Life on the edge: Community and trade on the Anglo-American periphery, Pemaquid, Maine, 1610--1689

Neill De Paoli
University of New Hampshire, Durham

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Life on the edge: Community and trade on the Anglo-American periphery, Pemaquid, Maine, 1610--1689

Abstract
Seventeenth-century New England's northern frontier has been an important but poorly understood place of contact between a diverse array of English, French, and Indian actors who traded, socialized, and fought with one another over land, commercial and political alliances. The English fishing settlement of Pemaquid was a key player in this world. Pemaquid emerged as one of New England's earliest year-round settlements after its beginning as a migratory fishing station in the early 1610s. In those early years, Pemaquid benefited and paid for its strategic position on the northern edge of New England. It was situated in a region that was well-endowed with marine and terrestrial resources. As a consequence, the plantation's proprietors and inhabitants devoted considerable time and energy to trade with their Indian and French neighbors and coastal fishing. In the process, Pemaquid emerged as an important conduit of goods---furs, fish, and timber---for the rapidly emerging Massachusetts Bay. In turn, this English fishing plantation along with the other English outposts on Maine's coast and major waterways served as a protective buffer for Massachusetts Bay from the French and Indians.

Pemaquid's story is one that has importance and applicability that reaches far beyond that of 17th-century Maine. This fishing plantation and the lives of its inhabitants shed light on the whole experience of the English settlement of North America. One element of this study that strengthens and sets it apart from most community studies of 17th-century New England is the blend of history and archaeology. The experience of Pemaquid bears out Jack Greene's thesis of the atypicality of Puritan Massachusetts Bay. The order of the day was commercial profit and personal advancement as it was throughout much of Maine, New Hampshire, and western Massachusetts. This undertaking began with the seasonal fishing stations clustered along New England's coast in the 1610s and early 1620s and continued with many of the permanent settlements that followed. Religion played a secondary role for these plantations. The case of Pemaquid underscores Greene's challenge to scholars to redirect their study of early America. More attention needs to be focused on the frontier communities of early America. Only when 17th-century New England's periphery is more closely examined will the social and commercial development of the region as a whole be fully understood.

Keywords
Anthropology, Archaeology

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LIFE ON THE EDGE: COMMUNITY AND TRADE ON THE ANGLO-
AMERICAN PERIPHERY, PEMAQUID, MAINE, 1610 - 1689

BY

NEILL DE PAOLI
A. B., Hope College, 1973
M. A., Brown University, 1979

DISSERTATION

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the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

In

History

May, 2001
This dissertation has been examined and approved.

Dissertation Director, W. Jeffrey Bolster, Associate Professor of History

Charles E. Clark, Professor Emeritus of History

J. William Harris, Professor of History

Marc L. Schwarz, Associate Professor of History

Emerson W. Baker, Associate Professor of History, Salem State College

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Seventeenth-century New England's northern frontier has been an important but poorly understood place of contact between a diverse array of English, French, and Indian actors who traded, socialized, and fought with one another over land, commercial and political alliances. The English fishing settlement of Pemaquid was a key player in this world. Pemaquid emerged as one of New England's earliest year-round settlements after its beginning as a migratory fishing station in the early 1610s. In those early years, Pemaquid benefited and paid for its strategic position on the northern edge of New England. It was situated in a region that was well-endowed with marine and terrestrial resources. As a consequence, the plantation's proprietors and inhabitants devoted considerable time and energy to trade with their Indian and French neighbors and coastal fishing. In the process, Pemaquid emerged as an important conduit of goods—furs, fish, and timber—for the rapidly emerging Massachusetts Bay. In turn, this English fishing plantation along with the other English outposts on Maine's coast and major waterways served as a protective buffer for Massachusetts Bay from the French and Indians.

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America. One element of this study that strengthens and sets it apart from most community studies of 17th-century New England is the blend of history and archaeology. The experience of Pemaquid bears out Jack Greene's thesis of the atypicality of Puritan Massachusetts Bay. The order of the day was commercial profit and personal advancement as it was throughout much of Maine, New Hampshire, and western Massachusetts. This undertaking began with the seasonal fishing stations clustered along New England's coast in the 1610s and early 1620s and continued with many of the permanent settlements that followed. Religion played a secondary role for these plantations. The case of Pemaquid underscores Greene's challenge to scholars to redirect their study of early America. More attention needs to be focused on the frontier communities of early America. Only when 17th-century New England's periphery is more closely examined will the social and commercial development of the region as a whole be fully understood.
INTRODUCTION

The mid-coast Maine town of Bristol is a study in contrasts. What most first time visitors see is a small, quaint Maine coastal community. The area abounds with sights and sounds that reinforce this image. The most popular is the picturesque early 19th-century lighthouse and keeper's house perched on the rocky and jagged shore of Pemaquid Point. Scores of tourists, artists, and photographers visit the site every year. From there, the sightseer can drive three miles northwest to the village of Pemaquid Beach. The community is a blend of modest but well maintained single and two-story clapboard summer cottages and year-round homes clustered along the eastern bank and mouth of the Pemaquid River. Two dozen or more sail and power-pleasure craft ride at anchor in the outer and inner harbors of the river. Looking a half-mile upriver one can see a cluster of wooden buildings, a large wharf, and a number of wooden and fiberglass lobster boats tied up to the wharf or at anchor in the river. This operation is the home of the Pemaquid Coop. Here, local lobstermen sell their catches, gas up and refurbish their boats, and exchange news and pleasantries. The Coop also attracts a modest but steady flow of tourists ready to buy a reasonably priced, no-frills meal of lobster, steamers, or mussels. A five-minute drive from Pemaquid Beach takes the visitor to the fishing village of New Harbor. Several dozen homes, fishing shacks, and wharves ring the shores of the narrow, rocky half mile long harbor. The harbor is filled with several steel hulled sixty-five to eighty foot trawlers that dwarf a mix of lobster boats, sail boats, and dinghies.
Closer examination of Bristol reveals traces of a once thriving 17th-century English fishing and trading plantation. Tucked in behind the year-round residences and summer homes of Pemaquid Beach is the Colonial Pemaquid Historic Site. This nineteen-acre parcel of State-owned land was the focal point of 17th-century Pemaquid. Visitors follow a four-hundred-yard-long dirt access road from the Site's entrance to a dirt parking lot overlooking the Colonial Pemaquid Museum and the lower reaches of the Pemaquid River. Nine stone-lined cellar holes and footings, the remains of 17th-century homes, store houses, a tavern, trading post, and blacksmith shop, are scattered about the grassy plot that slopes down from the road to the river's rocky and sandy shore. Two hundred yards southeast of the museum parking lot is a cemetery ringed by a stone wall and over a dozen craggy maple and oak trees. The rectangular lot is filled with several rows of slate and marble grave stones bearing the epitaphs of 18th-, 19th-, and 20th-century Pemaquidians. Additional graves are marked by depressions and countless unadorned, misshapen stone stubs barely protruding above the yard's grassy cover. Several of these weather beaten stones are probably vestiges of the early plantation's community burial ground.

This settlement was once one of the northeasternmost points of British America. Yet, although it was situated on New England's northern frontier, Pemaquid was far from isolated from the emerging global economy. Pemaquid's inhabitants were drawn into a complex, far reaching, and, at times, volatile credit and commerce-based economy. The plantation's absentee proprietors, local merchants, fishermen, and planters used a blend of local, regional, and overseas contacts to exchange fish, peltry, ships masts, barrel staves, livestock, crops, and land for a variety of domestic and
overseas products and services. My examination will include Pemaquid's early ties with the West of England, most notably Bristol, the rapid ascendance of Massachusetts Bay as a dominant supplier, and New York's entrance as a competing supplier in the 1680s. Research reveals a commercial network that, while not static, remained largely intact from Pemaquid's inception in 1628 to its demise in 1689. Longterm domestic contacts included settlements scattered along the coasts of French Acadia, Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts Bay. It also delves into the complex mix of geographic, socio-economic, and political factors that drove the makeup and direction of the fishing plantation's trade. Attention is focused on Pemaquid's location on New England's northern frontier, the settlement's changing proprietorship, the daily needs and wants of the plantation's inhabitants, England's and France's transatlantic power struggle, and domestic and international market fluctuations.

The value of this study goes well beyond illuminating the socio-economic history of a single early Maine community. My examination also provides insight into provincial Maine's commercial relationship with Massachusetts Bay. It becomes clear that this relationship was more than the one-way process that scholars often portray. There is little question that Maine grew increasingly reliant on Boston, Charlestown, and Salem for domestic and imported consumables and services as the century progressed. But equal attention must be given to Massachusetts Bay's reliance on provincial Maine. Bay merchants invested increasing amounts of time and resources in trade to the "Eastward" as the seventeenth century wore on. To them, Maine was a major source of fish, timber, furs, and land. With these natural resources, Bay
merchants generated capital and purchased raw materials and finished products from clients scattered along the eastern seaboard, the Caribbean, England, Europe, and Africa. Thus, the trade was driven by more than the economic limitations of New England's northern frontier. These transactions were part of a two-way process stemming from the mutual needs of Maine and Massachusetts Bay.

In addition, by delving into the plantation's trade and political relations with Acadia, the Pemaquid study advances our understanding of the structure, dynamics, and scope of Maine's social and economic ties with its French neighbor. Until recently, few scholars had explored this relationship. These results buttress the growing realization among historians and archaeologists that commercial exchanges between provincial Maine and Acadia were extensive and persisted throughout the 17th-century, despite growing tensions between France and England.

Colonial historians studying England's 17th-century transatlantic trade have too often been provincial in their focus, despite claims to the contrary. North American scholars have tended to limit their research to the trade networks that emerged on the eastern seaboard and in the Caribbean. British historians have focused mainly on the English side of the Atlantic. In both cases, scholars have largely failed to fully scrutinize the overseas networks and markets to which England and her American colonies were tied. Undoubtedly, a good part of this shortcoming can be attributed to the difficulty American and English researchers face in procuring documents that would make such a comprehensive study possible. This drawback has been compounded by the limited amount of communication between American, English, and European scholars.
However, a growing number of investigators have made concerted efforts in the last two decades to unravel the complex trade network that connected 17th-century England and her American colonies to the emerging global economy. The work of Fernand Braudel, David Sacks, and John McCusker and Russell Menard exemplifies this perceptual shift. Of these, Fernand Braudel has had the greatest impact. In his expansive study of the emergence of capitalism, Braudel explored the "wheels of commerce" that emerged in 16th-, 17th-, and 18th-century England and Europe. He presented a complex, interconnected commercial mechanism, moving from local markets and fairs to international trade centers such as London and Paris. In the process, Braudel traces the actions and relationships of the various actors, including the manufacturers, shippers, bankers, and consumers.¹

David Sacks takes a similar approach in his study of Bristol, England. Sacks examines the city's development from medieval trading center to Atlantic entrepot, "focusing on the beginnings of impersonal exchange in the modern market economy."² He argues that the local community, rich and poor, was increasingly drawn into an emerging global economy. Growing numbers of Bristolians participated in the city's expanding overseas commerce. What emerged were the roots of "a modern form of


capitalism focused on credit and commerce."³ As result, cities such as Bristol were not "self-contained social organisms but places open to the wider world of national and even international affairs."⁴ Similarly, John J. McCusker and Russell Menard state that the "British colonies grew up within an emerging Atlantic economy as Europeans burst their own boundaries and brought together once isolated regions and peoples to form a New World." Consequently, they argue, any study of the economic development of colonial America must take into account the developments of the larger world, since they "formed the arena within which colonists lived, constantly creating, restricting, and channeling their opportunities."⁵

The study of 17th-century northern New England's integration into the Atlantic trade has made only modest progress since the 1955 publication of Bernard Bailyn's classic The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century. Bailyn's study remains the most detailed chronicle of 17th-century New England and the Atlantic trade. He systematically reconstructs the emerging commercial network that connected the region to the distant markets of the Caribbean, British Isles, Europe, and Africa. However, Bailyn focuses on the commercial and social world of the powerful Massachusetts Bay merchants. The northern frontier's commercial community receives little attention.⁶ William Roberts' history of New England's 17th-

³ Sacks, The Widening Gate, 12.
⁴ ibid., xxi.
The century fur trade (1958) was the first to reconstruct the complex international trade network that tied the region's fur trade to New Netherlands, Acadia, England, and Europe. Roberts also made the first serious, albeit flawed, effort to explore the role of the New England Indians in the trade and its impact on their traditional ways. Charles Clark provided the earliest, detailed social history of the 17th-century Eastern frontier. He devoted considerable attention to the fishing and timber industries, pointing out their critical role in trade with Massachusetts Bay, the Caribbean, England, and Europe.8

During the last decade and half, there has been an upsurge in scholarly interest in 17th-century Maine society and economy. John Reid's study of Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland -- territory presently comprising parts of Maine, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia -- focuses attention on the commercial and political interaction among the English, French, and Indians. In addition, Reid recognizes Pemaquid's importance in this fur-trading nexus. Emerson Baker's ethnohistorical study of the demise of peaceful Anglo-Indian relations in Maine includes an extensive survey of the structure and the dynamics of the fur trade, which he considers an important factor in the

(Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982). George Dow's article "Shipping and Trade in Early New England (1931)" is an excellent predecessor of Bailyn's regional study. However, his survey also virtually ignores 17th-century Maine and New Hampshire's domestic and overseas trade.


outbreak of warfare in 1675. Edwin Churchill's dissertation on Falmouth is the first community-level socio-economic study of 17th-century Maine. Churchill concentrates on isolating the economic, social, and political factors that led to Falmouth's demise. His study includes a glimpse of early Maine's domestic and overseas trading patterns.

Historical archaeologists such as Emerson Baker, Robert Bradley, Leon Cranmer, Neill De Paoli, and the late Helen Camp have documented details about settlement patterns, building traditions, foodways, industry, and the Indian trade of New England's northern frontier. Their research indicates that even the most distant

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10 Edwin Churchill, "Too Great the Challenge: The Birth and Death of Falmouth, Maine, 1624–1676," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maine, 1979. Unfortunately, scholars have not followed the lead of Churchill. The relative absence of such studies of early Maine continues to stem largely from the belief that the data does not exist or is too difficult to obtain despite evidence to the contrary. John Martin's recent study of 17th-century New England land speculation and town founding exemplifies this persistent attitude. He makes a telling statement in his appendix when discussing his sampling strategy. Martin states that his focus on southern New England was based on his belief that the records of early Maine and New Hampshire towns "are mostly lost." Thus, he concludes "it is difficult to reconstruct the development of town land systems in those two colonies." There is no question that 17th-century northern New England lacks the wealth of documentation of its southerly counterpart. However, I have found in my research that a considerable body of early socio-economic material does exist for both New Hampshire and Maine. The New Hampshire's State Archives contains an extensive collection of 17th-century deeds. Additional information on settlement patterns and land use can be derived from the Archives' large body of probate records along with the collections of the Massachusetts State Archives. Research will yield similar results for Maine, even the more sparsely populated and poorly documented coastal settlements north of Falmouth. John Frederick Martin, Profits in the Wilderness. Entrepreneurship and the Founding of New England Towns in the Seventeenth Century, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 320.
frontier outposts and settlements had access to many of the same imported
necessities and luxuries enjoyed by the residents of Massachusetts Bay, thanks to
well developed domestic and overseas trade networks. Archaeologists have found an
extensive array of fishing, farming, and wood-cutting and -working equipment,
building hardware, and kitchen and dining equipage from New England, England,
Spain, Portugal, Germany, and Italy. A smaller collection of refined items such as
wine glasses, metal wax seals, shoe and pants buckles, riding spurs, and horse harness
escutcheons have altered the longheld image of the region's isolation and lack of
cultural sophistication. However, archaeological investigation has also provided
evidence of periodic trade shortages. Archaeologists working on the 17th-century
English trading outposts and settlements of Cushnoc (Augusta), Nehumkeag
(Phippsburg), Nequasset (Woolwich), and Pemaquid have found ship's ballast
recycled as building material, gun flints, and fire starters. They have also discovered
nails reworked as hinges, and sheet iron and brass scrap re-fashioned into Indian trade
goods, washers, and kettle patches.11

11 Emerson Baker, The Clarke & Lake Company: The Historical Archaeology of a
Seventeenth Century Maine Settlement. Occasional Publications in Maine
Archaeology, Number Four (Augusta: Maine Historic Preservation Commission,
1985); Helen B. Camp, Archaeological Excavations at Pemaquid, Maine 1965-1974
(Augusta: Maine State Museum, 1975); Leon Cranmer, Cushnoc: The History and
Archaeology of Plymouth Colony Traders on the Kennebec. Occasional Publications
in Maine Archaeology, Number Seven (Augusta: Maine Historic Preservation
Commission, 1990); Neill De Paoli, "Beaver, Blankets, Liquor, and Politics:
Pemaquid's Fur Trade, 1614-1760" Maine Historical Society Quarterly 33 (Winter-
Trade: A Case Study of Pemaquid, Maine, 1628-1689." Paper presented at the annual
meeting of the Council for Northeast Historical Archaeology, Louisbourg, Nova
Despite these advances, neither historians nor historical archaeologists have undertaken a comprehensive examination and reconstruction of the domestic and overseas trade network that connected 17th-century Maine to the nascent global market. Localized studies, such as those noted previously, provide an incomplete picture of the structure and dynamics of this complex commercial mechanism. Typically, researchers have focused their attention on the better-known and documented coastal and international trade contacts. In the case of Maine's coastal trade, historians and historical archaeologists have rarely looked beyond New England. Only recently have scholars such as Alaric Faulkner and Brooke Manross made serious efforts to move beyond George Rawlyk's earlier study of provincial Maine's Anglo-Acadian trade. There has yet to be a similar examination of 17th-century Maine's commercial ties with more distant locales like New York (e.g., Albany, Manhattan), the Chesapeake, and the Caribbean.

Maine's carrying trade with overseas contacts is even more poorly understood. Again, community or area studies have focused on England's major commercial centers of London and Bristol. Little effort has been devoted to fully explore the complex process that moved English, European, African, and Oriental goods to major as well as secondary English ports and on to northern New England or directly to the New World. Alison Grant's North Devon Pottery: The Seventeenth Century (1983) is one

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of the handful of recent scholarly examinations of the 17th-century English Atlantic trade that looks at both sides of the Atlantic through a blend of historical and archaeological material. While Grant focuses most of her study on North Devon's pottery industry and domestic distribution, she does devote one chapter to the "Transatlantic Market." This English historian explores the shipment of North Devon pottery from southwestern England to 17th-century English settlements scattered along the eastern seaboard of North America and the Caribbean, particularly New England, the Chesapeake, and Jamaica. In the process, she illustrates the importance of secondary English ports such as Barnstaple, Bideford, and Plymouth in linking these early Anglo-American settlements to the English and European markets.13 John McCusker's and Russell Menard's broader-based study of the development of British North America's regional economies includes an overview of early New England's commercial development. In general, the authors base their portrait of New England's early economy solely on Massachusetts.14

My study of 17th-century Pemaquid's integration into the Atlantic trade draws on the conceptual model of trade presented by Braudel, Sacks, McCusker, and Menard. This study will demonstrate that the emergent commercial networks they speak of were not restricted to international entrepots such as Bristol, London, and Paris or domestic regional trade centers such as Boston. The economies of 17th-century Maine settlements such as Pemaquid were also drawn into this economic

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14 McCusker and Menard, The Economy of British North America.
system. Northern New England's inclusion in the Atlantic trade increasingly tied the operation, direction, and health of its economy to economic and political events and trends occurring in distant locales such as Boston, Manhattan, Bristol, London, Seville, and Amsterdam. The research of David Sacks provides an excellent guide for the scrutiny of the trading practices of Pemaquid's merchants, particularly during the early Bristol proprietorship. To what degree did the practices change as the century wore on and direct ties with England loosened? Research indicates that early Pemaquidians borrowed heavily from the Old World. Carryovers included vessel chartering, trade factors, and the domination of the fishing plantation's economy by a handful of individuals connected through intermarriage. Ian Steele's study of transatlantic communication between England and her New World colonies during the late-17th and first half of the 18th centuries dispels the popular image of the Atlantic Ocean as a barrier between the mother country and her American colonies. Steele argues that the Atlantic was a critical marine highway connecting the two. In the process, he provides insight into the preferred transatlantic routes, their speed, regularity, and seasonality. In addition, Steele examines the impact environmental factors such as ocean and wind currents had on the emergence of these shipping travel patterns.15

This study also examines the impact that English and European market fluctuations in the prices of commodities imported or sold by the fishing plantation had on the local economy. The same is done with domestic and overseas conflicts

such as the Anglo-Spanish wars (late 1620s, 1650s), English Civil Wars (1642-1649), Anglo-Dutch trade wars (1650s, 1660s), King Philip's War (1675-1678), King William's War (1688-1697), and the Glorious Revolution (1689). Official and private correspondence indicate Pemaquid's access to domestic markets suffered during King William's War and the Glorious Revolution. One 1688 account noted that "ye ffrench war has Stopt ye beaver Trade." A year later, the commanding officer of Pemaquid's Fort Charles wrote of frequent and serious shortages of provisions and supplies. On one occasion, Lieutenant James Weems noted that the English trading ships that previously put in at Pemaquid now sail "by to Supploy the French and Indeans."

Of equal concern is the impact of Pemaquid's frontier location on the settlement's access to the domestic and overseas markets. This study takes advantage of the recent renewed interest among scholars in the American frontier. The work of historians such as Howard Lamar, Leonard Thompson, Richard Melvoin, and Stephen Innes provides a broader perspective with which to examine the impact that Pemaquid's frontier location had on its social and economic development.


Pemaquid's distance from Manhattan and Albany was enough of an issue during the 1680s that the English crown approved transfer of control of the settlement from New York to the Dominion of New England in 1686. Two features of Pemaquid's economy may well be a reflection of the plantation's inability to fully overcome its geographic isolation. The first is the settlement's northern coastal trade network. By 1640, Pemaquid had commercial contacts with English and Acadian settlements scattered from Strawberry Banke (Portsmouth) to Port Royal, Nova Scotia. These remained in place throughout the remainder of the century. In the chapters that follow, the structure and purpose of Pemaquid's frontier network is scrutinized to determine to what degree it was a response to inadequate supplies from domestic and English commercial centers such as Boston, Bristol, and London. There is mounting archaeological evidence that Pemaquidians recycled a variety of goods for reuse, and established light industrial operations, most notably blacksmith shops. These local efforts to overcome an inadequate supply system were a fundamental part of the early history of Pemaquid.

Chapters One through Four look at Pemaquid as a frontier community. What becomes clear from the start is that this label, as applied to Pemaquid, was not a rigid, one-dimensional phenomena. It is just as applicable to the settlement’s relationship with their French Acadian neighbors as the Indians of Maine. Chapter One delves into the first forty years of Pemaquid’s existence, from its origins as a fishing station (c.1610) to its evolution into a year-round fishing and trading plantation. What emerges was a picture of a settlement that rapidly distinguished itself from its more

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southerly counterparts of Massachusetts Bay and Plimoth. As part of a complex of fishing stations, Pemaquid established itself as England’s earliest foothold in New England. In the process, the fishermen of Monhegan, Damariscove, and the Pemaquid mainland and their English merchant underwriters provide the impetus for serious colonization of the region. Pemaquid’s elevation to the status of year-round fishing plantation in the late 1620s further reinforced its divergent path. Under the direction of its Bristol-based proprietors and local manager, the fishing plantation maintained its status as a small privately owned proprietary colony into the middle of the 17th-century. Political and religious institutions were weak and based primarily in the hands of the plantation’s proprietors and manager. Society was dominated by a handful of the elite. The others worked as servants of the proprietors, whether as fishermen, farmers, craftsmen, or laborers, the focus was on commercial profit. This arrangement stood in marked contrast to the settlements of Massachusetts Bay and Plimoth. Even the settlements of southern Maine had abandoned the proprietary route by the 1640s in favor of more broad-based, participatory, balanced political and social systems. During these years, Pemaquid’s trajectory was more like those of the commercially driven and socially unstable colonies of Tidewater Virginia and Maryland and the fishing settlements of Newfoundland.

Chapter Two chronicles Pemaquid’s entry into the second half of the 17th-century. During this period, the settlement moved from that of a overseas possession of England-based proprietors to one owned and controlled first by Massachusetts Bay merchants then by provincial owners: Massachusetts Bay, New York, and the
Dominion of New England. With these changes came some signs of promise. The late 1660s and early 1670s ushered in the first evidence of broad-based participatory government. The socio-economic circumstances for a growing number of Pemaquidians improved. A small but increasing number of residents purchased land. Pemaquid’s gender imbalance continued to improve as more married couples and children called New England’s northern frontier home. However, that all came to a dramatic halt with the Wabanaki attack and destruction of the fishing plantation in 1676. The settlement that re-emerged in the late 1670s and 1680s never regained the modest momentum of 1650 - 1676. Jamestown was hampered by a combination of internal and external factors: weak social fabric and community loyalty, limited social diversity, a poorly developed transportation system, and manipulative provincial officials and military officers. Ultimately, these factors, combined with deteriorating Anglo-Indian and Anglo-French relations, spelled the end of Pemaquid/Jamestown as a viable English settlement.

In Chapter Three, I scrutinize the zone of cultural overlap between Pemaquid and the region's indigenous peoples. This overlap was less well defined than that between Maine and French Acadia. The Native Americans inhabiting 17th-century Maine were situated in between and north of many of the settlements of English-occupied Maine, without the relatively well established bound separating the English and Acadians of the region. Defining the physical break between the English and Indian worlds was further complicated by the fact that the Native Americans maintained seasonal rounds. As a result, the territory they occupied fluctuated between Maine's coast and interior, depending on the time of the year. Seventeenth-
century Pemaquid's location in this overlap zone, as in the case of the settlement's proximity to Acadia, played an important role in the orientation of her economy and long term stability. Anglo-Indian trade was a major facet of the English plantation's economy. Furthermore, deteriorating Anglo-Indian relations twice led to the settlement's destruction during the 17th century and ultimately her demise as one of northern New England's fishing and trading centers.

Chapter Four explores Pemaquid as a border settlement between the cultural worlds of the English and French New World colonial peoples. Once again, the English plantation remained in this situation throughout the 17th-century. Pemaquid was situated a short distance from French Acadia, a cultural world distinguished from the English settlement by language, religion, and social and political systems. As a result, many Pemaquidians harbored an inherent distrust of their eastern neighbors. At the same time, a number of Pemaquid's inhabitants and their Acadian neighbors ignored these differences and established strong economic and, to a lesser degree, social ties with each other. In addition, Pemaquid was also part of a buffer zone that separated England and France's North American empires. Regionally, provincial Maine and New Hampshire were the northern front line of defense for New England's commercial and political centers, clustered along Massachusetts Bay. English settlements such as Pemaquid protected the Bay from military forays by the Maine- and Canadian-based French. These geographic realities affected the layout and makeup of Pemaquid. The most visible feature of the plantation's defensive posture was a fortification maintained by the province of New York and the Dominion of New England at the mouth of the Pemaquid River from 1677 until 1689. Pemaquid's
location on the borders of the English and French empires also led, in part, to the fishing and trading plantation's demise, as the territorial ambitions of the English and French mother countries intensified in the latter half of the 17th-century.

In Chapter Five, I scrutinize the complex domestic and transatlantic trade network that moved goods and resources to and from Pemaquid. Much of the system that emerged was in place by the early 1640s and remained so until the plantation's 1689 destruction.

One element of this study that sets it apart from most community studies of 17th-century New England is the blend of history and archaeology. Historical archaeology, while a young discipline, has contributed a good deal to our understanding of the early European colonization of North America. All one has to do is look at the role that historical archaeology has played in reconstructing the worlds of 17th-century English settlements such as Jamestown and Martin's Hundred, Virginia and St. Mary's City, Maryland. For over the last two decades historians, historical archaeologists, biologists, and zoologists have collaborated in contracting a portrait far more detailed and complex than what had previously existed. Archaeologists exploring the Tidewater region have uncovered evidence of widespread use of construction techniques that originated in England. Many of the inhabitants of 17th-century Tidewater Virginia and Maryland constructed earthfast dwellings and outbuildings. The results alerted their New England colleagues to the possibility that they might well encounter similar construction techniques on the sites of 17th-century English settlements. Just as exciting has been the recent discovery of the remains of Jamestown's original fortification and the enclosed settlement. Scholars had long
thought the James River had washed them away. William Kelso and his research team have been able to delineate the makeup and the bounds of the triangular-shaped palisaded fortification. In addition, he has gained further insight into the health of Jamestown residents, burial practices, the Indian trade, and local industry. The fieldwork of others such as Ivor Noel Hume and James Deetz has provided considerable insight into the lives of the inhabitants of Jamestown's sister settlements of Martin's Hundred and Flowerdew Hundred. The story that emerged from Martin's Hundred was especially dramatic as historical archaeologists uncovered the charred remains of a fortified hamlet that was destroyed during the 1622 Indian attack on Jamestown and the outlying plantations. Archaeologists investigating the site of Flowerdew Hundred have unearthed further evidence of the ubiquitous earthfast structure, both as dwellings and storehouses, along with a unique and ornate two-story dwelling set off by a red tile roof and a massive brick chimney. The presence of yet another palisade surrounding a small hamlet testifies once again to the security concerns of the English inhabitants of early Virginia.

Historical archaeologists have made similar but somewhat less dramatic finds in Maine. Much of what we know about the pioneering English and French settlements, trading posts, and fishing stations and their inhabitants such as Cushnoc, Arrowsic, Pentagoet, Agamenticus, has been gleaned from historic documents and the trowels and shovels of historical archaeologists in the last two and a half decades. The

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most spectacular example was the recent discovery of the site of the short lived Popham colony on the grounds of present-day Fort Baldwin State Park (Bath). This discovery has been especially invaluable to scholars because so little is known about the earliest English attempt to establish a permanent colony in New England. Historians and archaeologists had long given up hope that much, if anything, remained of the English settlement perched at the mouth of the Kennebec River. Most had believed that a contemporary Spanish map of Popham colony was a fanciful and exaggerated rendering of the 1607-8 settlement. Instead, excavations have shown that the map was amazingly accurate in its depiction of the layout and appearance of the English colony. To date, archaeologists have uncovered the ruins of one dwelling, a large store house, household debris, clothing, and tools left by Popham’s English inhabitants.\textsuperscript{21}

Pemaquid was an excellent candidate for such an undertaking. Time had taken its toll on the written records documenting the English fishing stations at Monhegan and Damariscove and their year round successor on the mainland. A large portion of the documents were destroyed during the 1676 and 1689 Indian attacks of Pemaquid. Additional documents were lost when the Massachusetts State House and New York State Archives burnt in 1748 and 1911, respectively. What survived was a varied but fragmented array of 17th- and 18th-century Massachusetts court records, deeds, inventories, business transactions, personal and official correspondence, and eyewitness accounts that provided brief glimpses of the daily lives of the civilian and
military occupants of early Pemaquid. However, the archaeological investigations of
the last three and a half decades have illuminated facets of the community that either
were under reported or not documented at all in the historical records. In other cases,
the tale of the spade has revealed a picture noticeably different than what existed in
the historic record.

Where historical archaeology has made its most significant contribution in our
understanding of 17th-century Pemaquid was in reconstructing the physical layout
and makeup of the settlement. Historical archaeologists have uncovered a large portion
of Pemaquid’s primary village at Pemaquid Beach. The picture that emerged was
noticeably different and more complex than that described by 17th-century
contemporaries and often repeated by later scholars. Historic and archaeological
evidence indicated that the plantation, while lightly populated throughout its early
history, consisted of several small, nucleated villages and hamlets separated by
anywhere from one to nearly ten miles. The discovery of the fortified hamlet
northwest of Pemaquid’s main village testified to the ever present threat of attack on
New England’s northern frontier. Throughout most of the 17th-century, Pemaquid’s
security was threatened by a host of outside forces, including English and French
pirates and outlaws, French traders, and Indian war parties. At the same time, the
several well constructed and equipped dwellings in the “town” and upriver belied the
popular image of a settlement bereft of the trappings of the more “civilized” and
stable southern New England. The ruins of two 17th-century blacksmith shops

Maine Historic Preservation Commission, Augusta; Jeffrey P. Brain. River in Maine,”
testified to a surprising degree of technological sophistication and industrial self-sufficiency on the northern frontier. The shops also provided another example of New England's disregard for English crown policy prohibiting colonial industrial enterprises. The study of the vast array of household items, building hardware, tools, and weaponry have improved our understanding of the complex network of commercial contacts that linked Pemaquid to the rest of New England, New York, French Acadia, England, Europe, and Africa.

Pemaquid entered the 17th-century with considerable promise, first as a complex of West Country fishing stations then as a pioneering English fishing and trading plantation. However, Pemaquid was never able to fully take advantage of its wealth of marine and terrestrial resources and move beyond the status of an important outpost on New England’s northern frontier. This study provides a detailed look at the developmental trajectory of an English settlement in New England that differed from much of what took place in the Puritan world of eastern Massachusetts. Pemaquid exhibited a number of qualities that were more similar, particularly during its earlier years, to a varied array of settlements based in Newfoundland, western Massachusetts, Virginia, and Maryland. What this study illuminates is the need to look more closely at New England’s northern frontier. Only when that is done will the relationship between southern and northern New England during the 17th-century be fully understood. In turn, Pemaquid’s experience adds further credence to the argument that Puritan Massachusetts Bay was more of an anomaly than the standard for those settlements that emerged not only in early New England but the whole of British North America.
CHAPTER ONE

A TIME OF PROMISE: THE RISE OF PEMAQUID

In 1665, the royal commissioners filed a report to the English crown describing the state and appearance of English-occupied Maine and its inhabitants. In their description of the settlements of Kennebec, Sheepscot, and Pemaquid, the commissioners noted that the plantations consisted of no more than “thirty homes” and “those very mean ones too & spread over eight miles of ground at least.” The commissioners’ description of the region’s inhabitants was even less flattering.

These people for the most are fishermen, and never had any Government amongst them, most of them are such as fled hither from other places to avoid Justice; Some here are of opinion, That as many men share in a woman as they do in a Boat, And some have done so.”

Yet within a few years, New England observer and historian William Hubbard provided a striking contrast to the commissioners report. In his account (c.1667), Hubbard emphasized the plantation’s natural attributes. He presented a frontier community endowed with features conducive for coastal and overseas trade, fishing, and farming.

Pemaquid is a very commodious haven for ships, and hath been found

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very advantageous to such as used to come upon these coasts to make fishing voyages.....There have been for a long time seven or eight considerable dwellings about Pemmacaud which are well accommodated with pasture land about the haven for feeding cattle, and some fields also for tillage; all the land improvable for such uses.....

So, what exactly was the settlement of Pemaquid? The next two chapters explore the life of a plantation that emerged during the 17th century, beginning as a seasonal fishing station in about 1610 and ending as a year-round settlement in the late 1680s. The story is full of contrasts and contradictions. Exploring them will help determine what made this frontier settlement and the others between the Kennebec and Muscongus Rivers so different from the rest of New England, particularly Massachusetts Bay. On the one hand, Pemaquid’s history stood, in a number of ways, in stark contrast from that of most of its Bay counterparts. Pemaquid began as a seasonal fishing station, possibly as early as the end of the first decade of the 17th century. Despite the establishment of a year-round settlement by the late-1620s, the plantation remained in the hands of absentee English proprietors until the mid-17th century. Community oversight was handled by a manager and several assistants selected by the proprietors and their manager. Organized and well structured local government did not appear until the late 1670s. Even then, much of it was closely monitored by distant provincial officials and their local agents. Pemaquid inhabitants had a limited role in local government. Furthermore, the English settlement had a

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2 William Hubbard, A Narrative of the Indian Wars in New England from the First Planting Thereof in the Year 1607, to the Year 1677 (Brattleborough, Vermont: William Fassenden, 1814), 246-247.

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highly visible military garrison during the late 1670s and 1680s. The garrison, particularly its officers, played a major role in local and regional politics, often to the detriment of the community. Despite an early and promising start as one of northern New England’s leading fishing and trading plantations, Pemaquid never vaulted to the status of New England’s next tier of settlements, such as Portsmouth, Salem, Marblehead, and Charlestown. Pemaquid failed to achieve the economic, social, and political stability that characterized New England’s more southerly communities during the 17th and 18th centuries.

Even so, Pemaquid displayed a number of characteristics that ran contrary to the image of the unstable, godless, coarse, and loosely governed community presented by the royal commissioners in 1665. The fishing plantation, despite its untimely demise in 1676 and 1689, experienced five decades of relative peace and tranquility before the first Wabanaki attack. While Pemaquid’s origins and raison d’etre were not closely rooted in Anglicanism or Puritanism, for a number of local inhabitants Christianity was a part of their daily routine. Furthermore, residents of this frontier community had access to many of the same material things enjoyed by their counterparts living in the more affluent and “civilized” Massachusetts Bay. Lastly, Pemaquid was not bereft of formal, structured government, as evidenced by its appearance during much of the 1670s and 1680s.

**Seasonal Fishing Station (1610 - 1625)**

The roots of the English plantation of Pemaquid predate the year-round settlement by a decade and a half. The Pemaquid peninsula and its offshore islands

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were part of a region that caught the eye of European and English explorers in the early 17th century. European explorers had sailed through Maine coastal waters as far back as 1524. However, the early 1600s saw a flurry of exploratory expeditions, many of them English. By then, the visitors had taken particular interest in the region’s commercial potential. Men such as Bartholomew Gosnold, Martin Pring, George Weymouth, and John Smith returned to England with news of a land well endowed with a variety of valuable natural resources, particularly fish and timber lands, an Indian population interested in trade, and a climate and resource base capable of supporting year-round settlement. The reports provided an especially favorable picture of New England’s potential as an important commercial fishery. John Smith, Bartholomew Gosnold, and others pointed out that not only did New England waters contain fish stocks that were comparable to those of Newfoundland but also the region had a milder climate that was conducive to a more efficient and productive fishing operation. John Smith actually spent nearly six months fishing and trading in and around Monhegan. Smith and his crew of forty-five men used the island as their home base. John Smith claimed that his crew caught 47,000 fish in four months in the waters surrounding the island. Smith and several others ranged the coast, trading with Indians. Their take was 1100 beaver, 100 otter, and a similar number of martin skins.

The Englishman also encountered a ship of Sir Frances Popham’s “against us in the Main (mainland),” a possible reference to New Harbor and the Pemaquid peninsula. The ship had “many yeares used only that porte.” If true, this reference is the earliest made to an English presence on the Pemaquid peninsula. Further credence to such a scenario is given by a discovery made in the late 19th century. A New Harbor resident found a lead cloth seal with the date ‘1610’ embossed on its surface on the shores of the harbor.4

The first fishermen who appeared in Maine’s coastal waters came, not directly from the West of England as traditionally portrayed, but from Jamestown, Virginia. The presence of Virginian fishing vessels that far north stemmed from the colony’s well documented early political and financial difficulties. The Jamestown colonists failed to take advantage of the Tidewater region’s wealth of maritime food sources. Historians attribute their failure to several factors: lack of skilled fishermen, poor political organization and initiative, and high rates of illness and mortality. Consequently, settlement leaders looked north for assistance. Exactly how the colony got word of the bounty of the waters of northern New England is unclear. However, it is more than likely that some of the English settlers sailed to the New World with

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4 Deposition of Joshua Thompson, May 12, 1871, Bristol, Maine. Typescript copy, Colonial Pemaquid Historic Site, Bristol, Maine. A local resident told the late Helen Camp in the late 1960s or 1970s that the seal was still in the Pemaquid-area. Sir Frances was the son of Sir George Popham, the founder of the shortlived Popham colony established at the mouth of the Kennebec River. John Smith, “Description of New-England by Captain John Smith,” in Philip L. Barbour, ed., The Complete Works of Captain John Smith (1580-1631), (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), I, 323-324.
some knowledge of the region's marine productivity. They may have picked up this information by word of mouth or from the published accounts of the explorers who voyaged through New England coastal waters. Faith Harrington suggests that the Virginian fishing crews may have begun to fish off the coast of Maine soon after the colony's 1607 establishment. By 1613, French priest and observer Father Biard noted that the Virginians were sailing north "every summer" to the offshore islands in the vicinity of Pemaquid. He was undoubtedly referring to the islands of Monhegan and Damariscove. The fish the vessels carried back to Virginia provided the colony with food for the winter months. This practice continued to around 1625. Harrington claims the Virginians dominated the region from around 1608 until 1614 since they were in fact the only group of European fishermen working the waters.

By the mid-1610s, merchants from the West of England began sending fishing vessels to northern New England. They were joined by the French on at least one occasion. John Smith reported that, in 1614, two French vessels were fishing in or near the waters off of the Pemaquid mainland. In contrast to their Virginia predecessors, these fishermen worked the waters of New England for commercial


Map 2. Pemaquid, c. 1610 - 1625.
purposes. The cod they caught were destined for the markets of France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy. Their numbers grew as word spread within the fishing and merchant communities in England of the productivity of New England coastal waters. In 1614, English merchants sent four fishing vessels to New England. Six years later, that number had grown to six or seven. The majority of the vessels congegrated in and around the waters of New Hampshire’s Isles of Shoals, Monhegan, Damariscove, and Capenawagen. But, as Harrington points out, these numbers fell far short of what English commercial interests were sending to Newfoundland. Even so, expansion continued. By 1622, thirty-seven English fishing boats made the journey across the Atlantic to the fishing grounds of northern New England. They, in turn, were joined by the first inhabitants of Plimoth plantation beginning in 1621. Plymouth’s numbers were small, usually no more than one or two boats a year. The Plymouth men sailed to Monhegan and Damariscove to fish and collect food supplies from the fishing vessels that annually journeyed to Maine’s coastal waters. During the early 1620s, Plymouth suffered a number of food shortages due to poor harvests. Thus, it is conceivable that the Plymouth boats, during this time of privation, sailed north with

the intent of returning with part of their catches for local consumption. They would have sold the rest on the English or European markets.9

The focus of Pemaquid’s pre-settlement fishing community were the islands of Monhegan and Damariscove and the Pemaquid peninsula. The community’s appearance and layout was likely a mix of the more permanent structures of Monhegan’s and Damariscove’s year-rounders and the flimsier, more ephemeral facilities of the seasonal fishermen. The physical plants were centered around the ubiquitous fishing stage (Figure 1). These wooden structures were situated on the rocky shores of Monhegan’s Manana Harbor and Damariscove Harbor of its sister island of Damariscove. From here, the fishermen loaded and unloaded the fishing gear and catch from their shallops and processed their fish (Figures 2, 3). The stage consisted of a wharf set on pilings that extended out into the shallower waters of local coves and harbors. Keeping them in repair was a continual process, particularly for the islands’ seasonal inhabitants. The shallow draft fishing vessels tied up on the stage. Most remained there until the next day’s voyage. Some crews tied up their shallops to moorings in the harbor. Others, such as the men from Plimoth plantation,

Figure 1. Fishing stage at English fishing station on Newfoundland around 1715. After Harrington 1995. Pemaquid fishermen would have worked in a facility similar to this example. Fishermen are unloading fish from their shallop onto the plank floor of the stage above. Men on the floor are cutting and splitting the fish. Workers on the shore are washing and salting the processed fish. Once complete, the shoremen will lay the fish out on flakes for drying.
Figure 2. Plimoth Plantation shallop, c. 1620. After Baker 1975.

Figure 3. Square-rigged shallop, 1660. After Baker 1975.
stored their shallops on board their mother ship. The fishermen then unloaded their catches for processing. This task occurred within the confines of a wooden roofed structure that sat on the wharf. The roof provided the men preparing the fish shelter from the elements. Even so, the conditions were far from ideal. Often, the sides of the stages were open. A short distance from the stage, just above the high tide mark, were a series of wooden flakes. These rectangular structures looked like open frame tables covered with boughs and birchbark. Here, the shoremen placed the fish, after processing, to air dry. In the same area, the fishermen erected a wooden vat (Figure 1). They used this structure to cure the cod livers for the inevitable cod liver oil.

The fishermen's living quarters would have been set back a short walking distance from their work facilities. These structures, whether they were those of the year-rounders or seasonal residents, provided spartan accommodations. The living quarters of the year-round fishermen would have been the more substantial of the two. These men most likely lived in large communal structures, similar to what was present on Robert Trelawney's Richmond Island fishery on Maine's southern coast during the 1630s and early 1640s. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, as proprietor of Monhegan and Damariscove and employer of the fishermen, would have utilized such an

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11 “Downing’s Account of Fish, 1676,” Baxter Manuscripts, IV, 374-375.
arrangement for matters of practicality. Housing the fishermen under a single roof rather than in several smaller structures would have cost the proprietor less to build and maintain. In turn, the fishing station’s manager would have been better able to keep track of his charges if they lived in one communal building.12

The fishermen who voyaged to Damariscove, Monhegan, and the eastern shore of the Pemaquid peninsula seasonally from Virginia, Plymouth, Massachusetts, and the West of England either lived on board their mother ships or in similar but less substantial communal facilities. These structures could have been similar to the “tilt” used by English migratory fishermen working on Newfoundland throughout the 17th century. This tent-like structure consisted of nothing more than “fir poles and a canvas sail.”13 As with their stages, these men would invariably have had to make extensive repairs to their living quarters upon returning to the islands late in the winter.

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12 The Trelawny station fishermen lived in a wooden framed dwelling that measured 40 by 18 feet. The structure was heated by a single central chimney with double backed fireplaces. The chimney would have consisted either of a timber frame packed with clay (“catted”) or fieldstone. The men lived in a large room equipped with a series of bunk beds. They stored spare ship’s sails and casks of dry goods in a second adjoining room. A basement provided additional storage space for supplies, a kitchen, and a dining area. The dwellings of the Monhegan and Damariscove fishermen, however, may well have lacked cellars. In lieu of a basement, the men may have used the cooking and dining areas for their sleeping quarters. John Winter to Robert Trelawny, June 18, 1634 in Baxter, ed., Trelawny Papers, III, 31-32.

or early spring. As opposed to Monhegan and Damariscove's year-rounders, the islands' seasonal residents left their quarters unattended and unmaintained for roughly six months of the year. In that time, the structures would have been exposed to the numerous and powerful rain and snow storms that plowed through the coastal waters during that time of the year. Seasonal wear and tear was not limited to the forces of mother nature. Seasonal residents also had to contend with the destructive and scavenging habits of their fellow fishermen. New England fishermen were notorious for collecting whatever wood they could find to repair and rebuild their fishing stages, salt sheds, dwellings, and a host of other structures, and as firewood. Such a routine was particularly endemic on offshore islands such as Monhegan and Damariscove.

The islands, to begin with, had a limited stock of woodlands due to their rocky soils and modest size. These limitations were compounded by fishermen's continual and extensive consumption of local wood sources. The European occupants had probably cut down much of the woods by the late 17th century, in much the same way their counterparts had done on Newfoundland in the 16th and early 17th centuries.14

Growing concern about Damariscove's vulnerability to attack by the French or Indians led its English fishermen to take several precautions that affected the settlement's layout and appearance. By 1623, they had built a "strong palisado" of

spruce posts that protected the small fishing community. The palisade probably surrounded their communal dwelling. The fishermen armed the "fort" with a cannon and themselves with ten muskets.  

15 The fishermen of Damariscove and Monhegan likely supplemented those weapons with a small store of swords and pistols, as had the men of Richmond Island. The palisaded fortification may well have been a variant of what the Richmond Island men constructed in 1634. Their structure consisted of a fifteen-foot-high palisade that surrounded the communal dwelling. The fishermen placed several small-bore cannon on wooden "platt formes." The latter were most likely outworks situated at one or more corners of the fort.  

That the Damariscove men took these measures was not surprising. During the early years of European settlement, it was standard practice for the newcomers to erect defensive fortifications with or shortly after construction of the first generation of buildings. Just consider English occupation of New England and Newfoundland during the first two and a half decades of the 17th century. The English had established a tenuous foothold in the region. They had begun serious competition with the French for control. Their presence was limited to a handful of seasonal fishing stations and year-round plantations scattered along the coasts and islands of

15 John Pory to the Governor of Virginia, Autumn, 1622 in James, Jr., ed., *Three Visitors*, 15-16.


New England and Newfoundland. Conversely, the French maintained seasonal fishing stations on the northeasterneastern and southern coasts of Newfoundland and the Labrador straits. By 1614, they attempted year-round settlements at Mt. Desert and Saint Croix, Maine and Port Royal, Nova Scotia. In addition, French explorers, such as Samuel de Champlain, ranged the coastal waters of New England and the Canadian Maritimes during the latter part of the first and second decades of the 17th-century. The Dutch had begun similar colonization efforts on the upper Hudson River in the vicinity of present day Albany, New York in 1610. Furthermore, English and European privateers and pirates prowling the waters of the Canadian Maritimes and New England kept both the English and their French, Dutch, and Spanish fishermen on guard. Thus, it should come as little surprise that community security was an important consideration for the first waves of English fishermen and settlers. Two years after the first planters arrived at Plymouth, the town fathers oversaw construction of a wooden palisade and fort that protected the settlement from attack by Indians or Europeans. The planters of the fishing plantations of Ferryland and


Cupids Cove, Newfoundland took similar measures. The first inhabitants of Cupids Cove, when arriving in 1610, brought a varied and somewhat antiquated stock of arms. They included three small-bore cannon, two crossbows, three long bows, and thirty muskets. Two years later, the depredations of the notorious and highly successful English pirate Peter Easton in Newfoundland waters inspired the governor of Cupids Cove to put his men to work and build a fort. In 1622, the English residents of the nascent settlement of Ferryland, on the southeastern coast of Newfoundland, erected a palisade that surrounded the community. The structure was intended to keep out “both man and beast.” The palisade was supplemented by earthworks and cannon that fronted the shore of the fishing settlement.20

Monhegan’s and Damariscove’s year-round residents focused their attention on more than fishing and community defense. They also did some farming. The fishermen undoubtedly kept modest vegetable gardens and a small number of livestock. These fresh vegetables, animal meat, milk, and cheese would have provided the islanders with a welcome relief from the regular fare of salted beef and pork.

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20 “An Inventory of the Provisions Left with the Settlers at Cupids Cove (1611), Captain Edward Wynne to Sir George Calvert, July 1622, Cell, ed., Newfoundland Discovered, 65, 197. For the last few years, archaeologists from the Memorial University of Newfoundland have been uncovering evidence of the early fortification. Finds have included what may be part of the wooden palisade, a possible cannon platform, and a defensive ditch. Dr. James Tuck, “From the Dig: Fall 1999, Posts and Rails, Spikes and Nails”, Colony of Avalon Newsletters, Colony of Avalon Foundation, Ferryland, Newfoundland, Canada.
biscuits, and dried peas. John Smith, William Bradford, and a Council of New England
document provide a glimpse of island farming. Smith and his men, during their stay
on Monhegan in 1614, successfully grew a garden. It provided the men with fresh
vegetables. In 1621, the Council of New England issued a directive that “ordered”
every ship of sixty tons or more sailing for New England to carry two pigs, two
calves, four rabbits, four hens, and one rooster. The master was expected to leave
them at Monhegan for the benefit of the island fishermen. Bradford notes that in 1626
settlers from Plimoth plantation purchased a “parcel of goats” from the Monhegan
fishing plantation during its sale and breakup.21

The Monhegan and Damariscove fishermen undoubtedly supplemented their
stock of cultivated and imported food supplies with items that they purchased from
local Indians or which they gathered, hunted, or fished themselves. New Englanders
turned to the region’s Indians as an important source of food especially wild game,
particularly during the earliest settlement.22

21 John Smith, “A Description of New England” in Barbour, ed., Captain John
Smith, I, 334; Morison, ed., Of Plimoth Plantation, 181-182; Bernard Bailyn, The
New England Merchants of the Seventeenth Century (Cambridge: Harvard University
Press, 1982), 7.

22 Captain Edward Brawnde to John Smith, probably fall, 1616 in Barbour, ed.
Captain John Smith, I, 319-320; 324, 334; Roger Howell, Jr. and Emerson W. Baker,
eds., Maine in the Age of Discovery, Christopher Levett’s Voyage, 1623-1624 and A
Guide to Sources (Portland: Maine Historical Society, 1988), 44-45; Emmaneul
Altham to Sir Edward Altham, September, 1623 in James, ed., Three Visitors to Early
Plymouth, 31-32.
The Pemaquid mainland, Monhegan, and Damariscove were blessed with a wealth of fresh water, wild game, fruit, and vegetables. In 1605, George Waymouth explored Maine’s coast. Upon encountering Monhegan, he found the island’s shores covered with “Firre, Birch, Oke (oak) and Beech” while “water issued fourth downe the Rocky cliffes in many places.” The explorers also saw a variety of wild birds nesting on the shores and rocks of Monhegan and gooseberries, strawberries, and wild peas growing “on the verge” of Monhegan. Nine years later, John Smith, in his voyage to New England, noted that Maine’s coast between the Penobscot and Kennebec Rivers was blessed with “an incredible abundance of most sorts of fish, much fowle, and sundry sorts of good fruietes for mans use.”

Damariscove’s large fresh water pond until the last century or so served its inhabitants as a source of drinking water.

By 1623, fishermen had established year-round communities on Damariscove and Monhegan. Damariscove had thirteen year-round residents. Monhegan probably had a similar number. The overall population swelled during the fishing season, typically from January, February, or March until August or September. The seasonal fishing community included boats and crews from the West of England, Virginia, and Plimoth plantation mixing with the core of year-round inhabitants.


Estimates of the area’s peak population are hard to come by since seasonal crews arrived and departed at different times during the six- to eight-month season.

However, observations made by Edward Winslow, while seeking food from the fishing fleet in May 1622, provide grounds for a crude estimate of the Damariscove’s summer population during the early 1620s. The Plymouth resident noted that thirty ships were fishing in local waters. The fleet would have included both the larger ocean-going West Country “mother” ships, some as much as 250 tons, and the smaller shallops and pinnaces intended for coastal travel and fishing. The former vessels had crews ranging between thirty and fifty men and boys. The latter carried crews numbering between four and ten men. Based on these figures, an estimate of between four hundred and six hundred fishermen frequenting the waters and shores of Monhegan, Damariscove, and the Pemaquid mainland in the course of one season would not be unrealistic.

A Newfoundland fisherman of the early 17th century visiting the fishing communities on Monhegan, Damariscove, and the Pemaquid mainland would have felt right at home. Many of the fishing crews had cut their teeth in the frigid waters of

Newfoundland. The workers would have been relatively young, the majority ranging from their mid- to late-teens to early forties. As fishermen, men beyond those years would have been sorely tested by the long stretches of physically demanding work at sea and on shore. Assessing their marital status is more difficult. Scholars provide varying pictures. Edwin Churchill, in his study of the fishermen of the Richmond Island station, notes that “nineteen of the 31 men whose marital status was recorded were married,” results that run contrary to the traditional image of the young, single, and mobile New England fishermen. In contrast, Daniel Vickers states that the majority of the fishermen when first arriving in Essex County, Massachusetts (1645-1675) were unmarried. However, the proportion of married fishermen increased over time as greater numbers of the men settled down.

The social structure and dynamics of the world these men and boys inhabited was surprisingly complex. The vast majority of the New England workers had two common bonds; they hailed from the West of England and were fishermen. They came from towns, villages, and cities with strong maritime and fishing heritages, such as Plymouth, Dartmouth, Falmouth, Barnstable, and Bideford. But beneath that

26 Vickers, Farmers and Fishermen, 131.


geographic link, there was a considerable amount of occupational diversity. Two types stood at the pinnacle of the fishing stations' occupational hierarchy. The first was the ship's master. This man was an experienced sailor, usually in his 30s or early 40s. While some masters owned the vessels they sailed, the majority captained ships owned by England-based merchants. The master commanded the ship's crew and fishermen on their voyages back and forth from England to New England and during their stay in the New World. In addition, the merchant owner of the vessel often had this man hire the crew. He did so by visiting job fairs, utilizing his local West Country contacts, and word of mouth. The master's income came in one of three forms: annual wage, share of the season's catch, or a combination of the two. A shore-based counterpart to the master probably appeared with the establishment of year-round plantations on Damariscove and Monhegan in the early 1620s. The station manager or agent worked for the proprietor, in this case Sir Ferdinando Gorges. Whether Gorges hired one manager responsible for running the operations on Monhegan, Damariscove, and the Pemaquid peninsula or an agent for each of the sites was unclear. However, the latter arrangement seems more likely considering the distance that separated the

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30 Vickers, Farmers and Fishermen, 89.
three locales from one another. The manager’s duties and pay would have been roughly comparable to John Winter who managed the Trelawny fishing station on Richmond Island, just south of Cape Elizabeth, Maine, from 1632 to 1643 and Abraham Shurt of the Pemaquid plantation from 1626 until around 1645.31 Both of these men were responsible for managing the financial affairs of their settlements. However, their responsibilities were not limited to commercial matters. Trelawny, Aldworth, and Elbridge expected Winter and Shurt to deal with general community oversight. Thus, they had to contend with issues as varied as community discipline and governance, religious worship, and defence. For his trouble, the manager was paid relatively well. In 1633 and 1634, Plymouth (England) merchant Robert Trelawny paid his manager John Winter an annual salary of £40. In addition, he gave Winter a full share of the season’s catch. During those two years, one share amounted to nearly £12. Pemaquid’s proprietors paid Abraham Shurt £60 a year. They also provided their manager with food, housing, and passage between England and New England.32

Beneath the station manager and ship’s master were the bulk of the men and boys inhabiting Monhegan, Damariscove, and the Pemaquid peninsula. These were

31 The only difference would have been a matter of scale. Both the Trelawny fishing station and the Pemaquid fishing plantation of the late 1620s, 1630s, and early 1640s had substantially larger permanent populations than did their earlier predecessors.

the fishermen, carpenters, coopers, and blacksmiths who labored under the watchful
eyes of the proprietor's agent and the ships' masters. The elite of this group
consisted of a small number of skilled craftsmen, most notably the carpenters,
coopers, and blacksmiths. Their skills were critical to the smooth operation of the
fishing stations. The carpenters' tasks kept them busy throughout the year. For them,
the beginning of every fishing season included the inevitable repair and construction of
old and new fishing stages, dwellings, and outbuildings damaged and destroyed by the
fall and winter storms. They were undoubtedly instrumental in the construction of
Damariscove's defensive palisade. The fishing stations' carpenters were also kept
active repairing and, in some cases, building fishing boats, particularly the smaller
shallows.33 Their importance is evident in an incident that occurred in 1624 in the
waters of Damariscove. That spring, the Little James of Plymouth plantation was
captured and sunk in a "greate storm" while anchored in Damariscove Harbor. Several
months later, the Plymouth men organized a work crew, including carpenters and
coopers from several fishing ships based in the area. The men refloated and repaired
the pinnace.34

33 John Winter to Robert Trelawny, June 27, 1640, October 7, 1640, June 21, 1641
in James P. Baxter, ed., Documentary History of the State of Maine Containing the
Trelawny Papers (Portland: Hoyt, Fogg, and Donham, 1884), III, 216, 243, 258.

Mr. Jameson, ed., "Letter of John Bridge and Emmanuel Altham," Proceedings of the
Massachusetts Historical Society XLIV, 178-188.
Coopers would also have been an important part of the fishing community's work force. These artisans built and repaired the ubiquitous wooden barrels and casks that held a variety of items such as pickled bait, beer, cider, wine, liquor, salted beef and pork, bread, peas, boots, ceramic vessels, train oil, shot, and powder. These containers were prone to leakage and damage on their Atlantic crossing to and from England or Europe. In turn, the blacksmith would have been on hand to fabricate and repair a host of tools, building and ships hardware, guns, etc. that the station employees relied on. The fishing plantations of Cupids Cove and Ferryland both had blacksmiths. Their presence, as with that of the other craftsmen, was important to the smooth functioning of these fishing stations and the early plantations of the 1610s and early 1620s. These operations, while provisioned by supply ships that usually arrived once a year, were vulnerable to the vagaries of transatlantic shipping and a limited and nascent domestic trade network. The local blacksmith helped fill the void left by seriously depleted stocks of supplies. This often occurred from higher than normal consumption rates and tardy English supply ships. The blacksmiths, along with the carpenters and coopers, probably received wages similar to those of their


36 An Inventory of the Provisions Left at Cupids Cove, August 26, 1611, Captain Wynne to Master Secretary Calvert, August 17, 1622 in Cell, ed., Newfoundland Discovered, 65-66, 204.

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counterparts at the Trelawny fishing station. Robert Trelawny paid those men an annual wage of between £10 and £15.37

The large majority of the residents of Monhegan, Damariscove, and the Pemaquid peninsula were the fishermen and their shore-based support crews who caught and processed the fish in the waters of Maine’s south-central coast. The fishermen had a difficult job. During the fishing season, they ventured out into the coastal waters in their shallops to fish for cod. Their hours were long, particularly during the warm weather months, as daylight hours increased. These men and boys varied in experience. Some were grizzled veterans of the fishing industry in their thirties and forties. They most likely “cut their teeth” as young fishermen in the coastal waters of England and Ireland and Newfoundland. They signed on with West Country ships sailing for Maine when they heard of the productivity of the region’s recently discovered fishing grounds. Others were teenagers or young men sailing in New England waters for the first time.

The work could be lucrative. In 1619, every crewman on a Plymouth vessel returning to England from a New England fishing voyage who was owed a single share of the catch received £16 and 10 shillings for “seven monethes worke.” A year later, crew members from three West country fishing vessels on a voyage of similar duration to the region received single shares worth £20. However, these, as Smith points out, were good voyages. Furthermore, not all fishermen whose income was based on the

share system received full shares. The younger and inexperienced members of the
ship’s crew received half shares. Thus, the annual take of most fishermen was
probably more in line with the wages of the Trelawny station fishermen who brought
home £5 to £11 a year.38

Maintaining order in this community of disparate fishing crews was
challenging due in large part to the lack of a formal government and the varied and the
changing nature of the community. During the earliest years, the fishermen probably
relied on a form of governance common among seasonal fishermen. The residents of
the seasonal fishing stations of New England and Newfoundland often subscribed to a
series of unwritten “laws” centered around the concept of first come, first serve.
Every year, the master of the first ship to arrive in the waters of the fishing islands or
mainland assumed the role of “admiral.” In this position, the master laid claim to the
choicest portion of the shore for erecting his stage for docking and processing of fish.
The admiral also settled disputes that arose among the fishermen. Typical disputes
focused on fishing rights, destruction of property, access to shore lots for fish
processing, and physical assault. However, the admiral’s effectiveness in settling
conflicts depended on his force of personality and ability to back up his decisions.
Such was the case for Captain Francis West. He arrived in the spring of 1623 with a
commission “to be Admiral of New England.” The Council for New England had
charged him with enforcing fishing and trading rights in New England waters.

38 John Smith, “New Englands Trials” in Barbour, ed., The Complete Works of
Captain John Smith, I, 399-400; Churchill, “A Most Ordinary Lot of Men,” 185.
However, West failed, claiming that the fishermen “were to stronge for him, and he found ye fisher men to be stubern fellowes.”

In 1622, the Council for New England granted Sir Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason land extending from the Merrimack River north to the Sagadahock River (presumably the Kennebec) and referred to as the “province of Maine.” As proprietors, Gorges and Mason had the power to establish government within the province. Sir Ferdinando probably turned over operations to a manager, a scheme similar to what Robert Trelawny utilized on his fishing station at Richmond Island and Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge used at Pemaquid during their proprietorship. Gorges’s use of a manager would have made particular sense considering the tiny size of the plantation - thirteen fishermen. The manager had a number of duties. They included ensuring that the fishermen were performing their tasks, settling internal and external disputes, keeping the proprietor(s) informed of the operation’s financial health, and guaranteeing that supplies and equipment were in


40 Pory to Governor of Virginia, Autumn, 1622 in James, ed., Three Visitors, 15-16.

41 Henry F. Burrage, The Beginnings of Colonial Maine 1602-1658 (Portland, Marks Printing House, 1914), 158, 167; Grant of the Province of Maine by the Council of New England, August 10/20, 1622 in Frances Farnham, ed., Documentary History of
As with the admiral, the success of the manager depended largely on his force of character and relationship with the fishermen.

The manager’s most challenging time of the year would have been when the large number of seasonal fishermen returned to Damariscove, Monhegan, and the eastern shore of the Pemaquid mainland beginning in January or February. These crews easily outnumbered Damariscove’s and Monhegan’s tiny year-round fishing settlements, and the men hailed from a variety of locales, came for differing lengths of time, and worked for employers other than the proprietors of Monhegan, Damariscove, and Pemaquid. On top of that, the physically demanding nature of fishing in general, and this fishing in particular, would ensure frequent turnover of crews. Thus, the best that the managers of Damariscove and Monhegan could usually hope for was some continuity among the ships’ masters and portions of the fishermen. Even then, it is unlikely such a routine lasted more than five years. This routine would have made it difficult for the men who managed the two fishing plantations to get a good read on the community makeup and personality from year to year. Consequently, the manager had a limited opportunity to establish solid, longterm relationships with the various crews fishing in local waters. Without that

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kind of rapport, the plantation manager’s task of keeping the peace between the various fishing groups was difficult.

Conflict was unavoidable. All one has to do is look at the nature of early commercial fishing and its participants to realize that disputes and tension were a part of daily life. The work was tiring and at times tension-provoking. Quality space was at a premium when it came to mooring one’s vessel and establishing sufficient work space. Just as common were the tensions that developed between workers due to varying personalities, work ethic, and social status, and the long periods of isolation and separation from friends and family.43 On some occasions the disputes played out into nothing worse than a heated argument or fisticuffs. Other times, the offended parties turned to destroying property. It was not unusual for “first arrivers” to the islands to take possession of or tear down the stages and buildings left by others from the preceding fishing season. On occasion, long simmering tensions between individuals could lead to violent assault and murder. An incident that occurred on Monhegan in 1654 provides a dramatic example of what could happen. That winter, Gregory Caswell attacked Mathew Kennidge, the master of the shallop on which Caswell worked, with a hammer. Caswell beat Kennidge so severely that the

fisherman eventually died from his injuries. As was often the case, the two men had had previous run ins.44

However, the fishing community was not always fraught with conflict. The fact that fishing crews returned year in and year out indicates that the traditional arrangements between the varying fishing crews functioned well enough so as not to jeopardize the fishery’s continued operation. Even more telling were the actions of the fishermen of Monhegan, Damariscove, and the Pemaquid mainland during the early 1620s. On several occasions, parties from the recently established plantations of Plymouth and Wessagussett (Weymouth, Massachusetts) sailed to these waters in hopes of obtaining much needed food supplies and labor from the west country fishermen. On one voyage, the fishermen treated the Plimoth visitors with “kind entertainment and good respect” and “with a willingness to supply our wants.” In another instance, island fishing masters provided, at cost, several coopers and carpenters to help salvage and rebuild a Plymouth-based pinnace that was wrecked in Damariscove Harbor.45


45 Edward Winslow, Good Newes from New England, 16-17; Morison, ed., Plimoth Plantation, 163 .
The emergence of the Council for New England and the council’s subsequent issuance of the grant to Gorges and Mason signalled a change that would affect not just the fishing operations at Monhegan and Damariscove but also those scattered about the rest of northern New England. By the early 1620s, the merchants of Bristol, Plymouth, Barnstaple, and London saw the commercial potential of permanent settlement in the New World. Particularly influential were the promotional pieces of men such as John Smith and Richard Whitbourne. They argued, among other things, that permanent settlement was a much more efficient means of commercial fishing. As Richard Whitbourne, an English promoter of the time argued, a year-round settlement avoided the annual expense in time and money of repairing or rebuilding the fishing stages and buildings that were damaged or destroyed by natural and human forces.

Whitbourne claimed that the crews of the English seasonal fishing stations in Newfoundland spent the first twenty days of each season getting the station in order before they could begin fishing. Just as enticing to English merchants and potential planters was the growing realization of the commercial potential of the waters of the Gulf of Maine that teemed with cod.46 Furthermore, the New England mainland provided fishermen and planters with far more space and natural resources to sustain viable and substantial settlements than the offshore islands their predecessors had relied on. Thus, a growing number of English entrepeneurs took advantage of the large tracts of “uninhabited” land and organized commercial proprietary enterprises. By the

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early 1630s, the Council for New England had issued a series of proprietary grants in territory that stretched from the Piscataqua River to the western periphery of Penobscot Bay. From these grants and patents emerged the pioneering settlements of Kittery (1631), Agumenticus (York, 1630), Saco (1630), Spurwink (1632), and Pemaquid (1632). Issuance of these grants did not signal a rapid and massive influx of English planters into the northern "wilderness" of New England. The acts did, however, mark the beginning of gradual but persistent spread of English settlement up the southern half of Maine's coast and major rivers during the next five and a half decades.47

**The Bristol Years (1626 - 1650)**

As Karen Kupperman points out in her recent study of the English Puritan colony of Providence Island, “Successful establishment of a colony was an enormously difficult and expensive enterprise.” In the case of Providence Island, a shortlived Puritan colony east of the Yucatan peninsula, most of the investors were familiar with the challenges of such an undertaking because of their experiences in the Virginia, Somers Islands (Bermuda), or New England Companies.48 Similarly the English merchants and entrepeneurs who established plantations in New England during the late 1620s and early 1630s often had previous experience in New World


exploration, resource exploitation, and colonization. Robert Aldworth is one such example. Aldworth's interests were early and closely tied to Newfoundland, as was often the case with the earliest investors in New England colonization. They began with his uncle Thomas Aldworth, a prominent Bristol merchant, whose interest in New World exploration and development reached back into the fourth quarter of the 16th century. Thomas Aldworth and three other Bristol merchants invested £100 in Martin Frobisher's second voyage (1578) to northern Canada in his search for the Northwest Passage. In 1582 and 1583, Thomas Aldworth secured support from Bristol's merchant community to help underwrite Sir Humphrey Gilbert's exploratory foray into Newfoundland. Thomas's interest in Newfoundland undoubtedly stemmed from the natural wealth of the island's water that teemed with codfish, which by then were being regularly fished by the French, English, Spanish, Basques, and

49 Thomas Aldworth was one of 16th-century Bristol's leading citizens. He was active in the overseas trade, particularly with Spain, Portugal, and France, and the Mediterranean and North Africa, to a lesser degree. Thomas Aldworth parlayed his professional standing into an active political career. He was a longtime member and officer of the prestigious and powerful Society of Merchant Venturers, the mouthpiece of the city's merchants. In addition, Aldworth was Bristol's mayor on three occasions (1582-83, 1589, 1592-93) and a member of the city's Common Council for nearly thirty years (1566-1594). Patrick McGrath, ed., The Marchants Avizo by Iohn B (rowne) Marchant 1589 (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1957), xii, 28; Patrick McGrath, ed., The Merchant Venturers of Bristol (Bristol: Western Printing Services Ltd., 1975), 21; Jean Vanes, ed., Documents Illustrating the Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Sixteenth Century (Kendal, England: Titus Wilson & Son Ltd., 1979), 24, 37, 144, 145, 148, 158.
The 1583 venture set the table for the more ambitious and successful round of English colonization of Newfoundland that took place in the early 1610s and 1620s. Once again, an Aldworth was part of this enterprise. Robert’s brother, Thomas Aldworth, was one of the original charter members of the Newfoundland Company.

Robert Aldworth had obviously learned well from his uncle, first as an apprentice merchant in the intricacies of the Mediterranean and Iberian trades and now in the exploitation of the commercial potential of the land and waters of Newfoundland and New England. In early March 1600, Robert Aldworth and several other merchants shipped a cargo of 48,000 “small newland fishe” to Bristol. Eleven years later, the White Angel, a ship owned by Robert Aldworth, arrived home with four other Bristol boats from Newfoundland laden with 80,000 fish (probably cod) and 34 barrels of “train oil.” Robert Aldworth was not listed as the merchant of record. However, Aldworth’s ownership of the White Angel and his earlier involvement in the Newfoundland trade strongly suggest the Bristol merchant was one...

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of the “company” of unnamed merchants who purchased this lucrative cargo.\textsuperscript{52}

Robert Aldworth did not limit his commercial interests to the Maritimes; he and fellow Bristol merchant John Whitson underwrote Martin Pring’s 1602 exploration of New England’s coast.\textsuperscript{53} Four years later, Aldworth voted with twelve other Bristol Common Council members to underwrite additional exploratory voyages of New England. Robert Aldworth’s annual commitment of £12 and 10 shillings for the next five years was the second highest among the council donors.\textsuperscript{54}

Robert Aldworth also benefited from certain intangibles that further buttressed his case as a man who was well aware of and interested in early English exploration and colonization of the New World. As a resident of Bristol and a prominent commercial and political figure in the city, Aldworth was part of an extensive network of institutions and individuals who were seriously involved in England’s nascent but growing interest in the New World. Aldworth was one of six Bristol merchants selected in 1600 to consider a proposal to establish a city trading company doing

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{52} Bristol Port Book (1600) E190-1132/11, folio 5, Bristol Port Book (1620-1621) E190-1134/10, folio 10, Public Records Office, Kew, London, England. I limited my search almost exclusively to the Bristol Port books, particularly for the period 1620 to 1639. It is conceivable a comprehensive study of the Bristol Port Books predating 1620 would turn up more evidence of Robert Aldworth’s involvement in the Newfoundland trade.


\item \textsuperscript{54} David B. and Alison M. Quinn, eds., The English New England Voyages 1602-1608 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1983), 376-383.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
business with France. Five years later, he was appointed to a city committee with
much the same task. Merchant Venturer members thrice elected him the Society's
Master (1609, 1614, 1625).55 Between 1596 and 1634, he held a number of city
political posts. They included mayor (1609-1610), Sheriff (1596-1597), Common
Councilor (1599-1634), and Alderman (1614-1634).56 Thus, it should come as little
surprise that Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge sent Abraham Shurt over to New
England in 1626 to purchase the defunct fishing station on Monhegan from Abraham
Jennings. This transaction and what followed over the next two decades was far from
a poorly conceived business venture by the Bristol merchant.

The plantation that emerged from Shurt's 1626 purchase of Monhegan
differed from its seasonal predecessor in several ways. With the establishment of
Pemaquid, the focus shifted from the islands of Monhegan and Damariscove to the
Pemaquid mainland. Second, its population no longer was exclusively male. The
inhabitants included increasing numbers of married couples, women, and children. In
turn, fishing, while still the dominant pursuit, was supplemented by fur trading,
farming, lumbering, and light industry.

Establishment of a year-round colony at Pemaquid began soon after Abraham
Shurt's purchase of Monhegan in 1626. As with those plantations that emerged from

55 Vanes, ed., Documents Illustrating the Overseas Trade of Bristol, 114.

56 I.V. Hall typescript research notes, Box 1/Accession #36772. Bristol Records
Office, Bristol, England; Patrick McGrath, "The Merchant Venturers and Bristol
Map 5. Approximate bounds of Pemaquid Patent highlighted in black.
earlier seasonal fishing stations, the first wave of English inhabitants had one important advantage over those communities that began from scratch. They set foot on land, particularly the islands of Monhegan and Damariscove, that had been lived and worked on by their countrymen for a decade and a half. Consequently, they inherited land that had been cleared and contained remnants of the seasonal fishing stations. Much of the shore fronting Damariscove and Manana Harbors, and probably New Harbor, had been cleared by the West Country fishermen who had frequented Damariscove, Monhegan, and the Pemaquid mainland. Furthermore, some of the fishing stages, dwellings, and outbuildings would have remained from the earlier fishing operations. These structures, while likely in need of repair, would have provided the newcomers with much needed, albeit temporary, living quarters, storage, and work space. What this meant was that these planters were spared some of the initial labor and expense required to prepare a site for year-round settlement. Even so, Pemaquid's new inhabitants and their Bristol proprietors and underwriters faced a daunting task that required the expenditure of substantial labor and money.

One can imagine the first year or two of the nascent settlement. The mouth of the Pemaquid River and New Harbor on the Pemaquid mainland would have been the focus of activity. Here, Robert Aldworth's and Gyles Elbridge's merchantmen the White Angel, Angel Gabriel, and Charles, veterans of the overseas trade, landed cargoes of West Country emigrants and the all-important supplies, livestock, and personal belongings shipped in from across the Atlantic. The Pemaquid River's outer harbor was particularly well suited to handle large ships such as the three Bristol
ships. Smaller pinnaces, shallops, and long boats, carried on board the one- to two-
hundred-fifty-ton ships, shuttled the passengers, animals, and supplies to the shores
of present day Pemaquid Beach and New Harbor. In turn, New Harbor had a smaller
but well protected harbor that could handle ocean-going vessels. In addition, the
shores of the harbor probably still contained some of the stages, dwellings, and store
houses that were from the earlier seasonal fishing station. Over the months and years
ahead, a plantation slowly emerged, under the direction and experienced eye of
Pemaquid’s manager Abraham Shurt. One of the first additions to appear would have
been a series of wooden wharves to handle the upsurge in waterborne activity on the
lower reaches of the Pemaquid mainland. A short distance above the shores of the
Pemaquid River and New Harbor, the inhabitants constructed dwellings, storehouses,
and miscellaneous outbuildings.

The heart of Pemaquid or “Aldworth-town”, as it was known by local
residents, was a tract extending from today’s Fish Point to and including the grounds
of the Colonial Pemaquid Historic Site. A smaller sister village emerged on the
opposite side of the Pemaquid peninsula at New Harbor. This village, in actuality,
was probably the site of the homes of the plantation’s first settlers, West
Countrymen such as John Brown who built a home at the head of New Harbor,

57 The name was used in deference to the plantation’s senior proprietor Robert
Aldworth. Abraham Shurt to John Winthrop, August 8, 1638, Winthrop Papers
1638-1644 (Boston: The Merrymount Press, 1944), IV, 123.
Figure 5. Aerial view of Colonial Pemaquid Historic Site, Pemaquid Beach, Maine. Looking southeast.
possibly as early as circa 1625. New Harbor would have been natural first choice for Pemaquid's Bristol proprietors and their planters since it was well known to the earlier proprietors of Monhegan and Damariscove and the fishermen who frequented the local waters.

The first homes would have been crude and ephemeral. The planters constructed them of whatever was available. Typically, they would have salvaged wooden barrels, ship's canvas, scrap lumber and local timber. With these materials, Pemaquidians likely fashioned a variety of structures. Some would have been reminiscent of the "wigwam" that housed Christopher Levett and his men during their stay on the coast of southern Maine in the winter of 1624. This dwelling consisted of nothing more than a framework of saplings driven into the ground and covered with ship’s sails. The men lined the floor of the wigwam with marsh grass to keep it dry and comfortable to lie on. Others may have been similar to the wattle and daub, timber, and thatch roofed structures occupied by the inhabitants of Sir George Popham's colony in 1607 and 1608.

However, local residents would have wasted little time in improving upon these initial accommodations. By the mid-1630s, visitors to the fishing plantation

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58 Samuel Martin to Richard Doliver, February 8, 1733/4, York Deeds (Bethel, Maine: Maine Genealogical Society, 1908), XVI, folio 637.

would have seen homes more typical of the inhabitants’ West Country homeland. Most, if not, all of the dwellings would have been earthfast. Historical archaeologists are uncovering growing numbers of these buildings on the sites of 17th-century English settlements situated on Maine’s coast and major rivers, including Pemaquid. Archaeologists have discovered the remains of at least four 17th-century earthfast buildings on the lower reaches of the Pemaquid River.60 What distinguished them from their later counterparts was that they sat directly on the ground. Their superstructure consisted of a timber frame covered with wattle-and-daub infill, a European and English building tradition with medieval roots.61 The builders used a mixture of clay and straw and applied it to a wooden lattice work erected between the house’s studs. In an adaptation to the region’s harsher weather and the greater prevalence of timber land, New England carpenters often covered the infill with wooden clapboards or shingles.62 Their roofs would have been clad with either wooden shingles or thatch. The latter roofing material was common in West of


62 During the late 1960s, historical archaeologists uncovered a large segment of a wall to what is probably the settlement’s earliest archaeological example of a wattle and daub structure in Colonial Pemaquid. Several fragments still exhibited impressions of the wooden planks or clapboards that once covered the clay and straw infill. The presence of ceramic vessels dating to the second quarter of the 17th-century suggests the dwelling was of similar antiquity. Helen B. Camp, Archaeological Excavations at Pemaquid, Maine 1965-1974 (Augusta: Maine State Museum, 1975), 7, 30, 36.
England, particularly Devon, from the 15th to the 19th centuries. These dwellings were heated with a centrally located stone, brick and/or or wattle and daub fireplace and chimney. The majority of the homes would have been modest in size, probably no more than 16 x 20 feet and a single story or story and a half in height, a reflection of the modest economic standing of the vast majority of Pemaquid’s English inhabitants (Figure 6, 7). The occupants would have lit their homes with small windows (probably no more than two or three), fire from the fireplace, and brush or crude oil lamps. For the majority of Pemaquidians, these windows would have consisted of no more than a wooden frame covered with oiled paper. The leaded glass casement window so often associated with 17th-century New England homes was a luxury well beyond the means of most Pemaquidians. The only home that probably stood out from them was that of the plantation’s manager, Abraham Shurt. He may well have lived in a multi-purpose building, similar in layout and size to that built by John Winter’s men on the Richmond Island fishing station. This building may not only have provided living quarters for Shurt and his men but also served as a store house for Pemaquid’s burgeoning fur trade and fishing operation that the Bideford man oversaw (Figure 8).

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Figure 6. Wood-framed earthfast dwelling, c. 1627, Plimoth Plantation, Plymouth, Massachusetts. Note riven clapboards, thatched roof, and catted chimney.
Figure 7. Interior of c. 1627 dwelling (Figure 6), Plimoth Plantation, Plymouth, Massachusetts. Note cramped quarters for dining and sleeping.
Figure 8. Possible storehouse, Colonial Pemaquid Historic Site, Pemaquid Beach, Maine. Abraham Shurt may have built and used an earlier version of this structure during his management of the Pemaquid plantation. After David Peck 1988. Courtesy of Maine Bureau of Parks and Lands.
As excavations by Helen Camp have suggested, the plantation of Pemaquid had developed into a modest but successful fishing and trading plantation with a layout typical of those English communities situated on New England’s northern frontier. Pemaquid exhibited a mixture of nucleated and dispersed settlement. The heart of the settlement remained at Pemaquid Beach. Here, a small village of probably ten or so modest homes clustered about today’s grounds of the Colonial Pemaquid Historic Site (Figures 9, 10). One or more large storehouses and a blacksmith’s shop were also probably situated within the village. The latter may be represented a structure unearthed by archaeologists during the late 1960s. This building, located a short distance from the Colonial Pemaquid Museum, measured roughly 20 x 21 feet (Figure 11). The structure’s interior contained a sizeable assemblage of slag and scrap metal, telltale signs of blacksmithing. The blacksmith most likely labored inside a single story timber-framed structure. The building’s exterior was either fully clad with wooden planks or shingles or its sides were open to the elements. With the latter arrangement, the blacksmith cut down on the heat and smoke inside the smithy.65 By now, the village at Pemaquid Beach probably boasted a community burial ground in the general vicinity of the current Pemaquid cemetery that overlooks Pemaquid’s inner harbor.66 The shoreline was likely cluttered with fishing stages and wharves to handle

65 Camp, Archaeological Excavations at Pemaquid, Maine, 10, 74.

66 Today, the earliest extant marked stone in the cemetery dates to 1734. However, local antiquarian John Cartland noted that as recently as the turn of the 20th-century, a grave marker dating 1695 stood “one hundred feet northwest” of the entrance to the cemetery. During the 19th-century, local farmers uncovered additional evidence of
Figure 9. Dwelling, probably occupied from the second quarter of the 17th century until the 1676 Wabanaki attack. Archaeologists uncovered a large section of one of the structure's wattle and daub walls that had collapsed into the cellar as the dwelling burnt. After David Peck 1988. Courtesy of Maine Bureau of Parks and Lands, Augusta.

early graves south of the cemetery in “Alderville.” Thus, the proximity of the burial ground to the archaeological remains of Pemaquid’s 17th-century community center leaves little doubt that the site serviced the village at Pemaquid Beach throughout the century. Some of the broken unmarked grave stones may well date to the 17th-century. Other early graves were probably designated by wooden burial posts and "rails. John Cartland, Twenty Years at Pemaquid (Pemaquid Beach, Maine: 1914), 150-152; Wendy Kaplan, “Neal children headstone. Attributed to the Charlestown Stonecutter,” in Jonathan L. Fairbanks and Robert F. Trent, eds., New England Begins: The Seventeenth Century. Mentality and Environment (Meriden, Connecticut: Meriden Gravure Co., 1982), II, 317.
Figure 10. Dwelling, probably occupied from mid-17th-century to 1676 or 1689 Indian attacks. "The town," Colonial Pemaquid Historic Site, Pemaquid Beach. Note the well built into one of the structure’s cellar walls. After David Peck 1988. Courtesy Maine Bureau of Parks and Lands, Augusta.
the plantation's small mainland fishing fleet, English and French coastal trading vessels, and ocean-going English merchantmen that by now were regularly putting in and departing from the mouth of Pemaquid River.

Additional but scattered settlement had also spread up the Pemaquid River. One such site was located on the western side of the Pemaquid River roughly a mile north of the plantation's settlement and commercial center. This was a small fortified hamlet discovered and excavated by the author during the latter part of the 1980s and early 1990s (Figure 13). The site was occupied from about 1640 until around 1676. In the mid-century, the hamlet was probably limited to one or two small earthfast dwellings and possibly a similarly constructed out building or two.67

Expansion of the English fishing plantation was not limited to the Pemaquid mainland. Beginning in the mid-1640s, English fishermen returned to Monhegan and Damariscove for the first time since the islands' abandonment in the late 1620s.68


68 Richard Mather, while returning on a voyage from England in the summer of 1635, noted that Monhegan was "still without inhabitants. That was still the case seven years later. In January 1642, the survivors of a ship wrecked off of Monhegan were rescued by a fisherman. He found them on the island, where they had taken shelter, "a good time after" the wreck. Ida Sedgwick Proper, Monhegan, the Cradle of New England (Portland: The Southworth Press, 1930), 178; James Hosmer, ed., Winthrop's Journal "History of New England 1630-1649 (New York: Charles Scribner Sons, 1908), II, 54.
However, there was a fundamental difference in the makeup of the men and boys who fished in the waters of south-central Maine compared with their predecessors of the 1610s and early 1620s. Rather than being dominated by fishermen sent over by West Country and London merchants, the islands, for the first time, were the temporary home and workplace to a mix of fishermen from the newly established Massachusetts Bay settlements of Marblehead, Ipswich, and Salem, the plantation of Pemaquid and adjacent settlements such as Winnegance and Capenawagen, and the West of England.69 This new routine would continue throughout the remainder of the century.

Scholars attribute the shift in the origins of the fishing personnel and Monhegan's and Damariscove's to the English Civil Wars. With the outbreak of war in 1642, the flow of English emigrants to New England decreased to a trickle, while the region's balance of trade with the mother country was upset. As Daniel Vickers notes, New Englanders were "forced to come up with marketable resources" to fill this economic void. A number of coastal settlements turned to cod as the answer. Again, circumstances related to the state of England's infrastructure and economy facilitated such a move. English maritime merchants, particularly those active in the fishing industry, were hit hard by the country's economic downturn. Most notable was the dramatic decrease in the size of the West Country fishing fleets in Newfoundland and New England waters. The former fleet dropped from "340 vessels

in 1634, to 270 in 1644, to fewer than 200 by 1652.” West Country boats fishing in New England “vanished altogether.” As a result, the price of cod rose in response to the dwindling English exports destined for Spain and Portugal. Thus, circumstances were ideal for New England merchants and fishermen to exploit the void left by their Old World countrymen. They responded by sending fishing vessels north to the coastal waters of Maine, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland. For New England, the result was “several decades of uninterrupted growth.” 70

Little probably changed in the appearance and layout of the communities the newcomers reestablished on Monhegan and Damariscove. The fishermen most likely reoccupied the same areas on the two islands as their predecessors. In the case of Monhegan, the fishermen once again established fishing stages, outbuildings, and dwellings on the island’s western shore opposite Manana Island. For the new inhabitants of Damariscove, the focal point would have been the shores of Damariscove Harbor and the land that sloped gently up to the west, north, and east from the harbor. These two island communities would have stood out from those of their mainland counterparts. Most apparent would have been the ephemeral and worn appearance of the buildings, a feature due in large part to the preponderance of seasonal residents. These fishermen, when they headed north to the Gulf of Maine in the winter, left homes and families of their own in Massachusetts Bay. The only ties they had to the islands and the year-round residents of Damariscove, Monhegan, and

the Pemaquid mainland was fishing. During the four to six months the men and boys spent “to the eastward”, they had little time or desire to connect with the people of the plantation. In turn, it is doubtful that they felt much of a need to invest time and energy to improving their work and living quarters beyond rudimentary and necessary maintenance.

These circumstances, however, did not stop the seasonal and year-round islanders from trying their hand at small-scale agriculture. By doing so, the fishermen supplemented their mundane fare of foodstuffs purchased from the coastal traders that sailed out of Massachusetts Bay to supply Maine planters and fishermen with imports from Europe and England. Thus, men such as Marblehead fishermen John Devereaux, a seasonal resident of Monhegan during the late 1640s and early 1650s, raised small numbers of pigs and chickens. In addition, many of them laid out small vegetable gardens adjacent to their living quarters to supplement the protein- and carbohydrate-rich diet of salted meat, bread, cheese, butter, dried peas, wine, beer.71 The year rounders, however, probably established larger stocks of livestock and crops since they occupied the island continuously.

Let us take a closer look at the people of fishing plantation of Pemaquid during the Aldworth-Elbridge proprietorship. Who were these people and how did they compare with their better known and often idealized countrymen who planted

71 George Dow, ed., Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County Massachusetts (Salem: Newcomb & Gauss, Printers, 1911), I (1636-1656), 325.
Massachusetts Bay? One element that played a major role in the makeup and structure of the community of Pemaquid during these years was the fact that this fishing plantation was owned by two Bristol merchants. Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge entered the colonization business with more pragmatic concerns than their Puritan counterparts. They sought, as the good entrepreneurs that they were, to establish a year-round fishing plantation that would be financially successful and further the growth of their commercial empire. Its residents came to New England as servants of the two merchants. However, these men, while businessmen first and foremost, were not bereft of humanitarian concerns. Robert Aldworth, in particular, was well known for his generous contributions to Bristol’s poor and downtrodden.72 Thus, Robert Aldworth may well have also utilized his nascent plantation as an opportunity to improve the plight of Bristol’s poor. By emigrating to Maine, these individuals, as servants of the Bristol proprietors, were assured of regular work and possible access to land of their own, something rarely available in England for those in need.

From the start, preliminary evidence suggests Pemaquid was heavily populated by West Country natives, primarily residents of Bristol and its suburbs and Devonshire. Abraham Shurt, the plantation’s first manager, hailed from Bideford, a West country port town while John Brown, one of Pemaquid’s first planters,

emigrated from Margotsfield, a suburb of Bristol. Others, such as the brothers Robert and Francis Knight, key New World agents for Robert Aldworth, Gyles Elbridge, and their manager, and Thomas Elbridge (son and heir of Gyles Elbridge) were born and raised in Bristol. The Bristol proprietors periodically sent additional West Country and Bristol emigrants to Pemaquid during the 1630s. They did so to ensure a stable population and work force. For example, Gyles Elbridge, in 1639, successfully petitioned the British crown to send eighty emigrants and supplies “for the encrease and support of his fishing plantacion in New England.”

Moving off shore to Monhegan and Damariscove, the residential makeup was different, but not as much as appears at first glance. The islands’ seasonal inhabitants came from Massachusetts Bay’s North Shore and Newfoundland. However, the bulk of these people probably first emigrated to the Bay from the West of England. In addition, some of the year-round contingent of fishermen who had previously manned the fishing plantations on Monhegan and Damariscove may have stayed on after their breakup in 1626 and the subsequent establishment of the Aldworth and Elbridge plantation. As with the rest of New England, emigration of English planters to


Pemaquid would have slowed noticeably or halted altogether during the 1640s, with
the outbreak of the English Civil Wars. The wars devastated the English economy and
disrupted domestic and overseas trade, destroying shipping and the siphoning off of
ships' crews into the armies and navies of the Parliamentarian and Royalist forces.

Gyles Elbridge and his son John, who inherited the plantation upon his father's death
in 1643, were especially hard hit due to their Royalist loyalties and residence in
Bristol. Parliamentarian supporters removed John from his position on the Bristol City
Council. Bristol, as a Royalist stronghold, was attacked and captured twice by
Parliamentarian forces. The result was extensive property damage and political and
social upheaval. For Gyles and John Elbridge, the fallout was ultimately fatal. Father
and son died in 1643 and 1645, respectively, quite possibly the victims of a
devastating outbreak of the plague (1644-1645) brought on by the Civil Wars and the
attendant upheaval experienced by Bristol. It is unlikely the pace of emigration
increased with Thomas Elbridge's inheritance of the New England plantation

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75 Hosmer, ed., *Winthrop's Journal*, II, 122, 152, 196-197; Miss H. E. Nott, ed.,
The Deposition Books of Bristol (Bristol, England: J. W. Arrowsmith Ltd., 1935), I
(1643-1647), 9-20; Patrick McGrath, *Bristol and the Civil War* (Bristol: Bristol
Branch of the Historical Association, 1981), 12-46; Patrick McGrath, *The Merchants
Venturers of Bristol* (Bristol, England: Western Printing Services, 1975), 80, 84;
Patrick McGrath, “Merchant Shipping in the Seventeenth Century. The Evidence of
the Bristol Deposition Books,” Part I, *Mariners Mirror*, 284-285, 287; The will of
Gyles Elbridge. February 24/5, 1643, The will of John Elbridge, September 11, 1646,
Genealogical Register* (October 1892), XLVI, 443-445.
following his brother's death. He was young (under 21 in 1646), inexperienced, and with few of the financial assets previously held by his father and Robert Aldworth.

The geographic origins of Pemaquid's early residents appear to differ from the planters of Massachusetts Bay. A substantial number of Bay settlers were natives of East Anglia and London. Even the geographical origins of the residents of the plantations emerging in southern Maine (southwest of the Kennebec River) appear to differ from those of Pemaquid. Emerson Baker and Edmund Churchill discovered in their studies of the region that, while there was a West Country presence, it was not dominant. A number of early residents also hailed from London, Hertfordshire, Kent, Lincolnshire, Lancashire, Buckinghamshire, Essex, and Kent. However, as Baker admits, his research is based on a limited body of data.76

The community that emerged during the Aldworth-Elbridge proprietorship was a blend of features of the island-based fishing stations of the 1610s and early 1620s and those of the year round, mainland-based settlements established along

76 Emerson Baker based his conclusions on the distribution among year round residents. When the settlements' seasonal inhabitants were included, pre-1650 southern Maine had a much stronger West Country flavor. He justified the omission on the rationale that many of these West Countrymen were "visitors" not settlers. In actuality, many of these "visitors" were fishermen who lived and worked on the islands and the coastal waters mainland from two to five months a year. As a result, these men and boys were members, albeit seasonal, of the various early English settlements established on Maine's coast. While different than their year round neighbors, the West Country fishermen had a subtle but nonetheless important impact on the larger community as will be seen in my study. Bailyn, The New England Merchants, 16-19, 31-39; Emerson Baker, "The World of Thomas Gorges. Life in the Province of Maine in the 1640s," Baker et als, American Beginnings, 276-277; Darrett B. Rutman, Winthrop's Boston. A Portrait of a Puritan Town, 1630-1649 (New York: W. W. Norton, 1965), 138-139
Maine's coast and major rivers during the second quarter of the century. Much of the world that grew out of Robert Aldworth's and Gyles Elbridge's purchase of Monhegan in 1626 stemmed from Pemaquid's identity as a privately owned plantation. As such, Pemaquid society and governance once again rested in the hands of a small elite selected by the plantation's proprietors and manager. For most of the Aldworth and Elbridge years, the most important figure in Pemaquid was Abraham Shurt, the plantation's manager. He held this position for roughly two decades, from Pemaquid's establishment in circa 1626 until the mid-1640s. However, Shurt's role as a major force in local and regional financial and political affairs continued beyond his retirement into the early 1650s. As the plantation's manager, the Bideford man had a host of duties, including the management of Pemaquid's work force and economy, political relations, and community defence. Thus, from a general perspective, the parameters of Shurt's job were not much different from those of the men who oversaw the earlier Monhegan and Damariscove fishing stations. What distinguished Shurt's position from that of his predecessors was the increase in the scope of each of these tasks. Much of that change can be attributed to the new world that had emerged in and around Pemaquid. In the two-and-a-half decades that followed the establishment of the plantation of Pemaquid in about 1626, English emigrants founded more than a dozen settlements between the Piscataqua and Muscongus Rivers, which
by the mid-century, had approximately one thousand settlers.\textsuperscript{77} To the east of Pemaquid was Acadia. This territory was home to a smaller number of more sparsely populated French settlements, trade outposts, and fishing stations scattered along the coasts of eastern Maine (beginning at the Penobscot River), New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. Acadia was inhabited by approximately 350-450 French settlers, traders, fishermen, and troops and 3,500 Indians.\textsuperscript{78}

Pemaquid, in turn, had grown from three English fishing stations based on Monhegan, Damariscove, and the shores of New Harbor, to a sprawling but sparsely populated fishing plantation that encompassed the Pemaquid peninsula and islands within ten miles of the mainland. Fishing, while settlement’s primary pursuit, was by 1640 complemented by a regionally important fur trade operation, in addition to farming and lumbering. Abraham Shurt was responsible for overseeing these expanding economic pursuits. He did so though his own oversight and that of several merchants and traders who assisted him.

One of these assistants was Bristol merchant Robert Knight. His appearance at Pemaquid had roots that reached back to Bristol and the Aldworth family. Robert Knight was the son of Edward Knight, a member of another prominent Bristol

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merchant family with close ties to the Aldworth’s. One member, Edward Knight, perhaps his uncle, was married to Robert Aldworth’s sister. Robert Aldworth, in turn, was married to Martha Knight. Robert Knight worked closely with Abraham Shurt throughout the 1630s and 1640s. Knight may well have been the plantation manager’s most important assistant during these years. His role was that of international trade factor and legal counsel. In contrast to the others who assisted Shurt, Robert Knight did not settle in Pemaquid. Instead, he spent short periods of time there. Much of the time, the Bristol merchant spent shuttling between Pemaquid, Boston, and England. Boston, however, appears to have been his home base. He first appeared in New England in the spring of 1633, when he witnessed, along with five others, Walter Neale’s presentation of the Pemaquid Patent to Abraham Shurt, presumably at Pemaquid.

Robert Knight negotiated trade contracts with merchants and traders from New England, England, and Europe. Mr. Knight, as an acknowledged Bristol

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79 Robert Knight’s grandfather Francis Knight (died 1616) was especially prominent. He held a number of political offices in Bristol. They included mayor (1594-5), sheriff (1579), Common Councilor (1579-99), and Alderman (1599-1616). Will of Robert Aldworth, August 30, 1634, Henry F. Waters, “Genealogical Gleanings,” The New England Historical and Genealogical Register XLVII (1893), 389; Will of Francis Knight, August 8, 1616, Henry F. Waters, “Genealogical Gleanings,” The New England Historical and Genealogical Register XLVI (1892), 441-442; I. V. Hall, “John Knight, Junior, Sugar Refiner at the Great House on St. Augustine’s Back (1654-1679). Bristol’s Second Sugar House,” Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Transactions LXVIII (1949), 112-113.

80 Commissioners of Lincoln County, Petition & Memorial of the Towns of Bristol, Nobleborough, New-Castle, Edgecomb, and Boothbay, in the County of Lincoln, to the General Court of Massachusetts (Boston: J. Belcher, 1811), 39.
merchant, probably came to New England as a savvy trader with substantial experience in the overseas trading world, just as Abraham Shurt had when he first sailed to Maine in 1626. In this capacity, Knight would have arranged the shipment of imported goods from England or Europe to Pemaquid. With home bases in Bristol and Boston, Knight was ideally situated. These two ports were the leading trade centers in New England and England’s West Country, respectively. Consequently, the English merchant was able to keep track of the latest market developments and trade activity in New England and overseas. Thus, Robert Knight served as Abraham Shurt’s second set of eyes and ears, an advantage that enabled Pemaquid’s manager to make favorable financial decisions that were good for Pemaquid and its Bristol proprietors.

Robert’s brother, Francis Knight, played a similar role but with more localized responsibilities. His role was two-fold, that of domestic trade factor and truckmaster. All of his business was confined to New England, particularly the Sagadahoc region and Massachusetts Bay. The story of Francis Knight sheds further light on the makeup of Pemaquid society during the Bristol years, and it provides evidence directly linking the fishing plantation to territory well beyond those traditionally accepted by historians.

Francis Knight’s New England origins are hazy. He first appeared in Maine documents in 1640 as a thirty-year-old man, most likely emigrating as an employee of Gyles Elbridge.\(^\text{82}\) However, he was not a Pemaquid resident until about 1646. Francis Knight remained there until at least 1669, an unusually long time for area residents. Gyles Elbridge appeared to have originally sent Francis Knight to New England to manage a trading post at Nequasset, the site of present day Woolwich.\(^\text{83}\)

With Thomas Elbridge’s emigration to Pemaquid around 1648, the new proprietor of the fishing plantation likely retained Francis Knight, as a manager of both the Nequasset and Pemaquid truckhouses. However, he may have shared the latter job with the aging Abraham Shurt. Elbridge would have been wise to rely on Shurt given his long and distinguished career as a trusted and skilled trader and political negotiator among the region’s English, French, and Indians. In addition, the young Elbridge may also have had concerns about Francis Knight’s abilities as a trader and money manager. Robert’s younger brother had a spotty record when it came to paying off debts.\(^\text{84}\)


Thomas Elbridge’s arrival at Pemaquid signalled a shift in community oversight and in the financial and political fortunes, and population makeup of the settlement. Many of these changes can be tied to the host of personal financial and logistical problems that the young Bristol merchant brought with him. Thomas Elbridge entered this new world young, ill prepared, inexperienced, and land rich but cash poor. On the surface, his circumstances gave him impressive advantages that one would expect of the son of one of Bristol’s leading merchants. Thomas inherited the plantation of Pemaquid, a manor in the west of England, and a Bristol sugar refinery when his brother died in 1646. However, all was not well. At the time of his departure for New England, he was a year or two shy of twenty-one and with little experience in the business of trade. Thomas’s departure from England was likely expedited and possibly even forced by the financial state of his family and that of Bristol. By the mid-1640s, England was in the midst of the English Civil Wars. Bristol had been ravaged by the conflict. The Elbridge family was especially hardhit. Gyles and two of his sons (Robert and John) died between 1643 and 1646. In addition, Thomas inherited a £3,000 debt that his father owed his father-in-law, the prominent Bristol merchant Humphrey Hooke. Thomas’s difficulties did not let up with his arrival in New England. In the winter of 1650, Elbridge languished in a Boston jail. His crime, non-payment of debts reputedly owed the Reverend Hugh Peters of Salem and Sir

Richard Saltonstall of Boston, stemmed from the wreck of the *Angel Gabriel*. Once again, the young merchant-proprietor was caught up in events he inherited from his father and brother.

The plight of Thomas Elbridge revealed one of the flaws of the privately owned plantations of northern New England. During the Bristol Years, the fortunes of Pemaquid depended to a large degree on the financial health of its proprietors. As long as the plantation remained in the experienced, capable hands and deep pockets of Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge, Pemaquid would continue to flourish and compete with its English counterparts to the south. However, the difficult financial and political times of the 1640s strained the abilities of home-bound English proprietors to continue to adequately support and retain these plantations. For proprietors such as Thomas Elbridge, trying personal circumstances combined with his youth, professional inexperience, and limited financial resources made it extremely difficult to retain ownership of the plantation.

Such was the fate of many early privately owned plantations scattered along Maine’s southern coast. By mid-century, Massachusetts had annexed Sir Ferdinando Gorges’s “province of Maine,” helped largely by the colony’s growing economic and political might. By then, many of the province’s original proprietors had sold their

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proprietary rights to Massachusetts Bay merchants and land speculators. In contrast, Massachusetts Bay settlements such as Boston, Charlestown, Cambridge, and Salem had the advantage of being part of a sizeable colony with the financial backing of a consortium of powerful Old England commercial interests. At the fore was the Massachusetts Bay Company, an institution created and supported by an array of powerful English nobles and wealthy London merchants. Consequently, the Bay colony from its inception had access to a larger and far more varied stock of capital and much larger population with which to weather difficult times than did its northern counterparts.

Beneath Pemaquid’s tiny elite were the majority of Pemaquid’s residents. As was typical for the times, these individuals left a much less visible footprint in the historical record than their more well-to-do superiors. These emigrants were the fishermen, planters, carpenters, coopers, and blacksmiths who caught and processed the fish, tilled the land, harvested the crops, tended the livestock, and cut, hauled, and worked the timber, forged the building hardware, and shoed the horses and oxen that

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helped Pemaquid gain such prominence in New England during the 1630s and 1640s. However, in contrast to Pemaquid's elite, the vast majority of these people came as servants of the plantation's proprietors. Their immediate ambition was to fulfill the terms of their indenture. Once free of that, the ex-servants hoped to gain financial independence, purchase land, and establish their own homesteads.

Close examination of Pemaquid's mass of non-gentry population reveals more similarities with the English inhabitants of the distant fishing plantations huddled along Newfoundland's southeastern coast than with those of Massachusetts Bay. That they did should come as little surprise, since settlements such as Bristol's Hope, soon renamed Harbour Grace, and Ferryland had strong links to Bristol, England. Both of these plantations were subsidized by Bristol merchants and the city's influential Society of Merchant Venturers. In turn, Newfoundland's merchant underwriters and promoters, like Aldworth and Elbridge, saw year-round fishing as the best means of maximizing the yield of the coastal waters' wealth of cod. Commercial gain, not religion, was the driving force behind establishment of the Newfoundland plantations.89

Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge had access to a large pool of candidates for emigration. As prominent merchants, the two men could turn to a wide range of

social and business contacts throughout England to locate potential servant planters. Furthermore, Aldworth and Elbridge had access to a sizable body of current and former employees. Between 1604 and 1640, the merchants had trained and employed nearly sixty apprentices for a variety of professions, including mariner, merchant, and sugar refiner. As servants of the Bristol merchants, the emigrants would have agreed to work for their masters for a specific period of time. Servants labored under the contract for anywhere from three to nine years. In return, the master paid for their passage to the New World and their work once they completed the indenture. At that point, the servant was free to work for him or herself.

Fishermen would have comprised the majority of these emigrants. However, there were two distinct groups within Pemaquid's fishing community, a feature that was similar to most of Newfoundland's fishing plantations and even those of Massachusetts Bay, for example Salem and Marblehead. Pemaquid fishermen were comprised of locally based year-rounders and seasonal residents. The vast majority of the migratory fishermen were those who sailed up from the Massachusetts's North

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90 Bristol Apprentice Books (1628-1640), Bristol Record Office, Bristol, England; As yet, only one former employee, John White (sugar refiner), has yet been traced to Maine. He emigrated to Nequasset (Woolwich) in the early 1630s. However, research into this facet of Pemaquid's early history has been limited. Further study of old England documents may turn up more evidence of Aldworth and Elbridge employees signing on as Pemaquid servants.

Shore. They were complemented by the dwindling few who continued to make the long and arduous annual voyage from England’s West Country. Their home was the rocky shores of Monhegan and Damariscove. The year-rounders lived primarily on the mainland. These distinctions were limited not only to length of stay but also to the structure of their work routine and payment. The vast majority, if not all, of Pemaquid’s locally based fishermen probably worked as employees of the plantation and its proprietors under the direction of Abraham Shurt. Consequently, they were probably paid in much the same fashion as the fishermen who worked on Robert Trelawney’s fishing station. Under such a system, the men and boys would have been tied to a multi-year indenture. Their contracts probably lasted between three and five years, the length of time of the indentures of the Richmond Island fishermen and Abraham Shurt, respectively. Pay would have most likely between £5 and £10 per year. Shurt would have paid his fishermen in one of two ways, either with a flat annual salary or a salary plus a share of the catch.92 As employees of Aldworth and Elbridge, Pemaquid’s year round fishermen would have used fishing boats, stages, and flakes owned by the plantation’s proprietors, in much the same fashion as the men of the Trelawny fishing station. But, in contrast to the Trelawny fishermen, some of the Pemaquid men received a small tract of land to live and farm on. What is not clear is whether the recipients received the property outright after completing their indenture.

One deed indicates that Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge leased land to some of the emigrants they sent to Pemaquid.\textsuperscript{93} The majority of the unmarried fishermen may well have lived in a communal dwelling similar to the living quarters at the Trelawny fishing station.

In contrast, the vast majority of the seasonal fishermen labored as independent contractors, a system that they brought with them from the fishing plantations on the Bay's North Shore of Massachusetts Bay. Under such an arrangement, North Shore, Boston, or Charlestown merchants hired individual companies of fishermen, usually numbering two to four. The merchant advanced the company with the necessary fishing gear, supplies, and often the boat. The fishermen, in turn, agreed to sell the fish they caught to the outfitter. The merchant used the revenue from the sale to pay off the earlier expenses. The "net profit or loss" was divided into equal shares among the crew.\textsuperscript{94}

Pemaquid's workers, while dominated by fishermen, included those from a number of other occupations. The growing year-round settlement required farmers, carpenters, blacksmiths, coopers, masons, and general laborers. By the 1630s, the

\textsuperscript{93} William Bickford to Thomas Harris, December 9, 1661 (1738 copy of original), folio 85, Boston, Massachusetts State Archives.

plantation had logistical needs that far exceeded those of the seasonal fishing station of 1610s and early 1620s.

One of the more noticeable additions to Pemaquid’s work force were farmers. No longer was farming limited to the handful of livestock and small garden plots kept by the fishermen that inhabited the earlier fishing stations at Monhegan and Damariscove. Pemaquid, now, required a sizeable stock of cows, oxen, swine, poultry and crops of corn, wheat, and garden vegetables to feed its population. With that came the need for specialized, fulltime help. A number of the men, women, and children who tended the settlement’s livestock and crops did so as employees of the plantation’s manager and its Bristol proprietors. The system was probably similar to that employed by John Winter, manager of the Trelawny fishing station. Winter employed, as servants, several yeomen to tend the station’s large herds of pigs, goats, and cattle and twenty acres of crops on the mainland. Six women and girls milked the cows and operated a dairy. Consequently, the fruits of their labor were utilized to benefit the plantation as a whole, not individual residents. At the same time, individual planters and fishermen probably kept their own modest stocks of livestock and crops for personal consumption, a tradition that began with their West country seasonal predecessors. Typically, households rarely kept more than a handful of oxen and/or cows and pigs along with several chickens. Pemaquid’s agricultural production

did not rival that of Massachusetts Bay agricultural communities such as Cambridge, Watertown, and Springfield. However, the fishing plantation's farming operation was successful enough that in May 1640 Joseph Grafton of Salem sailed to Pemaquid to purchase and carry back "some twenty cows, oxen, etc, with hay and water." It is likely that these cattle were part of the herd overseen by Abraham Shurt and his field hands for Gyles Elbridge. William Hubbard, writing around 1667, noted that Pemaquid was "well accommodated with pasture land about the haven for feeding cattle, and some fields also for tillage." 96

Exploring Pemaquid's church, local government, and social relations provides further insight into the extent to which the plantation deviated from the settlements of Massachusetts Bay. How did this potentially volatile mix of planters, fishermen, traders, year-rounders, and seasonal residents get along? Were there local institutions strong enough to keep the plantation from self destructing? Once again, the picture that emerges is by no means clearcut. At first glance, Pemaquid seemed to fit the image presented by the royal commissioners in 1665 when describing the Sagadahoc region. This frontier settlement was part of a world that "never had any Government," lacked morals, and was full of social miscreants. 97 Pemaquid, as a proprietary plantation, lacked the participatory type of governmental institutions


that prevailed in Massachusetts Bay and to a certain degree in southern Maine.

Absent was a well structured, hierarchical body of local, county, officers who
oversaw community affairs. The plantation lacked a mayor or board of selectmen to
handle the day-to-day operation of local government. Pemaquidians had no grand jury,
justices of the peace, or constables to turn to address legal matters. Finally, positions
such as hog reeve, deer reeve, and fence viewer did not exist.98

The Pemaquid Patent gave Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge and their
“successors” authority “to make orders, laws, ordinances, and constructions, for the
rule, government, ordering, and directing” of the plantation’s residents.99 What
emerged was a system relying on local, province of Maine, and Massachusetts Bay
authorities and legal statutes. The system, while not without its flaws, provided the
plantation and its inhabitants with the opportunity to address political and legal
concerns. Pemaquid probably took a route similar to that of their peers in Sir
Ferdinando Gorges’ province of Maine. There, community leaders borrowed heavily

98 Rutman, *Winthrop’s Boston*, 42-44; Reid, *Maine, Charles II and Massachusetts*,
8-9. However, the political system that existed in Sir Ferdinando Gorges’s province
of Maine was not open to all. Gorges delegated power to a small core of large

99 Council of New England to Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge, February 29,
1631/2, *Suffolk Deeds* (Rockwell & Churchill, City Printers), III, folios 52-53;
Thomas Elbridge to Captain Paul White, February 1, 1651/2, *Suffolk Deeds* (Boston:
from Old England antecedents. For Pemaquid’s proprietors, the most logical choice would have been the political and legal institutions of their home town of Bristol. Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge were familiar with the inner workings of the city’s political and legal system, both as lifetime residents and community leaders. The result would no doubt have been a simplified variant. At the forefront was an “officer or officers” selected by the plantation’s residents. This individual was responsible for enforcing those laws and regulations formulated by Pemaquid’s proprietors.

However, the ultimate power remained in the hands of the proprietor of the plantation, an arrangement that appears to have held true at least through the tenure of Thomas Elbridge. Elbridge, soon after his 1648 emigration to Maine, “called a Court, unto which divers of the then Inhabitants of Monhegan and Damariscove repaired.” All we know of the gathering was that Elbridge charged the fishermen a fee to continue to use the islands as the base of their fishing operations. In actuality, the “court” convened by Elbridge was probably more than a one-time occurrence of limited political import. What Abraham Shurt had described in his 1662 deposition may well have been a political and civic institution that operated at Pemaquid during the early part of the proprietorship of Thomas Elbridge (1648-50) and quite possibly that of his father and Robert Aldworth. Some insight into how this court may have been

structured and operated is provided by the circumstances of a 17th-century manor in the Tidewater Maryland. For at least a decade and a half (circa 1652-1660s), the lord of St. Clement’s manor, Thomas Gerrard, oversaw a manor court along with a jury. Local residents regularly attended the formal court to resolve cases involving property disputes, trespassing livestock, petty thefts, and fights. This arrangement grew out of the nature of the manor, a feudal private holding. As a consequence, the planters of St. Clement’s manor looked to Thomas Gerrard for “protection, direction, and legal services” in much the same way that the early inhabitants of Pemaquid depended on the plantation’s proprietors and managers.

For legal matters involving Pemaquidians and “outsiders,” the parties turned to the legal institutions of Sir Ferdinando Gorges’ province of Maine and to Massachusetts Bay. Pemaquid did not have the legal mechanisms or institutions to handle these cases. Thus, Abraham Shurt and Robert Knight, in 1640, turned to the General Court of the province of Maine to collect a debt owed them by John Lander of the Piscataqua River region. Several weeks later, the same court handled a more complicated debt case involving Giles Elbridge, represented by Abraham Shurt, and a


102 Walsh, “Community Networks,” 204.
host of other plaintiffs and the defendant Thomas Purchase of Pejebscot
(Brunswick).^{103}

Pemaquid also lacked an organized church and professional minister during the
Bristol Years. The one attempt local residents made to hire a minister met with failure.
In 1641, Pemaquidians sought to share the services of the Reverend Robert Jordan
with the Trelawny fishing station, where he was already ministering to the needs of
the fishermen. He rejected their offer.^{104} However, the fact that there was enough
interest among the local populace to hire a minister indicates that religious worship,
while not as formalized and pervasive as it was in Massachusetts Bay, was a part of
the lives of a number of Pemaquidians. Those Pemaquidians who felt the need to
worship would have done so through lay ministers and private worship, just as their
successors did in the early 1670s and 1680s. Lacking a church building, worshippers
would have met in individual homes for lay-led services or sermons. Others
undoubtedly read passages from personal copies of the Bible, alone or with family
members in the privacy of their homes. No where was this more evident than in the
home of Thomas Elbridge. He kept copies of at least four religious texts; the Bible,

^{103} Abraham Shurt and Robert Knight vs. John Lander, June 25, 1640, Giles Elbridge
et al vs. Thomas Purchase, July 11 and September 8, 1640 in Charles Thornton
Libby, ed., Province and Court Records of Maine (Portland: Maine Historical Society,
1928), I, 48, 56-57.

^{104} John Winter to Robert Trelawny, August 2, 1641, Baxter, ed., Trelawny Papers,
III, 287-288.
The faith & head of the church, A Plea for grace and military discipline, and A sermon of nobility in his house.\textsuperscript{105}

Thus, for the majority of Pemaquidians, religious worship and practice was probably a personal and private experience. Christianity (Anglicanism) was not an important element that bound the inhabitants together and directed their daily lives as it did for many in Massachusetts Bay. All one has to do is consider Pemaquid’s lack of an organized church and professional minister and the preponderance of profane fishermen.

Unlike Massachusetts Bay and Plimoth plantation, Pemaquid’s early history began with its establishment in about 1610 as a series of migratory fishing stations on the islands of Monhegan, Damariscove, and the eastern shore of the Pemaquid peninsula. With that foundation, Pemaquid had a promising start, thanks to the growing interest of English merchants in the region’s potential as a source of fish, timber, and furs. In the intervening fifteen years, the fisheries on these two islands and the mainland became the focal point of English fishermen from Plimoth plantation, Jamestown, and England’s West Country. By around 1622, year-round English fishing plantations emerged on Damariscove and Monhegan, along with the seasonal stations of West Country fishermen. Within three or four years, the offshore plantations had been consolidated into a single settlement focused on the Pemaquid peninsula purchased by Bristol merchants Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge.

\textsuperscript{105} Paul White to Richard Russell and Nicholas Davison, September 25, 1657, Middlesex County, Massachusetts Deeds, Volume II, folio 26-28.
In contrast to the Puritan settlements of Massachusetts Bay, Pemaquid developed as a privately owned proprietary settlement with direct ties to Bristol, England, the home of its merchant owners. The plantation’s founding principles were based in commercial profit, not the religious ideals pursued by the leaders of Massachusetts Bay. Until the mid-17th-century, this sprawling but thinly populated plantation operated under the management of a single New England-based agent, several underlings, and the distant Bristol proprietors. Local participation in the political process was limited. The vast majority of Pemaquid’s inhabitants labored as servants of the plantation’s proprietors. Land ownership was limited to a handful of residents.

Thus, Pemaquid by 1650 stood out from its southern neighbors not only as the northeasternmost English settlement on North America’s eastern seaboard, excluding those of Newfoundland, but also as cast from a different mold than the communities of Massachusetts Bay and Plimoth. While situated in New England, Pemaquid’s social and political institutions more resembled those of the English fishing settlements of Newfoundland and the manors of Tidewater Virginia and Maryland than those of its Puritan and Pilgrim counterparts. Such an arrangement did not auger well for development of a healthy, vibrant plantation.
CHAPTER TWO

THE CHANGING FORTUNES OF PEMAUQID

A Time of Transition (1650 - 1676)

For Pemaquid, the 1650s, 1660s, and first half of the 1670s was a period of considerable change. The plantation followed a path that in some ways resembled, albeit on a smaller scale, the changes that occurred not only in Massachusetts Bay, but also throughout New England. In other respects Pemaquid retained those elements of its social, economic, political, and religious makeup that set it and many of the English settlements of Maine apart from their southern peers. During this period, control of Pemaquid shifted from Old England to Massachusetts Bay proprietors. With this shift came the first substantial influx of planters from Massachusetts Bay. As a consequence, Pemaquid, just as the rest of New England, moved from being a settlement of English immigrants to one of native born New Englanders. In turn, Pemaquid developed even stronger social and economic links with the Bay colony, particularly Boston, Charlestown, and Salem. The result was increased accessibility to material things, domestic and imported, for the well-to-do as well as those of modest means. For the first time, the fishing plantation had reasonably well-structured county
and local government, the result of English crown and Bay efforts to gain political control of provincial Maine.

At the same time, some earlier distinctions between Pemaquid and her Puritan counterparts became even more pronounced. During this period, the disparity between the population and commercial importance of Pemaquid and her neighbors to the south grew. While Bay settlements Boston and Charlestown continued to blossom in the next quarter century, Pemaquid's population grew at a much slower pace. Boston strengthened its position as New England's leading entrepot and population center, while Pemaquid failed to move beyond its status as one of northern New England's leading fishing and trading outposts. As a consequence, Pemaquid was unable to fully shake the harshness that had long been a part of community life, both in image and reality. Finally, war visited Pemaquid and brought the settlement to a dramatic and fiery end.

During the third quarter of the 17th-century, much of New England was the scene of expanding English settlement. Northern New England, while experiencing growth, did so at a much slower pace than its southern counterparts. Growth was heaviest on Maine's southern coast between the eastern side of the Piscataqua River and the Saco River. By 1671, there were five clusters of English settlement: Kittery-York, Wells and Cape Porpoise, Saco and Winter Harbor, Scarborough, and Casco Bay. The region had approximately 2,700 inhabitants, with 900 living in the settlements of Kittery and York. By comparison, Boston alone had approximately
3,000 residents in 1650. Twenty years later, the Bay entrepôt had over 5,000 residents.¹

The Sagadahock region, of which Pemaquid was a part, was even more lightly populated. In 1671, this region had approximately 400 residents. Beginning in the 1650s, the first substantial settlement took place along the Kennebec River thanks in large part to the efforts of Boston merchants Thomas Clarke and Thomas Lake. Until then, the population consisted of fourteen families scattered along the Kennebec. By 1665, roughly thirty families and 150 inhabitants were living on both sides of the river. Most of the settlement remained scattered, excluding a fortified hamlet established by Clarke and Lake on Arrowsic Island near the mouth of the Kennebec River.² Seven to eight miles east of the Kennebec settlements was the Sheepscot River, home of the English plantation of Sheepscot. Since its inception in the 1630s, Sheepscot had grown into a lightly populated but flourishing farming community. In 1665, at least fifteen families lived along the Sheepscot. By the third quarter of the century, the plantation had developed to the point that Emerson Baker describes it as "the breadbasket of the Sagadahock" region. Sheepscot farmers owned upwards of


1,000 head of cattle, a huge number for the region. Southeast of Sheepscot and scattered along the coast was the fishing community of Cape Newagen and the tiny settlement of Winnegance. Winnegance probably comprised no more than four or five families scattered on the eastern portion of today's Boothbay peninsula, Rutherford's Island, and Fisherman's Island. Slightly more than fifty miles of largely undeveloped coastline and interior separated Pemaquid from its nearest European neighbor to the east—the Acadian fortified outpost of Pentagoet. Pentagoet, situated near the mouth of the Penobscot River, was the seat of the French military government and a major trading post. Here, the French established a fortification and a tiny civilian community. In 1671, Pentagoet consisted of one family and a garrison of 25 troops.

Little had probably changed on the "town's" waterfront aside from the addition of one or two more wharves and fishing stages. The mouth of the Pemaquid River remained active with the usual traffic of fishing shallops, ketches, coastal trading vessels, and the occasional ocean-going merchantmen anchored or sailing in and out of the river's inner and outer harbors. The Pemaquid Beach village was connected to its

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3 Baker, "Trouble to the Eastward:" The Failure of Anglo-Indian Relations in Early Maine, Ph.D. dissertation, College of William and Mary, 1986, 71-72, 81-83; Libby, ed., Province and Court Records of Maine, I, 244-245; Barbara Rumsey, Colonial Boothbay. Mid-1600s to 1775 (East Boothbay, Maine: Winnegance House and Boothbay Historical Society, 2000), 14-76.

sister village of New Harbor two and a half miles east on the other side of the Pemaquid peninsula by a dirt cart path (Map 7). New Harbor continued as home to a small community of fishing families clustered about the harbor and the smaller Back and Long Coves.

English settlement had also expanded upriver. Most prominent was a site nearly a mile north of the English plantation’s heart. What had probably begun as a modest earthfast dwelling in the 1640s had developed into a small fortified hamlet by the early 1670s, possibly earlier. The complex consisted of at least one large multipurpose building that housed living quarters and a truckhouse, an adjacent blacksmith shop, a possible tannery, and probably several other dwellings and outbuildings (Maps 9, 10, Figure 12). The hamlet was protected by a fortification consisting of earthworks and probably a palisade and one or more cannon (Figure 13). Further upriver, several planters and their families led by Thomas Elbridge and John Ridgeway Sr. established the first homes and farms adjacent to “the

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5 Neill De Paoli, “Self-Sufficiency on the 17th Century Maine Frontier: Gunsmithing, Shot Manufacture, and Flintknapping at the MC Lot, Pemaquid Harbor, Maine.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Council for Northeast Historical Archaeology, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 1993. My belief that the earthen mound and the related structure depicted in Figure 13 was another element of the defenses that protected the 17th-century hamlet at Pemaquid Harbor was based on previously recovered artifacts and the feature’s configuration and elevation. During the mid-19th century, local residents recovered a number of cannon balls, a cutlass, and a bayonet from the interior of the mound. The late 19th or early 20th century photograph of the mound includes a linear “cut” in the earthen wall overlooking the Pemaquid River. That same “cut” is still visible today. The feature, while possibly evidence of pre-20th century excavations, could just as well have been an embrasure in the mound that permitted the sighting and firing of a cannon. The mound itself has a commanding position, providing an excellent view up and down river.

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Map 10. Plan view of archaeological remains of fortified dwelling/truckhouse and blacksmith shop, fortified hamlet (c. 1640-1676), Pemaquid Harbor, Maine. Solid black lines delineate the layout of the dwelling/truckhouse. The blacksmith shop is indicated by the broken line rectangle.
Figure 12. Flagstone cellar floor to fortified dwelling/truckhouse, fortified hamlet (c. 1640-1676), Pemaquid Harbor, Maine. Looking southwest. Scale = one foot.
Figure 13. Stone foundation to fortified structure, fortified hamlet (c. 1640-1676), Pemaquid Harbor, Maine. Photograph probably taken in 1890s or 1923. Courtesy of Maine Historical Society, Portland, Maine.
Great Falls” during the 1650s and early 1660s. Elbridge quite likely relocated there soon after he had sold the last of the Pemaquid Patent and vacated the plantation’s “great house” in the late 1650s. That building appears to have been located on the western bank of the Pemaquid River a short distance northeast of its mouth of the Pemaquid River. A Great Falls resident, in her description of the Elbridge/Ridgeway dwelling, provided the earliest eyewitness description of a Pemaquid home. Mary Drown, who lived with John Ridgeway in the Great Falls dwelling as a girl, possibly as a servant, noted that “One End of said House was built with Stones the other.... with Loggs or Wood & Part of Stone.” A house as substantial as this structure undoubtedly had a stoned cellar as well. The structure’s stone gable described by the elderly woman was reminiscent of the “stone enders” of 17th-century Rhode Island, while a far cry from the earthfast buildings that probably predominated in Pemaquid during the Bristol Years. More importantly, the Elbridge/Ridgeway home is another example of Pemaquid dwellings far more substantial than those in the image presented by the royal commissioners.6

The Pemaquid Falls area was especially attractive to English planters. The neighborhood was well endowed with flat and gently sloping land, ideal for livestock grazing and crop production. In addition, Pemaquid Falls was a rich source of fish. The area had long been an important source of food to Pemaquid’s prehistoric Native

American population. Local fishermen regularly fished for alewives at the Falls throughout the 18th-century. These anadramous fish were a valuable source of fishing bait.7

Just as attractive to Pemaquidians would have been the “Great Falls” potential as a source of power for a saw mill. That Pemaquid needed such a mill is without question. As with much of New England by the third quarter of the 17th-century, Pemaquid required increasing amounts of timber for the settlement’s new homes, store houses, fishing stages, fences, etc. Pemaquid Falls was the only set of falls in the plantation that was readily accessible and generated sufficient power to make such an operation feasible. That fact was made quite clear a century later. In 1763, an enterprising Pemaquidian was running a saw mill at the Great Falls. Such an operation would have provided Pemaquid’s inhabitants with a source of lumber that would have far exceeded the production rates of the more laborious two-man pit saws and the expense of shipping in lumber produced in mills operating in the more distant Arrowsic on the lower Kennebec, the Piscataqua River region, or Massachusetts Bay.

The case for a mill operating at the Great Falls during the 17th century is further buttressed by the testimony of past residents. During the late 19th century, local inhabitants recalled seeing the remains of a “canal or watercourse” adjacent to the Great Falls. The channel was nearly ten feet wide, 4-5 feet deep, and roughly 250 to 330 feet long. A century and a half earlier (1730s), the first wave of new settlers to Pemaquid noted that several sizable trees were growing in the channel, suggesting the feature was in use at the time of the 1689 Indian attack and probably a good deal earlier. Lastly, Great Falls residents such as Thomas Elbridge and his successor Thomas Gyles would have had both the financial means and interest in establishing a mill at this location.8

Similarly, the early English inhabitants of Pemaquid Falls may also have had access to a small shipyard that produced vessels for fishing, trade, and transportation. A possible 17th century ship’s way is situated roughly 500 yards southwest and below the Great Falls (Figure 14). The way consists of a long linear cut, approximately 60 x 20 feet, that slopes downhill to the mudflats of the Pemaquid River. Two hewn timbers paralleling each other and a third lying beneath are located at the bottom of the cut. Here, the shipbuilders would have laid the keel of the small

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Figure 14. Hewn timbers to possible 17th century ship's way eroding out of bank of Pemaquid River, Pemaquid Falls, Maine. Looking northwest. Scale = one foot.
craft under construction. Slightly more than fifteen years ago, a visiting geologist
recovered the wooden hull to a late 17th century child’s toy boat or model eroding out
of the river bank a short distance from the way (Figure 15).

After 1650, settlement extended beyond the northern reaches of the Pemaquid
River. Furthermore, much of the new settlement did not involve the original
proprietors, and their heirs, of the Pemaquid Patent. The land was passed from area-
Indians and one of Pemaquid’s first planters to a new generation of English settlers.
Beginning in the 1650s and early 1660s, four or five families cleared land and built
homes on the shores of Round Pond and Somerset Island (Loud’s Island). Nearly all
of them were related by birth or through marriage to John Brown Sr., one of
Pemaquid’s earliest and longest continuous settlers. Similarly, six English planter
families established homes on the upper portion of the Damariscotta River a short
distance south and north of today’s Newcastle-Damariscotta Bridge. Two of the
planters were not new to the Sagadahoc region. Walter Phillips had moved from
nearby Winnegance, where he may have settled as early 1639. John Brown Jr. was
born to John Sr. and his wife Margaret in 1635. He lived in New Harbor until his
thirtieth birthday.9

9 Rumsey, Colonial Boothbay, 19-20; Deposition of Ruth Barnaby, September 6,
1764, Deposition of John Pierce, November 20, 1764, Deposition of John Brown,
February 9, 1720/1, Deposition of John Dall, March 12, 1734/5, Deposition of
Captain Cyprian Southark, July 26, 1738, Commissioners of Lincoln County,
Figure 15. Wooden hull to toy ship or model, late 17th century. Pemaquid Falls, Maine. Scale = three inches. Courtesy of Nicholas Dean.
These settlers had selected their sites well. All six families were situated on a river that was an excellent waterway and source of fish and shellfish. Furthermore, the planters had ready access to salt marsh grass, a common source of fodder for cattle during the 17th century. Walter Phillips regularly cut and mowed the marsh grass and hay near his home for his livestock. In turn, the planters were well situated to do business with area Indians. Walter Phillip’s second Damariscotta home was located just above the site of an Indian carrying place (canoe portage) and trail.10

The plantation’s island communities of Monhegan and Damariscove flourished during the third quarter of the 17th-century. By the early 1670s, roughly eighteen and fifteen fishermen (some with families), respectively, were living year round on Monhegan and Damariscove. As in past years, the islands’ population increased dramatically between January or February and September with the annual influx of seasonal fishermen, primarily from the North Shore fishing settlements of Marblehead, Salem, and Gloucester.11 In both places, the fishermen continued to concentrate homes and work facilities around the long-used shores of Damariscove Harbor and Manana Harbor. However, some of the newcomers very likely had to establish homes further away from the waterfront as the prime lots filled.


What appeared to be unfolding was a settlement phenomenon that had probably emerged early in Pemaquid’s history as a year-round plantation. Pemaquid’s fishing community was generally located on the periphery of the plantation: New Harbor, and the offshore islands. In turn, the settlement’s non-fishing community congregated primarily on the more versatile, higher quality sites along the Pemaquid River. That this took place was due to the differing needs of the two groups. The fishermen needed immediate access to the offshore fishing grounds in the vicinity of Monhegan and Damariscove. New Harbor and the fishing islands provided them with that along with deep harbors for fishing boats and stages. Conversely, the planters, merchants, and traders sought the lands flanking the Pemaquid River. This area was the site of the plantation’s best grazing and crop land. The lands and waters at the river’s mouth were also the focal point of Pemaquid’s business district.

During the third quarter of the 17th-century, Pemaquid society followed a trend that first began emerging in the Bristol Years. What we see is a settlement despite its place on New England’s northern periphery, exhibiting some features that one would be more apt to expect in Massachusetts Bay’s heart rather than the distant “howling wilderness.” This was a phenomenon that was taking place throughout New England, at varying rates, of course. New England’s economy was growing as it reaped the benefits of old and new domestic and overseas markets for its supplies of fish, timber products, and furs. New Englanders increasingly turned to trade, direct and indirect, with the Caribbean, the Wine Islands (Madeira, Canary Islands), Spain, and Portugal. In addition, supplies and emigrants once again flowed freely between...
England and New England as the mother country gradually recovered from the societal, economic, and political disruption of the English Civil Wars and their aftermath.\textsuperscript{12} From this trade emerged a body of merchants of considerable wealth, men such as Valentine Hill, of Boston, and Richard Russell, Robert Sedgwick, and Nicholas Davison of Charlestown.

Looking north to Pemaquid, one can see the impact, albeit more modest, that New England’s flourishing economy had on the settlement’s societal makeup, health, and socio-economic and political orientation. The plantation’s strong ties to Bristol and England’s West Country were being eroded and displaced by a new generation of proprietors and inhabitants with Massachusetts Bay connections. At the forefront were the plantation’s new proprietors.

Between 1650 and 1657, Thomas Elbridge sold the Pemaquid Patent to three prominent Massachusetts Bay merchants.\textsuperscript{13} Nicholas Davison and Richard Russell were Charlestown residents and business partners. Both men were part of the colony’s economic and political elite. Nicholas Davison was active in domestic and overseas trade, maintaining business contacts in such far-flung locations as Boston, Charlestown, Virginia, Barbados, London, the Wine Islands, and Spain. At the time of Davison’s death in 1664, his estate was valued at £1,896 and included three homes, a


\textsuperscript{13} Suffolk Deeds (Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, 1885), III, folio 46, 49-52, 57-58, 69-70.
wharf and warehouse, common land in Charlestown and Boston, and a 2,120 acre tract in Connecticut. Richard Russell had an even more impressive background. Russell was well entrenched in Bay politics, having served as Treasurer and Speaker of the General Council and member of the Court of Assistants. He, like Nicholas Davison, had invested heavily in the transatlantic trade, with business contacts scattered about Massachusetts, England, and Europe. By the time of Richard Russell’s death in 1674, he was worth £3,505. Russell’s holdings included two homes, interest in 9 ships, a warehouse, and a black slave. Captain Paul White was a Newbury, Massachusetts merchant. White, Davison, and Russell were all active in the purchase and sale of tracts of land scattered about New England. Among Nicholas Davison’s land transactions, he purchased property in Exeter, New Hampshire, Wells, Maine, and the lower Connecticut River Valley. Between 1660 and 1674, Richard Russell acquired and sold land in eastern Massachusetts and southern Maine, ranging from 20 to 2,500 acres. Captain Paul White purchased a 500-acre lot along with a house and outbuildings near the mouth and on the Maine side of the Piscataqua River from Captain Francis Champernowne in 1648.


The portfolios and actions of these three men typified a routine that became increasingly common in New England during the second half of the 17th-century. Massachusetts Bay merchants bought large tracts of land in New England’s frontier regions with no intent of settling on the property. They did so as speculators and resource extractors.\textsuperscript{16} Of the three proprietors, Nicholas Davison was the most involved in directing oversight of the plantation. He periodically visited and spent time at Pemaquid during his seven year tenure (1657-1664) as sole proprietor of the plantation. Davison ultimately died and was buried at Pemaquid.\textsuperscript{17}

Still others of Pemaquid’s new elite came from North Shore settlements such as Salem, a town with which Pemaquid had commercial ties that reached back to the early 1640s. Thomas Gardner was the most prominent of these migrants. While English-born, Gardner lived most of his early years in Salem as the son of a prominent and first-generation planter Thomas Gardner Sr. Thomas Jr. was living in Pemaquid by 1661 with his wife and children. By that time, Gardner was in his late 40s. He rapidly established himself as a leading economic and political force not only within

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17 The site of his truck house and “tomb” is reputedly on the western side of the Pemaquid River near its mouth. Deposition of Tobias Oakman, February 16, 1737, Deposition of Abigail Fitch, June 19, 1771, Suffolk Court Files #139532, folio 42. Massachusetts State Archives, Boston.
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the local community but the Sagadahoc region as a whole. During Thomas Gardner’s fifteen year residence at Pemaquid, he served as commissioner, justice of the peace, and commander of the militia of Devonshire county (Sagadahoc region). Gardner also was one of the region’s leading English traders with the Wabanaki and French. In the last two roles, he was an unusual but critical voice of reason and moderation when it came to Anglo-Indian and Anglo-Acadian relations in the Sagadahoc region. The Pemaquidian employed a number of fishermen and owned and operated one of Pemaquid’s three taverns. Thus, Thomas Gardner played an important part in Pemaquid’s economic well being and stability, as had his predecessor Abraham Shurt.

Pemaquid’s elite did include holdovers from the Aldworth-Elbridge era. Thomas Elbridge remained one of the plantation’s leading inhabitants, continuing to call Pemaquid home until 1676. While Elbridge sold the Pemaquid Patent, he retained a sizable amount of land. In 1667, Thomas leased three hundred acres of land in Round Pond to fisherman and fellow Pemaquidian John Dollen. He was financially well off enough to import seven English male indentured servants from Bristol, England during the early 1660s. He could have used them in a variety of capacities, including general

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laborers, farm hands, fishermen, or possibly even craftsmen. In Pemaquid, these were not the only cases of local residents hiring servants. There were four other examples of Pemaquidians importing indentured servants or slaves during the late 1670s and 1680s.

Most of Pemaquid’s workers were fishermen. Their prevalence undoubtedly was a major reason for outsiders portraying Pemaquid and its residents in such a negative light. But let us look more closely at the picture. At first glance, there is ample evidence to understand why Pemaquid’s (largely Puritan) critics portrayed the fishing plantation as dominated by individuals of loose morals, violent behavior, and little interest in organized government. Seventeenth-century New England fishermen by nature were an independent, young, tough, and at times rowdy lot. Much of that can be tied to the nature of fishing itself. The men and boys worked long hours, often in harsh conditions. The research of historians such as Daniel Vickers and Edward Churchill has made that quite clear.

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19 The use of indentured servants in Maine during the latter half of the 17th-century was more common than most scholars recognize. A cursory review of twenty probate inventories and deeds of southern Maine households for the period revealed four households in southern Maine with servants or slaves. They ranged from the single male servant indentured to William Scadlock Sr. of Winter Harbor to “five servant men & mades” working for Humphrey Chadbourne of Berwick. Inventory of William Scadlock, February 6, 1665, Maine Province and Court Records, I, 247; Inventory of Humphrey Chadbourne, September 12, 1667, York Deeds (Portland: John T. Hull and B. Thurston & Company, 1887), II, folio 30.

The particulars of some of Pemaquid’s fishermen only reinforced this image. All one had to do was look at three incidents involving Gregory Cassel, Richard Bedford, and John Lux. Gregory Cassel was a Boston fisherman who often shipped out with others for Monhegan. In October 1654, Cassel attacked and mortally injured his skipper Mathew Cannidge with a hammer in the latter’s “house” on Monhegan. The altercation stemmed from tension that had been building between the youthful Cassell and the “old man.” Cassell’s response to one of his fellow fishermen about the incident was “It was dun and It Could not: be undun or to yt purpose.” The violence of the attack and the perpetrator’s callous remark only added to the harsh image of this man. Cassell was no stranger to violence and trouble with the law. He was in court at Marblehead on several occasions between 1657 and 1663 for fighting and overdue bills. Cannidge’s comment that “if he had the said Castle in place where ther was any government he would trouble him” for the attack only perpetuated the stereotype of a frontier dominated by violence and social disorder. It is a bit ironic that the Court of Assistants acquitted Gregory Cassell because the case was out of its jurisdiction.21

Richard Bedford provided Pemaquid’s critics with another example of a frontier fisherman; the drunken ne’er-do-well. In 1672, Bedford worked as a shoreman on a fishing voyage at Monhegan. As such, he was responsible for preparing the fish

for shipment to the English or European market. Instead, Bedford spent most of his
time getting drunk. The way he went about doing it only added to his negative and,
indeed, somewhat bizarre image. One of his work mates noted that Bedford would
drink and “lie under the flakes or in one house or another.” Worse yet, the shoreman
enticed other fishermen to drink with him. When tipling with them, the Marblehead
fisherman tucked the bottle “in the knees of his britches.” In the process, he ruined
the whole load of fish caught during this fishing voyage. On top of that, Bedford
refused his skipper’s demand that he return to Marblehead with the rest of the fishing
crew. His troubles were not limited to fishing. In 1672, the Essex County court
ordered him to return to his wife with whom he was “living apart.”

John Lux’s story was a bit more convoluted. Lux moved to Damariscove in
1662 or 1663 from Cape Porpoise where he owned a home and fishing facilities. He
apparently ran off with his newly married wife, Mary, the widow of Gregory
Jefferies, to the island. What the couple left behind were Mary’s children and
accusations of adultery. She left her nephew, Charles Potum, with the children to his
surprise and anger. What followed were a series of suits and countersuits made by
John and Mary Lux, Potum, and others over the property of Mary Lux and her ex-

22 George Dow, ed., Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County
husband. Within a year or two, Lux and his wife moved from Pemaquid and resettled in Boston.\textsuperscript{23}

However, there was another side to the story of Pemaquid’s fishermen that ran contrary to the image of the hard-drinking, footloose, and morally suspect individual. While a large number of seasonal fishermen flocked to the waters of the fishing plantation every year, Pemaquid also had a small but growing number of fishermen who made long term commitments to living and working on New England’s northern periphery. Most, if not all, of them were new to the area, having emigrated to Pemaquid from Salem, Marblehead, and Charlestown, Massachusetts. Of the forty-eight year-round fishermen known to have been active in Pemaquid during these years, three of them lived in Pemaquid for slightly more than twenty-five years. Four others and possibly a fifth were Pemaquid residents for twelve to fifteen years.

Contemporaries identified two more local fishermen as longtime inhabitants, individuals who probably called Pemaquid home for a decade or more. Of Pemaquid’s remaining fishermen, the vast majority only lived in the area for between four and six years. Two men disappeared within a year or two of their arrival. However, most of these short timers, along with Pemaquid’s longtime residents, left not by choice but circumstance. Their departure was expedited by the outbreak of Anglo-Indian warfare in the summer of 1676. There is little question that most, if not all, of Pemaquid’s short timers would have remained longer if not for Pemaquid’s abandonment and

destruction in 1676. What is less clear is how long they would have remained if peace had continued.24

Pemaquid’s fishing community also evidenced patterns in marriage and family size that reflected the region’s growing stability. Of the forty-eight year-round fishermen, fifteen were married (31% of the total). Again, this figure would have been even higher if not for the large number (33) of fishermen for which data on marital status and family size was not available. Twelve of the fifteen married fishermen had a total of 24 children. These fishing households had from one to five children with an average of 2.0 children per family.25 These figures point to a growing confidence among fishermen that they could raise or bring a family to New England’s northern frontier. This pattern stands in marked contrast to that of their predecessors who had worked in the seasonal fishing stations on Monhegan, Damariscove, and New Harbor and the nascent plantation during the Bristol Years.

Further evidence of the fishing community’s growing commitment to the plantation could be seen in their involvement in local government. In 1673, Massachusetts Bay annexed the Sagadahoc region. In its stead, the Massachusetts

24 Table 1; Petition of John Sellman, c. 1686, Collections of the Maine Historical Society (Portland: Hoyt, Fogg & Donham, 1881), VIII, 193; Deposition of John Cox, September 18, 1736, Suffolk Court Files Case #139498, folio 29. Boston, Massachusetts State Archives; George P. Dow, ed., Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts (Lynn: Thomas P. Nichols & Son Co, 1913), III, 210-211; Johnston, History of Bristol and Bremen, 110.

General Court created the county of Devonshire, encompassing all of the land between the Kennebec and Muscongus Rivers. With Pemaquid's establishment as a county of Massachusetts in 1673, Bay authorities created a complex of county and local judicial and military positions. As expected, Pemaquid's elite held the upper-tier of positions: Devon county treasurer, commissioner of the county court, and commander of the county militia. Pemaquid's Thomas Gardner held all three of these posts. However, Pemaquid's fishermen were well represented. They held twelve (60%) of the county's twenty middle- and lower-tier posts. Even more impressive was the fact that Pemaquid's fishermen were the only local residents that held these positions. The posts included constable, recorder and clerk of the courts, clerk of writs, grand jurymen, and sergeant and corporal of the militias for their respective islands and the newly created county of Devon.²⁶

However, this shift in settlement governance is also revealing in another way. While more residents were participating in the political process, the real positions of power and authority remained in the hands of a very small number of individuals. Not surprisingly, they were the settlement's elite, men such as Thomas Gardner and John Dollen. Both, particularly Gardner, held extensive tracts of land and were active entrepreneurs. Dollen, while a fisherman by trade, had probably put his fishing days behind him, as he was in his mid-40s and commercially successful. Local fishermen

worked for him. Thus, local governance in Pemaquid had changed little from that of the Bristol Years, despite the shift from proprietary to provincial government.

In contrast to their Bristol Years counterparts, at least six of Pemaquid’s fishermen owned sizable tracts of land and livestock. Most prominent was John Dollen. Dollen was unusual in the extent of his property holdings and how he used them. However, the fact that he was a large landowner is not surprising considering his status as Pemaquid’s leading fisherman and one of the plantation’s more prominent residents. The Monhegan fisherman owned much of the island. In addition, Dollen leased a three-hundred-acre parcel on the Pemaquid mainland. He used these properties for fishing facilities, crop and livestock production, and probably timber harvesting.27 In contrast to these six fishermen, most of Pemaquid’s fishermen would have rented, leased, or owned much smaller lots due to financial constraints. In all likelihood, these fishermen turned to local leading lights such as John Dollen and the mainland’s Thomas Gardner, Nicholas Davison, and Thomas Elbridge for leaseholds or property rentals. With these parcels, the fishermen established modest homes and space for small vegetable gardens, a pig or two, and small flocks of chickens adjacent to their dwellings. Some men such as Richard Hunniwell and John Cole were fortunate enough to own their own fishing shallop. These men worked as independent contractors, usually with one or more partners. Others worked for Nicholas Davison,

Thomas Gardner, and John Dollen, who provided the fishing boats, supplies, and gear. Davison, Gardner, and Dollen would most likely have utilized a pay schedule reminiscent of that employed by John Winter at the Trelawny fishing station and fishing merchants of Massachusetts North Shore. They paid these fishermen an annual salary and a share of the year’s catch.

These work arrangements differed little from those utilized on Massachusetts’s North Shore. That they were similar should come as little surprise considering the origins of the vast majority of Pemaquid’s fishermen, both lowly and elite. Just as with their predecessors from the first half of the 17th-century, these men were drawing on their earlier experiences and models. Most of Pemaquid’s fishermen had emigrated from New England’s fishing centers of Salem and Marblehead. Typically, these men had worked there as fishermen on the seasonal voyages to Monhegan and Damariscove. It only made sense that the ex-North Shore seamen continued to work under a system that they knew and with which they were relatively comfortable.28

At the same time, the landholding pattern among Pemaquid’s fishermen appeared to differ from that of their peers from Massachusetts’ Essex county. Daniel Vickers notes that few of the region’s fishermen were able to acquire farmland or animals. This pattern changed little even after retirement. The ex-fishermen “rarely accumulated more than a garden or an orchard with perhaps a cow or a few pigs.”

There are several possible explanations for the difference. Foremost was the possibility that the distinction may be due, in large part, to the fact that those Pemaquid fishermen who owned a significant amount of property were the elite of Pemaquid’s fishing community. They were the exception. The vast majority of the plantation’s fishermen appeared to have ownership patterns more in line with their Salem and Marblehead counterparts. Furthermore, Pemaquid’s fishing community experienced a second limitation similar to that of many North Shore fishermen. There was only one case of a Pemaquid fishermen finding the means to move from Pemaquid’s periphery to the more fertile and desirable locales along the Pemaquid River. The vast majority remained on the Pemaquid peninsula’s rocky eastern shore, Monhegan, Damariscove, and Fisherman’s Island. Their reasons for staying put undoubtedly varied. Many of these fishermen were unable to muster the finances to make such a move possible. Others remained because these locations were best suited for fishing. Finally, many had grown used to living among their own.

farmers and merchants would have been socially uncomfortable. Thus, from Pemaquid's perspective the distinction that Daniel Vicker's drew between the fishermen of Essex County and Maine was far less pronounced.\textsuperscript{30}

The growing commitment to long-term residence among Pemaquid's fishermen was reflected not only social demographics, politics, and landholding patterns but also in the physical manifestation of their world. One of the elements that distinguished the earlier seasonal fishing stations from the year round-fishing plantations was the ephemeral nature of the former's living and work facilities. The fishermen of seasonal fishing stations built stages, outbuildings, and dwellings intended for the short term. In contrast, the fishing operations of the the second and third quarters of the 17th-century were better equipped, sturdier, and more numerous. By the early 1670s, the permanent populations of Damariscove and Monhegan likely hit their 17\textsuperscript{th} century peaks. The former island probably had roughly 40-45 permanent residents while the latter had somewhere on the order of 45-55 year-rounders.\textsuperscript{31} With this growing year round population came expansion and improvement of living quarters and fishing facilities. These fishermen were more apt to construct fishing stages and living

\textsuperscript{30}Vickers, Farmers and Fishermen, 108 .

\textsuperscript{31} These figures were based on a 1672 petition signed and sent by residents of the plantation of Pemaquid to Massachusetts Bay. Eighteen residents of Monhegan and fifteen of Damariscove signed the petition. Eleven inhabitants of the Pemaquid mainland also signed. I calculated the totals by establishing what I considered a conservative average of 3 individuals per household. Johnston, History of Bristol and Bremen, 109-110 .
quarters with an eye to the future. Two likely examples appear on Damariscove. On the northeastern shore of Damariscove Harbor are two surviving stone foundations to fishing stages (Figure 16). Fishermen typically built these structures out of a framework of wooden pilings, boards, and planks. Constructing a base to a stage out of quarried stone entailed a good deal of time and energy, something year-round fishermen were more apt to do than their seasonal counterparts.32

The remainder of Pemaquid's workers can be loosely labeled as yeomen or planters. These people's lives and work were closely tied to the land, particularly farming. This group was noticeably smaller than the fishing community, numbering only fourteen households. Virtually all of them established homes on the Pemaquid mainland. They ranged from the longtime resident John Brown Sr. to recent arrivals John Williams and Morris Chamblet. John Brown Sr. was a rare holdover from the first years of Pemaquid. Williams and Chamblet, in contrast, had come over from Bristol, England in the early 1660s as servants of Thomas Elbridge.33

Pemaquid's planters had settlement longevity, marriage rates, family size, and landholding rates that exceeded those of Pemaquid's fishing community, further demonstrating the plantation's growing stability. Of the settlement's twelve planters,


33 Table 1; Carl Boyer, Ships Passenger Lists National and New England (1600-1825) (Newhall, California: Carl Boyer, 1977), 164, 165, 166, 168.
Figure 16. Stone footing to 17th century fishing stage, northwest shore of Damariscove Harbor, Damariscove Island, Maine. Wooden superstructure of the stage sat on the footing. Looking northwest.
one of them lived in Pemaquid for over forty years. Four remained within the bounds of the fishing plantation for sixteen to twenty years and five more called the frontier settlement home for ten to fifteen years. As with the plantation’s fishermen, the residential longevity of these yeomen was cut short by the outbreak of widespread Anglo-Indian warfare in 1676.34

Pemaquid’s mainland-based planters boasted substantially higher numbers of married couples and families with children than their fishing counterparts. All but one of the twelve planters for which data was available were married. Of these, eight had a total of thirty-five children with numbers ranging from one to six, and a per family average of 2.7 children. These same individuals were, with two exceptions, land owners. This figure was significantly higher than that for Pemaquid’s year-round fishermen. How they acquired land and the size of their acquisitions varied. Some planters such as Alexander Gould, James Smith, and Walter Philips Jr. received property from their parents or in-laws. Others such as Walter Phillips Sr. and Richard Pierce purchased tracts from the region’s Indian inhabitants. Phillips and Pierce acquired several large tracts of land along the upper Damariscotta River from Sheepscot area Indians during the 1660s. The planters put this land to a variety of agricultural uses. Typically, they used the hay of the meadows and salt marshes as fodder or bedding for their livestock. Local residents also planted crops of corn and wheat on the fertile gently sloping lowlands abutting the Pemaquid and Damariscotta

34 Table 1.
Rivers. In addition, at least one planter established an apple orchard. During the 17th and 18th centuries, New Englanders produced apples for food or the popular country drink of apple cider. The orchard was productive enough that soldiers from Pemaquid’s Fort William Henry helped themselves to the apples while visiting the upper Damariscotta in 1693, nearly twenty years after its abandonment.35

Pemaquid, like the rest of provincial Maine, continued to lack “shopkeepers,” while skilled artisans and craftsmen were scarce but “best welcome amongst them” as John Josselyn observed during the 1660s.36 No where was the importance of skilled craftsmen to Pemaquid’s post-1650 growth more evident than in the village at Pemaquid Beach and the fortified hamlet just north of the fishing plantation’s heart. Several carpenters and stone masons expanded and improved earlier dwellings and work buildings. Most impressive was the multi-purpose building that was the centerpiece of the fortified hamlet (Map 10). Workmen expanded the original earthfast building to over fifty feet and placed the timber-framed structure on stone footings. The eastern end of the structure’s wooden superstructure was particularly robust, possibly to defend the building and its occupants from waterborne attack. The


region had more than its share of English, Acadian, and Indians traders, pirates, and warriors ready to improve their lot at the expense of another’s. The improved building also included a large cellar. The cellar boasted well-laid and dressed stone walls and a flagstone floor (Figure 12). The builders packed the walls and sealed the outside of the cellar with local marine clay. The clay sealant would have minimized rain and ground seepage through the walls into the 5-6 foot deep cellar. A well-laid paved cart way sloping down to the shore appears to have been the handiwork of the same builders (Figure 17). Hamlet residents may well have driven loaded carts down the way to a craft waiting at a nearby shoreline wharf.

Improvements were not restricted to the large dwelling/truckhouse. Craftsmen also erected a wood-framed blacksmith shop immediately adjacent or attached to the structure. Inside the shop, a blacksmith labored over a coal-fired forge manufacturing and repairing building and ship’s hardware, fishing equipment, lead shot, gun flints, fire starters, and muskets (Figures 18-22). His clients likely reflected the plantation’s importance in the region’s domestic and international trade, ranging from local fishermen and farmers to the French and Indian traders who often traveled to Pemaquid to do business. The importance of this individual to 17th-century

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37 Neill De Paoli, “Self-Sufficiency on the 17th Century Maine Frontier: Gunsmithing, Shot Manufacture, and Flintknapping at the MC Lot, Pemaquid Harbor, Maine.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Council for Northeast Historical Archaeology, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 1993. The archaeological remains of a second blacksmith shop was situated in the village at Pemaquid Beach. This operation also probably dated to the latter half of the 17th-century. This smith no doubt took care of the needs of local residents and visiting Indian and Acadian
traders in much the same way as did his upriver counterpart. Camp, *Archaeological Excavations at Pemaquid*, 10.
Figure 18. Matchlock priming pan and guard, probably pre-1650, fortified hamlet (c. 1640-1676), Pemaquid Harbor, Maine. Probably discarded by the site’s blacksmith when repairing or upgrading the matchlock musket.
Figure 19. Discarded musket barrel. Probably a discard from the blacksmith shop, fortified hamlet (c. 1640-1676), Pemaquid Harbor, Maine.

Figure 20. Cast lead shot and scrap, probably from blacksmith shop, fortified hamlet (c. 1640-1676), Pemaquid Harbor, Maine.
Figure 21. Worked ballast flint cobble, fortified dwelling/truckhouse, fortified hamlet (c. 1640-1676), Pemaquid Harbor, Maine. Probably used by the site’s blacksmith to manufacture gun flints and spalls and fire starters.
Figure 22. Top row (L-R): blade gunflint (late 18th or early 19th century), blade gunflint (prob c. 1640-76), gun spall or fire starter (prob c.1640-76) Middle and bottom rows: chipping debris from the manufacture of gun flints and fire starters. Fortified hamlet (c. 1640-1676), Pemaquid Harbor, Maine.
Maine’s frontier plantations should not be overlooked. Communities such as Pemaquid suffered periodic trade shortages, although probably not as extreme as those of the Bristol Years. A host of factors including bad weather, warfare, piracy, damaged goods, and production slowdowns delayed coastal and overseas shipment of much needed supplies. Thus, the local blacksmith played a critical role in alleviating this problem with his ability to repair and fabricate everyday household, work, and protective items. Archaeologists have unearthed an even more impressive operation at Pentagoet.\[38\]

These promising developments in both Pemaquid and the Sagadahoc region as whole came to an abrupt and violent end with the outbreak of Anglo-Indian warfare in the summer of 1675. What followed revealed the vulnerability of New England’s northern frontier to Indian and French attack. In contrast to the English settlements clustered around Massachusetts Bay, Pemaquid and the neighboring plantations of Winnegance, Cape Newagen, Sheepscot, Arrowsic, and Kennebec had little territory that buffered them from potential Indian attackers. The Wabanaki lived only a short distance from these English settlements. Conversely, Bay settlements such as Boston, Cambridge, Charlestown, and even Salem and Marblehead were buffered from the worst of Indian attacks by the English plantations on New England’s northern and

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western frontiers. In addition, these same Bay communities did not have to contend with groups of semi-autonomous and militarily potent Indians, as did their brother and sisters to the north. The Indians of eastern Massachusetts were greatly diminished in numbers and no longer a military threat to Massachusetts Bay. Furthermore, the Bay colony had access to a much larger population of adult males than the settlements of the Sagadahock to defend their communities from attack.

Pemaquidians were spared death, injury, or capture thanks in large part to a Sheepscot resident who brought word of Wabanala attacks on the Kennebeck and Pejebscot River settlements. There, Indian war parties killed and captured 67 English settlers. Soon after, Pemaquid’s mainland residents abandoned their homes with whatever belongings they could carry and joined refugees from the Kennebeck River region, Sheepscot, and Winnegance. They fled by boat to Damariscove. Eight to ten men, who remained behind on the Pemaquid mainland, gathered up “the best” of the inhabitants’ belongings before joining the others on Damariscove. However, the three hundred refugees soon left the island for the more distant and secure Monhegan. Again, their stay was shortlived. The refugees abandoned plans to outlast the Indian attacks and wait for relief from Boston after three weeks on the island. Dwindling food supplies and munitions, a shortage of firearms, and no sign of a rescue party forced the refugees to leave and sail south on whatever vessels they could board. Some
headed for the Piscataqua while others continued on to Salem, Boston, and Charlestown.39

For many of the Sagadahoc region refugees, their escape to New Hampshire and Massachusetts Bay was not the end of their ordeal. Their experience left them financially and emotionally devastated. They fled the northern frontier leaving behind homes, farms, livestock, crops, fishing facilities, equipment, and supplies that they had invested years of “blood, sweat, and tears” building, raising, and accumulating. Most of their possessions and properties went up in flames or were destroyed or carried off by the Wabanaki war parties.40 Some lost friends and business acquaintances in the bloody Indian attacks on the Kennebec River settlements. Restablishing themselves in Massachusetts Bay was nearly as traumatic, as the frontier refugees struggled to start new lives. Finding adequate housing, food, and employment was often difficult as the former Pemaquidians competed with hundreds of other displaced persons from the northern frontier. For Thomas Elbridge, the experience was especially painful. The former owner of the Pemaquid Patent first


40 Archaeologists have uncovered extensive and dramatic evidence of the 1676 Wabanaki attack on the village at Pemaquid Beach. Finds have included charred timbers, planks, and posts and melted window glass to the village’s timber-framed and clad dwellings, badly burnt ceramic cups, bowls, plates, and cooking pots, clay smoking pipes, melted wine glasses, and lead shot left by the occupants as they fled. In one case, excavators exposed a large portion of a wattle and daub wall that collapsed into the dwelling’s cellar as it burnt (See Figure 8).
settled briefly in Boston with his wife and five children. By 1677, they moved on to Marblehead, where Thomas Elbridge struggled to make a financial go of it for four years. He petitioned the Marblehead selectmen for a license to “sell drink out of doors” due to “having lost his all” in the war and “with no way to earn a living.” However, he was unable to keep up with the expense of supporting a family of seven. By 1680, Thomas Elbridge and his wife left behind their children in Marblehead in the care of their eldest daughter and sailed to Jamaica with hopes of starting anew. This venture was brought to a premature end with the deaths of Thomas in 1682 and his wife two years later. It was a sad and inglorious ending for a man who nearly thirty years earlier had sailed to Pemaquid as the young proprietor of this fishing plantation.41

A Settlement Reborn (1677 - 1689)

Resettlement of Pemaquid began a little less than a year after the Wabanaki attack and destruction of Pemaquid. What followed, however, was noticeably different from what had occurred over the preceding half a century. To begin with, the first wave of settlement began with a military contingent, not civilian planters. In the

summer of 1677, Governor Edmund Andros of New York sent four sloops carrying approximately one hundred provincial and British regular troops, provisions, and building materials from Manhattan to the south-central coast of Maine. By summer’s end, the soldiers had constructed and garrisoned a palisaded fort boasting fifty troops and seven cannons at the mouth and on the eastern side of the Pemaquid River.\textsuperscript{42} This maneuver was part of a region wide plan implemented by the province of New York at the behest of the English crown. New York sought to outmaneuver Massachusetts in laying claim to territory they still considered part of a large tract of land that Charles II had granted to his brother, the Duke of York, in 1664. In turn, New York was sending a clear signal to the region’s French and Indians of the seriousness of its intentions in renewing the Duke of York’s claim to the disputed territory between the Kennebec and Saint Croix Rivers.

In December, 1676 Governor Andros made the first serious effort to encourage English resettlement of the Sagadahoc region. He sent a government sloop to Boston and Portsmouth and offered “free passage and reliefe” to any settlers driven from Pemaquid and her sister settlements of Winnegance, Cape Newagan, Sheepscot, and Kennebec. Not surprisingly, the response was cautious. For many, the region’s

continued vulnerability to Indian attack and the unsettled state of Anglo-Indian relations discouraged moving into New England’s northern frontier. The English and Wabanaki did not agree to a formal peace and end to the fighting until 1678. Even then, longterm peace between the two cultures was far from assured. Consequently, civilian resettlement was relatively light until about 1680. Those who ventured north came from a variety of locales. Some were former Pemaquidians who had fled in 1676 and resettled in Boston, Charlestown, Salem, and Marblehead. Others were newcomers from these same towns. A few moved from the coastal settlements of New Hampshire and southern Maine. But for the first time, Pemaquid was settled by people outside of New England. A large number of emigrants left homes in southern New York at the encouragement of New York authorities. All had a common aim, to make a new start. For many, the prospects of cheap land and escape from the struggles of refugehood far outweighed the risks and dangers of living on New England’s exposed northern frontier.

Community layout and location in the renewed settlement were generally similar to that of the previous period (Map 12). Settlers reestablished the plantation’s heart on the earlier site at Pemaquid Beach. Slowly a new settlement center took shape, resuming its earlier combination-linear-and-organic layout. A number of the new inhabitants took advantage of their predecessors misfortune and built new homes on and over the foundations and cellars of buildings destroyed in the 1676 Wabanaki

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43 Table 2; Petition of inhabitants of Pemaquid, September 6, 1683, Hough, ed., Pemaquid Papers, 70-72.
attack. By the late 1680s, a "town" of ten to twelve dwellings once again clustered along the "road" that passed by Fort Charles and on to the rebuilt fishing village of New Harbor (Figures 23, 24). As many as 36 dwellings may have congregated on the grounds of today's Colonial Pemaquid Historic Site, the road that leads to Fish Point, and Fish Point itself.44 It may have been during Pemaquid's reconstruction that the paved road that 19th- and early 20th-century residents of Pemaquid so often spoke of was constructed. The cobbled way could have been part of Governor Edmund Andros's ambitious program of upgrading the key settlements and commercial centers within the Duke of York's holdings in New England and New York. Andros, soon after assuming the governorship of New York in 1674, oversaw the rebuilding and expansion of New York City's waterfront, business district, and defenses. The improvements included the construction of three paved streets. The governor may well have ordered the garrison of Fort Charles to not only build the fort but pave the village's dirt road and the grounds southeast and southwest of today's Fort William Henry Memorial. Here, local residents and antiquarians uncovered segments of a well constructed cobbled road and "cross streets." John Cartland claimed the "main" road extended from just outside the southeastern wall and magazine of today's Fort William Henry Memorial roughly 1000 feet northeast past the several cellar holes of 17th-century dwellings and the "town" burial ground (Map 13). He noted that the paving had been laid over a deposit of "brick and charcoal" and other debris,

Figure 23. Large dwelling or combination dwelling/storehouse, probably second half 17th century, "the town," Colonial Pemaquid Historic Site, Pemaquid Beach, Maine. After David Peck 1988. Courtesy of Maine Bureau of Parks and Lands.
Figure 24. Large dwelling. Probably dates to the Second half of the 17th century, "the town," Colonial Pemaquid Historic Site, Pemaquid Beach, Maine. Possibly the home of Dennis Hegeman and his family during the 1680s. After Peck 1988. Courtesy of Maine Bureau of Parks and Lands.
Map 13. Archaeological remains of the paved road and cellar holes exposed during Warren Moorehead's investigation of the present-day grounds of Colonial Pemaquid Historic Site and adjoining private property. Pemaquid Beach, Maine. Paving situated south of “Fort” was probably paved “yard” surrounding a dwelling or truckhouse, possibly late 1670s and 1680s. After Camp 1975.
possibly evidence of the 1676 destruction of Pemaquid. The paving Cartland
uncovered southwest and southeast of Fort William Henry was similarly impressive.
This area appears to have been the site of Pemaquid’s sanctioned truckhouses of the
late 1670s and 1680s. Cartland uncovered a cobbled “street” 35-40 feet wide” leading
towards the fort. The builders finished these features with curbstones edges and
“gutters.” He also identified an area of smaller beach cobble paving that appeared to
be part of a paved “yard” surrounding a building.45 Such improvements had practical
as well as aesthetic purposes. The paving would have cut down dramatically on dust
raised by the carts, wagons, and horses traveling the road during the dry summer
months. Similarly, the cobblestone paving provided travelers a welcome relief from
the rutted and muddy road that would have been a common sight during the rainy
spring months. At the same time, the cobblestone road and the cobblestone “yard”
provided Pemaquid with an air of sophistication, something that was no doubt in the
minds of those who ordered the road constructed, particularly for a settlement that
was touted by some as the “metropolitan” of Cornwall county.

45 John Johnston, A History of the Towns of Bristol and Bremen in the State of
Maine, Including the Pemaquid Settlement (Albany, New York: Joel Munsell, 1873),
219-222; John Cartland, Twenty Years at Pemaquid (Pemaquid Beach, Maine: 1914),
119-126; Warren Moorehead, “The Ancient Remains at Pemaquid: Some
Webb, 1676. The End of American Independence (Cambridge: Harvard University
Rebuilding probably also took place on the open ground that sloped down to the eastern shore of the Pemaquid River. Here, Pemaquidians likely re-established a scatter of additional homes, fish houses, storage buildings, and wharves. What distinguished many of the town’s homes from their timber-framed and -clad and earthfast precursors was that they were comprised largely of stone. This distinguishing feature may well be traced to New York and have Netherlandish origins. During the 17th-century, the Dutch regularly used stone to construct the superstructure of their homes. Not coincidentally, a number of New Yorkers settled in Pemaquid during the late 1670s and 1680s.46

The most noticeable physical distinction between Pemaquid of the late 1670s and 1680s and the plantation of the preceding twenty-five years took place in what had probably been the site of one or two homes and/or grazing and crop land. For the next twelve years, Fort Charles and its garrison dominated the southern portion of the village at Pemaquid Beach and the whole of the renamed plantation of Jamestown (Figure 25). The fortification, named in honor of England’s Charles II, was a rectangular or diamond-shaped stockade with two opposing bastions, a gate, and quarters for the fort’s enlisted men and officers. Two cannon were mounted in each of the sod and wooden framed bastions, two more were placed “aloft,” and one was stationed at the gate. By 1689, provincial authorities increased the fort’s armament to

46 “Relation du Combat de Cannibas, par Monsieur Thury, Missionaire” Collection de Manuscrits, Volume I, 477ff; Table 2; Petition of inhabitants of Pemaquid, September 6, 1683, Hough, ed., Pemaquid Papers, 70-72; Jamestown census, October 14, 1687, New England Historical & Genealogical Register, XXXII (July 1878), 313.
Figure 25. Artist’s rendering of Fort Charles (1677-1689), 1950s or 1960s. Fort was probably larger than indicated. Courtesy of Maine Bureau of Parks and Lands, Augusta.
twenty cannon. This provincial fort was home to anywhere from twenty to two hundred New England, New York, and English provincial and regular troops.47

Fort Charles was the most prominent of a number of fortifications the provincial governments of New York and Dominion of New England established in Maine during the late 1670s and 1680s. By then, Maine was an armed camp. Three forts were situated between the Kennebec and Pemaquid Rivers, two of them a short distance from Jamestown. Palisaded timber and sod fortifications defended the scattered homes on the upper reaches of the Damariscotta and Pemaquid’s sister plantation of New Dartmouth (formerly Sheepscot). The English also maintained forts on the lower Kennebec, Pejebscot, and Saco Rivers.48

An officially sanctioned trade mart was established a short distance probably southwest and southeast of the fort. This consisted of one or more truckhouses that


catered to Indian and European customers. Together the two sites drew a mixed crowd of Indian, French, and English traders, political emissaries, and garrison members who did business and discussed political and trade relations. Previously, Pemaquid’s most important truckhouses were based in the village at Pemaquid Beach, but further northeast and on the western side of the Pemaquid River at its mouth. This shift was made so as to keep the trade under the watchful eyes of the commander of Fort Charles.49

In keeping with local tradition, Pemaquid’s elite established themselves in the “town.” The best example was newcomer and entrepreneur Thomas Gyles Sr. He had two homes, one a quarter of a mile from Fort Charles and the other a farm at Pemaquid Falls. Thomas Sr.’s Pemaquid Beach home was large enough that Gyles, his wife, and six children shared it with his younger brother John and his wife. It also appears that he ran a tavern in his house. Here he regularly entertained Fort Charles’ officers, local neighbors, and even luminaries such as Governor Edmund Andros. In addition, Thomas Gyles held a small lot and owned one or more fishing stages on the aptly named Fish Point a half mile to the southwest of his home in the settlement center. This small peninsula was attractive to fishermen. Fish Point was the site of a small sheltered cove. The land was flat, an ideal grade for fishing flakes and stages. Here, men working for Gyles and others would have sailed in with their catches of cod, haddock, and hake, unloaded, and processed them at the several fishing stages.

Point residents and fishermen could move between this small and rocky peninsula and Pemaquid’s civic and commercial center by both water and land. A bridge and a continuation of the road from the “town” connected Fish Point. The “King’s Bridge” appears to one of the many improvements that accompanied Pemaquid’s resettlement. 50

Similar resettlement took place throughout the rest of the Pemaquid mainland. Once again, the fishing village of New Harbor was the focus of the plantation’s mainland fishing community. While fishing households congregated around New Harbor, several fishermen and planters established homes around Long Cove a half mile to the north. Both the fishermen and planters could not expect much in terms of agricultural potential. The land in the vicinity of New Harbor and Long Cove was often hilly, rocky, and even swampy. Not surprisingly, residents leased or rented sizable tracts, typically between twenty and one hundred acres, of “upland” and “meadow.” With this property, residents such as William Case, George Slaughter, John Starkey, and Arthur Neale and their families had land where their cows and horses could graze. The hay also provided bedding for their livestock. Just as importantly, these fishermen and planters had access to large wood lots. They

50John Palmer to Thomas Gyles Sr., August 5, 1686, York Deeds, XVI, folio, 254; Deposition of Susannah, August 9, 1736, York Deeds, XVII, folio 328; Jamestown census, October 14, 1687, New England Historical & Geneological Register, XXXII, 313; “Relation du Combat de Cannibas, Par Monsieur Thury, Missionnaire,” Collection de Manuscrits. Contenant Lettres, Memoires et Autres Documents Historiques Relatifs A La Nouvelle France, Volume I (Quebec: A. Coté et Co., 1883), 479; Table 2.
undoubtedly harvested the timber for a variety of purposes, including household and fishing facility repairs and improvements, boat construction or repairs, fencing, and firewood.51

Further north along the upper reaches of the Pemaquid River, new homes and farms re-emerged. Up at Pemaquid’s Great Falls, a new generation of planters and their farms replaced the pioneering operations of Thomas Elbridge and ex-fisherman John Ridgeway Sr., who had been burnt out during the summer of 1676. Leading the way were Thomas Gyles Sr., Richard Friebary Sr., John Ridgeway Jr., and Thomas Sharp, former commander of Fort Charles. Gyles, Ridgeway, and Sharp established their farms on the western and eastern sides of the falls. Of the three, Thomas Gyles probably owned the largest farm, an operation that encompassed two hundred acres of grazing and crop land (hay and corn), a farm house, and a barn on the western side of the falls. Gyles probably regularly traveled by boat or canoe from his home outside Fort Charles to oversee work on his Pemaquid Falls farm. At harvest time Thomas Sr., his two sons and as many as fourteen hired hands would mow the hay and harvest the corn. This routine was not limited to Thomas Gyles. Several other “town” residents held tracts of upland and grazing land up at Pemaquid Falls or on the middle reaches and western side of the Pemaquid River. Like Thomas Sr., these planters hired workers or journeyed upriver themselves from their homes at the mouth of the Pemaquid River to tend to the fields and livestock. By then, a mill may have been

51 Johnston, History of Bristol and Bremen, 232-234 .

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operating at the Great Falls, servicing the residents of the farming hamlet and the
greater community of Jamestown.52

Several families established homes on Jamestown’s eastern and northern
periphery between Round Pond and today’s Brown Cove. The reborn hamlet of
Round Pond probably never numbered more than four or five families, due in large
part to the exposure of the homesteads to Indian attack and the limited agricultural
productivity of the land. At least three of these families, those of Richard Fulford,
John Pierce, and Thomas Pierce, were returnees. The Fulfords and Pierces had lived in
the Round Pond area from the 1660s until 1676 and knew each other well. John and
Thomas were sons of Richard Pierce Sr., one of the first planters of Round
Pond/Muscongus. 53

The offshore islands of Monhegan and Damariscove were once again anchored
by pre-war stalwarts such as John Dollen, John Palmer Sr., John Sellman, and Elias
Trick. These longtime fishing residents and their families resettled the islands by
around 1680 and remained until the second Wabanaki attack on Pemaquid in 1689. As

52 John Gyles, “Memoirs of Odd Adventures, Strange Deliverances, Etc.” in Alden
T. Vaughn and Edward W. Clark, ed., Puritans Among the Indians. Accounts of
University Press, 1981), York Deeds, XVII, folio 314-315; Deposition of Mary
Gyles, July 12, 1736, Deposition of Susanna, August 9, 1736, York Deeds, XVII,
folio 328; Johnston, History of Bristol and Bremen, 226-227.

53 Depositions of Richard Pierce and John Pierce, November 29, 1717, James P.
Baxter, ed., Documentary History of the State of Maine. Containing the Baxter
Manuscripts (Portland: Lefavor-Tower Company, 1907), IX, 363-365; Johnston,
History of Bristol and Bremen, 232-233.
with their mainland counterparts, the returnees likely re-established their homes and fishing facilities on the sites they had abandoned three or four years earlier.

Communication and movement between Jamestown’s scattered villages and hamlets was still crude when compared with the transportation networks of southern Maine, coastal New Hampshire, and Massachusetts Bay. As in the past, Pemaquid lacked a system of overland routes comparable to those of communities such as Portsmouth, Boston, Charlestown, and Cambridge. Nonetheless, local residents maintained a system that was remarkably effective considering Jamestown’s size and location. Pemaquidians continued to rely primarily on boats and the coastal waters and rivers to move about. Such waterborne transport was especially important to the island residents of Monhegan, Damariscove, and Fisherman’s Island. Thus, possession of, or access to someone who owned, a seaworthy boat, no matter how small, was critical. Fortunately, the vast majority of the islanders were fishermen. Waterborne traffic between the Pemaquid peninsula and Monhegan and Damariscove was frequent, particularly as war became increasingly imminent during the late 1680s. Mainlanders probably often turned to the Indian craft of choice, the canoe, to travel the plantation’s numerous rivers and streams. By the late 17th-century, the canoe was popular among Mainers, Indian and English alike, because of its durability, lightness, navigability, particularly in shallow water, and swiftness. Choices varied

54 Deposition of Samuel Holman, November 4, 1688, Baxter, ed., Baxter Manuscripts, VI 447-448.
between birch and dugout canoes. Archaeologists recently excavated a nearly intact specimen from Biddeford Pool that probably dates from the 17th century. The English used them for a variety of purposes ranging from "fishing to carrying loads of salt hay or manure." In the fall of 1688, two Pemaquid plantation men used canoes to travel between Pemaquid, Damariscotta, and New Dartmouth.55

Jamestown's overland transportation continued to gravitate towards the plantation's heart at Pemaquid.56 From there, a cart road worked its way east across the Pemaquid peninsula to New Harbor, and north on to the fishing hamlet at Long Cove. The same "road" may have continued further north to Round Pond. A complex of horse and foot paths (some of them improvements of earlier Indian hunting trails) such as one that ran from the north end of Long Cove to Brown's Cove connected Pemaquid's smaller "neighborhoods" and individual homesteads to one another and the more heavily traveled routes.57


Pemaquid's biggest gap in its overland transportation network were roads that connected it with the outside world, a reality that was evident throughout the Sagadahock region. Most inhabitants of Kennebec, Sheepscot, Winnegance, and Pemaquid relied on the vast network of rivers (i.e., Kennebec, Sheepscot, Damariscotta, Pemaquid) for inter-plantation travel. Provincial authorities sought to rectify this perceived problem in 1688. That spring, they ordered Captain Nicholas Manning of Cornwall County's militia to select the best route for a "Road" "between Pemquid & New dartmouth & from thence to Kenebeque." The proposed road may well have been an attempt to improve existing cart paths or former Indian trails that ran between the settlements at Pemaquid, Damariscotta, Sheepscot, and Kennebec. This request most likely stemmed from security considerations. Boston officials probably believed that a road connecting these three Sagadahoc plantations would help them establish an effective defense against the increasingly belligerent Indians and French of Maine and Acadia. However, it is doubtful these plans were implemented before conflict once again engulfed the Sagadahoc a little more than a year later.

Pemaquid's societal makeup and dynamics during the twelve year interlude between the plantation's resettlement and the second Indian attack on the plantation was noticeably different from that of the previous half century. Many of these changes can be attributed to the fishing plantation's new provincial overseers and the

58 Provincial Orders for Road Improvements, April 30, 1688, Baxter, ed., Baxter Manuscripts, VI, 396.
unsettled state of Anglo-Franco and Anglo-Indian affairs. With New York's takeover of the Sagadahoc region in 1677, local control of community affairs was dramatically reduced. This process had begun in the late 1660s and early 1670s. In 1672, the province of Massachusetts Bay assumed legal control of the region at the request of Sagadahoc residents. Even so, Bay authorities allowed individual settlements a fair amount of autonomy and local control. Such was not the case during the administrations of New York Governors Thomas Dongan and Edmund Andros. These two men and their underlings were part of what Stephen Webb refers to as "garrison government." This system was a form of government with roots in Tudor England. Beginning in the late 1560s, the English crown established military government and garrisons in captured territories in France and the former Spanish Netherlands. The English monarchs utilized a similar system in their reconquest and colonization of Ireland in the second half of the 16th and first quarter of the 17th century. Typically, they placed a senior army officer at the head of this new government. In this capacity, the officer had both military and civil powers, maintaining order among his troops and the local civilian population.59

The Irish experience was especially helpful in fine tuning garrison government for implementation in England's American colonies. Here, England's monarchs used the army to subdue the Irish by "garrisoning the most strategic seaports and the

provincial capitals." Garrison commanders sent troops out to the countryside to locate, capture, and destroy Irish rebel forces. They terrorized those considered sympathetic to the Irish cause, burning and destroying their homes, crops, and livestock. Officers had the power to monitor the movement of correspondence and passengers through coastal ports, "seize estates from which to arm, feed, clothe, and shoe" their troops, and distribute prize goods. In turn, these same men shared judicial duties with civilian magistrates. Closer to home, it was not unusual for English commanders to use their own men as hired hands on property they acquired during their military stint.  

Garrison government in the New World extended well beyond New England's northern frontier. By the late 1680s, the English crown had established military governments up and down the North American seaboard, including the Sagadahoc region, with Pemaquid at its center, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Virginia, and Jamaica. By then, Webb argues, England's Charles II and Jame II had perfected the military model of governing and controlling its expanding overseas dominions along with their domestic communities.  

As to be expected in an English garrison town, Pemaquid's nascent military "community" was headed by its officers, most notably the commander of Fort Charles. The men who commanded Fort Charles came to Pemaquid with impressive

60 ibid.
military credentials and close ties to the Andros and Dongan administrations. Captain Anthony Brockholes served as commander of Fort Charles twice, in 1677-78 and 1688-89. Brockholes had served with Governor Edmund Andros in the British army in Barbados. He was also acting Governor of New York during much of the Andros administration. Captain Caesar Knapton, commander of Fort Charles in 1678 and second-in-command in 1677, was Andros’s brother-in-law. All of the officers were literate. They were posted on the northern frontier at ages that most likely ranged between their late 20s to late 30s or early 40s. For example, Anthony Brockholes was 38 when Edmund Andros first assigned him to Pemaquid. Four of them - Anthony Brockholes, Caesar Knapton, Francis Skinner, Thomas Sharp - were married. At least two of the four had children. It appears two of the officers brought their families with them to Pemaquid. In 1687, both Lieutenant Thomas Sharp and Captain Francis Skinner were listed on the Jamestown census as owning farms at Pemaquid Falls. However, it is unlikely that the officers of Fort Charles sought to be posted on New England’s northern frontier. Such a posting took one far away from the relative comfort of Manhattan, Albany, and England. Regular army officers such as Captain Anthony Brockholes, Captain Caesar Knapton, Lieutenant James Weems, Lieutenant Joshua Pipon came to and remained at Pemaquid out of a sense of duty as

62 Table 2; Captain Anthony Brockholes et als to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts Bay, July 17, 1677; Lieutenant Governor Anthony Brockholes to Captain Governor Edmund Andros to Lieutenant Thomas Sharp, September 15, 1680, Hough, ed, Pemaquid Papers, 44; Noyes et als, Genealogical Dictionary of Maine and New Hampshire, 111; Jamestown census, October 14, 1687, New England Historical & Geneological Register, XXXII, 313, 314.
professional soldiers and loyalty to their superiors, the governors of New York and Dominion of New England and the King of England. For junior officers such as Ensign Amos Andros and Lieutenants Pipon and Weems, relocation in the wilds of northern New England provided them with invaluable experience both as officers and administrators that could help advance their careers as military men and potential political figures, just as similar postings for Governors Edmund Andros and Thomas Dongan had done earlier.

The command of Fort Charles gave a man considerable power and authority. New York and the Dominion of New England vested him with the power to regulate and protect Jamestown and its economy from outside and local forces, whether they be French, Indian, or English. The commander did so through his force of personality and the junior officers and troops under his command. In addition, the executive officer’s hand was strengthened by another factor. He had the support of two powerful provincial officials, the special chief justice and special justice of the peace for Cornwall County. Furthermore, the commander was also active in local judicial affairs, serving alongside civilian magistrates as one of Cornwall County’s justices of the peace.63

The commander of Fort Charles and his subordinates, as overseers and protectors of Pemaquid’s economy and its civilian population, had regular contact with the “other half” of the plantation. Much of this relationship centered around the officers professional duties as representatives of the English crown. As such, they were often placed in a difficult and potentially uncomfortable position. As crown representatives, these officers were responsible for enforcing a host of unpopular and highly restrictive statutes that residents of not just Pemaquid, but the whole of Cornwall County, saw as a threat to their economic livelihood and general well being. One of the most onerous directives was that which designated Pemaquid as the sole legal “trading place” between the Kennebeck and Saint Croix Rivers (Passamaquoddy Bay), a position the fishing plantation held throughout the late 1670s and 1680s. Residents of outlying plantations such as Kennebec and Sheepscot complained of the financial burdens this designation placed on them. The commander had wide-ranging powers. Among his many duties, the commander of Fort Charles had the right to inspect an entering ship’s cargo before unloading, to search the cellars of private buildings for contraband, to safeguard illicit goods confiscated by military patrols, to determine who among non-garrison members had access to the fort, and to sit on the Cornwall county court. In addition, fishermen were required to notify the commander of their intent to fish and process their catch “on the fishing Islands (e.g., Monhegan,
Damariscove, Fisherman's Islands)." In turn, the commander was brought in as judge of “Cases of great Import or value” that arose between fishermen and area residents.64

How the commander handled his post and got on with the townspeople, traders, and fishermen depended not only on the severity and reach of the laws but, also the degree to which he enforced the statutes and his personality. The circumstances of two of the fort’s commanders, Captain Francis Skinner and Lieutenant Thomas Sharp, provide some insight into this relationship. Considerable tension and animosity existed between the two parties. Captain Francis Skinner served as the commander of Fort Charles during much of the first half of the 1680s. Within two years of Skinner’s posting at Pemaquid (1683), Captain Anthony Brockholes, acting Governor of New York, reprimanded him for the “Loosnesse and Carelessnesse” of his command. “Strangers” and local residents had complained to Brockholes about the captain’s “Extravigancies and Debaucheries,” particularly his “Swareing, Drinking and Prophanesse.” They also claimed that Captain Skinner allowed planters to establish isolated homesteads far from the protection of Fort Charles and neighbors. Just as damning was a petition sent by a number of leading Pemaquid and Sheepscot inhabitants to Governor Thomas Dongan, probably later in 1683. The petitioners accused the “Commander of Pemaquid” (undoubtedly Captain Skinner) of a host of abuses and crimes. They included threatening and seizing local

64 “At a Councell,” August 2, September 11, September 22, 1677, June 12, 1678, June 24, June 25, 1680; November 22, 1683, Hough, ed., Pemaquid Papers, 16-23, 29-31, 35-37, 75-81.
justices of the peace, threatening to dissolve the courts, holding a prisoner in the fort
for “severall days,” and “Villifiing Language.” Not surprisingly, Brockholes replaced
Skinner as the commander of Fort Charles five months after the acting governor
dressed him down.65

For Lieutenant Thomas Sharp, the circumstances were a bit different but just
as telling. In the lieutenant’s case, there were no complaints of abuse of power during
six years of service at Pemaquid. However, one incident involving Lieutenant Sharp’s
Pemaquid property indicated all was not well between the commander and local
residents. By 1687, New York authorities had relocated him to Albany, New York,
where he served as commander of Fort Orange. Despite his relocation, Sharp retained
possession of his Pemaquid Falls farm. In Lieutenant Sharp’s absence, local residents
trespassed and cut timber on his property. He attributed their actions to his lack of an
official “patent” to the property. But there was also a bigger issue at play. Local
inhabitants had selected Lieutenant Sharp as a target of their ire towards the provincial

65 Acting Governor Anthony Governor to Captain Francis Skinner, Acting Governor
Anthony Brockholes to Lawrence Dennis, May 10, 1683, Hough, ed., Pemaquid
Papers, 66-67. These kind of complaints were not limited to Pemaquid. Residents of
nearby Sheepscot accused their militia commander, Captain Nicholas Manning, of
similar behavior. They claimed Manning, among other things, regularly disrupted
town meetings and bragged “That his power” was greater than that of the
townpeople. Nicholas Manning was no stranger to controversy or legal problems.
Prior to settling in Sheepscot, Captain Manning lived in Salem, Massachusetts.
Manning was frequently in court, most notably for abuse of his wife and incest.
Petition from the Inhabitants of Pemaquid, circa fall 1683, Petition of the Inhabitants
of New Dartmouth, April 24, 1684, Hough, ed., Pemaquid Papers, 83; 99-100; Dow,
ed., Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County Massachusetts, VIII,
48, 88, 141.
administrations of Edmund Andros and Thomas Dongan and to the English crown itself. Sharp presented an easy target because of his absence, the accessibility of his land, and his inability to defend it. In addition, he was an active participant in official efforts to stymie Anglo-Acadian smuggling. Sharp's actions did nothing to make him popular among many residents of the Sagadahoc region. Pemaquid, since nearly its inception as a permanent settlement, was a major trader (legal and illegal) with the French of Acadia. For the perpetrators, this act of vengeance was a rare, satisfying attack on political institutions and figures that they considered repressive, insensitive, corrupt, and often inaccessible. The incident was also a precursor of what was yet to come in the spring of 1689.66

However, there was another side to the relationship between the officers of Fort Charles and the townspeople of Jamestown. There was evidence, albeit slight, of fraternization between the two "communities." In the late 1680s, the fort's officers regularly dined and slept at the nearby home and tavern of Thomas Gyles. During the winter of 1688-89, they were joined by none other than Governor Edmund Andros who dined and presumably lodged there. Of course, the officers and Andros stayed at Gyles's home partly out of practicality. In the latter part of 1688 and early 1689,

Fort Charles was bursting at the seams, with a garrison of 156-200 men. Housing within the fort was at a premium. At the same time, the home and tavern of Thomas Gyles for the officers was a rare oasis of hospitality and refuge from the outside world. Here, they could remove themselves from the daily grind of military life on New England’s northern frontier. Thomas Gyles, as one of Jamestown’s elite, had a comfortable home that was larger and better equipped than most. He had access to food and drink not readily available to those of more modest means.67

Some of these relationships were even intimate, most notably that of Thomas Gyles and Lieutenant Sharp. Sharp entrusted his Pemaquid Falls farm to the Pemaquidian after his relocation in Albany. Lieutenant Sharp spoke warmly of Gyles when writing Governor Edmund Andros, referring to him as his “very good friend.”68 Their personal relationship undoubtedly stemmed, in part, from Gyles strong royalist sympathies. However, Thomas Gyles was among the minority in the plantation.

The circumstances of the vast majority of the garrison of Fort Charles, however, were much different. The bulk of the fort’s garrison were enlisted men. At the garrison’s peak, March and April 1689, two hundred men manned Maine’s most important fortification. Soon after, fort manpower plummeted as provincial troops throughout the “Eastern Parts” abandoned their frontier outposts for Massachusetts,

67 “Relation du Combat de Cannibas, par Monsieur Thury,” Collection de Manuscrits, I, 477ff; Deposition of Mary Gyles, July 12, 1736, Deposition of Susanna, August 9, 1736, York Deeds, XVII, folio 328 .

68 Thomas Sharp to Governor Edmund Andros, June 7, 1688, Baxter, ed., Baxter Manuscripts, VI, 403-404 .
as word of the Glorious Revolution and the collapse of the Dominion of New England spread throughout the region. By May of the same year, Fort Charles's garrison had dwindled to thirty enlisted men and one officer. That number remained steady until Pemaquid's demise early in August. On only two other occasions did the enlisted population of Fort Charles number one hundred or more. In 1688, one company (roughly 50 men) of regular and two of provincial troops and three officers, for a total of one hundred and fifty-six troops, were posted at Fort Charles. The garrison's size then, as in 1689, was due largely to Governor Edmund Andros's concern that war with the French and Indians was imminent. During most of Fort Charles's occupation, troop strength ranged between twenty and fifty men, and, on occasion when war was not threatening, numbers may have dropped to as low as six enlisted men and one officer.69

The enlisted men who garrisoned Fort Charles were a mixed lot. A small number were regular, British professional troops. Their numbers were greatest in 1688 and 1689, when, a full company of 50-60 British regulars was on duty at Fort Charles. In most cases, these men had shipped in from the forts at Manhattan or

Albany. Originally, soldiers such as Englishman John Smith had probably sailed from England to New York on troop ships.⁷⁰

Most of the fort’s enlisted men were New York and New England recruits or conscripts serving in provincial regiments. The handful for which more information was available were young, in their early to mid-20s, and single. However, recent research suggests the picture is more complex than that. The evidence points to “four major groups” who served: 1) Single men from “established families group of men. 2) Young recently married, or soon to be, men who sought to get out on their own. 3) Older men with children nearing adulthood who remain dependent 4) Those of little means. The majority of these men came as voluntarily. The reasons for why they signed up for service was as varied. Recruits came to escape debt, domestic problems, unemployment, servitude, self-improvement, and adventure. Stephen Eames notes that the provincial government paid privates serving in New Hampshire and Massachusetts £2 a month. Their British counterparts (privates) were paid 6 to 8 pence per day or roughly £0.75 to £1 per month. The regular army corporals and sergeants that served at Fort Charles in the spring and summer of 1689 received daily pay of 12 (£1.5 per month) and 18 pence (£2.25 per month), respectively. However, the pay of the English enlisted man was reduced considerably by royal deductions to cover the cost of necessities such as clothing and provisions. In contrast, New England provincial troops usually received these items free of charge. For many of the

provincials, there was little to keep them home. At their ages, they had little hope of inheriting land from their parents. Many came from families of modest means, so that such a possibility was rarely even a consideration. Not surprisingly, none of them owned or leased land while serving at Jamestown, nearly all of these men hailed from eastern Massachusetts towns like Haverhill, Malden, Charlestown, Cambridge, and Boston.  

Life for the enlisted men of Fort Charles, whether professional, volunteer, or conscript, was usually difficult and at times brutal. The only saving grace was the fact that the normal tour of duty in provincial forts such as Fort Charles was limited to one year. Chore varied from the daily humdrum of fort routines such as wood cutting and construction to scouting missions and watch during the years leading up to the outbreak of King Williams War. As Eames points out, the most frequent task was cutting and hauling of firewood. This work was constant, particularly during the cold months of the fall, winter, and early spring. The fireplaces that heated the enlisted men’s and officers’s quarters of Fort Charles required a large supply of wood to keep


72 Eames, “Rustic Warriors,” 119.
them burning.\textsuperscript{73} For Jamestown’s troops that meant traveling by wagon or cart to the woods that flanked the cart road that ran to New Harbor, or by boat across the river. Normally, work parties from the fort were relatively safe. However, the risk of attack by Wabanaki war parties increased considerably in 1688 and 1689, when relations between the English, French, and Indians were at low ebb. Such was the fate of a party of twenty-five soldiers that ventured out from Fort William Henry in 1695. The men sailed or rowed a boat across the river to cut fire wood. A Wabanaki war party, hidden in the woods, killed and wounded several of the men just as they were about to land.\textsuperscript{74} Another regular chore was maintenance of Fort Charles. Fort Charles, like Maine’s provincial forts in general, was in constant need of repair. Pemaquid’s moist marine climate and harsh winters wreaked havoc on the wooden fortification, its cannon, and war stores. The problem was compounded by a lack of crown funds to keep the fort in good condition. In June 1688, Edmund Randolph, after visiting Jamestown and Governor Andros, reported that Fort Charles was “...run all to ruin and wants a great deal to repair it; The Governor has ordered it to be well repaired.” A year earlier, the Dominion of New England allotted slightly more than £55 “ffor the fort at Pemaquid,” presumably for repairs.\textsuperscript{74} Thus, the men of Fort Charles were kept

\textsuperscript{73} Eames, “Rustic Warriors, 122 .

\textsuperscript{74} Johnston, \textit{History of Bristol and Bremen}, 199 .
busy replacing rotting pales to the palisade, the wooden cribbing and sod to the fort’s
outworks, and the timbers frames, cladding, and roofs of their quarters.75

Beyond these more mundane tasks, the garrison of Fort Charles and its
commander were charged with “regulating” the trade of Cornwall county and keeping
the region free of hostile Indian war parties. Part of the oversight of the region’s trade
fell to a an armed sloop provided by New York and the Dominion of New England.
The commander of this sloop and its crew patrolled coastal waters in search of
smugglers. They had the right to board and inspect any vessel suspected of carrying
contraband goods (non-payment of customs). The commander of Fort Charles
probably placed a handful of troops on the vessel to act as enforcers. Similarly, the
garrison of the fort kept an eye on the traders who operated truckhouses on the
“street” a short distance from Fort Charles. This area was probably often abuzz with

75 Governor Edmund Andros to Ensign Thomas Sharp, September 15, 1680, Hough,
ed., Pem aquid Papers, 41; “Vouchers of ye Treasurers Account fron ye 1 0f July
1687 to the First of January Ffollowing.,” Robert Toppan, ed., Edward Randolph,
Including his letters and Official Papers from New England, Middle, and Southern
Colonies in America.... 1676-1703 (Boston: The Prince Society, 1899), IV, 222, 225.
This problem was not unique to Maine. New York’s Governor Dongan decryed the
condition of the fortifications at Manhattan and Albany. Both were timber and sod. In
a telling admission, Dongan recommended that it would be better to rebuild the forts
of “Stone and lime” rather than continuing to pour money into repairing the timber
and earthen structures. He claimed that such a fortification would last much longer
than one of timber and earth. Dongan estimated that the latter typically needed to be
repaired every six or seven years. Governor Thomas Dongan to the Privy Council,
February 22, 1687, E. B. O’Callaghan, ed., Documents Relative to the Colonial
History of the State of New-York Procured in Holland, England and France (Albany:
Weed, Parsons and Company, 1853), III, 390-391; Survey of the Condition of the
fortifications of New York City, November 15, 1688, Collections of the New York
activity as the truckmasters did business with English, Indian, and Acadian clients, locals socialized, and children played. For the troops, this meant enforcing a myriad of trade regulations: Indian trading parties were not to wander off “into the woods or creeks or visit the fishing islands (e.g., Monhegan, Damariscove, Fisherman’s), neither “Indyans nor Christians” were to trade inside or immediately outside Fort Charles, and trade should take place only between sunrise and sunset.76

For the troops of Fort Charles, defending the region from attack by hostile Indians entailed maintaining watch inside the fort and sending out scouting parties on patrol. The former task was part of the soldier’s standard work routine throughout the late 1670s and 1680s. Several soldiers kept watch for several hours at a time, looking for suspicious activity outside the fort. Watches were kept day and night, with each group of troops rotating in and out of duty. Scouting parties and patrols, while probably utilized by the commanders of Fort Charles throughout this period, were most likely heaviest during those times when Anglo-Indian tensions were highest: 1678, 1681, 1683, and 1688-89. Typically, these patrols consisted of a handful of enlisted men. Their object was to locate Indian war parties lingering in or near Jamestown. However, on occasion the scouting parties ranged as afield as the

76 Christoph and Christoph, eds., Andros Papers 1677-1678, 367, 369; Orders to Captain Brockholes et als, “Orders and Directions for the Commander at Pemaquid,” September 22, 1677, “Instructions for Capt Nicholas Manning Sub-Collector Surveyor and Searcher of his Maties Customs and Excise...,” August 2, 1677, October 17, 1686, Pemaquid Papers, 16-17, 20-21, 120-123.
Kennebec River. The scouts either returned to their home base and reported the news to the fort’s commander or attacked the Indians.77

Many of these tasks were especially thankless because they put the soldiers at odds with people whom they had daily contact, members of Jamestown’s civilian community. As a consequence, many townspeople likely came to see the soldiers and their commander as minions of the despised Andros and Dongan administrations, enforcing onerous and repressive regulations that made their lives difficult and, for some, barely liveable. Added to this perception was an attitude probably held by a sizable number of Pemaquidians, that the troops were outsiders with little or no long-term commitment to the settlement.

Living conditions for the men of Fort Charles were far from ideal. The enlisted men’s living quarters would have been spartan. They, unlike the officers, lived in cramped communal quarters. Typically, each man slept in a single wooden bunk bed. Bedding usually consisted of nothing more than a straw-filled mattress and a blanket. Their quarters were heated by wood-burning fireplaces. Even so, the cold, winds, and damp of Jamestown’s coastal climate permeated the drafty quarters of the enlisted men. Conditions were especially uncomfortable during the late fall, winter, and early spring months, when the Maine coast is buffeted by strong winds, bone-chilling cold, snow, sleet, and rain. However, the ultimate test of the garrison’s tolerance of military life came during the winter and early spring of 1688 and 1689. During these six


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months, Fort Charles was garrisoned with between 156-200 British regulars and provincial troops. While there are no detailed descriptions of Fort Charles’s size and layout, it is unlikely this wooden fortification was built to handle that many men.

Prior to 1688, no more than 50 soldiers had occupied the fort at one time. The massive influx of new troops probably overwhelmed the fort’s living and eating facilities. Most of the overflow of soldiers probably made do by living in temporary quarters constructed inside or immediately outside Fort Charles. These structures most likely amounted to little more than small airy wooden shacks or lean-tos. The more fortunate were may have been billeted in local homes in the main village.

The foot soldier of Fort Charles had to contend with more than spartan living quarters and difficult working conditions. Many of his meals were bland, repetitive, and even inadequate. The commander issued each soldier a weekly ration of salt beef and pork, bread, dried peas, molasses, and rum. Their availability, however, depended on the regular shipment of these and other military supplies from New York and Boston. Normally, that was not a problem, but in late 1688 and 1689 the northerly shipments were often late or insufficient due to the collapse of the Andros administration and New England’s growing uncertainty of peace with New France and the region’s Indians.78

78 Survey of the Condition of the fortifications of New York City, November 15, 1688, Collections of the New York Historical Society, XXV, 174-175; Joshua Pigon to Governor Edmund Andros, September 10, 1688, September 22, 1688, Lieutenant James Weems to Governor Simon Bradstreet, June 1, 1689, Baxter, ed., Baxter Manuscripts, VI, 427, 432, 485; Lieutenant James Weems to Governor Simon
The soldiers of Fort Charles probably supplemented their military fare with fresh meat, wild game, and fresh- and salt-water fish. Their food procurement routines and eating habits were probably not that much different than those of the better documented garrisons of Fort William Henry (1692-1696) and Fort Frederick (1729-1760). In 1695, several soldiers from Fort William Henry "went frequently abrod a gaming." Archaeological evidence indicates that the officers of the two later fortifications owned fishing gear. The officers either used the gear themselves or enlisted troops to fish in local waters. Access to area fishing grounds would have been no problem. Garrison members had access to the forts’ boats or those hired from local fisherman. Otherwise, the soldiers could have bartered with local farmers, fishermen, and even Indians for items such as fresh deer and moose meat, lamb, and cod. The men of Fort Charles were well situated to do business with locals since the fort was a short walk from Jamestown’s main village. Historial and archaeological records indicate that the officers of Forts William Henry and Frederick supplemented their regular diet with sheep or goat, lamb, deer, rabbit, duck, goose, cod, and even lobster, on occasion.79

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79 Deposition of Joseph Giddings, October 3, 1696, Typescript copy, Colonial Pemaquid Museum, Bristol, Maine; Robert L. Bradley and Helen Camp, The Forts of

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The rigors of military life on the northern frontier took their toll. On two occasions, the fort’s commanders spoke of soldiers dying while on duty. The deaths occurred in 1678 and 1681, times when Anglo-Indian warfare was at a lull. It is possible these troops died from minor skirmishes with Indian war parties, disease, or even mistreatment and abuse at the hands of officers. The latter appeared to be especially pervasive during the winter of 1688, when conditions were especially difficult. A number of Massachusetts men who served at Fort Charles in 1688 came forward with chilling accounts of abuse at the hands of the officers at Fort Charles and Sheepscot. The ex-soldiers accused the officers of verbally and physically abusing them, withholding medical aid, and cutting back on rations. Two Haverhill men claimed Lieutenant James Weems, then second-in-command at Fort Charles, greeted the men by saying “Hell is like to be youre winter quarters, & ye divel yor Landlord;” The same men said the troops, “both Sick & well,” were forced to embark on a sea and land expedition in pursuit of Indian war parties. “Many Sick Souldiers were packt into ye hold wth ye rest.” The officers dealt harshly with disobedient and hesitant troops. Several witnesses observed that two senior officers beat troops with canes and pikes. Henry Tuxbery deposed that the commander at the Sheepscot fortification hoptied and hung several of his men outdoors for several hours. Not surprisingly, a


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number of the troops men died from the mistreatment, harsh weather, and scant provisions. Many others came down ill. These accusations were not limited to Pemaquid and Sheepscot. Similar complaints and accusations came from men who served under English officers on the Kennebec River.\textsuperscript{80}

These accounts reveal not only the harshness of life for the enlisted men of Fort Charles, but also the deep divide between the fort’s officers and their American underlings. Much of what played out between the two groups was a reflection of English attitudes toward the American colonies and their inhabitants. British regular army officers had little respect for their provincial counterparts. They considered these troops unreliable, undisciplined, poorly trained, and cowardly. Experiences such as those of British army lieutenant John Jordan did little to dispel this image. Jordan, upon his arrival at New Dartmouth in November of 1688, witnessed a scene that was both disturbing and surreal. Townspeople and cattle, who had been killed in an Indian attack eleven days earlier, remained where they died, rotting and unburied. The remnants of the local militia were huddled in the fort. The men were so fear-stricken that even with the arrival of Lieutenant Jordan and his troops the militia men did not

“open the gate except at a small hole like a gun-port.” Jordan saw little improvement during his stint in the frontier plantation. Militia members and civilians alike resisted his efforts to improve local defenses. Troops were reluctant or unwilling to go out on patrol. Several men stole from the garrison’s food stocks. Jordan found the settlement in complete disarray, with people fending for themselves.81 But it should be made clear that what occurred during the final two years of Jamestown’s existence was an extreme, due in large part to the deteriorating international situation. In the preceding decade, relations between enlisted men and their officers, while far from amiable, were less tense.

Thus, much of what we see in how the officers of Fort Charles and Sheepscot treated their enlisted men was a combination of British army military discipline, the Britons’ strong dislike and lack of respect of their American troops, and the tensions wrought by the daily threat of Indian and French attack. The last factor is one that deserves particular attention. By 1688, northern New England was rife with rumors of Indian and French plans to attack the region’s English settlements. The whole of Fort Charles’s garrison was on edge as reports filtered in from area residents and their own troops of Indian and French war plans, some legitimate, others mere rumors. There is little doubt that these fears, both real and imaginary, made the fort’s officers edgy. They were on New England’s northern periphery, far from reliable military and

81 Deposition of Lieutenant John Jordan, June, 1689, Calendar of State Papers, XIII, #208; Eames, “Rustic Warriors,” 216-218; Leach, Roots of Conflict, 15-19.
economic help, commanding balky and gun-shy provincial troops and militia men and surrounded by a hostile civilian community. This type of environment made it understandable the British officers reacted the way they did. At the same time, their responses only reinforced the negative images the troops and much of the civilian community had of the Britishers.

Jamestown's civilian community was a blend of old and new. The plantation's elite consisted of a handful of merchants, planters, and fishermen. At the forefront was returnee and longtime resident John Dollen. He was unusual for his persistence and success as a fisherman. John Dollen had made Monhegan his home since the early 1660s. In that time, he married and had a son. Despite fleeing Pemaquid with the rest of the residents in 1676, the veteran fisherman returned in 1678 to start anew. By then, Dollen was 50 or 51 years old, well past the prime of a working fisherman. By the late 1680s, he once again had a flourishing fishing business. He owned one or more shallops, a fishing stage, fish house, and a dwelling on Monhegan. Several fishermen worked for him, at least one as an indentured servant. His success was evident not only in his fishing operation, but also in his property holdings and political office. Dollen continued to own a sizable amount of land on Monhegan, much of which he used as grazing land for his 8 cows, 24 sheep, and 2 horses. He also grew corn and wheat. The fact that Dollen farmed was not unusual. Pemaquid fishermen had done so since the plantation's early years. What distinguished John Dollen from other local fishermen was the size of his farming operation. His herd of cows was the largest on Monhegan and second largest for the whole of Jamestown. The Monhegan fisherman
was also one of only two Pemaquidians who owned sheep, with a flock not only large by Cornwall county standards but also for southern Maine. The numbers indicate that Dollen and his wife were probably raising the sheep for wool for household consumption and commercial purposes. Just as impressive was his ownership of two horses; he was one of only ten Jamestown households who owned horses. These animals were more of a status symbol than a practical possession, particularly when considering Jamestown’s poorly developed road network. John Dollen had also made considerable strides in the political arena. In 1686, Governor Thomas Dongan appointed him one of eight justices of peace for Cornwall County, a considerable jump from the post of constable that he held in the early 1670s.82

The remainder of Jamestown’s elite were virtually all newcomers, a mix of New Englanders and New Yorkers. Of this group, Thomas Gyles Sr. was preeminent. He moved with his wife Margaret and six children to the Maine fishing plantation from Long Island in the early 1680s. The Gyles’s, however, were not new to Maine’s south-central coast. They had settled on Merrymeeting Bay on the southern portion of the Kennebec River in the 1668, where they remained until 1674. Thomas Gyles’s

brief stay in Pemaquid was impressive for the rapidity with which he established
himself as one of the plantation’s and Cornwall County’s leading commercial and
political figures. Thomas Sr. could thank his rapid ascendancy, in part, to his father at
his death in 1674 willed a substantial estate to him. Thomas Gyles also benefited
from an early association with Governor Edmund Andros. In the tradition of
Pemaquid’s earlier leading residents, Gyles had considerable holdings and was active
in a variety of financial pursuits. By the time of Gyles’s death in the summer of 1689,
he owned a large home and tavern, a farm, and one or more fishing stages. The
Pemaquidian’s political prominence was evident in his appointment as one of
Cornwall County’s chief justices in 1686.83

Francis Johnson Jr. provided an intriguing link to Pemaquid’s early historic
past. In 1680, he settled in New Harbor with his wife and children. He hailed from a
prominent Salem, Massachusetts family. His father, Francis Sr., was one of the Bay
settlement’s earliest planters, having settled there in 1630. In his early years, the elder
Johnson was active in the fur trade, particularly with English Maine-based traders.
One of his contacts was Pemaquid’s Abraham Shurt. This personal link and the strong
historic ties between Pemaquid and Salem may explain, in part, why Francis Johnson
and his family emigrated to New England’s northern frontier. The Johnsons were not

83 Vinton, The Giles Memorial, 103-106; Gyles, “Memoirs of Odd Adventures,”
Vaughn and Clark, eds., Puritans Among the Indians, 95; Deposition of Lydia Felt,
July 22, 1718, York Deeds (Portland: Brown Thurston Company, 1894), IX, folio
239; Wattle, ed., Jamestown census, October 14, 1687, New England Historical and
Genealogical Register, XXXII, 313.
alone. They were joined by at least eleven families or individuals who had moved, or are suspected to have moved, from Salem and adjoining Marblehead to Pemaquid during the late 1670s and early 1680s (see Table 2). One, Arthur Neale, lived in the same neighborhood — Long Cove, New Harbor — as Francis Johnson. These people had come largely as ex-refugees displaced by Maine’s first Indian war of 1675-1678. In turn, it was the presence of ex-Salemites such as Francis Johnson in Jamestown and Nicholas Manning in New Dartmouth that helped ensure continued strong social and commercial links between the two settlements.

As was the case for many of Jamestown’s household heads, Francis Johnson was not young when he moved north. At the time of the Johnson family’s move, the former Bay resident was 36 years old. During his stay at Jamestown, Francis Johnson rapidly established himself as a member of the fishing plantation’s elite. In 1686, Governor Edmund Andros commissioned Johnson a lieutenant in Cornwall county’s militia. He also served as one of Jamestown’s selectmen. By the late 1680s, Francis Johnson was one of the settlement’s largest landholders and livestock owners. He held several hundred acres of meadow and upland in Long Cove and New Harbor and owned nine cattle and two horses. These figures, while impressive for Jamestown,

84 Table 2.

197
upland in Long Cove and New Harbor and owned nine cattle and two horses. These figures, while impressive for Jamestown, were modest when compared to farming households of coastal Maine west of the Kennebec River and Massachusetts Bay.86

Jamestown's nascent New York contingent was led by Dennis Hegeman and Alexander Woodrup. Both men brought with them strong social and financial links to New York that increasingly became a part of the new Pemaquid. They also provided the fishing plantation with more ethnic diversity. Dennis Hegeman hailed from Manhattan or Long Island. He was also one of a number of Dutch New Yorkers who left the security of southern New York for New England's turbulent northern frontier. Continuing a pattern that had become prevalent among Sagadahoc region settlers by the mid-century, Hegeman was married. Soon he and his young wife had a baby daughter.87 He may have lived in one of the larger dwellings in the village at Pemaquid Beach (Figure 24). During the late 1960s, archaeologists unearthed a silver wax seal bearing the initials "DH" from the building's cellar.

Alexander Woodrup was a trader/merchant who appears to have moved from New York City to Pemaquid in the early 1680s. As such, he brought with him

86 Table 2; Wattle, ed., Jamestown census, October 14, 1687, New England Historical & Genealogical Recorder XXXII, 315; Baker, "Trouble to the Eastward," 82-83; Real Estate and Livestock Inventory, Ipswich?, c1682, George Dow, ed., Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County Massachusetts (Lynn: Thos. P. Nichols & Son Co., 1921), VIII, 390-393.

87 Noyes, Genealogical Dictionary of Maine and New Hampshire, 324.
valuable links to the commercial world of an up-and-coming Anglo-American entrepot. What set him apart from the rest of Pemaquid’s inhabitants and much of provincial Maine was his ownership of a young black female “servant”, probably a slave. Woodrup likely brought Susannah with him when he left New York rather than purchasing her in Maine. During the late 17th-century, New York City had the largest black population of any English town or city on the eastern seaboard. At the time of the English conquest (1664), the city had approximately 300 African slaves and 75 free blacks. The total accounted for 20-25% of New York City’s total population of 1875 inhabitants.88

Susannah’s presence in the Woodrup household was probably borne more out of practical concerns - a need for domestic help - than a display of social status. Nonetheless, Alexander Woodrup’s possession of a slave was a luxury that most Pemaquid households could ill afford. Her presence in this frontier fishing plantation must have presented a strange but intriguing sight to Pemaquid residents and the settlement’s Acadian and Indian visitors. During the 1670s and 1680s, Maine had no more than a handful of African-American slaves, the vast majority owned by well-to-do households west of the Kennebec River. Susannah was the only one living in 17th-century Pemaquid. As a member of Pemaquid’s elite, Alexander Woodrup held two

important political posts. In 1683, Governor Dongan appointed him as Jamestown’s “sub-collector and receiver.” Four years later, he was serving as one of Cornwall County’s two “commissioners,” an especially prestigious position.89

Henry Josselyn rounded out Jamestown’s civilian movers and shakers. Despite the brevity of Josselyn’s residence in Pemaquid, he was an important part of the local community. He brought to the fishing plantation personal dimensions both symbolic and practical. Henry Josselyn settled in Pemaquid with his wife about 1678. By then, he was nearly seventy years old and close to the end of a long and storied career. He represented one of the last vestiges of New Hampshire’s and Maine’s first generation of planters, having emigrated from England as a young lawyer around 1630. Early in his career, Josselyn established a reputation as an able jurist and political leader in New Hampshire and southern Maine. At Pemaquid, he brought extensive legal experience, respect, and direction as chief justice for the county of Cornwall, critical elements in the early years of the reborn settlement.90


90 Table 2; Noyes, Geneological Dictionary of Maine and New Hampshire, 380; Lieutenant Governor Anthony Brockholes to Captain Caesar Knapton, July 1, 1678, Lieutenant Governor Anthony Brockholes to Henry Josselyn, January 6, 1680, Governor Edmund Andros to Lieutenant Thomas Sharp, September 15, 1680, August 24, 1682, August 30, 1682, Hough, ed., Pemaquid Papers, 31-34, 48-59.
As in past decades, Pemaquid’s workers were dominated by fisherman and planters. For fishermen, Pemaquid remained an attractive location. The waters surrounding Monhegan, Damariscove, and the host of smaller offshore fishing islands continued to be a rich source of commercial fish such as cod and haddock. Similarly, these men of the open water were drawn to Maine’s south-central coast and offshore islands due to the availability of inexpensive land. Others, such as old-timers and ex-Pemaquidians John Sellman, John Palmer Sr., and Elias Trick, returned to what they considered rightfully theirs and something they felt they could not find elsewhere in New England. Thus, they gradually reestablished homes and fishing facilities on Monhegan, Damariscove, and the Pemaquid mainland. In contrast to their counterparts on Massachusetts’s North Shore, nearly all, old-timers and newcomers alike, were faced with the challenge of having to start anew after the widespread destruction the region had suffered during the Indian attacks of 1675 and 1676. Nonetheless, they came. As in the past, the fishing community was a mixed group. The bulk of them were probably similar in age to their predecessors, men in their 20s and early 30s. Others such as John Sellman, Elias Trick, John Palmer Sr., and Nicholas Denning, were in their 30s and 40s. A number were married and had children.91

Some were reasonably successful, most notably John Sellman, John Palmer Sr., Elias Trick, and Nicholas Denning. These men operated as independent fishermen, owning their own boats and fishing stages. Sellman reestablished himself with his wife

91 Table 2.
and her nephew on Damariscove Island by about 1680. By the late 1680s, he claimed
to have invested £150 in building a new home and fishing facilities and restocking his
farmstead with cattle and sheep. Trick made similar improvements on his
Damariscove property after he returned around 1678. Trick did well enough that he
was able to afford a servant who worked with him. In addition to fishing, the
fisherman raised a large flock of sheep and stocks of cattle and pigs. But, as was so
often the case, even fishermen such as Elias Trick were not fully financially
independent. He labored under an indenture to Richard Patteshall due to debts he
owed the Boston merchant. Trick’s home, property, and livestock reverted to
Pattishall upon the fisherman’s death.92

The majority of local fishermen, however, eked out a more modest living.
They were more apt not to own a fishing boat or stage. Men such as Richard Bass
worked as indentured servants for local elite such as John Dollen. None owned land.
Any land these fishermen held they leased from New York or the Dominion of New
England. Any farming they did was usually limited to a single milk cow, one or two
pigs, and possibly a handful of chickens. What is less clear is whether they mimicked
the employment and work patterns that emerged in Massachusetts Bay’s fishing

92 Noyes et als, eds., Geneological Dictionary of Maine and New Hampshire, 693,
723; Petition of John Sellman, c. 1686, “Att a spesell Court in new dartmouth,
November 11, 1686, James P. Baxter, ed., Collections of the Maine Historical Society
(Portland: Hoyt, Fogg, and Donham, 1881), VIII, 193-195; George P. Dow, ed.,
Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County Massachusetts (Lynn:
Thos. P. Nichols & Son Co., 1921), VIII (1680-1683), 187, 238; Wattle, ed.,
Jamestown census, October 14, 1687, New England Historical and Geneological
Register, XXXII, 314-316.
communities during the last quarter of the century. Did these local men move from the traditional clientage practiced throughout most of the 17th-century to free-lancing with the increasingly popular larger decked ketches and schooners that ventured into deeper waters, particularly off the coastal waters of Nova Scotia? What appears to be taking place was a regression in the circumstances of all but a handful of Pemaquid fishermen to that of their forebearers who labored as servants of Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge.93

Jamestown’s fishermen, as a group, discovered that the loosely regulated commercial world of the 1660s and early 1670s was a thing of the past. With the establishment of garrison government throughout the county of Cornwall, the region’s fishermen found themselves operating in a highly regulated and restrictive commercial environment. During the late 1670s and early 1680s, the Andros and Dongan administrations passed a series of far-reaching directives and orders. They prohibited Cornwall county fishermen from trading with Indians and disposing of fish remains in the “fishing grounds.” Orders also forbid the fishermen of Sagadahock Island, on the lower Kennebec River, from building additional houses on the island. Other statutes restricted where the men could fish and the number of dogs they owned. Still others required fishermen to possess firearms and ammunition. It mattered little that some of the laws were intended to improve the circumstances of area fishermen. Not

surprisingly, local fishermen were vocal in their unhappiness and complained to the
governments of New York.94

Just as with Jamestown's fishermen, the settlement's new generation of
planters were a diverse group. Some were returnees while many others were first time
emigrants to New England's northern frontier. Ex-Pemaquidians such as John and
Thomas Pierce, James Stilson, and John Ridgeway Jr. returned to Pemaquid in
response to government calls for resettlement of the region and their desire to reclaim
family land. As they were former refugees of King Philip's War, it is unlikely these
individuals and families ventured north with a great deal of personal belongings and
finances. Some, such as John Gyles and his wife Mary, the brother of Thomas Sr.,
undoubtedly were encouraged by family members to join them. A sizeable number
hailed from southern New York, Salem, and Charlestown. Of the fourteen clearly
identified as planters, ten were married. Seven of those couples had children.
Curiously, these couples were not young, in contrast to their counterparts of the first
half of the 17th-century. Four planters whose dates of birth are known ranged in age
from their early 30s to mid 40s, a demographic pattern that prevailed throughout the
whole of Jamestown's population. This discrepancy in age was due in part to the fact
that some of the planters were returning to land they had lived on as young adults.
Family size varied, with married couples having from one to six children. The

94 “Councill Orders relating to Pemaquid,” June 24, 1680, June 25, 1680,
“Instructions for the Settlement of Pemaquid,” November 22, 1683, Hough, ed.,
Pemaquid Papers, 35-36, 37, 75-81.
majority, however, had only one or two children.\textsuperscript{95} The sample, while small, showed little change in family size with Pemaquidians of the third quarter of the 17\textsuperscript{th} century. Possible explanations are hard to come by. However, it is conceivable that Jamestown's tenuous circumstances throughout the late 1670s and 1680s, vis-a-vis the French and Indians, kept both the settlement's overall population and family size at modest levels. Such an explanation seems to be borne out when comparing the figures with settlements situated near the hub of Massachusetts Bay and away from the region's northern frontier. For example, the typical family of Andover, Massachusetts during the period 1685-1704 consisted of slightly more than seven children who lived to adulthood. The family averages of Milford and Waltham, Massachusetts during the 1670s and between 1660 and 1710, respectively, were similar to that of Andover; Milford had an average of 6.7 children per family while Waltham was slightly higher at 7.2.\textsuperscript{96}

Several features distinguished landholding among Jamestown's planters, as well as its fishermen, from their pre-1677 predecessors. The vast majority of the plantation's farmers were lease holders, not outright owners. The governments of New York and the Dominion of New England, acting for the Duke of York, leased plantation land, usually for an annual lease of a bushel of wheat. For Pemaquid's

\textsuperscript{95} Table 2.

planters, what was disconcerting was not so much the amount of the fee but the fact
the provincial government maintained possession of the land. For some this was
especially frustrating. Men such as John Dollen, John and Richard Pierce, and John
Sellman returned to Pemaquid only to discover the land they or their parents owned
when they fled Maine in 1676 was now the property of the province of New York.
Just as disconcerting was how the Andros and Dongan administrations went about
distributing much of property in Cornwall County. In 1686, Governor Andros sent
New York officials, John West and John Palmer, to distribute land to would-be
planters settling in the county. The result was an orgy of favoritism and ill-gotten
gains. West and Palmer granted a number of tracts to political cronies and business
acquaintances living in New York. None of the recipients appear to have set foot on
their newly acquired holdings. Typically, the lots were large (800-1,000 acres) and
their boundaries loosely defined or virtually non-existent. This policy left local
residents or potential planters, particularly those of modest means, scrambling for
what remained. These lands were often poorly situated and/or of mediocre quality.

The plights of John Starkey and William Sturt capture some of the difficulties
faced by these Jamestown planters. In 1687, John Starkey petitioned Governor
Andros for “two small persells” of “Meadow or Marsh” in New Harbor. Starkey
hoped to use the tracts as a supply of hay for his cattle, something which he needed
because of the scarcity of unclaimed land. William Sturt, one of Jamestown’s earliest
planters, was in a similar situation. He petitioned the governor for the right to a “small

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Rocky wooded island, Squirrel Island, adjacent to today’s Fisherman’s Island. He was looking for a source of timber to use to complete construction of a home on the latter island.97

The struggles of the community worsened dramatically in 1688 and 1689. By the spring of 1688, relations between the English, French and Indians were becoming hostile. The French crown sent an armed frigate to patrol and keep Acadian waters free of English fishermen and traders. In addition, the French strengthened Acadian defences at Chedabucto and Port Royal.98 Beginning in the spring and carrying on into the fall, English and Wabanaki tensions broke out into the open. In one incident, Saco River Indians broke into the home of an English trader and stole a barrel of rum. This incident culminated in a firefight between the Indians and English that left five settlers killed and several of the attackers wounded. The attacks were not restricted to southern Maine.99 Wabanaki war parties hit closer to Jamestown. They killed livestock on the Kennebeck River and plundered and burned several homes in New Dartmouth. Eleven settlers died in the latter attack. Locally, in the spring of 1689, a party of thirteen Wabanaki attempted to capture a fishing shallop in Damariscove


98 Rawlyk, Nova Scotia's Massachusetts, 52.

waters. This attack, while unsuccessful, once again demonstrated to off shore
islanders that they were far from immune from Indian attacks.100

With these problems, community integrity, already strained, came close to the
breaking point. Fears of Indian attack led residents of New Harbor, Round Pond, and
the lightly populated upper reaches of the Pemaquid River to abandon their homes
and move to the safety of Fort Charles. Such a move, while placing the vast of
majority of Jamestown’s residents under the protection of the fortification, did little
to ease the growing emotional and physical strain on the community. A visitor to
Jamestown during the year and a half leading up to the August 1689 Wabanaki attack
would have seen a community under siege. The normal ebb and flow of social
interaction, work, and commerce was upset by a world that was rapidly unraveling.
Upwards of probably 100-150 refugees were crowded in what were probably
makeshift hovels around Fort Charles and the adjoining village at Pemaquid Beach.
The lucky ones found shelter in the homes of friends in the “town.” Patrols from Fort
Charles regularly ventured out from the fort searching for Indian war parties lurking in
the woods. Local farmers and fishermen worked in constant fear of Indian attack. The

100 William Hutchinson Rowe, Ancient North Yarmouth and Yarmouth, Maine
Deposition of Samuel Holman, November 11, 1688, Petition of John Tucker and
George Hiskett, December 24, 1688, Letter of Francis Hooke, May 25, 1689 Baxter,
ed., Baxter Manuscripts, VI, 447-448, 451, 484-485; Edward Randolph to William
(New York: Joel Munsell, 1865), II, 289-290.
sight of settlers traveling upriver and into the woods to gather their harvest and cut timber under armed guard would not have been unusual. 101

Added to these challenges were the long-festering tensions that existed between Jamestown’s civilians and the garrison of Fort Charles. Local inhabitants had chafed under the heavy-handed approach of some of the fort’s commanders, restrictive provincial laws and directives, and an insensitive provincial government. When word of the collapse of the Andros government reached the Sagadahoc region, Sheepscot and Pemaquid residents took their frustrations out on the officers of Fort Charles and the fort at New Dartmouth, abducting all but one of the officers and sending them to Boston. However, that response was bittersweet as the officers departure had been preceded by that of roughly 170 members of the fort’s garrison. Pemaquid’s military shield was dramatically weakened, something both the townspeople and the region’s Indians were well aware of. Local residents and the men of Fort Charles provided the final element that all but assured the inevitability of the settlement’s violent demise. In the three months leading up to the Wabanaki attack, there were no local sightings of Indians. Pemaquidians relaxed and became so complacent that many abandoned their makeshift quarters in the town for the comfort of their homes in more distant and exposed settings. The depleted garrison of the fort

101 Rumsey, Colonial Boothbay, 86; Letters from Edward Tyng, October 1, 1688, October 4, 1688, Examination of Moses Eyares, October 22, 1688, Baxter, ed., Baxter Manuscripts. VI. 433-434, 437-438, 440-442
similarly let down its guard as keeper of local security and defence.\textsuperscript{102} Jamestown was ripe for the taking.

The Indian attack came without warning on the morning of August 2, 1689. An Wabanaki war party of 100-300 warriors landed undetected in the woods of New Harbor several days before, following a two to three day paddle from Pentagoet. Their landing was facilitated by the residents of the fishing village abandoning their homes several weeks or months earlier, for the relative safety of the village at Pemaquid Beach and Fort Charles. The Wabanaki sent out “spies” to “observe how and where the people were employed, etc.” On the morning of the attack, the Indians collected more information when they captured John Starkey, who was on his way from Fort Charles to his deserted home in New Harbor. The Wabanaki broke up into two parties, one heading north to the farming village at Pemaquid Falls and the other to Fort Charles and Pemaquid’s main village just below the fort. The attackers must have been a frightening sight, as they were “all well armed with new French fuzees

\textsuperscript{102} Fortescue, ed., \textit{Calendar of State Papers}, XIII, 114. However, contemporary sources suggest that the fishing village of New Harbor was not reoccupied. John Gyles, a survivor of the attack, notes in his account that New Harbor residents abandoned the village due to the “rumor of war.” A French account makes no reference to the Wabanaki force encountering any residents in the village during their pre-attack stay in New Harbor. John Gyles, “Memoirs of Odd Adventures, Strange Deliverances, etc.,” in Vaughn and Clark, eds., \textit{Puritans Among Indians}, 98; “Relation du Combat de Cannibas, par Monsieur Thury,” \textit{Collection de Manuscrits}, 477.
(muskets), waistbelts and cutlasses, and most of them with bayonet and pistol, grey and black hats on their heads, and some of them with colored wigs.\textsuperscript{103}

The bulk of the Wabanaki battle force attacked the main village and Fort Charles, falling on the latter first. The unprotected village capitulated rapidly as the warriors swarmed over the homes “breaking down the doors” and killing or capturing those inside or out in the open. The fort held out until shortly before noon on the following day, despite being surrounded by an overwhelming force of Wabanaki. By the time Lieutenant Weems surrendered Fort Charles, all but seven or eight of his men had been killed, and he had been seriously wounded. The results were much the same upriver. The Wabanaki war party of 30 to 40 warriors surprised the Pemaquid Falls villagers in the early afternoon as they toiled in the fields harvesting their crops of corn and hay. The warriors killed at least five or six Englishmen, two as they tried to escape on the mudflats below.\textsuperscript{104}

The total number of Pemaquidians killed and captured in the fighting remains open to debate. Neither the English or French accounts provide complete figures. The French claimed that 14 men and women left Fort Charles after its surrender. That figure presumably consisted of both the surviving garrison members and those villagers who fled to the fort at the onset of the fighting. The French noted that 50

\textsuperscript{103} Relation du Combat de Cannibas, par Monsieur Thury,” 477; Richard Mather, Magnalia Christia Americana or the Ecclesiastical History of New England (Hartford: Silas Andrus, 1820), II, 512; 1689, Fortescue, ed., Calendar of State Papers, XIII, 115.

\textsuperscript{104} ibid.
were “killed inside and outside the fort, even though it is probable that number was
greater.” This total probably does not include those villagers killed at Pemaquid
Falls.\textsuperscript{105}

The collapse and abandonment of Pemaquid for the second time in little more
than a decade was by no means unexpected. Despite Jamestown’s early promise, all
was not well for the fishing and trading plantation. Jamestown suffered from a number
of fatal weaknesses that emerged during the twelve years of Pemaquid’s rebirth. In
much the same way that Edwin Churchill demonstrates in his historical portrait of the
“birth and death” of the 17th-century settlement of Falmouth (today’s Portland),
Maine, Jamestown’s demise stemmed from far more than the Indian attack of 1689.
Many of the settlement’s problems were internal.\textsuperscript{106}

Most notable was the fishing plantation’s lack of a solid base of long-term
settlers. Such a foundation was critical to the well being and stability of 17th-century
New England settlements. The successful settlements of Massachusetts, including
Boston, Charlestown, Salem, and Andover, all had substantial numbers of families
who had lived in the settlements for two generations or more.\textsuperscript{107} Jamestown and her
sister settlements of New Dartmouth and Kennebeck, in contrast, had only a handful

\textsuperscript{105} ibid.

\textsuperscript{106} Churchill, “Too Great the Challenge,” 341-349.

of planters and fishermen who had lived in the region continuously for more than two
decades. Even long termers such as John Dollen and John Palmer had their stays
interrupted by war (see Tables 1 & 2). Without such a base of settlers, the
community lacked social continuity and stability. These individuals provided the
successful settlement with experience and leadership in a myriad of local activities
including politics, farming, commerce, and industry. In addition, the veteran residents
begat a new generation of inhabitants who inherited their land and assumed varying
roles of leadership in community life. The presence of a substantial core of longterm
resident families was also critical to the development of a strong social network within
the community. Such a feature was especially important in times of internal or
external conflict.

Just as problematic was Jamestown’s military garrison. There was no question
that Fort Charles and its garrison of provincial and English regular troops were an
effective deterrent to French and Indian attack for well over decade. But it was also
true that the administrations of Governors Edmund Andros and Thomas Dongan used
the commanding officer, his troops, and two high ranking provincial officials to
maintain control of the fishing plantation and enforce crown policy. This approach
and the excesses of at least one of Fort Charles’s commanders soured relations
between Jamestown’s civilian and military communities. At the same time, the
powerful role the fort’s commander played in local governance left Jamestown’s
civilians with a limited opportunity to participate in civic institutions and ensure that
someone was looking out for the plantation’s best interests and the rights of
individual residents.

Jamestown lacked a diversified and strong social base. The plantation’s elite
was small. Their ability to address local commercial challenges was limited since they
lacked individuals, excluding Thomas Gyles, of the financial stature of Robert
Aldworth, Gyles Elbridge, Nicholas Davison, and Thomas Gardner to absorb much of
the burden. A large portion of the settlement’s workers struggled to make ends meet.
Their difficulties can be attributed largely to the repressive economic policy pursued
by the Andros and Dongan administrations. New York’s and the Dominion of New
England’s imposition of a series of taxes on a host of goods and services made it
extremely difficult for many of Jamestown’s fishermen and farmers to improve their
economic circumstances. They devoted a sizable portion of the fruits of their labor to
the purchase of heavily taxed and often over-priced necessities. Their financial plight
was made no easier by the fact that the vast majority of them held and worked land
that was owned by absentee landlords with limited interest in the circumstances of
local residents.

Equally disruptive and damaging to community integrity and stability was the
unsettled state of land ownership and distribution throughout the late 1670s and
1680s. Most of Jamestown’s landholders were not outright owners of the property
they occupied. The governments of New York and Dominion of New England leased
or rented parcels to them in spite of the fact that a number of these individuals or
families still held title to the property. Further aggravating matters was Dongan’s and
Andros’s habit of granting pre-owned land to political cronies and friends and leasing or renting unsurveyed or poorly surveyed tracts to local residents. The end result were disputes between claimants, some pitting neighbor against neighbor. Ultimately, the disorder and conflict discouraged a regular infusion of new planters and many Jamestown inhabitants from improving or purchasing lots of questionable origins and bounds.

Logistically, Jamestown remained vulnerable to Indian or French attack due in large part to the vast expanse of the plantation and the considerable distance that separated its several villages and hamlets. Fort Charles provided relatively effective protection for the village at Pemaquid Beach. However, the more distant communities at New Harbor, Pemaquid Falls, Round Pond, Damariscotta, Damariscove, and Monhegan were well out of reach of the protective umbrella of Fort Charles. The inhabitants were essentially on their own if attacked. Undoubtedly, this reality drove the fishermen of Damariscove to improve island defences during the late 1670s or 1680s.

Thus, Pemaquid’s promise of the third quarter of the 17th-century stood in marked contrast to the struggles of the plantation’s final twelve years of existence during the 17th-century. Jamestown’s downward spiral once again demonstrated the challenge of establishing and maintaining a settlement on New England’s northern frontier. Pemaquid’s demise and those of her sister plantations in the Sagadahoc region underscored the degree to which the longterm survival and ultimate success of these settlements depended on initial as well as external factors. Qualities such as a
strong social fabric, community loyalty, active and effective local civic institutions, a
stable and diversified social matrix and economy, and well developed transportation
and communication networks were critical to the continued well being of these
plantations. In turn, the violent demise of these frontier settlements did more than
reveal their vulnerability to Indian attack; it pointed to the impact that inter-cultural
tensions and warfare had on the daily rhythm, dynamics, and social structure of the
communities.
CHAPTER THREE

OLD AND NEW WORLDS MEET: PEMAQUID AND THE INDIANS OF MAINE

Seventeenth-century Pemaquid was an integral part of northern New England's Anglo-Indian frontier, from the plantation's earliest roots as an English seasonal fishing station to the second and final Indian attack and destruction of the settlement in 1689. As Richard Melvoin points out in his study of colonial Deerfield, the frontier between the English newcomers and indigenous Native Americans of early New England was not a clearly delineated line or border between "civilization" and "savagery," as argued by Frederick Jackson Turner in his frontier hypothesis. Melvoin describes the frontier as a "point of contact" or "zone of exchange" between the two cultures.¹

The circumstances of 17th-century Pemaquid bear out Melvoin's description. The point of contact between the English Pemaquidians and the region's Indians was a fluid, dynamic, and, to a certain degree, ambiguous zone. When English fishermen established their first fishing stations in the Pemaquid area in the early 1610s, they were situated in a region occupied almost exclusively by Wabanaki and Etchemin Indians. Locally, Native Americans continued to maintain seasonal encampments on the nearby Sheepscot, Damariscotta, and Muscongus River estuaries. By the late

1680s, English year-round settlements were well established on the Pemaquid, Muscongus, and Damariscotta Rivers and offshore islands such as Monhegan and Damariscove. Even so, the expansion of English settlement was by no means steady, as evidenced in the cycle of abandonment and destruction and re-occupation of Pemaquid and most of south-central Maine's English settlements in the late 1670s and 1680s. The region's Indian population had contracted dramatically in response to European diseases, expanding English settlement, and warfare. By then, the closest sites of substantial native settlement were located in the Penobscot and Kennebec River drainages. However, smaller Wabanaki and Etchemin hunting and trading bands and individuals established short-term encampments in the more sparsely populated portions of the Pemaquid plantation and nearby Winnegance, and Sheepscot.

Not surprisingly, Anglo-Indian interaction - peaceful and belligerent, incidental and substantive - played an important role in Pemaquid’s longevity and the direction and success of its economy. This relationship was multi-faceted, ranging from economics to politics. At the center of this cross-cultural contact was Anglo-Indian trade, represented by the ever present truckhouse, truckmaster, and Indian trader.² This activity drew Pemaquid merchants, traders, fishermen, and troops into regular contact with Wabanaki traders as they exchanged English and European goods and foodstuffs for Native American animal furs, pelts, skins, and land. Pemaquid benefited

² The “truckhouse” or trading post was a building stocked with a variety of everyday goods and supplies sought by Europeans and Indians alike. Common items included clothing, textiles, axes, knives, lead shot, powder, food, alcoholic beverages, kitchen ware, and beads. The truckmaster operated the truckhouse. He usually kept a daily log of the various transactions with his white and Indian clients.
from its location roughly midway between the Kennebec and Penobscot Rivers, the sites of the two dominant Wabanaki groups in Maine, and the area’s traditional importance to the region’s Indians. As a consequence, Pemaquid developed into one of New England’s leading centers of Anglo-Indian trade during the 17th-century.

As Pemaquid moved into the latter half of the 17th century Anglo-Indian trade became increasingly politicized, as England’s and France’s struggle for international supremacy spread across the Atlantic to North America and New England. There was little change in the two most notable physical manifestations of the trade — the medium of exchange and the place of business. The same was not true for the ultimate purpose of the trade or for its control. The English crown assumed control of the business through their provincial liaisons - Massachusetts and New York. For the remainder of the century, the provincial authorities used Anglo-Indian trade to encourage and strengthen Anglo-Wabanaki alliances. Financial profits were relegated to secondary consideration.

Our story begins early in the 17th century, two decades before Pemaquid’s establishment as a year-round English settlement. In the spring of 1607, a group of English merchants sent out two vessels from Bristol, England laden with 120 colonists and equipment for the coast of Maine. Not long after establishing a small settlement at the mouth of the Kennebec River, the colony’s leader - George Popham -led an exploratory party that traveled to the Pemaquid peninsula on two separate occasions. Their destination was a Native American village of nearly three hundred inhabitants located at the mouth of the Pemaquid River. The party’s Indian guide, Skidwarres,
acted as the English visitors' interpreter. On both occasions, the Indian villagers responded cautiously to the Europeans, a likely reaction to the 1605 English abduction of five Wabanakis or some other undocumented, Anglo-Indian encounter.

The English explorer George Waymouth had captured and carried Skidwarres and four companions to England two years earlier. Waymouth abducted the five Wabanaki Indians while exploring the lower reaches of the St. Georges River, a river roughly twenty miles northeast of the Pemaquid River. The visits of the Popham party were brief and involved no trade between the English and Indians. However, several months later two groups of Pemaquid River Indians canoed over to the nascent Popham colony, situated at the mouth of the Kennebec River. These encounters, while again brief, were more relaxed, as English and Indians intermingled for several hours. The encounters provide a foretaste of what was to follow in the Pemaquid area and the whole of Maine in the decades ahead.


4 The Popham colony was the first, albeit unsuccessful, year round English settlement in New England. The inhabitants abandoned the settlement in 1608 after only a year's occupation. A number of factors led to Popham colony's demise, most notably the death of George Popham, the settlement's leader, in the winter of 1608 and the subsequent departure of his successor Raleigh Gilbert for England. Dr. Jeffrey Brain of the Peabody Essex Museum has discovered archaeological evidence of the ill-fated settlement on the State-owned Popham Beach. James Axtell, "The Exploration of Norumbega. Native Perspectives," in Baker et als, American Beginnings, 163-165; Charles B. McLane, Islands of the Mid-Maine Coast. Pemaquid Point to the Kennebec River (Gardiner, Maine: Tilbury House, Publishers, 1994), IV, 4-5; Jeffrey Brain, "Popham. The Archaeology of a Place," 1996. Ms on file, Maine Historic Preservation Commission, Augusta.

By the late 1610s, the world that existed in Maine had changed noticeably since the Anglo-Indian encounters of 1605 and 1607. Most dramatic were the changes in the size, makeup, and location of the region's Indian population. Nearly two decades of contact with English and French explorers, fishermen, and colonists had introduced, among other things, foreign diseases among the Native Americans. The result was two devastating epidemics. The first epidemic struck about 1611 throughout Maine and the Canadian Maritimes. The Indians inhabiting land north of the Androscoggin River were hardest hit. The second outbreak of disease, from around 1616 to 1619, was even more destructive. This epidemic spread from southern New England to the central coast of Maine. Massachusetts Bay Indians suffered the heaviest losses. Contemporary European and present-day estimates place the death toll for the two epidemics in the thousands. The French Jesuit priest Father Biard estimated that the Eastern Etchemins of present-day eastern Maine and western New Brunswick suffered 2,500 deaths out of a pre-epidemic population of 7,500. The Western Etchemins of Maine were even harder hit, losing 9,000 out of a population of 12,000. How severely Pemaquid-area Indians were hit is difficult to say. The last


7 Baker, "Trouble to the Eastward," 54-55. Archaeologists and ethnohistorians continue to struggle to identify and define the various Native American sub-groups living in Maine during the 16th- and early 17th-centuries. Much of the confusion stems from the material available to scholars. The sources are almost exclusively English and French. Both English and French observers applied a variety of names to the Indian groups they encountered. Nonetheless, most scholars agree that at the time of early Indian-European contact three major Indian groups inhabited Maine. The Etchemin inhabited territory extending from the Kennebec to the St. John River (New
European reference to Indian habitations on Maine's south-central coast was that of John Smith. During Smith's 1614 visit to Maine, he noted that local Etchemins were still maintaining "villages" in the vicinity of the Pemaquid and Muscongus Rivers.

During the last century and a half, local residents and professional archaeologists have uncovered a series of Indian burial complexes that may well be archaeological evidence of these villages on the Pemaquid and Damariscotta Rivers and Loud's Island on the Muscongus River.\(^8\) It is likely that area Indians lost substantial numbers although

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B Group consisted of two sub-groups, the Eastern and Western Etchemin. The former occupied coastal lands between the St. John River and Mount Desert Island. Their western counterparts were found between Mount Desert and the Kennebec River. The Androscoggins inhabited tribal lands to the west of the Kennebec. Baker argues that the Wabanaki lived on Maine's "interior waterways" rather than the coast as claimed by others such as Dean Snow. However, this would all change with the onset of a series of epidemics and wars in the 1610s. Bruce J. Bourque and Ruth H. Whitehead, "Trade and Alliances During the Contact Period," in Baker et als, eds., American Beginnings, 136; Baker, "Trouble to the Eastward," 15-17.

\(^8\) The most spectacular of these finds was a large Indian cemetery and a nearby area of domestic debris on the northern end of Loud's Island. Nineteenth-century historian David Quimby Cushman reported that the ocean had eroded a series of Indian burials, one of which had a copper kettle covering its head. Local residents had also found nearby several more brass kettles along with large quantities of brass beads, earrings, metallic and stone axes, flint, stones, arrow heads...." The presence of the brass kettles and beads and the metal axes (probably iron) indicates Indians occupied the site dated during the 16th- and/or 17th-centuries. The relative profusion of these European trade goods points to the latter century. By then, Maine Indians had direct and indirect access to these and other trade goods via English, French, or Indian sources. Prior to that period, the region's Indians could only obtain such items from Indians based in the Canadian Maritimes. During the mid-19th-century, Damariscotta-area residents discovered several Indian interments covered with sheets of brass on an island in Damariscotta Mills. The late Helen Camp uncovered two more similarly interred Indians immediately outside a 17th-century trading post and tavern in Pemaquid's primary village. Archaeologists believe the two adults and an infant were buried between c.1540 and c. 1625/28. The first figure is the earliest C-14 date (mean date of 1630 with a ± 90 years) while the latter is Pemaquid's settlement date. Helen Camp, Archaeological Excavations at Pemaquid, 1965-1974 (Augusta, Maine: Maine State Museum, 1975), 75-77; Cushman, The History of Ancient Sheepscot and
probably not to the extent of the more heavily populated Indian settlements of southern Maine, and those of New Hampshire, and Massachusetts. The 1616-1619 epidemics hit the Patuxets of the York and Saco Rivers so hard that the previously thriving agricultural villages were empty when English observers such as Richard Vines visited the area.\textsuperscript{9}

Conversely, the English and French presence grew. The accounts of explorers and erstwhile colonizers such as Samuel de Champlain, George Waymouth, and John Smith extolling the natural bounty of coastal Maine attracted the interest of French and English merchants. First to respond were those interested in the fishing trade. One of the first areas of interest was the waters surrounding Monhegan and Damariscove Islands off Maine's south-central coast. The first European newcomers who frequented the area were the Jamestown, Virginia and West Country fishermen who began frequenting the waters and islands of Monhegan and Damariscove beginning around 1610 and the mid-1610s, respectively.\textsuperscript{10}

Throughout the 17th century contact between the West Country fishermen and the Native Americans centered around the fur trade. That local Anglo-Indian interaction was based on this commercial activity is not surprising considering the New World roots of the trade. European and English fishermen and Indians began trading soon after the first fishing fleets sailed to the waters of the Canadian Maritimes in the early 16th-century. This interest stemmed from growing European

\textsuperscript{9} Emerson W. Baker, "Trouble to the Eastward," 54.

demand for animal furs and pelts, particularly those of the beaver. This small mammal provided European furriers with pelts for clothing and adornment and the hatter with "wool" for hats. By the early 17th century, the wide-brimmed Swedish cavaliers' slouch hat was the latest European fashion craze. The prolific and higher quality North American beaver provided an ideal replacement for the dwindling northern European stocks. Thus, it comes as little surprise that the English fishermen moving into Maine's coastal waters would supplement their fishing income with profits from the fur trade. By 1614, West Country fishermen working for Sir Francis Popham had captured the Indian trade in the Pemaquid area. A decade later, English explorer and colonizer Christopher Levett reported encountering a party of Casco Bay Wabanaki headed with "a store of beaver coats and skins" for Pemaquid to trade with Barnstaple fishing master John Witheridge. The fact that the Indians intended to trade with Witheridge in particular points to the likelihood that the West Countryman had previously done business with these or other Indians. John Witheridge was based in Pemaquid waters during the 1623-1625 fishing seasons. That the Casco Bay Indians chose to travel as far as Pemaquid to trade suggests something either of the English fisherman's reputation among the region's Native Americans, or his stock of trade goods, or both. Levett makes it clear the Indians had other choices. He, for one, sought

10 ibid, 200-203.

the Indians' stock of furs and skins. In turn, the Indians could have traded more conveniently with other fishermen who ranged the waters of southern Maine and New Hampshire. However, another factor could have been at play. The Indian traders may have turned to Witheridge because the other fishermen lacked the goods they sought to exchange for the furs.

A more clearly defined Anglo-Indian contact zone began to emerge in the early 1620s, as English entrepreneurs shifted their energies from maintaining seasonal fishing stations to establishing permanent fishing and agricultural plantations on Maine's coast. An important factor in this shift were the actions of the Council for New England. The Council distributed the first grants in Maine. The vast majority were in southern Maine. The Council for New England issued the largest in 1622 to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the Council's leader, and his partner John Mason. This massive grant encompassed all coastal land extending from the Merrimac River north to the Kennebec and northwest into the interior some sixty miles from the river's mouths. They named the territory the province of Maine, a label that English colonizers used to define a political entity of varying and confusing bounds over the next several decades. The Council subdivided the original grant into two parcels in 1629, granting Gorges territory from the Piscataqua to the Kennebec and Mason from the Piscataqua to the Merrimac. By the late 1630s, nearly a dozen small English settlements and

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trading posts were scattered along Maine's coast from the Piscataqua to the Pemaquid Rivers and the upper reaches of the Kennebec River.\textsuperscript{13}

The newly established English fishing plantation of Pemaquid was situated in what had been, until the mid to late 1610s, Etchemin-occupied land. Pemaquid's first settlers were undoubtedly reminded of the recent Indian presence by tracts of overgrown cleared land, vestiges of abandoned village sites, and corn fields. For some of Pemaquid's early planters, evidence of their Indian predecessors must have been quite dramatic, as historical archaeologists have recently discovered at the Colonial Pemaquid Historic Site. In one case, English builders dug the cellar to a tavern-trading post within eight feet of three Indian remains that were probably interred in the late 1500s or early 1600s. It is quite possible the Englishmen unearthed the remains of one or more other Native Americans during their excavations. Archaeological evidence suggests that the three interments may have been part of larger Indian burial ground used by local Indians since the 1300s. Local 17th-century builders had similar results when constructing the cellar of a home several hundred yards southeast of the tavern-trading post. Here, they dug into a series of Indian "fire" or cooking pits.\textsuperscript{14}


By the late 1620s and early 1630s, the nearest focal points of Native American settlement were probably the Kennebec River to the west and the Penobscot River to the east. As Emerson Baker states, the Wabanaki maintained sizeable seasonal villages on these two river drainages.\textsuperscript{15}

Pemaquid's location on the Anglo-Indian frontier during the six decades that followed the plantation's establishment played a major role in the makeup of its economic base and longterm stability. It should come as little surprise that Pemaquid's economy, while dominated by fishing, was also inextricably intertwined with the Anglo-Indian trade. Not only was the English community situated in close proximity to two of the region's focal points of Wabanaki settlement, along the Kennebec and Penobscot Rivers, but also the Pemaquid area had a long tradition in the collective memory of the region's Native Americans. Archaeological evidence indicates that Native Americans fished, hunted, and traded on the Pemaquid mainland and offshore islands such as Monhegan for over four thousand years. Furthermore, the Pemaquid peninsula remained the site of an Indian canoe portage or carry while Anglo-Indian intercourse had roots that reached back to the first decade of the 17\textsuperscript{th} century. Pemaquidians parlayed the plantation's geographic advantages and the Maine's Indians' familiarity with the area into one of provincial Maine's primary Anglo-Indian trade centers. This reputation was further enhanced by individuals such as Abraham Shurt and Thomas Gardner. Shurt's rapport with the region's Indians was dramatically illustrated when Wabanaki or Micmac Indians accepted him in 1631 to negotiate a

\textsuperscript{15} Baker, "Trouble to the Eastward," 130-131.
peaceful resolution of a dispute between these Indians and those of Massachusetts Bay.\(^{16}\)

By the early 1630s, the sight of Wabanaki traders arriving in Pemaquid with their stocks of beaver, moose, and otter furs, pelts, skins, and hides was a common occurrence. Their periodic trading visits remained a part of local routine through the 1680s. Upon arrival, the traders did business with the several truckmasters who operated trading posts or truckhouses in the Pemaquid area. Reconstructing the size of the Indian trading groups and the length and their stays is hampered by the usual dearth of historic documentation. The existing evidence suggests the Indians typically traveled in small bands, consisting either of several adult males or small family units.\(^{17}\) They probably remained in the Pemaquid area anywhere from several days to several weeks. Two references indicate it was not unusual for the Indian traders to remain in the Pemaquid area for three to six weeks. A member of Fort William Henry's garrison (1692-1696) noted that in 1694 or 1695 a group of Native Americans frequented the area for six weeks. They traded regularly with the English receiving "bread tobacco & Rum," presumably in exchange for animal furs and skins. Shortly after David Dunbar re-established Pemaquid in 1729, a party of Penobscot Wabanaki traveled there and remained and traded for two to three weeks.\(^{18}\)

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During their visits, the Indian trading parties probably stayed in several locations. One popular site appears to have been on the grounds of today's Bristol Town Beach, roughly a half mile walk and a similar distance by canoe to the central village of 17th-century Pemaquid. In 1981, archaeologists discovered the remains of an early historic Indian camp on the protected sandy beach. The archaeological evidence suggests the Native Americans occupied the site from the third quarter of the 17th century into the 18th century (Figure 26, 27). The beach area has added significance in that scholars believe it was the location of the Etchemin village visited by George Popham in 1607.19 A second possible Indian trading encampment may have also existed at the mouth of the Pemaquid River, but on its western banks, in a small cove just above the river's Inner Harbor.20 While it has not been documented, some of the Indian visitors to Pemaquid likely spent time in the homes of local residents whom they had befriended or did business. Such a practice was not unusual in 17th-century New England. Period accounts contain numerous references to New Englanders taking


20 This site consists of a moderate sized Indian shell midden. The present property owners have found several fragments of 17th-century clay smoking pipes, a handwrought nail, and pig bones on the shore of Miller's Cove that have eroded out from the midden.
Figure 26. Glass trade beads, probably Dutch or Italian, Wabanaki trading encampment (c. 1650-1675), Pemaquid Beach, Maine. Courtesy of Department of Anthropology, University of Maine, Orono.
Figure 27. (L-R): Redware smoking pipe bowl, Sir Walter Raleigh effigy kaolin pipe bowl, kaolin smoking pipe bowl. Wabanaki trading encampment (c. 1650-1676), Pemaquid Beach, Maine. Courtesy of University of Maine, Orono.
in Indians for meals and overnight stays. Others probably established short-term trading camps on the more sparsely settled periphery of the Pemaquid plantation. The Indian traders would have been attracted to locations such as Pemaquid Falls and the outer reaches of present-day Round Pond and Damariscotta. These areas were home to longtime traditional Native American settlements that remained far enough off the beaten track of English settlement to provide the Wabanaki with a degree of privacy not possible in the village center at Pemaquid Beach or the fishing village of New Harbor.

At the time of the outbreak of Maine's first Anglo-Wabanaki war in 1675, the Anglo-Indian frontier had undergone considerable change. By then, English settlement had nearly fifty years to spread beyond the first generation of communities scattered along Maine's coast between the Piscataqua and Muscongus Rivers. Growth was heaviest south of the Kennebec River. New settlers from Massachusetts and England emigrated to New England's northern frontier, adding to the modest but growing populations of pioneering settlements such as Kittery, York, and Saco. This influx of settlers also led to the emergence of new plantations such as Wells in 1640. By the 1670s, this region was well established as northern New England's timber production center. Historian Edwin Churchill notes that eleven saw mills operated on the Piscataqua River between 1634 and 1659. In addition, Mainers established ten lumber mills in York, three at Wells, and three more at Saco. Additional settlement took place

along the lower half of the Kennebec River following the actions of Plymouth Colony representatives and a partnership of Boston merchants in the late 1640s and mid-1650s. This business consortium purchased from Kennebec Wabanaki three large tracts of land bordering both sides of the river. From these purchases emerged the lightly populated settlements of Kennebeck and Arrowsic along the eastern side of the Kennebec River and Arrowsic Island near the river's mouth. The latter community included a major truckhouse owned by Thomas Clarke and Thomas Lake. By the late 1660s, Kennebec consisted of twenty to twenty-five households.22

Locally, the spread of English settlement was more modest. By the late 1660s, Pemaquid was home to "seven or eight considerable Dwellings" and may have numbered around 150 year-round residents. Newcomers had established the first scattered homes on the plantation's northern periphery in Round Pond, Sommerset Island (Loud's), and the upper reaches of the Damariscotta River. Fishermen and planters had built a handful of homes on the western and eastern edges of the Damariscotta River and the Boothbay peninsula. Pemaquid's sister settlement of Sheepscot had grown into a small but flourishing farming community of thirty households just before the outbreak of Anglo-Indian warfare.23


The expanding English community pressed hard on Maine's Native American population. By 1675, the focal points of Maine's Indians remained in the vicinity of the Penobscot, Kennebec, and Androscoggin Rivers. However, the Indians' access to much of the land that had been the site of their prime seasonal encampments, and their planting and hunting grounds was increasingly restricted following the emergence of the first year-round English plantations in the late 1620s. The greatest losses were the high quality coastal and riverine lands, particularly between the Piscataqua and Saco Rivers, where the expansion of English settlement had been heaviest. The impact in the more lightly populated Sagadahoc region, between the Kennebec and Pemaquid Rivers, while not as dramatic, did leave its mark on the region's Wabanaki population. The English inhabitants of the settlements of Kennebeck, Arrowsic, Sheepscot, Winnegance, and Pemaquid made similar but more modest encroachments. They built homes, cut timber for buildings and, ship construction, erected grist and saw mills and coastal fishing facilities, planted crops, and loosed their livestock on former Indian planting and hunting grounds, and fishing sites.

The summer of 1675 and the decade and a half that followed gave way to a noticeable shift in the dynamics of Maine's Native American and English relations. While the previous half century was relatively free of widespread Anglo-Indian conflict, the period between late 1675 and 1689 was fraught with intermittent warfare and bloodshed. The first phase of Anglo-Indian conflict that occurred in northern New England raged from the fall of 1675 until the spring of 1678.24 Today, most scholars refer to the conflict as a northern extension of King Philip's War, so as to distinguish

the Maine conflict from that to the south. The latter war was restricted to Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Massachusetts. While some 17th-century observers claimed the two wars were part of a single New England Indian "conspiracy," contemporary accounts have yet to make a case for a region-wide Native American military effort against the English. To minimize confusion and in recognition of factors unique to the southern and northern Anglo-Indian conflicts of the latter part of the 1670s, I refer to the war that broke out in Maine as the first Anglo-Wabanaki War.

The first Anglo-Wabanaki war grew out of a combination of long-festering issues and recent events. Accelerating expansion of white settlement and trade abuses fed growing Native American resentment and mistrust. English fears of the region's Indians grew when news spread in Maine of the outbreak of King Philip's War in southern New England, the rifling of several homes on the Kennebec River, and the murder of nine Casco settlers late in the summer of 1675. English efforts to contain the "Indian threat" only magnified English-Wabanaki tensions. In September 1675 a band of Kennebec and Sheepscot River settlers led by Thomas Lake disarmed the Kennebec River Wabanaki, despite their neutrality. The Indians' loss of their firearms and access to English shot and powder led to a severe food shortage the following winter. To make matters worse, a Boston-based trader, while sailing along Maine's

and Nova Scotia's coast, kidnapped and sold into slavery several Machias and Cape Sable Indians.26

Warfare commenced with a series of Indian raids in September 1675 on an English trading post and several homes on the Kennebec River and Casco Bay. No one died on the Kennebec, but an Indian war party killed eight settlers in Casco Bay. These attacks were followed by Wabanaki assaults on Saco and Newichawannock (Kittery) from mid-September to mid-October. The onset of winter brought a temporary respite to the attacks. In the interlude, English officials convened a series of peace negotiations with the Wabanaki in an effort to head off further conflict. The first meeting took place in Dover, New Hampshire in July 1676. The result was a treaty signed by the English and Wabanaki of the Piscataqua River and Casco Bay regions. A month later, Sylvanus Davis of Kennebec and Thomas Gardner and his son-in-law John Earthy of Pemaquid organized a second peace conference with Wabanaki representatives at Taconnic (Winslow). Thomas Gardner was a key figure in these negotiations, shuttling back and forth between Pemaquid and the Wabanaki stronghold on the upper Kennebec, in an effort to avoid bloodshed. Negotiations broke down after the English refused to discontinue a ban on the sale of firearms, shot, and powder to the Indians. Three days later, the Wabanaki resumed attacks on Maine's English settlements.27


Despite the failure of the Anglo-Indian meetings, these peace talks once again demonstrate Thomas Gardner's place within the Anglo-Indian borderland, as a rare and important voice of moderation, among the English, during a time of rapidly escalating Anglo-Indian tensions. His involvement in organizing and participating in the peace talks also underscores his role as a respected culture broker between the English and Wabanaki, in much the same fashion as Abraham Shurt. That he was able to regularly move back and forth between his own world and that of the Wabanaki was evident in his long career in Anglo-Indian trade and politics beginning with his stint as commander of Fort Penobscot during the late 1650s and ending in the fall of 1676.

What followed devastated provincial Maine. On August 13, 1676, a Kennebec Wabanaki war party captured Richard Hammond's truck house, killed at least three members of his family, and took several captives. The following morning, the same group attacked the Arrowsic garrison, where most of the settlement's inhabitants had fled earlier. This attack was even bloodier than that on Hammond's trading post, with as many as 53 settlers killed or captured. The victims included Thomas Lake, one of the Arrowsic's proprietors and a prominent Boston merchant. Pemaquid was not spared destruction as the Wabanaki war party continued east, attacking and burning Sheepscot, Cape Newagan, Corbin's Sound (Boothbay), and Pemaquid. However, Pemaquidians escaped the attack and fled with others, first to Damariscov, then Monhegan, and finally New Hampshire and Massachusetts.\(^{28}\) In the meantime,

\(^{28}\) Baker, "Trouble to the Eastward," 189-205, 211; William Hubbard, A Narrative of the Indian Wars in New England from the First Planting Thereof in the Year 1607, to the Year 1677 (Brattleborough, Vermont: William Fessenden, 1814), 313-315.
Wabanaki war parties continued their attacks in September and October. They focused on southern Maine, attacking and burning homes and killing livestock on the south side of Casco Bay, Black Point (Scarboro), and Cape Neddick; for the first time since the late 1620s, Maine west of the Muscongus River and east of the Saco River was devoid of English settlement. The province would remain so until well into 1677.

The English and Indian worlds that emerged from the carnage in the decade following the conflict ending with the Anglo-Indian treaty of April 1678 were noticeably different from those of pre-war Maine. English resettlement efforts in the Sagadahoc region began only five months after the devastating attacks on the English settlements of south-central Maine. Over the next twelve years, English planters, fishermen, and traders from Massachusetts and New York began reoccupying the former sites of Pemaquid, Winnegance, Cape Newagan, Arrowsic, and Kennebec. By 1687, the renamed settlement of Jamestown numbered sixty-one families and roughly three hundred men, women, and children. Jamestown's sister plantation of New Dartmouth once again developed into a thriving agricultural community. In addition, the reborn plantation distinguished itself as a trading center for lumber and ships' masts.29 Further west, English settlers reestablished homes on the Kennebec River from present day Augusta (former site of the English trading post of Cushnoc) to the


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river's mouth. This portion of the Sagadahoc region was home to farms and several truck houses, saw and grist mills. Settlement had grown to the point that, by 1687, sixty-three men mustered for the "Kennebeck River" militia.\textsuperscript{30}

The growth of these settlements was abetted by the efforts of New York and Massachusetts officials who distributed large tracts of land to land speculators at greatly reduced prices. Oft times, they sold or leased land without compensating the actual owners, who in several cases were Wabanaki Indians.\textsuperscript{31} These actions further aggravated already strained Anglo-Indian relations and would be one of several factors that eventually led to the outbreak of a second round of Anglo-Indian conflict in the late 1680s.

One element that distinguished post-war Pemaquid from its pre-war predecessor was the presence of a provincial military garrison and fortification. Prior to 1676, Pemaquid, as much of English-occupied Maine, had been protected by one or more small and lightly manned and armed fortifications. One and quite probably two existed in Pemaquid. The first was located on the western side of the Pemaquid River a mile north of the river's mouth. The fort protected the small hamlet that had been established around 1640. The fort may have been built two or three decades later. A second fortification may have been situated at the mouth of the Pemaquid River on

\textsuperscript{30} "Acc\textsuperscript{1} of Militia on Kennebeck River under Cap\textsuperscript{1} Jn\textsuperscript{0} Rowden," Petitions of John Payne and William Barker, July 23, 1688, Baxter, ed., \textit{The Baxter Manuscripts}, VI, 362-363, 411-412.

\textsuperscript{31} Cushing, \textit{History of Ancient Sheepscot and Newcastle}, 70-75, 96-97; Edward Randolph Including His Letters and Official Papers..., 1676-1703. The Publications of the Prince Society (Boston, John Wilson and Son, 1899), IV, 224-228.
the Colonial Pemaquid Historic Site. Typically, these complexes were simple, informal affairs designed, built, and manned by property owners and local residents, not professional military engineers and troops. The defenses often consisted of a wooden palisade surrounding one or more heavily timbered buildings. The occupants defended the complexes with a miscellany of muskets and small bore cannon. The English built these complexes for several reasons. They usually intended the early pre-war fortifications for specific and localized purposes: protection of a trading post or homes from English, French, or Indian belligerents. The attackers could be English or French competitors seeking to gain an upper hand in the business world, disgruntled Indian clients, or English or French pirates out to enrich themselves. By the early 1670s, as Anglo-Indian tensions mounted, English settlers began constructing fortifications to protect their immediate neighborhood or entire settlement from Indian attackers.

In the decade that followed the conclusion of the first round of Anglo-Indian warfare in 1678, the English built an even more extensive system of fortifications on Maine's southern coast and major waterways. The underwriters ranged from the provincial governments of Massachusetts, New York, and the Dominion of New England to the local communities themselves. They undertook this building program in response to the continued uneasy Anglo-Indian relations and England's and France's intensifying transatlantic power struggle. Pemaquid's Fort Charles was the first and most important. Others soon followed, including fortifications at Falmouth (present Portland, Fort Loyal), North Yarmouth, Newtown (Arrowsic), Sagadahock Island (Stage Island), Brunswick (Pejebscot Fort), Sheepscot (Fort Anne), and
Damariscotta. A mix of local militia and Massachusetts troops manned these
defensive complexes. The provincial governments of Massachusetts, New York, and
the Dominion of New England provided supplies and some of the equipment. Local
residents complemented these larger, more centralized fortifications with smaller
fortified garrison houses. These fortified homes were intended to protect individual
neighborhoods within the larger community. The end result left English-occupied
Maine an armed camp during the resettlement of the late 1670s and 1680s.

Maine's Native American community regrouped and consolidated in the
aftermath of the 1678 Treaty of Casco. A number of Wabanaki, rather than remain

32 William Willis, ed., "Answer of the Agents of Massachusetts to the Complaints of
Sir Edmund Andros 1688," Collections of the Maine Historical Society (Portland:
Brown Thurston, Printer, 1857), 1st Series, V, 394-396; Baker, "Trouble to the
Eastward, 222; James Sullivan, The History of the District of Maine. Reprint of the
1795 edition (Farmington, Maine, Knowlton & McLean), 178-179, 203, 214-215,
235; Moody, ed., Province and Court Records of Maine, III, xxiv-xxvii; Hough,
Pemaquid Papers, 87-88.

33 The Treaty of Casco was the last of four peace documents signed by English and
Wabanaki representatives between the fall of 1676 and the spring of 1678. The first
was the Treaty of Dover (New Hampshire) signed by the English and Indians from
the Piscataqua and Casco Bay regions. The signatories agreed to avoid warfare. Those
who resorted to violence were to be tried under English law. Furthermore, the Native
Americans promised not to take in Indian belligerents fighting the English in southern
New England. The second Anglo-Indian peace accord was signed by Mugg, a
Wabanaki leader, and Massachusetts Governor John Leverett in Boston on November
6, 1676. This document declared that the Wabanaki would return all English captives
and property captured during the war. The English also expected the Indians to pay
for any war damages. The English agreed to continue to supply the Wabanaki with
firearms and ammunition. Not surprisingly, the treaty was widely ignored by the
Wabanaki due to the lopsided terms of the agreement. The Indians distaste for such a
settlement was reinforced by the English' handling of Mugg: they seized the Native
American and carried him to Boston. He remained in English hands until treaty
negotiations were complete. English and Wabanaki representatives met at Pemaquid in
July 1677 to negotiate the third peace treaty. The terms were simple; both sides were
to cease fighting. The Indians promised to return their English captives while the
English agreed to try to convince Massachusetts authoriites to release Indian captives.

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near the expanding English settlements, responded to the overtures of French Jesuits to resettle in the safety of Canada. These emigrants travelled north to the mission towns of Sillery and St. Francis situated in present-day Ontario.\(^3^4\) They joined others who had fled during the two and a half years of war. Some would periodically visit their former homelands, hunting and proselatizing among their Maine brethren. How many Wabanaki emigrated from Maine to the mission villages is not well documented. Ethnohistorian Kenneth Morrison estimates that by “1689 six hundred Wabanaki lived in Canada.”\(^3^5\) There is little question many of these emigrees were living in the revitalized villages of Sillery and St. Francis. These Christianized Indians would be an important component of the war parties that attacked provincial Maine settlements such as Pemaquid in 1688 and 1689.

The 1678 agreement succeeded where the others had not by establishing an uneasy but conflict free peace throughout northern New England. Under the terms of the Anglo-Indian agreement, the Wabanaki were to free all English captives without ransom and permitted settlers to reoccupy their abandoned homesteads. In turn, Massachusetts recognized a degree of Wabanaki land ownership. They did so by agreeing to pay the Native Americans an annual quitrent of a peck of corn for every English family occupying Wabanaki land. In addition, the English dropped previous demands that the Indians pay war damages. Baker, “Trouble to the Eastward,” 194, 206, 213.

\(^3^4\) French Jesuits established Sillery in 1630. They hoped to develop the settlement into a community of Christianized Indians. However, their initial effort bore little fruit due to "alcoholism, diseases, war, lack of funds, and cultural resistance from the local Algonquin and Montagnais." Colin G. Calloway, ed., Dawnland Encounters. Indians and Europeans in Northern New England (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1991), 68.

A substantial number of Androscoggins and Wabanaki, however, remained in Maine, despite the devastation and dislocation of the recently concluded English-Wabanaki war. Several settlements continued to exist between the Kennebunk and Penobscot Rivers. They included the villages of Kennebunk at the mouth of the Kennebunk River, Saco on the Saco, Pigwacket near the headwaters of the Saco, Androscoggin on the upper reaches of the Androscoggin, Taconnic and Norridgewock, both on the upper reaches of the Kennebec, and Penobscot near the mouth of the Penobscot. Penobscot and Norridgewock were the largest. French and English estimates placed the population of the former village at 160 Wabanaki and 32 wigwams in 1687 and 90 "fighting men in 1690." The same 1690 English estimate placed Norridgewock's total of warriors at 34. Such a count suggests a total population of over 100 men, women, and children. The remaining five settlements had estimated totals of fighting men ranging from 8 (Kennebunk) to 28 (Taconnic). The estimated total of 207 Wabanaki fighting men for the seven villages provides a total population of roughly 800-1,000 individuals.36

36 Baker, "Troubles to the Eastward," 214-215; Calloway, ed., Dawnland Encounters, 152-153; Harald E. I. Prins and Bruce J. Bourque, "Norridgewock Village Translocation on the New England-Acadian Frontier," Man in the Northeast 33 (1987), 137-158. Alaric Faulkner has excavated the site of what he believes to be a series of Abenaki wigwams clustered about the home and truck house of Acadian trader Baron de St. Castin. The Acadian established his "Habitation" on a point of land above the confluence of the Bagaduce and Penboscot Rivers. The site was approximately one mile northeast of the by now abandoned French stronghold of Fort Pentagoet. This complex of Wabanaki dwellings was probably not a permanent settlement but, as Faulkner points out, "seasonal building and rebuilding of wigwams that the Wabanaki used when they camped at St. Castin's Habitation either to trade, or in preparation for attacks on English settlements." Faulkner and Faulkner, The French at Pentagoet, 21-23.
Most of these settlements were fortified for essentially the same reasons as the English, protection from Native American and European attack. In the case of the Wabanaki, they were responding to the recently terminated Wabanaki-English war and three decades of intermittent conflict with the Iroquois of New York. These fortifications, or "forts," as the English called them, were simple affairs. Normally, they consisted of a palisade of closely spaced and tall wooden posts or pales roughly 10 feet high that surrounded the Indians' main village. Their purpose was straightforward: provide the area's Native Americans with refuge during warfare. What distinguished these complexes from those of the English was their design and armament. None of the contemporary English or French accounts or current archaeological research note the presence of European structural features such as those found in two Narrangansett forts in southern Rhode Island during King Philip's War. The Narrangansetts, when building their Great Swamp fort, included "a kind of block house" at one corner and a "flanker" at another point of the complex. The second fortification was even more sophisticated. In this case, the Rhode Island Indians

37 Scholars such as Harald Prins and Bruce Bourque attribute the Wabanaki-Iroquois warfare to a power struggle over access to the region's fur bearing population. In 1669, the Wabanaki were forced to sue for peace with the Iroquois after the New York-based Indians defeated the them and their Mahican and Sokokis allies. "Norridgewock Village Translocation," 141-142.

38 Major Winthrop Hilton's account of his search for the fortified village of Pigwacket during the winter of 1704 provides a brief but revealing description of one such fort. "When we came to the fort, we found it a large place of about an acre of ground taken in with timber set in the ground in a circular form with posts, and about one hundred wigwams therein;" James P. Baxter, ed., Documentary History of the State of Maine. Containing the Baxter Manuscripts (Portland: Lefavor-Tower Company, 1907), IX, 141.
constructed a stone fort that included a "semicircular bastion and a sharp flanker."

Furthermore, Wabanaki weaponry was restricted to flintlocks, tomahawks, sword blades, and knives they procured from English and French traders.39

Thus, post-war Pemaquid remained surrounded by a viable and semi-autonomous Native American community, despite the devastating losses and dislocation the Wabanaki suffered during the first Anglo-Wabanaki war. Locally, the fishing plantation had a small, ephemeral Native American population. The Native Americans maintained smaller, transitory encampments within the bounds of Jamestown, in much the same way they had earlier in the 17th century. Wabanaki hunters and trappers took advantage of the large tracts of unoccupied land still present in the settlement's interior and northern periphery, away from the villages at Pemaquid Beach, Pemaquid Falls, New Harbor, and Round Pond. Others established encampments in the vicinity of Jamestown's primary settlement at the mouth of the Pemaquid River. They would have been attracted by the recently constructed Fort Charles and several nearby "trading houses." The fort, while ostensibly built to protect English interests in central Maine, also functioned as one of northern New England's central meeting places for Wabanaki and English negotiators. On several occasions, Fort Charles was the site of Anglo-Indian negotiations. Two of the more notable meetings took place in 1677 and 1688. In July 1677, co-commanders Anthony Brockholes, Caesar Knapton, and Mathias Nichols met with Kennebec and Penobscot

Wabanaki leaders at the fort. The end result was a peace agreement that contributed to ending the first round of hostilities between the English and Wabanaki of Maine. A decade later, in the summer of 1688, a number of Kennebec and Penobscot River Wabanaki sachems gathered at Jamestown at the urging of Massachusetts Governor Edmund Andros. The Governor sought their allegiance and support in the English colonials' emerging struggle with the French for control of New France. In return, the Governor offered the Wabanaki "Shirts, rumm and trucking cloath" and protection from the French. Unfortunately these negotiations did little to alleviate the mounting Anglo-Indian tensions.

Similarly, provincial authorities, beginning with New York in 1677, designated Pemaquid the sole "trading place" between the Kennebec and Saint Croix Rivers. This designation, while far from limiting Anglo-Indian trade in the Sagadahoc region to Pemaquid, did maintain and probably enhanced the plantation's traditional importance as one of northern New England's primary Anglo-Indian trade centers. Consequently, Wabanaki traders continued to regularly travel to the fishing plantation with their stocks of beaver, moose, otter, and miscellaneous furs, pelts, and skins for trade with the English. However, several features of the trade had changed since the pre-war years. Most apparent was where the English traders and their Native American clients met to do business. The bulk of Anglo-Indian trade shifted from the several privately owned truckhouses scattered about the lower reaches of the Pemaquid River to the

grounds surrounding the newly constructed Fort Charles. Soon after construction of the palisaded fort, several merchants approved by New York authorities began operating truckhouses within view of the wooden edifice. The new statutes carefully spelled out where the buildings were to be situated and how business was transacted. The truckhouses were to be located on a “street” that ran from Fort Charles to the village of New Harbor. The “houses” were to be situated along the street so that the fort’s garrison had an unimpeded view of John’s Bay and the waters surrounding present day Fish Point. Local residents and antiquarians may have exposed portions of one of these buildings, a related cobble “sidewalk,” and a cobble road that led to Fort Charles. Any and all business could take place only on this street between sunrise and sunset. At the appointed hour, a drum or a bell signalled the start and end to another day of Anglo-Indian trade.41

These changes reflected the shift in who controlled the Anglo-Indian trade and its primary purpose, a change that contributed in large part to the plantation’s destruction by Wabanaki forces in 1689. No longer did Pemaquid’s elite resident or absentee proprietors control the plantation’s Anglo-Indian trade. Gone were the days when well established and trusted local merchants such as Abraham Shurt and Thomas Gardner oversaw Pemaquid’s Indian trade. Both of these men had long careers in Maine’s fur trade; Shurt over twenty years and Gardner approximately

41 Hough, Pemaquid Papers, 20-21. I unearthed a small bronze bell from the ruins of the 1640-1676 fortified hamlet located upriver from Colonial Pemaquid. The occupants who ran the site’s truckhouse may have used this item for just such a purpose.
fifteen. As truckmasters, Shurt and Gardner had earned the trust of Indian traders through honest dealings and sensitivity to their needs and circumstances. In the process, these two men came to know many of their Indian clients personally.

Much of that changed in Jamestown and Maine as a whole. Beginning in the summer of 1677, distant provincial governments based in Manhattan, Albany, and Boston, and their local representatives, oversaw and regulated Pemaquid's Anglo-Indian affairs. Immediate control was placed in the hands of Fort Charles's commander, who was often a man with little experience in or sensitivity to Anglo-Indian relations and limited ties to the local community. The officers who commanded Jamestown's fortification were trained as military men with virtually no previous experience dealing with Maine's Indians. Officers such as Caesar Knapton, Mathias Nicolls, and Thomas Sharp had served in the province of New York before being stationed in New England's northern frontier. Men such as Joshua Pipon and James Weems had previously been posted in England and Europe, far away from the realities of provincial Maine. Furthermore, these officers came to this frontier outpost not by choice, but by military assignment. Fort Charles officers rarely remained on duty in the northern frontier for more than one or two years. Fort Charles had at least five commanders during its twelve-year history. Consequently, officers posted at Fort Charles had limited opportunity or incentive to develop strong connections to the local community and understanding of the dynamics of Pemaquid's relations with

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42 The outpost of Penobscot was the same site as Acadia's Fort Pentagoet. The English controlled this fortified trading post and the whole of former French Acadia from 1654 until 1670 when the territory was returned to the French.

Maine's Indian population. Their primary concern was to defend Fort Charles and the whole of Jamestown from Native American or French attack. The commander of Fort Charles and his subordinates viewed visiting Wabanaki leaders, negotiators, and traders largely in military and political terms. The provincial English officers looked at the Indians of Maine as little more than potential allies or enemies in the larger struggle with New France for control of the North American continent.

Nowhere was such an attitude more evident than in two letters that Ensign Joshua Pipon, one of Fort Charles' officers, wrote to Governor Andros in 1688. Pipon, in his account of Anglo-Indian affairs in the Sagadahoc, reported a region under constant threat of Indian attack and in a high state of alert. Just the previous night, an Wabanaki war party had raided the farm of Kennebec River resident John Payne, killing fifteen sheep and several pigs and cattle. Kennebec residents also reported to Pipon that Indians may have burnt an English farmstead elsewhere on the river. Not surprisingly, Pipon made efforts to protect Jamestown from any surprise attacks by gathering “together new harbor with Pemaquid, & have a strong watch well keept.” He also urged Andros to send a well-armed contingent of troops to Maine to attack the Wabanaki on the Kennebec River or at their fortified village of Taconnic. Pipon regarded the Wabanaki as untrustworthy, cowardly “fomenters of ye mischief & agreed Enemies.” He believed that the best approach in dealing with hostile Indians was to be harsh with them, otherwise “they will Insult & they shall have a great many assisters.” If dealt with “severely” the Indians “shall cringe Like dogs.”

Englishman showed none of the understanding of the circumstances and responses of the Wabanaki that Thomas Gardner had a decade earlier at the outbreak of Maine’s first Anglo-Indian war.

The establishment of a provincial fortification at Pemaquid signaled a change not only in how the English conducted trade and general affairs with the region’s Wabanaki, but also in how the Indians perceived Pemaquid and its residents. Until 1677, the Wabanaki, while considering the English settlement of Pemaquid an intrusion into their territory, did not regard it as a military threat. That attitude changed with the construction and the garrisoning of Fort Charles in the summer of 1677. From that point on, the Native Americans had to contend with an English military force as well as a substantial civilian population. The fort and its troops represented a much more serious and direct threat to Indian sovereignty and autonomy. Fort Charles was well armed with seven cannon and had by far the largest garrison in English-occupied Maine, with troop totals numbering as high as 156 in 1688 and 200 early in 1689. The Wabanaki saw Fort Charles as part of the English crown’s plan to ensure continued English presence in the Sagadahoc and to establish dominance over the region’s Native Americans. As a French official noted in 1694 when referring to the successor of Fort Charles (Fort William Henry), a well armed fortification at the mouth of the Pemaquid River would deprive our Indians of freedom of movement.

along the coast and interfere with their hunting of the deer which are so numerous in that region; the Indians thus incommoded, would be obliged to treat with them (the English).46

Native American concern about the highly visible military presence at Pemaquid exacerbated already tense Anglo-Indian relations in the whole of postwar Maine. By the mid-1680s, the English and Wabanaki had moved uncomfortably close to a new outbreak of warfare. In February 11, 1684, Francis Hooke of Kittery wrote Walter Barefoot of Newcastle, New Hampshire that the commander of Casco’s Fort Loyal “had strong suspicions of an attack by Indians.” The captain believed that the Indians would attack Pemaquid’s Fort Charles first, probably in about a month’s time. He considered Pentagoet’s Baron Castin largely responsible for encouraging the Wabanaki to turn to warfare by offering them “a shipload of goods.”47 While the attack never materialized, the threat of such a possibility only added to English mistrust and fear of Maine’s Indians.

Deteriorating Anglo-Indian relations were due to a number of factors. Efforts on the part of the provincial governments of New York and Massachusetts to avoid a new round of warfare had been ineffectual. None of the issues that led to the first Anglo-Indian war had been addressed in the following decade. English settlement in post-1676 Maine was extensive. As Emerson Baker points out, English settlers not only reoccupied land that had been abandoned during the war, but also established


47 Francis Hooke to Walter Barefoot, February 11, 1683/4, J. W. Forretscue, ed., Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, Printers, 1898), XI, 634.
new settlements, further encroaching on traditional Wabanaki territory. The most prominent example was the township of North Yarmouth. Massachusetts sponsored the settlement of land situated in Androscoggin territory, not far from their primary settlement of Pejebscot. Closer to home, Governors Dongan and Andros of New York and the Dominion of New England gave a number of large grants (ranged from 200 to 1,000 acres) in the Kennebec and Pemaquid areas to several of their New York political friends and allies. In most of these cases, the English carried out these land transfers without seeking Indian title to the property.48

Maine’s Indians were angered by the manner with which English settlement was pursued and by the impact it had on their livelihood. In southern Maine, the Saco Indians complained to the English that large nets strung out by English fishermen made it impossible for the Indians to fish on the Saco River. The Sacos had maintained this right when they had previously sold the river lands to the settlers. The same Indians repeatedly complained to local authorities about English cattle wandering into Native American cornfields and damaging the crops. The English settlers ignored the Indian complaints, further angering the Saco Wabanaki. Indian frustration finally spilled over into violence when they killed several offending cattle.49 These problems were compounded by the failure of a series of provincial statutes regulating Anglo-Indian trade. New York and Massachusetts authorities had begun laying out these


laws in 1677 in an effort to avoid a repeat of the bloodshed of the preceding decade. The mistreatment of Indian clients by a number of English traders played a major role in the Wabanaki taking to the warpath in 1676. Unfortunately, Wabanaki complaints of traders physically abusing Indian clients and providing adulterated rum, or under- or overvaluing goods, continued in the late 1670s and 1680s.50

In 1688, a series of events pushed the English and Indians of southern Maine ever closer to open warfare. Acting on word of troubles among the Indians of southern New England, the lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts ordered the province of Maine to seize any Indians suspected of violence against the English. Soon after, Saco’s commanding officer captured twenty Wabanaki men, women, and children and sent them to Boston as “security risks.” Several English settlers admitted that the seizures were unjustified. The Native Americans retaliated by seizing about eleven English hostages on the Kennebec River. Elsewhere on the Kennebec, a party of Indians raided the farm of John Payne, killing fifteen sheep and several pigs and cattle. Not surprisingly, local residents feverishly built or improved existing fortifications, organized militias and collected supplies of firearms, powder, and shot.51

Pemaquid residents, while not experiencing the dramatic turn of events of southern Maine, had their own concerns. In September of 1688, Fort Charles’s commander had his garrison and the whole of Jamestown on full alert. That same month in nearby New Dartmouth, five Wabanaki armed with muskets, swords, and


tomahawks entered the home of Henry Smith. The Indians, after rifling through
Smith’s house, carried the “Chyrurgion,” his wife, and son into over two weeks of
captivity. In that time, the Indians shuttled Smith between their fortified village of
Taconnic and Casco Bay as a prisoner and liason between the Indians and English.
Smith escaped from his captors after they told him that if they “Lost any of their
men” in their threatened attack on Sheepscot “they would murder him.” Eventually,
he made his way to safety at Pemaquid. What is unclear is if the Wabanaki war party
attacked the Sheepscot River settlement that fall. The only reference in the existing
records to an Wabanaki attack on Sheepscot was that which occured a year later.

The English of Pemaquid also looked nervously to the northeast to Pentagoet,
the home of Baron de St. Castin and the Penobscot Wabanaki. Pemaquidians had good
cause for concern. Provincial authorities had been harassing the French merchant since
1686 in an effort to force him to acknowledge English authority. Rather than
succeeding, these efforts pushed Castin from relative neutrality in the French-English
power struggle to turning to the French officials for protection from the English.
Mainers were especially worried that Castin would take advantage of his close ties to
the Penobscot River Indians and incite them to attack English settlements. Pemaquid
was especially vulnerable because of the plantation’s proximity to Acadia and the

52 While Smith spoke of Wabanaki plans to attack Sheepscot that fall, I have yet to
locate records that refer to any Indian attack on the Sheepscot River settlement other
than that which occurred during the summer of 1689.

53 Deposition of Henry Smith, October 31, 1688, Baxter Manuscripts, VI, 443-447.
This document is a rich source of information on the size, movements, and actions of
the Taconnic-based Wabanaki in the weeks leading up to the outbreak of King
William’s War in Maine.

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Penobscot Wabanaki. One rumor circulating among the English was that the Frenchman gave every “Indian that Engaged the English one pound of Powder two pound of Lead and a Small Quantity of Tobacco.” However, scholars are by not convinced Castin actively encouraged and supported the Wabanaki in the warfare against the English of Maine.

A series of letters written by Lieutenant James Weems and several provincial officials in the final months leading up to and shortly after Pemaquid’s destruction convey just how frightening and trying the circumstances were for the garrison of Fort Charles and the civilian residents of the plantation. By the early spring of 1689 the administration of Governor Edmund Andros, based in Boston, had collapsed soon after word reached the New England port of England’s Glorious Revolution and the removal of King James II. In the ensuing turmoil in Boston, the province of Maine’s defences were devastated. Large numbers of provincial troops and officers abandoned the fortifications scattered along Maine’s southern coast and headed south to Massachusetts Bay. In the case of Pemaquid’s Fort Charles, only 30 soldiers remained from a garrison that had numbered 200 prior to Andros’ removal. In addition, “a party of New Dartmouth” residents took the fort’s officers into custody. However, the local Council of Safety reinstated Lieutenant Weems, selecting him as the new commander of Fort Charles at the urging of several Pemaquidians. The locals won them over by arguing that the Englishman could be trusted since he was not a

54 ibid., 447.

“papist.” They also pointed out the obvious danger of leaving the garrison without a commander considering the “very Difficult and Dangerous” times. Even so, Weems’s effectiveness was hampered by a dangerously undermanned garrison and the fact that he “had no full command” of his men “but acted as an advisor.” Consequently, the troops did “what they pleased.” On top of those problems, Weems’s had to contend with supply shortages, and had to pay his troops out of his own pocket.

Once the Wabanaki completed their successful attack on Jamestown, they hiked back to New Harbor, where they had hidden their canoes, with the two dozen or so captive villagers. Here, they regrouped and canoed the fifty miles up the coast to Pentagoet. For the captives, their capture and departure from Pemaquid was the beginning of a new and difficult life that lasted, for some, for more than a decade and carried them as far north as Quebec. John Gyles did not gain his freedom until the


summer of 1698, nearly nine years after his forced departure from Pemaquid.\textsuperscript{59}

Several never returned to New England. Some died on their trek into Acadia and Canada. At least two - Mary Stilson and Katherine Stephens - remained in Canada, marrying and bearing children by French Canadian husbands.\textsuperscript{60} Lieutenant Weems, his handful of men, and the surviving villagers who had successfully fled to the fort at the outset of the fighting were more fortunate. After their surrender, the Indians permitted them to leave Fort Charles with a few personal belongings and board a sloop that carried them to Boston.\textsuperscript{61}

\textsuperscript{59} John Gyles left an impressive and unusual legacy, much of it attributable to his experience as a survivor of the 1689 Indian attack on Pemaquid and nine years of captivity. During that time, he spent six years as a captive of several Wabanaki or Micmac bands who traveled throughout eastern Maine and New Brunswick. John Gyles emerged from his years of captivity with a better understanding of the Wabanaki. In his account, the former Pemaquidian not only devoted a good deal of attention to his own experiences but also to the lives and culture of his captors. Gyles matter of factly described Indian food procurement methods, foodways, religious practices, and folklore. He parlayed his understanding of Wabanaki culture and language into a long and distinguished career as an interpreter, truckmaster, and military officer in Maine. During his over forty years in this capacity, John Gyles gained a reputation among the Indians and English alike as an honest, trusted, and experienced link between the two cultures. Gyles died in 1751 at the age of 77. Gyles, “Memoirs of Odd Adventures; 99-123,” “Capt. John Gyles to Gov. Samuel Shute, April 27, 1717,” Baxter, ed., \textit{Baxter Manuscripts} IX, 355-356; Colonel Dunbar to the Duke of Newcastle, December 30, 1729,” Petition of Samuel Shute, July 6, 1736, John Gyles to Governor Belcher, August 7, 1740, Baxter, ed., \textit{Baxter Manuscripts}, XI, 11,162-163, 212-214; Anglo-Wabanaki Trade Conference, June 28, 1738, Volume 29, Folios 340-341. Massachusetts State Archives, Boston; Emma Lewis Coleman, \textit{New England Captives Carried to Canada}. Fascimile reprint of the 1925 edition (Bowie, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 1989), 171-172.


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The Wabanaki attack and destruction of the English settlement of Pemaquid on that summer afternoon was one of a series of Indian attacks that left much of English-occupied Maine devastated and abandoned. Edward Randolph provided an especially bleak picture when he penned a report from Boston's jail in September 1689. He reported that the “Indians have overrun the greatest part of the Eastern Country from the St. Croix to the Piscataqua, two hundred miles of coast.” Wabanaki forces attacked and destroyed every settlement and fortification between the Kennebec and Pemaquid Rivers (Sagadahoc region) including New Dartmouth, Newtown on the Kennebec, and Pejebecot. Even more southerly communities, such as North Yarmouth and Saco, were overrun. The outlook was not much better as one looked beyond to Maine’s border with New Hampshire. Settlements such as Wells, Casco, and Kittery faced an uncertain future as the “few” remaining garrison houses did not “expect to hold out for long.”62 By the end of 1690, the English had abandoned the province as far south as Wells. Thus, for the second time in slightly more than a decade Maine was wracked by Anglo-Indian warfare. King William’s War would continue until 1699 when the English and Wabanaki leaders signed a treaty renewing a 1693 accord held at Pemaquid. Peace was shortlived, as a new round of fighting, known as Queen Anne’s War, broke out in 1703. Once again warfare stemmed from a number of unresolved

issues and the decades of mistrust that existed between the English, Indians, and French. This pattern of intermittent warfare continued into the mid-18th-century.63

Pemaquid’s circumstances following its demise in 1689 reflected the instability that prevailed in both Maine’s English and Indian communities, particularly in the Sagadahoc region, well into the 18th century. The English did not reestablish a settlement at Pemaquid until 1729, though they maintained a limited presence for a brief period during the 1690s, with the construction of Fort William Henry. In the fall of 1692, troops built a stone fortification on the site of the recently destroyed Fort Charles. Officials touted the new fortification as virtually “impregnable” and the most important military installation on New England’s northern frontier, claims that would soon come back to haunt the English. But for the next four years, Fort William Henry and the adjoining truckhouses played host to countless Wabanaki fur traders and English and Indian trade and peace negotiators. In summer of 1693, the fortification was the site of a major Anglo-Indian peace conference attended by representatives from the major Wabanaki groups from the Penobscot, Kennebec, Androscoggin, and Saco River regions.64 However, this all came to an end on August 14, 1696. In little more than a day, a heavily armed land and naval force of 400 to 500 French and Indians forced the surrender of the fort. Soon after, the French and their Indian allies


demolished the fort down to the “base of its foundations.” The French escorted the garrison of 92 men along with five women, and four children (presumably family members of several of the officers) out of the fort onto a waiting sloop and off to safety.

The French and Indian destruction of this reputedly indestructable fortification and cornerstone of the English defense in the Sagadahoc region eliminated the last vestige of an English presence, civilian or military, on the Pemaquid mainland for the next thirty-three years. The event also signalled the end of Pemaquid as the site of one of northern New England’s most important military outposts. The fort which replaced Fort William Henry upon the area’s resettlement in 1729 was a far cry from its 17th-century predecessor. Fort Frederick was a makeshift affair built on the site of William Henry. The outpost was rarely manned by more than a dozen men, often considerably fewer, a reflection of 18th-century Pemaquid’s greatly diminished commercial and military significance and the decreased threat of the Wabanaki.

Observations by later visitors to the site of Fort William Henry revealed the extent of the damage. Late 19th-century antiquarians reported that only the bottommost 4 or 5 feet of the fort’s tower remained. However, they noted that two of the fortification’s walls survived up to the gun ports, a height of 6-8 feet. Damage to the living quarters was much more extensive. A crew of historical archaeologists working under the direction of Helen Camp and Dr. Robert Bradley from 1974 to 1981 uncovered Fort William Henry’s officers’ quarters. In that case, all that survived were three or four courses (2-3 feet) of the structure’s stone foundations and stone and brick fireplaces. John Cartland, Twenty Years at Pemaquid (Pemaquid Beach, 1914), 101; Bradley and Camp, The Forts of Pemaquid, 37-60.

The circumstances of the Indians of central Maine following the destruction and abandonment of Pemaquid and her sister settlements in the Sagadahoc region was more complex than might appear at first glance. There was little question that the Kennebec and Penobscot Wabanaki benefited from the displacement of the English. Their removal pushed the Anglo-Indian frontier west of the Kennebec River, for a brief period, as far south as the former English settlement of Wells. Consequently, the Indians did not have to compete with the English for access to the lands of coastal and interior central Maine. Thus, the Wabanaki for the first time in nearly three-quarters of a century had unfettered access to the natural bounty of these lands for hunting, trapping, fishing, farming, and habitation.

However, two factors made it difficult for the Wabanaki to take full advantage of the vacated territory. While there was no English resettlement in this region during the 1690s, settlers began making limited forays into these lands in the mid-1710s. The pace of resettlement picked up in the 1720s and 1730s as increasing numbers of planters reoccupied the former sites of 17th-century plantations such as Arrowsic, Kennebec, Pemaquid, and Sheepscot, along with tracts previously unsettled by the English. The Wabanaki had to contend with a new wave of Euroamerican settlers less than two decades after the devastating Indian attacks had cleared the region of English plantations.

In addition, the Native Americans of central Maine faced a more immediate problem, continued Anglo-Indian warfare. Despite the Indians’ military successes of 1689 and the early 1690s, their communities suffered as Wabanaki-English conflict continued throughout the last decade of the 17th century and intermittently during the
first half of the 18th century. The nearly seven decades of conflict that followed the outbreak of King William's War made it difficult for the Wabanaki to rebuild their settlements and military power base. English retaliatory expeditions, such as those headed by Colonel Benjamin Church in 1692 and 1704, kept Maine's Indians on the move and in a constant state of anxiety. In these two raids, Church and his troops ranged along Maine's southern coast and up the Kennebec and Penobscot Rivers, destroying Native American villages and crops. Even when the English failed to capture or defeat their Indian adversaries, the fact that they forced them to make unscheduled moves had serious consequences for the Wabanaki. The Indians spent a good deal of time preoccupied with warfare, either protecting their villages or family habitations from attack or preparing to go on the war path. The result was less time devoted to hunting, fishing, and gathering. Many, rather than contending with the threat of future English raids, abandoned Maine's coast for less exposed interior locations. In addition, growing numbers made the long trek to the several mission villages based in the St. Lawrence River Valley, as their predecessors had done in the years leading up to and during the outbreaks of the first Anglo-Wabanaki War and King William's War.67

These factors may explain, in part, why the Wabanaki did not make a concerted effort to reoccupy the now-vacant lands of the former Pemaquid plantation. During the thirty-three year interlude between the English abandonment of Fort William Henry and resettlement of Pemaquid, Wabanaki use of the mainland was limited to occasional, short-term occupations by war parties and, on one occasion, a

67 Ghere, "Diplomacy & War, 1678-1759," in Judd et als, Maine, 127-141.
party of Indian peace envoys who met with Massachusetts officials in New Harbor.  

In many ways, Pemaquid was a "no man's land" during these years.  

Thus, the 17th century ended with the fate of Pemaquid and the remainder of the Sagadahoc region undecided. Not until the conclusion of the last of New England's Indian wars in 1763 was this territory firmly in the hands of the English. 

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CHAPTER FOUR

PEMAQUID AND ACADIA

In 1677, the noted New England historian William Hubbard referred to the English plantation of Pemaquid as “the most remote and furtherest northward at this time belonging to the English” and the “utmost boundary of New-England, being about forty leagues [approximately 120 miles] distant from the mouth of the Piscataqua River.” The view from French Acadia was not much different. Six years earlier (1671), Hector Andigne de Grandfontaine, governor of Acadia, submitted a report to Louis XIV of France. Grandfontaine described the state and bounds of French Acadia. He identified the former home of John Brown of New Harbor, one of Pemaquid’s pioneer settlers, as Acadia’s “boundary with New England.”

Pemaquid remained poised on the New England-Acadian frontier throughout the 17th century. For most of this time, the English plantation was New England’s northeasternmost settlement. As a consequence of Pemaquid’s location, the English

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plantation's commercial development and stability were inextricably tied to relations with its Acadian neighbor. Pemaquid would both benefit and suffer from this reality. The settlement rapidly developed into one of New England's centers of Anglo-Acadian trade. Acadian and French traders and merchants regularly sailed to Pemaquid with European manufactured goods and beaver, moose, and otter furs, pelts, and hides. Their English counterparts provided them with fish and a variety of English and European products. The English and Acadians also used the plantation as a meeting place for trade and political negotiations. Local, Massachusetts Bay, and Acadian representatives met there on several occasions during the 1630s, 1640s, and early 1670s.

Pemaquid's location on the northern periphery of New England not only facilitated commercial intercourse between the English and Acadians, but also placed the English plantation in a region that was contested by the English and French throughout the 17th century. However, Anglo-Acadian tensions were relatively muted until the late 1670s and 1680s. Much of that can be attributed to the circumstances of England and France and their North American colonies. England, well into the 1660s, was pre-occupied with internal affairs, most notably the English Civil Wars. Furthermore, Anglo-Franco relations in the Old World, while not amicable, were devoid of prolonged, open conflict during the period. For the most part, the pre-war actors were limited to Pemaquid's private proprietors, their managers, a handful of local residents, and their Acadian counterparts. Crown involvement was minimal and often behind the scenes. Outbreaks of violence were infrequent, localized, and small in
scope. Those that did occur were restricted to other English and Acadian actors and territory further east of Pemaquid: Penobscot, Machias, and Nova Scotia.

However, much of that changed during the late 1670s and 1680s. By then, ownership of Pemaquid had passed from the original Bristol, England proprietors, to private Massachusetts Bay interests, and finally on to the provincial and crown governments of Massachusetts, New York, the Dominion of New England, and England. With this shift in ownership came a change in how the English approached French Acadia. In contrast to the pre-war period, the English crown took a more pro-active stance when dealing with its New World possessions. Noticeably absent was the restraint and the peaceful coexistence of the pre-war era. Gone was the careful political maneuvering and trading of Pemaquid’s leading lights such as Abraham Shurt and Thomas Gardner. Both men, as noted earlier, were respected among the region’s Indian population as skilled and honest traders and negotiators. The two Englishmen had much the same reputation among the region’s French. In contrast, the post-1675 policy was both more aggressive and more responsive to the political and economic needs of the English crown. During the late 1670s and 1680s, English crown and provincial officials pursued an active program of territorial expansion, despite the potential danger to Pemaquid’s safety. Crown and provincial officials were noticeably less sensitive to the potential consequences such a policy would have for Pemaquid’s local population and the region’s French and Native Americans. Just as important was the fact that these same officials did little to involve local residents in formulation and implementation of Pemaquid’s new Acadian policy.
A recent article by Canadian historian John Reid helps to unravel this seemingly ambiguous, oft times contradictory, and complex relationship between Pemaquid and her French Acadian neighbors. Reid takes issue with the traditional portrait of the borderland region encompassing present day Maine and the Maritimes as riven by violent conflict between European and Native American inhabitants and between European residents themselves. The Canadian scholar acknowledges that “warfare was a recurring element of the experience of all those who lived in the region from early colonial times until the mid-eighteenth century.” However, he argues that there was also considerable evidence of “peaceful interaction” and “mutual adaptation” among groups who are often presumed to have been in conflict. Reid claims that such a response was driven by the Europeans’ and Indians’ realization that their survival was at stake. None of these groups were powerful enough to feel assured that they would emerge victorious and intact from a violent conflict with their European or Indian neighbors. Consequently, warfare was avoided whenever possible. Pemaquid provides a good case study to test the universality and validity of Reid’s “borderlands” model.


3 ibid., 33.
Pre-War Anglo-Acadian Relations (1626-1676)

The story of Pemaquid's relationship with French Acadia begins in the English plantation's formative years. As with Pemaquid’s Indian neighbors, the core of this relationship was trade. By the latter part of the 1630s, the settlement had a well-established reputation among New Englanders as a regular trading partner of the Acadians. In 1635, Plimoth Colony's William Bradford noted that “the plantation at Pemaquid (which lyes near unto them) doth not only supply them with what yey wanted, but gives them continuall intelligence of all things that passes among ye English.” Two years later, Captain Miles Standish reported to Plymouth's Edward Winslow that Pemaquid's manager, Abraham Shurt, received Charles d'Aulney, treating the Frenchmen to “Royall entertainement.” Standish noted that “Shurt hath undertaken to furnish him with powder shot yea all manner of provisions.” Standish also claimed that Shurt promised d'Aulney to “informe him of whatever preparacon shall be made or intended against them.” In 1644, Massachusetts Bay's John Winthrop noted that Abraham Shurt was trading with both Charles de la Tour and Charles d'Aulney.


The obvious question is, what would draw these two traditional political and economic rivals together into a commercial relationship over most of the 17th century. The answer is far from simple. Pemaquid’s rapid emergence as an important player in 17th century New England’s Acadian trade appears to be due to several factors. Most important, the plantation was well situated for regular contact with the French. Pemaquid was for most of the 17th century the northeasternmost English outpost in New England.\footnote{The French actually used Pemaquid as the demarcation point separating English from French territory. In 1636, Charles d’Aulney wrote John Winthrop that the French “...claimed no further than to Pemaquid.” However, this distinction was not applicable to Pemaquid from 1628-1635 and 1654-1670. During the former period, Plymouth colony’s Machias trading post was the northeasternmost extent of English occupation in Maine. Later in the 17th century, Penobscot (formerly Pentagoet) held that distinction. However, while the English maintained possession of the former Pentagoet outpost for sixteen years during the late 17th century it appears that few, if any, English occupied the Acadian trading center. A c.1671 French map of Maine included the “house of John Brown” as a key landmark. The French presumably used this reference to indicate what they accepted as New England’s northeasternmost bound. Faulkner and Faulkner, The French at Pentagoet, 25-27.}

Acadia was immediately east of Pemaquid; Pentagoet, Acadia’s southwesternmost outpost, was a mere sixty-five miles by water from the English settlement, sometimes less than day’s sail. Movement back and forth between the two communities would not have been especially difficult. Furthermore, Pemaquid’s position on the Anglo-Acadian frontier provided the more distant Massachusetts Bay merchants with a convenient link to the lucrative Acadian market. This reality was probably an important factor in Boston and Charlestown merchants’ decision to purchase the Pemaquid Patent in the 1650s. Beginning in the mid-1640s and continuing well into the 18th century, Bay merchants invested increasing amounts of
Map 15. Maine 1603-1763, French Claims
capital in English and French-occupied Maine through trading ventures and land purchases. Massachusetts entrepeneurs such as Paul White, Richard Russell, and Nicholas Davison sought the region's wealth of natural resources, particularly fish, timber, and beaver, extremely popular items on the European market.

The commercial ambitions and ties of Pemaquid's original proprietors may have also played a role in Pemaquid's ascendance as a key player in northern New England's Acadian trade. As noted previously, Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge were well established international entrepeneurs before investing in colonizing New England and harvesting its natural bounty. Robert Aldworth, the senior of the two partners, was especially prominent. One scholar has described him as "perhaps the greatest Iberian and Mediterranean trader of his day." 7 The two Bristol merchants did business throughout western Europe, particularly Spain, Portugal, and France. Aldworth and Elbridge traded extensively with French merchants during the 1620s and 1630s, sending English textiles, lead, calf skins, and wax over to the western coastal ports of Bordeaux, Nantes, and Bayonne in exchange for French wines and rye. 8

7 David Sacks, The Widening Gate, Bristol and the Atlantic Economy (Berkeley: University of California Press), 50.

8 Bristol Port Books (1622-23) E190-1135/3, folio 27; (1624-25), E190-1135/6, folio 5, 16v, 17v, 19; (1624-25) E190-1135/5, folio 3v, 5v, 18v; (1628-29) E190-1136/1, folio 1; (1637-38) E190-1136/10, folio 20, 32v, Public Record Office, Kew, London, England.
Pemaquid’s Bristol proprietors may have utilized their Old World French commercial contacts to establish trade between the fishing plantation and its Acadian neighbors, with an eye to benefiting themselves and Pemaquid. Such an arrangement would have provided Aldworth and Elbridge with another market for Maine timber products and English manufactured goods. In turn, the Englishmen could procure more beaver furs, pelts, and skins from the French for sale on the English and European markets. These stocks would have supplement those the plantation’s manager regularly obtained from the Penobscot and Kennebec Wabanaki. Locally, Pemaquid’s residents could turn to Acadia as an option to shipments from overseas (England or Europe) or southern domestic ports such as Strawbery Banke and Boston.

Such a trade option would have been especially important in the late 1620s and 1630s. English settlement of New England had only begun in the early 1620s with the establishment of year-round fishing stations on the islands of Monhegan and Damariscove and the Pilgrim plantation of Plymouth in southeastern Massachusetts. Even in the late 1620s, Pemaquid was one of only a handful of sparsely populated settlements on the coast of New England. All that stood between Pemaquid and the Piscataqua River were fledgling settlements at Odiorne Point and Dover Point (present-day Rye and Dover, New Hampshire) and fishing stations and trading outposts on Richmond Island, Casco Island, Damariscove, Cape Newagen, and Monhegan. Further south, settlement was as sparse. Several lightly populated settlements had emerged in Massachusetts Bay, including Charlestown and Salem, but Boston was not established until 1630. Even by the late 1630s, Maine was sparsely
settled, although southern Maine was dotted with a number of small plantations including Kittery, York, Saco, Casco, and Spurwink.

Not surprisingly, trade shortages were frequent, goods expensive, and labor costs high. These problems were due largely to New England’s continued heavy reliance on shipments of manufactured and processed goods from England and Europe. The region’s ability to provide for itself, while improving during these early years, was limited. Early accounts abound with references to personal privation and struggle. John Winthrop wrote in 1633, “The scarcity of workmen [in Massachusetts Bay] had caused them to raise their wages to an excessive rate,...those who had commodities to sell advanced their prices sometime double to that they cost in England.” Circumstances were little better in Maine.⁹

A third factor that may have contributed to the rapid development of Pemaquid’s Anglo-Acadian trade was the English Civil Wars (1642-1649). Scholars have long recognized the war’s devastating impact on England’s domestic and overseas commerce. Robert Aldworth’s and Gyles Elbridge’s home port of Bristol was especially hardhit. One eyewitness noted “ships lie now rotting in the Harbor without any Marriners or fraught or trade into forraigne parts, by reason of our home-bred distractions,..... our credits are of no value, wee being (through the misfortune of our nation) reputed abroad as men meerly undone at home.”¹⁰ Disruption of trade

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was not restricted to England and Europe; the war had a considerable impact on the economy of England’s American colonies. Merchant ships, passengers, and much needed cargoes of manufactured goods sailing from England to New England dropped dramatically during the war years.\footnote{Bailyn, The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century, 46-47.}

Conversely, Acadia was eager to trade with northern New England frontier settlements such as Pemaquid because of the sporadic and infrequent schedule of French supply vessels. For the Acadians, this problem was more serious than for the New Englanders. Their shortages of consumables, particularly manufactured imports, was not just more severe in sheer quantity, but longer lasting. As English settlement spread and New England’s economy developed, the trade shortages of the 1620s, 1630s, and early 1640s faded from the region’s memory, but French residents had to contend with a scarcity of imported goods throughout the century.\footnote{John Reid, Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland, Marginal Colonies in the Seventeenth Century (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), Richard Johnson, John Nelson, Merchant Adventurer. A Life Between Empires (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 47; Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen Fearon Faulkner, The French at Pentagoet 1635-1674. An Archaeological Portrait of the Acadian Frontier. Occasional Publications in Maine Archaeology (Augusta: Maine Historic Preservation Commission, 1987), 16, 25, 29, 160-161.} The archaeological record at Pentagoet provides one of the more dramatic examples of this problem. The fortified outpost’s blacksmiths were prolific recyclers when it came to repairing or maintaining items brought in by Acadian or Indian clients. The smiths often cannibalized parts from obsolete or severely damaged firearms to repair others.
In some cases, they manufactured gun parts such as locks, springs, and trigger guards. In addition, the Pentagoet blacksmiths reused scrap sheet copper and brass to repair kettles and fashion candle holders and tinkling cones (a popular Indian trade item).  

Much of our knowledge of Pemaquid’s pre-war relationship with Acadia focuses on the activities of two of the settlement’s most prominent inhabitants, Abraham Shurt and Thomas Gardner. Shurt and Gardner, just as they were leading figures in Pemaquid’s Indian trade, were also major players in the plantation’s business with French Acadia. That the Pemaquidians were involved with both groups is not surprising considering the strong inter-dependence of the French and Indian trades. New England traders such as Shurt and Gardner traded with the French primarily for beaver and fish. The Acadians, in turn, procured virtually all of their stocks of beaver furs, pelts, and skins from Indian middlemen, trappers, and hunters based in Acadia. Gardner had ties with both the Acadians and Native Americans that dated back to his command of the English truckhouse at Penobscot during the late 1650s and early 1660s. Shurt and Gardner, as major traders, controlled the bulk of Pemaquid’s Acadian trade. Consequently, they were in a position to dictate the direction of local Anglo-Acadian relations, for better or worse. Fortunately for Pemaquid, the two men were well suited for this role.

Abraham Shurt, as Pemaquid’s first and only manager, was in an especially unique and powerful position. Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge selected their

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trusted, longtime employee to leave Bristol, England and manage their New England fishing plantation, which he did from 1626 until the late 1640s.\textsuperscript{14} In this role, Shurt was essentially "the law." As Aldworth's and Elbridge's representative, he oversaw the daily operation of the Pemaquid plantation, particularly economic affairs. Shurt's business was for the benefit of his employers. His work contract with Gyles Elbridge makes that clear. The document stipulated that Shurt should "barter or exchange or buy any goods wares or merchandises.... for the only use & behoofe of the said Giles Elbridge & his heires."\textsuperscript{15}

Under Shurt's tenure, Pemaquid's relations with Acadia were generally conflict-free and financially successful. Much of that can be attributed to the Bideford native's business acumen and social skills, important aspects of New England's transatlantic trade that are often overlooked by scholars. Shurt came to New England with nearly two decades of experience as a domestic and overseas trader under the tutelage of Aldworth and Elbridge. In the process, Shurt learned the subtle nuances of an occupation that required familiarity with the goods being traded and the logistics of trade exchange along with the more subtle, abstract aspects of trade negotiation. The successful 17th century New England or Acadian trader or merchant was dependent on his ability to establish a good working relationship with his clients based on trust,


\textsuperscript{15} Bolton, ed., \textit{The Aspinwall Papers}, 38.
respect, and good communication skills. He only reached this level of expertise through experience.  

Shurt clearly benefited from these talents in his dealings as a New England trader and entrepreneur.

That Shurt possessed these skills when dealing with the French of Acadia was most apparent in his relationships with Charles D’Aulney and Charles de la Tour. Shurt regularly traded with these two men during the 1630s and 1640s. His relationship with Charles de la Tour probably extended back to the late 1620s. The Frenchman had lived in Acadia since the early 1610s. D’Aulney, in contrast, had only emigrated to the French colony in 1632 with Isaac de Razilly’s resettlement expedition.

What was especially impressive about Shurt’s interaction with the Frenchmen was his ability to trade with them for so long without allowing himself or Pemaquid being drawn into the intense rivalry between Charles de la Tour and Charles d’Aulney.

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16 As an apprentice and young merchant, Abraham Shurt would have regularly observed his master, Robert Aldworth, in action. Shurt gained additional experience as a trade factor for the two Bristol merchants. Old or New World merchants such as Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge sent out promising apprentices or veteran employees to distant ports. Upon arrival, the factor would carry out the requisite trade negotiations and sell his master’s cargo in exchange for the sought after goods. On other occasions, the merchant sent his factor to reside in an overseas port or commercial center. Here, he would handle his employer’s business affairs in that part of the world. In the process, Shurt may well have had the opportunity to deal with some of Aldworth’s and Elbridge’s French clients. Patrick McGrath, Merchants and Merchandise of Seventeenth-Century Bristol (Bristol, England: J. W. Arrowsmith, 1968), XIX, xi.

that finally broke out into open warfare in the early 1640s. Massachusetts Bay, in contrast, nearly came to blows with d'Aulney thanks to the colony's decision to support de la Tour in the Acadian conflict. Two incidents demonstrate the familiarity, trust, and respect that the Pemaquidian enjoyed among these Acadians. In the fall of 1641, Nicolas de la Rochette, de la Tour's second-in-command, left "his men and boat" at Pemaquid while en route to a meeting with Bay officials. Three years later, Shurt sailed with Richard Vines of Saco and Thomas Wannerton of Piscataqua for de la Tour's home base on the St. John River to collect some debts from the Frenchman. As they sailed up the Maine coast, the three traders put in at Pentagoet, where Charles d'Aulney proceeded to take them prisoner for several days. However, d'Aulney soon released Shurt, Vines, and Wannerton "for Mr. Short's sake," to whom the Acadian was indebted.¹⁸

Pemaquid's commercial relationship with Acadia under Abraham Shurt's direction demonstrated more than just the Englishman's skill as a trader, it also shows the validity of John Reid's thesis of peaceful interaction and mutual adaptation when describing relations among the French, English, and Indians in Acadia and eastern Maine. Shurt pursued a trade policy that was dictated not only by financial criteria but by the political realities of the day. Shurt was well aware of Pemaquid's circumstances as a frontier settlement, situated in a borderland or what John Reid refers to as "debatable territory." Here, neither the English or French had clear,

undisputed control of this sparsely populated land that defined the northern extent of New England and the southern bound of Acadia.\(^\text{19}\)

Thus, it comes as little surprise that Abraham Shurt, whenever possible, avoided open conflict with Acadia. These circumstances appear to explain Miles Standish's claim that Shurt was not only willing to trade with and "entertain" the French, but also ready to pass on "all things that passes among the English."\(^\text{20}\)

However, before delving into this point, the sources and accuracy of these comments should first be addressed. William Bradford and Edward Winslow, as leading figures in the Plymouth Colony, were by no means unbiased observers. In 1635, Charles de la Tour and Charles d'Aulney had forcibly evicted Plymouth colony employees from the two trading posts they operated at Penobscot and Machias. These actions, while legitimate, angered the English. With the loss of the two fur trade operations, the English colony lost a valuable source of much-needed income. The timing was especially bad because Plymouth colony was struggling financially.\(^\text{21}\) Thus, it is conceivable that Bradford and Winslow may have embellished their reports,

\(^{19}\) Reid, "International Region of the Northeast," 38-39.


\(^{21}\) Plymouth's continued operation of the Penobscot and Machias truckhouses was technically illegal. In 1632, England's Charles II had agreed to return Acadia to France under the terms of the Treaty of Saint Germain-en-laye. That included the Maine coast as far west as the mouth of the Penobscot River. Faulkner and Faulkner, The French at Pentagoet, 16; Reid, Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland, 38-41.
considering the financial circumstances of their colony and Pemaquid's regular fraternization with the French culprits.

However, further review of the circumstances surrounding Anglo-Acadian relations in northern New England makes a more convincing case for Shurt's complicity in passing on "intelligence" to Acadians such as de la Tour and d'Aulney. At the heart of this argument was the growing tension between the English and French colonizers over the bounds separating northern New England from Acadia. During the mid- to late 1630s, the two parties engaged in the first serious "jousting" over territorial bounds. Pemaquid was at the center of the controversy thanks to the disputants use of the English plantation as the demarcation point between the two colonies. In 1635, Charles de la Tour warned the English that if "they traded east of Pemaquid, he would make prize of them." The following year, Charles d'Aulney reaffirmed the French claim of territory "no further than to Pemaquid." Earlier that year, Richard Foxwell informed Shurt that the French were planning to attack and capture Pemaquid and other English settlements in Maine.22

While the French threat of attack might have been nothing more than a rumor, the swirl of events of the last several years must have weighed heavily on Shurt's mind. All he had to do was to consider the recent French capture of the English outposts of Penobscot and Machias. Closer to home, he had serious concerns. Within the last three years, Pemaquid had suffered two serious setbacks. In 1632, English

22 Dunn et als, eds., Winthrop's Journal, 200.
trader turned pirate, Dixey Bull, and his armed band of fifteen compatriots attacked the English plantation. The raiders, while chased off by Shurt and his men, made off with the sizable sum £500 of "goods and provisions." Most, if not all, of those items were probably goods from the plantation's truckhouse.\(^3\) Late in the summer of 1635, a powerful hurricane devastated New England's coast, uprooting and felling trees, knocking down homes, and wrecking and damaging ships. One of Gyles Elbridge's largest merchantman, the *Angel Gabriel*, was lost during the storm at the mouth of the Pemaquid River as she was unloading supplies.\(^4\) While records allude no further as to how Pemaquid fared, there is little doubt the settlement suffered additional substantial property losses from the intense hurricane. Thus, it is not surprising that Shurt promised Charles d'Aulney in 1637 "to informe him of whatever preparacon shall be made or intended against them [ Acadia]." By doing so, Shurt gained what he believed to be protection for himself and Pemaquid from French capture and takeover.\(^5\)


\(^{24}\) Dunn et als, ed., *Winthrop's Journal*, 151-153. By now, Gyles Elbridge was the sole proprietor of the Pemaquid plantation. His partner, Robert Aldworth, had died the previous fall (November 6, 1634) at the venerable age of seventy-three. Henry F. Waters, "Geneological Gleanings in England." *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* XLVIII (1893), 389-390.

Abraham Shurt's conciliatory and non-aggressive policy towards Acadia's two most important power brokers during the 1630s benefited Pemaquid commercially and politically in the next decade. The English plantation continued to trade with both men without being drawn into the emergent Acadian "civil war." Both d'Aulney and de la Tour respected the settlement's commercial and political autonomy, as demonstrated in the 1644 incident involving Shurt, Richard Vines, Thomas Wannerton, and the two Frenchmen.

Pemaquid gained another type of prominence during the 1640s. The English plantation emerged as a secondary meeting place and way station for New England and Acadian officials negotiating Anglo-Acadian commercial and political relations. At the center of the discussions was the power struggle between d'Aulney and de la Tour. In 1641, de la Tour's assistant, Nicolas de la Rouchette, as noted previously, left his men and boat and sailed on to Boston to meet with Bay officials. A year later, several Bay merchants met with Charles d'Aulney at Pemaquid while returning from a trading voyage at la Tour's St. John River stronghold. d'Aulney bluntly informed them that he would seize any New England vessel sailing to Acadia to trade with his arch rival. In the spring of 1646, the General Court of Massachusetts Bay considered Pemaquid as the possible site of final peace treaty negotiations between the Bay colony and d'Aulney. However, they eventually rejected that option and decided upon Pentagoet. They reasoned that it would be more fitting and politically advantageous to the English to "treat him in his owne howse," considering Charles
d'Aulney's political stature as Lieutenant Governor of Acadia. While these were only three documented examples, there were undoubtedly additional but lower level and informal meetings at Pemaquid between Shurt, d'Aulney, and la Tour that escaped the journals and correspondence of men such as John Winthrop and Thomas Gorges.

Pemaquid's selection as an intermediate meeting place for Anglo-Acadian trade and political negotiations illuminates the English outpost's place in New England-Acadian relations and New England's rapidly changing commercial and political landscape as the mid-17th-century approached. Massachusetts Bay's and Acadia's use of Pemaquid as a secondary meeting place and a way station during the inter-colonial negotiations of the 1640s also signalled Massachusetts Bay's emergence as New England's leading player in Anglo-Acadian affairs. The Bay colony would only strengthen this position as the century progressed at the expense of pioneers such as Pemaquid. The English fishing and trading plantation would become within the next decade the key feeder outpost or frontier link to Acadia for Boston's elite traders and merchants and the Massachusetts Bay colony as a whole. Pemaquid would remain so for the remainder of its 17th-century existence.

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26 What is curious is why de la Tour's emissary did not continue on to Massachusetts Bay with his men and vessel rather than leaving them at the coastal outpost. Winthrop does not allude to the Frenchman's reasons for doing so. La Tour may have asked Rochette to leave the men there to trade and settle old accounts with the Pemaquidians. Dunn et als, eds., Winthrop's Journal, 366-367; 420, 623.
Pemaquid, by virtue of its early establishment and proximity to Acadia, had quickly established itself as the region’s leader in the Acadian trade. The English plantation probably maintained this position well into the 1630s. However, the field filled with new participants in the 1630s as a number of English settlements and trading posts emerged on the coasts of present-day Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine. Boston, while roughly four years Pemaquid’s junior, rapidly outdistanced its northern counterpart. The Bay settlement grew from the modest community of “Twenty or thirty houses” visited by John Josselyn in 1638 to a bustling town of 3,000 inhabitants by mid-century.\(^{27}\) By then, Boston had established itself as New England’s commercial and political center. Overseas merchantman regularly arrived from England, Spain, Portugal, France, the Azores, and West Indies, carrying cargoes of goods such as wine, textiles, salt, and sugar. Others departed from Boston Harbor for Virginia, England, and Europe, burdened with stocks of fish, furs, timber products from New England and Acadia.\(^{28}\) Massachusetts Bay merchants were sending growing numbers of trading and fishing vessels to southern Nova Scotia and its coastal waters in pursuit of the French colony’s wealth of beaver and cod.\(^{29}\)


Pemaquid's pre-1676 relationship with Acadia had implications that reached beyond the pragmatics of commerce and politics. The English and French of these two worlds also developed a social and cultural relationship. This element of Pemaquid-Acadian relations is difficult to reconstruct due to the paucity of supporting documents and the focus of those that did survive. Typically, the 17th-century records deal with the practical concerns of domestic and international trade and politics. The subtleties of social relations and activities received little attention. Nonetheless, the circumstances of the English plantation's relations with Acadia and the existing documentation provide a glimpse of this relationship much as they do for Pemaquid’s social relations with her Native American trading partners. The emergent portrait is far more complex than the traditional one-dimensional image of two bitter political and cultural enemies, with contact limited to inter-colonial warfare.

This facet of the Anglo-Acadian relationship began the moment Abraham Shurt met Charles de la Tour and carried on until 17th-century Pemaquid's final years in the late 1680s. The English and French inhabitants of Pemaquid and Acadia developed a growing familiarity with their respective cultures. The process was a subtle, unconscious exchange, something that occurred during the routine of doing business and socializing. During the countless meetings in northern New England and Acadia, the English and Acadian participants had the opportunity to see each other's worlds, sample their food and drink, listen and, in some cases, converse in their host's language or a crude variant. Obviously, the degree to which the cultural exchange occurred varied depending on a number of factors. They included the frequency and
extent of contact, the personalities of the actors, and the overall tenor of Anglo-French
relations in the New and Old Worlds. I am not suggesting that this exchange led to the
two sides being well sensitized and appreciative of their respective cultural makeups
and ethnic backgrounds. For many, the well entrenched biases and stereotypes they
carried with them remained, and their religions continued to divide them. Nonetheless,
the frequency of contact between the English of Pemaquid and the French of Acadia
provided the Pemaquidians with an experience and a degree of insight into the world
of French Acadia that the average resident of the more distant Massachusetts Bay
was less apt to enjoy.

Abraham Shurt, as well as his successor Thomas Gardner, was the exception
rather than the rule among pre-war Pemaquid’s population. In the course of his
more than two-decade residency at Pemaquid, Shurt had met his French counterparts
in a host of settings. He had sailed to d’Aulney’s fortified outpost and administrative
center at Pentagoet and de la Tour’s stronghold at St. John. The Pemaquid manager
likely included Port Royal in his travel itinerary considering the fishing plantation’s
trade links with Acadia’s unofficial capital. On other occasions, Shurt played host to
French visitors at Pemaquid.30

One of the more interesting and probably the more important facets of this
cultural exchange was the Pemaquidians’ learning to speak the Acadians’ native
tongue. None of the English or French documents allude to any of Pemaquid’s

30 Dunn et als, eds., Winthrop’s Journal, 366-367, 420, 520-521; Edward Winslow to
John Winthrop, April 1637 in Schlesinger, ed., Winthrop Papers, III, 392.
inhabitants being conversant in anything but English. This omission can be attributed, in part, to the obvious truth that, few of the plantation's inhabitants were fluent French-speakers. At the same time, the 17th-century account's absence of references to bilingualism among Pemaquidians, and New Englanders in general, was quite likely a product of simple omission. John Winthrop, for example, devoted considerable attention to the affairs of d'Aulney and de la Tour vis a vis New England in his journal, but only once noted whether the various actors spoke French or English. The one case that the governor described obviously caught his attention, as he devoted nearly two pages to the incident. In this instance, the Frenchman appeared to only speak in his native tongue.31

However, one has only to consider the regularity and frequency of Pemaquid-Acadian contact to realize the likelihood of considerable language exchange. While it is unlikely that more than a handful of Pemaquidians spoke French with any degree of skill, there is little question that a number of Pemaquidians spoke a limited amount of French, a sort of pidgin blend of French and English, or a trade jargon.32

31 The incident took place in Boston in August 1644. A “gentleman” from a party of Charles de la Tour’s men, while visiting the New England port, freed an English sailor from a set of unlocked stocks. The local constable, upon learning of the offender’s release, confronted the Frenchman. The Boston official’s and Frenchman’s inability to understand one another led to a comedy of errors culminating in the latter’s imprisonment. The affair was eventually resolved when a number of cooler heads prevailed including Charles La Tour and several Bostonians. Dunn et als, eds., Winthrop’s Journal, 532-534.

32 Lois Feister, “Linguistic Communication Between the Dutch and Indians in New Netherland 1609-1664,” Ethnohistory 20/1 (Winter 1973), 30-33; Elizabeth Brandt
The handful who were fluent or good speakers would have been limited to those who regularly met with French Acadians in New England or Acadia, most notably Abraham Shurt and perhaps one or two of his assistants who worked closely with him in the Acadian trade. These people would have been adept in the language because of the demands of the job and the frequency of contact. Pemaquid’s manager also probably came to New England with a basic understanding of French acquired during his early years as a young Bristol merchant. Shurt had ample opportunity to learn as he rubbed shoulders with a polyglot assortment of English and European merchants, traders, officials, dock hands, and sailors in the bustling business districts and waterfronts of Bristol and European ports and commercial centers that he frequented.

Contemporary accounts and subsequent scholarship have made much of the propensity of bi- or trilingualism among early New France’s French speakers. Conversely, scholars have done little to explore this phenomenon among New Englanders of the time. However, a cursory examination of 17th- and 18th-century

33 I carried out a limited review of historical and ethnohistorical literature published within the last three decades. However, I maximized my results by focusing on professional journals most apt to deal with multilingualism among 17th century New Englanders. I examined Ethnohistory, Man in the Northeast, Les Cahiers - La Societie Historique Acadienne, and the Maine Historical Society Quarterly. I did not locate any articles or books covering the topic. However, I did find three articles that were invaluable in determining how the English and French likely communicated. The articles were Lois Feister, “Linguistic Communication Between the Dutch and Indians in New Netherland 1609-1664,” Ethnohistory 20 (Winter 1973), 25-38; Nancy
accounts of the English-occupied Northeast revealed a number of instances of English speakers being conversant in more than one non-English European language. At least three 17th-century examples of multi-lingual English traders can be cited. The first involves Isaac Allerton of Plymouth, Massachusetts, best known for his activities in southeastern Massachusetts during the 1620s and 1630s, was also active in Maine’s Acadian and Indian trades. By the 1640s, Allerton had moved on, resettling in southern New York. During the next two decades, the former Plymouth man was active in the political and commercial worlds of New Netherlands. His work included serving as an interpreter of Dutch and Swedish in the colony’s Dutch and English courts. Allerton became fluent in Dutch while living in Leiden as an adolescent and young man in the English Separatist (Pilgrim) community. Where he learned to speak Swedish is unclear. In addition, Allerton probably spoke a certain amount of French


34 Faulkner and Faulkner, The French at Pentagoet, 15; Reid, Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland, 84-85.


36 Cynthia Van Zandt, personal communication, April, 1999; Van Zandt, “The Dutch Connection,” 53, 76.
and one or more Algonquian dialects, considering his earlier involvement in the
Acadian and Indian trades in Maine.

A second example was John Nelson. In the late 1660s, this London-born man
emigrated to New England in his early teens to work for Sir Thomas Temple in the
latter’s newly acquired Acadian colony. Nelson rapidly established himself as a force
to be reckoned with in New England’s Acadian trade. In the next half century, Nelson
established strong relationships with a number of Acadian and New France merchants
and officials. In that time, the Englishman demonstrated a ready ability to acquire
foreign languages. He became so fluent in French that the Frenchmen spoke of “his
complete command of their language.” In addition, Nelson was comfortable enough
speaking the native tongue of the Wabanaki that he did so while negotiating with
Wabanaki leaders.37

A third example of multilingualism among 17th-century New Englanders was a
Pemaquidian, John Gyles. His story is a bit different from those of the other two
men. Gyles lived as a young boy with his family in Pemaquid during the latter part of
the 1680s. John, his parents, and all but one of his siblings were captured during the
August 1689 Wabanaki attack and destruction of Pemaquid. For nearly a decade,
Gyles lived as a captive of Indian and French masters in Acadia. During his captivity,
the young Gyles became fluent in French and several Algonquian dialects. After his
last French master freed him in 1696, Gyles pursued a long and illustrious career as an

interpreter, truckmaster, and military commander for Massachusetts in the Sagadahoc region. Gyles, in contrast, to Isaac Allerton and John Nelson, learned to speak French and Algonquian under duress. At the same time, the English captiv, like Allerton and Nelson, learned much of his French and Indian, while working as a trader.

For Pemaquidians, the ability to speak French, fluently or otherwise, had a practical benefit. By being able converse with French Acadians in their native tongue or a variant, men such as Abraham Shurt, his successor Thomas Gardner, and their post-1676 counterparts were probably able to communicate their needs and those of the community, to the French. A common language provided the two groups a direct means of contact with each other. With that, a degree of familiarity and trust grew over time. Establishing that kind of relationship would have been much more difficult to achieve through an interpreter or translator.

By the time Thomas Gardner first appeared at Pemaquid, several developments occurred that had or would impact on the English settlement's with Acadia. During the late 1640s and 1650s, Thomas Elbridge sold the Pemaquid Patent to Massachusetts Bay commercial interests. This sale brought an end to Pemaquid as an Old England private proprietary settlement. With that termination, the plantation effectively lost its direct commercial link to England and the former proprietors' home base of Bristol.

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38 Vaughn and Clark, eds., *Puritans Among the Indians*, 107, 126, 128.

The shift from old England to New England ownership was also the first evidence of Massachusetts Bay establishing a commercial foothold in this portion of New England's northern frontier, a process that had begun in the more southerly parts of Maine earlier in the 1640s. By the early 1650s, Bay colony officials had begun to translate their growing commercial presence in Maine into political control.\textsuperscript{40} It was not until 1672 that the inhabitants of the Kennebeck River region, Cape Newagen, Sheepscot, Damariscotta, and Pemaquid petitioned the government of Massachusetts Bay to be brought under the "government" of the colony. Bay officials were only too happy to comply. This region was added to the nascent county of Devonshire.\textsuperscript{41} By gaining political control, Massachusetts Bay strengthened its access to northern New England's wealth of fish, furs, and timber. The Bay colony's combination of growing commercial and political control of the northern frontier's resource base and population made it difficult for merchants outside the inner elite, based in Boston, Charlestown, and Salem, to gain a foothold in the Sagadahoc region market.

Changes were not restricted to the actions of Massachusetts Bay merchants and politicians. Beginning in the early 1650s, the English and French royal governments made the first serious efforts to better control their overseas colonies. By then, the two Old World powers were seeking to "maximize the benefits derived


\textsuperscript{41} "Petition of Kennebeck etc., October 9, 1672, Colonial (1629-1720) Volume 3, folio 300b. Massachusetts State Archives, South Boston."
from each colony, in economic and strategic terms." More specifically, the shift in government policy was part of the emerging economic philosophy of mercantilism. With this developing philosophy, the English crown sought a more direct role in overseeing their North American colonies.

England’s efforts were centered around the Navigation Acts, a series of royal statutes passed by the Parliament between 1651 and 1696. The acts were intended to strengthen England’s merchant fleet, maintain English merchants’ control and profits of the carrying trade, eliminate colonial competition with England’s manufacturers, and prevent her American colonies from providing England’s European competitors with goods. The hoped-for end result was the growth of England’s economy “at the expense of the Dutch, French, and Spanish.”

Charles II and his administration followed the Navigation Acts of 1651 and 1660 with the creation of the Royal Commission in the spring of 1663. The commission was comprised of four commissioners, three Englishmen and one English transplant - Sir Robert Carr, Colonel Richard Nichols, George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick. Their purpose was to “draw the colonies” closely into England’s orbit “by insisting that the obligations and the liberties, secular and religious, of Englishmen be maintained.” They were to do so by visiting and assessing the state of England’s

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42 Reid, Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland, 174.

43 Bailyn, New England Merchants, 113-114, 127-128.

44 Bailyn, New England Merchants, 113.
North American colonies. The commission arrived in Piscataqua in July 1664. Charles II's commissioners fell far short of accomplishing their original goals.\textsuperscript{45}

The Royal Commission's most notable accomplishment was overseeing the blockade and capture of New Netherlands in September 1664. That conquest legitimized Charles II's earlier grant of a huge tract of land to his brother James, the Duke of York. The territory included, in addition to the former New Netherlands, all the land between the Kennebec and St. Croix Rivers. Within the Sagadahoc region, the royal commissioners established a short-lived first time non-proprietary "county" or "district" government. Details are hazy due to the destruction of all but a handful of surviving records. What the Royal Commission and Charles II were not able to do was to manage Massachusetts Bay's independent course.\textsuperscript{46}

Thus, Thomas Gardner in around 1661 settled into a plantation and a commercial and political environment that had changed considerably since Abraham Shurt's retirement as Pemaquid's manager in the late 1640s. He exemplified some of these changes. Gardner, while English-born, had not come directly from England as had Shurt. Gardner was a member of one of Salem, Massachusetts' founding families. At the same time, Gardner had two traits in common with his West Country predecessor, a long Pemaquid residency and previous experience in trade with the French. In that time, Thomas Gardner established himself as one of the Sagadahoc

\textsuperscript{45} ibid., 119-125; Reid, \textit{Maine, Charles II, and Massachusetts}, 54, 61-62.

\textsuperscript{46} Reid, \textit{Maine, Charles II, and Massachusetts}; Baxter, ed., \textit{Baxter Manuscripts}, IV, 201; Moody, ed., \textit{Province and Court Records}, I, 244-245.
region's leading commercial and political figures during the latter part of the 1660s and first half of the 1670s. This man, along with Sylvanus Davis, based on the upper Kennebec River, distinguished himself as a prominent player in provincial Maine's Anglo-Acadian relations and trade. As with his predecessor, Gardner was well suited for the Acadian trade. Gardner probably came to Pemaquid from Penobscot after his command of the English fortified trading post ended. With that experience, the Salem transplant undoubtedly brought well developed Acadian contacts and an understanding of Acadia's mercantile community and the Indians of the region.

Similarly, Thomas Gardner very likely came to Pemaquid speaking some French, acquired during his stint as Penobscot's commander. He no doubt improved on his fluency while based at the English fishing plantation. Most importantly, Gardner had the respect and trust of the French Acadians. That was evident in the frequency and extent of his trade with Pemaquid's northern neighbors. Even more indicative of Gardner's good relationship with the French was the comment of La Rochelle merchant and client Henri Brunet. Brunet described Thomas Gardner as "a truly honest man" in a 1673 letter to his superiors in France.


Gardner relied on a mix of local Acadian and overseas French contacts. Contemporary sources are largely silent on the identities of his Acadian trading partners. His most likely contacts would have been those based in and around nearby Pentagoet and distant Port Royal. Pemaquid had historically strong trade ties with the trading post and the Acadian commercial center. Possible commercial links include Jacques Pepin, Pierre de Joybert de Soulanges et de Marson, Andigne de Grandfontaine, Jacques de Chambly, and Baron de St. Castin.

Jacques Pepin was a French merchant from La Rochelle. He regularly sailed with cargoes of trade goods to New France, Newfoundland, and Acadia between c. 1640 and 1670. On at least one occasion in 1661, the La Rocheller unloaded goods at Monhegan for Boston merchant Richard Pattishall. Andigne de Grandfontaine served as Acadia's governor at Pentagoet from the summer of 1670 until 1673, when the French crown dismissed him from the post. Several French provincial officials, including Henri Brunet, accused Grandfontaine of trading furs to the English of New England “for personal gain.” Baron de St. Castin first came to Acadia as a young French officer in the regiment of Carignan-Salières in 1665. Under Grandfontaine,
Castin traveled throughout Acadia and Quebec, dealing with French, Indian, and English traders and merchants.\(^{50}\)

Surviving references point to a brisk business. In 1675, Piscataqua residents reported to Massachusetts authorities that "....certaine Frenchmen....com ashoare at Pemaquid & Carry up their moose & bevar to Left Gardiners house....."\(^{51}\) One document even suggests that the French may have established several trade factors in Pemaquid during the first half of the 1670s. Gardner noted in a 1676 deposition that three Frenchmen lived in Pemaquid during this time.\(^{52}\) Such a practice was not unusual in the 17th-century Anglo-Acadian trade. Boston merchants are known to have established “warehouses and residences” in Port Royal. Henri Brunet spent a good portion of each year in Boston during the 1670s and first half of the 1680s.\(^{53}\) Merchants benefited by gaining direct access to the desired market. As a result, they


\(^{52}\) Unfortunately, identifying the three men and their origins is difficult. Gardner only identifies the men as “Dorbon,” “La Rarsily,” and “Stephen homme” Deposition of Thomas Gardner and Richard Oliver, August 28, 1676, Towns 1632-1693. Volume 112, folio 243. Massachusetts State Archives, Boston .

were often able to purchase goods more cheaply by avoiding the costs of middle men. Whether Gardner similarly established English trade factors in more distant Acadian outposts and ports such as Port Royal is unclear, but by no means out of the question.

Thomas Gardner’s and Pemaquid’s Acadian trade was not limited to domestic contacts. For a brief period from 1672 to 1675, Gardner and several other Pemaquidians did business with La Rochelle merchant Henri Brunet. This French Huguenot entrepreneur and Compagnie du Nord official shuttled back and forth across the Atlantic from La Rochelle, France for upwards of thirteen years (1672-1685). In this time, he ranged the waters of New England and Acadia, trading with Acadian and English alike. Brunet used Pentagoet and Boston as his home bases, spending several weeks or months at a time at these commercial centers. Thomas Gardner and Brunet regularly traded, meeting in Pemaquid at Gardner’s home, in Pemaquid waters on board the Frenchman’s ship, and at Monhegan. Gardner received French linen, Holland (trading) cloth, and French brandy and wine from Brunet in exchange for fish (most likely cod) and a barque, on one occasion.54 In addition, Gardner may well have

54 There is some question as to the length of Brunet’s trade in New England and Acadia. Until recently, scholars believed Henri Brunet was active in this transatlantic trade from 1672 until c. 1678. However, J. F. Bosher argues convincingly that the Frenchman actually continued in this trade until his death in 1686. Bosher goes as far as to say that Brunet spent roughly a decade in Boston during his final years as an overseas merchant. Louis-Andre Vigneras, “Letters of an Acadian Trader, 1674-1676,” New England Quarterly 13 (March 1940), 103-110; J. F. Bosher, “Huguenot Merchants and the Protestant International in the Seventeenth Century,” William and Mary Quarterly 50 (January 1995), 76-102; “Journal du voyage M. Brunet en le Navire Callessien par les ordre de Monsieur Lintendant Colbert de Terrou. 15e - Juin
obtained supplies of Nova Scotia’s “sea coal” to fuel Pemaquid’s one or more blacksmith shops.\textsuperscript{55}

Gardner was probably Brunet’s primary Pemaquid trading partner, considering the Pemaquidian’s commercial stature. The Frenchman, however, traded with at least one other mainland resident, former plantation proprietor Thomas Elbridge, and with Monhegan fishermen. The islanders most likely turned to Henri Brunet for fishing gear, salt, foodstuffs, brandy, and clothing, items that the merchant typically had in stock. They undoubtedly provided him with additional stocks of codfish, a commodity that had a ready market in France, Spain, and Portugal.\textsuperscript{56}

The relationship between Thomas Gardner and Henri Brunet provides insight into Pemaquid’s economic relationship with Acadia late in the pre-war period and into one facet and the social interaction between the English and French. As did Abraham Shurt, Gardner had an intimate relationship with his French trading partner. These visits encompassed more than the expected business negotiation and exchange of goods. During October, 1673, the two men met several times at Pemaquid. Beyond

\textsuperscript{55} W. Noel Sainsbury, ed., Calendar of State Papers. Colonial Series. America nad West Indies 1661-1668 (London: Her Majesty’s Stationary Office, 1880), V, 533; Rawlyk, Nova Scotia’s Massachusetts, 42.

the inevitable deal making, Gardner and Brunet entertained each other with food and
drink and the undoubted story telling at the Pemaquidian’s home and on board
Brunet’s vessel. On another occasion, the Frenchman was visited by another
prominent Pemaquidian Thomas Elbridge and “two others.” The Englishmen capped
their visit by “dining and supping” with Brunet. At the end of his Pemaquid voyage,
Brunet attended a sermon given by his host on Monhegan island. In addition, he gave
Gardner a silver tobacco box and an English language New Testament Bible to the
“governor’s daughter.”57 Brunet’s reference to a “governor” was probably directed
towards his host in deference to the Pemaquidian’s political and economic stature in
the Sagadahoc region.

Through this observance of business protocol, Henri Brunet was solidifying
his commercial relationship with his English client when he invited Gardner to dinner,
gave the New Engander a gift, and attended his Monhegan sermon. Gardner was
responding similarly when he had the French merchant over for a dinner at his
Pemaquid home. More subtle but apparent was the fact that these exchanges
suggested the two merchants had a strong personal relationship.

However, while the interaction between Gardner and Henri Brunet is revealing,
we must consider how representative the relationship was of Pemaquid’s relations
with Acadia during the 1660s and early 1670s. The evidence suggests that the

57 “Journal du voyage M. Brunet en le Navire les ordre de Monsieur Lintendant
National Archives of Canada MG7 I A5, Ottawa.
circumstances and attitudes of Gardner and Shurt were typical of the average resident of Pemaquid. Gardner represented the elite of Pemaquid and the Sagadahoc region’s Acadian trade. He controlled the bulk of Pemaquid’s business with the French. Consequently, he had more of a direct and widespread impact on the region’s Anglo-Acadian relations than did most Pemaquidians. Gardner was also unusual in the longevity and strength of his ties to the French. He continued to do business with both the French and Indians within at least a year of Pemaquid’s demise in 1676, despite rising Anglo-Acadian tensions.58 Gardner showed no signs of falling prey to the anti-French hysteria that swept through much of provincial Maine during the mid-1670s. Just as he distinguished himself as a rare voice of reason among the English of Maine before and during the first Anglo-Wabanaki war, he did much the same with the French of Acadia. In late August, 1676, the Pemaquid community leader vouched for the good character of three Frenchmen before the General Court of Massachusetts. The men were the “traders” living in Pemaquid noted earlier.59

The average Pemaquidian, in contrast, was more removed from Anglo-Acadian affairs. While most of Pemaquid’s inhabitants had probably some contact with the French, few had as varied and extensive exposure to them as Thomas Gardner. What they knew of Acadia and her people was based on those individuals who passed


through Pemaquid to do business with men such as Gardner and traditional negative stereotypes popular among New Englanders. A few made occasional trade forays into Acadian territory. Many of the plantation’s inhabitants considered Acadia as little more than a potential source of trade goods or, worse, an enemy intent on taking over the Sagadahoc region. As tensions rose between the region’s English and Indians in the first half of the 1670s, increasing numbers of Mainers fell prey to fears that the French were in league with the Indians of provincial Maine and Acadia. They believed the two parties were intent on ridding Maine of its English inhabitants. One incident provided some indication of these feelings among Pemaquid’s inhabitants. The response of the Pemaquidians also demonstrated the opportunism of local residents.

In the summer of 1674, a modest Dutch naval and land force led by Captain Jurriaen Aernoutz attacked and destroyed Acadia’s major outposts. With this successful campaign, Aernoutz laid claim to the region for the Dutch crown and renamed it New Holland.60 A number of Pemaquid residents, including several fishermen, took advantage of the devastation and sailed to Pentagoet. There, they salvaged building hardware from the demolished Acadian fort. They, “also Robed, piliged, & Plundered” the local Acadian residents. The observers claimed that the attack was so

60 Reid, Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland, 161-162.
severe that the Acadian men were reduced to hunting in the woods with area Indians to keep their families from starving.61

These fears and distrust of the French were further magnified with the outbreak of warfare between the Indians and English of Maine in the summer of 1675. Then rumors of French involvement spread throughout Maine’s coastal and interior settlements. It was not important that claims of the credibility of such “an unwholly alliance” were suspect. All it took were reports such as those of Kennebec River settler Francis Card and Black Point residents Joshua Scottow and Henry Jocelyn to stoke the longheld, traditional fears English settlers and fishermen had of the French. A Wabanaki war party captured Card and his family at their Kennebec home in mid-August 1676. The Englishman claimed that, while the Indians held him at Pemaquid, he “herd a french man” tell his captors that Baron St. Castin supported their attacks on the English. Furthermore, the Acadian trader reputedly promised the Wabanaki that he would provide them with gunpowder for the upcoming winter hunting and military support in the spring.62 Just as alarming was an account related by Joshua Scottow and Henry Jocelyn in a September 15, 1676 letter to Governor John Leverett of Massachusetts. A local resident who escaped capture by an Indian raiding party


told Scottow and Jocelyn that he saw “two or three Frenchmen” accompanying the group. From these reports arose even more alarming and outrageous claims such as that of Major Brian Pendleton. The following month, he reported that “300 of French and 100 of Indians at Mr. Foxwell’s house” in Scarborough. As Emerson Baker points out, Pendleton’s account was especially suspect since there were no corroborating reports. However, this report and the other two are more important for what they tell us about Mainer’s perceptions of the French at the time of the outbreak of warfare in 1675 than the validity of English claims of their support of the region’s warring Indians. While none of these accounts were those of Pemaquidians, they do provide insight into the likely attitudes of a substantial portion of the community at the time.

Deteriorating Anglo-Acadian Relations (1677-1689)

Pemaquid’s relationship with French Acadia in the twelve years that followed the beginning of the plantation’s resettlement in 1677 was even more complicated and conflicted than that of the pre-1676 era. What emerged during the late 1670s and 1680s was a settlement that pursued two Anglo-Acadian policies, one official and one unofficial. At the forefront was a policy that was molded by Pemaquid’s new proprietors, the province of New York and its successor the Dominion of New England. This policy stood in stark contrast to the pre-war program of accommodation

and peaceful co-existence favored by local leaders such as Abraham Shurt and Thomas Gardner. Rather, the primary authors of the new Anglo-Acadian policy - Governors Edmund Andros and Thomas Dongan - developed and implemented a policy that was aggressive, heavy-handed, and largely insensitive to the well entrenched past of Pemaquid’s relationship with French Acadia. Rather, Andros and Dongan drew on the policy they utilized in dealing with New France in the province of New York’s northern frontier.

But, before delving into the particulars of Pemaquid’s official Anglo-Acadian policy, let us first look across the Atlantic to England. The courts of Charles II (1660-1685) and his successor and brother James II (1685-1688) had made concerted efforts in the 1670s and 1680s to achieve the goals of mercantilism, first laid out in the mid-century. The result was growing crown efforts to tighten oversight and regulation of the transatlantic trade of England’s North American colonies.64 England sought to fill the royal coffers with substantial income and readily marketable commodities and natural resources from her colonies. The crown hoped to accomplish this goal by establishing a political network of reliable provincial administrators drawn from England and the colonies.

In New England’s northern frontier, the newly energized Stuart mercantile program had particular meaning. Here, the focus was on the more than decade-old

64 Rawlyk, Nova Scotia’s Massachusetts, 36; J.M. Sosin, English America and the Restoration Monarchy of Charles II. Transatlantic Politics, Commerce, and Kinship (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980),
grant Charles II had given his brother James, then the Duke of York. This huge grant encompassed land scattered about the Northeast, including present day Plymouth County (Massachusetts), Martha’s Vineyard, Nantucket, western Massachusetts (west of the Connecticut River), New York, New Jersey, eastern Pennsylvania, and Delaware. Pemaquid fell within a tract that was bounded by the Saint Croix, St. Lawrence, and Kennebec Rivers, and the Atlantic Ocean. With Charles II on the throne, the English crown took a renewed interest in establishing once and for all the Saint Croix River as the eastern bound of the Duke of York’s 1665 grant.

The Duke’s and ultimately the English crown’s interests were represented by ex-British Army officers Edmund Andros and Thomas Dongan. The Duke of York appointed Edmund Andros lieutenant-governor of the province of New York in 1674. Andros remained in this post until 1681. However, he continued to play a major role in directing eastern Maine’s Anglo-Acadian policy thanks to James II’s appointment of him as the Governor-General of the shortlived Dominion of New England in 1686. The Duke of York replaced Andros with Thomas Dongan as New York’s governor in 1682, a position he held until 1688. Both men were natural choices. Edmund Andros came from a family that had long been loyal to the English crown. Furthermore, Andros had spent eighteen years in the British Army, an important criterion for Charles II and the Duke of York, who preferred military-trained governors. Edmund

Andros was loyal to the Stuarts and indebted to them for several earlier government postings. Andros spoke Dutch and French, a skill that would serve him well in his dealings in New York and with the French of New France and Acadia. Finally, the Guernsey man was not afraid to take stands that were not politically popular, and “could be expected to put a lid on the Dutch, democrats, the Puritans, and the Indians.” Thomas Dongan had a similar portfolio. He was also born into a family that was extremely loyal to the Stuarts. Dongan’s family, however, was Irish-Catholic, a background that created problems for his father and Thomas. Thomas Dongan entered the New York governorship with more than a decade of experience as an British army officer in France, Ireland, and Tangier.66

Pemaquid’s new provincial overseers wasted little time working to reshape Anglo-Acadian policy and relations. With the English contruction and manning of Fort Charles in the summer of 1677, New York sent the first clear signal to the region’s French and Indians (and the province of Massachusetts for that matter) of the seriousness of its intentions in renewing the Duke of York’s claim to the disputed territory between the Kennebec and Saint Croix Rivers. The fort itself provided a visible deterrent to any designs the French might have to contesting these claims.

Andros was just as clear when, shortly before sending out the military work force, he successfully sought the New York Council’s approval of his proposal to “take Possession and assert the Dukes Interest at Pemaquid, & parts adjacent Eastward, according to his Royll Hs Pattent.”\(^67\)

By establishing Fort Charles at the mouth of the Pemaquid River, Governor Edmund Andros placed Pemaquid at the center of the intensifying territorial struggle between the English and French crowns and their provincial surrogates. In September 1677, Andros crafted a series of trade statutes that only reinforced the re-emerging plantation’s importance in Anglo-Acadian relations on New England’s northern frontier. Those that followed over the next twelve years were essentially variations of the original regulations. The centerpiece of Andros’s legal packet was the declaration of Pemaquid as the sole legal “trading place” between the Kennebeck and Saint Croix Rivers. In 1683, Governor Dongan revised the regulation. From then on “all Vessels of any Goverment” that sailed to the duke of York’s territory had to first put in at Pemaquid. While there, the ship’s master or owner was required to declare his intentions to a local customs officer. Only after the official examined and approved the vessel’s cargo was the ship’s master free to deliver the goods.\(^68\) The regulations were just as detailed when dealing with the logistics of Pemaquid’s trade with English, French, and Indian clients. The New Yorkers left little to chance when it came to the


security of the fort. All trading or truck houses were to be within a short distance of Fort Charles, but laid out so as not to block the garrison’s view of the Inner and Outer Harbors of the Pemaquid River and the Atlantic Ocean. This statute obviously stemmed from Andros’s concern about a European or Indian attack by water. Another directive even spelled out the orientation of the buildings and locations of their doors. In addition, no “Indyans nor Christians” were permitted inside the fort except “on occasion of business.” Even then, the visitors were prohibited from entering the fort’s redoubt. This portion of the fort structure was especially important to the defence of Fort Charles and Pemaquid’s primary village. The latter was clustered about the fort on the grounds of today’s Colonial Pemaquid State Historic Site and Fish Point to the south. No one was allowed to stay overnight on the immediate grounds surrounding Fort Charles. Another directive specified trading hours, which ran from sunrise to sunset. Each trading day was opened and closed by the beating of a drum or ringing of a bell. 69

On paper, Andros and the New York Council had the makings of a tightly controlled trading program. However, as policy makers often discover, the ultimate success or failure of a program depends largely on those individuals who implement it. In Pemaquid’s case, the success or failure of these regulations and, to a good degree, the plantation’s Acadia policy lay in the hands of a triumverate of individuals: the commander of Fort Charles, the justice of the peace, and the constable. Of the three,

the commander was by far the most important; as commander, he was responsible for
overseeing the safety and health of the English plantation and its economy. English
crown officials also expected the fort’s commandant to protect and defend New
England’s northern border from hostile foreign elements, whether European or Indian.
This responsibility included oversight and regulation of Pemaquid’s Acadian trade.
The fort’s commander was to keep a close eye on the actions of French and English
traders and merchants alike to ensure that the trade did not jeopardize the security of
the community and New England. His task entailed controlling the extent and type of
Anglo-Acadian trade. The commander, in addition to his own authority, had access to
a garrison of troops and an armed sloop to ensure compliance with local statutes. The
latter was based at Pemaquid and regularly patroled coastal waters between the
Kennebec and Saint Croix Rivers.70

So, how effective was the New York system and its personnel? Furthermore,
what impact did this program and individuals such as Lieutenant Thomas Sharp,
Ensign Joshua Pipon, and Judge John Palmer have on Pemaquid’s relations with
Acadia? At first glance, the picture that emerged was of a frontier region and
community making slow but steady progress in getting back on its feet. In 1678,
Governor Andros reported to Whitehall that Maine’s coast was free of privateers. He

70 “Orders and Directions for the Commander att Pemaquid,” September 22, 1677;
“Order for the surrender of a Ketch,” June 12, 1678, “Instructions for the Settlement
of Pemaquid,” November 22, 1683 in Hough, ed., Pemaquid Papers, 21-23, 29-31, 75-
81 .

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also noted that Pemaquid’s Fort Charles was secure, manned by one company of British regulars. Not quite two years later, the Governor wrote that “All continues quiet and well, with hopes of a good trade that year.” Settlers were slowly but surely returning to the Pemaquid area from Massachusetts Bay and New York. Captain Anthony Brockholes, in a 1682 letter to Pemaquid’s chief justice Henry Josselyn, was upbeat in his assessment of the progress of Pemaquid’s resettlement, noting “The number of Persons you mencon will add much to the strength and trade of the Country which Shall Endeavour to Support the Proper plans for Settlemt.” The plantation’s Acadian trade was robust enough in 1683 that several Pemaquidians informed Governor Dongan that the “trade that way is Considerable and will promote your honors Interest.” New York officials such as Brockholes expressed little concern about the actions of one of Acadia’s leading traders Baron de Saint-Castin. Brockholes advised Josselyn “what wrott by Castine is of noe Importe you Knowing the Extent of his Royll Highs Limitts which must be Maintained according to his Pattent.” In fact, New York official John Palmer claimed that Castin dutifully obeyed New York’s Governor Andros’s orders whenever the Acadian met with him at Pemaquid.71

The only trade incidents reported during these early years were relatively minor. The first took place in 1678. That spring, Fort Charles’s Lieutenant Thomas Sharp, while on patrol, seized the ketch and cargo of John Alden Jr. The Boston trader had been trading with Indians several miles east of Pemaquid in the Saint Georges River area. His crime, trading in the duke of York’s territory without first putting in at Pemaquid for clearance. Soon after, the Governor and Council ordered the fort’s commander to return the vessel and the trade goods to Alden. They reasoned the Bostonian, while guilty of the infraction, was not aware of the recently established order, as John Alden had argued. The second case occurred in the fall of 1682. The details were sketchy. The case involved a dispute over a small commercial transaction (approximately £10) between one of the soldiers posted at Fort Charles and Jean Serreau De Saint Aubin of Ile Archimagan.  

However, a closer look at Pemaquid and her circumstances indicates that all did not bode well for the New York system, its enforcers, and longterm Anglo-Acadian relations, not just in Pemaquid, but throughout the Kennebec-Pemaquid region. Governors Andros and Dongan, in attempting to rework Pemaquid’s

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relationship with French Acadia, placed themselves at a disadvantage from the start. The New Yorkers were taking on a well established and successful system that differed from theirs in a number of ways. Pemaquid’s pre-war relationship with Acadia was essentially one of peaceful co-existence, egalitarian, loosely structured, bereft of trade duties, and successful. Local leaders such as Abraham Shurt and Thomas Gardner recognized the delicate nature of Anglo-Acadian relations and Pemaquid’s vulnerability to attack by the French and their Indian allies. In turn, Shurt and Gardner, like most Pemaquidians, realized the financial benefits of the Acadian trade. Consequently, pre-war Pemaquid generally steered a course that was non-confrontational and even-handed when dealing with French Acadia.

In contrast, Edmund Andros and Thomas Dongan developed a system that was premised on the dominance of the English in their quest for complete control over the Duke of York’s territory. They dealt with those Acadians inhabiting the contested territory east of the Muscongus and west of the Saint Croix Rivers as potential subjects not as provincial equals.

One major shortcoming was New York’s failure to place local inhabitants in any of the upper-echelon administrative positions. In the process, the provincial government left out individuals who had a good read on local Anglo-Acadian relations and the trust of the region’s English and Acadian populace, men such as longtime resident and fisherman John Dollen. The Monhegan resident had lived in the Pemaquid area since the early 1660s and had rubbed shoulders with islanders, mainlanders, and the innumerable outsiders who passed through the plantation.
Instead, Governors Andros and Dongan imported New Yorkers to staff the most important local positions: commander of Fort Charles and special justices of the peace. Andros and Dongan selected men with whom they were familiar and could depend on professionally and politically. Most of these men knew Andros and Dongan well, through professional, political, and familial ties. Captain Anthony Brockholes, twice commander of Fort Charles, was acting Governor of New York during much of Andros's administration. Brockholes had also served with Andros in the British army in Barbados. Captain Caesar Knapton, commander of Fort Charles in 1678 and second in command in 1677, was Andros's brother-in-law. John Palmer, who was a special justice at Pemaquid in 1680 and 1686, served in a number of posts in the administrations of Andros and Dongan. A lawyer by training, Palmer's most recent appointment was as a judge in New York's vice-admiralty court. John West, also a trained lawyer, also served as a special justice of the peace at Pemaquid in 1680 and 1686. He had previously been the clerk of New York's Court of Sessions during the mid- and late 1670s.73

From the standpoints of Edmund Andros and Thomas Dongan their selections made sense. Military commanders such as Captains Anthony Brockholes and Caesar Knapton, Lieutenant James Weems, and Ensign Pipon were well trained and experienced professionals. Thus, Andros and Dongan had confidence in their abilities to maintain discipline among their troops in times of peace and war. Furthermore, the commanders of Fort Charles, as military men, were loyal to their political leaders and the English crown. Consequently, their superiors were confident the officers would enforce the existing regulations and policy of the New York system. Andros and Dongan undoubtedly had similar confidence in their civilian selections. John Palmer’s and John West’s years of legal training and experience in old England and New York would be critical in handling the challenges presented by the myriad of new regulations governing local and international trade and New York’s effort to formalize the new eastern boundary of the Duke of York’s territory.

For Pemaquid and local Anglo-Acadian relations, the domination of local government by outsiders and the military created more problems than it settled. These transplanted New Yorkers, while skilled as military men and legal specialists, fell short when it came to dealing with the complexities and subtleties of local and regional Anglo-Acadian relations. They were often inflexible, heavy-handed, and even arrogant when dealing with both Acadians and local residents. Furthermore, they enforced a policy that drew heavily on one that Governor Thomas Dongan had developed for

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1952), 20; Christoph and Christoph, eds., Andros Papers 1674-1676, 148, 159, 395-396.
New York's dealings with its northern neighbor, New France. In that case, his aggressive and multi-faceted policy was intended to blunt New France's southern push on New York's northern frontier with Canada. He did so by developing a military alliance with the Iroquois, who served as a buffer from the French Canadians. The New York governor orchestrated a series of Iroquois retaliatory raids against French Canadian settlements that terrorized the inhabitants. New France responded by granting Dongan a number of concessions. In addition, Governor Dongan sent trading parties to the Great Lakes, in a direct challenge to French control, to barter with the region's Indians for furs.74 Neither Dongan or his subordinates adjusted this policy to fit the circumstances of New England's northern frontier. Essentially, the New Yorkers pursued a one size fits all approach to Pemaquid's Anglo-Acadian relations. Unfortunately, what succeeded in New York did not in the Sagadahock region.

This approach and the resultant problems were most apparent in the New Yorkers' handling of Baron de Saint-Castin. This man became the focus of English efforts to legitimize the Duke of York's territorial claim as far east as the Saint Croix River. New York authorities focused on the Acadian trader for several reasons. They recognized his influence among the Wabanaki as a leader and the Acadian trading

community. By winning Castin’s compliance, Governors Dongan and Andros believed that the Frenchmen could influence other Acadians and their Indian counterparts to recognize New York’s authority. In the summer of 1683, Dongan began pressuring Saint-Castin to recognize the English claims. Dongan requested that Castin abandon his Penobscot River home and resettle in the “English plantations.” The governor attempted to curry the Frenchman’s favor by offering him land and “to be treated with all kindness.” Saint-Castin ignored the governor’s carrot and stick approach.75

Three years later, Castin was once again under attack. In the spring of 1686, local Pemaquid officials uncovered a complex smuggling scheme, with Saint-Castin one of the major players. He colluded with John Nelson, Philip Severett, Watkin, and several other merchants in a plan to purchase European goods duty-free. In May, the Johanna of Portsmouth arrived in Pentagoet after a several-week voyage from Malaga, Spain.76 She carried a cargo of Malaga wine, brandy, olive oil, and dried fruit. Castin purchased part of the Johanna’s cargo shortly after Severett had his crew unload and hide the contraband cargo on shore. However, an anonymous tipster


76 Malaga is a city on the southeastern coast of Spain. At the time, it was a major producer and exporter of wine. English merchants imported large quantities into England and New England.
passed word on to Pemaquid officials of the smuggling operation. John Palmer, as the visiting chief justice, had the commander of Fort Charles sail to Pentagoet and confiscate the remaining goods. Palmer subsequently declared them English property.  

What followed was a long and drawn out legal battle that carried on for another two years between Nelson, Castin and company, New York, and the English and French crowns. The dispute grew into far more than a battle over New York’s customs laws on the northern frontier. It was a struggle over the validity of the English province’s territorial claims. The case was finally resolved in favor of Phillip Severett when England’s Privy Council ruled that New York had to return Johanna to Severett. However, the provincial government of New York never compensated Nelson or Castin for the loss of the goods. For Saint-Castin, this power struggle had become personal. He had previously expressed his contempt for Sharp, referring


78 Johnson, John Nelson, 41-43; John Palmer to the French Ambassador, November 12, 1687 in Fortescue, ed., Calendar of State Papers, XII, 467.
to him as “a men person, and of noe part’s” and refused to meet with the officer.79

The Johanna affair only increased Castin’s anger at what he saw as the meddling of local provincial representatives such as Lieutenant Thomas Sharp and John Palmer. On a larger scale, the resolution of the case did nothing to resolve the Anglo-Acadian territorial dispute and bring a halt to deteriorating Anglo-Acadian relations. If anything, the controversy intensified growing tensions between the English and French provincial governments, pushing them ever closer to war.

Relations only worsened in the late 1680s as the English upped the ante in their face off with Baron de Saint-Castin. In the spring of 1688, Governor Edmund Andros, now the governor-general of the Dominion of New England, led a small force from Pemaquid to Castin’s home base in the Pentagoet area. Andros’s men carried off Saint-Castin’s stock of firearms, ammunition, gun powder, trading cloth, kettles, and chairs after the Frenchman fled. After the raid Andros laid out terms to Saint-Castin for the return of his trade goods. The Frenchman could only reclaim them by traveling to Fort Charles, where the English held the goods. Furthermore, Castin would have to acknowledge his obedience to the English crown. In so doing, the Acadian merchant trader would be recognizing the Duke of York’s claim to land that Saint-Castin, New France, and the French crown still considered French territory. More importantly, he would be sacrificing his freedom as a merchant to trade freely with the French or

English. Not surprisingly, Baron de Saint-Castin once again refused to comply with English demands.80

New York further hampered the success of its Acadian program by designating Pemaquid as the sole trading place between the Kennebec and Saint Croix Rivers and requiring entries to pay customs.81 At first glance it would appear that both New York and Pemaquid would have benefited considerably from the two regulations. Pemaquid, as New England's northernmost settlement, continued to be well positioned to entertain Acadian traders. In addition, the frontier outpost had a long tradition throughout New England and Acadia as a major player in the Acadian trade. New York's Governors Andros and Dongan reasoned that these factors and the presence of a military garrison and patrol boat to enforce the regulations would ensure much needed revenues and consumables for the province of New York, the emerging

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80 Andros, who visited Pemaquid often during his tenure as governor of New York and the Dominion of New England, used the plantation as his home base throughout the spring and summer of 1688. Toppan, ed., Edward Randolph, IV, 224-226; Deposition of Jacob Whitaker, December 17, 1689, Deposition of Isaac Miller, December 21, 1689 in Baxter, ed., Documentary History of the State of Maine, VI, 20-23; Fortescue, ed., Calendar of State Papers, XII, 567.

81 "Instructions for Capt Nicholas Manning Sub-Collector Surveyor and Searcher of his Maties Customes and Excise due & payable in ye County of Cornwall....," September 17, 1686 in Hough, ed., Pemaquid Papers, 122-123. This arrangement was not without precedent. Dongan and his predecessors dealt similarly with New York's domestic and overseas trade. In 1670, provincial officials granted New York City merchants monopoly of trade on the Hudson River. Fourteen years later, the Dongan administration designated the city the sole port of entry for the province of New York. Michael Kammen, Colonial New York. A History (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975), 106-107, 112.
major port of New York City, and the English crown. Trade records do show that there was regular commerce between New York and its distant frontier outpost during much of the late 1670s and first half of the 1680s. Merchantmen regularly sailed from New York for Pemaquid, carrying supplies and munitions for Fort Charles and manufactured goods for the civilian community. These vessels and others returned to New York laden with timber products, ship’s masts, fish, and presumably animal furs, pelts, skins, and hides.

However, public response, the realities of Pemaquid’s geography, and the limitations of Fort Charles’s garrison indicated that this was far from the whole picture. That local residents were far from satisfied with the New York system and its administrators was obvious in an undated petition (circa 1683-1688). The petitioners complained to Governor Dongan that they were economically hard pressed by the regulation that all vessels first put in at Pemaquid. They argued that for many people

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82 At this time, the province of New York was in desperate need of income. The province’s economy was growing slowly. Furthermore, additional funds were needed to underwrite the ambitious programs of Governors Edmund Andros and Thomas Dongan. The centerpiece of their plans was the clean up and modernization of Manhattan from a rundown provincial city to a regional trade and political center. Kammen, Colonial New York, 112.

83 Province of New York trade passes, June 20, 1681, September 10, 1681, October 21, 1681, ? 29, 1683, April 26, 1684, May 22, 1685, July 4, 1685, September 4, 1685, June 19, 1686 in Hough, ed., Pemaquid Papers, 135-136; Governor Anthony Brockholes to Captain Caesar Knapton, June 7, 1678 in Christoph and Christoph, eds., Andros Papers 1677-1678, 366-368; Governor Andros to the Council of Trade, April 16, 1678; “Instructions for Governor Thomas Dongan,” January 27, 1683 in O’Callaghan, ed., Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York, III, 261; Governor Dongan to Lords of Trade and Plantations, March, 1687, J. W. Fortescue,
in the county of Cornwall (Kennebeck to Saint Croix River) Pemaquid’s primary harbor at the mouth of the Pemaquid River was too far and too difficult to maneuver in. The complainants suggested that New York add two more sites where ships could enter and clear. With new “ports” at New Dartmouth and Sagadahock on the lower Kennebec River, county residents and outsiders would have a more evenly distributed set of options. Despite the logic of such a plan, Pemaquid remained the region’s sole port of entry and clearance.84

Governor Thomas Dongan and his underlings added more fuel to the fire of local discontent. In the summer of 1686, Dongan issued a series of licenses to New Yorkers James Graham, John Spragg, Thomas Smith, and Thomas Cooper. The governor gave these men large tracts of land ranging from three hundred to one thousand acres in Pemaquid with no consideration to the previous owners circumstances. What was especially galling to Pemaquidians was that Dongan was so blatant in his use of local land to enrich political cronies.85 Edward Randolph made even more damning claims. In a 1688 report to the English crown, Randolph spoke of

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ed., Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies 1685-1688 (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1899), XII, 326.

85 “Licenses for the taking up of Land,” June 19, 1686 in Hough, ed., Pemaquid Papers, 106-109; Kammen, Colonial New York, 88-89, 106-107. As with much of what occurred at Pemaquid during the New York proprietorship, Governors Andros and Dongan utilized policies and practices that had roots in New York. In the case of Thomas Dongan, the governor had made similar sweetheart deals in New York. The governor issued four “generous manors” to political favorites in the province between 1685 and 1687. One of the recipients was none other than Pemaquid nemesis John Palmer. He received a manor on Staten Island. Kammen, Colonial New York, 110.
widespread abuse by Captain John Palmer and John West while serving at Pemaquid in 1686. The two New Yorkers, who were commissioned by Governor Dongan, issued roughly one hundred and forty leases in Pemaquid and New Dartmouth. They reputedly set aside massive tracts for themselves, some as large as eight to ten thousand acres. Just as damning was Randolph’s claim that in the case of the leases “not one penny rent” went to the English crown. Presumably, Palmer and West were pocketing the money. 86

Thus, the Andros and Dongan administrations played a major role in the emergence of widespread dissatisfaction, mistrust, and resistance to the New York system and its administrators. While documentation of illicit Anglo-Acadian trade in and around Pemaquid was limited, there is little doubt that smuggling was widespread. In one of the few telling documents that exists, Thomas Dongan admits as much. In the summer of 1686, the governor sent Captain Palmer to Pemaquid to put an end to the “Severall disorders and Confusions” that had lately afflicted the fishing plantation. Palmer was charged with issuing land patents, settling quit rents, appointing local justices of the peace, improving customs and excise tax collection, and bolstering the strength and readiness of the garrison of Fort Charles. In his instructions to Palmer, Governor Dongan stated that since so “very Little Revenue hath accrued to his Majesty from

86 Edward Randolph to John Povey, 21, 1688 in Toppan, ed., Edward Randolph, IV, 224-228. Edward Randolph had received much of this information from Pemaquid resident and town clerk William Sturt.

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Pemaquid by the Dutyes of Excise and Customs” he was to improve collection of these fees “for the augmenting of his Majestyes Revenue.87

Beyond Dongan’s admission and Randolph’s report, all one has to do is consider the basic elements of the New York system, the resultant strained relationship between New York and local residents, and the attitude of New Englanders, in general, towards growing crown oversight of the overseas trade to realize that illicit trade was a major problem in the Duke of York’s province. Since the early 1660s, a growing number of New Englanders had sought, often successfully, to circumvent the English Navigation Acts restricting direct trade with non-English customers. By the 1680s, smuggling was endemic in New England. Edward Randolph, as the English crown’s chief customs officer, regularly reported infractions of crown trade regulations. His correspondence abounds with reports of abuses. Techniques varied. Some masters refused to report the ports they entered and cleared. Merchants who registered their vessels as sailing with cargoes of tobacco for Newfoundland instead headed directly to Scotland. Ship’s crews unloaded their goods before entering Boston. In one instance, a Boston crowd drove customs officials off a Salem vessel

whose cargo they were attempting to examine. By doing so, the participants avoided or sought to avoid the expense of paying customs on the goods they purchased.

A substantial amount of smuggling probably occurred outside Pemaquid proper, as best exemplified by the cases of John Alden and Baron Saint Castin. These two individuals and the many who were never apprehended by New York officials most likely chose this option for two reasons, safety and convenience. Both the St. George’s River and Pentagoet were far enough away from Pemaquid’s Fort Charles to make it difficult for fort’s patrol boat to track down the smugglers. Maine’s convoluted and jagged central and eastern coast abounded with attractive locales, particularly Pentagoet, and the islands near the mouth of the Kennebec River. Edward Randolph complained of just such a scenario occurring in southern Maine in a letter he wrote to crown officials in 1682.

It will likewise be a very difficult matter for this Governor to reduce these to a due conformity in trade, having the advantage of many small Creeks on the other side of this River (Piscataqua) belonging to the Province of Maine where their prohibited goods & Vessels are covered and secured.

However, the physical layout and size of Pemaquid also made the plantation an excellent candidate for illicit Anglo-Acadian exchanges. Pemaquid of the late 1670s


and 1680s remained a sprawling, thinly populated settlement, essentially retaining the original bounds of the 1632 Pemaquid Patent. Within these bounds, the plantation also was blessed with isolated coves, inlets, and islands that would have been attractive locations for smuggling. Many were a substantial distance from Fort Charles, its garrison, and local officials based at the mouth of the Pemaquid River.

Pemaquid’s offshore islands and the waters surrounding them, the plantation’s eastern shore from slightly above Pemaquid Point to Round Pond (beyond) were probably popular locales. The plantation’s attractiveness as a smuggling haven was borne out in the only documented incident that occurred in Pemaquid proper. In 1661, French trader Jacques Pepin sailed to Monhegan with a cargo of contraband European goods. There, he transferred them onto the bark of Boston merchant Richard Patishall, who then sailed on to Boston for delivery. This scenario was undoubtedly repeated in the distant waters and secluded coves of Pemaquid throughout the late 1670s and 1680s far more than the records indicate.

A further enticement to those considering the Anglo-Acadian black market was the limited ability of the garrison of Fort Charles to police the region’s coastal traffic. Throughout most of the fort’s twelve year history, Fort Charles was manned only by twenty to fifty men and one or two officers. On occasion, the numbers reached as low as six to ten men and an officer. A garrison that size was woefully inadequate for

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community protection and patrol duty. Furthermore, the commander had only one armed sloop patrolling the region's long and jagged coastline and river ways. It is no wonder that the men of Fort Charles only captured two vessels engaged in illegal trade between 1677 and 1689.

Pemaquid's relationship with French Acadia was not only affected by the aggressive Acadian policy of its New York and Dominion of New England proprietors but also the swirl of events occurring elsewhere in the region and across the Atlantic during the 1680s. Just as Governors Andros and Dongan had reworked Pemaquid's Acadian policy, so had the French crown and its provincial administrators with Acadia's relationship with New England. In 1682, Louis XIV granted a group of French merchants, led by Sieur de Bergier, "extensive fishing and trading privileges on the coast of Nova Scotia." Bergier and company established the Compagnie des Pêches sédentaires de l'Acadie and a "base of operations." Bergier worked to reestablish Acadian fishermen and displace their New England competitors from the coastal waters. The result were mounting tensions and violence between the French and English. In 1683, a Salem fishing master captured six Port Royal fishing vessels. A year later, Sieur de Bergier retaliated by seizing "seven fishing ketches and a sloop off Cape Sable." Bergier based his seizure on a recent royal directive prohibiting foreign ships from entering Nova Scotian waters. Those ignoring the statute risked seizure. Bergier's actions only stoked the anger of the Massachusetts fishermen. Bay fishing interests instituted a freebooting campaign in the waters of Nova Scotia and captured
a number of Acadian fishing vessels. In the process, they destroyed the Compagnie
des Pêches and forced the hand of Acadia’s Governor Francois-Marie Perrot. The
governor acknowledged that the English fishermen could once again dry their catches
on Nova Scotian shores without paying a user’s fee. He also permitted Massachusetts
merchants to continue to trade in Nova Scotia.91

However, Perrot’s capitulation to the New Englanders did little little to ease
the region’s mounting Anglo-Acadian tensions. In 1686, the royal government of
Louis XIV initiated an even more aggressive Massachusetts policy. The French crown
was especially concerned about the control Massachusetts Bay had over the fishing
grounds and fur trade of Nova Scotia and the coal and gypsum of Cape Breton. As
many as one hundred Massachusetts ketches fished and dried their catches in the
coastal waters and on the shores of southern Nova Scotia. As George Rawlyk notes,
the Massachusetts men so dominated the area that they regarded it as their own.
Several Bay merchants, led by Boston’s John Nelson and William Taylor, controlled
much of the Acadian fur trade. They obtained beaver and moose furs, skins, and pelts
from Acadian merchant traders such as Baron de Saint-Castin and Indian middlemen in
exchange for much needed English and European manufactured goods. Still others
collected and shipped out coal from the surface seams of northeastern Cape Breton
and gypsum from mines in the southeastern corner of the island.92


92 Rawlyk, Nova Scotia’s Massachusetts, 42-43; Johnson, John Nelson, 27.
The French crown and New France pursued what George Rawlyk labels “a three pronged” strategy. The first entailed developing an alliance with Baron de Saint-Castin and his Indian allies. They believed that Castin could bring four hundred Indians who were “natural enemies of the English.” The French sought to entice the Acadian by providing him with supplies and ammunition for his Indian trade operation. New France sweetened the pot by granting Saint-Castin a land grant along the St. John River to compensate him for the goods he lost during Andros’s raid on his habitation. In addition, French officials attempted to persuade Castin to cut trade ties with New England, replacing them with those with New France. However, Castin by no means swore off all trade with New England, despite the rosy picture French officials painted of their efforts. He continued to trade with the English in the 1690s.93

The second prong of the new French policy focused on Acadia. The object was to bring an end to the province’s commercial dependence on New England. The French government believed that Acadia’s relationship with New England weakened its ties and loyalty to France. The French crown’s answer to ending Acadian dependence on New England was increasing the flow of goods to Acadia and the number of local merchants and traders. But, as Rawlyk notes, the French government was naive in believing they could eradicate a long-term relationship based on practical

considerations and replace it with one that fell far short.\textsuperscript{94} They essentially made the same mistake that Thomas Dongan and Edmund Andros did when they instituted the New York system in Pemaquid.

The third arm of the French policy was the most aggressive. The French crown made modest efforts to expand their military presence in Acadia, something they had long ignored. In 1688 and 1689, they sent one hundred troops, war materiel, and eighteen large new cannon to the tiny fortifications at Chedabucto and Port Royal. As part of the re-armament, the French sought to transform the decrepit Port Royal fortification into a “defensive stronghold.” Sieur de Meneval, the newly appointed governor of Acadia, made plans to build a new fort at Pentagoet. Finally, the crown sent the sixteen gun light frigate \textit{La Friponne} across the Atlantic to patrol Acadian waters. The warship sailed with orders to seize the crew, goods, and vessels of all “foreigners sailing in Acadian waters.” \textit{La Friponne}’s captain wasted little time in acting on his orders. In July of 1688, Sieur de Beauregard captured two Massachusetts fishing ketches off of Cape Sable.\textsuperscript{95}

France’s efforts to strengthen its control of Acadia and protect it from “incursions” by New Englanders only heightened Anglo-Acadian tensions. New


\textsuperscript{95} Rawlyk, \textit{Nova Scotia’s Massachusetts}, 52-54; Reid, \textit{Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland}, 177; Johnson, \textit{John Nelson}, 46-47; Captain Francis Nicholson to Mr. Povey, August 31, 1688 in O’Callaghan, ed., \textit{Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York}, III, 551.
England's northern frontier was rife with rumors of schemes and conspiracies hatched by the French. Massachusetts fishermen worried about the impact the new French policy would have on their fishing on the Acadian Banks. Edward Randolph was even more alarmed, particularly at the broader implications of deteriorating Anglo-Acadian relations.

"Our trade dayly decayes and the prohibition to fish on the french coast of Nova Scotia on the one hand and the Spanish taking our shipps at Salt Ter Tudos (Salturtudos) will quite destroy our fishery." 96

Official accounts referred increasingly to the possibility of French attacks on the ports of Boston and New York, particularly with the outbreak of war in 1689. 97

These developments alarmed Pemaquidians, particularly those incidents occurring so close to home. By late summer 1688, the rumor of French plans to refortify Pentagoet had reached the Pemaquid area. Local fishermen reported to the commander of Fort Charles that Saint-Castin arrived in a warship along with Captain Joseph Robineau de Villebon. It probably mattered little to local residents that Captain Francis Nicholson, the recipient of these local reports, believed that the man


97 Governor Edmund Andros to Lord Dartmouth, November 28, 1687 in Fortescue, ed., Calendar of State Papers, XII, 474; Mr. de Callieres to Mr. de Seignelay, January 1689 in O'Callaghan, ed., Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York, IX, 404; Lieutenant Governor Francis Nicholson and the New York Council to the Board of Trade, May 15, 1689; Edward Randolph to the Lords of Trade, May 29, 1689 in O'Callaghan, ed., Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York, III, 574-576, 581; Melvoin, New England Outpost, 188.
who accompanied Saint-Castin was a military engineer not the French officer. Just as unsettling was word that local residents had seen a French ketch lingering in the waters off of Monhegan. When met and questioned by an English officer, probably on patrol from Fort Charles, the French occupants claimed they were searching for a missing French shallop. The officer failed to turn up proof that such a boat was ever in the area. Nicholson logically surmised that the French were probably collecting strategic information for the French military and Indian war parties.98

So, the obvious but important question arises, how did the inhabitants of the Sagadahoc region and Pemaquid, in particular, respond to these developments and rumors in the waning years of peace? In turn, what impact did deteriorating Anglo-Franco relations throughout the Northeast and Europe have on local Anglo-Acadian relations? What we see are responses that were similar, but more intense, to the reactions of Mainers following the outbreak of the Anglo-Wabanaki war of a decade and a half earlier. Throughout New England, the negative image of France, its government and its church broke out into the open as word of the Glorious

98 This tactic was common among the French and English alike during the late 17th-century. They often used merchants, traders, or military officers on legitimate trade or political missions to also collect information on the military layout and strength of each other’s defenses. These individuals would then pass the information on to provincial or crown officials. In 1687, Captain Nicholson did the same when traveling to Nova Scotia to meet Acadian officials in Port Royal. He prepared a brief report describing the state of Port Royal’s defenses. Captain Francis Nicholson to Mr. Povey, August 31, 1688 in O’Callaghan, ed., Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York, III, 551; John Clarence Webster, ed., Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century (Saint John, New Brunswick: The New Brunswick Museum, 1934), 8-9. 

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Revolution worked its way across the Atlantic in the winter and spring of 1689. These fears of the French had not been eradicated by the interlude of peace, they had only been subdued. What followed were accusations and verbal attacks from the Puritan political establishment and the mercantile community on those Bay residents who they considered part of an international papist conspiracy centered in France. Much of the anger was directed at Sir Edmund Andros and his underlings. Andros’s accusers portrayed him as a power hungry, totalitarian, greedy, and corrupt political official. Worse yet, they accused the governor and his “abject crew” of fellow New Yorkers of being in league with the French crown and the Catholic church and their efforts to crush Protestantism and England.99

In Pemaquid, we see a community, both civilian and military, in disarray and under a great deal of stress. Some of the depth of local feeling towards the French is evident in the reactions of young John Gyles, his mother, members of the garrison of Fort Charles, and several other residents of the plantation’s civilian community and the sister settlement of Sheepscot. Many of their responses were directed at political and religious figures rather than private citizens.

Early in his captivity, John Gyles and his Indian master visited a Jesuit priest who sought to purchase the young Pemaquidian while stopping at Pentagoet. Gyles’s reaction was intense and fearful:

The Jesuit gave me a biscuit which I put into my pocket and dare not eat but buried it under a log, fearing that he had put something in it to make me love him, for I was very young and had heard much of the Papists torturing the Protestants, etc., so that I hated the sight of a Jesuit.

Gyles was similarly frightened when another Indian master sold him to a Frenchman later in his captivity. Gyles, when his master informed him of his fate, was devastated, walking off into the woods and crying “till I could scarce see or stand.” John’s mother was just as frightened when he told her of his earlier encounter with the Jesuit priest. Margaret Gyles told her son that she would “rather follow you to your grave, or never see you more in this world than you should be sold to a Jesuit, for a Jesuit will ruin you, body and soul.”

To Gyles and his mother, these church figures were especially frightening because of their religious fervor and effectiveness in winning converts. As a mother and a devout Protestant, Margaret Gyles undoubtedly worried about the impact her son’s exposure to Catholicism would have on his Protestant faith at such a young and impressionable age. Would he be swallowed up by guiles of the Catholic church and its agents and lost to her forever? The work of the Jesuits was not something vague and distant, as the Gyleses well knew. Catholic priests lived and worked among the

Wabanaki and Micmac of the northern frontier. Priests were posted as nearby as Pentagoet, living not only among Indians but with the nemesis of Dongan and Andros, Baron de Saint-Castin. Such an unholy alliance was particularly frightening to frontier families such as the Gyleses. For them and many other Mainers, the Jesuits came to Acadia to spread Catholicism among the Indians not so much to save the souls of the “savage heathen” but to win them over to the French in their battle to defeat New England, England, and Protestantism.101

John Gyles’s comments indicate that his parents had taught their children to fear French Catholics, particularly those connected with the church hierarchy. The response of Gyles’s mother suggests that her attitude toward the French, and the Catholic church in particular, had roots that predated the Gyleses emigration to the northern frontier. Much of what Gyles’s mother and father passed on to their children in Maine they had undoubtedly assimilated as youngsters and young adults in England.

The world Thomas and Margaret Gyles grew up in had been dominated by an “intense conflict between the forces of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation” that had begun in the late 16th-century. Anti-Catholicism bound England’s Protestant community together, and for good reason. Many “feared the military forces of Rome,” an institution they “identified with the cause of Anti-

Christ." All they had to do was consider the recent history of their homeland for
evidence of the evil designs of the Catholic church. England’s Queen Mary Tudor
(1553-1558) executed several Protestant leaders as part of her efforts to restore the
Catholic church. Hundreds of others fled the country to avoid a similar fate. Spain’s
Catholic king Phillip II unleashed the Spanish Armada on England in 1588. In 1605,
Guy Fawkes led a band of English Catholics in the unsuccessful Gunpowder Plot to
blow up the Parliament. Anglican leaders, pastors, and writers made sure through
sermons and published material that these and other incidents were not forgotten by

The plight of France’s Protestant Huguenots provided England’s and New
England’s Anglican and Puritan clergies with additional fodder to maintain the dark
image of Catholicism among their parishioners. Since the first decade of the 17\textsuperscript{th}
century, the French crown and the Catholic church persecuted the country’s
Protestant Huguenots. Tactics ranged from the destruction of fortified Huguenot
communities to legal restrictions on the freedom of worship and education. Beginning
in the late 1670s, Louis XIV switched from restricting the personal liberties of the
Huguenots to widespread suppression. News of the murder, beatings, jailings, rape,
and torture of their Protestant brethren would eventually have reached New England
and even the region’s northern frontier, thanks to Boston’s small but growing French
Huguenot community and the international trade ties that linked all of New England to England and Europe.103

The reaction of the provincial troops manning Fort Charles and the residents of Sheepscot sheds more light on the mental state of the English inhabitants of the Sagadahoc region during the waning, tension-laden years of the 1680s. Many of these feelings were captured in depositons the troops filed after the collapse of the Andros administration in the spring of 1689. The soldiers responses were a blend of fear of the militant Catholicism of Louis XIV’s France coupled with a distrust and hatred of the administration of the Dominion of New England, most notably Sir Edmund Andros. The deserters left for several reasons. The soldiers most immediate complaints were the difficult conditions they labored under during the Indian campaign of the previous winter. But beyond that, the men complained about English regular officers, frequent forced marches, inadequate provisions, and harsh winter weather. They attributed their circumstances to the English officers whom they served under and ultimately Sir Edmund Andros. Worse yet, Captain Brockholes was a Catholic. To the Massachusetts troops, the backgrounds of Brockholes, Lockhart, and Weems were damning proof of their membership in the international papist plot. Brockholes confirmed his guilt by “Deserting” in an unsuccessful attempt to avoid capture and imprisonment by stealing and sailing off in an English sloop “to ye french.” In reality, Brockholes’s accusers appear to have twisted the truth, a common

response in those emotion laden times. A second account probably provides a more accurate portrayal. In this version, the captain and Lieutenant Weems were “fitting an old sloop” to sail to New York to obtain supplies for the garrisons of Fort Charles and Sheepscot’s fortification. No matter: the Massachusetts men had seen enough of the English officers’ guilt to believe otherwise. However, local residents saw the folly of being without a veteran professional officer such as Lieutenant Weems to command what remained of the garrison of Fort Charles. Soon after the two officers removal, several Pemaquidians successfully petitioned the Boston-based Council of Safety to return Weems to Pemaquid. Apparently, Weem’s protestations to the council of his commitment to defending Pemaquid “against all Enemies in Vindication of the Protestant Religion” convinced them that he was not a “papist.”104

However, the Massachusetts draftees considered Sir Edmund Andros the ultimate source of their misfortune and that of New England. They spoke of him as an agent of the international conspiracy, intent on destroying the provincial expeditionary force and the whole of New England. Evidence of Andros’s evil

intentions and popish sympathies were evident everywhere. Soldiers accused him of sending Boston trader John Alden to declared enemy Saint-Castin with a cargo of pork, bread, corn, and wine. They claimed the garrison of Fort Charles went without food for two days as a result of Andros’s action. Furthermore, the Governor-General had consistently under-supplied the troops throughout the winter expedition. Worse yet, Governor Andros entertained and supplied the sister of Madockawando, the wife of Moxis, and two other Wabanaki women with lead shot and gunpowder at Fort Charles that winter. As if that were not damning enough evidence of Andros’ collusion with the hated Indians, Madockawando’s sister told the soldier that Andros had expected her to return to the fort four days later. For the Massachusetts troops, these “crimes” committed by Andros and his henchmen were part of a pending “French-Catholic-Indian invasion” of New England to be led by Sir Edmund Andros. 

Many Pemaquidians probably experienced some degree of the emotions of the Gyleses and the Massachusetts troops. All one has to do is consider the tenuous state of the Sagadahoc region and the world beyond. Tensions ran high as the various reports and rumors about the Glorious Revolution, war preparations in New England.

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105 Madockawando and Moxis were important Wabanaki leaders during the late 17th-century. Madockawando’s daughter was married to Baron de Saint-Castin. See Chapter 4 for a more detailed description of the two Wabanaki leaders. Deposition of Issac Miller and Peter Plympton, December 21, 1689, Deposition of Lenox Beverly, August 17, 1689 in Baxter, ed., Baxter Manuscripts, VI, 22-23, 31; Stephen S. Webb, Lord Churchill’s Coup. The Anglo-American Empire and the Glorious Revolution Reconsidered (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), 185.
and New France, and Indian attacks in New Hampshire and Maine worked their way
to Maine’s south-central coast. Furthermore, Pemaquid was suffering physically and
emotionally, as contacts with the outside world, most notably Boston, were drying up. Fort Charles and its garrison were continuously short of troops, provisions, war material, and hard currency. Lieutenant Weems complained that Massachusetts “coasters,” which normally brought supplies to Pemaquid, now passed by “to supploy the French and Indeans.” Fears of attack by the French and Indians prevailed.106

The depth and extent of this fear was best expressed by Lieutenant Weems in a 1690 petition he sent to Massachusetts officials. He wrote that Fort Charles and its men were “vigorously assaulted by a grt number of Ind:(ians) & ffr(ench) during the 1689 attack of Pemaquid.107 In reality, it is highly unlikely that French troops fought


107 The two most detailed and accurate accounts, one prepared by Catholic seminarian Pierre Thury and the other by John Gyles, never note or suggest the presence of French troops. Thury’s account, however, makes it clear the Indian warriors were armed and equipped with French weapons and dress. Thury, “Relation du Combat de Cannibas,” Collection de Manuscrits, 477; Gyles, “Memoirs of Odd Adventures, Strange Deliverances,” in Vaughn and Clark, eds., Puritans Among the Indians, 96-98; Lieutenant James Weems to Governor and Council, June 1, 1689; Lieutenant James Weems to Governor Simon Bradstreet, June 23, 1689 in Baxter, ed., Baxter Manuscripts, VI, 485, 500; Lieutenant James Weems to Governor Simon Bradstreet and the General Council, July 23, 1689; Garrison of Fort Charles to ?, July 24, 1689 in Baxter, ed., Baxter Manuscripts, IX, 16-17; 19-20; Petition of Lieutenant James Weems, March 18, 1690 in Baxter, ed., Baxter Manuscripts, VI, 180-181.
along side the Indian warriors. None of the other reputable English and French accounts and reports note the presence of any French soldiers. Weems’s report was more likely an expression of the fear and anxiety generated by the Indian assault and the tension wracked months preceding it. The English commander had been physically and emotionally drained and scarred by the experience. His loyalty to the English crown and people and fitness as an officer had been questioned by local residents and troops. The provisional government of Massachusetts left Weems to fend for himself with a badly undermanned garrison and inadequate supplies. During the Wabanaki attack on Fort Charles and the village at Pemaquid Beach, Weems was seriously injured by an exploding barrel of gunpowder and witnessed the deaths of all but eight of his thirty men and scores of civilians. To add insult to injury, Weems spent years attempting to recoup from Massachusetts and the English crown several hundred pounds in money he paid his troops to stay on and personal effects he lost during the Indian assault. It is unclear if the English officer was ever compensated for his losses.\(^{108}\) But, through the whole experience townspeople and local troops alike were directing most, if not all, of their fear and anger at the most visible and reviled

elements of the French, the Catholic church and the political leaders of Acadia and New France.

At the same time, there were Pemaquidians who probably had a different, more pragmatic attitude toward Acadia's regular inhabitants, thanks in large part to the long history of commercial interaction between the two groups. These individuals were able to distinguish these French residents from the "agents of popery", the Jesuits and their political leaders. They continued to look at Acadia in practical terms, as a valuable trading partner. Many people probably continued to do business with Acadians nearly up until the Pemaquid's abandonment and destruction. As during the pre-war period, some Pemaquidians had undoubtedly developed close, personal relationships with Acadians through trade. In turn, these trading contacts may well have been maintained due, in part, to the hard times. With the decreasing flow of goods from Massachusetts Bay, some Pemaquidians probably turned increasingly to illicit trade with French Acadia, out of desperation. Others may have been motivated by opportunism and sought to capitalize on the reduced flow of goods between the Bay and Pemaquid. All they had to do was to look south to Massachusetts Bay for inspiration. Merchants and traders such as John Nelson, John Alden, John Foster, and David Waterhouse continued to trade with Acadia despite steadily deteriorating relations. Nelson and Alden remained active in the Acadian trade into and beyond King William's War.109

Ironically, the accusations by the garrisons of Fort Charles and Sheepscot directed at the fort’s English officers and Governor Edmund Andros and the subsequent efforts to purge Pemaquid of these reputed destructive, French and "Catholic loving forces" had the opposite effect of what the men intended. The mass desertion of the garrison of Fort Charles and the subsequent removal of Captain Brockholes and Lieutenant Weems from the command of the troops left the plantation of Pemaquid even more vulnerable to attack by Indian and French forces. The weakened circumstances of northern frontier plantations such as Pemaquid were not lost on the Wabanaki of New England’s northern frontier. Within four months of the events of May 1689, a large force of Indian warriors attacked and destroyed the fishing and trading plantation. There is no evidence that the French played a direct role in this and the other attacks that followed as Anglo-Indian warfare resumed on New England’s northern frontier. However, there is credible evidence that individuals such as Baron Saint-Castin facilitated the attacks by supplying the war party with weapons and supplies.\textsuperscript{110} Castin’s close ties with the Penobscot Wabanaki who participated in the attack, his proximity to their village, and his bad experiences at the hands of Andros and his Pemaquid-based underlings provided him with more than enough reason to encourage and aid the Wabanaki in ridding the region of English settlers, soldiers, and fortifications. Others such as the Father Thury played a more direct role. Thury was posted at Pentagoet during the 1680s. Throughout that time, he

worked with the Wabanaki both as a missionary and agent provocateur. He regularly spoke of the evils of the English. Thury encouraged the Wabanaki to turn to violence, if necessary, to right their wrongs. Most telling was his role in the 1689 Indian attack on Pemaquid. Thury willingly accompagnied the war party.\textsuperscript{111}

This attack did more than bring an end to Pemaquid as a major English fishing and trading settlement on the northern frontier. With the settlement’s demise, an important contact point for the English and French of New England and Acadia was altered and eventually eliminated. While Pemaquid resumed as a meeting place for English and Acadians with the establishment of a new English stronghold, Fort William Henry, from 1692 to 1696, the interaction was not the same. The community that existed at Pemaquid during this brief interlude was comprised almost exclusively of the troops stationed at Fort William Henry. A small contingent of traders, craftsmen (e.g., ship builders, blacksmith), a few spouses and children of garrison members, and an occasional minister were all that represented Pemaquid’s civilian population. They probably never numbered more than fifteen to twenty individuals. Thus, the scale, variety, and frequency of Anglo-Acadian interaction was greatly reduced.\textsuperscript{112} Furthermore, this new English community was shortlived. The French and Indian attack of Fort William Henry in August 1696 brought a final end to

\textsuperscript{111} Thury, “Relation du Combat de Cannibas,” \textit{Collection de Manuscrits}, 477; Webster, ed., \textit{Acadia}, 198.

\textsuperscript{112} “Account of a Journey Made by M. De Villieu,” 1693-1694; Joseph Robineau de Villebon to Count Pontchartrain, August 20, 1694 in Webster, ed., \textit{Acadia}, 63, 68.
Pemaquid’s role as an important landmark on the Anglo-Acadian borderland. Pemaquid, while resettled by the English in 1729, never recaptured the prominence it had in Anglo-Acadian relations during the 17th-century. The community that reemerged in the 18th-century was a lightly populated farming and fishing settlement. Pemaquid continued as an actor, albeit modest, in Anglo-Indian relations. However, contact with French Acadia consisted of little more than occasional trade or fishing forays into what by then was British crown territory.\textsuperscript{113} Gone were the days of the trade and social exchanges under the tenures of Abraham Shurt and Thomas Gardner and the high stakes political drama that prevailed during the New York and Dominion of New England proprietorships. By then, the focus of Anglo-Acadian economic and political activity had shifted further east and north to Nova Scotia and Cape Breton.

Nonetheless, exploring 17th-century Pemaquid’s relationship with Acadia does more than affirm the general concept of John Reid’s model of pragmatic accommodation. It suggests as well the importance of the actions and motivations of individual actors. The responses of people towards their Acadian neighbors varied, depending on their backgrounds and reasons for coming to the frontier settlement. Individuals such as Abraham Shurt and Thomas Gardner, as merchants seriously involved in the Acadian trade, had much to lose by pursuing an aggressive and, at times, confrontational Acadian policy. From a more personal perspective, these two

men, as longtime residents of Pemaquid, had another reason for treading carefully when dealing with French Acadia. They had a personal interest and attachment to a community that they had helped create and come to know intimately. On the other end of the spectrum, individuals such as John Palmer and Lieutenant Thomas Sharp came to Pemaquid as outsiders with a specific, pragmatic purpose for being there, protecting the political and financial interests of the colony of New York and the English crown. Neither Palmer nor Sharp were there by choice. Furthermore, their stays at Pemaquid were brief. Consequently, their commitment to and concern for Pemaquid and its inhabitants, vis-a-vis Acadia, was limited.

Language was the most obvious aspect of Pemaquid’s Acadian experience. Even the commanders of Fort Charles probably learned to speak a limited amount of French due to the frequency of their contact with French Acadians. Religion was one element of this cultural exchange that was least visible but most intriguing.

Pemaquidians exposure to Catholicism was indisputable. It ranged from the two visits of Catholic priests to Pemaquid in 1636 and c.1687 to the countless journeys Acadian traders made to the fishing plantation throughout the 17th-century. The two priests presumably came to Pemaquid as political intermediaries. Why they were selected or the specific purpose of their visits was unclear. However, these two men of the cloth just by their presence exposed Pemaquidians to a real, physical manifestation of something – Catholicism – that normally they only heard about from non-Catholic
and non-French sources. The picture the latter presented was often biased and negative.

Thus, 17th-century Pemaquid came away from its Acadian experience in much the same way the plantation had with the region’s Indians. Pemaquid and its inhabitants, collectively and individually, had been affected by French Acadia in a way that was noticeably different than that of their English peers south of the Anglo-Acadian frontier in New Hampshire and Massachusetts Bay.

CHAPTER FIVE

PEMAQUID AND THE TRANSATLANTIC TRADE

Since the mid-1960s, historical archaeologists excavating in the heart of 17th-century Pemaquid have recovered extensive evidence of the material world of the fishing plantation's inhabitants. Finds have included kaolin and redware smoking pipes from England's West Country, the Netherlands, and New England, ceramic jugs, bottles, pots, mugs, cups, and plates from Germany, England, France, Spain, and Portugal, and a silver coin from Massachusetts. Some of the artifacts have even more exotic origins. Excavators have found a glass trade bead from Venice, a West African elephant ivory divination tapper, and pieces of coral and coquina ballast stone possibly from the Caribbean. Archaeological teams have made similar discoveries on other 17th-century English and Acadian sites scattered along the coast and rivers of Maine.

For many scholars the first thought that often comes to mind is how did objects from such a far-reaching range of sources end up on the northern periphery of 17th-century New England? Many have failed to recognize that the English inhabitants of Capenawagen, Pemaquid, Kennebeck, and Sheepscot enjoyed many of the same material goods as their counterparts in southern New England. Just as with the social world of early Maine, historians and even some archaeologists have been
slow to explore the complex trade network that linked New England’s northern frontier to distant and sometimes exotic ports and markets of England, Europe, the Middle East, and the Far East as well as those closer to home. Bernard Bailyn in his landmark history of New England merchants dismissively refers to the settlements on the “innumerable” coastal inlets of Maine as the “homes of isolated groups of fishermen.”1 Thanks to the recent efforts of historical archaeologists and historians such as Emerson Baker, Robert Bradley, Leon Cranmer, Helen Camp, Alaric Faulkner, Edwin Churchill, that image is being altered. Even so, much remains to be done. This chapter explores the intricacies of the complex system of exchange that connected 17th-century Pemaquid to its English, French, and Indian neighbors and the more distant trade marts across the Atlantic. On one level, this journey is relatively straightforward; it introduces and details the evolution of the trade infrastructure, the actors, the goods, and the dynamics that drove the network’s development. But beyond this, several larger issues loom. What distinguished Pemaquid’s trade network and its evolution from those of the later settlements of Massachusetts Bay? How did Pemaquid’s location on New England’s northern frontier affect the plantation’s gravitation towards commercial ties with French Acadia? To what degree were local residents harvesting products for commercial purposes? How much of a role did external market forces play in determining the course of Pemaquid’s domestic trade?

Archaeology plays an important role in reconstructing this trade network.

While historical documents provide a good portrait of the fishing plantation’s staples

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trade, they fall far short in documenting the story of the everyday consumables shipped to Pemaquid. The results of the last three decades of archaeological investigations along the Pemaquid and Damariscotta Rivers have provided an extensive body of material that have aided exploration of both the domestic and overseas trades. In some cases, the archaeological record has revealed commercial links to locales such as Germany, Italy, and possibly Africa) and trade goods that were heretofore undocumented.

“they were well supplied by ye Costers”: Pemaquid’s Domestic Trade

As economic historian Richard Sheridan points out, scholars have long emphasized New England’s participation in the transatlantic trade at the expense of the region’s internal or domestic trade. Many have largely ignored the domestic sector of the region’s trade because they considered the domestic or home markets “limited or non-existent.” When the domestic trade is examined, it is typically defined in terms of the overseas or transatlantic trade. In actuality, as Pemaquid’s story reveals, the residents of New England’s northern frontier relied on a complex, far reaching, and vibrant domestic web of trade contacts that by late in the 17th century reached as far north as Port Royal, Nova Scotia and as far south as Virginia. The participants were socially, ethnically, and racially diverse; once again a reflection of Pemaquid’s location on the northern reaches of New England. Business and trade contacts included the

inevitable English and Anglo-American merchants and traders congregated in the
region’s commercial hub of Massachusetts Bay and secondary ports at New York,
Salem and Portsmouth, New Hampshire. However, beyond these obvious regional
commercial links, Pemaquidians were tied to a more obscure localized trade network
encompassing fellow English and Anglo-American planters, fishermen, and craftsmen
scattered about the vast expanse of the Sagadahoc region and southern Maine. In turn,
the fishing plantation had strong commercial ties with their Indian and Acadian
neighbors to the north and east. In nearly all cases, the driving forces behind these
domestic exchanges was the acquisition of necessities or subsistence items.
Pemaquidians used these items for a variety of purposes including food and drink,
clothing, work, household repairs, improvements, furnishings, and debt repayment.

Examination of Pemaquid’s coastal trade moves into the broader debate that
has engaged social and economic historians for over two decades: were early New
Englanders motivated by profit? Most scholars have discounted the longheld belief
that the average household of colonial New England was fully self-sufficient. While
there is little question that New England farmsteads of the 17th and the 18th centuries
produced a number of items for household consumption, these same households
obtained many more everyday consumables on the outside market by choice or
necessity. The experiences of Pemaquid’s inhabitants, whether year-round planters or
migratory fishermen, were much the same.

Once again, this facet of Pemaquid’s legacy takes us back to the settlement’s
earliest years as a seasonal fishing station. For the fishermen working the coastal
waters surrounding the islands of Monhegan and Damariscove, life consisted of a
daily routine of fishing, eating, recreation, and sleep. The vast majority of these men
left behind their West Country home ports for up to six months during the months of
February or March through August. Others sailed up from the nascent colony of
Jamestown, Virginia. In that time, they made the islands their home away from home,
living on shore in rustic quarters with fellow fishermen and handful of craftsmen.
These crews came well provisioned, since they were nearly two thousand miles away
from England and dependable sources of foodstuffs, supplies, and equipment.
However, the fishermen inevitably developed a localized trade. It first began relatively
simply and informally, borne out of necessity. Fishermen who ran short of supplies
or equipment turned to their peers for help. They might exchange a small stock of
foodstuffs, liquor, or fishing gear for a needed item. These exchanges were little more
than the traditional barter long familiar to Europeans. Others involved fishermen and
Indians. Maine Indians ventured to the islands to trade soon after the first European
fishermen began frequenting Maine’s coastal waters. Often familiar with French
explorers or fishermen, the Indians came with animal furs, pelts, and skins, typically
beaver. They traded them for a variety of European goods including textiles, kettles,
firearms, powder and shot, liquor, and glass beads. The fishermen passed their
acquisitions on to the masters of the mother ships when the vessels returned to New
England later that year. Ultimately, the animal skins, pelts, and furs and the cargoes of
cod, haddock, and fish oil were destined for markets in England, Spain, Portugal, and France.³

By the early 1620s, these simple transactions had evolved into more regularized, complex, and geographically far-reaching transactions. By then, the West Country and Jamestown fishermen were joined by fishermen and visitors from the fledgling settlements scattered along the coasts of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine. In turn, Damariscove and Monhegan were now occupied by small year-round fishing plantations. The result was a greatly expanded community of potential domestic contacts that stretched south to Jamestown, Virginia and north to the Penobscot River. Changes were not restricted to the trade network. With the emergence of year-round plantations on northern New England’s coast comes the first evidence of serious agricultural activity, as the emigrant planters began raising stocks of cattle, swine, goats, and crops of corn, wheat, and garden vegetables. Thus, the fishermen’s stock of potential goods was no longer limited to those carried over on the fishing and trading ships from England. Fishermen could now turn to the mainland farmers as another, albeit limited, source of foodstuffs and animal products. However, these exchanges were not restricted to goods and supplies. As in the past, services continued to be a viable element of Pemaquid’s domestic trade. The sellers of goods

could receive a host of services, including the repair of firearms or work equipment, construction of a building or dock, and hunting or trapping of wild game.

On occasion, the fishermen of Damariscove and Monhegan were called upon by outsiders in need, not an uncommon situation during the first years of New England settlement. In 1622, planters from the nascent Massachusetts Bay settlement of Wessagusett (Weymouth) sailed to Damariscove. Their objective was to obtain food for the settlement whose stocks had run dangerously low. The fishermen, while unable to give the settlers all that they needed, provided them with what they could spare at no cost. In a second instance, another group of planters from Wessagusett journied to nearby Monhegan where they purchased much needed bread from fishermen. How the Bay visitors repaid the fishermen was unclear. The most complex example of domestic trade in the guise of assistance took place in 1624 and 1626. In the spring of 1624, Plimoth plantation sent a ship to Maine’s coastal waters to fish as they often did. The pinnace, however, was caught and sunk in a “violent and extraordinary storm” while anchored in Damariscove Harbor. Several months later, a number of Plymouth inhabitants returned to the fishing island in hopes of recovering the vessel. They hired several carpenters stationed at Damariscove who repaired and eventually refloated the sunken pinnace.4

This system of localized exchange of goods and labor underwent further growth as a consequence of similar expansion of English settlement throughout New

England between the latter 1620s and the mid-17th-century. No longer was Pemaquid’s web of domestic trade links focused primarily on the fishing islands of Damariscove and Monhegan and the coastal waters surrounding them. During the second quarter of the 17th century, the first generation of the now year-round fishing and trading plantation was drawn into a complex of internal trade that encompassed Acadian settlements and trading outposts to the north, Indians scattered about coastal and interior Maine, and English settlements stretching along the coasts and major rivers of Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts.

The forces at play were several fold. At the fore was the sheer increase in geographic scope, quantity, and variety of potential players. The fishermen of Pemaquid’s pre-1626 fishing stations were tied to a limited body of trade contacts between Monhegan and the Isles of Shoals. This community of fishermen and craftsmen probably never numbered more than 400-500 at one time. Furthermore, the material needs of the fishing crews were basic. The vast majority had come to the coastal waters of New England as seasonal or year-round employees of London or West of England merchants with one purpose, to fish. Most followed this routine for no more than several years, at which point they returned to working their home waters. Consequently, the fishing crews had little need for items other than fishing gear, clothing, food, drink, and shelter. In contrast, the Pemaquidians of the 1640s inhabited a world that had changed dramatically. Where there had been no more than a handful of fishing stations and plantations, by 1640 upwards of a dozen and a half year-round English and French settlements hugged the coasts of Maine and New Hampshire. Another half dozen or so Acadian settlements, fishing stations, and
trading outposts were scattered along the coasts of today’s New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. To the south, two dozen or so heavily populated settlements clustered along Massachusetts Bay and its interior. The latter group included Boston which by then was on its way to becoming New England’s leading entrepot. By 1640, New England had 13,700 inhabitants, 9,000 of whom lived in Massachusetts. Boston’s population had tripled to nearly 2,000 a mere decade after its establishment.5

With this growth came a concurrent increase in quantity and variety of potential consumers and producers. In addition to the ever present year-round and migratory fishermen, there were growing numbers of planters and traders. They were joined by merchants, shop and tavern keepers, craftsmen, and laborers who congregated in the region’s commercial center of Boston and subsidiary communities such as Charlestown, Cambridge, Salem, and Marblehead. The region’s industrial sector, while still modest, was growing. At the forefront were shipbuilding, lumbering, and milling. The growth of all three was not surprising. New England’s vast coastline, rich fishing grounds, and expansive wood and farm land and rivers, combined with an expanding European population and fishing fleet, assured such development.

Pemaquid’s domestic trade benefited from the settlement and commercial growth. Most basic was local or community trade. This form of domestic economy occurred within the confines of the plantation of Pemaquid. The actors were

planted residents exchanging domestic and overseas goods and services. For most Pemaquidians, these exchanges grew out of the need for everyday subsistence items.

Much of the business took place in Pemaquid's settlement and commercial center at Pemaquid Beach. By the early 1640s, Pemaquid's town center was likely the site of at least one blacksmith shop, a truckhouse, and possibly a small shipyard. As a proprietary settlement, these operations would have been owned by Pemaquid's Bristol proprietors, manned by plantation servants, and overseen by Abraham Shurt, the settlement's manager. Local residents, whether for personal or company needs, relied on the blacksmith to manufacture and repair farm tools, fishing equipment, building and ship's hardware, and firearms. Similarly, early Pemaquidians ventured to the plantation's "company store" or truckhouse. Here, they, along with regular Indian customers, could purchase a range of imported goods including fishing gear, farm and lumbering tools, liquor, kitchen and table ware, shot, and powder. As was often the case in cash-strapped New England, these transactions usually involved an exchange of goods, services, or credit. The last procedure was not unusual, particularly in the case of proprietary plantations such as Pemaquid. The disadvantage of such a transaction was the ease with which an individual could come to rely on credit, to the point where he or she was perpetually in debt. Removing oneself from this situation was especially difficult if the debtor was doing business with an economic superior such as servant-master or tenant-proprietor. Both Daniel Vickers and Stephen Innes make that clear in their respective studies of 17th-century Essex County and Springfield, Massachusetts. Vickers notes that it was highly unusual for the North Shore fishermen to retire from fishing without substantial debts. However, it was hard
for them to avoid taking advantage of the “easy credit” offered by local merchants. Without the credit, these men could not have “financed the purchase of the necessary salt, timber, food, liquor, cordage, and canvas for even a single season’s operations.”

Another important element of this local trade that escaped the contemporary recorder’s pen were transactions that regularly occurred throughout the plantation, often at the neighborhood level. In these instances, the participants were usually neighbors, friends, or family members. Here, exchanges were more apt to involve local goods and services. Such an arrangement was especially important to those individuals and families living a considerable distance from the heart of Pemaquid. Thus, the residents of Monhegan and Damariscove and even New Harbor, due to their distance from the village at Pemaquid Beach (2 1/2 and 13 miles, respectively), often would have turned to their immediate neighbors when in need, whether it be a medical emergency, house and boat construction or repair, and harvest. Another likely exchange item would have been the livestock. As a proprietary settlement, virtually all of Pemaquid’s livestock was owned by the plantation’s proprietors during the late 1620s and 1630s. Thus, the vast majority of the plantation’s residents had to turn to Pemaquid’s manager, Abraham Shurt, if they hoped to own their own cattle, pigs, or sheep.

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However, a good deal of domestic trade occurred beyond the immediate community of Pemaquid during the plantation’s earliest years (Map 17). The reach of these economic links varied from that of nascent sister settlements elsewhere in the Sagadahoc region, the Acadian territory east of Pemaquid, the Piscataqua River region, and finally as far south as Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth.

Pemaquid established commercial ties with its French neighbors to the east soon after the plantation’s establishment. By 1635, the English fishing plantation was regularly trading with Acadia’s two leading French leaders and traders, Charles d’Aulney and Charles de la Tour, at their main outposts of Pentagoet and Port Royal, respectively. These commercial ties remained in place throughout the remainder of the century despite the ongoing commercial and political rivalries of the English and French. Pemaquid, acting largely through Abraham Shurt, provided the French with an array of goods including powder and shot. In turn, d’Aulney and de la Tour gave Pemaquid beaver and moose skins, pelts, and hides. The French, along with the region’s Indians, were very likely the English plantation’s largest source of animal pelts, furs, skins, and hides throughout the 17th century. These valuable trade goods were destined for the English and European markets, either via Massachusetts Bay merchants or English vessels sailing directly to Pemaquid. The profits went into the pockets of Pemaquid’s proprietors, Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge, or else the

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Map 17. Maine and western Acadia, c. 1628 – 1689.

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Bristol merchants used the New England exports to pay off debts from current or previous transactions.8

Pemaquid's Indian trade clients came largely from the Wabanaki groups focused in and adjacent to the Kennebec and Penobscot River drainages. The Indians were attracted to Pemaquid because of their familiarity with the peninsula and its offshore islands as the former sites of a longtime Native American settlement and an English fishing station. In turn, they came to trust Abraham Shurt both as a trader and as a political negotiator. Shurt provided his Wabanaki clients with an array of European trade goods. Typically, they would have included textiles, shot, powder, beads, knives, axes, liquor, foodstuffs, tobacco pipes, tobacco, and the services of the plantation's one or more blacksmiths. By this time, Maine traders had shifted from curiosities such as mirrors, rings, and bells used by the earlier explorers and fishermen to more practical goods intended to satisfy the Indians changing needs and meet the challenge of their French trading rivals. Not surprisingly, Pemaquid rapidly established itself as one of the leading English fur trade outposts on New England's northern frontier.9

Pemaquid's early Indian trade was not limited to beaver, moose, and European imports. Land was another commodity that changed hands between Native Americans

8 Francis Johnson to Richard Foxwell, May 6, 1635, Miscellaneous bound files, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; White Angel, August 5, 1636, Bristol Port Book (1636), E190-1136/5, folio 12; Margeret, March 23, 1637/8, Thomas & John, August 30, 1638, Bristol Port Book (1637-8), E190-1136/10, folio 7, 24v, Public Record Office, Kew, England.

and Pemaquidians. However, as Emerson Baker warns, exploration of Maine’s 17th-century English-Indian land trade has to be approached cautiously due to the questionable nature of a number of the documents. Much of the concern stems from the fact that many of the original deeds do not exist. They have been lost over the last three centuries and destroyed in a 1742 courthouse fire in Boston. In their place are 18th-century copies and claims. Despite these limitations, there is still a sizable body of legitimate deeds. Baker notes that, of the seventy 17th-century Maine Indian deeds, fifty-six deal with Sagadahoc region lands. Of these, he believes half of them “can be fully verified” while the remainder “appear to be legitimate.”10 Two of these deeds can be tied to early Pemaquid. In 1639, planters John Brown Sr. and Edward Bateman of Pemaquid purchased from Indian sagamore Robin Hood a large tract of land at Nequasset in present-day Woolwich. The second exchange occurred in 1641. In this case, Richard Pierce, Sr. purchased from Wabanaki sagamore Captain John Sommerset a twelve square mile parcel and extending west from Round Pond to the Pemaquid River.11

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Unraveling the purposes of this land trade is more challenging. What is indisputable is that the Pemaquidians sought the land for settlement expansion. Less clear is whether the men were acting for themselves or as agents for the plantation’s proprietors. Both John Brown Sr. and Edward Bateman had probably emigrated from Bristol, England as servants of Robert Aldworth and/or Gyles Elbridge. By 1639, John Brown Sr. had lived in Pemaquid for close to a decade. That time frame would have been sufficient for Brown to have completed most indentures. Thus, he should have been free of any indenture obligations. However, the possibility exists that Brown and Bateman were acting as factors for Abraham Shurt and ultimately Pemaquid proprietor Gyles Elbridge. The two Pemaquidians may have purchased the Nequasset tract as the site for a second truckhouse as part of the Pemaquid plantation owned by Elbridge. Furthermore, Shurt or Elbridge could well have had John Brown and Edward Bateman operate the Nequasset “house.” What makes such a scenario especially appealing was the fact that eight years later (1647) Francis Knight was based at Nequasset and appeared to be operating a truckhouse. Was it mere coincidence that in 1646 John Brown Sr. sold his half share of the Nequasset lot to Edward Bateman and returned to Pemaquid with his family? Had Bateman remained on to assist Knight in operation of the trading post? Why Pemaquid’s proprietors would have invested in the establishment of a second trading post in the Sagadahoc region can be explained as simply a matter of location, a constant issue for the

Euramerican truckhouse operator. By placing a truckhouse at Nequasset on the Kennebec River, Francis Knight and company would have gained more immediate access to the Indian inhabitants of the much larger Kennebec River drainage. If they handled their clients properly, the result would have been an even greater take in the region’s fur trade.13

The case of Richard Pierce is less ambiguous. He purchased this tract for himself and his family, and they lived on this land for the next three decades. The fact that the land encompassed a sizable portion of the original Pemaquid Patent and took place during the watch of Abraham Shurt strongly suggests that Shurt and Gyles Elbridge had given all parties their tacit approval.

For their efforts, the Wabanaki sagamores Robin Hood and Captain John Somerset received varied benefits, some clearly defined, others not. John Brown and Edward Bateman gave Robin Hood “one hogshead of corn and thirty pompions [pumpkins].” In addition, Brown and Bateman permitted the Native American to continue to live on the land, presumably in his “wigwam” referred to in the deed. Richard Pierce “paid” Somerset some unknown goods for his sale of the property.14

An even more poorly documented facet of Pemaquid’s Indian trade was the procurement of wild game. The English of early Maine were not known to do much

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13 Inventory of Francis Knight, 1647, Suffolk Deeds, III, folio 100-101; John Johnston, History of Bristol and Bremen, 237. The basis of this facet of the hypothesis stemmed from a conversation I had with Emerson Baker.

14 Robin Hood to Edward Bateman and John Brown Sr., November 1, 1639; Captain John Somerset to Richard Pierce, Sr., January 9, 1641, Lincoln County Deeds, Volume I, Lincoln County Courthouse, Wiscasset, Maine.
hunting for food. The vast majority of what they ate was domesticated livestock. However, as Thomas Gorges observed while living in Agamenticus (York) in the early 1640s, “The English catch not many of these beasts but they trade with the Indians for them.” Pemaquidians were probably little different than their southern peers, engaging with Wabanaki in an exchange of wild game for English and European goods.

Pemaquid’s commercial links to her more distant English counterparts situated to the southwest, the Piscataqua region, Massachusetts Bay, and southeastern Massachusetts, also had early roots. In June 1632, Abraham Shurt sailed with several others on a shallop bound for Piscataqua and Boston. Unfortunately, the boat got no further than Piscataqua. One of the crew men blew the shallop up with a carelessly lit tobacco pipe and a barrel of gun powder. Shurt and his companions lost the boat and £200 of goods intended for trade in Massachusetts Bay. Unfortunately, the records are mute as to the nature of the fishing plantation’s ties with Piscataqua region traders and fishermen such as Thomas Wannerton and John Sanders. What Abraham Shurt probably sought in his 1632 journey to coastal New Hampshire and those that followed was an exchange of Pemaquid’s staple trade items of fish, beaver, moose, and timber products for the ubiquitous imported European goods. All one has to do


16 Dunn, Savage, and Yeandle, eds., The Journal of John Winthrop, 70-71; Abraham Shurt vs. Thomas Wannerton, May 20, 1637, Abraham Shurt and Robert Knight vs.
is consider the individuals involved in these transactions. Thomas Wannerton and one of Shurt's companions on the ill-fated 1632 voyage, Thomas Wright, were both active in the "eastern" fur trade. In addition, the Piscataqua region, particularly Strawbery Banke (Portsmouth) rapidly established itself as a secondary entrepot for domestic and overseas commercial traffic. For Pemaquid, this area provided the Maine fishing plantation with another important outlet for her goods and access to the always critical imported necessities.17

Massachusetts Bay's ascendance as New England's commercial heart was evident in the speed with which Pemaquid linked up to the region. Within two years of the Puritans' establishment of Boston (1630), a Pemaquid vessel was bound for Massachusetts Bay to trade. By the late 1630s, Abraham Shurt regularly did business with Boston merchants. By 1638 and probably earlier, Robert Knight had established himself in Boston as Pemaquid's primary agent in the Bay. He periodically resided there in that capacity until his death in 1655.18 The relationship that developed between the two settlements benefited both. For Pemaquid, Boston became the


leading destination for its fish, beaver, moose, and timber products. With these sales, Shurt and his successors tapped into New England’s largest distributor of goods imported from England, continental Europe, and beyond. Conversely, Boston merchants came to rely on Pemaquid as one of their leading links to the English, French, and Native American markets of northern New England and Acadia. This commercial relationship would only grow stronger as the century wore on. As a consequence, Pemaquid was further drawn into New England’s emergent and lucrative export trade with Spain, Portugal, and the West Indies. However, a case can be made for the important contribution of pioneering Maine settlements such as Pemaquid in providing the groundwork for Massachusetts Bay’s emergence as the region’s leading exporter of the trade staples of fish, furs, and timber to Spain and Portugal.

The English fishing plantation established trade ties with the adjoining North Shore fishing and farming communities of Salem and Marblehead nearly as quickly it did with Boston. Of Pemaquid’s domestic commercial links, those that it had with these two settlements were, along with Boston and Charlestown, the longest lasting and most durable. The first indication of trade between the coastal settlements occurred in 1633. That year, Richard Foxwell owed Abraham Shurt 28 1/2 pounds of beaver. At the time, Foxwell was a small-time independent trader situated on the St. Georges River near its mouth. Two years passed before the fur trader delivered the beaver to Shurt. Foxwell’s trade ties extended well beyond Pemaquid. The English trader, as was often the case with freelancers, was contracted with a variety of New England merchants, in this case Francis Johnson of Marblehead and several others.
The documents generated by this transaction and the controversy that followed revealed a complex maze of actors active in Maine’s fur trade. They included the ever present Isaac Allerton, George Cleeve and Richard Tucker of Saco, and possibly Salem man Thomas Gardner Sr., the father of a later Pemaquid luminary and major fur trader Thomas Gardner. Pemaquid’s commercial ties with Salem and Marblehead were not restricted to the fur trade. In 1640, Joseph Grafton of Salem sailed up from Massachusetts North Shore in a 40 ton ketch to Pemaquid. Grafton returned to the North Shore with “twenty cows, oxen, etc., hay and water.” This relatively simple transaction suggests two things. First, the cattle herd of Gyles Elbridge’s fishing plantation was doing well enough that Abraham Shurt could afford to part with what then was a substantial number of cows and oxen. Second, the anonymous Salem purchaser(s) needed livestock. What precipitated this purchase was very likely the region-wide shortage of livestock. During the 1630s and early 1640s, contemporaries

19 Richard Foxwell’s letter of debt to Francis Johnson, July 26, 1633, September 24, 1634, Richard Foxwell to Francis Johnson, May 6, 1635, Receipt, Abraham Shurt to Richard Foxwell, June 13, 1635, Bound miscellaneous files, Massachusetts Historical Society Library, Boston; George Francis Dow, ed., Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County Massachusetts 1656-1662 (Salem, Massachusetts, Newcomb & Gauss, 1912), II, 24-25. Alaric Faulkner has located and excavated Richard Foxwell’s St. Georges River home and truckhouse. The English trader abandoned the site for southern Maine in 1636 due to a series of mounting debts. His plight was not uncommon for the small independent fur trader. They had to compete with much larger and better funded operations such as those at Pemaquid, Cushnoc, and Pentagoet. One of Faulkner’s students has written a thesis detailing Foxwell’s fur trade operation. David F. Klinge, “The Richard Foxwell House: The Archaeological Footprint of a Marginal Trader, 1633-1636.” M.A. thesis, University of Maine, 2001.

20 Dunn, et als, eds., The Journal of John Winthrop, 324.
such as John Winthrop and Thomas Gorges spoke of the soaring costs of livestock, labor, and goods due to their limited numbers.\textsuperscript{21}

Pemaquid’s commercial link to Plymouth plantation was the frontier outpost’s earliest, as it predated her establishment as a year-round settlement. In this case, the settlement’s tie to Plymouth was driven both by pre-settlement tradition and geography. Plymouth men, most notably the mercurial and enterprising Isaac Allerton, were well aware of the Pemaquid area from their fishing and trading forays to Monhegan and Damariscove during the early 1620s. Much of Plymouth’s contact with Pemaquid during the late 1620s and 1630s was driven by Allerton. On at least two occasions, Plymouth leased Robert Aldworth’s and Gyles Elbridge’s ship the \textit{White Angel} to carry passengers, furs, and imported goods between Plymouth and Barnstable, England. The Pilgrim fathers ended up purchasing this veteran of innumerable transatlantic crossings from the Bristol merchants in 1631. However, four years later the ship was back in the possession of Gyles Elbridge.\textsuperscript{22} From Plymouth’s standpoint, this link must have made good, practical sense. Pemaquid was sixty miles


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southwest of the Massachusetts plantation's trading post at Penobscot/Pentagoet. Consequently, Allerton passed by the fishing plantation when sailing back and forth from the mouth of the Penobscot River and southeastern Massachusetts. At Pemaquid, Allerton and his men could put in for a brief stay. Here, they could rest up, socialize, and load or unload cargoes of fish, beaver, moose, timber, and English and European imports destined for Pemaquid, Penobscot, Plymouth, and ultimately the overseas market.

However, the commercial relationship between the two English plantations did not survive beyond the mid to late 1630s. That this domestic link disintegrated as quickly as it did was not surprising. By then, Plymouth had lost control of its two Maine-based trading posts at Penobscot and Calais to the French. In addition, the Pilgrim leaders had removed Isaac Allerton, the major force maintaining this connection, due to his mismanagement of affairs. With the loss of the two posts, the focus of Plymouth's trading operations now shifted to the larger and more successful truckhouse at Cushnoc (Augusta) on the upper Kennebec River. Thus, Pemaquid now fell outside the route that New England coasting vessels took when sailing between Plymouth and Cushnoc.

With the turmoil of the 1640s, Pemaquid's web of domestic partners underwent several changes. At the forefront were the English Civil Wars. The wars had considerable impact on New England's social and commercial ties with England.

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Emigration from England to New England dropped precipitously as the English homeland became absorbed in seven years of military and political conflict. In turn, overseas commercial traffic between New England and the home country plummeted. Period documents provide few details on how the Civil Wars affected Pemaquid. However, there is little question that the northern frontier plantation did not escape the transatlantic fallout from the English Civil Wars. During this period, the financial and political difficulties of the Elbridge family combined with the deaths of Gyles and John Elbridge, undoubtedly impacted on the immediate financial fortunes and direction of their New England fishing plantation. The most obvious loss was the deep pockets of Gyles Elbridge. The Bristol man’s wealth and the income generated by fishing plantation’s commercial staples fish, furs, timber were critical to regular maintenance of the plantation’s operations. The consequence would have been a noticeable drop in the number of new planters and supplies. Even so, Pemaquid was probably able to avoid major long-term economic problems because of well-seasoned New World agents such as Abraham Shurt and Robert Knight. They had managed the day to day operation of the Maine plantation and its commercial pursuits since the late 1620s and early 1630s, respectively. There was also a silver lining to this setback; Pemaquid was forced, as was the whole of New England, to rely more heavily on their developing domestic economy and links in New England and French Acadia.24

Pemaquid's shift to a greater reliance on domestic trade, the weakened financial circumstances of the plantation's surviving Bristol proprietor (Thomas Elbridge), and the settlement's absence of a well-developed and strong organized government played into the hands of the Massachusetts's growing wealthy merchant class. Men such as Nicholas Davison and Richard Russell looked to the region's northern frontier as a rich source of land, fish, furs, and timber. With access to these resources, Bay entrepreneurs could obtain goods that they could then ship south to the newly "discovered" West Indian market and across the Atlantic to the Portuguese and Spanish Wine Islands, England, and Europe. They reinvested the income from this business into New England's burgeoning shipbuilding industry, iron production, and further expansion of the region's land, mast, and fur trades. Thus, it should come as little surprise, that the newly arrived Thomas Elbridge sold his proprietary rights to the Pemaquid Patent to the two Charlestown merchants in a series of transactions during the 1650s.25

Signs of Pemaquid's growing domestic trade and the Massachusetts Bay imprint were visible everywhere. No where was this more evident in the business affairs of Shurt, Francis Knight, Robert Knight, and Thomas Elbridge. These men had frequent and varied contact with Bay merchants. Shurt and the Knight brothers benefited from pre-existing links to Massachusetts Bay they had established while

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working as agents for Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge. Francis Knight, for example, had accounts with “vintiner” Hugh Gunnison, brewer Isaac Grosse, merchant Robert Button, and trader John Holland of Boston, Charlestown, and Dorchester. As one would expect, the Pemaquid merchants exchanged fish, furs, and timber for domestic and English and European imported goods such as clothing, textiles, footwear, pork, beer, wine, brandy, malt, shot, and powder. They undoubtedly used the latter items to restock the plantation’s truckhouse, equip local fishermen, and meet the daily needs of area planters.

The archaeological record sheds further light on this facet of Pemaquid and domestic trade. Historical archaeologists have unearthed large quantities of English, Dutch, and Portuguese clay smoking pipes, liquor and wine bottles, and ceramic kitchen and table ware that once graced the kitchens and eating areas of homes in Pemaquid’s main village and the fortified hamlet at Pemaquid Harbor. A number of these artifacts date from the second and third quarters of the 17th-century. Pemaquid merchants may well have purchased some of these goods from Bay commercial contacts and had them shipped up from Boston for local consumption.


Two items stood out from the archaeological assemblage of imported goods. Both were domestically produced. The first consisted of several examples (legs only) of iron kettles manufactured at Massachusetts' Saugus ironworks between the late 1640s and late 1670s. The clay smoking pipes were unusual in that they were red earthenware rather than the more typical white or kaolin clay. These artifacts once again testified to New England's modest but growing light industry.

The Bay presence in Pemaquid's economy also revealed itself in the frontier settlement's off shore fishing islands. By the early 1640s, Salem and Marblehead fish merchants had recognized the potential of Maine's coastal fishing grounds and began contracting North Shore fishermen to harvest the water's bounty of cod, haddock, and mackerel. These same merchants, men such as George Corwin, William Browne, and Moses Maverick, regularly supplied the Salem, Marblehead, and Ipswich migratory fishermen who had begun to sail north to fish the coastal waters of Monhegan and Damariscove. The fishermen shared the islands waters and fishing facilities with the small year-round fishing community and the handful of West Country fishermen who continued to make the annual voyage across the Atlantic. The North Shore merchants gave the fishermen credit. With it, they obtained supplies of fishing gear, clothing, food, and drink, shot, and powder that carried them through the fishing season. The men usually stocked up before departing for Monhegan and Damariscove. They often procured additional supplies while on the islands from coastal traders operating out of the Bay. Failure to get these supplies and goods on time was costly for the fishermen as well as the merchant outfitters. In 1664, John Tapely and Richard Hunniwell
testified in Essex County court that two years earlier they were unable to go out and fish, while other boats did, due to “a want of supplies.” The result was a loss of wages for the fishermen and a cargo of fish for their outfitter, Mordecai Craford.28

The mid-17th-century ushered in several changes on the colonial and international stages that impacted on Pemaquid’s domestic as well as its overseas trade. The first of these was England’s Navigation Acts. The Navigation Acts were instituted by England’s Parliamentarian government beginning in 1651.29 For frontier settlements such as Pemaquid, these shifts in crown policy had an unexpected but positive impact on domestic trade and economy. England’s Navigation Acts, while greatly reducing New England’s direct trade with the European continent, benefited the region’s illicit trade.

The second event was Massachusetts Bay’s takeover of French Acadia. In 1654, Acadia, still recovering from the power struggle between Charles D’Aulney and Charles de La Tour and in the midst of the LeBorgne-La Tour rivalry, fell to the English for the second time in the century. That July, an English military expedition led by Major Robert Sedgwick and Captain John Leverett of Massachusetts Bay


attacked and captured the Acadian strongholds and settlements of Fort La Tour, Port Royal, and Pentagoet.

The English takeover of Acadia had mixed results. From a political standpoint, the capture halted French colonization of the colony for the next sixteen years. However, the victors made no effort to carry out a full scale removal of the Acadian population or colonize the territory with English settlers. The English limited population removal to their 1654 takeover. Captains Sedgwick and Leverett executed the head of Port Royal’s Capuchin mission and sent a number of priests, troops, and employees of several trading posts and the colony’s primary fishing station back to France. Economically, Acadia’s ties with New England, particularly Massachusetts, were strengthened. During the thirteen years of Thomas Temple’s governorship, Massachusetts Bay fur traders and fishermen established “a virtual monopoly over these resources from the Kennebec to the St. John River and from the St. John to Port Royal and Cape Sable.”

Pemaquid was a natural beneficiary. Once again, the fishing plantation was able to take advantage of its proximity to and long tradition of trade with the French colony. Pemaquid’s nascent Massachusetts Bay proprietors and leading residents

such as Thomas Gardner, were only too happy to take advantage of this logistical advantage. As noted previously, Gardner was especially well equipped for Acadian trade due to his stint as commander of the trading outpost at Penobscot (Pentagoet) during the late 1650s. While no domestic trade figures are available for this period, there is little doubt that Pemaquid’s trade with French outposts such as Pentagoet and Port Royal expanded during English control of Acadia. The result would have been increased shipments of Acadian beaver and moose furs, pelts, skins, and hides, and possibly fish. However, the vast majority of these goods, while procured by Pemaquid proprietors and merchants such as Nicholas Davison and Thomas Gardner, probably spent little, if any, time at Pemaquid. They were destined for Boston and ultimately Spain, Portugal, and the Caribbean. Davison and Gardner would have used these trade staples to obtain bills of exchange, pay off old accounts, and procure goods for their fishing, trading, and farming operations at Pemaquid and in Davison’s case, his Charlestown base of operations.

One trade item from Acadia that was probably put to local use was Cape Breton coal. Historical archaeologists have recovered over 700 pieces of coal in and around the blacksmith shop that was part of the fortified hamlet at Pemaquid Harbor and a smaller quantity of coal from the smithy in the main village at Pemaquid Beach. Why the Pemaquid smiths stoked their fires with coal rather than the more commonly used and cheaper charcoal probably stemmed from two factors: coal was low in sulfur and it did not make the forged iron unduly brittle. Their likeliest sources would have been either the French of Acadia or Massachusetts Bay merchants. In either case,
Pemaquid was well positioned. Turning to French trade contacts made the most sense considering Pemaquid's proximity and traditional ties with the French colony. Otherwise, local merchants could have turned to Bay merchants. With Robert Sedgwick's capture of Acadia, Boston entrepreneurs and traders had unimpeded access to the coal fields of Cape Breton from 1654 until 1670. During this period, they took advantage of legal access and distributed the coal throughout New England and the West Indies.31

The Sagadahoc region’s demographic and economic growth came to a dramatic halt with the outbreak and spread of the first Anglo-Wabanaki wars in the summers of 1675 and 1676. The Sagadahoc region’s demise was the Duke of York’s and province of New York’s gain. Until 1676, Massachusetts Bay had a firm grip on the region through its economic ties and recent political control. With Maine’s south-central coast and interior devoid of English settlement, the duke was free to reassert his 1664 claim to the region. When New York initiated reestablishment of a new settlement at Pemaquid in the summer of 1677, the slow process of rebuilding the local economy, infrastructure, and domestic trade links began.

With New York's take over of the Sagadahoc region, Pemaquid gained its first direct commercial link outside New England. However, benefits of the connection weighed heavily in favor of the province of New York and its royal proprietor England. For New York, this new acquisition provided the provincial government and local merchants direct access to the Sagadahoc's wealth of land, fish, furs, and timber products. By then, fish, furs, and timber were well established as the heart of New England's staples trade with England, Europe, and the Caribbean. With these goods and the accompanying customs, the province of New York expected to pay off bills of exchange and trade debts and to purchase overseas manufactures and products.

Ultimately, this acquisition was part of English crown efforts, via the Duke of York, to protect England’s “economic monopoly of its American colonies.” In this case, their concern was the increasing commercial strength of New England, particularly in the carrying trade. New York’s control of the Sagadahoc region would serve to blunt the Bay colony’s rapid expansion into New England’s northern frontier.

The Andros and Dongan regimes, as part of their effort to maintain a tight grip on its newly acquired northern frontier territory, established a series of trade statutes pertaining to Sagadahoc region commerce. Most prominent was the directive that established Jamestown as the sole port of entry for the county of Cornwall and called for the erection of a customs house. The customs officer was expected to inspect the cargo of each trading vessel. The officer had the power to confiscate any boat and its cargo if he discovered contraband on board. Confiscated goods were stored in Fort

Charles while the vessel was probably tied up to one of the wharves near the fort. Whether the fort’s commander posted an armed guard by the vessel probably depended on the size of his garrison and their availability. The ultimate fate of the ship, cargo, and its master and owner was determined by the justices of the Cornwall county court, one of whom was the fort’s commanding officer.33

Governor Andros provides a glimpse of the backbone of Jamestown’s trade with New York in a brief entry in his survey of his governorship of the colony from 1674 until the fall of 1677. Andros notes that “Pemaquid affords merchantable Fish and Masts.”34 However, his account tells only part of the story. These items were only the most prominent, prolific, and lucrative that New York procured from its frontier outpost. Fish, particularly cod, remained an important Anglo-American export staple. Colonial merchants, whether from New England or New York, shipped the high quality “merchantable” cod of New England and Newfoundland to France, Spain, and Portugal, just as had their predecessors from northern New England during the late 1620s and 1630s.35


Andros’s short list appears to have excluded “refuse” cod, barrel staves, and animal furs, skins, and pelts. All three had been important elements of Pemaquid’s export trade earlier in the century and likely remained so. However, the cargoes, particularly those of timber products and furs/skins/pelts, exported to the port of New York were probably noticeably smaller than those earlier in the century. By the late 17th-century, Maine’s beaver trade was much less productive due to overharvesting and the loss of habitat to English settlement. By the late 1670s and 1680s, decades of timber harvesting in Maine, by New Englanders, had reduced the productivity of the region’s woodlands. William Leavenworth argues that overharvesting had become a serious enough problem in Massachusetts Bay, by the 1640s, that officials began attempting to regulate timber harvesting. Ironically, this problem grew out of the success of the Bay colony’s nascent shipbuilding and fishing industries. Maine probably suffered a similar, but delayed, erosion of its timber stock, as Massachusetts Bay merchants and entrepreneurs turned to the expansive woods of northern New England as a new source of timber for their expanding shipbuilding, house construction, and barrel production industries.

There was little question that the colony of New York’s control of Jamestown diverted a substantial amount of the normal trade between the fishing settlement and Massachusetts Bay. That was evident in Andros comments in his

1678 survey, the reaction of Bay officials, and a small array of surviving trade documents. For example, nine surviving ship’s passes issued by New York’s port officer list seven sloops and one bark sailing from Manhattan to Jamestown between 1681 and 1686. Two of the vessels were scheduled to continue further north to Newfoundland. One of them was captained by a Jamestown resident, Alexander Woodrup, and may well have been owned by Woodrup or another local inhabitant. Additional coastal traffic between the two ports included the numerous sloops, ketches, and ships that shuttled back and forth with provisions and military supplies for the troops of Fort Charles, provincial officials on official business, replacement officers and troops, military prisoners, and official and personal correspondence.37

While never mentioned, there is no doubt the many of the merchantmen also carried supplies and possibly even livestock, in some cases, for Jamestown’s merchants, planters, and fishermen. Typically, they would have included kitchen and dining ware, clothing, foodstuffs, alcoholic beverages, fishing gear and supplies, agricultural equipment, shot, and powder. It is possible that some of the prolific archaeological assemblage of Bristol-manufactured smoking pipes, so popular among Jamestown residents, arrived on New York-based coasters.38


38 See Table 3.
What is less clear was how Jamestown benefited from this new commercial relationship. Furthermore, who were the primary beneficiaries of this trade? What did the average Pemaquidian gain from Jamestown's trade with New York? Despite some degree of success, there is a considerable body of evidence indicating that the aggressive trade policy of Governors Andros and Dongan were much less successful than they had hoped (see Chapter 4). Not surprisingly, those merchants, traders, and fishermen living outside the bounds of Jamestown were unhappy with these regulations and directives. They expressed their anger and dissatisfaction in two petitions to New York officials and by ignoring the regulations. Andros and Dongan had miscalculated the resistance of the local populace in their efforts to maximize the commercial return from the "Eastern trade." From this resistance emerged a thriving black market trade, a phenomenon that had become increasingly widespread throughout New England as the latter half of the 17th-century wore on. Most prominent was Pemaquid's trade with the French of Acadia.

"To Mr. Elbridge for freight of 3 hogsheads": Pemaquid and the Overseas Trade

Unraveling early Pemaquid's transatlantic trade first necessitates stepping back to the complex of migratory fishing stations that operated on Monhegan, Damariscove, and the eastern shore of the Pemaquid peninsula during the 1610s and early 1620s. As with the stations' earliest domestic trade network, their overseas links were rudimentary and pragmatic, shaped primarily by the needs of the fishing operations and its owners and underwriters. Once the fishing crews arrived in the
waters of northern New England and re-established their migratory fishing facilities, they focused their efforts on catching and processing the vast stocks of cod and haddock in the nearby fishing grounds. As consumers, the daily needs of the fishermen were basic. Virtually all of what they required, whether it be fishing gear and supplies, food, drink, and clothing, they brought with them or obtained them from the station’s agent or ship’s master. Contact with the world the men left behind was virtually non-existent. Usually, overseas traffic was limited to the West Country fishing vessels themselves laden with cargoes of dry or wet fish as they prepared to sail back across the Atlantic at the end of the fishing season. The boats either sailed home with their catch or directly to the Wine islands, Spain, Portugal, or France (Map 18). As John Smith notes, the profits from a successful fishing voyage were divided three ways: one for the ship’s owner, the second for the ship’s “Master and company, and the third for the “victualler” or the man who outfitted and supplied the fishing vessel and crew.39 However, the return transatlantic voyage was as perilous, if not more, than the earlier winter departure from England. The fishing vessel had to contend with the vagaries of the weather, although they were not as extreme as those of the western passage. What was even more worrisome was attack by pirates. A fully laden fishing boat was a tempting target for the English and Irish pirates who frequented the Irish Sea. Passage on to France, Portugal, and Spain was even more dangerous; the vessels had to run the gauntlet in waters infested by French and

Turkish pirates and privateers. The threat of attack caused some masters to sail more roundabout routes in an effort to avoid trouble. However, even that option had a financial cost; the added sailing time increased the expense of the fishing voyage.40

The establishment of the tiny year-round fishing plantations on Damariscove and Monhegan in the early 1620s brought about a change in Pemaquid’s transatlantic commerce. By then, the emerging English presence in New England had expanded both in extent and complexity. The Monhegan and Damariscove fishing plantations were joined by several other fledgling settlements established on New England’s coast; including Plimoth, Wessagusett, Cape Ann, and Pannaway. With growing numbers of year-round settlements and inhabitants came greater logistical supply needs. London and West Country proprietors and investors such as Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir Francis Popham, and Abraham and Ambrose Jennings had to invest increasing amounts of money, supplies, and equipment in their now year-round fishing operations off of Maine’s south-central coast. The result was increased overseas traffic to support the fishing plantations and transport the season’s catch back across

the Atlantic. In contrast to the annual six-eight month sailing window of the migratory fisheries (January-August), the English merchantmen and fishing vessels servicing the two fishing plantations arrived and departed throughout much of the year. English merchants and proprietors made plans to build up and provision the plantations. The Council of Plymouth, the predecessor of the Council for New England, required each fishing vessel to carry one man who would remain and work with the islands’ resident fishermen. In addition, every ship’s master was expected to document the number of “Calves, Goates, Pigg, Poultry, Conyes [rabbits], etc.” it was carrying for potential settlements.41

It was not unusual for the season’s catch to be sold in New England before its journey across the Atlantic. Monhegan was just such a place. The island, in addition to being the home of a year-round fishing plantation and a migratory fishery, was also the site of “a trade mart.” Here, fishermen and merchants arranged the sale of the catches. One incident illustrates the complex web of actors involved in these sales, the profitability of some of the fishing ventures, the destination of the catches, and the risks of overseas shipping. In 1624, three London trade factors temporarily based on Monhegan and working for Abraham Jennings of Plymouth, England, and his brother Ambrose Jennings and William Cross of London negotiated with local fishermen and the masters of several fishing vessels for the purchase of several catches that amounted to 3042 quintalls or roughly 150 tons of fish. The cargo was consigned to


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George Backler, an English trade factor based in Bordeaux, France. The ship and its stock of fish, with an estimated worth of more than $10,000, was attacked and plundered by a Turkish privateer. All that remained was half of the cargo, enough for the ship’s captain to cover the expense of freight.42

Even so, the transatlantic trading patterns of the Monhegan and Damariscove fishing plantations and the island’s migratory fisheries lacked the complexity, regularity, and scale of the plantation that emerged on the mainland in the late 1620s. The Bristol proprietors and inhabitants of the sprawling settlement of Pemaquid had a distinct set of advantages over the island-based fishing plantation when it came to transatlantic trade. The most obvious was that the new plantation encompassed the best of two worlds. Pemaquid, was now focused on the mainland, an area that provided much more space for fish processing, shipbuilding, and blacksmithing facilities than that of the considerably smaller offshore islands. Just as important were the large expanses of woodlands growing on the Pemaquid mainland, a critical resource for maintaining viable fishing facilities and vessels. The migratory and year-round fishermen who had lived on Damariscove and Monhegan during the 1610s and 1620s had undoubtedly removed much of the timber on the islands for the repair and construction of fishing stages, housing, fire wood, etc. The mainland was also much less exposed to the storms and wind that buffet Maine’s coast during much of the

year. In addition, the peninsula was blessed with a number of modest but functioning
harbors and coves, most notably, Pemaquid Harbor, New Harbor, and Long Cove. At
the same time, the mainlander had access to the productive fishing grounds in the
vicinity of the plantation’s fishing islands of Monhegan and Damariscove.

Pemaquid’s Bristol proprietors, as prominent and seasoned veterans of the
overseas trade, were well prepared for linking Pemaquid to the transatlantic trade. As
prominent merchants, they could turn to their own fleet of ships, those of their
merchant colleagues in Bristol, other West Country ports, and London, on occasion.
They had a particular advantage in their partial or full-ownership of seven ocean going
vessels. The ships ranged from the 100 ton transatlantic workhorse the *White Angel*
to the 250-300 ton *Charles*. At least three - *White Angel*, *Charles*, *Angel Gabriel* -
crossed the Atlantic to New England or Newfoundland. A fourth, the *Diligence*, made
at least one Atlantic crossing. Also important was Robert Aldworth’s ownership of
a dock and ship yard near the southern end of the Quay on Bristol’s western
periphery. With these properties, the two merchants had their own docking space and
ship building and repair facilities, a reality that provided them with a certain degree of

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43 “all the shipps and Barques in the Port or harbour of Bristoll, or employed at sea,”
March 1, 1628/9, Patrick McGrath, ed., Merchants and Merchandis in Seventeenth-
Century Bristol (Bristol, England: J. W. Arrowsmith Ltd., 1955), 210-213;
“Plymouth Colony Accounts (1628),” Collections of the Massachusetts Historical
Society (1846) I, 199, 201; Thomas Lechford, “Nathaniel Pattern charges upon Henry
Wolcutt, Thomas Marshfield and Samuel Wakeman in Edward V. Hale, ed.,
“Notebook kept by Thomas Lechford,” Transactions and Collections of the American
Antiquarian Society (1885), V, 324-325; Bristol Port Book, 1629-1630, E190/1136/1;
Bristol Port Book, 1637-1638, E190/1136/8, Public Record Office, Kew, England;
“Privy Council Register, April 10, 1640,” Privy Council Registers Preserved in the
Public Record Office (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1968), X (April 1-
June 28, 1640), 429.
autonomy (Figure 28-30). Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge had the added advantage of being commercially and politically well connected, particularly as elite members of the Society of Merchant Venturers and Bristol political institutions.

Through these connections, they were able to establish short and long-term trading partnerships. English merchants whether they shipped cargoes on their own vessels or those of others often set up short-term partnerships with other traders. They did so for several reasons. Several merchants might cooperate on one or more voyages to be able to purchase commodities in bulk too expensive for one individual. On other occasions, they did so to ensure a fully laden vessel, an approach that also cut shipping costs. These partnerships or charter parties acted as a form of insurance by cutting the losses among individuals when a ship was lost to shipwreck or piracy. Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge were no exception, regularly importing or exporting goods with one or more partner. A number of these charter parties involved more than five individuals. For example, in 1623, the two merchants shipped a cargo of unrefined and refined sugar and cinnamon from Lisbon with seven other partners on


45 McGrath, ed., Merchants and Merchandise, xiv.
Figure 28. Archaeological remains of Robert Aldworth's dock and shipyard visible in left center of photograph. River Avon visible in the background. 1979 Bristol Museum archaeological investigations. Courtesy of City of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, Bristol, England.
Figure 29. Closeup of wooden pilings and stone footing to Robert Aldworth's dock and shipyard (c.1625-1675), Bristol, England. Courtesy of City of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery. Scale = four meters.
Figure 30. Excavated remains of small wooden boat found on site of Robert Aldworth's dock and shipyard, Bristol, England. Courtesy of the City of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery. Scale = 5 meters.
the Guift of Bristol. Two years later, Robert Aldworth was one of ten who imported oil from "Marellus" (Marseilles, France?) on the Angel Gabriel.46

The transatlantic traffic between Maine's south-central coast, England, and Europe reflects the early importance of Pemaquid as a frontier entrepot. What is frustratingly absent is the product that was largely responsible for the existence of Pemaquid and much of Maine's coastal communities, fish. None of the records make any reference to the shipment of Pemaquid's take of the coastal fish stocks across the Atlantic to English and European buyers and markets. What is clear is that the absence is no reflection of the productivity of Pemaquid's fishing industry. The absence can best be explained by a combination of two scenarios.

1) The fish was being sent directly to French, Spanish, and Portuguese ports rather than to England, a choice that was common prior to institution of the Navigation Acts.

2) Some of the fish was sent south to Massachusetts Bay where it then was sent across the Atlantic. This corresponded with the growing prominence of Boston.

In either case, a growing web of transatlantic and domestic links tied the English fishing plantation to markets and consumers on the other side of the Atlantic. Again, we see an assemblage of New England actors working in concert with the Bristol proprietors and on occasion, European- and Wine Islands-based trade factors. At the forefront was Pemaquid's manager, Abraham Shurt. From Pemaquid, he made

46 Bristol Port Book (1622-1623) E190-1135/3, folio 5; (1624-1625), E190-1135/6.
arrangements with Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge for potential transactions and overseas shipments via correspondence and occasional voyages to the home port of Bristol. Shurt also turned to Robert Knight. The Bristol merchant provided Pemaquid's manager with the latest information on domestic and overseas commerce from his perch in Boston. Shurt also tapped into a network of upper echelon merchants and traders from Boston, New Hampshire, and southern Maine, an obvious reflection of the Old World reputation and contacts of his Bristol employers. Three letters that he sent to John Winthrop and Robert Knight of Boston in 1638 and 1639 were filled with references to business deals with notables such as Winthrop, Sir Robert Saltonstall, Hugh Peters, Richard Vine, George Cleeves, and Hugh Peter.47

Pemaquid also took advantage of the regular overseas traffic coming to and departing from the Richmond Island fishing station. Contact with John Winter and the Trelawny fishing station made good sense because of its proximity to Pemaquid and the station's location on the popular coastal route that English vessels then took when they sailed across the Atlantic to New England. Many, once in New England waters, sailed down Maine's coast south to Massachusetts Bay and beyond, if necessary. Thus, it comes as little surprise that Aldworth's and Elbridge's White Angel put in at Richmond's Island before making its homeward journey on several occasions between 1635 and 1640. In one instance (1639), the vessel left the island carrying, among other

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things, three hogsheads or nearly 430 pounds of beaver skins. The cargo was charged to the account of the fishing station’s English proprietor Robert Trelawny and destined for Bristol, England. These three letters are just as intriguing for what they did not discuss. It is quite likely that the *White Angel* on this and the other two voyages carried beaver, moose, and otter skins, fish, and barrel staves from Pemaquid that bore the marks of Aldworth and Elbridge. These documented departures, while modest in number, were probably a regular routine during the late 1620s, 1630s, and early 1640s.\(^4\)

Missing from the records of these overseas transactions were the fishing plantation’s common people. Any involvement they had only came as final consumer purchasing the fish hooks and lines, smoking pipes and tobacco, nails, and shoes once the larger transaction had been made and the goods arrived at Pemaquid. Virtually all business that the average fisherman or carpenter transacted was limited to those on the local and, at best, regional level via the traders and elite merchants of the Sagadahoc region.

Pemaquid’s transatlantic trading patterns changed considerably, as did similar patterns throughout New England, by mid-century. These patterns would remain in place for the remainder of the plantation’s existence during the 17th century. By then, New England’s direct links with England and Europe had been effectively ended with the outbreak of the English Civil Wars and institution of the Navigation Acts. For

Pemaquid, the end of the Aldworth-Elbridge proprietorship and beginning of the Massachusetts Bay ownership furthered the plantation’s shift away from direct trade with England and Europe. In its place emerged a strong commercial orientation towards Massachusetts Bay and the trade centers of Boston, Charlestown, and Salem. From this time on, Pemaquid merchants were apt to ship the plantation’s trade staples of fish, furs, and timber products south to the Bay. From there, “plantation-built” or English merchantmen shipped the goods across the Atlantic while English and European imports moved north via New England coasting vessels.

In return, Pemaquid and its proprietors received the usual variety of English and European manufactured goods, bills of exchange, and cash. What had changed by the mid- or late-1640s were the markets that Pemaquid tapped into. As a commercial extension of Massachusetts Bay, Pemaquid products such as fish and wood products were no longer being shipped solely to the markets of Spain, Portugal, and France. By then, New England merchants had discovered a new market in the Caribbean for the old standbys of barrel and pipe staves along with an item, “refuse” fish, that until then they had been unable to sell. This low quality, damaged fish (in the processing) was destined for the sugar plantations of the West Indies. Here, the owners and managers fed their black slaves the New England salt fish. Thus, Pemaquid fish and wood products were shipped south aboard coasters to Boston, Charlestown, and

Salem. Nicholas Davison provides the most compelling evidence for such a trade scenario. On at least one occasion, Nicholas Davison engaged in trade with Barbados. In 1655, the Charlestown merchant sailed out of Boston Harbor to Barbados, to do business. Just as compelling was his commercial partnership with Richard Russell during the late 1640s and 1650s, another merchant who was active in the emerging Barbados trade.  

Overseas links, while poorly documented in the written record, are more visible in the archaeological record. The modest array of Portuguese and Spanish majolica tableware and Iberian oil jars from the mid to late 17th century provide graphic evidence of Pemaquid's link to the Anglo-Spanish-Portuguese trade (Figure 31, 32). These plates and jars probably arrived at Pemaquid on English or Anglo-American merchantman, possibly even the White Angel, sailing in from the Iberian peninsula or the Wine Islands of Madeira, the Azores, and the Canaries. The same vessels may also have included the German, Italian, and French earthenware and German stoneware tableware and beverage containers that archaeologists have unearthed in the main village at Pemaquid Beach and the upriver fortified hamlet (Figures 33, 34).  

The one constant was those who benefited from fishing plantation's overseas trade. While ownership changed, the primary beneficiaries remained Pemaquid's proprietors and merchant elite, men such as Nicholas Davison, Thomas Gardner, and Thomas Gyles.

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50 Bailyn, New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century, 84-85.

51 Camp, Archaeological Excavations at Pemaquid, 28, 29, 34, 36.
Figure 31. Portuguese majolica plate (c. 1630-1660), “The town”
Colonial Pemaquid Historic Site, Pemaquid Beach, Maine.
Background = white, floral pattern = dark blue and purple, bands = dark blue, lines = purple. Scale = three inches.
Figure 32. Spanish majolica dish (probably second quarter 17th century),
"The town," Colonial Pemaquid Historic Site, Pemaquid Beach, Maine.
Background = white, concentric bands and chevron = blue.
Scale = three inches.
Figure 33. (L-R): German Wanfried redware bowl (c. 1580-1610), St. Onge earthenware costrel (probably second quarter 17th century), North Italian slip decorated redware bowl (second or third quarter 17th century), fortified dwelling/truckhouse, fortified hamlet (c. 1640-1676), Pemaquid Harbor, Maine.
Figure 34. Reconstructed Rhineland, Germany stoneware jug, c. 1630. “The town,” Colonial Pemaquid Historic Site, Pemaquid Beach, Maine.
A by product of Pemaquid’s commercial links with England, Europe, and the Caribbean was the stone ballast that many of the merchantmen carried on their transatlantic journeys to New England. Nineteenth-century antiquarians and historical archaeologists have reported deposits of flint, limestone, and possibly coquina on several locations on the lower reaches of the Pemaquid and the Sheepscot Rivers. Local residents likely collected the stone from these deposits, using it for building material, gun flints, and strike-a-lights. Recent archaeologists, including the author, have recovered substantial quantities of flint cobbles and chipping debris and limestone from the sites of the village at Pemaquid Beach and the fortified hamlet at Pemaquid Harbor. The flint and limestone most likely originated in England, as England has considerable deposits of both materials. The coquina and the fossiliferous limestone may well have been collected by the crews of English merchantmen on voyages down to the Caribbean, since both of these materials are native to Florida and the Caribbean. Another possible archaeological vestige of Pemaquid’s commercial link to the Caribbean, and ultimately Africa, is a diminutive elephant ivory divination tapper (Figure 35). A crewman on one of the merchantmen that sailed to Pemaquid may have obtained this Yoruba (West African) religious artifact.

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Figure 35. Side view of Yoruba elephant ivory divination tapper, probably 17th century. “The town,” Colonial Pemaquid Historic Site, Pemaquid Beach, Maine. Scale = three inches.
talisman on an earlier voyage to the West Indies or even the “Guinea” coast of West Africa. Alternatively, the ivory tapper could have been a personal keepsake of Pemaquid's only documented (African?) black slave who lived there during the 1680s.

The picture that emerges from this study of early Pemaquid's domestic and overseas trade network is that of a system that followed a developmental course not dramatically different from that of southern New England. Despite Pemaquid's early beginnings, the settlement was rapidly drawn into the commercial orbit of Massachusetts Bay, and for a brief period, that of the province of New York. By the mid-century, Pemaquid had developed into a commercial subsidiary of Massachusetts Bay. The bulk of the plantation's most lucrative products—fish, timber products, and furs—were sent south to Boston, Charlestown, and Salem where they played an important role in the Bay's emergence as New England's center of commerce. This developmental pattern continued through the remainder of the century. The greatest beneficiaries were Pemaquid's old England and Massachusetts Bay proprietors and the plantation's tiny elite. They operated in much the same fashion as their counterparts of the Bay, although on a smaller scale. Men such as Abraham Shurt, Thomas Elbridge, Thomas Gardner, and Thomas Gyles established diversified economic bases, investing in local fur trade, fishing industry, and general commerce. Their rapid rise as major local players in the commerce of New England's northern frontier was due in large part to a combination of personal skills as entrepreneurs and early contacts with prominent commercial figures both in New and old England.

For the vast majority of Pemaquidians, their part in the emerging commercial world of New England was understandably more modest. Most had little direct

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contact with the overseas trade. They only benefited from Pemaquid’s links across
the Atlantic and south in the Caribbean as individual consumers — recipients of
manufactured goods for daily use in their homes or workplaces. The vast majority of
the plantation’s fishermen, farmers, craftsmen, and laborers turned to Pemaquid’s elite
and the region’s coastal traders for access to these consumables. For them, they also
relied on a complex and active domestic trade network. Here, the majority of the
settlement’s population exchanged locally produced goods, land, and labor with their
social peers, the local elite, and the region’s Indians and French. It was on this level of
exchange that they were able to maintain a greater degree of control and autonomy.

This study of Pemaquid’s web of domestic and overseas links revealed one
element that runs contrary to the persistent image of the economically and socially
isolated New England frontier outpost. Viewed through the lens of archaeology, the
overall quality of the buildings, roads, personal belongings, and tools of Pemaquid and
its inhabitants, was surprisingly high considering Pemaquid’s place on New
England’s northern frontier. Obviously, some of this image can be attributed to the
fact that the archaeological focus has been limited almost exclusively to the
settlement’s commercial and social center. The village at Pemaquid Beach was the
focal point of the fishing plantation’s elite. Thus, further study is needed of those
areas outside the settlement’s heart, the fishing villages of New Harbor, Long Cove,
and Round Pond and the scattered homesteads on the upper reaches of the
Damariscotta River before final judgement can be made. Even so, while the
archaeological study of this phenomenon is far from complete, the preliminary results
once again illustrate the limitations of the persistent traditional image of New
England's frontier as isolated, unsophisticated, and, by extension, irrelevant to our understanding of the economic and social worlds of the whole of 17th-century New England.
CONCLUSION

It can be said that Pemaquid might vie with Roanoke for the title of “the Lost Colony.” Roanoke was a flash in the pan; essentially nothing more than a shipwreck site from which the settlers - if we can call them that - disappeared. Like Roanoke, Pemaquid disappeared off the map. In 1689, the settlement was attacked and destroyed by a large Indian war party. Forty years would pass before English planters resettled the area. But before its fiery demise, Pemaquid had been a viable Anglo-American plantation for over sixty years. In that time, the settlement established itself as one of northern New England’s leading fishing and trading centers. Pemaquid was also home to several generations of merchants, servants, fishermen, farmers, soldiers, and even a black slave.

This all leads to the inevitable question, how should this early English plantation be categorized? Comparing Pemaquid with other 17th-century English settlements revealed a fishing plantation that cannot be conveniently placed in any one colonial model. Parallels and disimilarities emerged with settlements as varied as those of Salem, Springfield, Plimoth, Ferryland (Newfoundland), Jamestown (Virginia), and St. Mary’s City, Maryland. As a consequence, this pioneering settlement helps redefine not just the image of the early Anglo-American frontier but the whole of colonial British America. In the process, this study has provided further support to Jack Greene’s argument that takes issue with the longheld thesis that Puritan New England, most notably Massachusetts Bay, was the standard by which
all of early colonial British America should be compared. Greene stands this argument on its head arguing that orthodox (Puritan) New England was actually an anomaly, when compared with the rest of early Anglo-America. From his perspective, the English settlements of the 17th-century Chesapeake should serve as the model of normality.1

A systematic comparison of Pemaquid’s patterns in social and economic development with those of roughly contemporary settlements and plantations in Newfoundland, southern Maine, Massachusetts, Virginia, and Maryland provides compelling evidence for the Greene hypothesis.

At the forefront is the question, how accurate an indicator was the primary driving force behind Pemaquid’s raison d’etre – commercial profit - for the rest of 17th-century Anglo-America? The evidence is especially strong. All one has to do is look at the earliest settlements and their seasonal precursors that dotted Maine’s coastline from the present Maine-New Brunswick border. Prior to the establishment of permanent plantations, West Country and London merchants established migratory fishing stations on offshore islands and the coasts of Maine and New Hampshire. Thus appeared the seasonal fishing outposts on Monhegan, Damariscove, Capenawagan, Richmond’s Island, Isles of Shoals, and Cape Ann, Massachusetts. Not one of these enterprises was established with religious motives in mind. Their English proprietors and underwriters saw them as promising opportunities to harvest the region’s natural wealth of fish, timber, and furs. Much the same pattern emerges

when looking northeast to the massive island of Newfoundland. English merchants had sent fishing fleets to the eastern and southeastern shores of the island since the early 16th century. Little changed when these fishing stations were followed by year-round settlements; commercial gain was the primary concern of the English proprietors. Virtually all of the pioneering plantations established along Maine’s coasts during the late 1620s and 1630s were commercial creations. A similar pattern can be seen on the eastern and southeastern shores of Newfoundland. Even the reputed Catholic colony of Ferryland in reality was little more than a proprietary fishing colony. The plans of the original proprietor, Sir George Calvert, to establish a haven for English Catholics failed to materialize after he abandoned the project after only a year on site. The colony of Ferryland, however, continued as a modest but successful fishing plantation. Evidence is not limited to the fishing settlements and isolated trading outposts of Maine and the Atlantic Maritimes. Similar motives drove William Pynchon, the founder of Springfield, Massachusetts and his son and successor John. After a successful start in the Bay as a fur trader and farmer, Pynchon moved west in 1636 where he established a thriving farming business and fur trade empire. Stephen Innes argues that Springfield’s experience typified that of many of the towns in the Connecticut River Valley, the Merrimack Valley, old Plymouth colony, and Cape Cod. Much the same can be said for the settlements of early Virginia and


Maryland. The only difference was they focused on both illusory and real natural resources. For English proprietors such as Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir Francis Popham, Robert Aldworth, and Gyles Elbridge the early fishing stations and the subsequent plantations were western extensions of their commercial empires based in old England.

Further parallels emerge between Pemaquid and a number of these settlements during their earliest years. One feature that was especially prevalent was that of the proprietary colony or plantation. Again, the examples were geographically diverse and numerous, ranging from the fishing settlements of Newfoundland to the tobacco plantations of Virginia and Maryland. What this amounted to was a large autonomous entity under the control and ownership of one or more individuals. Typically, the owners delegated daily oversight of the plantation or colony to an agent or manager. As a consequence, the owners remained in England and tended to their other commercial domestic and overseas endeavors or personal affairs. For English-occupied Maine the prevalence of private proprietary plantations or colonies was nearly universal. West of the Kennebec River, this system essentially rested in the hands of one man, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, a tireless and ambitious promoter of English colonization of New England since the late 1610s. His plans were by far the most ambitious and complex of Maine’s nascent proprietors thanks in large part to the


generous charter he received from Charles I in 1639. As Emerson Baker notes Gorges, as lord proprietor, had “sweeping powers and privileges to build his kingdom.” For his “province of Maine,” the West Country merchant established the settlement of Agamenticus (York) as a city and the capital of “his feudal empire.” A mayor, aldermen, and “forty appointed officials were to run Agamenticus.” The whole of the province was to be overseen by a council that included “a chancellor, a marshal, a judge-marshall, an admiral, a master of ordnance, and a secretary.” They were joined by eight deputies from each of the province’s eight counties. The freeholders elected these representatives. Gorges called for the appointment (by him) of a “lieutenant and eight justices” to manage the province’s judicial system. In reality, it was these eight men that formed the backbone of the political system that oversaw Gorges province.

However, Sir Ferdinando Gorges hopes for his “province of Maine” fell far short, done in by infighting among the planters and smaller proprietors, settlement numbers that fell far short of the thousands that he optimistically projected, and ineffective and antiquated political and judicial systems.5

Beneath Gorges’s province of Maine were the remainder, more modest in geographic and economic scope and political complexity. They ranged from the fishing

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and farming plantation of Falmouth owned by Plymouth merchant Robert Trelawny to individual tracts of land ranging from several thousand acre lots with “full manorial rights” to tiny two acre lots of marshland. By the late 1650s, Sir Ferdinando Gorges fiefdom had been annexed by Massachusetts and soon re-emerged as York county. Out of this failed experiment came the demographic and economic heart of Maine as represented by the region’s core settlements of Kittery, York, Wells, and Saco. These communities provided the bulk of Maine’s English population along with a vast complex of saw and grist mills, farmland, and mercantile interests.6

In many ways, Pemaquid’s experience resembled most closely those of Ferryland and Springfield. Such a connection between Pemaquid and Ferryland is not surprising considering their common thread, fishing. Both began as migratory fishing stations and rapidly graduated to the status of year-round fishing plantations. However, the appearance of permanent settlement did not spell the end of migratory fisheries as Ferryland and Pemaquid continued to be the temporary home for seasonal fishermen throughout the 17th century. Similarly, both plantations remained under the control of individual, private, well-to-do proprietors for most or all of the century, in the case of Ferryland. Socially, there were a number of parallels. Both settlements were dominated by a small powerful elite. The backbone of the work forces of the two plantations, particularly during their early years, consisted of indentured labor and individuals working as hired help for the plantation proprietor, his agent, or other members of the local elite. Local workers, as such, often dependent on these individuals for consumables. The fishermen of Ferryland, just as had their southern

6 Reid, Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland, 105
counterparts, did not limit their labor to fishing. A sizable number engaged in small
scale subsistence agriculture. They raised small vegetable gardens and modest numbers
of cattle and pigs.7

The case of Springfield is a bit more intriguing because of the contrasting
origins and locales of the two plantations. From its inception, Springfield was an
important farming and trading center on Massachusetts western frontier. It was
situated well in Massachusetts interior, a considerable distance from New England’s
coast. This settlement was also not the property of old England merchants, it was the
creation of William Pynchon who lived within the community rather than overseas.

However, beyond these dissimilarities, Springfield had several commonalities
with Pemaquid. Most apparent were the prominent and diverse roles that William and
John Pynchon played in the Connecticut River valley settlement. Their experiences
were remarkably similar to those of Abraham Shurt and Thomas Gardner. Both men
were community leaders who dominated daily life in the middle Connecticut River
valley. They were active in a wide range of commercial enterprises including the fur
trade, farming, land sales, and overseas trade. The Pynchons owned a large and well
supplied truckhouse that served both English and Indian clients. They employed large
numbers of local residents as free and indentured work. As Bernard Bailyn points out,
William Pynchon operated as a “manorial lord.” This relationship was that of patron,
whereby these individuals depended on William Pynchon for work and goods. For
John, his position was slightly different as life moved from the “world of the manor

to the world of the market.” For many, the end result was an ongoing cycle of debt. William and John’s local dominance was not restricted to the economic world. Just as with Thomas Gardner, the Pynchon’s furthered their power base as local military leaders, an important position for those settlements situated on New England’s exposed frontier. In turn, both men held leading political positions. John served as town moderator, Hampshire county judge, and the “magistrates commission, among other things. Finally, John Pynchon operated as a “mediator.” In this role, he acted as the political go-between with local residents and Massachusetts home base in Boston. He served as a mouthpiece for the needs and concerns of valley residents while as an “instrument of General Court policy.”

Because the lives of William and John Pynchon are so well documented, a close examination of the Pynchon’s should shed further light on the relationship Shurt and Gardner had with their employees and the whole of Pemaquid.

Of course, the inevitable question that arises is what contribution does this research provide the study of early English settlement of North America? The answer leads us back to Jack Greene’s settlement hypothesis, that of a world populated by colonies and plantations more apt than not to differ from the religiously-based Puritan settlements of southern New England. Pemaquid, as one of them, underscores Greene’s challenge to scholars to redirect their exploration of early Anglo-America. The story of this fishing plantation perched on New England’s northern frontier is compelling for several reasons. First, it sheds light on a part of New England – the northern frontier - that remains poorly understood by scholars, despite its importance.

8 Innes, Labor in a New Land, 3-43.
to New England's social, economic, and political development. This study of 17th-century Pemaquid addresses, as Edwin Churchill did over twenty years ago, the woefully inadequate image of early New England as comprised of two entities. The first was that of southern New England and consisted of socially, politically, and commercially stable, Puritan settlements of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts. The second was northern New England, a sub-region characterized as little more than a scatter of sparsely populated fishing settlements and trading posts inhabited by lawless, hard-drinking, non-church-going fishermen and traders. As Churchill argued, northern New England, as represented by Falmouth, was far more complex than that. Southern Maine was populated by a mix of planters, fishermen, laborers, and traders living under reasonably well-structured social and political systems. Social conflict, while by no means absent, did not dominate the community. Similarly, this examination of Pemaquid has revealed even another shade of gray within New England, and Maine, in particular. From this research and that of others such as Emerson Baker and Leon Cranmer emerges a world that prevailed east of the Kennebec River, which in a number of ways, differed from that of southern Maine. The settlements of the Sagadahoc region for much of their 17th century history were even more lightly populated than their southern counterparts, had a large fishing and trading population, lacked well-structured and participatory political institutions, were dominated by a tiny elite, and had strong commercial links with French Acadia. At the same time, Sagadahoc region settlements had other traits that they shared with

southern Maine. Both sub-regions had roots as private proprietary entities. Sagadahoc settlements such as Pemaquid, Capenawagan, Sheeps Scot, Arrowsic, and Pejebscot, just as those of west of the Kennebec River, were also vulnerable to Indian incursions and were twice devastated by Indian war parties, an experience that hindered population expansion and economic growth. The vast majority of Sagadahoc residents emigrated or immigrated to the region “as individual families rather than in groups,” as was the case for the bulk of Falmouth’s 17th-century population.10

On more of a personal level, this dissertation delves into the social, cultural, economic, and political impact the borderland or frontier experience had on the inhabitants of early British America. Pemaquid, with its proximity to both Indians and the French, provided its residents with a multitude of opportunities for inter-cultural contact. The study lends further credence to the argument that these experiences were far more than the conflict-dominated experiences presented by scholars well into the 20th century.11 Through frequent trade, political dialogue, and even some social interaction the inhabitants of the English fishing plantation were exposed to people that their counterparts in Massachusetts Bay were much less apt to encounter.

One of the more fascinating and promising aspects of the cultural exchange between Pemaquidians and the Indians and French was the phenomenon of the culture

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broker. Scholars, particularly ethnohistorians, have recently devoted a considerable amount of time to exploring the place of the culture broker in the American frontier. The vast majority of the studies, however, have focused on this individual in the Native American experience. Little research has been devoted to exploring the Euro-Americans, particularly those of English ancestry, who played a similar role in early Anglo-America. Pemaquid's story has shed light on men such as Abraham Shurt, Thomas Gardner, and John Gyles as individuals who regularly crossed over from their world into that of the Indians and French. They did so in many guises: merchants and traders, politicians, military leaders, and friends. These men played important roles in keeping the lines of communication open between the cultures, particularly during times of inter-cultural tension. English culture brokers such as Shurt, Gardner, and Gyles succeeded because of an array of personal and professional skills: their ability to read the moods of the Indians and French, their honesty, and the likelihood that they spoke a certain amount of French and Algonquian. This research and that of Emerson Baker of English traders on the Kennebec River is unearthing a phenomenon that was more common in New England than has been traditionally recognized.

In 1700, the English crown's chief engineer Colonel Wolfgang Romer surveyed Maine's coast, providing an invaluable description of the province's past and present commercial potential for England. In his description of Pemaquid, Romer spoke of

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the plantation's various natural attributes -- "spacious" and "safe harbor" -- and the former settlement's (Jamestown) primary village at Pemaquid Beach of "36 well built houses." He sums the settlement's story up stating that "Pemaquid would have been a place of importance because of its Fishery, its Trade with the Indians and the trade which have arisen from the productions of the Countrey." Pemaquid's historic epitaph is far more than that of a plantation that ultimately failed to reach its potential. In reality, Pemaquid, while it may not have met the expectations of the English crown, was one of New England's leading fisheries and fur trade centers throughout much of the 17th-century. It provided Massachusetts Bay with an important commercial and political link to French Acadia. But beyond that, the experience of this fishing station and year-round plantation has furthered our understanding of not just the development of 17th-century New England but the whole English experience in North America.

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### Table 2 - Pemaquid Residents
**Head of House, 1677-89**

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<td>William Reynolds Jr.</td>
<td>c1643-87+</td>
<td>c1687-89</td>
<td>Cape Porpus, ME?</td>
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<tr>
<td>William Reynolds (sun)</td>
<td>c1687-89?</td>
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<td>Cape Porpus, ME?</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Ridgeway Jr.</td>
<td>1653-1721</td>
<td>c1687-89</td>
<td>Pemaquid Falls</td>
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<tr>
<td>Peter Ripley</td>
<td>1688</td>
<td>c1687-89</td>
<td>Pemaquid Falls</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Sanders</td>
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<td>Fisherman?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Sellman</td>
<td>c1647-pre1700</td>
<td>1680-89</td>
<td>Damariscove</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas Sergeant</td>
<td>c1686-89?</td>
<td>c1687-89</td>
<td>Long Cove/New Hbr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Sharp*</td>
<td>pre-1678-1688+</td>
<td>c1678-86</td>
<td>Pemaquid Beach &amp; Falls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Shaffs</td>
<td>1689</td>
<td>c1687-89</td>
<td>Pemaquid Beach</td>
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<td>Francis Skinner</td>
<td>pre16707-89</td>
<td>1681-89</td>
<td>Pemaquid Beach</td>
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<tr>
<td>George Slaughter</td>
<td>? - pre1716</td>
<td>c1686-89?</td>
<td>New Harbor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Smith</td>
<td>c1689</td>
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<td>New Harbor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roger Sparkes</td>
<td>c1689</td>
<td>c1686-89?</td>
<td>Pemaquid Beach</td>
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<td>John Starkey</td>
<td>c1638-pre1716</td>
<td>c1680-89</td>
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<td>c1687-89</td>
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<td>Planter</td>
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<td>James Stevenson</td>
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<td>Fisherman?</td>
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<tr>
<td>James Stilton</td>
<td>? - 1689</td>
<td>c1680-89</td>
<td>Muscongus</td>
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<td>William Sturt</td>
<td>pre1676-89+</td>
<td>1677-89</td>
<td>Muscongus</td>
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<td>Mathew Taylor</td>
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<td>Job Tookie</td>
<td>c1654-93+</td>
<td>c1686-89?</td>
<td>Damariscove</td>
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<td>Elias Trick</td>
<td>pre1674-pre1737</td>
<td>c1678-89</td>
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<td>Thomas Warden</td>
<td>c1652-1730</td>
<td>c1686-89?</td>
<td>Long Cove/New Hbr</td>
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<tr>
<td>Henry Walton</td>
<td>1689</td>
<td>c1687-89</td>
<td>Pemaquid Beach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Weems</td>
<td>pre1667-1721+</td>
<td>c1687-89</td>
<td>Pemaquid Beach</td>
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Table 2 - Pemaquid Residents
Head of House, 1677-89

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Birth - Death</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Status</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Pemaquid Beach</td>
<td>Fisherman?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John West</td>
<td>1680, 1686</td>
<td>Pemaquid Beach?</td>
<td>NYC, NY</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Lawyer/Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Whitaker</td>
<td>1688</td>
<td>Pemaquid Beach</td>
<td>Haverill, MA</td>
<td>N?</td>
<td>Soldier/N</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Williams</td>
<td>1689</td>
<td>Pemaquid Beach?</td>
<td></td>
<td>?Y</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Alexander Woodrup</td>
<td>? - post 1736</td>
<td>c16807-89</td>
<td>Pemaquid Beach?</td>
<td>NYC, NY</td>
<td>Trader/Y</td>
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<tr>
<td>Susannah (Woodrup)</td>
<td>c1666-1736</td>
<td>c16807-89</td>
<td>Pemaquid Beach?</td>
<td>NYC, NY</td>
<td>Servant, Slave/N</td>
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</table>
Sources for Table 1. Pemaquid Household Heads, 1650-1676:


Sources for Table 2. Pemaquid Household Heads, 1677-1689:


444

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### Table 3 - Marked Kaolin Smoking Pipes, Pemaquid, Maine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Town or Region</th>
<th>Maker</th>
<th>Mark</th>
<th>Prod Date</th>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Site Date</th>
<th>Count</th>
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<td>Bristol</td>
<td></td>
<td>diamond chain &amp; reu</td>
<td></td>
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<td>obi hachure, oval &amp; v</td>
<td></td>
<td>Col P'quid</td>
<td>c1628-1689</td>
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<td>Bristol</td>
<td></td>
<td>obi hachure, oval &amp; v</td>
<td></td>
<td>MC Lot</td>
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<td>Bristol</td>
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<td>obi hachure, oval &amp; v?</td>
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<td>Richard Berryman</td>
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<td>1619-1652</td>
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<td>Bristol</td>
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<td>Plymouth?</td>
<td></td>
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<td>2nd qtr 17C?</td>
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<td>1670s</td>
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<td>buff</td>
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<td>Chesapeake</td>
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<td>Holland</td>
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<td>complex fleur-de-lis</td>
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<td>Col P'quid</td>
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<td>complex fleur-de-lis</td>
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<td>Col P'quid</td>
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<td>simple fleur-de-lis</td>
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<td>Col P'quid</td>
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<td>Holland</td>
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<td>c1670-1680</td>
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<td>c1670-1700</td>
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<td>2nd qtr 17C?</td>
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**Total**: 173
Table 4
Redware Smoking Pipes Pemaquid, Maine

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<th>Type</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Town or Region</th>
<th>Prod Date</th>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Site Date</th>
<th>Sherd Count</th>
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<tr>
<td>7/64 stem</td>
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<td>Mass Bay?</td>
<td>3rd qtr 17C?</td>
<td>Colonial Pemaquid</td>
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<td>3rd qtr 17C?</td>
<td>Colonial Pemaquid</td>
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<td>3rd qtr 17C?</td>
<td>Colonial Pemaquid</td>
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