible despite overlying turf and shrubbery. Their site is marked in modern Castine by one of the historic signs which aid the visitor in spelling out the early history of the town. Fort and mission occupied a plateau a quarter of a mile from the center of the present village, where the beach is sheltered from the north winds by high lands in the rear. Shell deposits prove this spot to have been an ancient Indian gathering place. It was much coveted as a rendezvous for traffic with the savages, and the trading fort established there by the Pilgrims was probably repaired and used by d'Aulnay and the later possessors of Pentagoet. Yawls and catboats ride today peacefully at anchor beside the summer shore where two hundred years ago French and English, and even Dutch, fought for possession, and where the faithful Capuchins from far away Paris told their beads and ministered their Christian rites to the soldiers and sailors of France.

The shores of Pentagoet were destined to be soaked in blood. One of the first acts in the drama between French and English was concerned with the strife between Razillai's two lieutenants, la Tour and d'Aulnay. Razillai died soon after he came out as governor, and immediately upon his death strife for supreme possession began between his two lieutenants. The English sided with la Tour, more no doubt because of his remoteness

at St. John's than because he professed to be a Protestant. When la Tour applied to the Governor of Massachusetts for aid in 1644, claiming that his fort stood on land bought from Sir William Alexander by his father, the Massachusetts magistrates and elders felt "clear" that "he was to be relieved . . . as a distressed neighbor," and "as thereby to root out or at least weaken an enemy." The emphasis on "neighborhood" is amusing in view of the fact that d'Aulnay was really the neighbor at Pentagoet, while la Tour was quite remote on the St. John's.

The English traded with la Tour and aided him indirectly in other ways. Winthrop tells how a vessel sent by some Boston merchants to St. John's to trade with la Tour, put in on its return at Pemaquid, only to find d'Aulnay there. D'Aulnay notified the "Bostonnais" that he held orders for la Tour's arrest and threatened, Winthrop says, if "any of our vessels came to la Tour," to make "prize of them." D'Aulnay, being a Catholic, seems to have been the more favored by the French government, and when la Tour learned of a commission held by d'Aulnay for his arrest, he sought aid from Massachusetts. Winthrop tells us that an emissary of la Tour to Massachusetts in 1641 brought letters of introduction from "Mr. Shurte of Pemaquid where he had left his men and boat." Massachusetts sympathized with la Tour, but hesitated to aid him openly, not wishing to become involved in the struggle. The Puritans permitted la Tour to enlist men in the colony, however, and to hire ships, thus indirectly aiding him. La Tour purchased vessels in Boston to carry supplies to St. Croix, even after a peace had been concluded between d'Aulnay and John Endicott.

Abraham Shurte of Pemaquid was evidently able to maintain friendly relations with both these rivals, for we find first d'Aulnay and then la Tour anchored at Pemaquid. One incident of the strife is worth mentioning, as throwing further light upon the relations of Shurte to both. In June, 1644, Mr. Vines of Saco, Mr. Shurte of Pemaquid, and Mr. Wannerton of Piscataqua, to all of whom la Tour owed money, went east to collect and put in at Pentagoet on their way. They were detained there some days as prisoners, but later "for Mr. Shurte's sake," they were released. They went on to St. John's, where la Tour persuaded Wannerton and some other English-

men to make an attempt upon Pentagoet. Wannerton was shot in the encounter which resulted. The others, having burned d'Aulnay's farmhouse and killed his cattle, returned to Boston.

In 1645 d'Aulnay attacked la Tour's fort during his absence, but failed to capture it, owing to the spirited resistance of Mme. la Tour who defended it to the last, d'Aulnay retiring with the loss of twenty men. In 1647 d'Aulnay attacked the fort a second time and Mme. la Tour, in her husband's absence, again defended it. But on this occasion she was forced to capitulate. D'Aulnay promised to spare the garrison, but immediately broke his promise, killing all the men but one, and forcing Mme. la Tour, with a halter about her neck, to witness the executions. Three weeks later Mme. la Tour died of shock and exhaustion.

Now left in utter poverty, la Tour, though heavily indebted to Massachusetts men, turned to them again, to find friends who still believed in him. These men furnished him with a vessel and goods to trade among the Tarratines, hoping that he might recover his lost fortunes, pay his debts, and reestablish himself. Their faith in him was requited strangely. La Tour conspired with the Frenchmen of his crew to set the English sailors ashore at Cape Sable in the dead of winter and take possession of the vessel as their own. The English were saved from perishing only through the kindly offices of some Micmac Indians. La Tour sailed on down the coast, to what purpose is not known. He never repaid the Boston men, and he re-enters history only after the death of d'Aulnay, when he returned to the scene of his former exploits and married d'Aulnay's widow, coming into all his rival's possessions—a strange dénouement to the drama. Thus ended a quarrel, says one writer, between “two as despicable characters as the history of those times has made known.”

It was after 1632 that the French set up a claim to the territory west to Pemaquid. La Tour, as we saw, served notice on Allerton of Plymouth that if the English traded east of Pemaquid he should seize them. In 1635 d'Aulnay wrote the Governor of Massachusetts that the French claimed “no further than to Pemaquid.” D'Aulnay made to Shurte a similar claim of land west to Pemaquid, and Shurte so notified Winthrop. The French made persistent claims to the territory as far

west as Pemaquid, and occasionally—and frequently in later years—the French claimed to the Kennebec.

The English in 1654 took advantage of the weakened condition of Acadia caused by so many years of internal strife, capturing St. John's and Pentagoet by Cromwell's orders. The French complained to the English government in vain, until by the Treaty of Westminster in 1655 the question of the proper title to the mooted territory was turned over to commissioners. They made no definite report, however, and Acadia remained nominally in English possession till it was ceded to France with limits still undefined by the Treaty of Breda in 1667. It was turned over to the Chevalier de la Grandfontaine in 1670, by the agent of Sir Thomas Temple, who had been made governor under Cromwell. In the orders to Grandfontaine for receiving it, Acadia is defined as the land from Cape Breton to the Kennebec. This definition of the Kennebec as the western boundary of Acadia was persistent in the minds and documents of Frenchmen for half a century. They abandoned it finally only when it worked to their disadvantage. With the English claiming the territory east as far as the St. Croix and the French claiming west to the Kennebec, the little strip of territory in the heart of which was Pemaquid was destined to be a very hotbed of contention; while Pentagoet and Pemaquid, by virtue of mere location, assumed in the minds of the sovereigns of the two nations an importance out of all proportion to their significance from other points of view. Instructions were constantly coming from the French court to hold Pentagoet and from the English kings to fortify and hold Pemaquid. Grandfontaine, in his instructions in 1670, was ordered to take possession of all rivers, ports, and places whatsoever, being especially enjoined to "stick to Pentagoet," where it is suggested he shall take up his residence, as "the place nearest to the territory under English rule."

In 1673 Chambly, who succeeded Grandfontaine at Pentagoet, was instructed to defend the fort and country and protect the trade, though the means offered him were slender. In 1674 Fort Pentagoet was fallen upon by pirates. An Englishman named John Rhodes gained access to the fort in disguise, and remained four days. He escaped and returned again in a Flemish corsair, "The Flying Horse," with a crew of two hun-

dred men from Curacoa. The pirates pillaged the fort and held Chambly for ransom. The ship had an English pilot and was sheltered in Boston harbor, though the English stoutly denied complicity in the deed. In 1676 a Dutch man-of-war captured Fort Pentagoet, several vessels for Boston being sent to drive them out. The French remained in peaceable possession of Pentagoet during the next decade.

The struggle for possession in Acadia had in time to reckon with the real owners of the territory, the Indians. Fully to understand the later history of the region, one must know something of the Abenakis. Charlevoix called them "a nation which yields to no other on this continent in valour, which surpasses all in mildness and docility," and which was in his day quite populous, "a nation which by its conversion to Christianity became a barrier for New France which all its enemies could never force."

It may and it may not be true that the refusal of the New England Confederacy to shield the Abenakis from the Iroquois had much to do with determining to which of the peoples fighting for the soil of Maine, French or English, the Indians were to turn. At any rate, soon after the unsuccessful mission of Father Dreuilletes in behalf of the Abenakis, these Indians sought French protection, and the French received them with open arms, deliberately making use of them to build up a formidable barrier against New England. They were urged to emigrate to the mission villages of Canada. After King Philip's War this emigration of the Indian tribes to Canada began in earnest, all the savages of Maine except the Penobscots and the Passamaquoddies finally removing to these mission villages. At last even the Canibas of the Kennebec departed, the remnant of their tribe migrating after 1724. The migration of the Abenakis was fostered eagerly by Frontenac, the ablest of the governors of New France, who knew his need of them. Dongan, the governor of New York, and Frontenac's most powerful rival, had been pushing trade with the Indians, deliberately cultivating the Iroquois, and Frontenac foresaw that this would lead to war. The Jesuits founded a mission at Sillery in 1680. In 1683 another mission was begun at St. Francis de Sales on the Chaudière, a mission which removed later to St. Francis. The Abenakis resided in these mission centers in great numbers,

and it became the custom for these St. Francis Indians to summon the tribes on the Kennebec, the St. John's, and the Penobscot to join them in raids against the common enemy in New England and New York. Cotton Mather wrote truly: "The French colonies at the north are the trees in which the rooks (the Indians) have their nests."

The English continued for many decades to assert a right to Pentagoet and to fight for it, at what cost we shall see. Profound peace had reigned between the English and the Indians for half a century, but with the conversion of the Indians to Catholicism and the beginnings of migration to the mission villages, that peace was to be broken. We are soon to find French priests accompanying the savages on their bloody raids to the New England border settlements. These were missionaries from Nanrantsouak and Pentagoet, and sometimes from St. John's and St. Francis. The earliest missionaries seem to have been filled with a zeal purely religious, but the later priests were tainted with more worldly views. We see them constantly acting as agents, sometimes innocent agents perhaps, of the French government, seeking to win territory for France by their hold on the simple savages through religion. So closely were religion and politics mingled in New France as well as in New England! Pentagoet was to be for nearly a century the starting point for many a crusade against the "heretics" of New England.

CHAPTER XII

CASTINE

“Baron Castine of St. Castine
Has left his chateau in the Pyrenees
And sailed across the western seas.
When he went away from his fair demesne
The birds were building, the woods were green—”
—Longfellow.

Over the Indians of Pentagoet a strange man was to gain complete ascendancy, Jean Vincent, Sieur de Badie, Baron de St. Castine, who was released from military service in Quebec by the Treaty of Breda in 1667. He was born at Béarn in the Pyrenees, the same soil, Parkman notes, which produced Henry IV. At fifteen he joined a regiment called the Carnignan Salières, which Louis XIV first sent against the Turks. In 1665 this regiment was dispatched to Quebec to protect the French settlers there against the Iroquois, with Castine as its commander. The savages soon came to terms, and the regiment was disbanded. Because immigration languished, the government at Quebec urged the young nobles of the regiment to remain and accept seignories, large estates on the St. Lawrence, adding in each case the inducement of a small annual income, and the assignment to the estate of poorer members of the regiment as servants.

Castine might now have returned to Béarn, where he was heir to his father's property and fortune, or he might have accepted a seignory, but he seems to have yearned for a wilder life than either prospect offered. “He preferred,” says la Hontan, a quaint French writer of that day, “the forests of Acadie to the Pyrenees mountains that encompass the place of his nativity.” At Quebec Castine met the Tarratine sagamore, Madockawando, when that chief went north to sell his furs; and fascinated by Madockawando's tales of the charms of his native Pentagoet, Castine determined to follow him there, where he took up his abode in 1667. The poet Longfellow assigns reasons for Castine's not returning home to Béarn which

are perhaps as good as any others. Longfellow says the young man's letters to his father were

“full of the rolling sea,
Full of a young man's joy to be,
Abroad in the world, alone and free,
Full of adventures and wonderful scenes,
Of hunting the deer through the forests vast
In the royal grant of Pierre du Guast,
Of nights in the tents of the Tarratines,
Of Madockawando, the Indian chief,
And his daughters, glorious as queens,
And beautiful beyond belief—”

Castine soon gained ascendancy over the savages, of whom he seems to have been fond, and with whom he dwelt upon terms of great intimacy. La Hontan says they regarded him as a “tutelary god.” He lived by the fur-trade, in which he amassed a considerable fortune. To quote la Hontan: “By degrees he has worked himself into such a fortune as any man but he would have made use of to draw out of that country about two or three hundred thousand crowns which he has now in his pocket in good dry gold, but all the use he makes of it is to buy up goods for presents to his fellow savages.” Castine carried on a flourishing trade in beaver skins, which he sold to the French, and, as fortune favored, to the English. He seems to have sought pretty steadily to keep peace with the English, desiring to live “indifferent” as a neutral, and holding back the Abenakis on more than one occasion from acts of hostility against them.

Castine was esteemed by the French government because of the influence he acquired over the savages. He lived on the Penobscot for forty years in a semi-official capacity, sometimes as a private citizen, sometimes as a lieutenant to the French governors who were stationed there, but regardless of who was in command officially, always as the dominating figure in Penta-goet. Castine's residence was situated either within or near the walls of d'Aulnay's fort, more probably within. His house is described as “a long, low, irregular building, constituted partly of wood and partly of stone, and had rather a grotesque appearance. The windows were small, and quite high up so that no one could look in from the outside. The fort surrounding it contained twelve guns, a well, a chapel with a bell, and

several outbuildings and a garden." An accurate description of Fort Pentagoet at the time Castine first appeared there, was written by Richard Walker who turned over the fort, in Sir William Temple's name, to Grandfontaine in 1670. On the left of the entrance to the fort was a Court of Guard or guard-house; on the right another house of three rooms. Above the passage between them was a chapel "built of timber and with mud walls on which" was "a small steeple," with "a metallic bell." The earthworks which one can still see in Castine today rising at the very water's edge and overgrown with shrubbery, cover that portion of the fort in which was the magazine and well.

Castine shared the mastery of the peninsula of Pentagoet with Madockawando, and lived with one or more of the chief's daughters, one of whom he later made his legal wife. There was much talk among Castine's contemporaries of his loose living and of his many Indian wives; it is difficult to tell, however, how much of this is true and how much mere invention by his rivals in the fur-trade. M. Perrot, governor of Acadia, was particularly violent in denouncing Castine, but it is also true that Perrot desired to monopolize the fur-trade of the region and was resentful of Castine's rivalry. In 1687 Perrot put Castine under arrest and held him from April to June a prisoner on the pretense of "a little weakness of his for some Indian women." "I see plainly what is the matter with him," wrote Castine to Gov. Denonville at Quebec. "He wants to be the only merchant in Acadia." These French governors notoriously indulged in trade with the savages for purposes of selfish gain to the neglect of their provinces. La Hontan, that shrewd observer, saw this weakness. He predicts that "the English will be masters" of Acadia "some time or other." The English suffer, he believes, because scattered under so many petty governments, but they will conquer Acadia in time, because the French governors enrich themselves by Indian trade to the neglect of fortification.

M. de Menneval, upon becoming governor, was charged to urge Castine to give up his loose way of living, a request Castine seems to have heeded for in 1687 he was legally married to a daughter of Madockwando, baptized at the time by the name "Mathilde." Two of Castine's children, Anselm and

Anastasia, were children of Mathilde. There was also another son, and a daughter, Therese, who was the child of Castine and "Marie Pedianski," probably a second wife. Castine's sons married French women and distinguished themselves as soldiers in the cause of New France. The daughters married young French nobles. Both sons and daughters were educated by the priests who made Castine's house their home, calling it "The Parish of St. Famille." Anselm, the eldest son, was often identified with Castine through the inaccuracy of early writers, causing some confusion. La Hontan says of Castine: "He has several daughters who are all married very handsomely to Frenchmen, and had good dowries."

In 1686 Castine came into a fortune of 5000 pounds a year, yet he delayed claiming it till 1701 when he left Pentagoet for France, never to return. In October, 1701 Villebon wrote the French minister that St. Castine, "whom they accuse of carrying on trade with the English returns to France to render an account of his conduct." Whatever the truth of this, Castine went to claim his inheritance also. He had already accumulated a fortune in trade at Pentagoet, his riches having tempted English plunder more than once, as we shall see. In 1703, after his departure, the English plundered the house of his son. In 1704, when Col. Church took Castine's daughter prisoner, she told him her husband had gone to France with her father. We know nothing of Castine himself after his departure for France in 1701. None of his descendants are to be found in Oléron today, but Castine's blood may very likely flow in the veins of some of the dusky youths one still sees paddling out from Old Town Island on a summer's day. When Castine's son Anselm went to France to claim his father's estates he was resisted by the Lieut. Governor of Oléron, "the first chicaneer of Europe, who had for many years enjoyed the property." The ground advanced for the refusal to Anselm of his inheritance was illegitimacy, a mere pretext, as there is ample record of Castine's marriage to Madockawando's daughter in 1687.

Castine lived at Pentagoet, as we have said, by trade. Gov. Denonville, in a letter written to the French minister in 1686, deplores the fact that "trade in the beaver has turned the minds of the inhabitants of Acadia." Of Pentagoet he wrote: "It is a shame that the people who have dwelt in this place

for fifty years, father and son, have not even a garden." In this little comment may be found a clue to the ultimate dominion of the English in this as in other disputed territory in North America. The English in the new world moved slowly, but very surely, clearing the land as they went; the French settled superficially for the most part, residing, as did Castine at Pentagoet, in semi-military trading posts. Even their hold on the Indians through religion and the faculty they seem to have possessed of adapting themselves to the savage nature and way of life could not save to them these parts of America.

But during the entire time he resided there, Castine held Pentagoet almost alone. History shows him to have been a dynamic figure, a man to make even the wilderness yield up the things that all men seek, fortune, happiness, and power. He had much tact and graciousness of personality, strongly appealing to the savages whom he held under a kind of spell. The adventures of this engaging man are a fascinating study, worthy the hand of a Parkman in whose pages he stands revealed. The charms of savage beauty, the lure of the forest on the banks of the Penobscot might be great, but few Frenchmen—and only a strong man like Castine—would have cared to lead the precarious life he led, hedged in on the one hand by the English, with their inveterate hatred of him, and on the other by the French governors of Acadia who were forever jealous of him. So far as we can learn he steered a careful course, acquitting himself like the gentleman which by birth and experience he was. La Hontan is charmed with him, and Sullivan says: "Voltaire and the Abbé Raynal give this man a high character." He is a romantic figure like John Smith, one of those men who come and go, not leaving a deep furrow as did the careful Puritans of Massachusetts Bay, but holding a few things firmly in their grasp, and shining with a brilliant and fascinating light during the brief hour of their ascendancy.

Castine held his own at Pentagoet against great odds. He was under constant fire from the English who not only plundered him on several occasions, but lost no opportunity to endeavor wholly to uproot their dangerous neighbor. From the days of the Plymouth trading house on its shores, English eyes were ever covetously turned to Pentagoet. In 1687 the English sent a force of fifty men to take Pentagoet and all

the coast east to St. Croix, Castine and his French neighbors, as well as the native savages, being instructed to take no orders from the French. Castine's reply was to ask de Menneval, the governor of Acadia, for thirty soldiers to aid him in maintaining himself at Pentagoet and putting the fort into a posture of defense. De Menneval proved to be like other governors of Acadia, strangely negligent of Pentagoet, despite the anxiety of French monarchs to maintain possession of it. Their means were small, it is true, but they were reluctant to appropriate for its defense such resources as they had. De Menneval sent Castine no soldiers. He placed his seal of approval on the plan, but intimated that Castine's own resources were sufficiently abundant to enable him to make the necessary expenditures.

In 1687 Palmer and West, agents of the Duke of York at Pemaquid, of whose sway there we shall hear more later, laid claim to the country as far east as St. Croix, the limit of the Duke's patent. A shipmaster of Piscataqua, not knowing of their claim, landed a cargo of wines consigned to Castine at Pentagoet; "a quarter of a mile from my house," Castine stated. On the ground that Pentagoet was English territory, Palmer and West sent a ship to seize the cargo because the duties had not been paid at Pemaquid. Castine protested, but was denied any hearing in the matter. The affair was adjusted later through the mediation of the English government, but the "Bostonnais," as the French called all the English, lost no opportunity to descend upon Pentagoet.

In 1688, in the frigate "Rose," Sir Edmund Andros, Governor of New England, made an expedition east. Andros anchored before Fort Pentagoet. Captain George sent ashore a messenger asking Castine for a conference. Castine, unprepared for an attack, and not daring to trust the English, sought shelter with all his household in the woods, while the English plundered his house, leaving no part of it undisturbed except the altar, and removing all Castine's "arms, powder, shot, and kettles, cloth and chairs." Andros had come prepared to restore the fort, having taken on supplies for building purposes at Pemaquid and carpenters to do the work, but he found the fort so great a ruin that he thought it not worth while. He made Madockawando the following presents: "four blue

blankets, two shirts, three rolls of cloth and two barrels of wine." He left a message for Castine to the effect that if Castine desired his goods, he could have them by going to Pemaquid and acknowledging allegiance to the King of England. The Massachusetts government later disavowed all responsibility for the ill-timed descent upon Castine, which had occurred when France and England were at peace. The English were soon to hear from their doughty neighbor.

In 1690, when war had been declared between France and England, Sir William Phips was sent by Massachusetts to subdue Nova Scotia, in which feat he was successful, taking possession of all the coast from Port Royal to Penobscot, and visiting Pentagoet. Acadia as a conquered province was made part of the territory of Massachusetts under the new charter of 1692. In 1693, overcome by too great odds, Castine was forced to give in his allegiance to the English, yet English possession of Pentagoet was in name only, for Castine continued to reside there, and *Sieur Villieu* was soon after in command.

It was doubtless during one of the raids of the English upon Pentagoet that Castine lost the coins which were found in 1840. They were unearthed from a furrow in the ground near a rock beside the Bagaduce, about six miles up that river. There were 2000 pieces of money, mostly French, and bearing seventeenth century dates. There is every reason to believe they were Castine's; he perhaps abandoned them when Andros descended upon him in 1688, or members of his family may have done so when they fled to Canada before Church's men in 1704.

Historians give to Castine alone the credit for holding Pentagoet during all the time that he remained there. In 1688 M. de Menneval reports that Castine has dwelt at Pentagoet for twenty years, refusing always to recognize the English, "though summoned many times with threats to do so, preserving thus the possession to France." Maurault, historian of the Abenakis, says that Castine "paralyzed, so to speak, English colonization in Maine for thirty years, preventing settlements on the lands of the savages." How Castine fought almost single-handed for possession of the soil on which he stood will be revealed in later chapters. Drake says strikingly: "Old Pentagoet, which the reader knows now as Castine, and

Pemaquid were the mailed hands each nationality kept always clenched ready to strike."

The ill-starred visit of Sir Edmund Andros and other descendants upon Acadia and Pentagoet were fraught with evil consequences to the English, winning hatred from Castine and a quite natural desire for revenge; for the settlers at Pemaquid, who dreamed of rearing on its stormy shores homes as prosperous and peaceful as the English firesides of their memory, it meant utter desolation.

CHAPTER XIII

KING PHILIP'S WAR

When the flames of King Philip's War leapt up in Massachusetts in June, 1675, the inhabitants of the eastern parts, both Englishmen and Indians, felt the war was sure to spread. The red glare on the horizon struck terror to their hearts. Suspicion and uneasiness ran rife and neither side dared trust the other. Englishmen betrayed their anxiety and fear by foolhardy acts and measures, the inhabitants of Monhegan, for example, offering five pounds for every Indian who might be brought them. There were wiser leaders among them, however, who understood the savages and had a broader outlook on the situation. At the mouth of the Kennebec several Englishmen had establishments of some importance. Richard Hammond had a fortification on the eastern bank at what is now Woolwich, and Clark and Lake had mills and cultivated fields on Arrowsic Island where Sylvanus Davis acted as their agent. Up the river at Teconnet Falls, Clark and Lake had a trading house from which the Indians obtained supplies. Capt. Davis sent a messenger to Teconnet to obtain these supplies, especially the ammunition, and to urge the Indians of the vicinity to move down the river and leave near him, promising to supply them with everything they needed. Davis sent his emissary in the interests of peace, but the messenger, becoming imbued with the spirit of the hour, instead of reassuring them, offered the Indians only threats, saying that if they did not at once descend the river and lay down their arms, the consequences would be upon their heads.

At Pemaquid better results were accomplished. There a representative of the settlement persuaded some of the chiefs of the vicinity to meet him; a truce resulted, and the Indians engaged not only to refrain from hostilities themselves, but to persuade the Anasagunticooks to cease their depredations. Who the agent was, whether Abraham Shurte or John Earchy, or some other person whose name remains unknown, has been

considered fully elsewhere. It was from the Anasagunticooks, or savages of the Androscoggin, that most danger was apprehended. The war found its way from west to east, creeping like a fire from point to point. The first attacks east of the Piscataqua were in the western part of the region, at Saco, Scarborough, Falmouth, Brunswick, and New Meadows. Capt. Lake with some volunteers happened upon some Anasagunticook and Canibas Indians at the Kennebec and held a conference with them, from which a truce resulted, but it was only temporary.

To these savages with their savage way of life, civilization spelled extermination, and their alarm at its advance rose like a tide. The first Indian war in Massachusetts had resulted in the extermination of a tribe, but in Maine this war had had no echoes. There peace had prevailed, though discontent among the savages had been growing steadily, as they beheld with foreboding how the English cleared the lands and felled the forests, which they knew must in time spell destruction to their hunting grounds.

Gradually, tribe by tribe, the Indians of the present State of Maine joined their western brothers. There were numerous reasons. The General Court issued strict orders to sell no ammunition to savages. The refusal to sell the Indians ammunition—a precaution the English felt imperative—was a leading cause of the outbreak; the savages had come to depend for very existence upon their hunting guns. The Indians in this emergency turned quite naturally to the French, who were glad to sell them all the ammunition they desired. Perhaps the refusal of the New England Confederacy to protect them against the Iroquois had had its bearing also. The recent conversion of the tribes to Catholicism had even greater weight; they now looked upon the English as mere heretics. The savages complained, too, that the English cheated them in trade; they were moved somewhat by motives of revenge against particular traders.

Squando of the Sokoki tribe had a very personal grievance. As his squaw with her papoose was paddling on the Saco, several English sailors, seeing her, and having heard that all Indian babies could swim, determined to amuse themselves by testing the truth of this assertion. In cruel jest they overturned the canoe to see what would happen. The result was

what they might have anticipated. The baby sank. The mother dove for it and succeeded in bringing it ashore alive, but it soon died. Squando hated the English forever after, and used all his efforts to incite the tribes against them.

Wood in his "New England's Prospect" voices a reason for the approaching struggle not very flattering to the English. He blames them for teaching the savages to blaspheme and drink, which he says was contrary to their nature, and adds that "from overflowing cups, . . . there hath been a proceeding to revenge, murther, and overflowing of blood."

The summer of 1675 saw depredations in the western parts of the region, but in the late fall a truce was sought by the Indians and granted. In the winter, suspicion of their sincerity was aroused, resulting in many unwise measures. Warrants were issued for the arrest of all disloyal Indians, and some of these papers were secured by dishonest shipmasters who made an evil use of them. With the warrants as a pretext, they kidnapped unsuspecting Indians and sold them in foreign lands as slaves. One such shipmaster lurked about Pemaquid against the orders of the agent in that place, who bade them be gone, for peace prevailed there. He warned the savages to be on their guard, but despite his warnings, several unwary Indians were captured.

The Indians complained bitterly, and the agent at Pemaquid promised to do everything in his power to redress their wrongs and recover their lost comrades. The savages were pacified for a time. They presented him with a belt of wampum, and later invited him to meet them in council at Teconnet. Capt. Sylvanus Davis was deputed to accompany him, and the two emissaries of the English were received with many tokens of respect by Hopehood, Madockawando, Mugg, Tarumkin, and other sagamores. The Indians set forth their grievances. The English emissaries reminded them that at Pemaquid they had received only good treatment, and said: "We have come now to confirm the peace." The emissaries noticed the absence of Squando from the Council, which disconcerted them. Tarumkin informed them in explanation that though all the sagamores present desired peace, some of those at the westward had a different attitude. Madockawando stated that they must have ammunition for the winter's hunting, and when the English

agents, having been otherwise instructed, were unable to promise this, explaining that they feared if they supplied those present with ammunition, some of it might get into the hands of unfriendly Indians at the westward, the sagamores became angry and abruptly dissolved the Council.

King Philip died in August, 1676, and after his death his people became scattered among the Penacooks and Abenakis, diffusing the spirit of war among them. A flame had at last been lighted which all the kindly efforts of the best disposed of peacemakers could not quench. On August 13, 1676 the savages fell upon Richard Hammond, a trader at the mouth of the Kennebec, who had incited their resentment. Hammond and two other men were slain, and sixteen people were taken captive. The buildings were set on fire. A young girl of the house escaped, and proved the savior of the settlers at the east. Walking overland twelve miles through the dense forests, she carried the news to Sheepscot. Francis Card, a settler farther up the Kennebec, was taken captive with his family. Another party of Indians fell at the same time upon Arrowsic Fort. Capt. Lake was killed, but Sylvanus Davis and other defenders of the fort escaped. The Indians destroyed everything of value in the English settlements. Sullivan writes: "It is very clear that this mischief was done by the Norridgewock savages; for a peace was made that year with the Penobscot and Pemaquid tribes; and Card in his narrative says that Madockawando was not united with Squando, sagamore of the Norridgewocks, in the war at that time." The whole number of people slain or taken captive in these attacks was fifty-three, while the loss of property was great. Terror-stricken, the English fled from the region. For the first time since the coming of the white men and the building of their homes in the new world, these homes were abandoned, whites and Indians were mortal foes, and the new plantations from Falmouth to Pemaquid were desolate.

The nearest large plantation to Pemaquid was on the Sheepscot river, a few miles north of the present Wiscasset. It was a prosperous settlement known as Sheepscot Farms, whose ruins lie buried to this day. It was settled probably as early as 1630, but little is known of who the settlers were or whence they came. Situated in the basin of the Sheepscot River, with easy access

to the sea, with abundance of fish, oysters, and wild fowl, and with fields of rich loam under cultivation, the dwellers there were generously supplied with all that nature had to offer in the wilderness of New England. William Phips, a native of Woolwich, was building a ship in the Sheepscot river, the first vessel ever built there, and on this ship the settlers of Sheepscot took flight from the region.

The people of Pemaquid fled first to Damariscove and thence to Monhegan. This island they looked upon as their safest refuge from attack, no doubt because of the roughness of the waters about it, and its distance from the main. It was used frequently as an asylum from Indian attack during the next half century. On Monhegan the fugitives threw up defenses, and kept watch day and night. We can readily imagine them there, on John Smith's "rocky isle," surrounded by the moaning waves in which lay their sole security, watching the shores anxiously for whatever might appear. Only one vessel was allowed to leave the island, this to go to Pemaquid to bring off the household furniture of the settlers. It was just in time. For when it had swung in under Manana the anxious watchers on Monhegan saw the smoke rising over New Harbor and Pemaquid, the smoke of their abandoned and now burning dwellings. In a few hours the first homes of the English in the Pemaquid country were reduced to ashes. The refugees from Pemaquid later sailed to Boston, Piscataqua, and Salem. Meanwhile, the Indians fell in the autumn on Black Point, Wells, and Cape Neddock, fifty miles of the coast east of Falmouth being laid waste in one month. A breathing space followed, for in November, 1676, the Massachusetts authorities concluded a peace with Mugg, representing Madockawando of Penobscot. The treaty was signed for the English by John Earthy of Pemaquid, Richard Oliver of Monhegan, and Isaac Addington of Boston.

The authorities of Massachusetts, however, owing to some default of the savages in carrying out the provisions of the treaty, became uneasy and feared lest hostilities might be renewed. A winter expedition of 200 men was accordingly sent out under Major Frost and Major Waldron. At Pemaquid they came upon several Tarratine chiefs en route for Penobscot. They held a parley in the morning, at which the English urged the chiefs to lay down their arms and live at peace. The

savages were full of excuses, disclaiming all responsibility for the depredations of the recent war. They delivered up three captives and Waldron paid part of the ransom, promising to pay the rest in the afternoon. They agreed to lay down their arms, to submit to a mutual search, and to negotiate a treaty. They were asked to restore captives, to furnish canoes and arms, and to proceed against the Anasagunticooks as a common enemy. But in the afternoon when Waldron, taking five men with him, went ashore to treat with them and to pay the remaining ransom, he felt that he discovered insincerity on their part. He saw a lance protruding from beneath a board under which other weapons were concealed, and believed the savages were only luring on the English, while planning to fall upon them at any moment. He seized the weapon and brandished it in the air, charging them with treachery. An athletic squaw escaped to the woods with an armful of weapons. A skirmish ensued. At a signal from him, the men on the ship came to Waldron's aid. They pursued the savages as they sought their canoes, and Capt. Frost captured Megunaway, one of their noted leaders, who was later confined in the hold of the ship, and executed. The English sunk one canoe, drowning five savages. They took four captives and acquired a considerable booty. "The chastisement," Williamson remarks, "partook of a severity which the provocation by no means justified." Leaving forty men under the command of Sylvanus Davis to garrison Arrowsic Fort, Frost and Waldron returned to Boston without having lost a man.

The English now sought to engage the Mohawks in service against the eastern Indians, but in vain, for the Mohawks refused. The rumor that the dreaded "Maquas," as the Indians called them, were coming against them had spread, however. It threw the tribes into renewed alarm and proved costly to the English. In May, when the men at Arrowsic Fort ventured forth from the barricade to bury the dead of the previous summer, they were fired upon by ambushed Indians, and nine Englishmen were shot. The survivors were removed to other forts along the coast. Attacks followed upon York and Wells. Aid came from an unexpected source.

CHAPTER XIV

SIR EDMUND ANDROS AND THE BUILDING OF FORT CHARLES

With the burning of Pemaquid in 1676 the government of New York, under whose jurisdiction Pemaquid had come in 1664, became suddenly aware of its dependency in the east. Sir Edmund Andros was the first governor to turn his attention to Pemaquid. In 1673 Gov. Lovelace had written the inhabitants, explaining that their interests had been particularly the care of his predecessor, Gov. Nicolls, "to whom the sole managery of that busyness was committed," but that Gov. Nicolls had been prevented from executing his trust by the Dutch War, in which he had lost his life. Gov. Lovelace asked them to give him "a true state" of their affairs and to transmit to him "a modell of such a government" as should be "most conducing to the happyness of that colony, both to its safety, traffick, and increase of inhabitants," promising to invest them with "ample power" to exercise their authority "both to eclesiastick as civill affayres," and to stand ready to assist in the preservation of their rights and interests. Whether this letter, addressed to the inhabitants in general, was ever answered we do not know, but we do know that no action was taken by the Duke's government under Gov. Lovelace, and that the long silence was broken only after the burning of Pemaquid, when in September, 1676, the Council at New York voted to send a sloop to Piscataqua, Salem, and Boston, "to invite and bring as many of the inhabitants, particularly ffishermen, as will come, driven from the Duke's territoryes and parts eastward, and to supply them with land in any part of the government they shall chuse." Massachusetts took umbrage at this act, and the expedition accomplished nothing.

In June, 1677, however, the government at New York determined to assert the Duke's authority in Sagadahoc, and to send a force east, to make peace with the Indians if possible, stipulating generously "the Massachusetts to bee comprised if they please," and "all the fishermen and old inhabitants to be re-

stored and protected." On June 13, the force set sail in four sloops under Lieut. Anthony Brockholes, Ensign Caesar Knapton and Mr. M. Nicolls. They were to choose a convenient place in Pemaquid for settlement and fortification, "not exceeding musquett shot from the shoare, convenient to command all thither," in a location that should be suitable for "shipping, defence, and good fresh water." The place selected was the peninsula between the river and the sea, whence the fort commanded the landscape for miles around. The fort they erected was perhaps not very formidable, but it was sufficiently so to command the respect of the natives. It was a wooden redoubt surmounting earthworks, and bore "two guns aloft," and "an outwork with two bastions in each of which two greatt guns and one att ye gate; fifty souldiers with sufficient ammunicon, stores of warre and spare arms, victualled for about eight months, and his Royll Highnesse sloop with four gunns to attend ye coast and ffishery." The fort was named "Fort Charles," and stood where Fort William Henry and Fort Frederick were erected later. For the location of Fort Charles on this site we have the testimony of John Gyles, a resident whose story will be told in another chapter. On this spot the ruins of the two forts that succeeded Fort Charles are visible today. It has been conjectured that Fort Charles stood at the eastern part of the area later occupied by Fort William Henry, whose outlines are now visible, but that its stockade included the site of the Old Fort House, because the slope at the north and east would be a valuable adjunct of a small fortification. The two later forts had bastions which surrounded a great rock on the shore, but Fort Charles stood a little to the east of this great boulder, and did not surround it, a fatal error as we shall see.

Sir Edmund Andros in fortifying Pemaquid was no doubt moved by fear lest the French, who had been in possession of Pentagoet since 1670, might seize the opportunity afforded them by the desolation there to occupy the territory, which they had threatened to do more than once. According to the English, the western boundary of the French was the St. Croix; according to the French it was the Kennebec, and Pemaquid was part of it and of their dominions. Baron la Hontan, whose little essays on New France and Acadia are entertaining to this day, so freshly are they written, said of Acadia that "it extends

from Kennebec, one of the frontiers of New England, to l'Isle Percée at the mouth of the St. Lawrence." And Andros had to consider not only that the French might take Pemaquid and make good their claim to it by actual possession, but also that the Dutch, who had long had their eyes upon Pentagoet, might fall upon the whole region, which, owing to the greed of petty French governors, lay exposed and ill defended. La Hontan tells how the French governors of Acadia proved unworthy of their trust. They "look upon the place as a gold mine given them in order to enrich themselves; so that the public good must always march behind private interest." He tells how Perrot spent his time in going from river to river trading with the savages, and even at times with the English. Castine tried often to gain adequate protection for Pentagoet, but always the greed of these governors stood in the way. The inducements to French, Dutch and English to win and hold Acadia were the fishery, the masting, and the fur-trade. "Several places of Acadia afford masts as strong as those we have from Norway," writes la Hontan, "and if there were occasion all sorts of ships might be built there." And so it was that a rich country, desirable in the eyes of three nations, and stretching from the Kennebec to St. Croix, stood ill protected and inviting depredation. Massachusetts had indeed shown some zeal to take possession. She had entered Sagadahoc in 1674, and held court at Pemaquid, but she had provided no adequate protection for the inhabitants against Indian raids or the incursions of some European rival nation.

Sir Edmund Andros had many reasons for entering this long mooted territory, and fortifying Pemaquid. Pemaquid was the easternmost outpost of the English toward Pentagoet; it was the most populous and important of the eastern posts and one of the most accessible; and it had a safe harbor for ships to ride in. It would serve as a challenge to French and Dutch, its erection being a forceful gesture to indicate the mastery of the Duke of York in the eastern parts. The spot in Pemaquid selected for fortification was especially strategic, for a fort built there would obstruct the progress of the savages going east or west over their ancient trail between the Penobscot and the Kennebec. When the Penobscot Indians went west to join the Canibas of the Kennebec, it was their custom

to paddle down the shores to New Harbor, then to carry overland to the beach at Pemaquid, re-embarking and proceeding west from there, thus avoiding the turbulent waters about Pemaquid Point, the most exposed and roughest on the coast. A fort at Pemaquid would stand squarely in the line of march along this ancient route.

Fort Charles was erected in 1677; in 1678 at Casco, Mugg for all the sagamores concluded a treaty of peace with the English, and—largely no doubt through the efforts of Andros—King Philip's War came to an end in Maine. "When all hands were weary of the war," writes Cotton Mather, "a sort of peace was patched up, which left the body of Indians not only with murders unavenged, but also in possession of no little part of their territory." Yet despite the slighting manner in which he refers to this peace, Mather goes on to tell in glowing terms of the prosperity that followed. He recounts how the English "stocked their farms and tilled their fields." And how "their lumber and their fishing became a considerable merchandise." "Continual accessions were made unto them until ten or a dozen towns in the Province of Maine and the County of Cornwall were started up into something of observation."

The demonstrations of the Duke's government were doubtless determining factors in bringing about the peace. The Indians in the immediate vicinity of Pemaquid were overawed. The commander of the new fort entered into an agreement with them whereby fifteen captives were surrendered. Other Indians got the desire for a cessation of hostilities, and peace was established at Casco in April, 1678. By its terms all captives were to be restored, and the English were to enjoy their houses and lands unmolested, but they were to pay the savages an annual rental of a peck of corn for every English family. In all, about forty English captives were restored while the Indians gave up several vessels, then called "ketches," which they had captured. Intercourse and traffic with the savages was re-opened. Thus happily was brought to an end the first serious strife between the Indians and the Europeans on the soil of what is now the State of Maine. The war had been expensive to both sides. The buildings of the English had been laid low at all the principal settlements. The Indians had lost heavily in lives, three thousand savages having been

killed against five hundred of the whites. Of this five hundred, three hundred and sixty resided east of the Piscataqua.

From the building of Fort Charles through the decade which followed, we know the history of Pemaquid quite fully from the New York records, which give a good picture of what went on at "Jamestown," as Pemaquid was now re-named in honor of the proprietor, James, Duke of York. The government was practically military, but it was well suited to these troublous times, and the dangerous location of this most eastern outpost of the English in America. The aims of the government were to remove as far as possible all sources of friction with the Indians, to defend the place strongly, and to withhold the English settlers from all foolhardy and needless exposure. The purpose was further to create a fishing and trading monopoly, and to bring in a revenue to the proprietor. To this end and to that of defense, many precautions were taken, and rather stringent rules were put in force, doubtless very taxing to the inhabitants, some of which were as follows:

"To prevent all inconveniency or occasions of difference, no Indians to go to the fishing islands, nor Christians admitted or suffered to inhabit or convene on the main except at Pemaquid under the protection of the fort.

"Neither Christian nor Indian suffered to drink any strong drink, nor be ashore in the night upon the neck or point of land the fort stands upon.

"The Indians to have an Indian house, to be made over the water where they may resort and be.

"Traders from New York to be admitted to set up a trading house under command but at convenient distance from the fort to the landward, so as a street shall be left of good breadth directly from the fort to the narrowest part of the neck or point of land the fort stands upon, going to the Great Neck towards New Harbour.

"Houses to be set broadways to the said designed street to which all doors to open, and not suffered on any other side or end.

"The Duke's sloop now sent in the King's service to remain there all winter to be constantly employed on the coast, . . . to take and make prizes and bring to the commander of the fort any shall be found on the coast contrary to the above

orders," that is, without paying homage to Pemaquid, which was now made the only port of entrance and clearance between the Kennebec and St. Croix, "all vessels fishing or trading in the region to pay tribute."

Jamestown with its fort with two guns aloft, with its stone street and its traders, Dutch and English, from New York, whose business must be transacted in this street "between sun and sun, . . . for which the drum to beate or bell ring every morning and evening," was doubtless rather quaint, while the military atmosphere which prevailed must have contrasted strangely with the wildness of the region, with the sinuous river, the trackless forest in the background, and the stormy ocean out before. The events of the next few years proved, however, the wisdom of all the regulations under which many a resident of Jamestown must at some time have chafed. No one or any pretense might "range the woods" or "sail on the creeks." There were to be no fishing stages on the mainland except at Pemaquid near the fort. "No rum to bee dranke on that side the ffort stands," and after sunset no one was to be allowed on the peninsula where stood the fort. An "ordinary" was to be set up "at every island and fishing place," but no one was to be allowed by the ordinary keeper to "tipple to excessive drinking." "No stragling farms" were to be erected, "nor no houses built anywhere under the number of twenty." "Any differences between the inhabitants and fishermen to be determined by Mr. Josselyn, but in extraordinary cases appeal allowed to the Governor and Council at New York, if desired, according to law."

Fortunately we are able to get some picture of the inhabitants as well as of the government under the Duke's régime. They were settlers from New York sent thither to build up the province, and farmer and fisher residents who came back to the lands from which they had been driven in 1676. Puritans and anti-royalists were not encouraged to return. Another type of settler was represented by Henry Josselyn. He had settled at Black Point in 1634, had been a follower and supporter of Sir Ferdinando Gorges and one of the assistants to William Gorges in 1640, and had been appointed in 1665 by the King's commissioners senior justice for Sagadahoc and the Province of Maine. Becoming displeased with what he deemed the inter-

ference of Massachusetts in the government of the Province of Maine, when they entered that province "in a hostile manner with a troop of horse and foot," he had removed to Pemaquid, probably in 1677, to escape Puritan domination. One of the most appealing things in the regulations of Sir Edmund Andros was his care and solicitude for the welfare of this same Henry Josselyn, a man of high honor and integrity, now advanced in years. In 1680 Gov. Andros admonishes the government at Pemaquid as to the treatment of Mr. Josselyn "with all fitting respect considering what he hath been and his age." He is to be permitted to select land for a house wherever he may choose, and to be allotted ten pounds toward the building of it, "or if he shall desire to hyre soe to live by himself then to engage and pay the rent . . . as alsoe sufficient provision for himselfe and wife as he shall desire out of the stores." Henry Josselyn died May 1, 1683 in Pemaquid, where he is buried in some unmarked grave.

From a book of records made in 1700 and called the "Book of Records of Eastern Claims of Lands," we know the names of many of the early residents of Pemaquid during the régime of the Duke of York. That part of Jamestown near Fort Charles was known as "Newtown" and the parts more remote, in the vicinity of the present Fish Point, were called "Oldtown." John Starkey lived in the "Newtown on Pemaquid Neck." Richard Murren dwelt near John Starkey, and Nicholas Denning lived on land contiguous to Murren's. Thomas Gyles had a lot within a quarter of a mile of Fort Charles, but his farm was at Pemaquid Falls. Cornelius Darling had a house lot near Fort Charles, with upland and meadowland across the river beyond the "Barbican." John Gyles, the brother of Thomas Gyles, had a lot upon "ye west ward side of Pemaquid River," between the lots of Henry Hedger and Dennis Higiman.

The names of many residents of New Harbor, Long Cove and Round Pond are preserved to us. At Long Cove lived Thomas Warden, William Case, George Slater, Ruth Berry, John Haskins, and Robert Lally. At New Harbor lived Francis Johnson. On Muscongus River resided Humphrey Farrell and William England. Morrice Chamles claimed lands on that river, and is styled "formerly of Somersett Island," probably Loud's Island. James Stilson who lived early at New Harbor

and who married Margaret Gould, granddaughter of John Brown, lived after his marriage at Muscongus. The fate of James Stilson and his wife and children will be mentioned later. William Hobby and Thomas Kelley lived at Round Pond. Richard Pattishall claimed fishing stages on Monhegan. Many titles were granted under the Duke's government, but the Duke's titles never prevailed against the grants to Elbridge and Aldworth, nor against the Indian deeds.

The policy of Andros and his successor, Dongan, toward the Indians was pacific unless pushed to the extreme, when their measures became thoroughgoing. Gov. Dongan stated that if his officers at Pemaquid exceeded their authority and did anything against the Indians beyond his instructions, they would suffer for it, and that he would not make any preparations for defense against the savages that might occasion alarm on their part. Both Dongan and Andros aimed to prevent war as far as possible between the various tribes. The government at New York on one occasion warned the government at Pemaquid to tell the natives there that the Mohawks had designs of war against them, but that they had been restrained and that the Indians in the vicinity of Pemaquid were forbidden "to go out against ye others to war."

In September, 1680, it was ordered that "court be held the last Wednesday in June and the first in November." In 1684 the following were appointed justices of the peace: John Allen, John Dollin, Lawrence Dennis, Thomas Gyles, Alexander Waldrop, Thomas Sharp and Richard Pattishall. Nicholas Manning was appointed "sub-collector of revenue and searcher of his Majesty's customs and excise." In June, 1686, John Palmer, a member of Gov. Andros' Council, and John West as his secretary, were commissioned to go to Pemaquid to treat with "the inhabitants for takeing out pattents and paying the quitt rents," regardless of how long the inhabitants had been in possession, or in what manner they had become possessed of their lands. This meant red tape and expense, and proved troublesome and harassing to the inhabitants, many of whom had won their lands from the wilderness, and most of whom possessed them through claims they already believed to be valid and sufficient, either under the first proprietors or by purchase

from the Indians. Williamson comments: "In the single plantation of New Dartmouth . . . they executed about 140 leaseholds reserving an annual quitrent of 5s for every 100 acre lot or otherwise a bushel of merchantable wheat, or its value in money.

. . . For executing any leasehold of 100 acres of woodland and 20 of marsh, they exacted the enormous fees of £2. 10s. . . . For themselves they made ample provision, without much regard to the rights of any one; surveying to each other 1,000 acres." "Even John Dolling, (Dollin, Dalling) an old inhabitant of Monhegan, found his only safety in taking from Palmer Sept. 13, 1686, a leasehold of his own homestead upon that island." Edward Randolph refers to the high-handedness of these officials of Pemaquid. He writes in June, 1688: "'Twas not well of Palmer and West to tear all in pieces that was settled and granted at Pemaquid." "That was the scene where they placed and displaced at pleasure and were as arbitrary as the Great Turk. Some of the first settlers of that eastern country were denied grants of their own lands whilst these men have given the improved lands amongst themselves."

In 1682 "Articles of Association" were entered into at the house of Robert Gibbes on Fort Hill, Boston, for a town in Sheepscoot to be erected on territory laid out by Henry Josselyn. Among the signers of these articles were Thomas Gent, John Allen, Christopher Dyer, Thomas Mener, Robert Scott, William Loring, John White, Daniel Gent, William Willicut, John Brown, and others. It was probably at this time that many Dutch colonists removed from New York to this territory, settling on the eastern banks of the Sheepscoot and the western banks of the Damariscotta. In 1684 a petition of the inhabitants of "New Dartmouth," as the town was called, asking for a confirmation of their lands, indicates the difficulties they experienced. They complain in this petition that others appear and claim prior ownership, notably one Capt. Elisha Hutchinson of Boston.

Petitions on file in the New York records show some of the evils from which the inhabitants of Sagadahoc suffered. They are oppressed, they say, by want of laws, "being left to the will and pleasure of the military order, by which means the government becomes to us altogether arbitrary." The commander at Pemaquid has threatened the "king's justice" with

“putting in irons” and with “dissolving of the courts.” They complain of Capt. Nicholas Manning, as captain of a company that is very troublesome, and “doth much uphold and disturb us in our business. . . . Townsmen and overseers that are legally chosen he doth disturb at public meetings. . . . He also brags that his power is better than ours.” Sagadahoc evidently suffered—as history shows other places to have done—from the overbearing of the military.

In May, 1683, John Allen of Sheepscot was commissioned justice of the peace for Pemaquid, and in 1686, as sheriff, “he is to appoint the freeholders of Pemaquid and dependencies to meet and chose one representative” to the New York Assembly. Soon after the arrival of Col. Thomas Dongan as governor in 1683, New York was divided into counties, the Duke’s eastern province being named “The County of Cornwall,” and a legislative assembly was called for the first time. To the county of Cornwall was allotted one representative, and Gyles Goddard of Sheepscot was chosen and actually served one term in the New York Assembly. Goddard doubtless bore to the Governor the petitions referred to above, but they were laid over without action “until the Governor shall to go to Pemaquid,” and the Governor never went.

In 1683, despite the precautions taken by the New York government, various inhabitants testify and give warnings of threats uttered by the savages against the white settlers. According to one man’s testimony: “Some of the chief of them is gone to Canada to fetch arms and ammunition, and they said they would make the greatest army that has yet been among them.” According to another, one Indian had said “the hatchet hung over” the heads of the settlers, and “he did not know how soon it may fall.”

There are evidences in the records of an approaching struggle also with the French, particularly with Baron de Castine of Bagaduce. In 1694 Richard Pattishall testifies to statements of Baron Castine which have reached him by hearsay, to the effect that if Gov. Dongan pressed him (Castine), “ye English in those parts would soon be cut off and ye places left in ashes,” for “all ye Indians were engaged to Castine.” Pattishall had contended with a Mr. Kelson (more probably Nelson) that he was mistaken, as “all the Indians from Pemaquid west-

ward were obedient to Gov. Dongan, which were two to one to ye eastwards," and that Gov. Dongan, had "ye Mohawks . . . to send upon these Indians in their old quarrel when he pleased." But Nelson told Pattishall that he must be mistaken, for he was sure "ye Governor kept Jesuits in ye Mohawks' castles." This little controversy between two Englishmen is interesting as foreshadowing the storm that was about to break.

To repeat in this connection an incident already related, the agents of Gov. Dongan at Pemaquid, Palmer and West, in pursuance of the claim that the Duke's territories stretched as far east as the St. Croix, seized as contraband a shipment of wines to the Baron de Castine, consigned to Nelson, a merchant of Boston, and delivered at Bagaduce within a quarter of a mile of Castine's house. This act and the expedition east of Sir Edmund Andros in 1688 were doubtless minor causes of the war which was soon to break upon the settlements and which came to be known as "Castine's War." Hutchinson relates that the Baron promised to every savage who would go to war against the English a pound of gunpowder, two pounds of lead, and a supply of tobacco. The war may have been precipitated by a lack of diplomacy on the part of Dongan's representatives, and by tactlessness on the part of the new governor of New England, whose general policies we must next consider, but since France and England claimed overlapping dominions, and since each evidently intended to make good its claim, the conflict was inevitable, and Pemaquid, in the heart of a much mooted territory, was doomed to the fate which ere long overtook it.



SIR EDMUND ANDROS

CHAPTER XV

THE REGIME OF SIR EDMUND ANDROS

Charles II was much displeased by the purchase of the Province of Maine, and by other acts of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. The King's Commissioners in 1665 had found their work obstructed in Massachusetts and had reported unfavorably of the Colony, as had Edward Randolph, appointed in 1672 "Collector, surveyor, and searcher under the Acts of Trade." The outcome of a controversy between the King and the Colony which dragged on for many years was the revocation of the charter of Massachusetts Bay, and the appointment provisionally of Joseph Dudley as President to govern with a Council of fifteen.

Dudley was unpopular, but his successor, Sir Edmund Andros, was more so. Sir Edmund Andros arrived in Boston in 1686 as Governor of "Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Maine, Plymouth, Pemaquid, and Narragansett." The general policies of the government of Sagadahoc by New York had been dictated by full knowledge of the situation there and by much wisdom and forethought, but the evils of the government, which the inhabitants had often pointed out, were due to the great distance between Pemaquid and the seat of authority. It was for this reason that in 1686 Pemaquid was removed from the jurisdiction of New York and placed under the new governor, who had authority over all New England. New York had become a royal province with the accession of King James and despite protestations from that province, when the Duke of York became King James II, Pemaquid was united with the other New England governments. A design to unite the various New England governments under a single head had long been under consideration in England, where the idea had gained ground that consolidation would mean efficiency in both the civil and military administration. The plan of appointing one Governor for all New England was not original with James II; it was rather the fruit of long cherished plans

on the part of government agencies in England which dealt with colonial affairs.

Here is James II's order relative to the delivery of Pemaquid to the new governor: "We have thought fit that our fort and country of Pemaquid, in regard to its distance from New York, be for the future annexed to and continued under the government of our territory and dominions of New England." Ordered: "To deliver our said fort and country with the great guns, ammunition and stores of war . . . into the hands of our well-beloved Sir Edmund Andros, Knight, Capt. General and Governor-in-Chief of our Territory and Dominions of New England."

Sir Edmund Andros was much maligned by his subjects in New England, yet as one studies this man's career after two centuries, one is struck by the manner in which he was able to refute all the charges brought against him. To a fair minded person of today he seems merely the victim of the events and passions of his age. Sir Edmund Andros was a member of a distinguished old English family. This family was loyal to the Stuart monarchs, sharing the exile of Charles II. Sir Edmund early took to a military life, distinguishing himself as a soldier. He was well known to the Duke of York, in whose estimation he held a high place. In 1674 the Duke sent him to America as governor of his provinces of New York and Sagadahoc; in 1685 he made him Governor-in-Chief of New England; and in April, 1688, he commissioned him as Governor of all the English possessions in America except Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware.

Andros was in New York during the summer of 1688, quieting the Indians of the region. On his return to Boston in the autumn he found that the Indians of the east had risen and that there had been border skirmishes. Andros tried clemency at first, releasing the captives taken in Maine, and endeavoring to re-establish the faith of the savages, but finding that pacific measures failed, he turned to the opposite extreme, and putting himself at the head of eight hundred men, marched into Maine with the object of overawing the savages and cowing them into peace. He seems to have made his winter headquarters at Fort Charles. While in Maine he learned of the designs of William of Orange upon the English crown. Fearing trouble, he issued

to his subjects in January, 1689, a proclamation warning them of the danger of foreign invasion.

In March, 1689, he returned to Boston to find the people much stirred up, to discover that their dislike of the new government was in danger of being vented upon himself, and, in short, that the colony was on the eve of revolution. In April, 1689, using the Revolution in England as a plausible excuse, the populace rose against Andros, and imprisoned him in the fort on Fort Hill, taking possession of the castle, dismantling the Rose Frigate, and forcing Andros to yield up all the reins of government. He was held a prisoner until February, 1690, when by order of the English government, he was sent to England for trial. The colonial agents were bidden to appear at his trial, and prefer their charges against Andros. They failed to do so, thus betraying the fact that they had no charges to prefer. Andros was tried and found guilty of no crime. Two years later, by the successors of James II, Andros was sent to the colonies again, this time as Governor of Virginia, in which capacity he was much esteemed. He brought over to Virginia with him the charter of the College of William and Mary, of which college he was the founder. In 1698 he was recalled because of difficulties with the clergy. He spent his old age in England. In 1704 he was appointed by Queen Anne Lieut. Governor of Guernsey. In Guernsey he died in 1713.

His career is a remarkable one. Though highly loyal to James II, he committed no act of disloyalty to his country while that king was fighting to regain his throne. He served in important capacities under four different monarchs, enjoying the confidence of each, an unusual history for those troublous times. He was at one time or another governor of every royal province on the mainland of America.

Andros seems to have been a man of good judgment, force and decision, of much administrative ability, and of high integrity. Though charged with dishonesty, no dishonorable act was ever proved against him. It would seem then a little strange that his memory should have been painted into the annals of the Puritans in such dark colors, for he was in many respects just the type of fearless, conscientious, hard working administrator who was their ideal. But the truth seems to be merely that Andros was in the other camp, by birth and breeding a man

who saw things from a different angle from those whom he was sent to govern. He was a royalist and an Episcopalian. Though professing great loyalty to the reigning monarch and the English government, the colonists were in all their aims at variance with those in power in England. They were pioneers far from the seat of government. They had reclaimed the wilderness, and having reclaimed it, they believed that it was theirs alone, and not in the power of any king to grant or govern. Owing to the civil wars in England the English government had left Massachusetts and the other colonies practically to themselves so long that by the time of the Restoration, when England bethought herself of her colonies and set about making certain regulations, especially regarding trade, for the empire as a whole, the Bay Colony resented all intrusion, and rendered the home government only lip service. The wilderness had done its work.

The Bay colonists lost their charter in 1684. They were in high dudgeon at this loss, and any government substituted for that under the charter would have been deeply hated. Sir Edmund Andros merely performed with faithfulness the things demanded of him by the home government, in whose service he was commissioned. He was loyal to the Crown, but he in no way exceeded his authority or governed like a despot. The Puritans confounded the man with the government under which they chafed; they heaped upon Andros opprobrious names which he ill deserved; they suspected him of foolish and treacherous acts, to which his conduct gave the obvious lie.

His episcopacy was of course highly unpopular as well as his loyalty to the Crown; his religious faith was no doubt a prime cause of Puritan ill treatment. Yet he seems to have conducted himself modestly in that respect, merely requiring the use of the Old South Church for Episcopalian services at times "when the building was not occupied by the regular congregations." Andros was hated because he was perhaps over proud of his ancient family and noble connections; this pride of family and a hasty temper were no doubt his weaknesses, but they were not crimes. Yet Andros became the scapegoat of the day. Because their popular assemblies were abrogated by the English government, the Puritans hated Andros. Because under his government oaths were administered by

laying of the hand upon the Book instead of merely raising it, they hated Andros. Because they loathed the Church of England and because this was his Church, they hated Andros. Out of the rebellion of the men of that day against what they deemed tyranny, including the government of Andros, came in time some of their precious liberties and ours, yet recognizing all this, it is only fair in painting this man's portrait to set him against the background of his age. It is only fair to endeavor to rescue him from that ill fame which only unpropitious circumstances heaped upon him—a man who for ability and high character compared favorably with those who held him in such disesteem.

One of the most unpopular acts of Andros was his expedition east and his descent upon Fort Pentagoet, already mentioned. Capt. George was at Pemaquid with the frigate "Rose" in April, 1688, when he received orders to await the Governor there and prepare to take him east. Gov. Andros went from Boston to Piscataqua by land, then cruised among the islands of Casco Bay and up the Kennebec for several miles, expressing delight at the beauty of the shores. "By easy stages," he reached Pemaquid where he stayed three days; he then concluded his journey to Penobscot in the "Rose." He sailed into Pentagoet, and anchoring before the fort sent word to Castine that he was about to visit him. But Castine feared treachery, and fled to the woods with all his family, while Andros plundered the house, leaving only the altar undisturbed. Andros had come from Pemaquid prepared to restore the fort, but finding it too much a ruin, he decided to abandon the idea.

Returning to Pemaquid, he parleyed with some savages who met him there by invitation. Andros directed them to yield no allegiance to the French, promising them the protection of the English, and distributing among them many presents. While at Pemaquid, he was sought out by some of the inhabitants, who lodged with him complaints of the unfair dealings of West and Palmer during the régime of New York. Andros sympathized with them, and told them that all the acts of West and Palmer were now "void." Finding Fort Charles in need of repair Andros gave orders to restore it. He expressed himself as delighted with Pemaquid. The historian Sullivan says: "The situation of the harbor and bay appeared to so great

advantage in his eyes that he thought Pemaquid might be the principal mart in the eastern country."

Andros spent the summer of 1688 negotiating with the savages in New York. On his return to Boston, he found that due partly, no doubt, to his visit to Castine's house, which Castine much resented, there had been Indian uprisings. The English in that summer were beginning work on a new fort at Royall's River in No. Yarmouth. The Indians, who hated forts and now saw another rising, first showed their resentment by killing some English cattle. On August 13th they made an attack upon those working on the fort. Three white men and several Indians were killed in the skirmish. Capt. Sargent seized sixteen Indians and took them captive to Boston. The savages in retaliation fell on New Dartmouth and Sheepscot, where they burned nearly all the houses. They took Henry Smith and Edward Taylor and their families captive to Teconnet Fort. The inhabitants of New Dartmouth and Sheepscot deserted the place never to return. These towns had received especial patronage from Gov. Dongan, many Dutch settlers having emigrated thither. Mather writes: "This place which was accounted the 'Garden of the East' was infested by serpents, and a sword expelled the poor inhabitants." The English thereupon put the whole seaboard into a posture of defense.

Andros, believing in a different policy, at once released the captives, calling upon the savages at the same time to release their prisoners also. But the Indians paid no attention to his proclamation. Convinced of his error, Andros determined upon measures of coercion. He raised a company of eight hundred men, and putting himself at their head, went east in November. He did what damage was possible to the savages, going into the interior, burning their forts and canoes, and destroying their supplies. But he took no prisoners, since the Indians were engaged in their winter hunting in the forests. Andros made his headquarters at Fort Charles. At that fort he left one hundred and twenty men, under Capt. Brockholes and Lieut. Weems, which with the settled garrison, made one hundred and fifty-six; at New Dartmouth Fort he left eighty-four men; at Sheepscot, Arrowsic and Falmouth, other troops. In all he manned and supplied eleven garrisons before he returned to Boston in March, 1689, feeling that he had done much to protect

the frontier against the Indian raids which were sure to be forthcoming in the spring.

His efforts might have been effective had he had support. But the Puritans of Massachusetts had no love for Andros and no appreciation of his efforts. They belittled the whole undertaking and all it had accomplished, claiming that a winter expedition against the savages was always ill advised. Short-sightedness of military policy seems to have been characteristic of these early New England leaders, who saw value only in what brought immediate results, seldom appreciating the importance of strategic moves.

Andros arrived back in Boston to find his approaching downfall mirrored in every face he met. By April he and thirty of his most unpopular adherents, among them Randolph, West and Palmer, were in prison; and Bradstreet, the last charter Governor, now eighty-seven years of age, had superseded him. This bloodless revolution in Boston was freighted with evil consequences for the frontiers. Andros' precautionary measures were at once discountenanced. Many of the soldiers were withdrawn from the eastern garrisons by order of the new provisional government. Some soldiers deserted; some seized their officers and sent them bound to Boston as creatures of Andros. Brockholes of Pemaquid was one who met this fate. Maj. Charles Frost and Col. Edward Tyng were now put in command of everything in the east except the garrison at Pemaquid, where only Weems remained with his depleted forces to hold the fort.

A delegation from the Tarratines now visited Boston, stating that Castine highly resented the late pillage of his residence, and that "a great war impended." This delegation was received with much courtesy and many presents, and messages were given them by the new government to carry to Castine, disavowing all responsibility for the acts of Andros. War was just at this time declared between France and England, but it was not proclaimed in Boston until December, 1689. In Canada the news arrived much sooner, the French urging the Indians to join them in descents upon the English border settlements, while French privateers preyed upon the shipping on the coasts of Acadia. The horrors of King William's War, the first lengthy war between the English on the one hand and the French and Indians on the other, were about to begin.

For this war the Puritans, blind to its true causes, blamed Andros. Increase Mather wrote in characteristic Mather style of the Andros expedition east: "What good did that frigate (The Rose) do New England? Unless that it fetched home the plunder of Castine, upon which began a bloody war." Despite the narrow outlook of the Massachusetts leaders, the seeds of strife lay deeply sown and conflict was inevitable. The war was doubtless hurried on, and the horror of its Indian features made more dreadful by the shortsighted policy of the Puritans and the revolution in Massachusetts, which stripped the borders of their defenses and removed the strong hand of Andros at the very time it was most needed.

In this war, different motives actuated different tribes of savages. The general cause was the same in all the Indian wars, the advance of the English and the clearing of the forests which destroyed the hunting grounds and threatened the savages with starvation. For them civilization meant extinction, and many of them saw this clearly. There were, moreover, several immediate causes for Indian displeasure. They complained that the yearly dole of corn had not been paid as stipulated in Mugg's treaty, that lands at Pemaquid had been patented without their consent, and that the English cheated them in trade. They complained that English seines were ruining their fishing on the Saco, that "their corn was destroyed by the cattle of the English, and that they, being deprived of their hunting and fishing places, were liable to perish of hunger."

The chief charges against Andros were based upon the features of his winter expedition east, already described. The Puritans were incensed by the release of the Indian prisoners, and by Andros' general policy of toleration and diplomacy. Andros had tried a similar policy in New York and had succeeded, but it was his misfortune that on this occasion it proved ineffective and that he had to resort to force. The Massachusetts people also complained bitterly of the numbers of their men lost in the winter expedition, which had secured no captives, and which they considered fruitless. In his own defense, however, Andros gives the following account of what this expedition did accomplish: "By the settlement of several garrisons, frequent parties, marches and pursuits of the enemy, sometimes one hundred miles into the desert further than any

Christian settlement, and taking and destroying their forts, ammunitions and canoes, dispersed and reduced them to the uttermost wants and necessities, and so secured the country . . . that not the least damage or spoil happened to the inhabitants or fishery." One of Andros' champions stated: "They were reduced to that necessity both for ammunition and provision that in the spring following they resolved to come in and surrender themselves at mercy."

The people of Massachusetts not only blamed Andros for bad judgment in conducting the winter campaign, but they also accused him of treachery, claiming that he conspired with the Indians to deliver the English into their hands. It was rumored that Andros was furnishing the savages with ammunition. One soldier made oath that two Indian women visited Fort Charles in the winter of 1688-89 and that they left after a sojourn of two days, laden with heavy baskets in which was ammunition. One of these women, he said, was the sister of Madockawando and the other the wife of Moxus. Another soldier made oath that he, with several others, was ordered to make up two files of soldiers to give safe escort to New Harbor to three Indian women from the fort at Pemaquid, all three of whom were laden with baskets, in one of which he saw bullets.

How the colonists could credit such rumors in the face of the general conduct of Andros is difficult to determine. Along the frontiers, to give the lie to any such conceit, stood the garrisons Andros had built, manned and supplied, prepared for instant action at the first savage incursion when spring should come. The colonists reasoned, however, that Andros was the creature of James II. James II was friendly to the French, who had always had their eyes upon the eastern country and who actually claimed it as far west as the Kennebec. What more probable than that Andros, the Episcopalian, and perhaps papist, should, by the orders of James II, also a papist, under cover of defending the frontiers, really be preparing the Indians to rise against the settlers, and joining with the French, fall upon the English? The colonists of Massachusetts even went so far as to credit a rumor that Andros had hired the Mohawks to rise against themselves.

There is one point in the Andros controversy that is particularly worth considering. After the summer of 1689, when

the eastern frontiers had been attacked, as will be seen, a petition dated Jan. 16, 1690, was sent to His Majesty from "the present and late inhabitants of Maine and Cornwall County," in which they ask for help in their deserted condition, enumerate the services of Andros in their defense, and state that "he put a stop to further rage and fury of the heathen, and in the following winter's service where he was in person, reduced them to that want and necessity, both for provisions and ammunition, that in all appearance they would in a very short time have submitted," that the provisional government of Massachusetts "soon ordered all the forces of the eastern parts to come home immediately . . . that the Indians destroyed the fortifications which the forces had deserted, the town and garrison of Pemaquid . . . and ruined and depopulated the whole County of Cornwall and a great part of the Province of Maine . . . before any help or assistance was sent from Boston." This petition which craved help from His Majesty King William, was signed by James Dennis, Thomas Scottow, Thomas Gyles, Nicholas Manning, Judge of Sagadahoc, and many others. The Puritans claimed that the petition was not genuine, on what grounds is not clear. If genuine, it indicated a disposition toward Andros in the eastern parts quite opposed to that which obtained in Massachusetts.

In its larger aspects the attitude of Massachusetts toward Sir Edmund Andros had two points especially worth considering. The Puritans believed that in their overthrow of his authority they were defending the Protestant religion, and fighting for representative government. The modern mind finds that they had not learned the lesson of religious toleration, and that bigotry dictated the fear that Andros was a papist; the Puritans hated the Church of England and could not endure any stripe of Protestantism not their own. The modern mind has sympathy, however, not for their denunciation of Andros personally, but for their revolt at what they considered tyranny. Taxes were levied under Andros by the Governor and the appointed Council without the consent of the people; the powers of the town meetings were almost wholly abrogated; the New England land system was attacked, and the titles by which the settlers held their lands were questioned. They were told they must have new deeds and pay a quitrent for them. This meant red

tape and many fees. Their revolt against these measures, which were sure to be distasteful to the pioneers they were, commands respect, and their attitude on these points was courageous and forward looking. Of their military measures one cannot say as much, and the disasters to which their half way policies soon led, fell with particular severity upon Cornwall County, Fort Charles and Pemaquid.

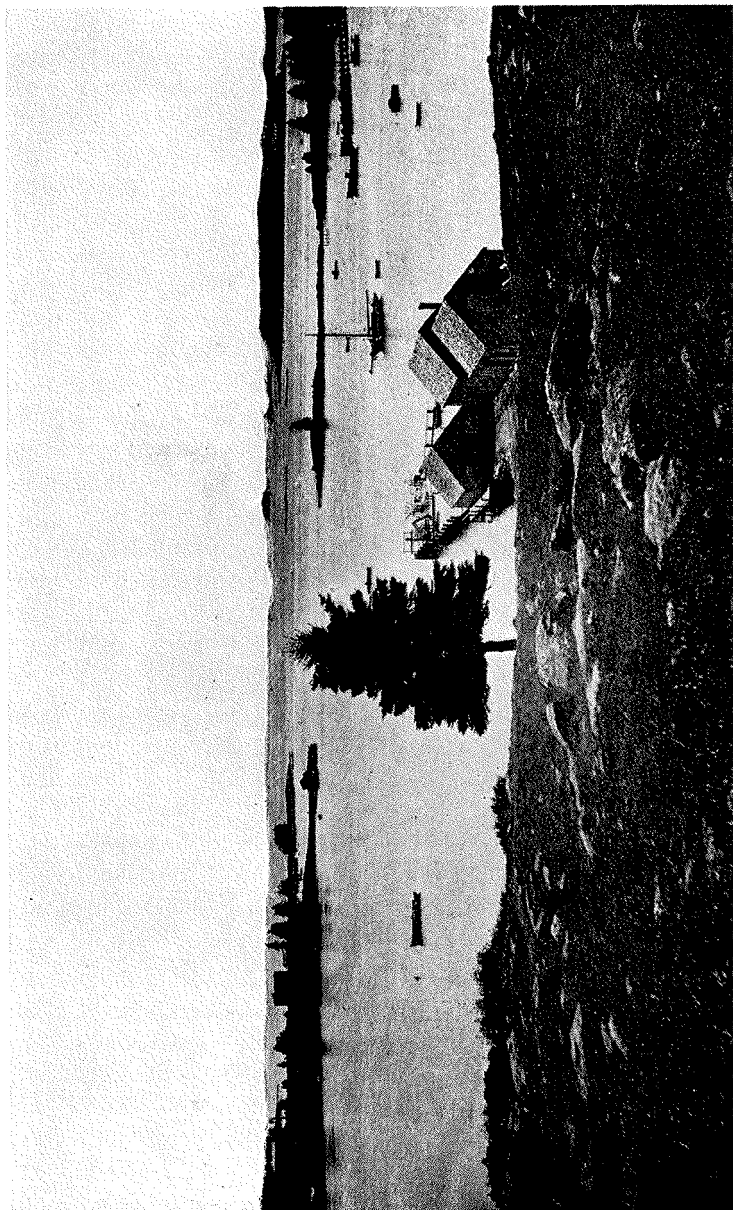
CHAPTER XVI

THE CAPTURE OF FORT CHARLES

With the year 1689 opens the "Sorrowful Decade" of New England history, when the frontiers suffered all the agonies and uncertainties of border warfare, a period in which Pemaquid, the eastern outpost of New England, played an important but unhappy part. The varying names applied to this ten years' strife—King William's War, The War of the English Succession, and St. Castine's War—indicate how numerous and varied were its causes. In the current politics of Europe and in local conditions here its sources must be sought.

While France under Louis XIV cast a lengthening shadow over Europe at which the English people looked askance, peace between the two countries had been maintained only through the Stuart monarchs, who deliberately cultivated the goodwill of the King of France, a monarch who represented in the superlative degree the ideals and ambitions of the Stuarts. James II was not a diplomat like his brother Charles, and his aggressive Stuart policies and measures therefore met with stubborn opposition. With the unexpected birth of a son to James II and the prospect of a continuance on the throne of Catholic monarchs of the Stuart type, came the Revolution of 1688, the enforced abdication of James II, and the proclamation of William and Mary as constitutional monarchs. James II took refuge with Louis XIV, who immediately sought to re-establish the abdicated king upon the throne, and so thrust war upon the English nation, a war waged for the Protestant faith, for the supremacy of Parliament, and for the management of English affairs by Englishmen, without foreign interference.

William of Orange had been the traditional leader of the Protestant opposition to Louis XIV, who was looked upon as Protestantism's foe. He also typified the absolutism of the monarch, at which the Stuart kings had aimed, and against which the revolution of 1688 was a protest. So when Louis XIV pledged the resources of France to re-enthron James II, Eng-



PEMAQUID INNER HARBOR LOOKING SEAWARD

land had no other recourse, and war was proclaimed in April, 1689.

Continental strife of necessity involved the colonies in North America—they had no choice but war. Yet there were many local causes for the conflict, and a clash between the French and English was at some time inevitable here. The first half century of the two nations in North America had been fairly peaceful, but as the colonies expanded, and their interests and activities stretched out in various directions, the chances for conflict multiplied. The English and French aimed at different goals in colonizing the new world. The French were for the most part adventurers in North America, who came to replenish empty purses. They were birds of passage seeking not homes but temporary abiding places. They dwelt mostly in fortified camps at wide distances from one another, their policy being to preserve the wilderness as far as possible in its native state as a great game preserve. Their main business was the fur-trade. They cultivated the friendship of the savages, and sought to bring many tribes and vast tracts of territory within their sphere of influence. The most valuable agents of France in furthering her ends were the missionaries and the “coureurs de bois,” those intrepid traders who threaded the wilderness in all directions. Through the heroic efforts of the missionaries, largely Jesuits, the savages were converted in great numbers, and were thus held by religious bonds to the alliance of the French. The French with their semi-military way of life threatened the savages far less than did the English. They were able to live among them almost as brothers, and there was much give and take between the races.

The policy and objects of the English were directly opposed to those of the French. The English came to North America seeking homes. They came to settle permanently and they lived largely by agriculture. The growth of their settlements was slow but sure. They tilled the soil and felled the forests. Their advance threatened at every turn the very existence of the savages, of whom they were the natural foes. That slow growth of theirs was not spectacular, but it was very certain. Every fall of the axe in the virgin forest, as they went north and east and west, up the rivers and into the interior, spelled the extinction of a savage life. The Englishman traded as did the

Frenchman; he trafficked in furs as well, but not as an object in itself. As he went from point to point, laying the forests low to secure timber for his houses and his ships, fishing the seas for food, and making the earth yield its increase, he disturbed the hunting grounds, he ruined the Indian fisheries, he tore from above their very heads the natural shelter of the savages. And with him went his form of civilization, of which the unit was the community, with its schoolhouse and its church. The savages must either become civilized as a few of the "praying Indians" did, and become incorporated into the white man's very life, or he must be conquered and exterminated, as the Pequots had been in Massachusetts. The Frenchman could live with the savage on terms of reciprocity—not so the Englishman. As the English vanguard moved, either Englishman or Indian must perish. Many savages realized this, and it was upon such considerations that their hostility was most deeply based. Had the Iroquois Indians had more wisdom, had they allied themselves to the French instead of to the English, and forborne to war against other Indian tribes, the outcome of the French and English strife in North America might have been different; the struggle would at any rate have been considerably prolonged.

As each of the two groups moved, stretching over a wider and wider area, like some great insect fanning out antennae, the neutral zones which had divided them and preserved peace gradually narrowed. By 1689 English and French were seeking to extend their separate sway over the same territory in several regions, endeavoring to monopolize the same fisheries and commerce, and to gain dominance over the same savage tribes, one prime object being always to monopolize the fur-trade. Regions in dispute were the West Indies, the North where the Hudson's Bay Company contended with the French, and the frontiers of New York and New England.

The British outposts in New York were not threatened by the proximity of French settlements, but there the two nations were rivals for the valuable fur-trade of the Lake regions. The key to the situation lay with the Iroquois who dwelt south of Lake Ontario. These were the most powerful and fiercest of the Indian tribes. In very early days the French had made the error of alienating these powerful tribes, who had been friendly

to the Dutch of New York. The English inherited this friendship, which carried with it the fur-trade at Albany. Gov. Dongan pressed the alliance, persuading the Five Nations to set up the English arms in their villages. The Algonquin tribes of the Upper Lakes were friendly to the French, and sold their furs at Three Rivers, Montreal, and Quebec. It was the aim of the Stuart kings to wrest this northern fur-trade from the French and divert it to Albany. They sought to accomplish this by inciting the Iroquois to war and by sending trading expeditions north. Urged on by the English, the Iroquois fell upon the Illinois, the Hurons, the Abenakis, and other French allies. Gov. Denonville tried in vain to proselyte the Iroquois through Jesuit missions. In 1685 Gov. Dongan of New York sent eleven canoes north on a trading expedition. The expedition proved successful, wresting much of the fur-trade from the French. Next year he followed it up with a larger expedition and a great fleet of canoes. But the French, now thoroughly awake to the danger which threatened them, gathered two hundred men at Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario, captured Dongan's canoes, and with their Indian allies, devastated the land of the Senecas, and built a fort at Niagara. The Iroquois thereupon began reprisals. They forced the French to abandon Fort Frontenac, and on August 4, 1689, perpetrated the dreadful massacre at La Chine. Disaster had followed disaster too swiftly for the French to cope with, and Denonville seemed unequal to the crisis. Old Count Frontenac, now seventy years of age, was sent out to save New France.

The situation in Acadia differed somewhat from that in New York. In Acadia French and English were settled not so very far apart, the contest over fisheries as well as over furs was constant, and French and English claimed by grant and patent territories that considerably overlapped. The English claimed east to the St. Croix, including Pentagoet, insisting that the French were merely subjects, while the French claimed that their land of Acadie extended west to the Kennebec, including Pemaquid. As seen in a previous chapter, this boundary dispute had been dragging on for years, the anger rising gradually on both sides.

The Indians of the region were held firmly to the French cause by the Jesuits. Missionary work had been more suc-

cessful among the Abenakis than among other tribes. Though many of the Abenakis clung to their old dwelling places on the Saco, the Kennebec, and the Penobscot, migrations to the mission villages of St. Francis had been going on for more than a decade. The Anasagunticooks and the Wawenocks had migrated to Canada, and formed mission villages there. These mission Indians were destined to become the terror of the New England border. In these villages labored Father Jacques and Vincent Bigot, and we have the testimony of Denonville himself that many of the successes at the beginning of King William's War were due to the efforts of these Jesuits. The English settlements were from this time on at the mercy of the Indians from Canadian mission villages, and from the nearby posts at Nanrantsouak, Pentagoet, and St. John's.

At the opening of King William's War in 1689, things looked auspicious for the French. The government of New France, highly centralized, was well suited to the exigencies of the age, and had what New England at all times lacked, an able, far-sighted leader. For men like Count Frontenac, with lieutenants such as Villieu and le Moyne d'Iberville, the future founder of Louisiana, New England had no match. Dongan had been replaced by Andros, and Andros had been repudiated later in New England. These were perhaps the two men who appreciated the real magnitude of the struggle which was beginning. They understood Indian diplomacy, and they knew the importance of protecting the lonely outposts and of contending for the beaver trade through military and trading expeditions.

The English colonists for the most part saw only the danger and not the value of strategic manoeuvres. They would make a sacrifice only with some immediate gain in view. Their notion of the war which in 1689 broke upon the frontier settlements well illustrates their attitude. They laid the outbreak largely to the anger of Castine, and the blunders of Andros. They never dreamed that the French, exerting their influence partly through the Jesuits, were really at the back of it. The war on the English side was waged by raw recruits without military training or sagacity. The English were divided into numerous groups under petty governments, and this weakness militated against them. The English government saw the danger of so much decentralization, and it was largely for strengthening its

defenses that all New England had been united under Andros. With the overthrow of this greater New England and the uncertainty of authority in New England and New York which followed the revolution of 1689, came the opportunity of New France, which her leaders were not slow to recognize. New England on the eve of war with New France had only a provisional government, which proved almost criminally negligent of the frontiers, while New York was only half united under the uncertain rule of Jacob Leisler. New England and New York had indeed wealth and numbers which far exceeded the resources of New France, but the English had not developed the means to make effective use of these advantages. Everything, in fact, seemed ripe for a victory for New France, and for the next seven or eight years the scales tipped in France's favor.

The local causes of the war have been narrated, likewise the events of 1688. In the spring of 1689, the Indians, under the advice of their French allies, saw their chance to strike. Andros had stationed one hundred and fifty-six men at Pemaquid under the command of Weems and Brockholes, including the settled garrison of thirty-six, and two companies of sixty each, under Capts. Tyng and Minot. Of all these, only Lieut. James Weems and thirty men at the most remained, As to the exact number of men there is some doubt. Andros says eighteen, and Weems claimed thirty. On May 11, 1689, a party from New Dartmouth Fort fell on Fort Charles at Pemaquid, seizing Brockholes as a papist and sending him a prisoner to Boston. Weems was left at his post upon petition of the inhabitants. A letter of Weems dated June 1, 1689, betrays his uneasiness at the situation. He writes the authorities at Boston that he will remain and "be careful of the garrison . . . which I suppose," he says, "will not be long unless you take further care of these parts." He complains of the lack of supplies and points out the difficulties of holding men under such disorganized conditions. "This place," he complains, "affordeth nothing but poverty whereas formerly they ware well supplied by ye coasters but now there comes none but passes by to supply ye French and Indians, . . . and informs you doe intend to slight and disowne these eastern parts, which news is like to cause the people to leave their habitations and desart the country." He says he cannot long detain the soldiers against their will, since they are unsupplied with

provisions, "which would not have bin wanting had the Governor (Andros) continued his power."

Letters passed between Weems and the Massachusetts government which go to show in general what was taking place. Weems is willing to remain at his post and do his duty if he is to be supported and if his soldiers are to be given some assurance of their pay. Massachusetts desires him to stay, and becomes very tempery at a suggestion of Weems that he might do better for his own interests elsewhere. They promise to pay his men, and yet they send no money, while Weems pays them daily from his own purse.

The letters of Weems during June and July show considerable skepticism of receiving the support of Massachusetts. One incident will illustrate the situation. In June Weems sends two captives to Boston in a vessel by special messenger, promising the owner of the vessel that Massachusetts will reimburse him, and believing that the two captives can furnish information that will prove valuable to the authorities. But in a letter dated July 23rd, he regrets that "the poor man that brought you ye captives has not been satisfied for his paines." In this letter he asks for ten or twelve men for the garrison, for he says, "we are but weak at present." July 24th, after a somewhat heated and sarcastic letter from the Massachusetts authorities, resenting the implication that they are unwilling to remain at their posts of duty, the soldiers write in person, stating that they will remain since they have assurance of their pay, and since they "are commanded by so good a commander," but that they hope for "more men and money by the first opportunity." They point out that the men are too few for the day and night watch which is necessitated by "having the French and heathen" near them.

The position of Weems and his men at Pemaquid was surely unequal and precarious, as events proved. Half the men in garrison were doomed to be sacrificed to the negligence of the authorities; and despite their promises of pay, ten years later Weems had not been reimbursed for his expenditures, the bill, it would appear, being settled finally only by putting it before the English government. In a letter written ten years later Weems refers to his strange situation in Pemaquid, "posted at a frontier garrison by his general with a sufficient force to de-

fend it, and afterwards to have them privately commanded away from him, and he left with a handful exposed to all danger, the which gave opportunity to my men to leave me as the rest did inland . . . they became disobedient, and told me that I was no longer their commander." Such was the situation in Pemaquid as August opened, with Weems still at his post, and serving under him, the thirty men who had been too loyal to desert "so good a commander."

August 2, 1689, dawned peacefully over the fields and woods of Pemaquid as other summer days had done. Though Weems was still uneasy, the season had thus far advanced without hostilities. There were rumors of an attack on Dover in June, but of nothing nearer. Inhabitants and soldiers waited on, expecting supplies daily. In every cloud upon the skyline they saw an English ship from Boston laden with food-stuffs and soldiers to relieve the fort. But this ship never came, and they were beginning now to harbor a hope that despite the apathy of Massachusetts in leaving them thus unprotected, there might be no attack, and the summer might draw to a peaceful close. News travelled slowly, and the fact that war had been declared on the continent in April was still unknown. Yet this very day with its serene August sunshine was to witness the destruction of this most eastern outpost of the English.

Unsuspecting the fate that awaited them, the men went early to the hayfields. Mr. Thomas Gyles, a prominent citizen, and fourteen men went in boats to his farm at Pemaquid Falls, three miles away, where they worked peacefully all that forenoon. But savages that morning had halted John Starkey on his way from the fort to New Harbor, who, "to obtain his own liberty," Mather says, "informed them that the fort had at that instant but few men in it, and that one Mr. Giles with fourteen men was gone up to his farm, and the rest scattered abroad about their occasions." The Indians moved quietly and cautiously, and were in the midst of the English before their presence was suspected. They had paddled to New Harbor from Penobscot, where the attack had been planned by Castine and Father Thury. They determined, after securing from Starkey and three other captives the exact situation of the inhabitants, to wait until low tide, when the men at the Falls would be unable to launch their boats, and get down river to the fort. The party of

invaders divided, some going to the Falls for the slaughter there, others posting themselves at Pemaquid near Fort Charles. High noon came, and their presence was still unknown. At Pemaquid a little child—the youngest son of Thomas Gyles—was playing peacefully just outside the gates of the fort, when suddenly the August air was startled by the dreadful war whoop, and the Indians fell with great ferocity on fort and settlement. The great guns of the fort had just before given warning of the impending danger, and Thomas Gyles, three miles away, heard the cannonading and rejoiced. Relief had come at last, he thought, from Boston. But disillusion followed swiftly. The opening of the guns of Fort Charles was but the signal for the savages, who, unseen by Thomas Gyles, were waiting and watching all about him, to make their appearance with a dreadful yell and fall upon him and his sons.

The seven cannons of the fort opened fire, yet despite their volleys the Indians were able to get possession of twelve houses on the street leading from Fort Charles to the village. This was perhaps the street, part of whose pavings are buried to this day. It appears on Prof. Moorehead's map as the main street running northeast from the fort.

John Gyles describes how the savages divided up their forces cunningly for the attack, ambushing the way between the fort and the village, and likewise between the village and the distant fields, how they alarmed the farthest off first, and how they killed and took the inhabitants at their pleasure as they fled toward the fort and village for safety "so that very few escaped." The savages ensconced themselves in the cellar of a nearby house, but the one highly valued point of vantage they secured was the great boulder a few feet from the fort. The error made in building Fort Charles so near this boulder, yet without including it within the walls, proved fatal. It offered the savages perfect protection, while it was so near at hand and so high that the "assailants overlooked" the fort, and so sheltered, "grievously gauged the defendants." From their intrenchments in the cellars of the houses and behind this great boulder, the savages kept up a grilling fire from morning until night, and no soldier of the fort dared to show his head above the ramparts. At night the Indians summoned the fort. Some one replied in a weary voice from within that he was tired and

must go to sleep. In the morning the fighting reopened and continued for some hours, until suddenly the guns of the fort became silent, and the commander sought a parley.

Weems surrendered on the promise of life and liberty to the garrison, or what remained of it, and those who had found shelter in the fort, with permission for these survivors to depart for Boston in a sloop which the Indians had captured, carrying their hand baggage with them. The surrender was somewhat hasty, but Weems probably believed the outcome inevitable, and determined to avoid further slaughter. Complete sacrifice seemed useless. Already half the garrison had been killed, and Weems himself had been badly injured. John Gyles, a captive, wrote thus of the commander: "Capt. Weems with great courage and resolution defended the weak old fort for two days till he was wounded and the best of his men killed, and then beat up a parley." Capt. Patteshall who "lay with his sloop in the Barbican" had been killed, and the sloop captured. Capt. Farnham and Capt. Skinner had been shot as they returned from an island in the harbor and attempted to land on the rocks near the fort.

Finally fourteen men, with some women and children, marched out of the fort with packs upon their backs. As to what happened next, authorities disagree. Cotton Mather says the terms promised Weems were broken, and that the Indians fell on the survivors, "butchering and capturing many of them." Father Thury, who was present at the attack, took pride in the fact that there was no drunkenness, the savages at his request breaking the rum barrels in the fort and spilling the contents. He took pride further in the fact that there was no torture. He stated, however, that the Indians killed on the field those whom they wished to kill. Harris in his "Voyages," says: "The savages broke the terms of capitulation and butchered the greatest part of them." It seems probable that the terms were broken, and that many of the survivors perished by Indian tomahawks as they issued through the gates.

The assailants—a hundred or more in number—were from Father Thury's Indian mission. Rumor has it that it was his eloquence that stirred the lust for conquest in the breasts of his dusky neophytes. Father Thury, it is said, harangued them at his chapel, sending them forth upon their dreadful errand after many rosaries, as crusaders; and while, led by Moxus and

Madockawando, they killed and captured, burned and pillaged, the wives and daughters of these stalwart braves were kneeling with uplifted hands in the chapel at Pentagoet a hundred miles away, beseeching victory for them from the Virgin in perpetual prayers.

Those prayers were answered. Never was devastation more complete. No attack of the savages was ever planned more cunningly or executed with more adroitness and dispatch. Yet it was an exploit calling for some boldness, also, and Pemaquid, a fortified place, was one of few such places ever openly attacked by savages. When the dusky warriors paddled back into Pentagoet, the savage women who had followed them with prayers saw their canoes coming freighted down with booty and with captives. Only a few lives had been spared. Weems and six of his men, it is said, were saved at the request of Madockawando. The number of those in the fort who were killed or captured is not known but we do know that some survivors in the fort other than the garrison escaped, because the little son of Thomas Gyles was one of those who had found shelter there, and who arrived in Boston safely later. The savages spent two days in devastating the village and setting town and fort in flames before they departed from New Harbor on their journey to Penobscot. The desertion of all Cornwall County followed the destruction of Fort Charles. Never was spoliation more complete. Cotton Mather writes: "This, together with more spoil done by the Indians on the English at Sheepscote, and Kennebec, and other places Eastward caused the inhabitants to draw off unto Falmouth as fast as they could."

John Gyles, in his "Memoirs of Odd Adventures and Strange Deliverances," tells of the destruction of Pemaquid from a captive's point of view. He narrates his father's story. His father, Thomas Gyles, became a planter at Merrymeeting Bay in 1669. Being recalled to England to settle his estates, he returned to Boston to find that the colonists had deserted Merrymeeting because of Indian hostility. Gyles went to Long Island, but did not find it to his liking, and learning there that "plantations were going on at Pemaquid," he went thither, and purchased several tracts of land, receiving later a commission as Chief Justice of the County of Cornwall under Gov. Dongan. "Fort Charles stood on a spot where Frederick's Fort was not long

since founded by Col. Dunbar," writes John Gyles, thus locating the exact site of the fort. "Within a quarter of a mile of the fort," lived his father, Thomas Gyles.

Young Gyles tells how he and his father and his brothers heard the guns of Fort Charles on that fatal August 2nd. "Upon the hearing of them my father said," he writes, "that he hoped it was a signal of good news and that the Great Council had sent back the soldiers to cover the inhabitants, for on report of the revolution they had deserted." Then Gyles describes how thirty or forty savages suddenly appeared to them with a great yelling and "whistling of their guns." He endeavored to run away, but found himself followed by "a stout fellow, painted and pursuing me with a gun and a cutlass glittering in his hand." His captor conducted him to the hayfield where two of the laborers lay dead and two knocked on the head with hatchets. The Indians started their captives marching east, and after they had gone a quarter of a mile, Gyles' father was brought up. "Old Moxus told him they were strange Indians who had shot him, and they were sorry for it." The father was soon dispatched, and the sons, John and James, were led into captivity. The fate of the eldest brother, Thomas, was more fortunate, for he "wonderfully escaped by land to the Barbican (a basalt point on the west side of the river opposite the Fort) where several fishing vessels lay. . . . He got on board of one of them and came to sail that night."

There has been some speculation as to the exact location of Gyles' farm at Pemaquid Falls. It has been placed on the east bank near the old canal by some writers, because of the tradition that Thomas Gyles, the son, "forded" the river in order to escape to the Barbican, which would mean that he forded it toward the west. The Rev. John A. Vinton in "Thomas Gyles and His Neighbors" makes this statement, but John Gyles' narrative says only that Thomas "wonderfully escaped by land to the Barbican." There is a record that Thomas Gyles, the father, purchased of John Palmer in 1686, two hundred acres of land at Pemaquid "on the west side of the Great Falls." Young Gyles, after being overtaken by his captor, says: "We crossed where my father was," and "when we came to the place I saw two men shot down on the flats." They began their march east to New Harbor. To one who knows the region, the

description is quite vivid. They were overtaken while working on the lands on the west bank of the river, they crossed east, and were thence marched to New Harbor. The probability is strong that the farmlands of Thomas Gyles were on the west bank of Pemaquid River, those broad fields that slope so gently and beautifully to the river bank, and are cultivated now as then with waving grains and grasses.

On the march toward New Harbor the captives saw the distant fires of Fort Charles and the village. Gyles mentions New Harbor as "a small harbor much used by fishermen. . . . Before the war there were twelve houses, but the rumor of war disposed them to secure themselves by forsaking their habitations." At New Harbor John and James Gyles saw their mother and two sisters who had been captured near the fort. The Indians remained at New Harbor two days, and then departed with their captives, spending several days on the journey to Penobscot.

James Gyles after three years' captivity escaped but was retaken at New Harbor, carried to Pentagoet, and taken to the heights of Majabigduce (Castine) where he was barbarously tortured to death by the Indians. The mother and sisters were sold into captivity, from which the sisters were later on redeemed. John Gyles was more fortunate. In all his marches and sojourns among the Indians, whenever they began to dance around him and were about to torture him, some Indian "laid down a pledge for him," that is, bought his freedom from torture. With the captor who owned him and who refused to sell him to a Jesuit at Penobscot (Thury perhaps) Gyles travelled east to Medoktek Fort on the St. John's, where in the following winter they hunted three hundred miles from the sea. After three years of captivity he was sold to a Frenchman, who in return for some kindness done him by Gyles, gave him his freedom when the English came to take Fort Villebon in 1696. The practise of selling their captives to the French, by which Gyles profited, began with the Indians in 1689. Gyles reached Boston in June, 1698, where he was reunited with his two sisters and the two brothers who had escaped, the little one who was playing at the gates of the fort and who ran inside when the attack on Pemaquid began, and the eldest brother who escaped to a sloop in the Barbican. John Gyles, after his long captivity, rendered

many years of valuable service to the government as an interpreter to the savages and as commander of Fort George in Brunswick and of the fort on St. George's River. He died in Roxbury in 1755.

The family of Thomas Gyles is interesting. The family home was in the Parish of Challock near Feversham in the County of Kent, England. Thomas Gyles seems to have been a man of affluence and probity who commanded much respect. His son says that "he laid out no inconsiderable income which he had annually from England" on his estates at Pemaquid. A brother, James Gyles, lived at Merrymeeting from 1669 until King Philip's War, when he removed to New Jersey. Another brother, John Gyles, came to Pemaquid in 1685, taking up lands on the west bank of the Pemaquid river. Being a man of education though not a clergyman, he read prayers at Fort Charles Wednesdays and Fridays during the summer of 1688. He died in Boston in 1730, and is buried in the Old Granary Burying Ground.

Since the death of Dr. Samuel Gyles of Salisbury, Mass., the grandson of Thomas Gyles, in 1739, there have been few descendants bearing the family name. Descendants of some prominence still reside in Newburyport, however, but these do not bear the name of Gyles. For further details of this family the reader is referred to "The Gyles Memorial," by the Rev. John Adams Vinton.

After Andros' capture and during his imprisonment in Boston, much literature appeared concerning what had taken place. There were broadsides by the colonists themselves defending the revolution, and replies and defenses of their policies by Andros and his adherents. This literature is still available, and from it can be gleaned considerable information of the exact status of the eastern country and of Pemaquid before the attack of 1689. Andros charged the Council of Massachusetts with giving orders on April 20, 1689, "for the drawing off the forces from Pemaquid and other garrisons and places in the eastern parts, and to seize several of the officers, and for calling home vessels appointed to guard the seacoast and fishery." The agents of Massachusetts defended themselves to the Lords of the Commission for Plantations by representing that Pemaquid "was a garrison put in the command of Capt. Brockholes, a papist, and for that

reason was ordered home upon the happy revolution; which order he never observed, but afterwards being suspected of being in a plot for deserting and running over with the sloop 'Mary' to the French, was seized by the inhabitants of New Dartmouth, and sent to Boston; and his lieutenant Weems being left at the request of the inhabitants in his room with all the standing garrison." "The other soldiers were dispersed by Col. Tyng, . . . there being sufficient left as they judged to defend the fort." "True it is," they wrote, "that afterwards that fort and about twenty houses were taken and destroyed by the Indians, but it was imputed to the careless security of the garrison and not to the want of men."

We have a statement of Edward Randolph written before the capture of Fort Charles, and predicting pretty shrewdly what is likely to take place as a result of denuding the eastern garrisons of their men. Randolph writes: "As soon as those soldiers had notice of the disturbance in Boston, some forsook, others revolted, seized upon their officers and sent them bound prisoners hither, so that all that country extending above 40 leagues upon the seashore that was secured in their fishery and sawmills is now deserted and left to the ravage of the barbarous heathen." The French, he writes, "have about 4000 good men about Canada ready for any design. I expect that upon the news of Boston's resuming their old government (no care being taken for the out towns and provinces) they will join with the Indians and in a short time swallow and be masters of that part of the country . . . and then, being possessed of all our best ports and harbors, be masters of all the best masts in New England . . . the prevention whereof was one chief ground of putting all these petty governments under one general government."

Incidentally Randolph makes a further charge. He tells what was accomplished by Andros' winter expedition, relating how Andros burned two Indian forts, took thirty Indian canoes, carried off the Indians' ammunition, beaver and goods, "and reduced them to the use of their bows and arrows, that they could not much longer hold out, but beg their lives upon any terms had not some merchants of Boston during the governor's absence sent a vessel of forty tons with supplies of powder, shot, bread, Indian corn, and English linen and woolen to

trade with these Indians and the French between Port Royal and Penobscot." One might question this statement but for the fact that it is confirmed by Weems in his letters to the Massachusetts government.

When one has reviewed the charges and the counter-charges of men in opposing camps in that troubled era, one is forced to the conclusion that Andros' military policy showed some wisdom and a commendable care for the lonely outposts, and that the disaster at Pemaquid might at least have been mitigated but for the unwisdom and perhaps indifference of the Massachusetts authorities to the welfare of those on the frontier. One is forced to the conclusion, too, that the attack on Pemaquid in 1689 was instigated by the French, for Denonville, the governor at Quebec, writes to the French minister in January, 1690, as follows: "*La bonne intelligence que j'ai eue avec ces sauvages par les soins des Jésuites, et surtout des deux pères Bigot frères a fait le succes de toutes les attaques qu'ils ont faites sur les Anglais cet été, auxquels ils ont enlevé 16 forts, outre celui de Pemcuit (Pemaquid).*"

One cannot but be convinced that the attacks in Cornwall County were due, if at all, only remotely to any particular acts of Andros—his Indian policy or his descent upon Castine, for example—but that the war, despite many local causes, was an inevitable struggle between two enemy nations for a piece of foreign soil, a struggle precipitated by the Napoleonic dreams of a despot sitting in his palace in far away Versailles, seeking to conquer all the world, while the Dutch king of England flung down defiance to him. It was primarily because of these greater events across the seas, struggles on which hung the fate of Europe, that the simple pioneers of Pemaquid were burned and scalped and driven from their dwellings.

CHAPTER XVII

THE PEACE OF PEMAQUID

It was not until the spring of 1690 that New York and New England became fully aroused to the jeopardy of their position. After the capture of Pemaquid, all Cornwall County was deserted by its inhabitants, who sought refuge in Casco and the places west. Cornwall County was overrun by savages, for whom the French claimed the destruction of sixteen forts beside that of Pemaquid. These so called "forts" were not really such, however; they were doubtless only palisaded houses, or houses built with overhanging second stories and with bastions perhaps as lookouts on the corners. These were mostly on the Kennebec. Count Frontenac had come out of France with orders for elaborate exploits, nothing less than the capture of New York and Boston, an ambitious plan designed for him by Louis XIV, who, however, had furnished him with neither men nor means to carry through so great an undertaking. Frontenac had to content himself, therefore, with something more within the range of possibility, and soon after his arrival in New France, he began his raids on the New England border. In the fall of 1689 he sent out from three points in Canada three war parties with the following destinations: Schenectady, Salmon Falls and Casco. Schenectady was taken by French and Indians under d'Aillebout de Mantet, and Le Moyne d'Iberville and Le Moyne de St. Helène, those fearless sons of Charles le Moyne who won so many victories for France. In March, 1690, the second party under M. Hertel and Hopehood fell on Salmon Falls, the French for the first time acting openly with the Indians in an attack. This party, after the destruction of Salmon Falls, retreated to the Kennebec to join the third party under Portneuf, which was preparing to fall on Casco. Fort Loyal was in the wretched condition characteristic of all the eastern defenses, and Sylvanus Davis in command was unable to hold it against the force that now came against it. The whole force was made up of 500 men, including St. Castine and

Madockawando with the Penobscot Indians. They took Fort Loyal and ravaged the surrounding country, killing most of the inhabitants, but taking a few prisoners to Quebec, among them Davis.

New York and New England awoke at last from their apathy and indifference. Everything east of Wells had now been taken and laid waste, owing to the unprepared condition of places like Fort Charles and Fort Loyal, which should have been strongly defended and held. Seeing that they must themselves make offensive war or perish, New York and New England decided to attack New France both by land and sea, and in April, 1690, the New England forces sailed from Nantasket under Sir William Phips. Port Royal, owing to its wretched condition, surrendered without resistance, on the best terms it could secure. The terms granted by Phips were broken, however; the place was thoroughly pillaged and de Menneval, governor of Acadia, was taken prisoner to Boston. La Hontan blames de Menneval himself for his ill defended state. He says Menneval let the English take Port Royal because "he thought he had time enough to fill his pockets before the English would attack it." Other posts, including Pentagoet, were taken with equal ease by Phips, and now all Acadia came nominally and by right of conquest under the English rule, though the English took no steps to hold the country.

The New Englanders, animated by their easy victory, determined to proceed next against Quebec. Phips, the hero of Port Royal, was selected for the command, money was borrowed by the government, now impoverished by the war, and an expedition of thirty-two vessels was fitted out and manned with two thousand men. This improvised navy left Nantasket August 9th, while a land force from Connecticut and New York, with allies from the Five Nations, left Albany for Montreal which they were to attack by land while Phips descended upon Quebec by sea. This force went only as far as Lake Champlain, however, turning back at that point because of disappointment in supplies and means of transport, defections among the Iroquois, and quarrels among the English themselves. Phips' expedition, though it continued to its destination, was equally unsuccessful and more costly. The raw recruits of New England were no match for the trained soldiers of New France under a man

like Frontenac. Phips delayed so long before attacking that Frontenac, who was in Montreal, was able to rush to Quebec and mass there for its defense all the soldiers of New France. Frontenac now ready for attack, received with insults a messenger dispatched to him by Phips to demand surrender. He sent back word to Phips that James II was king of England, and that Phips and his men were merely pirates. Phips landed four field pieces and 1400 men, who were attacked by ambushed French and Indians. He attempted with four ships to cannonade the town but was unsuccessful, and was finally obliged to draw off defeated. He lost a tremendous percentage of men on the homeward journey to New England which was beset by bad weather and evil fortune.

In the spring of 1691 came Indian raids. In May occurred an attack on Wells led by Moxus, which proved unsuccessful. A truce followed, arranged between the Indians and commissioners from Massachusetts, and the French began to fear the Indians might make permanent peace. The Chevalier de Villebon was now sent from France as governor of Acadia, with instructions to keep the Indians on the warpath. Villebon quietly re-took possession of Port Royal, where he found the English flag flying but no Englishmen left to hold it. He built a new fort at Naxouat on the St. John's where he established himself. Encouraged by presents from Canada, and urged on by Villebon and by Father Thury of the Pentagoet mission, the Penobscots and the Canibas from Father Bigot's mission at Nanrantsouak fell on York in February, 1692. York was taken with a hundred killed and eighty captured. In June, 1692, another war party fell on Wells. Moxus, who had been foiled in his first attempt on this place and who had sworn that he would return and reduce it, was one of the leaders of the attack. The party consisted of Indians from St. John's, the Penobscot, and the Kennebec under Moxus, Madockawando, Portneuf, Castine, Egeremet, and other chiefs. The inhabitants sought refuge in Storer's garrison house, under Capt. Converse, and so ably did a handful of men defend themselves against this formidable party in which were four Indian kings and two French noblemen, that the invaders were forced to draw

off after some minor depredations, discomfited and unsuccessful.

Now occurred an event of importance to this narrative, which further disheartened the savages, and led in the following year to the Peace of Pemaquid. Massachusetts had at last received a new charter, and in 1692 Sir William Phips arrived in Boston as the first governor under the new régime. Through the influence of Increase Mather, Acadia, the Province of Maine, Plymouth, and Cornwall County had been included in the new charter granted to Massachusetts. Sir William Phips, who was under instructions from William and Mary to rebuild the fort at Pemaquid, addressed himself to this task at once. With four hundred and fifty men, Phips set sail from Boston in August, 1692, accompanied by Col. Benjamin Church. On their way they stopped at Fort Loyal in Falmouth to bury the bodies of those slain there two years before and to take on the great guns with which Fort Loyal had been mounted. Cotton Mather writes of Phips that, in "pursuance of his instructions from Whitehall, he laid the foundations of a fort at Pemaquid, which was the finest thing that had been seen in these parts of America." Mather says that "Capt. Wing, assisted by Capt. Bancroft, went through the former part of the work; and the latter part of it was finished by Capt. March." Here is Mather's detailed description of the fort: "The Fort called the William Henry was built of stone, in a quadrangular figure, being about 737 foot in compass, without the outer wall, and 108 foot square within the inner ones; twenty-eight ports it had and fourteen (if not eighteen) guns mounted, whereof six were eighteen pounders. The wall on the south line fronting to the sea was twenty-two feet high, and more than six feet thick at the ports, which were eight feet from the ground. The greater flanker or round tower at the western end of this line, was twenty-nine foot high. The wall on the east line was twelve foot high, on the north it was ten, on the west it was eighteen. It was computed that in the whole there were laid above 2000 cartloads of stone. It stood about a score of rods from high water mark; and it had generally at least sixty men posted in it for its defence; which if they were men might easily have maintained it against more than twice six hundred assailants. Yea, we were almost ready to flatter ourselves that we might have writ

on the gates of this fort . . . 'Non vinci potest.' . . . This fort thus erected in the heart of the enemies country did so break the heart of the enemy that indeed they might have called it, as the French did theirs, Crèvecoeur."

Though the fort was built by order of their Majesties, the expense, (£20,000) was borne by Massachusetts, much against the wishes of the people of that government. Mather says that though "the tranquillity after enjoyed by the country . . . was . . . much owing thereunto," it was "continually complained of as one of the countries grievances." The men of Massachusetts were unable to see the advantages of this far eastern post, and felt that they could ill afford it. Hutchinson says: "The ministry I think had a view in it which people of the province seem not to have considered, viz., preventing the French from claiming Acadie as a derelict country and perhaps taking possession of it as such." Other writers mention other objects sought in the building of Fort William Henry. It served to overawe the Abenakis; it guarded the Kennebec, the Sheepscot, and the other rivers east to the Penobscot, and it acted as an obstacle to easy intercourse between the savages of the Penobscot and the St. John's and those on the Kennebec. It had considerable strategic importance at a time when fortifications were held in high esteem in Europe. Now that the French had entered the war with the savages, the old wooden stockades had become useless. Fort William Henry was the first strong stone fort built in the colonies.

In 1694 Sir William Phips while on a visit to the eastern provinces, negotiated with Madockawando for the land on which stood Pentagoet. This land had already been included in the grant of 1629 to Beauchamp and Leverett, but Gov. Phips thought it wise further to strengthen the English claim to land he now considered the English held by conquest. Strange to say, Madockawando actually deeded Phips all the land included in the grant of 1629 and later called the "Waldo Patent." The Penobscot Indians of a later generation disclaimed all knowledge of the grant; however, claiming that Madockawando was a Machias chief, who had no authority over the lands the English claimed that he had signed away.

No sooner did the towers of Fort William Henry rise over Pemaquid, giving promise of security to English settlers, than

Count Frontenac determined upon an enterprise which might have succeeded but for one John Nelson, a prisoner at Quebec. John Nelson was the nephew of Sir Thomas Temple, and as his heir claimed the ownership of all Acadia. Temple, Nelson claimed, had purchased from Claude de la Tour, Nova Scotia and part of Acadia and had spent a fortune upon its defenses, though his rights therein had been ignored by Charles II, who had ceded Acadia to France by the Treaty of Breda. John Nelson had been a leader of the rebellion against Andros, but not being a Puritan, he had received no important post. Hutchinson describes John Nelson as an "enemy to the tyrannical government of Sir Edmund Andros, but an Episcopalian of a gay free temper, which prevented his being allowed any share in the government after it was settled." Nelson was appointed by the Massachusetts government to establish Col. Edward Tyng in command at Port Royal, conquered by Sir William Phips, and while on his way thither was captured by d'Iberville, in October, 1691 and taken to Quebec. Though Frontenac treated Nelson with great kindness and lodged him in his own chateau, he would not permit his exchange or release, so impressed was he with Nelson's importance and his ability to inform the English concerning everything that went on in New France. Nelson therefore felt himself free to gather whatever information he could secure and impart it to his countrymen, so when Madockawando, who came north to sell five English captives to Count Frontenac, became disgruntled at the reward received and proved communicative, Nelson lent him a willing ear. In this mood of displeasure Madockawando revealed to John Nelson that the French and Indians were planning an immediate attack upon New England. Nelson with great courage considering his position, contrived to write a letter warning his countrymen of the proposed attack. He then bribed two French soldiers to desert and carry his letter to Boston. The Boston government at once sent an armed sloop to cover Pemaquid. Meanwhile Le Moyne d'Iberville, who had been sent from France with instructions to attack Port Nelson but who arrived too late in the season for an exploit so far north, was directed to sail against Pemaquid. The expedition was considerable. Two French ships, the "Poli" and the "Envieux," took on three hundred Indians at Pentagoet, while

Villebon with another force was to attack Pemaquid by land. But when the French appeared in two ships before Pemaquid in October, it was to find an armed vessel from Boston lying under the guns of Fort William Henry. They dared not proceed with the attack, just why is not clear. D'Iberville gave as one reason that he had no pilot who knew the harbor. At any rate, he came only near enough to Pemaquid to discover the armed ship, and then, setting his sails in another direction, bore off for France.

John Nelson paid a high price for his devotion. This charming Englishman was very popular with the French. He had been friendly with Castine, he had shown kindnesses to Menneval, the captive Acadian governor, and to other Frenchmen, and Frontenac was grateful to him, though an enemy. Nelson's courtesy and generosity are revealed by many anecdotes concerning him. Beamish Murdoch in his "History of Acadie" gives much original material concerning Nelson. La Hontan calls Nelson "un fort galant homme," and another French writer pronounces him "le plus audacieux et le plus acharné" of the English. The story of Nelson's self-sacrifice and its sequel deserve repetition.

The authorities in Boston conceived of an odd use to make of the two French deserters whom Nelson had bribed to carry his message through the wilderness. They were commissioned to go to Pentagoet, and with the aid of two Acadian prisoners released for the purpose, to kidnap Castine and bring him back to Boston. The families of the two Acadian prisoners were in captivity in Boston and the authorities there believed that with such hostages it would be safe to trust to the two prisoners to execute their hazardous enterprise with secrecy. But too much faith had been pinned upon this circumstance, for even the precarious plight of their families did not deter them, when they reached Acadia, from refusing to execute their commission and from revealing the whole plot. The anger of Count Frontenac, who had fancied Nelson, was unbounded. The two prisoners were shot before Nelson's eyes, and Nelson himself was sent to France as a dangerous state prisoner.

Nelson was confined for two years in a dreadful prison, the Chateau Angoulême, where he saw during all that time only his jailer, who handed him his meals through a grating in his

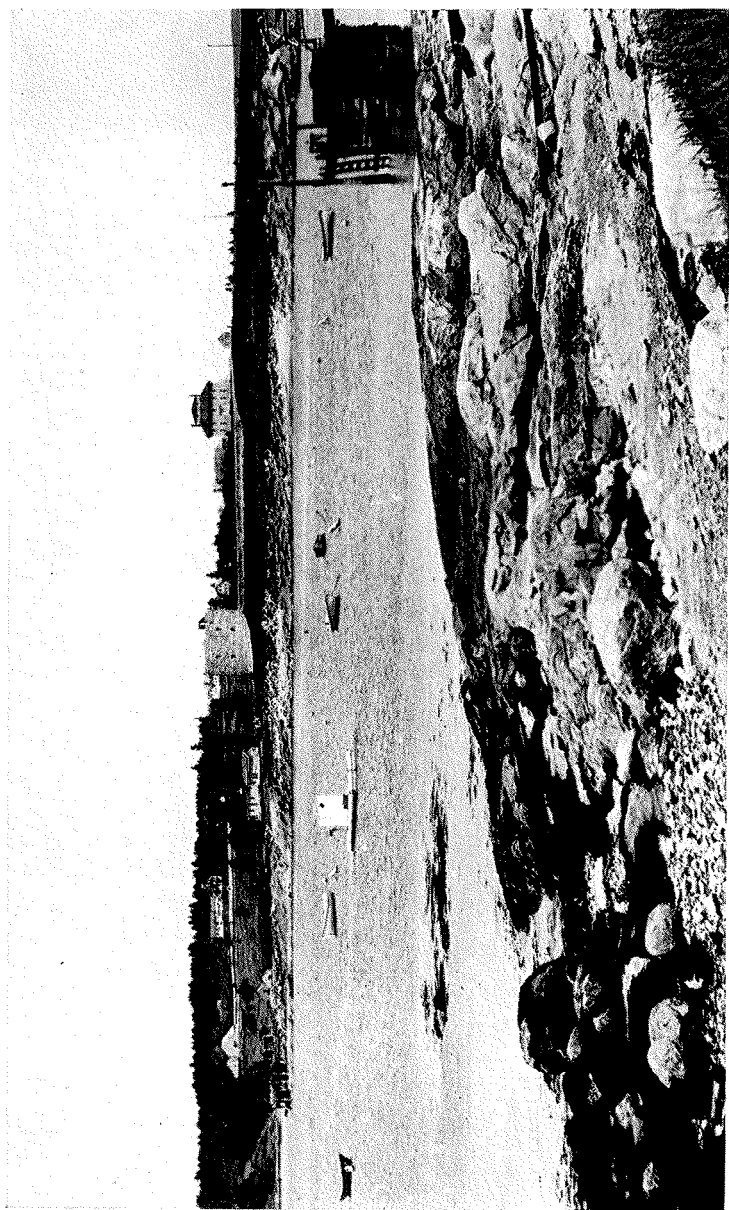
cell. In such wretched solitude he might have languished indefinitely but for the accidental appearance of a stranger who passed one day through the prison, going from cell to cell. At Nelson's window he paused, and asked if he could do him any service. Nelson begged him to notify Sir Purbeck Temple in England of his circumstances. The stranger acted on this request, and Nelson's friends and family, who were influential in England, immediately asked for his exchange. This was not granted, but Nelson was removed to the Bastille where prisoners of a higher type were lodged; and in the Bastille he remained until the Peace of Ryswick. He was then released, a broken man, who had suffered much for his New England.

The Abenakis were chagrined at d'Iberville's failure to attack Pemaquid. In the spring of 1693, Maj. Converse built another fort on the Saco, and the Indians, finding it less easy than formerly to obtain ammunition from the French, became much disheartened. "All the charms of the French friar then resident among them could not hinder them from suing the English for peace. And the English being so involved in debts . . . took some notice of their suit." Accordingly a peace was made at Fort William Henry in August, 1693. The Indians began negotiations at Pemaquid in July, and on August 11th, three commissioners, appointed by Massachusetts—John Wing, Nicholas Manning, and Benjamin Jackson—arrived at Pemaquid to meet the savages. One can imagine them there, the three serious faced representatives of New England, quietly waiting while thirteen befeathered chiefs passed through the gates of Fort William Henry in all their dusky dignity on great occasions. They were all present—the flower of the tribes from the Passamaquoddy to the Saco—while the commissioners of Massachusetts, and the soldiers of the garrison at Fort William Henry had an opportunity to meet face to face the beings who had spread such terror through the New England country-side for the last half decade.

The text of the treaty into which the English and the Indians entered, begins as follows: "Whereas a bloody war has for some years now past been made and carried on by Indians within the eastern parts of the said province against their Majesties subjects the English, through the instigation and influences of the French. . . . We whose names are hereunto

subscribed, being sagamores and Chief Captains of all the Indians belonging to the several rivers of Penobscote and Kennebeck, Amarascogin and Saco, . . . do lay down our arms." They agree "that at all time and times for ever, from and after the date of these presents," they "will cease and forbear all acts of hostility towards the subjects of the Crown of England." They will "hold and maintain a firm and constant amity and friendship with all the English," they will "abandon and forsake the French interest, and will not in any wise adhere to, join with, aid or assist them in their wars or designs against the English." They agree further that all the English shall "quietly enter upon, improve, and for ever enjoy all and singular their rights of lands and former settlements and possessions within the eastern parts of the said province of the Massachusetts Bay without any pretensions or claims" by themselves "or any other Indians, and be in no wise molested, interrupted or disturbed therein." They promise to apply to the English for the redress of any grievance and to take no private revenge. They agree to trade with the English according to their rules of trade. The Indians who signed the treaty acknowledged subjection and obedience for all the Indians from the Merrimac to "the most easterly bounds of the said province." As a pledge of their sincerity and as surety for the keeping of the treaty they delivered up as hostages: Ahassombamett, brother of Edgeremett, Wenongahewitt, cousin of Madockawando, Bagatawawongon, and Sheepscot John.

The treaty had the following signatures:—for the English,—John Wing, Nicholas Manning, and Benjamin Jackson; for the Indians,—Egeremet, Madockawando, Wassambomet of Norridgewock, Wenobson of Teconnet in behalf of Moxus, Ketterramogis of Norridgewock, Ahanquit of Penobscot, Bomaseen, Nitamemet, Webenes, Awansomeck, Robin Doney, Madaumbis, and Paquaharet.



PEMAQUID PENINSULA

CHAPTER XVIII

THE CAPTURE OF FORT WILLIAM HENRY

"A year's breathing time was a great favour of heaven to a country quite out of breath with numberless calamities," writes Mather of the twelve months that followed the Peace of Pemaquid. So brief indeed was the respite afforded the English colonists from raids upon their borders, and so puerile proved the bit of paper on which had been taken the most solemn oaths. The English were much pleased with the peace, inasmuch as the Indians had a reputation for keeping treaties strictly, but one writer says that their new spiritual guides, the French, had taught them other manners. The thirteen chiefs who assembled gravely in Pemaquid that August day in 1693 were doubtless quite sincere, especially Madockawando, who, whatever Castine may have felt, was firm for peace; but forces were at work which were in opposition to the wishes of the pacific Penobscot chief.

There was Father Bigot on the Kennebec and Father Thury on the Penobscot who could be relied upon to counsel war and not peace with the "heretics." Then there were weak points in Madockawando's armor, which Father Thury and a French officer named Villieu were clever enough to discover. Villieu, a young officer whose special business it was to keep the Indians on the war path, wintered at Naxouat, and in the spring incited the tribes about St. John's to war. Villebon, the Acadian governor, was apathetic, rendering him little aid, but Villieu was indefatigable. In the spring he went to Pentagoet, stopping some days at Castine's house. With the aid of Thury he very cleverly accomplished his design. Madockawando wanted peace; he desired an exchange of prisoners, and he wished to open trade with the English. The tribes had also heard that the English had sent a minister—the Rev. John Pike—to Fort William Henry to teach their children. There seemed everything to gain and nothing to lose by adhering to the treaty.

Madockawando may have been actuated also by conscientious scruples. He seems to have been a savage of a high type, and there are numerous instances on record of Madockawando's acts of mercy. But Madockawando had a rival in another chief, Taxous, who had removed to the Penobscot from the Kennebec; and in this rivalry between them, Villieu found the weak spot in Madockawando's armor. Villieu played on the jealousy of Taxous. He told him that Madockawando had had no right to make the peace at Pemaquid without his consent and authority. Taxous thereupon announced that he was under no obligation to keep the terms of the treaty and used his influence for war. The tribes were tempted also by presents from the French, awaiting them at Passadumkeag, but these presents went only to those who took the war path. The spirit of the hour was for war, and it proved too strong for Madockawando who became convinced "that to break faith with heretics was no sin." He was tempted, and in June, 1694 he joined a party headed for the English settlements.

They journeyed west, and when their supplies gave out and an attack became imperative at once, they fell upon Oyster River, where they burned the houses and killed the inhabitants or took them captive. "The desolation at Oyster River was commonly talk'd in the streets of Quebec," Mather says, "two months before it was effected." "And thus," he adds sadly, "there was an end of the peace made at Pemmaquid." On their journey west, a party of Indians called at Pemaquid. Among the number was Villieu. Unsuspected, and in Indian disguise, he hung about while the savages bartered with the soldiers, making a plan of the fort which he sent to France.

Other attacks on scattered settlers followed the depredations at Oyster River, although there had been no declaration of war on the part of the French and Indians; and when Bomaseen, "a commander of prime quality among the Indians," appeared at Pemaquid, the garrison there was resentful and in no mood to act dispassionately. It was in November that Bomaseen and his companions appeared "as loving as bears and harmless as tygres," and hailed the fort from the Barbican, that odd point of basalt making out toward the fort from the west side of the river and directly opposite. Bomaseen raised on the Barbican a flag of truce, and desired to speak with Capt. March. An

answering white flag was hoisted on Fort William Henry, and after some conversation between the soldiers at the fort and the savages on the Barbican, the Indians paddled over, only to be seized as captives, and sent as such to Boston. Bomaseen with his companions came, says Mather, "pretending to be just arrived from Canada, and much afflicted for the late mischiefs (whereof there was witness that he was a principal actor)." The companions of Bomaseen were soon released by the Massachusetts government, but Bomaseen, a popular chief, was too valuable a prize to be set at liberty. He was held a prisoner several years in Boston, despite many attempts by the Abenakis to secure his freedom. The act was of course unjustifiable, yet Capt. March was rather praised than censured for it, in view of the duplicity of the savages.

The chaplain of the fort wrote the authorities in Boston the circumstances of Bomaseen's capture, saying that Bomaseen and his companions "called over the Barbican desiring to speak with Capt. March and set up a flag, by which they did implicitly own themselves enemies and breakers of the peace." The soldiers promised Bomaseen only that they would treat him kindly, "be glad of his company . . . and do him no hurt." These promises, the chaplain says, they had fulfilled. But they had told Bomaseen he could not be released until he had told who caused the peace to be broken, and who they were who fell on Oyster River. After giving this account of the conduct of those in charge at Fort William Henry, the chaplain leaves it to the authorities in Boston to decide what course to pursue. "If your honors judge it not fairly done," he writes, "they are now in your hands to dispose of and deal with them as may be for their Majesties' honor, and as the circumstances of the case may require."

Mather relates a story of an interview he had with Bomaseen while that savage was in Boston. I quote from Mather, who states that Bomaseen said "the French taught 'em that the Lord Jesus Christ was of the French nation; that his mother, the virgin Mary, was a French Lady; that they were the English who had murdered him; and that whereas, he rose from the dead and went up to the Heavens, all that would recommend themselves unto his favour, must revenge his quarrel upon the English as far as they can."

The savages now wanted Bomaseen. They were eager also for the release of the numerous prisoners of the tribes in Boston, and of the hostages surrendered under the late treaty. The English also were willing to treat, so Sheepscot John, one of the hostages, was set at liberty early in the spring of 1695, to move among the tribes and assemble the chiefs for a conference with the English. This Sheepscot John was a Wawenock, descended from the tribes John Smith and George Popham found at Pemaquid. They had moved inland with the granting of Pemaquid, and dwelt about the waters of the Sheepscot, acquiring the name of "Sheepscot Indians." Sheepscot John's work was effective, and in May, 1695 the savages appeared before Fort William Henry, in "a great fleet of canoes" and encamped on an island a league away—Rutherford's Island perhaps—opening negotiations with the English at the fort. Some officers from the fort went to meet them. "They declared," says Mather, "their design was to exchange captives and renew the peace, and condemned themselves for violating the peace made near two years ago." They willingly surrendered eight captives, and agreed to a truce for thirty days, until commissioners should be sent from Massachusetts to effect the treaty. Maj. Converse, Col. John Phillips, and Lieut. Col. Hawthorne came accordingly to Pemaquid, but nothing was accomplished, for the English demanded that the savages surrender all their captives, as agreed in the last treaty, before they would consider terms. Since the savages had begun negotiations by delivering up eight captives, the terms demanded by the English seemed over stringent; and the savages, angry, broke off negotiations, paddling away whence they had come.

The English seem to have over-reached themselves in their demands, in view of their late seizure of Bomaseen, which was questionable at least, and the fact that they were unwilling to restore him, while the release of this chief was the prime object of the savages in the parley. The Indians now vented their fury indiscriminately upon scattered settlers wherever they could fall upon them. Settlers were killed at Portsmouth and Wells, and several soldiers were slain at Pemaquid. One of these was Sergeant Hugh March. This Sergeant Hugh March, "with three more," was "killed by the Indians, and six more

at the same time wounded . . . rowing a gondula round an high rocky point above the Barbican."

The soldiers at Pemaquid were in an ill mood to do any Indian justice after these losses from their number; and when in February, 1696, three chiefs appeared before the fort, desiring an exchange of prisoners, the new commander executed a deed which for treachery and lack of wisdom far out-ran any thing performed by March. The new commander was Pascho Chubb, whose appointment to this post proved disastrous in every way to the English. The chiefs who with other savages appeared were well known savage leaders, Toxus, Egeremet, and Abenquid, the two latter being signers of the Peace of Pemaquid. The Indians came to effect an exchange of prisoners. According to French accounts they were accompanied by Father Thury, who counselled them against entering into trade with the soldiers, but they unwisely did so. They had traded for some days, the French said, before, securing an unusual opportunity when the chiefs were near the fort and quite in their power, the English fell upon them suddenly, killing Egeremet and Abenquid and two other savages, while Toxus effected his escape. Several of the English also were killed in the *melée*. Mather tells the story somewhat differently, but severely censures Chubb. He says: "This Chub found an opportunity in a pretty chubbed manner to kill the famous Edgeremett and Abenquid, a couple of principal sagamores, with one or two other Indians." "Some," he adds, "that well enough liked the thing which was now done did not altogether like the manner of doing it, because there was a pretence of a treaty between Chub and the sagamores, whereof he took his advantage to lay violent hands on them." From the varying accounts one can feel sure that whatever occurred was not to the credit of the English, and the results must have been less to their liking. They had only played into the hands of the French, who now aroused themselves to still greater efforts to make war upon the English.

It had grown more and more vital to hold the Abenakis. These Indians were one of New France's strongest fighting arms. The French desired to round them all up if possible into their mission villages, which would serve as buffers in their quarrels with the English. In this they succeeded only par-

tially, and they were always in fear of their swinging over to the enemy. One menace to the Abenaki alliance was Fort William Henry, whose proximity overawed the savages, and also offered them convenient opportunities for trade too near at hand. There had been Iroquois descents upon New France; and the court of France now ordered Frontenac to punish these savages and to take Pemaquid. Frontenac departed to Lake Ontario in compliance with the first part of this command, and dispatched d'Iberville to carry out the second part.

Cotton Mather details several fatalities of 1696 which fore-ran the "most uneasie accident" of that year, including depredations in the spring upon Wells and Portsmouth. In August two ships of war sailed out of Quebec against Pemaquid, the "Envieux" and the "Profonde," commanded by d'Iberville and Bonaventure, with eighty regular troops from Canada. Taking on a hundred Micmac savages under Villebon at Cape Breton and St. John's, they proceeded to Pentagoet. In the Bay of Fundy they captured an English man-of-war, the "Newport," one of two ships sent from Boston to wait off the mouth of the St. Lawrence and waylay the French ships now about due with the annual supplies from France. The other ship, the "Sorlings," escaped in a fog, but d'Iberville, who went in search of the "Newport," overtook and captured it. At Pentagoet the expedition was joined by Villieu with twenty-five French soldiers, by St. Castine with two hundred Abenakis, and by Father Thury and Father Simon. So formidable was the force sent against Pemaquid by the French, who conceived of it as controlling all western Acadia. Maurault calls Pemaquid "the most considerable fortress of the English in America." It had cost great sums, he says, and was to the English in the east what Niagara in the west was to the French.

St. Castine with his Abenakis proceeded to Pemaquid by the usual route, paddling to New Harbor and carrying overland to the fort, which it was their business to attack by land, while the French men-of-war besieged it by sea. The savages preceded the French ships, which anchored before Fort William Henry August 14th, probably behind John's and Beaver Islands as a shelter. Little was accomplished the first day. The small shot of the French guns made no impression on the six foot front wall of Fort William Henry. The French, however,

summoned the fort that night, but Chubb boastfully replied that he would not surrender "if the sea were covered with French vessels and the land with Indians." The next day was to prove that men of words are seldom men of deeds. Castine broke ground in the rear of the fort where the cemetery is and placed batteries also on the western shore of the river on an elevation beyond the Barbican. The French worked all night, it is said, getting the batteries into position, even the two French priests assisting. By three o'clock of the second day, the heavy cannon and mortars of the French were in position. When Chubb looked out and saw himself so formidably surrounded, he seems to have lost his head. "There were ninety-five men double-armed in the fort," Mather says, "which might have defended it against nine times as many assailants." They had plenty of ammunition, and the fort had fifteen cannon. But despite his good situation and his bold words of the previous night, Chubb, in Mather's words, "with an unaccountable baseness did surrender the brave fort of Pemmaquid" on the second day of the siege. Chubb was influenced perhaps by the fact that the fort had no bombproof covers to protect the refugees who had sought shelter there from those new missiles of war at that time, bombshells, which the French now rained into the fort. But Chubb was doubtless the victim of his own perfidy. Knowing his treachery toward the savages the previous year, and anticipating a particularly dreadful vengeance should they take the fort after a long siege, Chubb had not the courage to make a creditable defense. He was probably much terrified by a letter sent him by Castine, warning him that if he did not give up the fort, the garrison, when it did surrender, might expect no quarter and would be butchered by the savages.

Chubb at any rate capitulated, after losing but one man, stipulating only that the garrison should be sent unharmed to Boston, to be exchanged for Indian prisoners. These terms were carried out, the garrison being at once removed to an island near the fort, probably Rutherford's Island, under the protection of the guns of d'Iberville. It was none too soon, for when the Indians entered the fort, they found a savage there in irons—doubtless one of the men taken at the slaying of Egeremet and Abenquid. The savages were so enraged that but for the precaution of removing them, the French would

have been unable to protect the garrison. The Abenakis did not forget the treachery of Chubb in the murder of Abenquid and Egeremet, and for this they took their vengeance later. In February, 1697, a winter of unusual cold, thirty savages went out of their way to hunt him down in Andover where he resided, and killed both him and his wife, "his death affording as much joy to the Indians as a whole town."

Le Moyne d'Iberville deserves more than passing mention. He was born in 1662, one of several brave and distinguished sons of Charles le Moyne, seigneur de Longueuil near Montreal, of a family of Norman extraction. He was thus a Canadian by birth. He was a man of great energy, ability, and force, one of New France's most daring young leaders who spent his life in fighting the English, especially in the West Indies. He is to be remembered as the founder of Louisiana.

"The destruction of Fort William Henry destroyed the confidence in stone walls," one writer says. Another calls attention to the fact that the name "William Henry" had often spelled disaster to colonial strongholds. So Pemaquid lay low. The town which under the Duke of York had been a center for trade and commerce in the eastern parts, and for which Sir Edmund Andros had predicted such a future, had become a wilderness once more; and upon Pemaquid peninsula, where the towers of Fort William Henry had so formidably risen, striking terror to the hearts of the simple Abenakis, lay what remained of the "brave fort" which Chubb had so readily surrendered. Over its fallen, battered walls the winds of the ocean were to blow; in among its crevices the sands of the sea-shore were to sift; and over the whole mass, obscuring its melancholy outlines, the shrubs and vines were to clamber and flourish for thirty years before the subjects of England again bethought themselves of this stronghold in the east.

Two formidable enemies of Pemaquid died two years later, Count Frontenac and Madockawando. One cannot but admire the gallant Frenchman so redoubtable in his old age, and one rather regrets the passing of the figure of the picturesque Madockawando, whose sonorous name bespoke great Indian dignity and savage daring. In October, 1698 commissioners from Massachusetts sent to Pentagoet after Ryswick learned that "Madockawando, the noted sagamore, with several sachims of

the east were lately dead." The Indians of the Penobscot told these commissioners, when upbraided by them for breaking the Peace of Pemaquid, that they were instigated by the French to do what they had done, "against their own inclinations," and that unless the Jesuits were removed, "it could not be expected that any peace would continue long." It is perhaps easy to overestimate the part played by the Jesuits in the attacks upon the English by the Indians, but we have in many instances the testimony of the fathers themselves to the part they played, and even stronger evidence in the letters of the French governors of New France. It seems more than a coincidence that just before the opening of the "Sorrowful Decade," the Indian missions among the Abenakis were revived, Father Thury of the Seminary of Quebec opening a mission at Pentagoet, and Father Bigot from St. Francis de Sales appearing at Norridgewock, while Father Simon started a mission at Medoktek on the St. John's. For the next thirty years these missions were continuous, Pierre de la Chasse following Thury at Pentagoet, and Lauvergat succeeding him, while the famous Father Ral  was at Norridgewock from 1693 to 1724, where he died fighting for France. Whatever view one takes of these French fathers, whether that they accompanied the war parties merely as chaplains rather than to urge on the fighting—dying often as martyrs at the hands of the enemy—or that they were conscious tools of France, yet they do seem to have been an influence for war rather than for peace, and there can be no doubt that religious bigotry, at its height in those days, was one of the great motives which impelled them, while many of them must have shared the same feelings as other Frenchmen, who toiled and died fighting for a foothold for the mother country in America. The Abenakis were the one fighting arm of New France on which she could rely. Since the Abenaki missions were the most successful of the missions, while all writers agree that these savages were the least warlike of the tribes, one is forced to the conclusion that the conversion of the savages to Catholicism did not tend toward peace.

Nor did the English leaders and clergymen ever accompany the Indians upon their raids as did the officers and priests of France. The truth probably was that New France in cultivating the Abenakis used every means in her power, and that not

the least effective way she found to reach them was through the priests and the religion which stirred them up against the "heretics." New France held the Abenakis not only with the hope of holding Acadia for its value in itself, but more important still, to build up that province as a buffer state to defend her own territory. Maurault reflects all the French writers when he says: "Nous pensons donc que Dieu se servit de la nation abenakaise pour protéger le petit peuple canadien qu'il voulait sauver."

When the news of the fall of Pemaquid reached Boston and it was feared that the French would continue west and fall upon the settlements in that direction, Capt. Church with three ships and many troops was sent east to Pemaquid to pursue the enemy and protect the settlements; but d'Iberville and Castine had taken the eastward trail even beyond Pentagoet, and Church found no Indians nor any traces of the French. He anchored at Monhegan, hoping they would venture out into the open, and sent armed boats in the night with great secrecy to the Penobscot. He scoured from Owl's Head to the present Bangor, but the news of his approach had in some way reached the savages, and not one savage did he overtake.

Mather says: "The enemy having demolished so fair a citadel now growing mighty upish triumphed." In 1697 the French planned an attack on Boston. Orders were issued in France for its capture, and men-of-war dispatched. Frontenac spent the summer in preparations, while Pentagoet peninsula was alive with the canoes and wigwams of the Abenakis, where Castine with his savage followers about him, waited in vain for the French ships. The summer passed, and the French ships did not appear. Bad weather and other accidents had delayed them; and when they finally reached Newfoundland and grasped for the first time the nature of the task that had been set them, they realized they had arrived too late in the season for such extensive operations.

The rumor of the intended invasion reached Boston in July, and Maj. March with 500 men was sent east to scout the frontiers. The Indians were seen at York and Saco where they did some damage, but they retired as he advanced. March continued east and came upon them suddenly at the Damariscotta River, where a skirmish occurred in which the English lost

their canoes, leaving their dead behind them. The encounter perhaps warded off Indian attacks upon the settlements farther west.

King William's War was terminated by the Treaty of Ryswick September 11, 1697, and a settlement between the Indians and the English was effected at Casco Bay in 1699. The Treaty of Ryswick was really only a truce. By its terms all conquests of both French and English were to be restored, but one of the main questions which has occasioned ten years of fighting, that of the Acadian boundary line, still remained unsettled. A brooding, uncertain peace settled over the land, to be often broken, for England kept on hoping to hold the territory east to the St. Croix, while France claimed everything west to the Kennebec, and several later treaties left the question of the proper boundary still a mooted one. After the capture of Fort William Henry, France was nominally in possession of all the land she claimed, but the actual boundary was to be determined not by treaties in far off France and England, but by possession, by further engagements between handfuls of men on the borders of Acadia itself, and by the spilling of more of the blood of pioneers.

It is noteworthy that throughout this decade of strife the buffer provinces of Maine and Cornwall County paid a bitter price in life and property for the defense of all New England, without receiving much appreciation for their services. Warfare during the whole decade was largely of a savage nature. The two forts at Pemaquid were the fairest prey fallen upon by French and Indians during the entire period, and these forts were sacrificed largely through indifference and lack of military judgment on the part of leaders in Massachusetts. In the case of Fort Charles, the cause of its loss is very clear. Massachusetts did pay for the construction of Fort William Henry, but under compulsion and without appreciation of its real significance. The grumbling about it was "epidemic," as Mather said. The soldiers who defended it could not have fought with the same zeal they might have possessed, had they been accorded the support that all New England owed them.

The part played by New York during the decade is worth considering. Most of the French and Indian descents upon New England were cowardly attacks upon lonely farmhouses

and scattered villages, with the killing of defenseless women and children, while the expeditions of New England against Canada were legitimate military operations. New England ill deserved the base attacks which were her portion, while New York did. New York was constantly urging on the Iroquois with such results as the massacre at La Chine, yet New York suffered little. New York was somewhat inaccessible, of course, but its immunity from attack was due also to the will of the merchants at Montreal who traded illicitly with Albany, and who wanted the cheap goods of the Albany merchants. Albany was spared on purpose that this lucrative trade might not be interfered with.

But New England with its settlements scattered along an ocean border of two hundred miles, with its villages so distant from each other that all co-operation was impossible, lay particularly open to attack. It was a vicious circle. New York urged on the Iroquois to fall on Canada but escaped herself, while the depredations of the Iroquois were revenged by French and Abenakis upon the pioneers of New England east of the Piscataqua. Yet these pioneers of Maine, whose blood was spilled so freely and whose plantations were invaded so that progress was impossible, were spoken of for the most part slightly by Massachusetts, so ignored indeed that their history was almost "writ in water."

CHAPTER XIX

DAVID DUNBAR AND THE BUILDING OF FORT FREDERICK

When David Dunbar appeared at Pemaquid with orders to rebuild Fort William Henry, the territory had lain waste for thirty years, and the whole region from the Kennebec to Port Royal was almost a wilderness. One fisherman's cottage known to have stood on Damariscove Island in 1720 and a few scattered cabins were all that broke that solitude, so completely had the foes of England done their work. Though neglected for three decades by Massachusetts, Pemaquid was not forgotten by the kings and queens of England. Orders came frequently from the reigning monarch to restore it, and each newly appointed royal governor received directions to rebuild the fort. Royal edicts and the endeavors of colonial governors were in vain, however—the Assembly of the General Court of Massachusetts would not vote the necessary money.

In 1700 the Lords of Trade, in a report to the king upon His Majesty's forts, recommended the restoration of Fort William Henry. After recounting how the fort at the entrance to the Pemaquid river had been surrendered to the French in 1696, this report goes on to state: "For the security of this fort and all that country, and to encourage people to settle there as formerly, a good fort ought to be built in the same place or thereabouts; and for its better defense in case of an attack from the sea, a battery may be raised on the next point of land, and a redoubt or round tower on John's Island." In 1703 Governor Dudley went to Pemaquid with several of his Council to survey the site. On his return he urged the General Court in vain to rebuild the fort. Gov. Shute made similar recommendations in 1706, at which time orders came from the Crown to the same effect. Massachusetts replied in response to these orders: "The low circumstances of the Province and the heavy debts are such that His Majesty's subjects here are not able to come into so great a charge."

All the wars in England had echoes here. When Queen Anne's War began in 1702, Indian depredations commenced at once upon the settlements west of the Kennebec. In 1710 the English retaliated, capturing Port Royal. In 1713, the "Third Indian" or "Queen Anne's War" was closed by the Treaty of Utrecht. This war had cost heavily in lives on both sides, a third of the settlers east of the Piscataqua having been slain, while the Indians east of the Kennebec could not thereafter muster more than 300 fighting men. A treaty of peace was concluded with the savages at Portsmouth, and thus encouraged a few settlers strayed back to Arrowsic and the mouth of the Kennebec. In 1719 Robert Temple introduced a few colonists to the same region, some of whom remained.

In 1717 Gov. Shute met the savages in conference at Arrowsic, but despite the peace that followed the settlers dared not yet return to Sagadahoc. How the Hiltons resided at Broad Bay, as there is evidence they did, from 1702 to 1718, remaining upon good terms with the savages who dwelt there, is a mystery. They were the only persons known to have been dwelling in this region during those two decades. In 1719 the Rev. Christopher Tappan, to make a show of ownership upon the lands he claimed, sent Michael Thomas as his tenant to Damariscotta with laborers to work the lands during the summer. In that same year the proprietors of the "Waldo Patent" built a fort on the St. George's, in what is now Thomaston.

The building of this fort and the return of a few settlers to the region was much resented by the savages, who still watched with apprehension the expansion of the English wherever it occurred. The Indians showed their hostility by several attacks east of the Kennebec during this period. Attacks at Arrowsic and numerous attempts on St. George's betrayed their mood and their steady resentment of the return of the English. Father Ralé had been many years at Nanrantsouak, the ancient village of the Canibas, and it was thought by the English that his influence was paramount in instigating these attacks. They believed they saw his hand in a move made by the savages in 1721, when two hundred Norridgewocks in a fleet of canoes appeared at the mouth of the Kennebec and gave notice to the English there to vacate within three weeks the territory they were occupying,

threatening to exterminate them all if they did not at once yield up the lands which the "Great God" had given to themselves.

Father Ralé is said to have accompanied this delegation, and from this time on resentment against the French priest grew, with a *dénouement* one hesitates to relate. It was determined to capture the French priest alive or dead, and to destroy the stronghold which was so great a menace to the English settlers. Several expeditions were sent against Nanrantsouak; until finally an expedition under Capt. Moulton and Capt. Harmon in 1724 destroyed the ancient town. Father Ralé was killed while fighting with the savages in defense of the village. This broke the spirit of the Canibas, who after 1724, following the example of the Wawenocks and Anasagunticooks, began to emigrate to Canada.

No one can contemplate the story of the gradual conquest of the Abenakis, the simple savages whom Weymouth found so "civil" and so "merrie," without a pang of sympathy for the unhappy fate which gradually overtook them. The strife between savages and whites for possession of the lands was bound to continue, a contest in which the savages were doomed to lose, and the attack upon Norridgewock was only one more episode in the tragedy of a vanishing race.

The Indians fought stoutly to retain the lands east of Pemaquid and north of certain points on the Kennebec. At the conference with Gov. Shute in 1717 they said they were unwilling that the English should settle east of Pemaquid or north of certain mills on the Kennebec. In 1726, at a conference with Gov. Dummer at Falmouth, which ended the period of strife just described and which resulted in the ratification of a treaty, the savages took a similar stand, demanding the removal of the forts at St. George's and at Richmond. The English would not comply, of course, but a compromise was reached; Dummer's Treaty of 1726 being the basis of such peace as existed for many years. There was no way of appeasing Indian grievances which the English chose to take, and the records of these early conferences with the savages make melancholy reading. In 1726, when the savages protested against the occupation of St. George's, old deeds of Madockawando to Sir William Phips were produced and read, but the Indians remained unconvinced. They believed the English had no right to any land on St. George's River. They

had not heard of such grants as these from their fathers or their grandfathers; they believed that nothing had ever been ceded east of Pemaquid. They requested that the fort at Richmond be removed to Arrowsic and that at St. George's to Pemaquid, "for the trading houses."

It was a sad conference. The Indians urged manfully that the English should encroach no further; if the lands at St. George's had ever been sold, of which none of their generation knew, "they were sold for a small matter and cost but little"; the government, they reasoned, was a "great and rich government," and "it would be a small matter for the government to make allowance" for the lands, returning them to their rightful owners. The English stoutly stood their grounds, wholly refusing to comply with Indian requests. The savages, sincerely desirous of peace, finally consented to ratify the treaty as it stood—but most reluctantly. The promise of trading houses pleased them; these were established and maintained for many years. A chief grievance of the savages was the sale of too much liquor at the truck houses; against this practise their chief speaker, Loron, made the following request: "Never let the trading houses deal in much rum. It wastes the health of our young men; it unfits them to attend prayers. It makes them carry ill both to your people and their own brethren. This is the mind of our chief men."

England, having urged upon Massachusetts in vain the rebuilding of the fort at Pemaquid, now undertook to restore it at her own expense. Having given Massachusetts jurisdiction over Sagadahoc, an authority which that colony had craved and sought, the English government seems to have been reasonable in expecting Massachusetts to protect the territory which she had so long desired. But as the years went by and Massachusetts refused to do anything toward fortifying and resettling Sagadahoc, a new theory of the ownership of the lands in that province began to be evolved in England. Massachusetts had never been given authority to grant lands in the territory, that power being vested only in the king. Under James II, Sagadahoc had been a royal province, and the theory gained ground that its lands were now revested in the Crown. The theory was, that with the fall of Fort William Henry in 1696, France had conquered all Acadia, holding possession until, by the Treaty of Utrecht,

Acadia was ceded back to England. The new reasoning was that the land had thus, by conquest and recession, reverted to the Crown.

Sagadahoc was valuable for its fine timber. Certain trees, especially pine and oak, were, in New England as well as in old England, reserved by the king's decree for the use of the royal navy, a reservation which the settlers much resented. It was the duty of an officer of the king, called the Surveyor of the King's Woods, to see to it that these restrictions were respected by the colonists. Like other decrees of a king across a sea that was then very wide, these orders were violated flagrantly, and the Surveyor of the King's Woods found life a burden. The forests of Sagadahoc yielded some of the finest masts for the royal navy; the king feared, therefore, that this province, which had now long lain open and unprotected, might be seized and occupied by France.

In 1729 David Dunbar, a Scotch-Irishman, appeared at Pemaquid, bearing a commission from the king to take command there, to rebuild Fort William Henry, and to occupy and settle Sagadahoc. He had also been appointed Surveyor of the King's Woods. There was but one restriction upon the authority of Dunbar; he was made accountable to the governor of Nova Scotia, Col. Philips, for the management of affairs in Sagadahoc, where, however, he might superintend and develop as he saw fit; the one requirement being that he set aside "300,000 acres of the best pine and oak for the use of the Crown." Dunbar restored Fort William Henry to guard Pemaquid, the "key to the Province." He re-christened it Fort Frederick for Frederick, Prince of Wales. Thirty men and an officer were dispatched by Col. Philips to garrison the restored fort.

Dunbar entered upon his work with great enthusiasm. He laid out the territory between Sheepscot and Muscongus into three towns: Townsend, the present Boothbay, Walpole, the northern, and Harrington, the southern part of the present Bristol. At Pemaquid near the fort, Dunbar laid out the plan of a city in city lots of two acres each. At Townsend he laid out the plan of another city. Residents might settle in these "cities" upon about the same terms. The settler receiving one of these two acre city lots at Pemaquid received also a forty acre lot of farm land elsewhere, and in some cases a hundred acres

more remotely situated. The residue of the land in the present Bristol, Dunbar turned over to two speculators, Montgomery and Campbell, who were to open up the territory and secure settlers. Dunbar set forth the advantages and privileges to be enjoyed in the new territory elaborately, with the purpose of attracting immigration. In 1730 he offered to any one who would come and settle, a hundred acres of land wherever he might choose, and provisions to maintain him for a year. Settlers came from many sources. Some of them, having already arrived in this country, removed to Sagadahoc from Massachusetts, Londonderry and points west in Maine. The majority of the settlers, however, came from the north of Ireland directly, and were of the Scotch-Irish race.

Some settlers, like the Coopers and the Norths, were rich enough to come in their own ships, with their servants and family possessions. John North came from the north of Ireland with his children in 1719, and settled in North Yarmouth, whence in 1731, attracted by Dunbar's offers, he removed to Pemaquid, where he resided till his death in 1740. His widow continued to reside there, on the banks of the John's River. His son, John North, lived in the same place, later removing to Damariscotta and St. George's. He was a surveyor, and while in the employ of Shem Drowne, made a map of the region which is valuable as locating settlers under Dunbar. North became commander later of Fort Frederick and of St. George's Fort. At the latter fort he died in 1763.

Gen. William North, one of the youngest generals of the Revolutionary Army, was a grandson of the first John North. He was the son of John North, the surveyor, and was born within the walls of Fort Frederick in 1755. The history of this family may be found in North's "History of Augusta," the descendants of the Norths later making their residence in that city. The Coopers reached Pemaquid by way of Portsmouth, where they resided for a short time after coming out of Ireland. The first of the Coopers came "from Ireland in a brig of his own with a numerous train of servants, bound to him for a certain number of years to pay for their passage over."

Dunbar conveyed lands in the present Damariscotta to William Vaughan, giving him the benefit of the river. Vaughan strengthened his titles from Dunbar by deeds from the savage

chiefs of the vicinity. He built two double saw mills and a grist mill, and cultivated a farm. Colonists were attracted to Townsend by Rogers and McCobb, and many of the present inhabitants of Boothbay are descended from the settlers so introduced. A majority of the present inhabitants of Bristol are also descended from the Scotch-Irish pioneers, as their names attest. Because of the uncertainty of land titles in the region, many of Dunbar's settlers at Pemaquid removed to other places; the names now common in Bristol being widely distributed elsewhere, especially in the settlements on the Muscongus patent.

Dunbar showed great ability in establishing and furthering his settlements; but as might have been anticipated, there rose about him a numerous army of enemies in the form of ancient holders of the lands. He gained also many political opponents through an appointment he received soon after reaching Pemaquid, as Lieutenant Governor of New Hampshire. Chief of these political enemies was Jonathan Belcher, who just a year after Dunbar appeared at Pemaquid arrived in Boston as Governor of Massachusetts, New Hampshire and the Province of Maine. Belcher much resented the choice of Dunbar for Lieutenant Governor of New Hampshire, which had come about through the influence of an enemy of Belcher's, Col. Bladen of the Board of Trade. There had been in progress for some time a political struggle over the fixing of the boundary line between New Hampshire and Massachusetts, in which John Wentworth, Dunbar's predecessor, had led the opposition to Belcher. Dunbar followed Wentworth, and at once enlisted in this opposition, thereby incurring the ill will of Belcher.

Belcher not only opposed Dunbar for these reasons, but also as the governor of Massachusetts, a province which still claimed and desired jurisdiction over Sagadahoc. Complaints of Dunbar's jurisdiction came pouring in to the government of Massachusetts. Dunbar had granted the lands in his province, according to instructions, on the theory that all former rights were null and void; this of course brought forth a protest from those who still held lands in Sagadahoc as heirs of the early claimants. Among Dunbar's enemies thus incurred were the heirs to the Pemaquid patent, represented by Shem Drowne; the Rev Christopher Tappan who claimed that Dunbar was trespassing on his

holdings at Damariscotta; and those who claimed rights under the Muscongus patent and the deed to Phips.

Gov. Belcher was rich, highly educated, and well connected. He was able to use much influence against Dunbar, yet he did not consider it advisable openly to face a man armed with the king's commission. He therefore forwarded to England memorials of the complaints of the various proprietors, to be placed before the Board of Trade; and wrote letters derogatory to his enemy. To the inhabitants of Sagadahoc he issued a proclamation, commanding them to "continue their obedience to the governor and laws of the province" of Massachusetts. Samuel Waldo was dispatched to England by the proprietors of the Muscongus patent to procure Dunbar's removal, an effort in which he was abetted by Sir Biby Lake, representing the proprietors of lands between the Sheepscot and the Kennebec. A petition requesting Dunbar's removal was also forwarded to the Crown by Shem Drowne, in behalf of the Pemaquid proprietors.

The attitude adopted by Massachusetts toward Dunbar is well reflected in the remarks of the historian Williamson, who writes of Sagadahoc and Dunbar's appearance at Pemaquid as follows: "There was among intriguing politicians, a strong disposition either to consider the territory an appendage of Nova Scotia, or an acquisition by conquest; or by some finesse, to detach it from Massachusetts and have it erected into a charter Province." Dunbar, Williamson claims, had procured his commission as Surveyor of the King's Woods through Col. Bladen, a man "never in love with Puritans," and Dunbar "made the ministry believe" that many of his Scotch-Irish countrymen and many Germans of the Palatinate were desirous to emigrate to the new world. Dunbar's statements in this respect seem, however, to have been based upon fact, and Williamson shows bias in his treatment of the entire subject.

There was much deliberation upon the Sagadahoc matter by the Board of Trade and by other English officials, which resolved itself into the following two questions:

1. "Whether the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay, if they ever had any right to the government of the tract of land lying between the St. Croix and Kennebeck, have not, by their neglect

and even refusal to defend it, and take care of it, and improve it, forfeited their supposed right to the government, etc.”

2. “Whether by the said tracts being conquered by the French and afterwards reconquered by Gen. Nicholson, in the late Queen’s time, and yielded up by France to Great Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht, that part of the charter relating thereto, became vacated, and whether the government of that tract, and the lands thereof, are not absolutely revested in the crown, and whether the crown has not thereby sufficient power to appoint governors and assign lands to such families as shall be desirous to settle there.”

The English attorneys and the Board of Trade rendered a decision favorable to Massachusetts. They held that she had not so neglected the territory as to forfeit it entirely, and that the ancient rights had only been suspended but not annulled by the French conquest. A year later, in August, 1732, through the efforts of his enemies, the commission of Dunbar was revoked, and the authority of the Governor of Nova Scotia was entirely annulled. Dunbar continued to act as Surveyor of the King’s Woods, and as Lieutenant Governor of New Hampshire. In 1734 he removed to that province, where he became so unpopular that he finally returned to Sagadahoc, taking up a lot on the Damariscotta River. Here he built a commodious dwelling house and had a well cultivated garden. He named the place “Belvidera.” Williamson states that Dunbar’s house was “at the head of a bay in Walpole,” but local tradition places it on Great Salt Bay, above the oyster shell heaps on the Damariscotta River, at a place which bears the name of “Belvidera Point,” where a great cellar hole, still visible, may mark the site of his residence.

In 1737 Dunbar went to England, hoping to secure an appointment as Governor of New Hampshire. He failed to obtain the office, and later for a consideration he gave up his commission as Surveyor of the King’s Woods. In 1743 he was appointed by the East India Company, Governor of the Island of St. Helena.

The Rev. Robert Rutherford accompanied Dunbar to Pemaquid, acting for several years as chaplain at Fort Frederick. He was a Presbyterian, but he did not establish a church. He removed to Brunswick, probably because of Dunbar’s departure from Pemaquid, and later went to St. George’s, also doubtless

through his friendship for the Dunbar family; for the widow of David Dunbar had returned to this country and married, after Dunbar's death, Thomas Henderson of St. George's. The Rev. Mr. Rutherford was the first clergyman of Bristol during the modern period.

Whatever political enemies may have had to say about him, David Dunbar must have been a man of ability and energy. His reign in Sagadahoc was brief and stormy, yet in the short time vouchsafed him, he transformed the wilderness between St. George's River and the Sheepscot into a land of farms and villages, he introduced settlers of a high type, and he raised the fort at Pemaquid out of its ruins to offer them protection. Many other settlers came beside those introduced by Dunbar. Some came back to homesteads where they had formerly resided; others occupied lands which they had purchased of former claimants or proprietors. But the return of these settlers was also due indirectly to the efforts of Dunbar. They came just when they did, because now for the first time they were afforded through his efforts some protection and measure of security. The enemies who so loudly denounced Dunbar were deeply indebted to him for the labors which had given new value to their holdings.

Most of the inhabitants attracted to Sagadahoc by Dunbar himself were of that daring race which is daunted by no difficulties; they lived austere and faced both good and evil fortune with a smile. They were religious men, yet they were tolerant; they were hard, sagacious men yet they venerated education, and the percentage of literacy among them was for that day very high indeed. They were of the second great wave of immigration to this country, the Scotch-Irish, and their advent to America was then just beginning. These men had been trained for their rude border life in a hard school. A hundred years before their ancestors had left their highland fastnesses to cross the channel into northern Ireland, driven thither by the poverty of Scotland, attracted by the cheapness of the lands in Ireland, and invited to go and settle there by James I and the Stuart monarchs. They had endured much suffering during the Cromwellian Wars and the Revolution of 1688, whose issues in the settling had spilled much blood in Ireland. Then came the suppression of the woolen industry and the severe regulation of all exports. Hampering religious restrictions followed. These

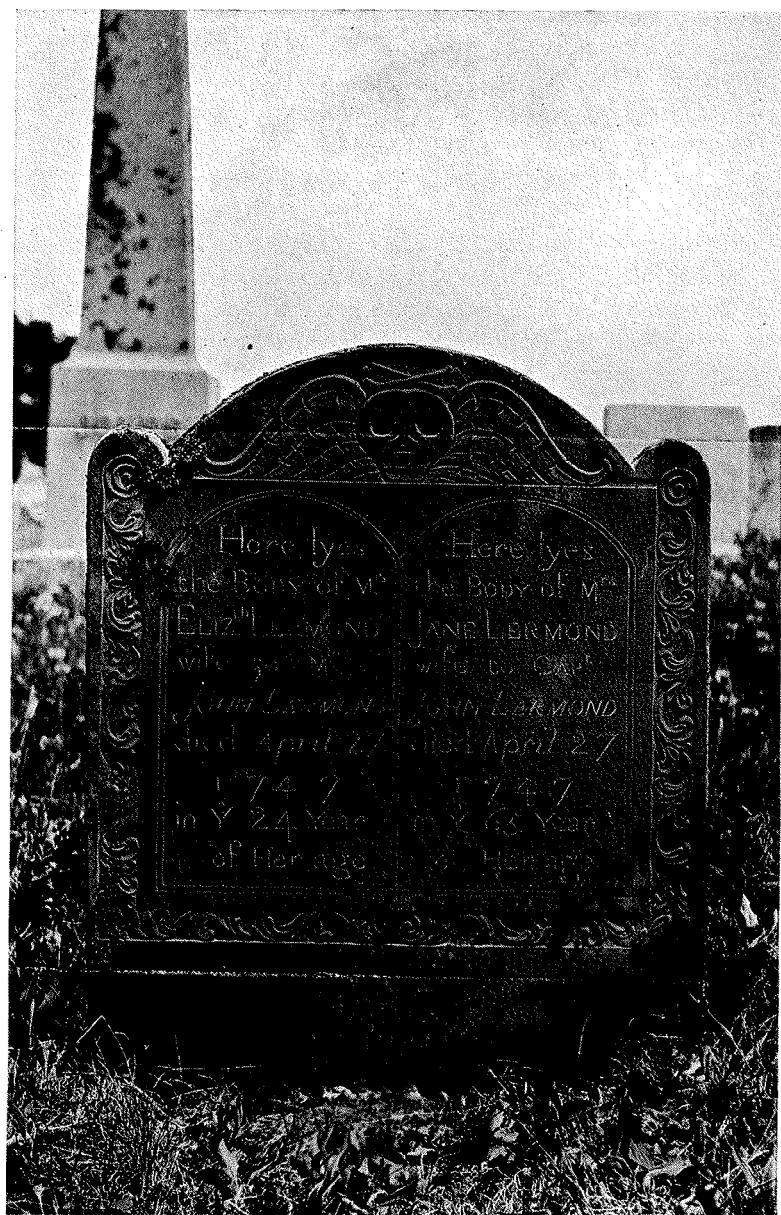
handicaps bore heavily upon the Scots, who at the opening of the eighteenth century began to seek relief from their hard circumstances in emigration to America, going thither in ever increasing numbers. The great majority of these immigrants were attracted to Penn's colonies, where rich farm lands might be had on easy terms, and where religious toleration was assured, but some found their way into New England through the port of Boston.

Of the very early group of the Scotch-Irish who reached Boston in 1718, the greater part settled in Worcester and in New Hampshire, where they founded Londonderry; others went to Maine, locating in the vicinity of Falmouth. Of these the majority later moved further west, but some remained. Another group was introduced into the region at the mouth of the Kennebec by Robert Temple in 1719, but many of these, because of difficulties with the Indians, departed later. Worcester, Londonderry and Maine became the main distributing centers of the Scotch-Irish, who were great colonizers, and who founded numerous towns. Dunbar's immigrants were the first group of the Scotch-Irish introduced into Maine who remained there as a body.

The next group of people of this race to settle in Maine became near neighbors. They were attracted thither by the offers of Samuel Waldo, who, appreciating the high type of settlers introduced by Dunbar, profited by his example, and invited Scotch-Irish immigrants to his tract of land between the Penobscot and the St. George's. They made a settlement on the latter river, founding the town now known as Warren in 1735. With them united settlers from Pemaquid who formed the nucleus of the colony. The drawing of the lots took place at Pemaquid, and out of twenty-seven individuals who signed a contract at St. George's Fort for settling on the St. George's in that year, several were settlers we know to have resided at Pemaquid. John North, Jr., was one such settler, and there were numerous others whose names point to that conclusion. Among the emigrants to St. George's were settlers of the name of Eliot, Henderson, Sproul, Young, MacFarland, Fossett, and McIntyre. Among the present inhabitants of Bristol are numbers of these names.

Another influx of settlers into the region occurred quite by accident. In 1740 a ship called "The Grand Design" was wrecked on Mt. Desert. The passengers suffered greatly and many died. News of their plight was brought to Damariscotta by the Indians, and they were succored by the settlers about Pemaquid. They proved to be a group of wealthy Scotch-Irish immigrants bound for Pennsylvania, a goal they now abandoned, settling in Sheepscoot, Damariscotta, and Pemaquid.

Such, briefly, were the beginnings of the Scotch-Irish in Maine, which has a greater transfusion of Scotch-Irish blood than any other state in New England. The inhabitants of Maine today are largely Scotch-Irish by descent; those of Bristol, predominantly so. Massachusetts favored the introduction into New England of these Scotch-Irish settlers, but desired them to be distributed to the frontiers to form buffer colonies as a protection to the English settlements already established. And so Worcester, Londonderry, and Sagadahoc received these pioneers, who at last, planted after several generations far from their Scotch highlands, settled down to a long and arduous fight with many foes, the hard New England weather, the unproductive soil, and the uncertainty of tenure in their lands, to say nothing of their Indian enemies, who for the next thirty years were to present the greatest problem.



LERMOND TOMBSTONE

CHAPTER XX

THE SCOTCH-IRISH PIONEERS AND THEIR TRIALS

Dunbar gave his settlers "leasehold-indentures, with the antiquated reservation of a 'pepper corn' rent if demanded." When Dunbar learned that the decision of the English government had robbed him of authority in Sagadahoc, he promised the settlers deeds to be signed by Gov. Philips of Nova Scotia, just why is not clear; for since the whole structure on which the authority of Philips as well as that of Dunbar rested, had now fallen, Philips was of course as powerless to help them as was Dunbar. Only the English government could aid them now, and that government took no steps to render justice to the settlers who had been attracted to Sagadahoc by a proclamation in the King's name. The colonists now held their lands merely by possession. Much of the opposition to Dunbar had emanated from the heirs to ancient claims in Sagadahoc, and, as might have been anticipated, the new settlers were soon faced with a growing army of rival claimants to their lands, whose demands they must meet and satisfy as best they could.

Few of Dongan's settlers returned, but some who had held under the Pemaquid patent, now represented by Shem Drowne, and under the Indian deed to John Brown, did reappear; and their claims the settlers had in some instances to meet, or else remove from the region. Under date of 1736, Williamson writes, after mentioning these conflicting claims: "Overwhelmed by these and other discouragements, several families in the vicinity of Pemaquid, had actually removed to other places." Owing to the fact that the lands of the various claimants overlapped, even in the original grants, and to the fact that all these lands were re-granted under Dunbar, there would sometimes appear as many as three rival claimants to the holdings of a single settler. These claimants were absentee proprietors who would notify Dunbar's settlers (the only persons actually in possession) of their claims from the places where they happened to reside, elsewhere in the present state of Maine, perhaps, or in

Massachusetts. Frequently this notice would be in writing but often the proprietor or his representative would appear in person.

A letter from one Wm. Boardman, who claimed lands at Broad Bay, is rather entertaining. He tells how he journeyed incognito to the site of the lands he claimed, pretending to be in the market for new lands, and gathered information from the unsuspecting settlers, which might otherwise have been withheld. On his way back to Boston he met a peddler to whom he told his story, and who promised to bruit about as he travelled from place to place, the news of Boardman's claims. It was by such means as these that the absentee proprietors kept the settlers in a state of ferment.

If a settler under Dunbar met the demands of one claimant, it was often only to face two or more rival claimants who professed to own the same lands with as good a show of right. The struggle over these conflicting claims is too complicated to consider here. It dragged on for decades, causing so much strife at the beginning of the next century that the various claims had finally to be put before the Legislature of Massachusetts for settlement, when they were adjusted by a commission appointed by the governor. This commission disallowed all claims arising under Indian deeds, such as the Tappan, Brown and Vaughan claims; but they did allow the claims of heirs under the Pemaquid patent. The heirs to the Pemaquid patent, which had become the Drowne Claim, were not permitted to oust any of the settlers then established in Bristol, but they were reimbursed for the loss of territory there by a grant of wild lands elsewhere in the present state of Maine. The heirs of William Vaughan of Damariscotta were reimbursed in a similar manner, not because the legality of Vaughan's claims was admitted, but because of improvements made by him upon the lands he had long held and claimed.

In defending themselves against their Indian enemies, the settlers had the aid of Massachusetts. After the removal of Dunbar, Gov. Belcher began to show a lively interest in Sagadahoc. He communicated to the General Court that it was the "King's royal pleasure. . . that the Province and every particular proprietor of the lands there, should quietly enjoy their just

and lawful rights; there being a great number of his good subjects on those lands in very difficult circumstances, through want of protection from the government." He urged that these settlers might be treated "with the same kindness and care, as if they were inhabitants of any other part of the Province." In 1733 Fort Mary in Winter Harbor was dismantled and its soldiers, artillery and stores removed to Fort Frederick, which was garrisoned for four years. In 1734 Gov. Belcher visited Pemaquid, where he held a conference with some of the sagamores whom he treated with great courtesy and who assured him of their desire for peace. The Indians, especially the Tarratines, were much displeased, as has been indicated, by Waldo's settlements on the St. George's. The government did its best to pacify them, promising that no settlements should be made above the upper falls in what is now the town of Warren, and so successful was this policy of conciliation, that the English now ventured to dismantle several forts, including Fort Frederick.

The new settlers in Sagadahoc had other hardships and discouragements to endure during the early days in their adopted homes. Williamson under date of 1735, computes the population of the present State of Maine as 9,000, making that of Sagadahoc from Georgetown to St. George's 1,500. But he goes on to lament the prevalence in that year of an epidemic which made inroads into this number, and which was known as the "throat distemper." It attacked children, particularly, and raged, one writer says, "from Pemaquid to Carolina." For several years at about this time there was a shortage of the crops amounting almost to a famine, bread becoming scarce and dear even in Boston. Several families in Sagadahoc testified to living for weeks with clams and water as the main staple of their diet.

In 1739 Gov. Belcher visited the eastern country, representing himself to be "strongly impressed with the commodiousness of the harbor at Pemaquid. . . . to which our coasters and fishing vessels. . . . resorted in great numbers." Being "deeply concerned for the settlements in that vicinity," he recommended putting the whole frontier into a posture of defense because of the threat of war with Spain and the possibility of Indian uprisings. One cause of friction was the fact that the Indians believed themselves unfairly treated at the truck houses, com-

plaining especially of that at St. George's River. Strict orders were given for the regulation of this Indian trade, the agents being ordered to post "the invoice price of the articles sold" and "to render a fair account" of all sales made and furs purchased.

Belcher persuaded the General Court to re-garrison Fort Frederick. In July, 1738 he had met the chiefs in Council at Falmouth, where they appeared under a French flag which boded no good to the English. In 1739 England declared war against Spain; and in 1740, the Governor prepared for war in earnest, securing appropriations of 3000 pounds to repair Forts Frederick, St. George's, Richmond, and Mary. During a period of several years, terminating in 1749, John Dennis officiated as chaplain of Fort Frederick, it being his duty to minister to the inhabitants of the region as well as to the soldiers of the fort. In a petition for remuneration, he asks for pay for services as "chirurgion" as well as chaplain. Belcher seems to have been one of the governors who turned particular attention to Sagadahoc, on which he bestowed much care, making it almost yearly visits.

Gov. Shirley, the successor to Gov. Belcher, visited St. George's Fort in 1742, where the savages this time appeared flying English flags at the heads of their canoes. Gov. Shirley spent some time at Fort Frederick also. In that year he secured an appropriation of seven hundred pounds to repair the forts at Pemaquid, St. George's and Saco. In 1743 war with France was apprehended, and there were further appropriations for the defense of the frontier. One hundred and thirty-four pounds were appropriated for repairs on Fort Frederick and six men were garrisoned there, while thirteen were posted at St. George's Fort.

By 1744 France had joined Spain against England in the War of the Austrian Succession. Further to fortify the frontiers against possible attack, twenty-four men were posted at Fort Frederick and forty at St. George's. Col. Pepperell endeavored to enlist some of the eastern Indians to join the English in war against the St. John's tribes, as provided for in "Dummer's Treaty," but they refused. Scouts were posted along the frontier, fourteen being assigned to the region from Damariscotta to Broad Bay. Two regiments were raised in the eastern provinces which proved active in this war, one under Col. Wm.

Pepperell of Kittery, and one under Samuel Waldo of Falmouth. In Waldo's regiment were fifty men from Pemaquid.

An attack on Louisbourg was suggested and planned, it is said, by William Vaughan of Damariscotta. His plan met the approval of the Governor, and, as we know from our general history, the attack proved amazingly successful. In the expedition against Louisbourg, Pepperell had chief command and Waldo second. Many St. George's settlers who enlisted under Waldo remained in the vicinity of Louisbourg for years, some never returning. The only men of Pemaquid who went against Louisbourg whose names have come down to us were James Yeats and Joseph Burns. Louisbourg fell in 1745.

It was hoped that the capture of Louisbourg would influence the savages to join the English, for it was thought to be Indian nature to enlist on the winning side. Instead, the capture of the stronghold seems to have had the opposite effect, only cementing the bond between the Abenakis and their old allies. Efforts were made particularly to win the allegiance of the Tarratines, the most friendly of the tribes toward the English, whose influence was paramount throughout the Indian kingdom. The Tarratines, too, had been the leaders of the savages in effecting Dummer's Treaty, which on the whole had been well observed. But attempts to win and hold them now proved fruitless. Williamson laments the fact that Castine the Younger was no more, that savage, in spite of much unkindness received by him at English hands, having been an influence for peace. There had now grown up among the Penobscots, says Williamson, "a race of young Indians, during the interval of twenty years' tranquility, who panted for war and glory."

The first attacks were by the Eastern Indians in July, 1745, at Damariscotta and St. George's. An attack on Fort Frederick which proved ineffective was made by Penobscots and Canibas. War was now declared against all the tribes indiscriminately. Sheepscot and St. George's were attacked in the following year, and cattle were killed at Pemaquid. The German settlement made under Waldo at what is now Waldoboro was attacked, and the buildings burned while the inhabitants fled for safety to Pemaquid and elsewhere.

The type of warfare waged by the Indians in these years was of a strictly savage nature. The savages despaired now of

reducing the settlements, or of uprooting the English from their plantations. Their expeditions were no longer military in any sense; they were rather acts of revenge in which the savages satiated their hatred and resentment by killing straggling settlers and destroying crops and cattle. Imagine the life of the settlers of Sagadahoc who, whenever they went abroad or attended church, had to go well armed, who feared to leave their houses even to milk their cows, and did so only near the forts; and who sometimes had to leave the crops, wrung so hardly from the soil, unharvested, while they were self-imprisoned for weeks at a time in their own dwellings.

Of such a nature were Indian attacks on two brothers, George and Walter MacFarland. George was killed while working on John's Island, and Walter was taken prisoner. Walter was redeemed at the Falmouth conference in 1749, where he appeared among the savages so changed and so like them in appearance, that even his own father did not recognize him, mistaking him for a young savage until he spoke and made known his identity.

In April, 1747, thirteen persons were killed in Walpole, while fifteen were killed or captured in Damariscotta. Among those killed in Walpole were Mrs. Jane and Mrs. Elizabeth Lermond, shot while milking their cows near a garrison house two miles north of the Walpole meeting-house. The Lermonds, the Hustons and the Joneses had come to Walpole from Ireland by way of Boston. In Ireland they had been friends and neighbors and there was some intermarriage between the families. They were attracted to Walpole probably by Dunbar's offers. The gravestones of the Lermond women—twin stones bearing the same date—are conspicuous in the cemetery at Damariscotta on the Bristol Road.

In May, 1747, the savages furiously attacked Fort Frederick, killing five soldiers of the garrison, and five recruits, and taking three soldiers captive. "The two remotest easterly garrisons were still looked upon with the utmost jealousy and malevolence." Early in September of the same year Fort Frederick was again assailed. The savages began the assault at dawn—their favorite hour for attack—and continued the siege two hours; but were unable to make any impression on the fortress.

The winter of 1747-1748 was particularly arduous, owing to the severity of the weather, and the danger of Indian incursions.



MAIN STREET, WISCASSET

It seemed to the settlers who had endured so much that their cup of misery was full. Lumber was their main source of revenue, but they dared not go into the woods this winter to obtain it. Seven hundred and thirty-three men were recruited to defend the eastern frontier. This service was particularly hated, for the savages were looked upon now as "mere banditti . . . robbers, incendiaries and murderers, alike disregarding all rules of honor and laws of war." The eastern provinces were fields of blood, but not of glory. A period of great despondency, characterized by droughts, famines and Indian incursions, was brought to a happy close by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in October, 1748. An agreement with the Indians was reached at Falmouth in 1749. Nineteen sagamores set their signatures to the treaty. The signatures were in three columns, and in one column appeared the names of the Wawenocks, united with the Anasagunticooks, as St. Francis Indians. This is one of the last times we hear officially of the native tribes of Pemaquid. The treaty of 1749 was based on Dummer's Treaty. All lands not yet granted to the English were to appertain to the savages; all trade between the two peoples was to be regulated by Massachusetts.

Hopes revived, and with the renewal of peace there was a renewal of prosperity. Lumbering and ship-building began to flourish. Only six soldiers were now maintained in Fort Frederick, and fifteen at St. George's. But the wars had lasted too long for any peace to be complete as yet, and there was much ill will on both sides. In Wiscasset in 1749 occurred a skirmish in which three Indians were killed, to the discredit of the white settlers concerned, who were tried for murder. They were acquitted, however, for so high did feeling run that no conviction could be gotten against a white settler for the murder of an Indian. The savages were much disturbed by this occurrence, and the St. Francis Indians, perhaps at French instigation, took up the quarrel. A letter was received in Boston from Asseramo, chief of the Wawenocks. Reprisals occurred also. Some Canibas Indians attacked Richmond Fort, and made incursions at Wiscasset. The government, alarmed, endeavored to pacify the savages; a delegation met them at St. George's, and peace again prevailed.

The old question of the western boundary of Acadia had never been settled. In the numerous treaties whereby this ill defined tract had been ceded back and forth between France and England—"a makeweight in the game of nations," one writer calls it—the boundaries had always been left indefinite, or referred to a commission. Governor Shirley of Massachusetts and the late Governor of New France were now sent to Paris to open deliberations on the subject, as provided by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Their deliberations dragged on for years but to no conclusion. It finally appeared that France was only parrying for time while maturing plans for an extensive attack on all the English possessions. The technical question under discussion by the commission was the boundary line between Canada and Nova Scotia. By the treaty both France and England returned to pre-war conditions as to holdings in America. Louisbourg was returned to France and England held Acadia.

So much France conceded, but what were the boundaries of Acadia? The French claimed now that Acadia was only a small tract on the peninsula of Nova Scotia, while the English claimed that according to the French themselves, it had always extended west to the Kennebec. By the treaty of Utrecht in 1713 England had gained Acadia and Nova Scotia, which had been ceded to them "according to its ancient limits." This must have been the same country which the English had ceded to France by the Treaty of Breda, whereby France had taken possession of Penobscot and had claimed west to the Kennebec. The English claimed therefore as part of Acadia all eastern Maine.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was now seen to be but a truce; France prepared for contest by fortifying Beauséjour, while the English fortified Beaubassin nearby. The struggle between France and England known as the Seven Years' War which now began was fought chiefly for control of the Ohio Valley, and there the main interest of this contest centers. But in Maine the chief point at issue was this boundary line between Canada and Acadia. The Chaudière region, also, where French and Indian settlements had recently occurred, was a further source of anxiety to the English. The river Chaudière had its sources near the sources of the Kennebec; there was a route to Canada by these two rivers; and the Indians now settling on the

Chaudière were, according to the statements of the Canibas themselves, to have a share in their hunting grounds. It was feared that the French planned to make the Chaudière region a rendezvous for the tribes of the whole Indian nation; and this was dreaded as a great menace to all the settlements east of the Piscataqua. To meet this danger, three new forts were built on the Kennebec, Forts Western, Halifax, and Shirley.

The Seven Years' War began in 1754; and in 1755 war was declared against the Tarratines, who could not be induced to join the English in fulfillment of previous treaties, and fight against their savage fellows. They endeavored to be neutral, but when under pressure proved unable to remain so. The events of this war and its final outcome in the great victory of the English are too familiar to need rehearsing. After William Pitt assumed control of affairs in England, the victory of the English was assured. The capture of Louisbourg, Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and finally the fall of Quebec won all America for the English. Quebec fell in 1759.

There had been the usual Indian border raids, and Fort Frederick had been garrisoned. In 1758 the fort had fifteen soldiers under Capt. Alexander Nickels. This garrison was now removed from the fortress, though many families continued to live within its walls. The guns were not removed until 1762, when they were taken to Boston; and Johnston relates how some of the older people of his generation told the story, handed down to them, of the removal of these great guns of Fort Frederick through the heavy oaken gates.

Residing in the fort among others when Quebec fell, was a Thomas Johnston, who was the purveyor of the news. Quebec fell in September, 1759, but information of it did not reach Falmouth till October. A coasting vessel carried the news to Round Pond, and Thomas Johnston went overland from Fort Frederick to Round Pond to get the details of the story.

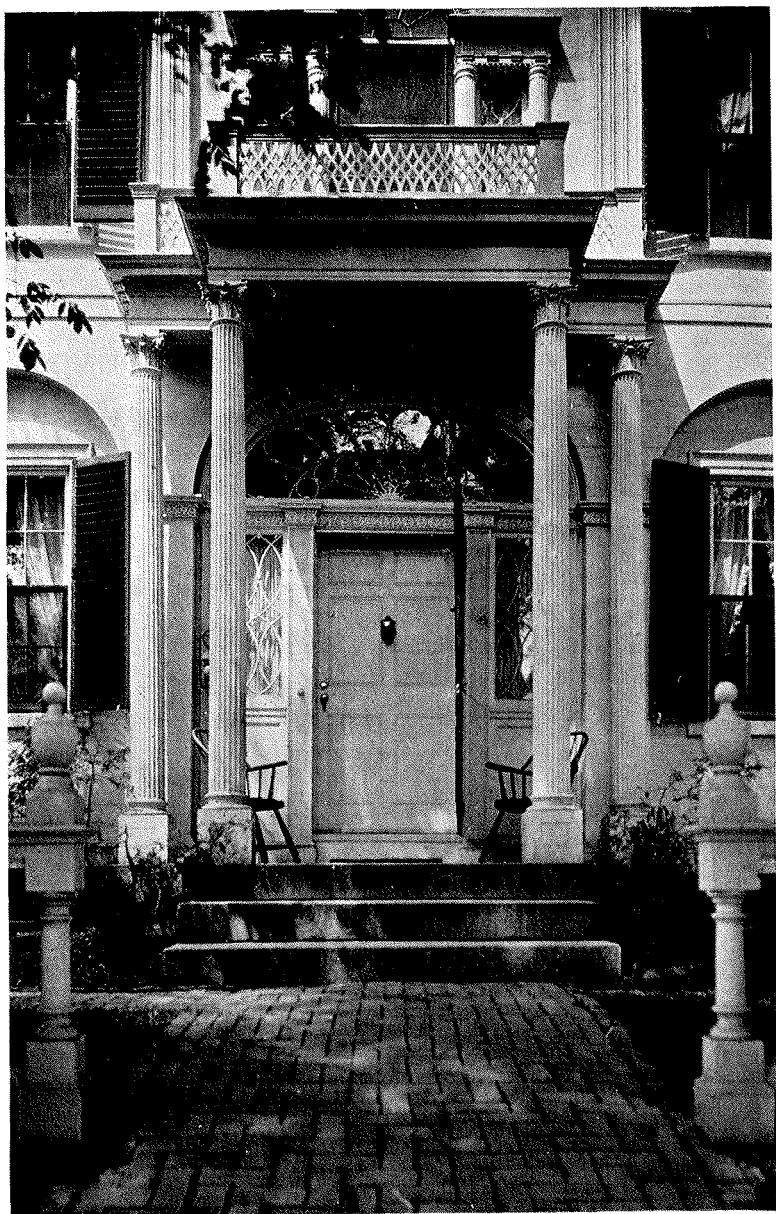
In 1760 the English made a last treaty with the Abenakis, now a broken and dismembered people. In September, 1759, Maj. Robert Rogers had been sent to destroy the Indian villages on the Chaudière, work in which he was so thorough that the story of his success makes very dreadful reading. The Tarratine people, who had once been so powerful, and who had struck terror to the hearts of the braves farther west, were

much diminished. They had been the most populous of the tribes, but now they numbered only five sachems, ninety-three warriors, and five hundred others. In 1759, Fort Pownal was built on the Penobscot to protect the English settlers who began to enter this region. So reduced were the Penobscots, that many of these savages were glad to remove to the vicinity of the fort and crave peace and protection from the English. By the treaty of 1760 the Penobscots won only the right to hunt in certain regions and the possession of certain tracts of land, to be assigned them by the English. By the Treaty of Paris in 1763, the English were dominant north of the St. Lawrence, and there was nothing left to fear from savage foes.

Bristol was incorporated in 1765. This decade saw the incorporation of several towns in this vicinity. Pownalborough, including the present Wiscasset, Alna, and Dresden, was incorporated in 1760, and Wiscasset was known as the "East Precinct of Pownalborough." Wiscasset was not incorporated under its present name until 1802. Boothbay was incorporated in 1764. Sheepscot was incorporated as "Newcastle" in 1753. The inhabitants of Boothbay at this time are estimated at about one hundred, and those of Bristol at about two hundred. The main industries in both towns were shipbuilding and lumbering, most of the settlements in Sagadahoc being on the ocean. By water occurred all communication, as there were no highways worthy of the name. Wild horses were abundant in the region, and the settlers shot them as readily as other animals. Bears were common.

Such was Bristol at the opening of the decade of peace vouchsafed it before the Revolution. At the beginning of that war, Fort Frederick was dismantled by vote of the town, whose citizens—fearing that it might be seized and occupied against them by the British—tore it down with their own hands. So ends the military history of Pemaquid, whose soil has been so often soaked in blood.

The names of some of the inhabitants of Bristol at this time are of interest, since in some cases their descendants still reside there. Jeremiah House lived at Pemaquid near the fort and east of it, in one of the finest houses of the town. On the west bank of the river lived James Sproul. On John's River resided Mrs. John North, Sr.; Moses Young; George Caldwell; George



A DOORWAY IN WISCASSET

Clark, grandson of the Rev. Matthew Clark of Londonderry, Ire.; Robert Sproul, son of James Sproul, born in Ireland; Patrick Rogers; J. Young; and John Wirling. William Sproul, son of James Sproul, lived near the Harrington meeting-house. Alexander Fossett, who had come to Pemaquid directly from Ireland, resided at Pemaquid Falls between the Great and Little Falls. His numerous posterity reside there still. Thomas Hutchins lived on the Damariscotta River. At New Harbor resided David Drowne; at Pemaquid, Solomon MacFarland. At Pemaquid, on the east bank of the river on a point now called the Blaisdell farm, lived Col. Thomas Brackett whose father was proprietor of the famous old "Cromwell's Head Tavern" in Boston. Col. Brackett married a daughter of James Sproul. At Walpole lived William Hiscock; at Round Pond, Simon Eliot, who had come direct from Londonderry, Ireland.

The Joneses, Hustons, and Lermonds had been driven from Walpole by the Indians in 1747. Though owning no real title to their lands (which they had received from David Dunbar), they now took possession of 1200 acres, which they divided among them. William Jones, who had come directly from Ireland, lived in Walpole also. James Drummond, a Scotchman, lived in Harrington. Alexander and Ninyon Erskine, Scotch-Irishmen, lived somewhere in the town. At Round Pond lived an Englishman, John Randall. In these settlers whose names have come down to us, one who is familiar with the town will recognize the progenitors of many of those who still reside in Bristol, in most cases in the very localities where their forefathers settled two hundred years ago.

The inhabitants of Bristol were in sympathy with the American cause in the Revolutionary War, forming Committees of Correspondence, and enlisting in numbers. John Johnston gives a list of those from Bristol known to have perished while in service. In this war the town lost one-fourth of all its able-bodied men. Williamson closes his remarks on this phase of Bristol's history with the words: "Indeed there never was a braver people." With this comment from the pen of one of our foremost Maine historians, let us leave the history of Pemaquid and Bristol for those who wish to tell its modern story.

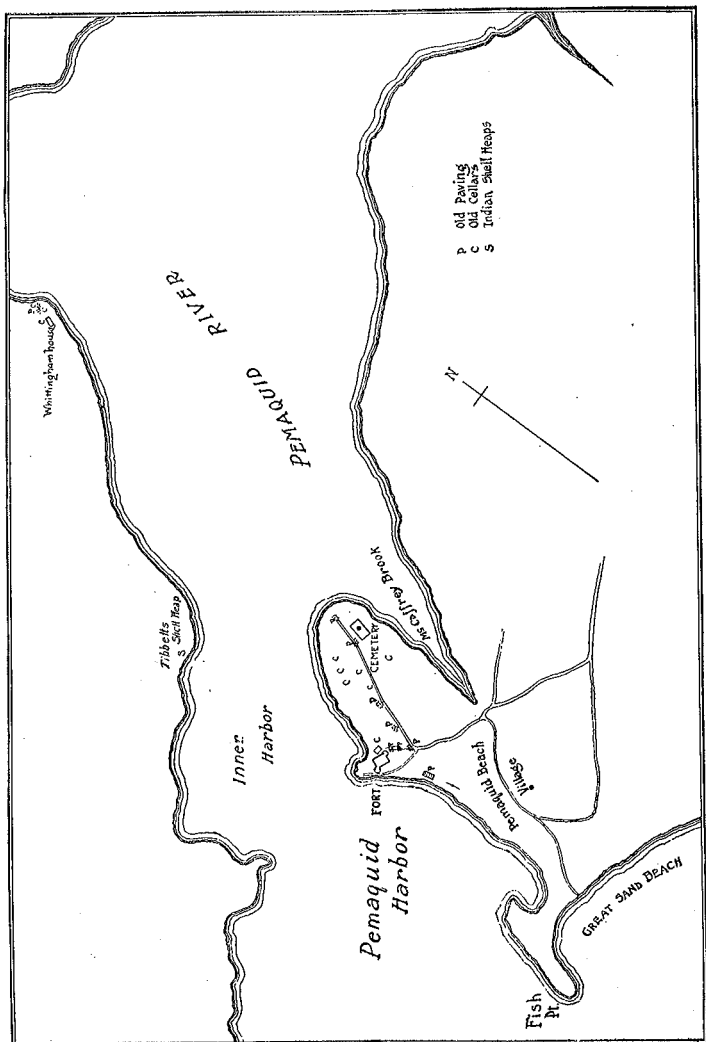
CHAPTER XXI

RUINS AT PEMAQUID

The visitor to Pemaquid who approaches it by sea comes upon its beauty suddenly. At one turn of his vessel's prow as it swerves northeast, he leaves the open ocean, and beholds the long deep harbor and the foam white shores, whose converging lines lead the eye to ancient Pemaquid. As he sails up the bay he beholds the banks on either shore as green in summer, and almost as densely wooded, as when Sir Edmund Andros beheld them more than two centuries ago. The remote shore where Fort William Henry once stood, at first merely a grey line, takes shape as the ship makes headway. The silver crescent of the sand beach appears at the east, near it the little village, and running toward the west, the peninsula of which history has so much to tell. This peninsula is formed by the harbor on the southwest, and by the Pemaquid river whose waters surround it on the north and east, save for a neck of territory which connects it with the main body of the land. The river is hidden as one approaches, except where it narrows to meet the sea between the western end of the peninsula and the basalt point making out from the river's western bank, which in colonial days was called the "Barbican."

The visitor to Pemaquid today beholds much the same scene that Belcher saw when in 1739 he sailed into John's Bay and up to Pemaquid, and found it so delightful. The houses of the tiny village are today more modern, but fewer vessels frequent the harbor now, perhaps, than formerly. The center of interest is the peninsula, where against the background of green fields rises the western tower of Fort William Henry, recently restored just as it stood in 1692. The sea wall of the fort has been restored also, though not to its former height.

Behind the rebuilt fort, and more conspicuous now than then, because the restored sea wall is lower than the original, stands an old colonial mansion which has for generations been known as "The Fort House." This house Belcher no doubt



SKETCH - MAP OF OLD PEMAQUID FORT REGION

also saw, for there is reason to believe that the house was built in 1729 by David Dunbar when he took up his residence in Pemaquid. It bears all the marks of considerable antiquity. The hand hewn clapboards and wrought iron nails of its first construction may still be seen on its western wall. Mr. Cartland gives this description of the structure of the house: "Planks one and one-half inches thick were used instead of boards to cover the walls and were secured with handmade spikes to the solid frame; they were placed upright instead of horizontal as today; every seam was covered with wide strips of birch bark instead of prepared paper as used now. The space between the boarding and planking was found to be filled with brick and mortar, no doubt to prevent the bullets of the Indians from penetrating the walls."

Unfortunately the old windows with their green tinted seven by nine panes of glass have been replaced by windows of a modern type, and the great chimneys and fireplaces have been removed. Otherwise the old mansion is not so greatly changed. A hospitable pilastered doorway still admits one to the long hall which runs the depth of the house. The stair banisters, mahogany railed, are handmade and hand decorated. The doors still retain the old wrought iron hinges and wrought thumb latches. The living rooms and parlor chamber are much wainscotted, and have the long narrow mantels and heavy corner posts of our forefathers.

A careful architectural study of the house, which might date it closely, has not yet been made, but it certainly belongs to the eighteenth century, probably before 1750. We have the evidence of Mrs. Mahala Paul, an old resident of Pemaquid whose testimony was taken by Mr. Cartland in 1888, when she was ninety years of age, that the house was built by Col. Dunbar. Her statement is very probably correct, for she was old enough to have had her information from her grandparents, who would have been contemporary with the builder.

The first person whom we absolutely know to have owned the house was Alexander Nickels, Jr., who in 1799 bequeathed it to his son, Capt. John Nickels. Alexander Nickels, Jr., was the son of Capt. Alexander Nickels, last commander of Fort Frederick, commissioned in 1750. He came from Londonderry, Ireland, and resided in Boston until ordered to Pemaquid. He

perhaps lived in the Fort House, which may have been the customary residence of commanders of the fort from Dunbar's day to his. This, however, is a mere guess. Capt. William Nickels, a descendant of Capt. Alexander Nickels, built in 1807 a fine old mansion in Wiscasset, the doorway of which is reproduced in this volume.

The Fort House stands on the highest part of the peninsula, with an unobstructed view for miles around. No white or savage foe could have approached by land, by river, or from the open sea, without being observed from the Fort House and the bastions of Fort Frederick. Alexander Nickels, Jr., was a commander of militia in the French and Indian Wars, and settled permanently at Pemaquid after 1759. Capt. John Nickels, to whom the house was bequeathed, resided in it until 1840 when he sold it to Samuel P. Blaisdell. The next owner was Col. James Erskine who purchased it in 1845. In 1847, the estate of some four hundred acres, the two islands in the harbor, John's and Beaver, and the Fort House, came into the possession of James W. Partridge, whose descendants still own and occupy the property.

The walls of Fort Frederick were levelled by the citizens of Bristol in 1775. Earth formed over the demolished fort and buried it, grass and shrubs flourished above it, and its outlines became obscured from view. Over its ruins before their excavation, must have strayed the feet of many who little dreamed that they were treading historic soil. For the restoration of the tower of Fort William Henry, Maine is indebted in the first instance to the Pemaquid Monument Association. The land where the ruins lay buried was deeded by Mr. Partridge to this association, incorporated in 1872 with the object of erecting on the site of the ruins some suitable memorial of the events which had occurred there. The Association later deeded the land to the State of Maine. When the site was excavated, the circular wall of the western bastion of the fort was found standing intact eight feet high and the sea wall intact six feet in height. On these original foundations was reared the restored structure.

The buried pavings on Pemaquid peninsula have aroused deep interest, leading to much speculation and to extravagant claims of great antiquity for Pemaquid. The location of the

streets is ascertained partly through the testimony taken many years ago, of old inhabitants, some of them laborers who helped to remove the stones with which the streets were paved. John Johnston, writing in 1873, located the main street as beginning near the fort and opposite the eastern bastion, and running many rods in the direction of the cemetery, but not reaching quite that far. On both sides of the street were to be seen in his day, more or less distinctly, the remains of cellars. He located another street at right angles to the main street, and leaving it at a point midway between fort and cemetery. This side street ran west to the shore, and where it terminated were still to be seen in Johnston's day the remains of an old wharf. Johnston had the testimony of old inhabitants who had seen and helped to fill the cellars on Pemaquid peninsula, and to remove the more exposed stones of which the streets were formed. An aged woman of his acquaintance described to him the appearance of the main street, constructed of large flat stones with weeds growing between the flagging. East of the main street and parallel to it, tradition located another street.

Distant several rods southeast of the fort, at the edge of the bank, may be found the pavement which has had the deepest interest for historians. This pavement was laid more regularly than that of the streets just mentioned. Johnston describes it in detail as "a pavement of rather small water-worn pebbles, as regularly laid as in the street of a city, and all of them in place except as they have been disturbed by very recent intruders. The appearance instantly suggests the idea of a street having a width of twelve or fourteen feet, one side of which is found to rest against a regular cellar wall, and on the other side is a row of larger stones, evidently designed for curbstones. Near the cellar wall a depression in the pavement was plainly intended to carry off the water."

Johnston reaches the conclusion that this pavement was not part of a street, however. The stones are too small, he thinks, for a street, and are not imbedded in mortar. The pavement, he said, did not extend in any direction more than 12 or 14 feet, and a search by those who explored it in his presence found no indications of its continuance. Johnston concludes that this bit of paving was part of the courtyard of a gentleman's house or of some public building, while the purpose of

the paving of the main street northeast of the fort he believes to have been to facilitate the passage of heavy teams from the fort to the wharf.

We have the testimony of Mr. Partridge, however, that this paving was continuous, that it ran up to the present road, and thence to the gates of the fort. He said that by "digging and ploughing" he had traced it. David Chamberlain, an old resident and a man of the highest probity, pointed out to Mr. Cartland many years ago a spot near the present road and in line with the paving on the bank, where in 1869 he uncovered a piece of paving to exhibit it to the members of the Maine Historical Society. He said he uncovered a piece "in the morning thirty feet long, and before night every stone was taken away."

Williamson, writing in 1842, stated: "Below the fort was a handsomely paved street, extending towards it northeastwardly from the water sixty rods. It is still to be seen, and like the canal, is the work of unknown hands." He is evidently referring to the piece of paving, still intact and still to be seen by the visitor to Pemaquid, situated on the bank near the little sand beach southeast of the fort, of which we have been speaking, and to another piece of paving continuous with this which extended in the direction of the fort.

There is plenty of testimony concerning the nature of the main street leading from the fort to the cemetery. Some old residents certified that there was paving even between the cellars on this street. Much of this main street must have been fairly superficial, for laborers testified to removing it with crowbars. This probably did not entail much digging, as the flagstones, with weeds growing up between them, were visible then in many places. The paving on the bank near the shore was on ground of a much lower level than that of the main street, which doubtless accounts for its being more deeply buried. It received more of the wash of the soil than did the main street.

Up to 1830 or 1840 much of this paving and many of these old cellars must have been exposed and visible. About that time occurred the removal of the paving stones and the filling of the cellars on a considerable scale. Laborers on the land when it was owned by Capt. John Nickels testified to aiding in

this work. Mr. Partridge seems to have been unaware of the existence of much of the paving until his plough revealed it to him; hence a quantity must have been removed before his occupation of the farm. Mr. Partridge himself, however, testified to having filled in forty of the cellars. In his "Ten Years at Pemaquid," Mr. Cartland has given in detail the statements of old residents regarding these ancient streets and cellars; and to that work and to Johnston's "History of Bristol and Bremen," the reader is referred for further details.

The theory of some very early occupation of the peninsula by Europeans, before the coming of the English as we know of it, who may have paved these streets in imitation of streets so paved in Europe, is dismissed by Johnston as highly improbable. Most modern writers agree with him, inclining to the theory that the streets must have been paved by soldiers of the fort at some time when it was well garrisoned. These writers lay much stress on the fact that all the streets lead in the direction of the fort, and believe their purpose was merely to facilitate the passage of heavy teams and cannon thither. This explanation is not wholly satisfactory, however, for it does not account for the existence of so many streets, or of paving between the cellars, of which there is testimony on record.

The most recent excavations at Pemaquid were conducted in 1923 under the direction of Prof. Warren K. Moorehead of the Andover Museum, who writes: "The rectangular pavement . . . south of the fort lies about two feet below the present surface. There is a retaining wall around it. It has been suggested that this is the floor of a house of the Elizabethan period. It is a well known fact that stone rather than wooden floors obtained in many of the houses in England in those days, and these were covered with reeds and rushes. The suggestion is worthy of consideration even if it should not be accepted." The interested reader will find Prof. Moorehead's report on his work at Pemaquid in the January, 1924 number of "Old Time New England."

Other pieces of paving have been located on the west bank of the river a little north of the fort on a slightly point commanding a view of the river north and south. This paving is near the shore, and the conformation of the high bank above it at once suggests the outlines of a fort. Old cellars have been

found near by and the remains of a tannery, from which were taken a few years ago some pieces of leather in a good state of preservation. A theory of Spanish occupation of this point at some early date rested chiefly on the finding of coquina and some old Portuguese coins. This theory has been discredited, however, and Prof. Moorehead, who explored there rather carefully in 1923, believed the site to be that of a fortified colonial house.

At New Harbor, about midway down the port on its western bank, are buried the remains of an old fort of which history makes little mention. Drake says: "This work is on an old map of Kennebec patent. It was about twenty rods square with a bastion. . . . Various coins and Indian implements, some of which I saw, have been turned up with the soil on this neck of land."

But perhaps the buried streets near Fort William Henry have more interest for the historian than anything else remaining to us of ancient Pemaquid. These streets were doubtless paved by the early colonists in imitation of such streets in west of England towns, but they do certainly argue an unusual zeal for paving in those early settlers who had no roads except foot-paths through the woods, who had no teams which called for paving, and who, under the stress of many needs unfulfilled and the menace of Indian and other enemies, did only the most necessary things.

Half a century ago the visitor to Pemaquid might have seen a curious bit of excavation—now quite obliterated—a sort of pit sunk deep into the soil a few rods north of the fort and on the very verge of the steep bank. It was "well-shaped, seven feet in diameter and ten feet deep, walled up with trapezoidal bricks. The opening into this pit was two feet beneath the surface of the soil, so covered by earth and sods as to be hidden from notice. Though nothing is really known of the purpose of this so-called "cache," or of whose work it was, it is believed to have been a hiding place used by the early settlers for concealing supplies, especially stores of food, from the enemy. The "cache" is no longer to be seen, all that remains to tell the tale being a few odd shaped bricks now in the memorial tower.

In the tower may be seen many other relics, coins unearthed in excavating, early pottery of several types, cannon balls and arrowheads of varying composition and design. But many choice things were no doubt lost irrevocably in the days before their collection and preservation were insisted upon. Other treasures have probably been carried away by sight-seers, who perhaps placed no real value upon them beyond their mere acquisition. So vanished most of the bricks of which the wall of the cache was constructed, and so on several occasions within the last century when a bit of paving has been opened up to view, every cobble-stone has disappeared.

The canal at Pemaquid Falls has interested and puzzled historians. Johnston, writing in 1873, speaks of it as then "tolerably well preserved." It was ten feet wide and six feet deep, extending from the site of the present road ten rods down the slope of the river bank, with side cuts toward the river to draw off the water. Johnston states: "Tradition informs us that when the ancestors of the present inhabitants came here, nearly a century and a half ago, large forest trees were found growing in the bed of the canal and on its banks, but no information has come down to us concerning its origin or use, except what is afforded by the ruins themselves." The course of this canal can be traced even today by the conformation of the fields along the water's edge; the side cuts of which Johnston speaks are particularly noticeable. Williamson, writing before Johnston, stated that there was no tradition as to the builder of this canal.

The cemetery at the extreme eastern end of the peninsula on which stood Fort William Henry, is old, and according to testimony the opening of a fresh grave there usually results in the unearthing of the bones of those already buried in an unmarked grave. The stone bearing the earliest date was removed two years ago to the memorial tower for preservation. It has been mutilated, and now bears the initials "H. M.," and only half the original date, "16—," the other figures of the date, "95," having been removed by the person who succeeding in knocking off one corner of the stone. This was undoubtedly the tombstone of Hugh March, who, as related in another chapter, was killed in 1695 by Indian arrows.

Most of the stones in the cemetery at Pemaquid mark the graves of Dunbar's settlers or of settlers of that date and their descendants, though the cruder stones without name or date are doubtless earlier. The eighteenth century stones are remarkable, like other early tombstones, for their crude designs of angels' wings, death's heads, and skull and cross-bones; they are interesting although somewhat forbidding. The gentler weeping willow forms an occasional motif of decoration. The inscriptions are quaint and often amusing.

Among those whose names appear upon these stones were some of whom history preserves a record; such are Morgan McCaffrey, whose house stood near the creek east of the cemetery which used to bear his name; Patrick Rogers, second in command at Fort Frederick in 1759, who did surveying under Shem Drowne in 1737; Mrs. William Nickels, daughter-in-law of Alexander Nickels, Jr.; Robert Given, a son-in-law of Alexander Nickels, Sr., who owned lands and mills at Pemaquid Falls and became one of the wealthiest of the settlers; the two children of William McIntyre, a major in the Revolution; and Mrs. Thomas Fletcher, whose first husband was McIntyre's father, William McIntyre, Sr. The McIntyres and Fletchers lived on the east bank of Pemaquid River, on lands previously mentioned, where Col. Thomas Brackett later resided. Names of other settlers—Little, Boyd, McKown, Gibbs, Holden, Wales, and McGlethery—mark the old cemetery as a resting place of the Scotch-Irish.

The first settled clergyman in Bristol was the Rev. Alexander McLean, born in the Isle of Skye and graduated from the University of Aberdeen. He was a Presbyterian. Various chaplains of the fort, like the Rev. Robert Pike, the Rev. Mr. Rutherford, and the Rev. John Dennis, have already been mentioned. The Presbyterian form of worship was that introduced by the Scotch-Irish settlers, but when in 1796 the Rev. Mr. Riddell was ordained as a colleague of Mr. McLean, then an aged man, the church became Congregational. One of the first acts of the town after Bristol became incorporated was to vote to build three meeting-houses. Of these, two still exist in a good state of preservation. The meeting-house at Walpole is one of the best specimens of colonial architecture in Bristol.

Maine has been thus far somewhat neglected archaeologically, but when it receives the attention it deserves, as it will in time, there may be further research about Pemaquid, and this spot, which proved attractive to the early settlers, may yield up evidences of a greater antiquity than any yet attributed to it. On the shore of Pemaquid Pond was located one of the mysterious "Red Paint" cemeteries, thirty of which have thus far been found in Maine. This cemetery was destroyed twenty-eight years ago. The people of an ancient culture whose cemeteries and village sites have recently been discovered in a region stretching, roughly speaking, from the Kennebec to the Penobscot, are styled by archaeologists the "Red Paint People" because "the most conspicuous feature of their culture is the use of powdered hematite or red ocher in considerable quantity with each interment." It is believed that the red ocher with which these graves were besmeared, and by which the artifacts are sometimes found quite covered, came from the natural deposits at Mt. Katahdin. These Red Paint People were of a wholly different culture from that of the Indians whom the early settlers found in Maine, having different customs, weapons and implements. Prof. Moorehead gives an interesting and detailed account of the remains of these prehistoric people in his "Archaeology of Maine," published in 1922.

Prof. Moorehead searched in Pemaquid in 1923 for Norse remains. Acting on the supposition that one people will seize upon and occupy the gathering places of people of a previous age, he excavated in some of the Indian shell heaps of the region, on John's Island, on the west bank of the Pemaquid River, and in MacFarland's Cove. Old Capt. MacFarland, an aged boat-builder at the latter place, states that in his youth he unearthed from the shell heap of which one bank of this cove is formed, the bones of a man buried in a sitting posture. When the excavated bones were put together, Mr. MacFarland states, the skeleton proved to be that of a man nearly seven feet tall.

Prof. Moorehead's excavations in Pemaquid revealed for the most part only the typical Indian things, Indian implements, arrowheads of varying material and design, and Indian and English pottery. In an article published by the Society for the Preservation of American Antiquities, Prof. Moorehead de-

scribes a spear and a few things found in the region by him and by others which may perhaps be Norse.

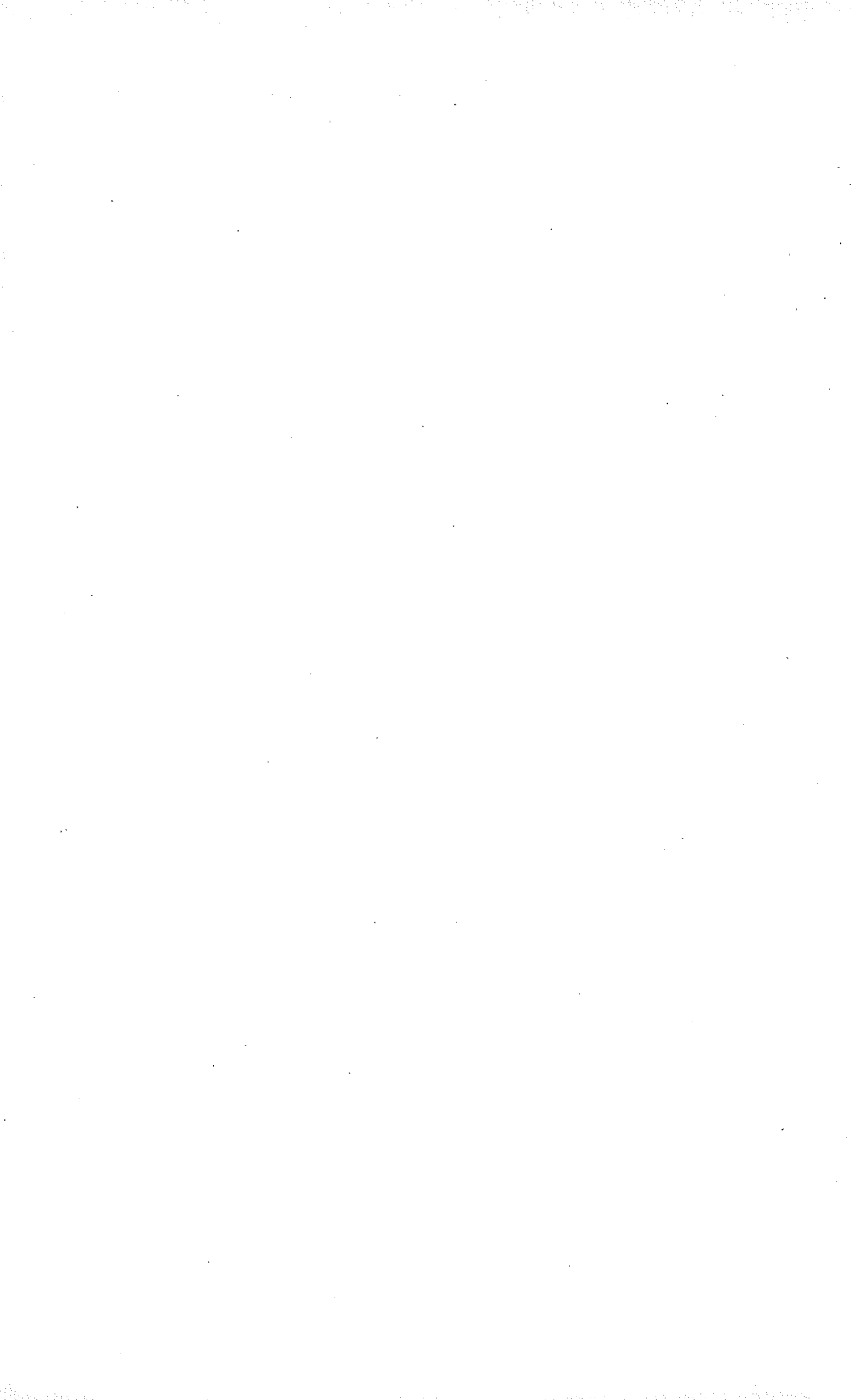
Prof. J. G. Kohl of Bremen, Germany, in an article on the Northmen says: "Among the Wawenock Indians of Maine near Pemaquid certain numerals have been handed down by tradition bearing a resemblance to the Icelandic, which may have been derived by them in their barter with the northern strangers." Pemaquid may yet reveal the grave of the lost Thorwald Ericson, and may prove to be even more deeply steeped in romance than it is known to be already. One likes to speculate.

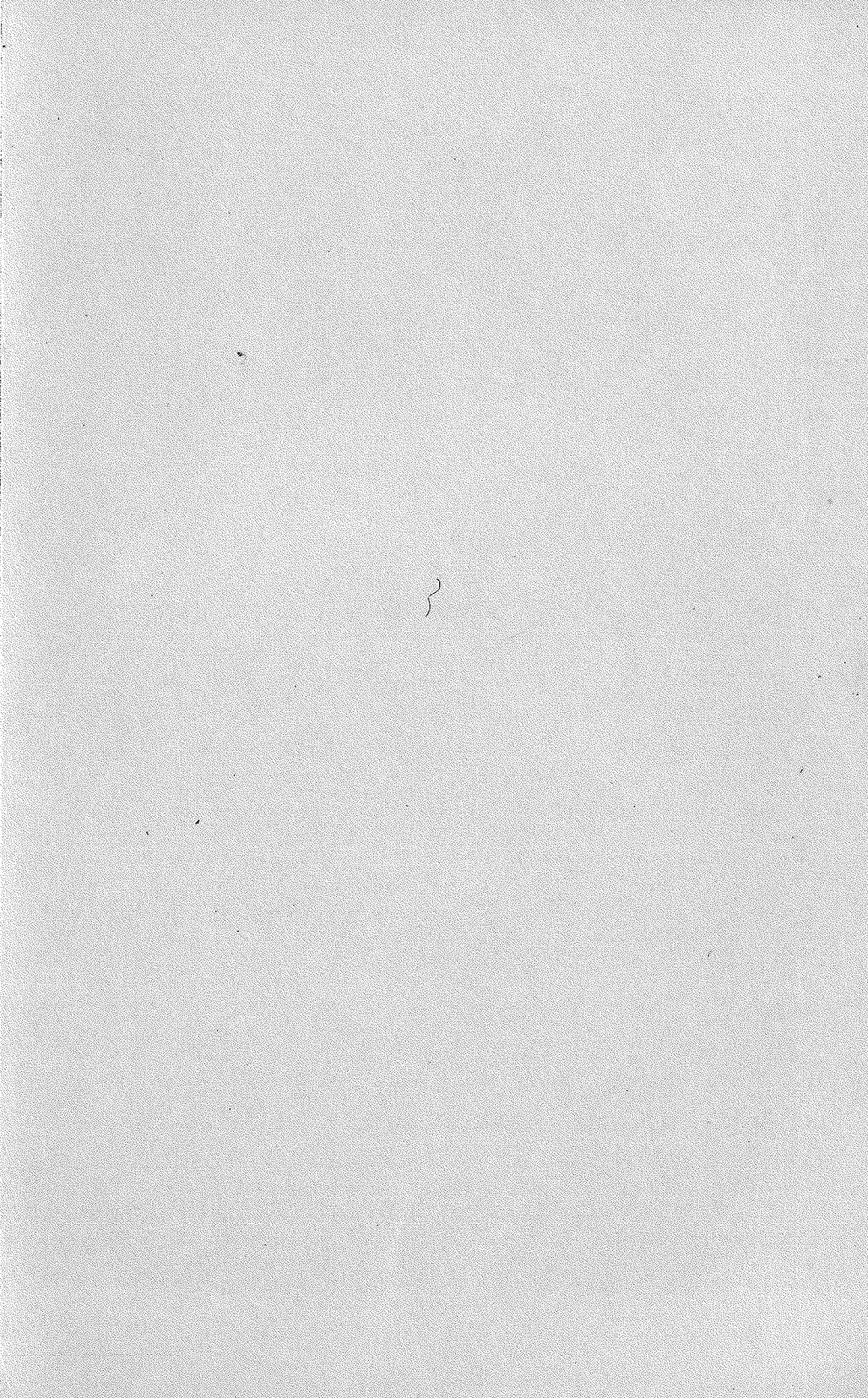
Where is there a more probable scene for a visit from the Northmen than Monhegan Island, that best of landmarks in the sea, and the rocky promontory of Pemaquid, with its safe haven for their high prowed ships, this region which so early welcomed the visits of those true sons of the Vikings, the seamen and explorers of western England? Strange to say, as one cruises along the shores of New England today, he will find no spot less transformed by modern occupation, or more primitive and redolent of "old forgotten things" than these same shores whence the astonished Wawenocks on a June day in 1605 beheld the approach of George Waymouth and his men.



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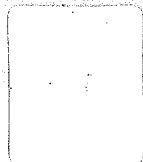
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