Library of New-England History

No. III
CHURCH'S PHILIP'S WAR

Part II
The History
OF THE
EASTERN EXPEDITIONS
Of 1689, 1690, 1692, 1696, and 1704
AGAINST THE INDIANS AND FRENCH
By BENJAMIN CHURCH
WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES
By HENRY MARTYN DEXTER

Boston
J. K. WIGGIN AND WM. PARSONS LUNT
MDCCCLXVII
1867
T was not anticipated, when the First Part of these "Entertaining Passages" was issued, in the summer of 1865, that so long a period would elapse before the publication of the Second Part, relating to the later Eastern Expeditions. But various labors and engagements have necessarily delayed the progress and completion of the work, both of editing and printing, until the present time. It is hoped that the kind welcome accorded to the portion relating to Philip's War may not be withheld from this completing glance at the later Indian warfare, which engaged the prowess, if it did not materially augment the fame, of the brave man from whose later reminiscences the story was set down.

The endeavor has been constantly in mind to make this a fit companion volume for the First Part,—in carefulness and abundance of illustration, in exact accuracy of reprint, and in all general features.
The map is a "True Copy from an Ancient Plan of E. - Hutchinson Esq. &c. &c.," which was reproduced from an engraving of 1753, to accompany Mr. S. G. Drake's late edition of Baylies's "Historical Memoir of the Colony of New Plymouth"; and has been kindly granted for use by that gentleman,—for whose varied courtesies in the preparation of these reprints their editor desires here to express his gratitude.

In addition to acknowledgments already tendered, it is due also that thankful mention should here be made of the kindness of Dr. A. G. Wilbor, of Boston, and Mr. A. E. Cutter, of Charlestown, for the loan of copies of the rare first edition, to aid the accuracy of the work of revision.

Hillside, Roxbury,
12th April, 1867.

H. M. D.
HEN the murder of Sassamon, in the winter of 1676, led to the breaking-out of "Philip's War," Plymouth had been settled fifty-four years; Dover, fifty-one; Boston, forty-four; Wethersfield, forty; Providence, thirty-eight; and Kittery, twenty-seven. There appear to have been then, within the boundaries of what is now Maine, thirteen towns and plantations;* within what is now New Hampshire,† four; within what is now Massachusetts, sixty-four;‡

* Kittery; York; Wells; Cape Porpoise; Saco; Scarborough; Falmouth; Piscataqua; the plantations on the Sagadahoc and Kennebec; Sheepscot and Capenewagen; Damariscotta; Pemaquid; Monhegan, with Gorges Islands and the opposite settlements upon the mainland.
† Dover, Portsmouth, Exeter, Hampton.
‡ Plymouth, Salem, Charlestown, Boston, Dorchester, Roxbury, Watertown, Medford, Cambridge, Ipswich, Newbury, Springfield, Concord, Weymouth, Dedham, Braintree, Lynn, Hingham, Scituate, Duxbury, Barnstable, Sandwich, Yarmouth, Gloucester, Rowley, Salisbury, Sudbury, Woburn, Reading, Eastham, Taunton, Marshfield, Haverhill, Weirham, Andover, Hull, Bridgewater, Manchester, Rehoboth, Marblehead, Middleborough, Medfield, Topsfield, Malden, Northampton, Chelmsford, Billerica, Groton,
HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

within what is now Rhode Island, six;* within what is now Connecticut, twenty-three.† Vermont, as yet, was not. It is probable that the entire population of New England at this time, excluding Indians, was not far from eighty thousand.‡

The best computation suggests, on the same territory, at the same time, not far from 10,500 Indians, distributed among the tribes as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pequots</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narragansets</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pokanokets, Nauses, &amp;c.</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pautuckets</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nipmuks</td>
<td>2,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>10,500</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the war broke out, Josias Winslow was Governor of Plymouth Colony — where William Bradford had been dead seventeen years; Miles Standish, eighteen; Edward Winslow, nineteen; and William Brewster, thirty; and where John Howland had been dead scarcely one year.


* Providence, Newport, Portsmouth, Warwick, Westerly, and New Shoreham (Block Island).
‡ See estimate of 78,416 in Coll. Am. Statis. Assoc. i: 141.
Indeed, of that one-half of the Mayflower's company (fifty) who survived the first year of the settlement, at least thirteen were still in the land of the living, though not all still within the limits of the Old Colony. George Soule and John Alden, in a hale old age, resided at Duxbury; and Susannah White — who had enjoyed the singular honor of being first the first mother in the new Colony, and then the first bride — was keeping still the house at Careswell, which her second husband, the honored Gov. Edward Winslow, had left to her possession. These three were already adults when they first saw the New World. And, of the children who romped along the Mayflower's decks, there were still living Resolved White, who seems now to have been a resident of Salem; Giles and Constantia Hopkins, both at Eastham, — the latter the widow of Nicholas Snow; Henry Sampson, of Duxbury; Joseph Rogers, of Eastham; Samuel Fuller, of Barnstable; Samuel Eaton, of Middleborough; (Rev.) John Cooke, of Dartmouth; Mary Allerton, — who was destined to be the last survivor of the Mayflower company, dying in 1699, æt. 89, — who still lived at Plymouth with her venerable and excellent husband, Elder Thomas Cushman, who came in the "Fortune," 1621; and Mary Chilton, now the recent widow of John Winslow, of Boston. Nathaniel Morton, who, five years before, had published his *New-England's Memorial*, was still Secretary of the Colony.
In Massachusetts, John Leverett was Governor, and Edward Rawson, Secretary. Here Winthrop and Shepard had been dead twenty-five years; John Cotton, twenty-two; Dudley, twenty-one; Saltonstall, sixteen; John Norton, eleven; Richard Mather, five; John Allin, three; and John Davenport and Charles Chauncy, two; and here Thomas Cobbett still lived at the age of sixty-six, John Eliot at seventy, and Simon Bradstreet at seventy-seven.

William Coddington was Governor, and John Sanford Recorder, of the "Providence Plantations," where Roger Williams was still hale and hearty (and ready to earn a new title as "Captain" in this war) at the age of seventy-five; and William Blaxton was very soon to be carried from his dreams among his folios to his rest on the banks of that beautiful river, which bears his name as it ripples by his grave.

John Winthrop (son of Gov. John of Massachusetts) was Governor of the now united Colonies of Connecticut and New Haven; where Samuel Eaton had been dead thirty-two years; Thomas Hooker, twenty-seven; Theophilus Eaton, seventeen; Samuel Stone, eleven; and John Warham, four.

The settlements in what is now Maine had at this time but a single Congregational Church. In what is now New Hampshire, there were three.* In what is now Vermont,

* One had been gathered at Exeter and no record exists of the formation in 1638, but it became extinct in 1641; of another until 1698. 

xii
there was none. In Massachusetts, there were fifty-seven. In Rhode Island, there was none. In Connecticut, there were twenty-one.

These, with their pastors,—so far as known,—at the breaking-out of the war, were the following; arranged in the order of their formation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Pastor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plymouth</td>
<td>1620</td>
<td>John Cotton, Jr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>1629</td>
<td>John Higginson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston, First Church</td>
<td>1630</td>
<td>James Allen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>1630</td>
<td>Nathaniel Chauncey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watertown</td>
<td>1630</td>
<td>John Sherman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roxbury</td>
<td>1632</td>
<td>John Eliot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lynn</td>
<td>1632</td>
<td>Samuel Whiting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duxbury</td>
<td>1632</td>
<td>John Holmes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marshfield</td>
<td>1632</td>
<td>Samuel Arnold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charlestown</td>
<td>1632</td>
<td>Thomas Shepard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hartford</td>
<td>1633</td>
<td>Joseph Haynes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ipswich</td>
<td>1634</td>
<td>Thomas Cobbet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newbury</td>
<td>1635</td>
<td>Thomas Parker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hingham</td>
<td>1635</td>
<td>Peter Hobart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weymouth</td>
<td>1635</td>
<td>Samuel Torrey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge</td>
<td>1636</td>
<td>Urian Oaks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concord</td>
<td>1636</td>
<td>Edward Bulkley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorchester</td>
<td>1636</td>
<td>Josiah Flint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Springfield</td>
<td>1637</td>
<td>Pelatiah Glover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taunton</td>
<td>1637</td>
<td>George Shove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandwich</td>
<td>1638</td>
<td>John Smith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hampton</td>
<td>1638</td>
<td>Seaborn Cotton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dover</td>
<td>1638</td>
<td>John Reyner, Jr.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

xiii
HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

Salisbury (1638) .......... John Wheelwright.
Dedham (1638) .......... William Adams.
Quincy (1639) .......... Moses Fiske.
New Haven (1639) .......... Nicholas Street.
Milford (1639) .......... Roger Newton.
Barnstable (1639) .......... Thomas Walley.
Scituate (1639) .......... Nicholas Baker.
Sudbury (1640) .......... Edmund Browne.
Stratford (1640) .......... No pastor.
Edgartown (1641) .......... No pastor.
Stamford (1641) .......... Eliphalet [?] Jones.
Wethersfield (1641) .......... Gershom Bulkley.
Woburn (1642) .......... Thomas Carter.
Gloucester (1642) .......... John Emerson.
Scituate, Second Church (1642) .......... William Witherell.
Guilford (1643) .......... Joseph Eliot.
Hull (1644) .......... Zechariah Whitman.
Rehoboth (1644) .......... Noah Newman.
Haverhill (1645) .......... John Ward.
Andover, North (1645) .......... Francis Dane.
Reading, South (1645) .......... John Brock.
Topsfield (1645) .......... { William Perkins.
{ Jeremiah Hobart.
Manchester (1645) .......... No pastor.
Eastham (1646) .......... Samuel Treat.
Branford (1647) .......... John Bowers.
Saybrook (1646) .......... Thomas Buckingham.
Malden (1649) .......... Michael Wigglesworth.
Fairfield (1650) .......... Samuel Wakeman.
Boston, Old North (1650) .......... Increase Mather.
Medfield (1651) .......... John Wilson.
HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

Norwalk (1652) ........................................ Thomas Hanford.
Farmington (1652) ........................................ Samuel Hooker.
Chelmsford (1653) ........................................ John Fiske.
Beverly (1657) ............................................. John Hale.
Hadley (1659) ............................................. John Russell.
Lancaster (1660) .......................................... Joseph Rowlandson.
Norwich (1660) ........................................... Joseph Rowlandson.
Northampton (1661) ...................................... Solomon Stoddard.
Billerica (1663) ........................................... Samuel Whiting.
Wenham (1663) ............................................. No pastor.
Bridgewater, West (1664) ............................... James Keith.
Groton (1664) ............................................. Samuel Willard.
Newton, Center (1664) ................................... Nehemiah Hobart.
Marlborough (1666) ..................................... William Brimsmead.
Killingworth (1667) ...................................... John Woodbridge.
Mendon (1667) ............................................. Joseph Emerson.
Amesbury (1668) .......................................... Thomas Wells.
Middletown (1668) ....................................... Nathaniel Collins.
Boston, Old South (1669) ............................... Thomas Thatcher.
Hartford, Second (1669) ................................. Joseph Haynes.
Windsor, Second (1669) ................................. Benjamin Woodbridge.
Woodbury (1670) ......................................... Zechariah Walker.
Greenwich (1670) ........................................ No pastor.
Hatfield (1670) ........................................... Hope Atherton.
Portsmouth (1671) ....................................... Joshua Moody.
Tisbury (1673) ............................................. John Mayhew.
York (1673) ................................................ Shubael Dummer.

Besides these eighty-two regular Congregational churches, there were six or seven Indian missionary churches; five Baptist churches — one founded at Rehoboth (Swansey) in 1663, one at Boston in 1665, and three in Rhode Island: — the First Providence (1639), the First
HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

Newport (1644), and the Second Newport (1656)—a society of Friends, which had been formed at Newport in 1656–7; and a church of Seventh-day Baptists, formed at Newport in December, 1671.

We have seen that the estimated number of Indians on the territory of New England at this time, was between ten and eleven thousand. Of these, about four thousand were then reckoned as "Praying Indians," and seem to have been won to some comprehension and practice of Christianity. According to Gookin, whose "Historical Collections of the Indians in New-England" bears date 7th Dec., 1674,* just before the breaking-out of Philip's War, these were, in large part, distributed as follows, viz:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nonantum (Natick)</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punapon (Stoughton)</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hassanamesit (Gratton)</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okommakamesit (Marlborough)</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wamset (Tewksbury)</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nashobob (Littleton)</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magnaquaqog (Hopkinton)</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauckage (Oxford)</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chabanakongkonu (Dudley)</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mamniesit (S.E. Woodstock)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantisset (S.E. Woodstock)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wabnisset (S.W. Woodstock)</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Packachoog (Worcester)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waukamung (Usbridge)</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meashawa and Pmahokanit (Truro and Wellfleet)</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potamunquant and Narwett (Eastham)</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manamoyik (Chatham)</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savwottukett (Harwich), Nobspunstitt, Mattakes, and Weequack (Yarmouth and Barnstable)</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satnilt, Pawpocsit, Coatnte, Masspee, and Wakoquet (Mashpee)</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coltaunmit, Ashimnitt, Weesquohs (Mashpee and Sandwich)</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pitapogut, Wawayantaik, and So-kones (Wareham and Falmouth)</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotukikut, Assoowamoos (Middleborough)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitteanmut (Sandwich)</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nop (Martha's Vineyard) and Chaflquinndick</td>
<td>1500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nantucket</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rev. Richard Bourne, missionary among the Indians in the Plymouth Colony, reported, in 1674, that one hundred and forty-two could read their own language, seventy-two could write it, and nine could read English.*

It will be seen from this enumeration, that the seat of the successes of the benevolent labor of John Eliot and his compeers was upon the Elizabeth Islands, upon Cape Cod, and in the country neighboring Boston; the great inland and remoter tribes remaining wholly unreached or unaffected by them.

The general aspect of New England at this time, Dr. Palfrey has admirably sketched in a few words. He says:—

"Along a line of rugged coast, from the Penobscot to the Hudson, are scattered settlements of Englishmen, at unequal distances from each other,—closely grouped together about midway of that line, farther apart at the extremities. Almost all of them are reached by tide-water: a very few have been planted in detached spots in the interior; the most distant of these being about a hundred miles from the sea, whether measured from the east or from the south. The surrounding country is not occupied, but roamed over by savages."†

Maine was yet rough and primitive, in the extreme, in the quality of its settlers. Rhode Island was the paradise of schemers and dreamers, and come-outers of all sorts; from the high-souled advocate of pure and entire toleration down to those fussy and unendurable champions of

queer and petty principles, who were such crooked sticks by nature that they could not lie still even there. Plymouth, badly situated both for commerce and culture, with no good harbor on her coast, and with her thin and sandy soil, had been able, even with the best efforts of her noble men, to move but very slowly forward in the path of empire. While, from the fact that her teachers were taken from her repeatedly by the superior attractions offered by wealthier neighbors, she had been compelled to occupy a lower place in the relative scale, than that to which she would have been entitled from the purity and worth of her founders, and her general patient industry. Massachusetts had advanced more rapidly. Every thing helped her, until she was strong, not merely relatively as compared with her neighbors, but as looked at from the mother-country across the sea. Connecticut, too, was thriving. She had plenty of good land, wise and thrifty oversight, and general prosperity.

Dr. Palfrey draws the picture of daily life with a skilful pencil; thus:

"In the three associated Colonies, there is great similarity in the ordinary occupations and pursuits. Most adults of both sexes work hard, and nearly all the children go to school. The greater part of the men get a living by farm labor: they provide bread and meat, milk, butter and cheese, for their own tables, and raise stock to sell in the West Indies for money with which to buy foreign commodities. But they are not all farmers. A portion are lumberers, plying the axe
HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

through the winter in the thick pine forests, and, at the return of spring, floating down their rafts to a sure and profitable market. Another portion are fishermen, familiar with the haunts of the cod, the mackerel, and the whale, and with all perils of the sea. In the principal towns, various classes of artisans pursue a lucrative trade. The country furnishes some staples for an advantageous foreign commerce; and, especially in Boston, not a few merchants have grown rich.”

Peace had reigned in these Colonies since the close of the Pequot war in the spring of 1636, — nearly forty years. The last colonist who had gained experience in savage warfare in that short but fierce struggle was now dead, or too old for service; while the youngest immigrants who had been trained to arms abroad were now in the same category. Slight and temporary misunderstandings and quarrels had taken place now and then; but the wise and scrupulously just policy which the Pilgrims at Plymouth had first initiated with the good Massasoit, had prevailed, and borne its natural and pleasant fruit. On the whole, the state of the Indians had been improved by the settling of the English at their side. Though they had parted with a good deal of the land over which they had been accustomed to roam, they had still enough reserved for their present wants. They had bettered their position, in their fight with nature for food and shelter, by many implements and suggestions from the superior culture of their white neighbors. And although their exposure to

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

the seductive "fire-water" had wrought them harm, and they were sometimes imposed upon by the cunning greed of crafty and unscrupulous settlers, the Colonial governments were always administered in the endeavor to do them justice and afford them protection; and the proceeds of their hunting, or of their slight farming, now found ready and remunerative sale. In the single matter of the— to the English undesired, yet gradually accomplished— exchange of his bow and flint dagger and stone tomahawk, for the musket, hatchet, and hunting-knife of the white man, the Indian gained, for the legitimate uses of his own savage life, more than all which he had lost from the advent of civilization to these shores.

Massasoit died in 1661–2, and was succeeded in the sachemship of the Wampanoags by his eldest son, Alexander [Mooanam, Wamsutta]. His life was short after his accession. In a few months' time, it was rumored that he was plotting with the Narragansetts,—the bugbear of the Colonies on the west, as the Maquas were on the northwest,—and the Plymouth government thought the matter of sufficient consequence to be looked into. It is not improbable that an impression had been for some time gaining ground, that when the venerable sachem, who had welcomed Bradford and Winslow and their company at Patuxet, and had become their abiding friend, had passed away, certain tendencies toward dis-
turbance, on which he had kept a tight rein, and which others had repressed through respect for him, might find development. So a message was sent to Alexander to come to Plymouth, and talk over affairs. He ignored the invitation. As the Court had broached the subject, they felt that the general safety required that their summons should not be disregarded in that way; so they sent an armed party, under Majors Winslow and Bradford, to find and bring him. They found him not far off, at Monponset (in Halifax), and then, "freely and readily, without the least hesitancy,"* he went with them. He told them that he had intended to come when first invited, but wanted to delay long enough to consult Mr. Willett, in whom he had confidence. Hubbard's story† is, that when he had been dismissed on the promise to send his son as a hostage, he was so enraged at the indignities put upon him, that he fell into a fever, of which he died before he got half-way home. And out of this statement has grown the general representation, that his ill-treatment at the hands of the English was the means of his death, and was laid up as one prominent cause of the war, twelve years later. But the letter of Rev. John Cotton to Increase Mather,—which Judge Davis prints in the appendix of the Memorial, and which has every element of trustworthiness,—from the dictation of Major Bradford,

* Davis's Morton's Memorial, 426.  † Narrative, 9.
one of the chief actors, and a most competent witness, desiring expressly to correct Hubbard, puts an entirely different construction upon the event, and one intrinsically much more in harmony with the probabilities of the case. Mr. Cotton says,—

"Reports being here, that Alexander was plotting or privy to plots against the English, authority sent to him to come down. He came not. Whereupon Maj. Winslow was sent to fetch him. Maj. Bradford with some others went with him. At Munponset river (a place not many miles hence) they found Alexander with about eight men and sundry squaws. He was there about getting canoes. He and his men were at breakfast under their shelter, their guns being without. They saw the English coming, but continued eating: and Mr. Winslow telling their business, Alexander, freely and readily, without the least hesitancy, consented to go, giving his reason why he came not to the Court before; viz., because he waited for Captain Willet's return from the Dutch, being desirous to speak with him first. They brought him to Mr. Collier's, that day, and Governour Prince living remote, at Eastham, those few magistrates, who were at hand, issued the matter peaceably, and immediately dismissed Alexander to return home, which he did, part of the way: but in two or three days after, he returned and went to Maj. Winslow's house, intending thence to travel into the Bay and so home; but at the Major's house he was taken very sick, and was, by water, conveyed to Mr. Bradford's, and thence carried upon the shoulders of his men to Tetehequet river,* and thence, in canoes, home, and about two or three days after died."

Upon his decease, his brother Philip [Pometacom] reigned in his stead. One of Philip's first acts was to renew the ancient covenant between his father and the

* Titicut, or Taunton Great River.
colonists; and five years passed quietly away, when a vague charge was made against him of being willing to plot with the French or Dutch against the English. This he denounced as a calumny of Ninigret of Niantic, and the matter subsided. After nearly four years more, another rumor of his treachery gained so much ground as to demand investigation, and awaken solicitude at both Plymouth and Boston. An investigation revealed proofs of bad faith on his part; and a bad spirit was clearly manifested by him, when questioned concerning them. But this matter was finally issued in his renewed engagements of fealty. Three years passed again, when the Governor of Plymouth was informed by Sassamon—a "praying" Indian, who had been schoolmaster at Natick, and who, being able to write as well as read, had sometimes served Philip with his pen,—that there were suspicious circumstances in Philip’s camp, which gave color to the rumor that he was endeavoring to excite other sachems to war. This information was given under a demanded pledge of secrecy, as Sassamon said that Philip’s Indians would kill him if they suspected him as its source. It somehow leaked out to Philip’s ear, that the Governor of Plymouth had heard something to his disadvantage, and would send for him to come to the next Court to explain it. He therefore resolved to anticipate the matter by going without summons. He went to Ply-
mouth, accordingly, and saw the Assistants,—the Court not yet being in session,—and protested his innocence. They were not satisfied; but hoped that he would be led to desist by his knowledge of their discovery of his plans, and so dismissed him in a friendly manner, with a warning, that, should further evidence come up, they should be obliged to demand his arms for safe keeping.

Philip went back to Mount Hope; and, a few days after, Sassamon was missing. On search, his hat and gun were found on the ice of Assawompset Pond, in Middleborough, and his body under the ice. It was dragged out, and buried; and afterwards exhumed and examined, when marks of violence indicating murder, and not accidental drowning, became manifest. Three Indians were soon arrested on suspicion, and tried by a jury, to which six grave friend Indians were added, to insure fairness in the verdict. An Indian came forward and testified, that, by accident, from the top of a hill, he had witnessed the scene, and that Sassamon had been murdered by these prisoners. One of the prisoners subsequently confessed that he had stood by while the others did the deed. The jury convicted and sentenced the murderers, the Indians concurring; whereupon two were hanged, and the third, after a respite of two or three weeks, was shot.

This seems immediately to have promoted the outbreak, which took place with very little delay; the first
English blood being shed on or about the 24th June, 1675.*

It has been usual to picture Philip as a great king, a sagacious warrior, and a far-sighted patriot; and to represent him as having been for years engaged in planning and perfecting a comprehensive conspiracy among all the Indian tribes on the New-England territory—and even upon that of New York—for the purpose of sweeping away, by one concerted blow, the hated white usurper, and of recovering to their own savage uses the whole of their ancient hunting-grounds. It has been usual to apologize for the ill success of the actual strife, by asserting that it was so hurried up by the death of Sassamon, that the first blow was struck before due preparations to follow it up could be completed.

Dr. Palfrey has shown, one would think to the general conviction, that there is a very small foundation of truth indeed on which to build this majestic, one might almost say magnificent, superstructure. He has shown that the English had used Philip habitually well; that he had no real grounds of complaint against them; that his frequent sales of land to them implies no unwillingness that they should have his hunting-grounds if they would pay for them, as they did; that he gave no indications of greatness, whether in council or conflict; that there is no proof

* See Part I. p. 18.
that he directed or approved those hostilities about Mount Hope with which the war began; that his movements immediately after indicated a much keener anxiety for his own personal safety than for the extinction of the colonists; that there is nothing to show that he directed the outbreaks which followed, and no evidence that he was personally present and active in any particular fight; that there was no manifestation of savage wisdom on the part of anybody in the management of the war; that attacks upon particular, much-exposed localities were delayed for weeks and months, which, if any such general conspiracy existed as has been claimed, it is incredible should not have been simultaneous, or nearly so, when they would have been overwhelming; that, instead of hastening to join his waning fortunes with the Eastern Indians, when misfortune pressed him in his ancient haunts,—as he could have done in two days' easy march,—Philip retreated to the den whence he had originally gone forth, and there was shot ingloriously, while, unattended, he was attempting to run away; and that the war was waged at the Eastward, after his death, with more vigor than during his life, for nearly two whole years. In short, Dr. Palfrey makes it out,—and, as it would seem, on the best evidence,—that, instead of being a far-reaching, well-organized campaign, what we commonly call "Philip's War" was merely a succession of unconsidered and indiscriminate murders
and pillages, taken up by one body of savages after another, as the intelligence of the attractive example of others reached them; and rightfully connected with his name mainly as having been led off by those bands who centred around Sowams, and over whom he had partial control.*

The cotemporaneous records do certainly bear out this general judgment. There is a tradition mentioned by Callender,† as derived both from the white settlers in the vicinity of Mount Hope and from those Indians who survived the struggle, that Philip and his elder chiefs were utterly averse to the war. Increase Mather never seems to have heard of the all-embracing conspiracy, or of Philip’s great statesmanship. Even Cotton Mather — much as one would think he would have enjoyed it — never mentions either. Hubbard is the only early writer who says anything on which the popular judgment could be based. He does say that Philip had been “plotting with all the Indians round about,” &c.; but he gives only vague rumor from some prisoners, as his authority, and does not seem himself to have attributed to his own words the importance even which they might naturally convey.

Easton — it is difficult to decide how much of accuracy and weight is to be attributed to the testimony lately published in his name — gives the following account of an

interview which he asserts to have been held between Philip and some Rhode-Islanders just before the outbreak. He says: *

"[Philip] came himself unarmed, and about 40 of his Men armed. Then 5 of us went over [Trip's Ferry], 3 wear Magistrates. We fete veri friendly together. We told him our bines was to indever that they might not refuse or do Rong. They faid that was well; they had dun no Rong, the Englifh ronged them. We faid we knew the Englifh faid the Indians ronged them, and the Indians faid the Englifh ronged them, but our Desier was the Quarrell might rightly be defided, in the beft Way, and not as Dogs defided their Quarrells. The Indians owned y\(^7\) fighting was the worft Way; then they propounded how Right might take Place. We faid by Arbitration. They faid that all Englifh agreed againft them, and so by Arbitration they had had much Rong; mani Miles square of Land fo taken from them, for Englifh would have Englifh Arbitrators; and once they were perfuaded to give in their Arms y\(^7\) thereby Jealousy might be removed, and the Englifh having their Arms wold not deliver them as they had promifed, untiil they contented to pay a 100\(^4\), and now they had not fo much sum or mony; y\(^7\) they wear as good be kiled as leave all ther Liuedlyhode."

"We faid they might chufe a Indian King, and the Englifh might chufe the Governor of New Yorke, y\(^7\) nether had cafe to fay either wear Parties in the Diferance. They faid they had not heard of y\(^7\) Way, and faid we onefly fpoke, fo we wear perfuaided if y\(^7\) Way had bine tendered they would have accepted. We did endeavor not to hear their Complaints, faid it was not convenient for us now to confider of, but to indever to prevent War; faid to them when in War againft Englifh, Blood was fpilt, y\(^7\) ingaged all Englishmen, for we wear to be all under one King; we knew what their Complaints wold be, and in our Colony had removed some of them in fending for Indian Rulers in what the Crime concerned Indians Lives, which they veri lovingly

* A Relation of the Indyan Warr, by Mr. Easton, &c., pp. 7-16.

xxviii
accepted, and agreed with us to their Execution, and said so they were
able to satisfie their Subjects when they knew an Indian sufered duly,
but said in what was only between their Indians and not in Townships,
ye we had purchas'd, they wold not have us prosecute, and ye they had
a great Fear to have ani of ther Indians shuld be caled or forced to be
Christin Indians. Thay said ye such wer in everi thing more mis-
chievous, only Diffemblers, and then the English made them not sub-
ject to ther Kings, and by their lying to rong ther Kings. We knew it
to be true, and we proming them ye however in Government to Indians
all should be alike, and ye we knew it was our King's will it should be so,
ye altho we wear weaker than other Colonies, they having submited to
our King to protec' them, others dared not otherwise to molest them;
expressed they took that to be well, that we had littell Caffe to doute,
but that to us under the King they would have yielded to our Deter-
minations in what ani should have complained to us against them.

"But Philip charged it to be difoneftly in us to put of the Hering to
iuft Complaints, therefore we contented to hear them. They said they
had bine the first in doing Good to the English, and the English the
first in doing Rong; said when the English first came, the King's Father
was as a great Man, and the English as a littell Child; he constrained
other Indians from ronging the English, and gave them Corn and
shewed them how to plant, and was free to do them ani Good, and had
let them have a 100 Times more Land than now the King had for his
own Peopell. But ther Kings Brother, when he was King, came miser-
ably to dy by being forced to Court, as they judge poynoned. And
another Greavance was if 20 of there onest Indians testified that a
Englishman had dun them Rong, it was as nothing; and if but one of
their worft Indians testified against any Indian or ther King, when it
pleeved the English it was fultiant. Another Greavance was, when
their King fold Land, the English wold say, it was more than they
agreed to, and a Writing must be prove against all them, and fum of
their Kings had dun Rong to fell so much. He left his Peopell none,
and fum being given to Drunknes the English made them drunk and
then cheated them in Bargains, but now ther kings wear forwarned not for to part with Land, for nothing in Cumparison to the Value thereof. Now home the Englifh had owned for King or Queen, they wold dif-inherent and make another King that wold give or fell them thefe Lands; that now, they had no Hopes left to kepe ani Land. Another Grievance, the English Catell and Horfes till incrafed; that when they removed 30 Mile from where Englifh had ani thing to do, they could not kepe ther Corn from being fpoyled, thay never being ifed to fence, and thoft when the Englifh boft Land of them thay wold have kept their Catell upon ther owne Land. Another Grievance, the English were fo eager to fell the Indians Lickers, y*: moft of the Indians fpent all in Drynknes, and then rauved upon the sober Indians, and thay did believe often did hurt the English Catell, and ther King could not pre- vent it.

"We knew before, these were their grand Complaints, but then we only indevered to perfuaid y: all Complaints might be righted without War, but could have no other Anfwer but that thay had not heard of that Way for the Governor of Yorke and an Indian King to have the Hearing of it. We had Cafe to think in y: had bine tendered it wold have bine accepted. We indevered y: however thay should lay downe the War, for the Englifh wear to Strong for them; thay said, then the English shoud do to them as they did when thay wear to strong for the Englifh.

"So we departed without ani Difcurtioufnes, and fudingly had Letter from Plimoth Governor thay intended in Arms to conforem Philip, but no Information what y: was thay required, or w: Termes he refufed to have their Quarrell defided; and in a Weke's Time after we had bine with the Indians the War thus begun."

If this is authentic, it is interesting, and indicates the utmost that—from his side of the question—a wily savage could then suggest in extenuation of the proposed outbreak. The insinuated poisoning of Alexander may
HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

have been the utterance of an honest suspicion on the part of Philip and his friends: it sounds more like an advantage taken of the impossibility of contrary proof, to urge a conscious and mischievous slander. Nor is there any thing in what Easton says to give color to the notion of a general conspiracy among all the tribes to crush out the whites.

The results of the war were heavy to the Colonies. Ten or twelve towns were utterly destroyed, and two-score of others more or less damaged and depopulated. From five to six hundred men fell in the various fights, were murdered in stealthy assaults, or were carried away captive, never to return. More than £100,000 were expended in the struggle; and, at its close, it is estimated that the Old Colony was left under a debt which exceeded the value of the entire personal property of its people! As a natural consequence, the Plymouth Colonists were nearly discouraged. But, from her thin soil and her various industries, she gradually pushed on to square herself with the world, until she had paid the last dollar of principal and interest!

The causes which aroused those later hostilities, which called out the several Eastern Expeditions recounted in this Second Part, were not different essentially from those which lay at the root of "Philip's War," except as the intermeddling of the French may have had to do with
HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

exciting, exasperating, and sustaining them. The Indians grew more and more dissatisfied as they saw the Colonists advancing in wealth and power, and every year fixing themselves with a firmer hold upon the soil. It was this inherent hostility between a savage race and that civilized one which it sees to be too strong for it, and to be menacing its future, added to the Indian's natural love for blood and pillage, which stimulated attacks which were sought to be excused by pretences that this treaty had not been faithfully kept, or that promise had not been honestly performed.

It may be doubted, however, whether even the fierce savage of the eastern wilds would not have chosen to retreat from the coasts toward the Five Nations without risking the chances of conflict, if he had not been urged on and aided and abetted even in his brutalest work, by the deadly hatred then borne by the French settler to his English competitor; in which the old hostility of race was supplemented and intensified by the ferocity of Jesuit-fanned fanaticism.

When the echoes of the last hearty war-whoop died away among the New-England hills, a new leaf was turned in her history. Even her strong men breathed freer as they wrought along her frontiers; and her women slept sweeter, with their little ones around them, everywhere under the deep shadows of her ancestral woods.
HISTORY

OF THE

EASTERN EXPEDITIONS.
A further Account of the Actions in the more later Wars against the Common Enemy and Indian Rebels in the Eastern Parts, under the Command of the aforesaid Capt. Benj. Church:

In the time of Sir Edmund Andros's Government began that bloody War in the Eastern Parts of New-England; so that immediately Sir Edmund sent an Express for Capt. Church; who then being at Little Compton, received it on a Lords Day in land; and, 13 June, that of Connecticut, which he claimed by supplementary instructions. After the news of the landing of the Prince of Orange reached Boston, an insurrection took place there 18 April, 1689, and Andros was imprisoned. In Feb., 1690, he was sent home to England, by command of William III., who, in 1692, appointed him Governor of Virginia, where he for the first time had a popular administration, but returned to England in 1699; was Governor of Guernsey from 1704 to 1706; and died in London, Feb., 1714, at the age of 82. [Governors of Mass. Bay, 403-422.]

1 See Introduction, for some account of the causes which led to these "more later wars."
2 Sir Edmund Andros was born in Guernsey in 1632; went into the army, where, through favor of the Duke of York, he received promotion; in 1664 was appointed Governor of the Duke's territories in America; arrived at New York 31 Oct., 1674; soon began to superintend the moral and religious, as well as the civil affairs of the people; in 1675, attempted in vain to extend his authority over Connecticut. In Feb., 1685, the Duke of York, succeeding to the throne as James II., appointed Andros Governor of all the New-England Colonies except Connecticut. He arrived at Boston 20 Dec., 1686, and began to remove old officers, overturn existing institutions, and enter upon a practical despotism. 12 Jan., 1687, he assumed the Government of Rhode Island; and, 13 June, that of Connecticut, which he claimed by supplementary instructions. After the news of the landing of the Prince of Orange reached Boston, an insurrection took place there 18 April, 1689, and Andros was imprisoned. In Feb., 1690, he was sent home to England, by command of William III., who, in 1692, appointed him Governor of Virginia, where he for the first time had a popular administration, but returned to England in 1699; was Governor of Guernsey from 1704 to 1706; and died in London, Feb., 1714, at the age of 82. [Governors of Mass. Bay, 403-422.]
3 Capt. Church must have been at Sachem on a transient visit, as he was at this time a resident of Bristol. [See Introductory Memoir, Part I., of this work, p. xxviii.]
4 The date of this occurrence would seem to be approximately fixed by the
the afternoon Meeting; going home after Meeting, took his Horfe and set out for Boston, as ordered; and by Sun rife next Morning got to Brantry, where he met with Col. Page on Horfe-back, going to Weymouth and Hingham to raise Forces to go East; who said he was glad to see him, and that his Excellency would be as glad to see him in Boston so early: so parting, he soon got to Boston,

probability that it must have been between the 20 Oct., 1688, when Andros issued his proclamation seeking to secure peace among the Eastern Indians, and that time in the following November (Hutchinson [Hist. Mass. i: 331] says "in the beginning of November"; Willis [Hist. Portland (ed. 1865), 274] says "early in November"; Williamson [Hist. Maine, i: 389] says "late in November"), when he started, with his force of 700 or 800 men, for the Eastern country.

What was then known as Braintree is now known as Quincy; the present Braintree being at that time called Monatignot. [Address at the opening of the new Town Hall in Braintree, July 29, 1858, by Hon. C. F. Adams, 67; Vinton Memorial, 463].

Nicholas Paige was in Boston in 1665; married Ann, daughter of Edward Keayne, and widow of Edward Lane (which Ann was tried for adultery 23 May, 1666, and made confession of "much wickedness"); served in Philip's War, and was witness to articles of peace with the Narragansetts 15 July, 1675; was Captain of one of the companies raised in Boston on the overthrow of Andros; was Captain of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in 1695. He is called "Lt. Coll." in 1688. He died, probably, late in 1717. In the repairs made, in 1863, upon the University Library building in Leyden, Holland, there were found under the floor of that room which for many years was used as a chapel by the Scotch Presbyterian Church, five memorial stones, and parts of twelve bodies. One of the stones bore the following inscripion:

Here lieth buried Edward Paige, one son of Nicholas and Anna Paige, born at Boston in New England, Feb. 20, 1622, died in Leyden, Nov. 1, 1680, N.S.

The first date should, of course, be 1662, and this is clearly the Edward Lane of whom Savage speaks [Gen. Dict. iii: 50] as the son, of that birth-date, of his mother while still the wife of Edward Lane; whose name, for some wide reason, was changed to that of his mother's second husband, after her second marriage. [Savage's Gen. Dict. iii: 332. Mass. Col. Rec. iv (pt. 2): 309; Drake's Hist. Bost. i: 482. Leyden MSS.]
and waited upon his Excellency; who informed him of an unhappy War broke out in the Eastern Parts; and said he was going himself in Person, and that he wanted his Company with him: But Capt. Church not finding in himself the same Spirit he us’d to have, said, he hop’d his Excellency would give him time to consider of it. He told him he might; and also said that he must come and Dine with him. Capt. Church having many acquaintance in Boston, who made it their business some to encourage, and others to discourage him from going with his Excellency. So after Dinner his Excellency took him into his room and discours’d freely; saying that he having knowledge of his former Actions and Successes; and that he must go with him, and be his Second, with other encouragements. But in short, the said Capt. Church did not accept, so was dismissed, and went home.

Soon after this was the Revolution, and the other Government Re-asserted; and then Governor Broadstreet and the Magistrates who had been chosen in 1686, resumed the direction of affairs. [Hutchinson's Hist. Mass. i: 333-344.]

7 This can scarcely refer to any feeling incident to advancing age, for Capt. Church was not yet 50.
8 Andros was at this time so unpopular, that very few persons in Boston would then be apt to advise a friend to aid him, or undertake anything under him.
9 The smothered flame broke out into the arrest of the Governor, a portion of his Council, and other obnoxious persons—about 50 in all—on Thursday, 18 April, 1689. On the 22 May, the representatives of 54 towns met in Boston; and, two days after, Gov. Bradstreet and the Magistrates who had been chosen in 1686, resumed the direction of affairs. [Hutchinson's Hist. Mass. i: 333-344.]
10 Simon Bradstreet was born—the son of a Non-Conformist minister—at Horbling, in Lincolnshire, in March, 1603; took A.B. 1620 and A.M. 1624, at Emanuel College, Cambridge; was steward of the Earl of Lincoln, and then of the Countess of Warwick; came with Winthrop in the “Arbella,” 1630; settled in Newtown (Cambridge).
fent for Capt. Church to come to Boston, as soon as his business would permit: Where-upon he went to Boston, and waited upon his Honour; who told him he was requested by the Council to send for him, to see if he could be prevailed with to Raife Volunteers both English and Indians to go East; for the Eastward Indians had done great spoil upon the English in those Parts; giving him an account of the Miseries and Sufferings of the People there: Capt. Churches Spirits being affected, said, If he could do any Service for his Honour, the Country, and their relief, he was ready and willing: His advice was asked, How he would act, he said, He would take with him as many of his old Souldiers as he could get, both English and In-

lived afterward at Ipswich, Andover, Boston, and Salem. He was the first Secretary of the Mfs. Colony; Commissioner of the United Colonies; Deputy Governor 1672-91; afterward Governor until 1688; was the head of the moderate party, but opposed Andros's arbitrary acts, and resumed his place at the head of affairs when Andros was depofed, where he continued until Sir William Phipps came, in 1692, with the new Charter. He died 27 March, 1697, aged 94. He married (1) Ann, daughter of Gov. Thomas Dudley, by whom he had Samuel, Dorothy, Sarah, Simon, Hannah, Mercy, Dudley, and John; (2) Ann, widow of Capt. Joseph Gardner, and daughter of Emanuel Downing. [Savage's Gen. Dict. i: 256; N. E. Hist. & Gen. Reg. i: 75.]

11 The date of this is approximately fixed by contemporaneous documents. Gov. Bradford wrote to Gov. Hinckley, 17 July, 1689, "We have written to Capt. Church"; and 2 Aug., 1689, "Capt. Church having also been written to from hence thereabouts, who is now here with the Council treating about that affair," &c. [Hinckley Papers, 4 Maj. Hist. Coll. v: 204-5.]

12 In April, 1689, the Indians renewed hostilities at Saco; and 27 June, Cochecto (now Dover, N.H.) was surprized, and Maj. Waldron and 23 others were killed, and 29 were taken captive, and sold to the French in Canada. 2 Aug., Pemaquid was destroyed, and the Inhabitants East of Falmouth (Portland, Me.) withdrew in terror to that town, or removed to other places of supposed security. [Mather's Magnalia (orig. ed.), Book vii: 64-5; Williamson's Hist. Maine, i: 610; Willis's Hist. Portland, 275.]
The Gentlemen of Boston requested him to go to Rhode-Island Government to ask their assistance: So giving him their Letter, and about 40 s. in Money, he took leave and went home to Bristol on a Saturday; and the next Monday Morning he went over to Rhode-Island, and waited upon their Governour, delivering the Letter, as ordered; pray'd his Honour for a speedy answer: who said, they could not give an answer presently; so he waited upon them till he had their answer; and when he had obtained it, he carryed it to the Boston Gentlemen; who desired him to raise what Volunteers he could in Plymouth Colony, and Rhode-Island Government, & what was wanting they would make up out of their's that was already out in the Eastern Parts. The Summer being far spent Capt.

23 Walter Clark, eldest son of Jeremiah of Newport, was born about 1639; was a Quaker; was freeman in 1665; 6 Nov., 1672, was member of a committee to audit the accounts between the Colony and its creditors; in 1673 and 1674 was on the committee to see that the election was conducted in an orderly manner; 2 May, 1676, was chosen Governour; for many years afterward was Deputy Governour, and then Governour again in 1686, and once more in 1696; died 22 May, 1714, aged 74. He married (1) Content —, who died March, 1666; (2) Hannah, daughter of Richard Scott, who died 24 July, 1681; (3) Freeborn, daughter of Roger Williams, and widow of Thomas Hart, who died 10 Dec., 1709; (4) Sarah, daughter of Matthew Prior, and widow of John Gould. [Savage's Gen. Dict. i: 403; R.-I. Col. Rec. ii: 147, 481, 483, 517, 541; iii: 39, 190, 312.]

24 When the Revolution oufted Andros, the old Charter Government was resumed in Rhode Island, but the "wary Clark"—who had been Governour when Andros arrived and seized the State—"hesitated to accept his former post; and for ten months Rhode Island was without an acknowledged Governour." [Arnold's Hist. R.-I. i: 512.] It was during these ten months that Church "waited upon him"; whence the difficulty of giving "an answer presently" finds ready explanation.

25 Plymouth Court met 14 Aug., 1689, and voted their "concurrence" accord-
Church made what dispatch he could, and raised about 250 Men Volunteers, and receiving his Commission from Governor Hinkley, which is as followeth, viz.

'The Council of War of their Majesties Colony of New-Plymouth in New-England. To Major Benjamin Church, Commander in Chief.\\n\\nWhereas the Kennebeck & Eastern Indians with their Confederates, have openly made War upon their Majesties Subjects of the Provinces of Maine, New-Hamp-

\[\text{[56]}\]

\[\text{\textit{Church}}\] made what dispatch he could, and raised about 250 Men Volunteers, and receiving his Commission from Governor Hinkley, which is as followeth, viz.

'The Council of War of their Majesties Colony of New-Plymouth in New-England. To Major Benjamin Church, Commander in Chief.

\[\text{W} \]

Hereas the Kennebeck & Eastern Indians with their Confederates, have openly made War upon their Majesties Subjects of the Provinces of Maine, New-Hamp-

\[\text{\textit{Church}}\] made what dispatch he could, and raised about 250 Men Volunteers, and receiving his Commission from Governor Hinkley, which is as followeth, viz.

'The Council of War of their Majesties Colony of New-Plymouth in New-England. To Major Benjamin Church, Commander in Chief.

\[\text{W} \]

Whereas the Kennebeck & Eastern Indians with their Confederates, have openly made War upon their Majesties Subjects of the Provinces of Maine, New-Hamp-
shire, and of the Massachusetts Colony, having committed
many barbarous Murders, Spoils & Rapines upon their
Perfons & Estates. And whereas there are some
Forces of Souldiers English and Indians now raised
& detached out of the several Regiments & Places within
this Colony of New-Plymouth, to go forth to the affittance
of our Neighbours & Friends of the aforefaid Provinces
and Colony of the Massachusetts, Subjects of one and the
fame Crown; and to joyn with their Forces for the re-
pelling and deftruction of the common Enemy. And
whereas you Benjamin Church are appointed to be Ma-
jor & Commander in Chief of all the Forces English and
Indians detached within this Colony, for the Service of
their Majesties as aforefaid. These are in their Majesties
Name to Authorize & Require you to take into your care
& conduct all the said Forces English and Indians, and
diligently to intend that Service, by leading and exercif-
ing of your Inferiour Officers and Souldiers, commanding
them to obey you as their Chief Commander; and to
pursue, fight, take, kill or destroy the said Enemies, their

in 1635. He was Deputy from Barn-
stable as early as 1645, and Aflulant in
1653; Deputy Governor in 1680; and
Governor in 1681, holding the office, except when it was usurped by Andros,
until the absorption of the Colony,
when he was made Councillor of Mass.
He died at Barnstable, 25 April, 1705, ait.
87. He married (1) Mary Richards;
(2) Mary Glover, daughter of Lawrence
Smith, and widow of Nathaniel Glo-
ver. One of his daughters married
Experience Mayhew, and another Sam-
uel Prince. [Otis's Hist. Barnstable,
i: 308-313.]

17 Mr. Drake [Book of the Indians,
270] states, on the authority of a MS.
letter of Capt. Baffett of this Expedi-
tion, that there was an Indian Com-
pany commanded by Capt. Amos, and
another by Capt. Daniel; while Church
seems to imply that the Sauconet In-
dians who were with him were under
Capt. Numfas.
Aiders and Abettors, by all the wayes and means you can, as you shall have opportunity. And you to observe & obey all such Orders and Instructions as from time to time you shall receive from the Commissioners of the Colonies, the Council of War of this Colony, or the Governor and Council of the Massachusetts Colony. In Testimony whereof the Publick Seal of the said Colony of New-Plymouth is here-unto affixed. Dated in Plymouth the Sixth day of September, Anno Dom. 1689.


Thomas Hinkley, President. [57]

And now Marching them all down to Boston, then received his further Orders and Instructions: which are as followeth,

Boston, Septem. 16th. 1689.

To all Sheriffs, Marshalls, Constables, and other Officers Military and Civil in their Majesties Province of Maine.

Whereas pursuant to an agreement of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, Major Benjamin Church is Commissioned Commander in Chief over that part of their Majesties Forces (levied for the present Expedition against the Common Enemy) whose head quarters are appointed to be at Falmouth in Casco Bay. In their Majesties Names, You, and every of you
are required to be aiding and assisting to the said Maj. Church, in his pursuance of the Enemy, as any Emergency shall require; and to Imprest Boats, or other Vessels, Carts, Carriages, Horses, Oxen, Provision and Ammunition, and Men for guides &c. as you shall receive Warrants from the said Chief Commander, or his Lieutenant so to do: You may not fail to do the same speedily and effectually, as you will answer your neglect and contempt of their Majesties Authority and Service at your uttermost Peril. Given under my Hand and Seal the Day and Year above Written. Annoque Regi Regis et Regine Willielmi & Marie Primo.

By Thomas Danforth, President of the Province of Maine.

By the Governor and Council of the Massachusetts Colony.
To Major Benjamin Church.

Whereas you are appointed and commissioned by the Council of War of the Colony of New-Plymouth, Commander in Chief of the Forces raised within the said Colony, against the Common Indian Enemy, now ordered into the Eastern Parts, to join with some of the Forces of this Colony; for the prosecution, repelling and subduing...
ing of the said Enemy. It is therefore Ordered that
Captain Simon Willard,19 and Capt. Nathanael Hall,20
with the two Companies of Souldiers under their several
Command belonging to this Colony, now in or about
Cape Bay, be and are hereby put under you, as their
Commander in Chief for this present Expedition. And
in purfance of the Commiffions severally given to either
of them, they are Ordered to Observe and Obey your
orders and directions, as their Commander in Chief until
further Order from the Governour & Council; Or the
Commiffioners of the Colonies. Dated in Boston the
17th day of September, Anno Dom. 1689. Annoque

19 Simon Willard was third Son of
Maj. Simon; born 23 Nov., 1649; freeman 1680; Captain in this war; was
Deacon; died 21 June, 1731. He mar-
rried (1) about 1679, Martha, daughter of
Richard Jacob, of Ipswich; (2) 30 April,
1702, Elizabeth, widow of John Wal-
ley, and daughter of the second John
Alden; (3) July, 1722, Priscilla But-
tolph. [Savage’s Gen. DIY. iv: 555.]
20 I cannot identify this Captain, ex-
cept by the supposition that he was the
fame “Capt. Nathaniel Hall” who
joined the Ancient and Honorable Ar-
tillery Company in 1692, and who is
barely mentioned by name, by Whit-
man. [Hift. Aud. & Hon. Art. 228.] It
seems to me that Mr. Savage is mis-
taken in saying that he was that Son of
the first John of Yarmouth, who married
Anne Thornton, praifed as a phy-
sian, kept tavern, &c., &c. It is hardly
probable that there were two cotempo-
rary Nathaniel Halls of Yarmouth, both
of whom fought the Indians. But that
Nathanael Hall who received grants
from the Plymouth Colony in July,
1681, and July, 1683, and who was li-
censed to keep an ordinary, in addition
to a grant of £5 per annum, 5 June,
1684, to which £30 more, with the
promise of £6 per annum, were added
in June, 1685,—all on account of his
“contentewed lamenfes” as “a de-
cripted fouldier, whoe became fee by a
wound received in the late Indian
warr,” was of Yarmouth. And as he
was thus an untitled pensioner up to
1685, it seems unlikely that he could
have been the Capt. Nathaniel who
marched under Church in 1689. Mr.
Otis, however, thinks he was the fame.
[Savage’s Gen. DIY. ii: 336; Plym.
Col. Rec. vi: 65, 112, 130, 132, 169;
Freeman’s Hift. Cape Cod, ii: 203.
Otis’s Hift. Baraftable, i: 241.]
Regni Regis et Regine Guilielmi et Mariae Anglie, &c.

Primo.

Past in Council, S. Bradstreet, GOV.

Attest Iaac Addington, Secr.21

By the Commissioners of the Colonies of the Massachufetts, Plymouth and Connecticut, for managing the present War against the Common Enemy.

Instructions for Major Benjamin Church Commander in Chief of the Plymouth Forces, with others of the Massachufetts put under his Command.

In Pursuance of the Commission given you for their Majesty's Service in the present Expedition against the Common Indian Enemy, their Aidors and Abettors; reposeing confidence in your Wisdom, Prudence and Fidelity in the trust committed to you, for the honour of God, good of His People, and the security of the Interest of Christ in His Churches, expecting and praying that in your dependance upon Him, you may be helped & affiifted with all that Grace and Wisdom which is requisite for carrying you on with Success in this difficult Service; and tho' much is and must be left to your discretion as Providence and opportunity may present from time to time in places of attendance: Yet the following Instructions are commended unto your observation, and to be

21 Iaac Addington, only son of Iaac, of Bolton, born 21 Jan., 1645; was bred for a surgeon, but was chosen Deputy 1655, and next year Assistant. Under the new Charter, he was one of the Council, and Secretary, in which office he continued many years. He was afterward Judge. He died 19 Mar., 1715. at 70. [Allen's Biog. Dict. 14.]
attended so far as the State of matters with you in such a
transaction will admit. You are with all possible speed
to take care that the Plymouth Forces both English and
Indians under your Command be fixed and ready, and
the first opportunity of Wind & Weather, to go on
board such Vessels as are provided to transport you and
them to Cafcio, where if it shall please God you arrive,
you are to take under your care & command the Com-
panies of Capt. Nathanael Hall, and Capt. Simon Wil-
lard, who are ordered to attend your Command, whom
together with the Plymouth Forces, and such as from time
to time may be added unto you; you are to improve in
such way as you shall see meet, for the discovering,
pursuing, subduing and destroying the said Common En-
emy, by all opportunities you are capable of; always
intending the preserving any of the near Towns from
incurions, and destruction of the Enemy, yet chiefly
improving your men for the finding and following the
said Enemy abroad, and if possible to find out & attach
their head quarters and principal Randezvous, if you find
you are in a rational capacity of so doing; the better to
enable you thereto, We have ordered two men of War
Sloops, and other small Vessels for transportation, to attend
you, for some considerable time. You are to see that
your Souldiers Arms be always fixt, and that they be
furnished with Ammunition, Provisions and other nece-
saries, that so they may be in a readiness to repel and
attach the Enemy. In your purfute you are to take
special care to avoid danger by Ambushments, or being drawn under any disadvantage by the Enemy in your
Marches, Keeping out Scouts and a forlorn before your main Body, and by all possible means endeavouring to Surprize some of the Enemy, that so you may gain intelligence. You are to Suppress all Mutinies and Disorders among your Soldiers, as much as in you lies, and to punish such as disobeys your Officers, according to the rules of War herewith given you. [59]

You are according to your opportunity, or any occasion more than ordinary occurring to hold correspondence with Major Swaine, and to yield Mutual assistance when and as you are capable of it, and you may have reason to judge it will be of most Publick Service; and it will be meet you and he should agree of some Signal whereby your Indians may be known from the Enemy. You are to encourage your Soldiers to be industrious, vigorous, and venturous in their Service, to search out and destroy the Enemy, acquainting them, It is agreed by the several Colonies, That they shall have the benefit of the Captives, and all lawful Plunder, and the Reward of Eight Pounds per head, for every fighting Indian man slain by them, over and above their Stated wages; the fame being made appear to the Commander in Chief, or such as shall be appointed to take care therein. If your Commission Offi-

22 This appears to have been Jeremiah Swain, of Reading, who was Deputy 1686 and 1689, and Adjutant the latter year. He was Captain for many years previous to this war, and was at the head of a regiment in 1691. [Savage's Gen. Dict. iv: 235; Mass. Col. Rec. v: 476, 514.]
cers or any of them should be flain, or otherwise uncapable of Service, and for such reason dismissed, you are to appoint others in their room, who shall have the like wages, and a Commission sent upon notice given, you to give them Commissions in the mean time. You are to take effectual care that the Worship of God be kept up in the Army, Morning and Evening Prayer attended as far as may be, and as the Emergencies of your affairs will admit, to see that the holy Sabbath be duly sanctified. You are to take care as much as may be to prevent or punish Drunkenness, Swearing, Curling, or such other Sins, as do provoke the anger of God. You are to advise with your Chief Officers in any matters of Moment, as you shall have opportunity. You are from time to time to give intelligence and advice to the Governour & Council of the Massachusetts, or Commissioners of the Colonies of your proceedings and occurrence that may happen, and how it shall please the Lord to deal with you in this present Expedition.

"If you find the Vessels are not likely to be Serviceable to you, dismiss them as soon as you may.

Capt. Silvanus Davis is a prudent Man, and well

---

23 Silvanus Davis was at Sheepcot 1659; swore allegiance to the King 1665; was wounded by the Indians at Arrowick when Captain Lake was killed; removed to Falmouth (Portland) 1658; became a large land-owner there, and had the most extensive warehouse in the Eastern country at that time, being licensed, in 1687, "to retail liquors out of doors in the town of Falmouth"; became unpopular in the days of Andros; commanded the fort; was captured by the French and Indians in May, 1690; was exchanged for a Frenchman 15 Oct., 1690; was put into the Council by the Charter of William and
acquainted with the affairs of those parts, and is writ
to advise and inform you all he can.

Such further instructions as we shall see reason to send
to you, are carefully to attend and observe, and in
the absence of the Commissioners, you shall observe the
orders and instructions directed unto you from the Gov-
ernour and Council of the Massachusetts.

Given under our hands in Boston, Sept. 18, 1689.

Tho. Hinkley Thomas Danforth, President.

John Walley **

Eliffa Cooke**

Samuel Mason **

William Pitkin.**

Mary 1691; lived in his latter days at Hull, Mass.; died 1704, leaving a wife, but no children. He wrote an account of his capture, &c., &c., which is on file in the Mass. State Paper Office, and was printed in 3 Mass. Hist. Coll. i: 101-112. [Willis's Hist. Port. 21, 131, 208, 236, 231, 234, 258, 263, 284, 293; Savage's Gen. Dict. ii: 21.]

28 John Walley was son of Rev. Thomas, of Barnstable; was born in 1643; was admitted to the Ancient and Honorable Artillery 1671; freeman 1673; Captain 1679; was interested in the settlement of Bridport; was one of Andros's Council 1685; was chief military officer of the expedition to Quebec 1690; was Judge of the Superior Court 1700-11; died in Boston 11 Jan., 1712, aet. 68. He published a Journal of the Quebec Expedition, which is contained in the appendix to the first volume of Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts. He had a singular controversy with John Saffin, & in which Judge Byfield became also involved. [Savage's Gen. Dict. iv: 400; Hist. Art. & Hon. Art. 185; Freeman's Hist. Cape Cod, i: 323; Washburn's Judic. Hist. Mass. 270.]

29 Eliffa Cooke, son of Richard, of Boston, was a physician; freeman 1673; Deputy 1681-3; Assistant 1684-6; of the Council of Safety 1689; was agent for many years; Commissioner for

30 Samuel Mason was eldest son of Maj. John; born at Windsor, Conn., July, 1664; Lieut. 1670; freeman 1673; on the court-martial for New London

31 William Pitkin was of Hartford, Conn., son of Roger; freeman 1662; Deputy 1675; Treasurer 1676; was Assistant many years; Commissioner for
The First Expedition, East.

Being ready, Major Church embark'd with his Forces on board the Vessels provided to transport them for Casco, having a brave Gale at S. W and on Fryday about 3 a clock they got in fight of Casco Harbour; and discouraging two or three small Ships there, not knowing before whether they were friends or enemies; whereupon the said Commander Maj Church gave orders that every man that was able should make ready, and all by close, giving orders how they should act in case they were Enemies: He going in the Mary Sloop, together with the Resolution went in first, being both well fitted with Guns & Men; coming to the first, hail'd them, who said they were friends; for Mas. in England, with Oakes and Mather, 1690-1; Judge of Probate 1701; died 31 Oct., 1715. He married Elizbeth, daughter of Gov. Leverett. [Savage's Gen. Dict. i: 445; Bradford's New Eng. Bio. 111.]


the United Colonies 1678; and to treat with Gov. Dungan 1683; Commissioner again later; died 15 Dec. 1694, at 58. He married Hannah, only daughter of Ozias Goodwin. [Savage's Gen. Dict. iii: 441; Col. Rec. Conn. iii: 2, 17, &c.]

28 "Major Church arrived at Falmouth in the latter part of September." [Williamson's Hist. Maine, i: 616.]

29 "The old Indian name Casco continued to be used all the first century after the settlement (for what is now Portland, Me.,) notwithstanding the town had received from Massachusetts the corporate name Falmouth, as early as 1658." The familiar aboriginal titles had then much vitality. [Willis's Hist. Portland, 49.]
presently Man’d their Boat, brought too, and so came along the side of them; who gave the said Church an account, That yesterday there was a very great Army of Indians, & French with them upon the Island, at the going out of the Harbour, and that they were come on purpose to take Casco Fort and Town, likewise inform’d him that they had got a Captive Woman aboard (Maj. Waldens daughter of Pifcatqua) that could give him a full account of

81 Joseph Prout wrote from Falmouth 17 Sept., 1689, that 200 Indians were then on "Palmer’s Island." [Willis’s Hlst. Port. 277.] Palmer’s was what is now Peak’s Island, perhaps 500 rods E. of the mouth of Casco River.

82 Fort Loyall had been erected on Cleeve’s Neck, on the point, at the foot of what was afterward King Street (now India Street), in 1680, and garrisoned by 13 men, part of whom were supported by Massachusetts. 24 May, 1681, an agreement was made with Lieut. Anthony Brackett to keep the fort for one year, by 6 men in the summer and 4 men in the winter, "by continual watch and ward to keep it as a fort ought to be kept." The next year, Walter Gendall was authorized to take charge of the fort if Brackett declined. [Willis’s Hlst. Port. 226, 249, 254.]

83 Richard Waldran (more properly Waldorne) was born in Alcester, Warwickshire, Eng., where he was baptized 6 Jan., 1615; came to America in 1635, with Mr. Hilton or Mr. Wiggin, to see the country; flaid about two years, and returned to England and married a gentlewoman of good family; came back, and settled at Cocheco Lower Falls. He was, at different periods, Selectman, Deputy, Assistant, Major, Chief Justice of New Hampshire, and acting President. He was killed by the Indians (see note 12) 28 June, 1689. He married (1) the English lady above referred to; (2) Anne Scammoon, sister of Richard, she died 7 Feb., 1685. By these wives he had (1) Paul, d. 1669; (2) Timothy; (3) Richard, b. 1690; (4) Anna; (5) Elizathan, b. 6 July, 1699, d. 10 Dec., 1699; (6) Either, b. 1 Dec., 1660; (7) Mary, b. 14 Sept., 1663, d. young; (8) Eleazer, b. 1 May, 1665; (9) Elizabeth, b. 18 Oct., 1666; (10) Marah, b. 17 July, 1668. Either married (1) Henry, son of Henry Elkins, of Hampton; (2) Abram Lee, "Chymith," who was killed with Major W. by the Indians; (3) Richard, son of Richard Jeof of Portsmouth; (4) ———; and died in the Island of Jerse. She, of course, was the person here referred to by Church, having been captured by the Indians at the time of the murder of her father and husband, three months before, and rescued by a Dutch privateer. [N. E. Hlst. & Gen. Regr. ix: 55;
their number & intentions: He bid 'em give his Service to their Captain, and tell him, He would wait upon him after he had been on shore and gave some orders and directions: being come pretty near he ordered all the Men still to keep close, giving an account of the News he had received, and then went a-shore, where were several of the chief Men of the Town who met him, being glad that he came so happily to their relief; told him the News Mrs. Lee had given them, being the Woman aforesaid. He going to Capt. Davis's to get some refreshment, having not eat a Mortel since he came by Boston Castle; and now having inquired into the State of the Town, found them in a poor condition for to defend themselves against such a number of Enemies: He gave them an account of his Orders and Instructions, and told them what Forces he had brought, and that when it was dark they should all Land, and not before, left the Enemy should discover them. And then he went on board the Privateer, who were Dutch Men; but as he went call'd aboard every Vessel and ordered the Officers to take care that their Men might be all fitted and provided to fight, for the People of the Town expected the Enemy to fall upon them every Minute, but withal charging them to keep undiscovered: and coming on board the said Privateer, was kindly treated; discours'd Mrs. Lee, who inform'd him

Belknap's Hist. New Hamp. i: 199; Williamson's Hist. Me. i: 616.]

Capt. Davis's [see note 23, ante] house, to which Church now repaired for refreshment, stood on the "great bay" a little E. of the foot of the present India Street; his lot there having a front on the tidewater of 147 ft., and a depth of 630 ft., to the burying-ground.
that the company he came with had fourcore Canoo's: & that there was more of them, whom she had not seen, which came from other Places, and that they told her when they came all together, should make up 700 Men. He ask'd her, Whether Cajleen was with them? She answered, That there was several French Men with them, but she did not know whether Cajleen was there or not. He then having got what intelligence she could give him, went ashore and viewed the Fort and Town, discou"ring with the Gentlemen there according to his Instructions; and when it began to grow dark, he ordered the Vessels to come as near the Fort as might be, and Land the Soldiers, with as little noise as possible; ordering them as they Landed to go into the Fort and Houses that stood near, that so they might be ready upon occasion; having ordered Provisions for them, went to every Company and ordering

8a Baron Vincent de St. Caflin was born near the Pyrenees, and became a man of wealth and eminence, and an officer in the body-guard of the King of France. He arrived at Quebec about 1665; and, the regiment which he commanded having been disbanded, he selected the pine-clad peninsula of Biguatus, in Acadie, as his residence, where he erected a fortified habitation, and for over a quarter of a century carried on an extensive and profitable trade, shipping merchandise from France, and exchanging it with the Indians for furs. La Hontan estimated his profits at 200,000 to 300,000 crowns. He himself testified that 80,000 livres could be annually realized at Penobscot from the beaver trade. He married the daughter of Mochaquawuak, chief of the Tarratines; and, being a zealous Catholic, gave the English great trouble from his infatiation of, and aid to, the enemy in Indian wars. The English, on the other hand, at different times, used him very hardly. He went to France in 1701, and probably never returned. His son, by his Indian wife, continued to reside at Penobscot, and to be influential among the savages. The present town of Castine marks the spot. [La Hontan, i: 471; Tibierge's Mem. Acadie, i 96., 1695, Me. Hist. Coll. vi: 110-113.]
them to get every thing ready; they that had no Powder-horns nor Shot-bags, should immediately make them; ordering the Officers to take special care that they were ready to March into the Woods an hour before day; and also directing the Watch to call him two hours before day; so he hastned to bed to get some Rest. At the time prefix'd he was call'd, and presently ordering the Company's to make ready, and about half an hour before day they mov'd; several of the Town People went with them into a thick place of brush, about half a Mile from the Town; now ordering them to send out their Scouts, as they us'd to do, and seeing them all settled at their work, he went into Town by Sun rise again, and directed the Inhabitants to take care of themselves, till his men had fitted themselves with some necessaries: for his Indians most of them wanted both bags and horns; so he ordered them to make bags like Wallets to put Powder in one end and shot in the other: So most of them were ready for action (viz.) the Seconet Indians, but the Cape Indians were

---

53 This was the morning of Saturday, 21 Sept., 1689.
56 "A portion of the central part [of the "neck" whereon the city of Portland now stands] was swampy and covered with bushes and trees, and furrowed with gullies." [Willis's Journals of Smith & Deane, 436.]
37 See Part I. xxii. Probably all the Seconet Indians who served in this expedition were under the command of Capt. Numpas.
55 The Indians on Cape Cod had been friendly — with individual exceptions — through Philip's war, and they now furnished soldiers freely to aid the English. As late as the Revolutionary war a single Continental regiment had 26 Mohegan Indians; and it was stated, in 1789, by Rev. Mr. Hawley, that most of the Mohegan women lost their husbands in the service, at one time there being 70 widows there. [Freeman's Hist. Cape Cod, 1: 692.]
very bare, lying so long at Boston before they imbarke'd, that they had sold every thing they could make a Penny of; some tying Shot & Powder in the corners of their Blankets. He being in Town, just going to Breakfast, there was an Alarm, so he ordered all the Soldiers in the Town to move away as fast as they could, where the firing was; and he with what Men more were with him of his Soldiers, moved immediately, and meeting with Capt. Brackitts' Sons, who told him their Father was taken, and that they saw a great Army of Indians in their Fathers Orchard, &c. By this time our Indians that wanted bags and horns were fitted, but wanted more Ammunition: presently came a Messenger to him from the Town & informed him, That they had knock'd out the heads of sev-

---

Anthony Brackett, perhaps son of Anthony, who was at Portsmouth, 1640, was at Falmouth as witness to a delivery of possession 1662; married (1) Ann, eldest daughter of Michael Mitton, and settled on the 100 acres granted her at Back Cove by George Cheves. He subsequently enlarged his farm to 400 acres. He was constable 1664; juror 1666; commissioner 1668; was taken captive, with his wife, five children, and a negro servant, by the Indians 11 Aug., 1676, but escaped by the bold use of an old, dilapidated burch canoe; his wife Ann died soon after, and 30 Sept., 1679, he married (2) Susanna, eldest daughter of Abraham Drake, sen., of Hampton; was Lieut. 1682; Capt. 1689; was shot by the Indians in this engagement at his house on Back Cove. He had by the first wife (1) Anthony, (2) Seth, (3) Mary, (4) Kezia, (5) Elinor; by the second, (6) Jane, (7) Zipporah, (8) Zachariah, (9) Ann, (10) Susanna. [Willis's Hist. Port. 101, 106, 111, 138, 141, 156, 159, 169, 172, 176, 181, 187, 202, 208, 214, 219, 225, 251, 268, 280, 290; Drake's Hubbard, ii : 139.]

Brackett's farm lay on the W. shore of Back Cove, above the creek, on the ground now occupied by the mansion of James Deering, and the orchard extended toward the point. [Willis's Hist. Port. 278.] The Indians had gone round, under cover of the darkness of the night, with their canoes from Peak's Island up Casco River or Back Cove; from either of which Brackett's farm was accessible.
eral Casks of Bullets and they were all too big, being Musket Bullets, and would not fit their Guns, and that if he did not go back himself a great part of the Army would be kept back from Service for want of suitable Bullets: He run back and ordered every Vessel to send a-shore all their Casks of Bullets; being brought, knock’d out their heads, and turn’d them all out upon the green by the Fort, and set all the People in the Town that were able to make flags; being most of them too large for their use, which had like to have been the over-throw of their whole Army: He finding some small Bullets and what flags were made, and three Snapsacks of Powder, went immediately to the Army, who were very hotly in[62] gag’d; but coming to the River, 41 the Tide was up; he call’d to his men that were ingag’d, encouraging them, and told them he had brought more Ammunition for them. An Indian call’d Capt. Lightfoot, 42 laid down his Gun, and came over the River, taking the Powder upon his head and a Kittle of Bullets in each hand, and got safe to his Fellow Souldiers: He 43 perceiving great firing upon that side he was of, went to see who they were, and found them to be two of Maj. Church’s Companies, one of English & the other of Indians, being in all about Fourscore Men, that had not got over the River, but lay firing over our Mens heads at the Enemy; he presently ordered them to Rally and come all

41 This river was the prolongation into the neck, of the S. W. extremity of “Back Cove.” 42 See Part I. note 238. 43 “He” — that is Church, not Lightfoot.
together; and gave the word for a Cafco Man: So one Swarton 44 a Jerfey man 45 appearing, who he could hardly understand; he ask'd him, How far it was to the head of the River? or whether there was any place they could get over? He said, there was a Bridge 46 about three quarters of a Mile up where they might get over: So he calling to his Souldiers ingag'd on the other side, that he would foon be with them over the Bridge, and come upon the backs of the Enemy; which put new courage into them; so they immediately Mov'd up towards the Bridge, Marching very thin, being willing to make what shouw they could, shouting as they March'd: they saw the Enemy running from the River-side, where they had made Stands with Wood to prevent any body from coming over the River; and coming to the Bridge, they saw on the other side that the Enemy had laid logs and fluck birch brufh along to hide themselves from our view. He ordered the

44 Mather [Magnalia, Book VI. pp. 10-14] gives a narrative of the captivity of Hannah Swarton, who was taken by the Indians when Cafco Fort was taken, in 1690, with four children; her husband being then slain. In November, 1695, she reached Boston, leaving two of her children behind her in Canada. She says she lived in Beverly, Mafs., before going to Cafco; while Savage [Gen. Dict. iv : 237] gives the name of John Swarton as of Beverly, in 1672. In a list of English captives ransomed from Quebec by Matthew Carey, in October, 1695, occurs the name of "Joh. Swarton, boy, Cafcow," and "Johana Swarton, York"; while "Mary Swarton, girl, Dover," is named as remaining still in captivity. [N. E. Hist. & Gen. Reg. vii: 87.]

It may, perhaps, be reaonable to suppose that John Swarton was husband of Hannah, father of these children, and the informant of Church on this occasion.

45 That is, an emigrant from the Isle of Jerfey,—in English possession, but in French neighborhood. Its native inhabitants speak mostly a French patois.

46 "In the same place, probably, where one now stands, on Grove Street." [Willis's Hist. Port. 278.]
Company to come all together, ordering them all to run after him, who would go first, and that as soon as they got over the Bridge to scatter, that so they might not be all shot down together, expecting the Enemy to be at their Stands; so running up to the Stands, found none there, but were just gone, the ground being much tumbled with them behind the said Stands: He order'd the Captain with his Company of English to March down to our Men ingag'd, and that they should keep along upon the edge of the Marsh, and himself with his Indian Souldiers would March down thro' the brush: and coming to a parcel of low ground which had been formerly burnt, the old brush being fallen down lay very thick, and young brush being grown up made it bad travelling; but coming near the back of the Enemy, one of his Men call'd unto him their Commander, and said, That the Enemy run Westward and coming to a parcel of low ground which had been formerly burnt, the old brush being fallen down lay very thick, and young brush being grown up made it bad travelling; but coming near the back of the Enemy, one of his Men call'd unto him their Commander, and said, That the Enemy run Westward to get between us and the Bridge, and he looking that way saw men running, and making a small flop, heard no firing, but a great chopping with Hatchets; so concluding the fight was over, made the best of their way to the Bridge again, left the Enemy should go over the Bridge into the Town. The men being most of them out (our Ammunition lay expos'd) coming to the Bridge where he had left Six Indians for an Ambuscade on the other side of the River, that if any Enemy offer'd to come over they

47 Church's plan seems to have been to send his English soldiers along the curve of the edge of the marsh toward the battle-ground, while, with his Indians, he moved "across lots" due north, so as, if possible, to strike the enemy in the rear.

48 By running westward, the enemy
should fire at them, which would give him notice, [63] to
would come to their assistance; (but in the way having
heard no firing nor shouting, concluded the Enemy were
drawn off) he asked the Ambuscade, whether they saw
any Indians? They said, Yes, abundance. He ask'd
them, Where? They answer'd, That they ran over
the head of the River by the Cedar Swamp, and were
running into the Neck towards the Town: There being but
one English man with him, he bid his Indian Soldiers
scatter, run very thin to preserve themselves, and the bet-
ter able to make a discovery of the Enemy: & soon com-
ing to Lieut. Clarks' field on the South-side of the Neck,
and seeing the Cattel feeding quietly, and perceiving no
Track, concluded the Ambuscade had told them a false-

would be able to pass round Church's
left flank, and get to the bridge, and
into the town, in spite of, and before
him.

Church's Indians evidently sup-
pposed that the hostile party were run-
ing far enough west to flank the short
river, and go around its swampy source
into the neck and toward the town, in
stead of attempting to cross the de-
fended bridge.

**Thaddeus Clark** is said by Rev.
Timothy Alden (who gives no author-
ity) to have been born in Ireland
[Alden's *American Epitaphs*, ii:98:]
was at Falmouth, 1663, with his wife
Elizabeth, then 18 years old, second
daughter of Michael Mitton; lived on
the bank of the Cafo, just above the
point which still bears his name; was
Lieut. of a company of town soldiers;
and in an imprudent exposure of him-
selves and his men, was killed, with thir-
teen of his company, by the Indians,
when they attacked Falmouth in 1690,
and buried 4 July. His widow died in
Bolton, in 1736, *at* 91. His eldest
dughter, Elizabeth, married Capt.
Edward Tyng; another married a Har-
vey, and was a widow in Bolton 1749.
His son Isaac settled in Framingham,
Mass.; married Sarah Stow, of Marl-
borough; had seven children; com-
manded a company of troopers; and
died 26 May, 1768, *at* 102, having
lived 70 years with the wife of his
youth. [Willis's *Hist. Port.* 139. 141.
231, 283, 292; Barry's *Hist. Fam.* 208;
Coll.* i:203-214.]
hood; they hastily return'd back to the said Bridge, perceiving there was no noise of the Enemy. He hearing several great Guns fire at the Town, concluded that they were either assailed, or that they had discover'd the Enemy: He having ordered that in case such should be, that they should fire some of their great Guns to give him notice; he being a Stranger to the Country, concluded the Enemy had by some other way got to the Town: whereupon he sent his Men to the Town, and himself going to the River, near where the fight had been; ask'd them how they did? and what was become of the Enemy? who inform'd him that the Enemy drew off in less than an hour after he left them, and had not fired a Gun at them since. He told them he had been within little more than a Gun shot of the back of the Enemy, and had been upon them had it not been for the thick bruthy ground, &c. Now some of his Men returning from the Town gave him the account, that they went while they saw the Colours standing & Men walking about as not molested. He presently ordered that all his Army should pursue the Enemy: But they told him that most of them had spent their Ammunition, and that if the Enemy had engaged them a little longer they might have come & knock'd them on the head; and that some of their Bullets were so unsizeable that some of them were forc'd to make flugs

---

34 That is, having sent the Indians who had been with him to the town, he went back and hailed his English troops, whom he had left near the original battle-field.

35 "While—until." [Bailey.]
while they were ingag'd. He then order'd them to get over all the wounded and dead men, and to leave none behind: which was done by some Canoo's they had got. Capt. Hall and his men being first ingag'd did great Service, and suffered the greatest los in his Men. But Capt. Southworth with his Company, & Capt. Numpsh with the Seconit Indians, and the most of the men belonging to the Town all coming suddenly to his relief, prevented him and his whole Company from being cut off, &c. By this time the day was far spent, and Marching into Town about Sun-set, carrying in all their wounded and dead men; being all sensible of Gods goodness to them.

53 William Southworth, (probably youngest) son of Conlant, was born 1659; settled in Little Compton; was elected man 1683-5; was commissioned Lieut. for Little Compton, 1689; was allowed (as Lieut., though Church forgot and called him Captain then) 25s. per week for his service in this expedition; married (1) Rebecca ——, and had Benjamin, Joseph, Edward, Elizabeth, Alice, Samuel, Nathaniel, Thomas, and Stephen; (2) ——, and had Gideon and Andrew. [Plym. Col. Rec. vi: 168, 129, 168, 223, 229; Savage's Gen. Dil. iv: 143.]

54 See Part I. note 172.

55 Church enclosed in his letter to the home authorities, the following "life of the men that was slain in a fit at Falmouth, and also how many was wounded in said fit," under date of 21 Sept., 1689; which is still preserved in the Mufs. State Paper Office, as follows:—

"of Capt. Hall's soldiers, 6 slain, —
Thomas Burton,
Edward Ebens,
Thomas Thaxter,
Thomas Berry,
John Mason,
David Homes.

of Capt. Davis's Company, 2 slain, —
Giles Row,
Andrew Alger (belonging to the fort of the town).
also, ——, 2 slain, —
An Indian.
A negro of Col. Tyngs.
Capt. Brackett (carried away or slain).
Making 11 in all killed.

Wounded, 6 friend Indians, and of Capt. Davis's Company James Freeze, Mr. Bramhall, Thomas Brown, Mr. Palmer,—inhabitants.
Total, 21 slain and wounded." Willis adds that Freeze, Bramhall, and one friend Indian, died of their wounds. [Hlst. Port. 280.]

In relation to the enemy's los, Church
giving them the Victory, and causing the Enemy to fly with flame, who never gave one fhout at their drawing off. The poor Inhabitants wonderfully rejoiced that the Almighty had favoured them fo much: saying, That if Maj. Church with his Forces had not come at that juncture of time, they had been all cut off; and faid fur-[64] ther, That it was the firft time that ever the Eastward Indians had been put to flight, and the faid Church with his Volunteers were wonderfully preferved, having never a man kill'd out right, and but one Indian mortally wounded, who dy'd, several more being badly wounded, but recovered.

After this engagement Maj. Church with his Forces ranging all the Country thereabout, in purfuit of the Enemy; and visiting all the Garrifons, at "Black Point," wrote, 27 Sept., faying, "We know not yet what damage we did to the enemy in our laft engagement, but feveral things that they left behind them on their flight we found yesterday, which was guncafes and fockinggs and other things of fome value, together with other signs that make us think that we did them confiderable damage." [3 Ms. Hift. Coll. i: 92.]

Mr. Drake [Book of Ind. 270.] relates, on the authority of the MS. letter of Capt. Baffett, that the Indian who was killed was named New Mojes. [See the letter. Drake's Baylies's Plymouth, p. 77.] 33 Black Point lies in the town of Scarborough, on the shore E. of the mouth of the Owofhoug River, and between it and the Spurwink. Originally all the country between Saco and Spurwink was called Black Point. [Ms. Hift. Coll. iii: 17.] In 1681 a strong fort was built "upon the plains between Moors Brook and the South-east end of the great pond," at the in-stance of Capt. Joshua Scottow, the garrifon of which, at this time, was under command of his fon Thomas. [Ibid. 132, 133.]

Spurwink settlement lay between the mouth of Spurwink River and Cape Elizabeth, in the southerly angle of the town of Cape Elizabeth. The garrifon seems to have been at the house of Dominicus, fon of Rev. Robert Jordan. [Ms. Hift. Coll. iii: 137; Williamson's Hift. Me. i: 29.]
twin, and Blew Point; and went up Kennebec River, but to little effect. And now Winter drawing near, he received orders from the Government of the Massachusetts-Bay, to settle all the Garrisons, and put in suitable Officers according to his best discretion, and to send home all his Souldiers the Volunteers and transports; which orders he presently attended. Being oblig'd to buy him a Horse to

28 Blue Point was in the S.-W. part of the town of Scarborough, on Saco line, not far W. of Black Point. The garrison appears to have been at Phil Foxwell's (son of Richard) house, near the oppofite to where Mill Creek flows into the Owayago.

69 The mouth of the Kennebec is scarcely more than 30 miles N. E. from Falmouth. Williamson says Church ascended the river "several leagues." [Hist. Me. 1:517.]

64 The following document — among the valuable additions recently made to Baylies's Memoir of Plymouth Colony, by Mr. S. G. Drake — demands a place here, describing, as it does. Church's action not merely, but disclosing, also, the names of so many of his companions, and the proportions in which they were distributed among the various garrisons: —

"Province of Maine

Scarborough the 11th November, 1689.

Att a Council of War held at the point Garrison Present Major Benjamin Church, Capt Sylvanus Davis, Capt. William Buffitt, Capt Simon Willard, with the rest of the Comission Officers of Saco, Falmouth and Scarborough.

"It is Ordered that one hundred there Majesties Horses now in this present Expedition against the Comman Enemye, be detached out of the several Companies, which shoulde number for the security of the Garrison there Resident, and in Case any of the Enemy be discovered or Any tracks of them be made in this winter Seafon, untill further force be sent that may Advance to their head Quarters.

"Souldiers Quartered in the towne Ship of Saco twenty men; in there two Garrisons. In the township of Scarborough twenty men in there Garrisons viz: three Sperwink Included.

"Falmouth the 13 November: Att a Council of War held in persuation of what is above written, by Major Benjamin Church, and the officers aforesaid. Added Capt Nathaniel Hall, Leiut Thaddeus Clark, Leiut Eliha Andrews, Mr. Eliha Gallison, Leiut George Ingerfoll, Leiut Ambrew Davis, Mr. Robert Lawrance, Mr. John Palmer and others &c.

"It is ordered that sixty souldiers be Quartered in Falmouth, besides the Inhabitents, and the Souldiers that shall Belonge to the ftore, which shall
go home by land, that so he might the better comply with his orders. The poor People the Inhabitants of Casto and Places Adjacent, when they faw he was going away from them, lamented fadly, & beg'd earnestly that he would suffer them to come away in the Transports; faying if he left them there, that in the Spring of the Year the Enemy would come and deftroy 'em and their Families, &c. So by their earnest requelt the faid Maj. Church promised them, that if the Governments that had now fent him, would fend him the next Spring, he would certainly come with his Volunteers and Indians to their relief: And that

be fifteen Souldjes besides the Comander and Guider, and the Remayne to be fent to Bolton, to be Ready to Returne Accordinge to Order.

"Itt is Ordered that there be A Sufficicnt Garrifon Erected about Mr Gallions Houfe for a mayne Court of Guard. Together with Mr Robert Lawrence, his Garrifon, which two Garrifons are to be Supplied with the Sixty Souldjes left for to guard the faid towne."

"Itt is Ordered that Capt Nathaniel Hall is to take Charge as Comander in Chief of thofe forces that are Left for the defence of the Above faid three Townes, Thofe Souldges that belong to Forta Loyall only to be under the Comander of faid Fort.

"Ordered that Leuit Richard Huniwell, is to Take the Charge and Conduct of the twenty Souldjes quartered at Blew-point Black point and Spurwinck Garrifons, as he the faid Leuit. Huniwell fhall Recaive orders from time to time from the faid Comander in Chief."

"Itt is Ordered that Ensigne John Hill is to take the Care and Conduct of thofe twenty Souldjes Quartered at Saco Garrifon as the faid Ensigne Hill fhall Recaive orders from time to time, from his faid Comander in Chief.

"Itt is Ordered that the forty Souldjes post at Saco, Scarborough and Spurwinke are to be obedient unto the Comanders of the severall Garrifons where they fhall be postd whilft in Garrifon, but to Attend the Comands of Leuit. Huniwell and Ensigne John Hill respectively as they are Concerned upon thiere Scouting or Marchinge out:

Given under my hand this 14th of November: 1689:

"By Conceit of faid: Councill"

"p mee"

"BENJAMIN CHURCH"

Comander in Chief,"

as soon as he had been at home, and taken a little care of his own business, he would certainly wait upon the Gentleman of Boston, and inform them of the promise he had made to them; and if they did not see cause to send 'em relief, to intreat their Honours reasonably to draw them off, that they might not be a prey to the barbarous Enemy. Taking his leave of those poor Inhabitants some of the chief men there waited upon him to Black Point, to Capt. Scottaway's Garrison; coming there they prevail'd with the said Capt. Scottaway to go with him to Boston, which he readily complied with, provided the said Church would put another in to Command the Garrison; which being done and taking their leaves one of another, they set out and travelled thro' all the Country home to Boston: (having impoy'd himself to the utmost to fulfill his Instructions last received from Boston Gentlemen, which cost him about a Months Service more and above what he had pay from Plymouth Gentlemen) and in his travel homeward several Gentlemen waited upon the said Maj Church who was oblig'd to bare their Expences. When he came to Boston Gentlemen, he inform'd them of the miseries those poor People were in by having their Provisions taken from

---

62 Thomas Scottow (Scottoway) was son of Joshua, of Boston and Scarborough; was born 30 June, 1659; graduated at Harvard College, 1677; was at Black Point, 1679; swore allegiance, 1681; was appointed Register of Probate and County Commissioner under Andros in 1688; in 1689 had command of the garrison his father had built; subsequently to the war, and his father's death, disgusted with the savage hostilities incident to residence there, he sold his Scarborough property to Timothy Prout, and left the place. [Savage's Gen. Dict. iv: 40; Williamson's His. Me. i: 692; Willis's Portland, 220.]
them by order of the President, &c. Then went home; said not long there before he return'd to Boston, where Capt. Scottaway waited for his coming, that he might have the determination of the Government of Boston to carry home with him; and it being the time of the Small Pox there (and Maj Church not having had it) taking up his Lodging near the Court-house, took the first opportunity [65] to inform those Gentlemen of the Court his business; who said they were very busy in sending home Sir Edmund, the Ship being ready to Sail. The said Maj.

63 "President Danforth, by requiring of them provisions for a supply of the military, had brought them into great distress." [Williamson's Hist. Me. i: 648.]

64 As, on the 6th Feb., he had been waiting in Boston three weeks, the date of his "returning" to that city, here mentioned, must have been about Wednesday, 16 Jan., 1693;.

65 The small-pox raged in Boston during the spring and summer of 1690; and this testimony of Church's shows that its ravages had commenced as early as January, 1693. Samuel Green, Jr., the printer, died, after an illness of three days with it, in July, 1690; and his wife followed him a few days after. In August, 1690, a son of Rev. John Cotton wrote to his father, "The small-pox is as bad as ever." [Thomas's Hist. Printing, i: 282.]

66 The first Bolton Court House, or Town House, was begun to be built about 1657. It stood where the "old State House" now stands, in the head of State Street, and was burned in the great fire of 1711, being built of wood. [Drake's Hist. Bog. i: 350.]

67 The exact date of the shipping of Andros for England seems to have been singularly unnoted in the records of the time; and is, perhaps, more nearly determined by what Church says here than in any other way. Hutchinson says [Hist. Me. i: 349], "The first opportunity (the beginning of February) after the arrival of the King's order, he, with Mr. Dudley and several others, embarked for England." Mr. Drake [Hist. Bog. i: 486] says, "Some time in the winter following [that of 1692], an order was received from their Majesties to send the prisoners over thence; and they were accordingly sent in the first ship bound to that country." The author of the Life of Andros [Governors of Me. Bog. 419] says, "In February, 1690, they were sent home to England." Elliott [New-Eng. Hist. i: 38o] says, "In February, 1689, with Dudley and some
Church still waiting upon them, and at every opportunity intreating those Gentlemen in the behalf of the poor People of Cafo, informing them the necessity of taking care of them either by sending them relief early in the Spring, or suffer them to draw off, otherwise they would certainly be destroyed, &c. There answer was, They could do nothing till Sir Edmund was gone. Waiting there three weeks upon great expences, he concluded to draw up some of the circumstances of Cafo and Places Adjacent, and to leave it upon the Council-Board, before the Governour & Council; having got it done, obtained liberty to go up where the Governour and Council was fitting, he inform'd their Honours, that he had waited till his Patience was wore out; so had drawn up the matter to leave upon the Board before them: which is as follows.

To the Honoured Governour and Council of the Maffachufetts.

Gentlemen,

Whereas by vertue of Yours with Plymouthe's desires and Commands, I went Eastward in the last Expedition against the Common Indian Enemy, where Providence others, he was sent away to England," Barry [Hist. Marys. 1: 508] says, "By the first opportunity the prisoners were sent to England in the ship 'Mehitable,' Gilbert Baut, master," and places in the margin the date of "Feb. 9, 1645." The date of Church's communication to the Governor and Council seems to make it clear, that, so far as he was informed, as late as the 6th Feb., 1645, there was no immediate probability that the ship would fail; as, had he seen such a probability, having waited three weeks, he would have been likely to have waited at least a very few days longer in hope to secure his end.
so ordered that we Attack'd their greatest body of Forces, coming then for the Destruction of Falmouth, which we knew March'd off Repul'd with considerable Damage, leaving the ground, and never since seen there, or in any Place Adjacent: the time of the Year being then too late to prosecute any further design, and other Accidents falling contrary to my expectation, Impeding the desired Success. Upon my then Removal from the Province of Maine, the Inhabitants were very Solicitous that this Enemy might be further Prosecuted, willing to venture their Lives and Fortunes in said Enterprise, wherein they might serve God, their King and Country, and enjoy Quiet & Peaceable Habitations; Upon which I promised to signify the same to Your Selves, and willing to venture that little which Providence hath be-trusted me with on the said account. The Season of the Year being such if some speedy Action be not performed in Attacking them, they will certainly be upon us in our Out Towns (God knows where) and the Inhabitants there being not able to Defend themselves, without doubt many Souls may be cut off, as our last Years Experience wofully hath declared; The Inhabitants there trust to your Protection, having undertaken Government and your Propriety; If nothing be performed on the said account (The best way under Correction) is to Demolish the Garrison, and draw off the Inhabitants, that they may not be left to a Merciless Enemy; and that the Arms and Ammunition may not be there left for the

68 "Propriety—property." [Bailey.]  
69 That is—"the best way, in my judgment, holding myself liable to correction by your superior wisdom."
The strengthening of the Enemy; who without doubt have need enough, having exhausted their greatest Store in this Winter Season: I have performed my Promise to them, and acquitted myself in Specifying the same to your selves: Not that I desire to be in any Action (altho' willing to serve my King & Country) and may pass under the censure of Scandalous Tongues in the last Expedition, which I hope they will amend on the first opportunity of Service. I leave to the Mature Consideration, the loss of Trade and Fishery, the War brought to the Doors; what a Triumph will it be to the Enemy, derision to our Neighbours, besides dishonour to God and our Nation, and grounds of frowns from our Prince, the frustration of those whose eyes are upon you for help, who might have otherwise applied themselves to their King. Gentlemen, this I thought humbly to propose unto you, that I might discharge myself in my trust from your Selves, and Promise to the Inhabitants of the Province, but especially my Duty to God, His Majesty and my Nation, Praying for Your Honours Prosperity, Subscribe,

A true Copy given in at Boston, Your Servant,
this 6th of February 1689. Benj. Church.

At the Council Board. Attt T. S.

Maj. Church said moreover that in thus doing he had comply'd with his Promise to those poor People of Casco, and should be quit from the guilt of their blood: the Governor was pleased to Thank him for his care & pains taken. Then taking his leave of them went home, and
left Capt. Scottaway in a very sorrowful condition, who return'd home sometime after with only a Copy of what was left on the Board by the said Church. Maj. Church not hearing any thing till May following and then was inform'd, That tho' poor People of Casco were cut off by the barbarous Enemy: and that tho' they made their terms with Monsieur Casheen, who was Commander of those Enemies, yet he suffered those Mercifles Salvages, to Maffacre & Defroy the most of them.  

To conclude this first Expedition, East; I shall just give you a hint how Maj. Church was treated (tho' he was Commander in Chief of all the Forces out of Plymouth and Boston Government) after he came home, for Plymouth Gentlemen paid him but Forty two Pounds; telling him, He must go to Boston Gentlemen for the rest, who were his employers as well as they. Of whom he never had one Penny for all Travel and Expences in Raising Volunteers, and Services done; except Forty Shillings or there about, for going from Boston to Rhode-Island on their business, and back to

---

70 Frontenac sent a body of French and Indians with a large company of Tarratines under Cajin, early in May, against Falmouth. They made their attack 16 May, and 20 May. Cajin having "lifted his hand and sworn by the great and everliving God" to keep the articles of surrender, the garrison of Fort Loyall surrendereed; to find every article violated, with insult, abuse, and the most fiendish atrocities.  


71 Plymouth Colony voted, 25 Dec., 1689, to pay Major Church "£10. (besides what he hath received from the Bay) more than his wages by the week, and that his weekly wages as Major in ye late expedition be 40 s."; and "that Major Church shall have £2. caib, and Capt. Baffiit £3. caib, part of what is due to them from the Colony paid to them by the Constables of Plymouth out of the last rate." [Plym. Col. Rec. vi: 229.]
Boston again: Also for sending a Man to Providence for Capt. Edmunds (who rais’d a Company in those Parts) and went East with them.

The Second Expedition, East.

In the Year 1690, was the Expedition to Canada, and Maj. Walley often requested Maj Church that if he would not go himself in that expedition, that he would not hinder others: He answered the said Walley, That he should hinder none but his old Souldiers, that us’d to go along with him, &c. And the said Church going down to Charlestown to take his leave of some of his Relations, and Friends, who were going in that Expedition, promised his Wife and Family not to go into Boston, the Small Pox being very brief there. Coming to Charlestown, several of his Friends in Boston came over to see him; and the next day after the said Church came there, Maj. Walley [67] came to him, and informed him, That the Governour

---

72 See Part I, note 116.
73 John Walley wrote, 21 Apr., 1690, to Gov. Hinckley, “The Indians of Dartmouth and Seaconnet—which are about 100 men, 50 or more armed—have had a meeting: chose Lieut. Southard for their Captain or Commander, and one Daniel Eaton; under whom they are willing to serve the English, if we should be assaulted. They have chose Captain Numpas and another Indian for their Indian Commanders.” [Hinckley Papers, 4 Mass. Hist. Coll. v: 247.] This “Lieut. Southward” was doubtless Church’s brother-in-law, William Southworth [see note 53, ante]; and, if he went to the war, he was probably one of the “relations” here referred to. Mr. Drake thinks he was (by his nickname Bill) the “B. Southworth” of Part I, page 35.
74 An evident misprint for “rife” which Dr. Stiles corrected.
75 See note 65, ante.
and Council wanted to speak with him: He answered him, That he had promised his Wife and Family not to go into Boston; saying, If they had any business, they could write to him, and that he would send them his answer. Soon after came over two other Gentlemen with a Message, that the Governor & Council wanted to have some discourse with him: The answer return'd was, That he intended to lodge that Night at the Gray-hound in Roxbury, and that in the Morning would come to Pollard's at the South End of Boston; which accordingly he did: Soon after he came thither received a letter from the Honourable Capt. Sewall to request him to come to the Council;

76 William Pollard was son of William and Ann (who was wont to boast that she went over in the first boat that crossed Charles River, in 1630, and was first to jump ashore at what is now Boston), b. 20 Mar., 1653; m. Margaret ----; had William, b. 21 Dec., 1687 William again, 2 Apr., 1690, and Jonathan. Joined the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Co., 1679. He kept an "ordinary," as I learn from the record, (through J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., from the kindreds of W. I. Bowditch, Esq.,) a little over 100 ft. jut south of Eliot St., on Washington St. [Savage's Gen. Dir., iii: 449; Whitman's Hist. And Hist. Art. Co. 211.]

77 Samuel Sewall, son of Henry, was born at Horton, near Basingstoke, Eng., 28 March, 1651; came to New England with his mother 1661; graduated at Harvard Coll. 1671; was Captain of militia in Boston, and Major of the regiment 1675-6; admitted Freeman 1678; joined the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Co., 1679; was Captain of it 1701; Superintendent of the Press 1681; Admiral 1684-6, and again 1689-92; Judge of Superior Court 1692, and one of Special Commissary to try the witches; Judge of Probate for 1715; Chief-Justice 1718-1728; died in Boston, 30 Jan., 1730, ett. 78. He was a bookseller at one time, and printed an edition of the catechism with his own hand. He is now chiefly remembered for his copious notes of the facts of the time, in journals, almanacs, &c., &c. He married (1) 28 Feb., 1676, Hannah, only surviving child of John Hull, mint-master, by whom he had John, Samuel, Hannah, Elizabeth, Hull, Henry, Stephen, Joseph, Judith, Mary, Sarah, Judith (again), and another; (2) 29 Oct., 1719, Abigail, daughter of Jacob Mel-
the answer he return’d by the bearer was, That he thought there was no need of his hazarding himself so much as to come & speak with them; not that he was afraid of his Life, but because he had no mind to be concern’d any further, by reason they would not hearken to him about the poor People of Casco. But immediately came Mr. Maxfield to him, saying, That the Council bid him tell the said Church, That if he would take his Horse and ride along the middle of the Street there might be no danger, they were then sitting in Council: He bid him go and tell his Masters, Not to trouble themselves, whether he came upon his head or feet, he was coming: however thinking the return was something rude, call’d him back to drink a Glass of Wine, and then he would go with him. So coming to the Council, They were very thankful to him for his coming; and told him that the occasion of their sending for him was, That there was a Captive come in who gave them an account, That the Indians were come down and had taken possession of the Stone Fort at Pejepscot, so that they wanted his advice & thoughts about the matter; whither


29 James Maxwell was doorkeeper for the Governor and Council and Court in 1693, and was probably the man Church here had in mind. Indeed, Savage admits that the name may be the same as Maxfield. He was a member of the “Scott’s Charitable Society,” in Boston, in 1684. [Savage’s Gen. Dict. iii: 183; Drake’s Hist. Bos. i: 455.]

29 Pejepscot fort was situated on the western side of what are now known as Pejepscot Lower Falls, or Brunswick falls, on the Androscoggin. [Hamilton’s Hist. Me. 1: 46, 599, 624.]
they would tarry and keep in that Fort or not? and whither it was not expedient to fend some Forces to do some fpoil upon them; and further to know whither he could not be prevail'd with to Raife some Volunteers and go, to do some fpoil upon them? He anfwer'd them, he was unwilling to be concern'd any more; it being very difficult and chargeable to Raife Volunteers, as he found by experience in the laft Expedition. But they using many arguments prevail'd fo far with him, That if the Government of Plymouth faw caufe to fend him (he would go) thinking the Expedition would be short. Took his leave of them & went home. And in a short time after there came an Exprefs from Governour Hinkley, to requeft Maj. Church to come down to Barnstable to him: he having received a Letter from the Government of Boston to raife some Forces to go East; whereupon the faid Maj. Church went the next day to Barnstable, as ordered; finding the Governour and fome of the Council of War there, 30 dif-

30 The Council of War at this time, by law of 1671, was composed of the Governor and Affiliants as annually chosen, "and a like number of other trufty and able men chosen also by the General Court, and from year to year filled up, if by death removed, or otherwise any of them be wanting, or incapacitated to perform their trust." The Governor and Affiliants this year were: —

Thomas Hinkley, Gov., (Barnstable.)
William Bradford, Dep. Gov., (Plymouth.)
John Freeman, (Eastham.)

John Thacher, (Yarmouth.)
John Wally, (Barnstable.)
John Cushing, (Scituate.)

To these were added, in 1689, to make up the Council of War, the following, viz: —

Nathaniel Byfield, (Bristol.)
Capt. Jonathan Sparrow, (Eastham.)
Lieut. Isaac Little, (Marlfield.)

Who, of the number formerly appointed, held over to complete the number, we are not informed. [Brigham's Laws of Col. of New Plym. 285; Plym. Col. Rec. vi: 205, 212.]
cous’d him, concluding that he should take his Indian Souldiers, and two English Captains with what Volunteers as could be raised; and that one Capt. should go out of Plymoutb and Barnstable County, and the other out of Bristol County, concluding that he could raise, concluding to have but few Officers, to serve Charge: the said Church was at great Charge & Expence in raising of Forces. Governor Hinkley promised that he would take care to provide Vessels to transport the said Army with Ammunition & Provisions, by the time prefixed by himself, for the Government of Boston had oblig’d themselves by their Letter, to provide any thing that was wanting; so at the time prefixed Major Church March’d down all his Souldiers out of Bristol County to Plymoutb, as ordered; and being come, found it not as he expected, for there was neither Provisions, Ammunition nor Transports; so he immediately sent an Express to the Governour who was at Barnstable, to give him an account that he with the Men were come to Plymoutb, and found nothing ready; in his return to the said Church, gave him an account of his disappointments; and sent John Lathrop of Barnstable in a

81 The Plymouth Records show that the Court, which met 5 June, 1690, took action in regard to co-operating with the Mass. Colony in the proposed expedition to Canada, and appointed Capt. Joseph Silvester (of Scituate) and Mr. John Gorham (of Barnstable) to be Captains, with Jabez Snow (of Eastham) and Samuel Gallop (of Boston?) Lieutenants. [Plym. Col. Rec. vi: 250.]

82 That is, Gov. Hinckley, in his reply to Church’s message, “gave him an account, &c.”

83 John Lathrop was youngest son of Rev. John, of Barnstable; married 3 Jan., 1672, at Plymouth, Mary Cole; had John, Mary, Martha, Elizabeth, James, Hannah, Jonathan, Barnabas, Abigail, and Experience; died 17 Sept., 1727, at.

85. [Savage’s Gen. Dict. iii: 120.]
Veoffel with some Ammunition and Provision on board, to him at Plymouth; also sent him word that there was more on board of Samuel Alling\(^84\) of Barnstable, who was to go for a Transport, and that he himself would be at Plymouth the next day: but Alling never came near him, but went to Billings-gate at Cape-cod,\(^85\) as he was inform'd. The Governor being come, said to Maj. Church that he must take some of the open Sloops, and make Spar-Decks to them, and lay Platforms for the Soldiers to lie upon; which delays were very Expensive to the said Church; his Soldiers being all Volunteers, daily expected to be treated by him, and the Indians always begging for Money to get drink: but he using his utmost diligence, made what dispatch he could to be gone. Being ready to Imbark, received his Commission and Instructions from Governor Hinkley, which are as followeth, viz.

The Council of War of their Majestys Colony of New-Plymouth in New-England. To Major Benjamin Church Commander in Chief, &c.

Whereas the Kenebeck and Eastward Indians, with the French their Confederates have openly made War

\(^84\) Samuel Allyn of Barnstable, eldest son of Thomas of the same, born 10 Feb., 1644; was Lieut., and Town Clerk; was Deputy 1682-4; married Hannah, daughter of Rev. Thomas Walley; had Thomas, Samuel, Joseph, Hannah, and Elizabeth; died 25 Nov., 1726, \(\text{et. } 82\). [Freeman's \textit{Hist. Cape Cod}, ii : 274.]

\(^85\) "Billingsgate Point is on the west side of the town [Eaflham], about 6 miles from the main land, with which it was formerly connected; but for many years it has been an island, the sea having broken over and washed it away in two places, where is sufficient water for small vessels to pass through." [Pratt's \textit{Hist. Eaflham}, 2.]
upon their Majesty's Subjects of the Provinces of Maine, New-Hampshire and of the Massachusetts Colony, having committed many Barbarous Murders, Spoils and Rapines upon their Persons and Estates. And whereas there are some Forces of Soldiers English & Indians now raised and detached out of the several Regiments and Places within this Colony of New-Plymouth, 80 to go forth to the Assistance of our Neighbours and Friends of the aforesaid Provinces & Colony of the Massachusetts, Subjects of one and the same Crown. And whereas you Benjamin Church are appointed to be Major and Commander in Chief of all the Forces English & Indians detached within this Colony, together with such other of their Majesty's Subjects as else where shall Lift themselves, or shall be orderly put under your Command for the Service of their Majesties as aforesaid. These are in their Majesties Name to Authorize and Require You to take into your Care & Conduct all the said Forces English & Indians, and diligently to Intend that Service, by Leading

---

The proportion fixed by the Plymouth Court, on which these soldiery were to be raised and armed, was as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Men, Arms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plymouth</td>
<td>13, 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duxbury</td>
<td>7, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marshfield</td>
<td>7, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scituate</td>
<td>16, 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridgewater</td>
<td>8, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middleborough</td>
<td>3, 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barnstable</td>
<td>12, 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandwich</td>
<td>10, 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yarmouth</td>
<td>10, 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was ordered, also, that there be raised 50 Indians,—22 in the county of Barnstable, 22 in the county of Bristol, and 6 in that of Plymouth. Also, Plymouth County was to “provide armes and other necessaries” for 18 men, Barnstable County for 15, and Bristol County for 17. [Plym. Col. Rec. vi: 249.] The debt incurred by the Plymouth Colony for its share of the expenses of this campaign amounted to £1,350. The entire ratable estate of that Colony, then, was £35,900.
& Exercising of your Inferiour Officers and Souldiers, Commanding them to Obey [69] you as their Chief Commander. And to pursue, fight, take, kill or destroy the said Enemies, their Aiders and Abettors by all the ways and means you can, as you shall have opportunity, & to accept to Mercy or grant Quarter & Favour to such or so many of said Enemies as you shall find needful for promoting the design aforesaid. And you to observe and obey all such Orders and Instructions, as from time to time you shall receive from the Commissioners of the Colonies, or the Council of War of the said Colony of New-Plymouth, or from the Governour and Council of the Massachufetts. In Testimony whereof is affixed the Publick Seal of this Colony. Dated in Plymouth the Second day of September, Anno Domi. 1690. Annoque Regni Regis et Reginae Willielmi et Marie &c. Secundo.

Tho. Hinkley President.

Instructions for Major Benjamin Church Commander in Chief of the Plymouth Forces, with other of the Massachufetts put under his Command.

In pursuance of the Commission given you for their Majesty’s Service in the present Expedition against the Common Enemy, Indian & French their Aiders and Abettors, on the request of our Brethren and Friends of the Massachufetts Colony, Subjects of one and the same Crown of England; for our Assistance of them therein. Reposing confidence in your Wisdom, Prudence, Prudence,
and Faithfulness in the trust under God committed to you for the Honour of His Name, the Interest of Christ in these Churches, and the good of the whole People; Praying and Expecting that in your dependance on Him, you may be helped and Affisted with all that Grace, Wisdom and Courage necessary for the carrying of you on with Success in this difficult Service; and tho' much is and must be left to your discretion, with your Council of Officers, as Providence & Opportunity may present from time to time in Places of action. Yet the following Instructions are commended to you to be observed & attended by you, so far as the State and Circumstances of that affair will admit.

You are with all possible speed to take care that the Plymouth Forces both English & Indians under your Command be fixed & ready on the first opportunity of Wind & Weather, to go on board such Vessels, as are provided to transport you to Piscataqua; and there take under your care & command such Companies of the Massachusetts Colony, as shall by them be ordered and added to you there, or else where from time to time; all which you are to improve in such way, and from place to place, as with the advice of your Council, consisting of the Commission Officers of the Massachusetts Colony, and Plymouth under your conduct, shall seem meet, for the finding out, pursuing, taking or destroying of said common Enemy, on all opportunities, according to Commis-

\[\text{Portsmouth, N.H.}\]
fion, and such further Orders & Instructions as you have
or may receive from the Governour & Council of the
Massachusetts, the Commissioners for the United Colonies,
or the Governour & Council of Plymouth; so far as you
may be capable, Intending what you can the preferving
of the near Towns from the Incursions and destruction of the Enemy: But chiefly to intend the finding out,
pursuing, taking and destroying the Enemy abroad, and if
possible to attack them in their head quarters and principal
Rendezvous, if you are in a rational capacity of so doing;
and for the better enabling you thereunto, We have ap-
pointed the Vessels that transport you, and the Provisions,
&c. to attend your motion & order, until you shall see
causes to dismiss them, or any one of them, which is
defired to be done the first opportunity that the Ser-
vice will admit. You are to see that your Soldiers
Armes be always fixt, and they provided with Ammu-
nition, and other necessaries, that they may be always
ready to repel and attack the Enemy. You are to take
special care to avoid danger in the pursuit of the Enemy's
by keeping out Scouts, and a forlorn,86 to prevent the
Ambushments of the Enemy on your main body in their
Marches. And by all possible means to surprize some of
the Enemy, that so you may gain better Intelligence.

You are to take effectual care that the worship of God

86 "Forlorn—men detached from several regiments, or otherwise appointed to give the first onset in battle, or to begin the attack of a besieged place." [Bailey.] "Forlorn-hope" comes from it, as implying special danger.
be kept up in the Army, that Morning and Evening Prayer be attended, and the holy Sabbath duly Sanctified, as the Emergency of your affairs will admit.

You are to take strict care to prevent or punish Drunkenness, Curtsey, Swearing and all other Vice; lest the anger of God be thereby provoked to fight against you.

You are from time to time to give Intelligence and advice to the Governor of the Massachusetts, and to us of your proceeding and occurrences that may attend you. And in case of a failure of any Commission Officers, you are to appoint others in their stead. And when with the advice of your Council aforesaid, you shall after some tryal see your Service not like to be advantageous to the accomplishment of the Publick end aforesaid: That then you return home with the Forces; especially if you shall receive any orders or directions so to do from the Massachusetts, or from us. Given under my hand at Plymouth, the 2d day of September, Anno Domi 1690.

Tho. Hinckley GOV. & President.

Now having a fair Wind Maj Church soon got to Piscataqua, who was to apply himself to Maj. Pike a worthy

89 If Church failed from Plymouth immediately on receipt of his commission and instructions, he probably went off on Tuesday, 2 Sept., 1690. On the following Tuesday he received his instructions at Portsmouth from Major Pike, and speaks of being delayed about 9 days. He probably reached Piscataqua on Wednesday, 3 Sept., and received the Major’s instructions two or three days before he was ready to move upon Pejepscot.

90 Robert Pike, of Salisbury, son of John, of Newbury; was freeman 17
Gentleman, who said, He had advice of his coming from Boflon Gentlemen; also he had received directions that what Men the said Church should want must be rais'd out of Hampshire; out of their several Towns and Garrifons: Maj. Pike ask'd him, How many Men he should want? He said enough to make up his Forces that he brought with him, 300 at leaft, and not more than 350. And fo in about Nine days time he was supply'd with two Companies of Souldiers. He having been at about Twenty Shillings a day charge in expences while there. Now he received Maj. Pike's Instructions: which are as followeth,

Portsmouth in New-Hampshire, Sept. 9, 1690.

To Maj. Benjamin Church Commander in Chief of their Majufly's Forces now design'd upon the preuent Expedition Eastward, & now Resident at Portsmouth. [71]

The Governor and Council of the Maffachufetts Colony reposing great trufi and confidence in your Loyalty & Valour from experience of your former Actions, and of Gods presence with you in the fame. In pursuuant of an Order received from them, Commanding it. These are in their Majufly's Names to Impower and Require you as Commander in Chief, to take into your care and conducf these Forces

May, 1637; Repreftative from S., 1648, and fome following years; Affiftant 1652 and 1691; Councillor 1689 and 1691; was Major in one of the Suffolk regiments. He married, 3 April, 1641, Sarah Sanders, and had Sarah, Mary, Dorothy, Mary (again), Elizabeth, John, Robert, and Moses; died 12 Dec., 1706, aet. 91. He was early a church member. [Savage's Gen. Dilr. lii : 436.]
now here present at their Rendezvouz at Portsmouth; and they are alike required to obey you: and with them to Sail Eastward by the first opportunity to Casco, or Places Adjacent, that may be most commodious for Landing with safety and secrecy, and to visit the Enemy French & Indians at their head quarters at Amoras-cogen,91 Pejepscot, or any other Plat, according as you may have hope or intelligence of the Resident of the Enemy; using always your utmost indevour for the preservation of your own Men, and the killing, destroying and utterly rooting out the Enemy wherefoever they may be found; as also as much as may possibly be done for the redeeming or recovering of our Captives in any Places.

You being then arrived, & understanding your way, to take your Journey back again either by Land or Water, as you shall judge most convenient for the accomplishing of the end intended; and to give intelligence always of your motions whensoever you can with safety and convenience.

Lastly, in all to consult your Council the Commanders or

91 Androscoggin. On a rude pen-drawn map [in the Connecticut Archives, War. Vol. III. Doc. 86 (for a copy of which I am indebted to the kindness of the Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull)], bearing notes in the handwriting of Hon. William Pitkin, who was one of the two Connecticut Commissioners at the meeting in Boston, which declared war with the Eastern Indians, and appointed Church commander (see note 27, ante), — which map is clearly contemporaneous, and may have been traced by Church to affit their deliberations, — this is written in two words, thus, Amrof Cogin, and is flated to be “about So myle from the sea.” It was situated upon a territory which used to be called by the Indians Roccamce, and was the headquarters of the Androscoggin tribe, and seems to have been near the great Pen-nacock falls on the Androscoggin river, in Rumford. [Me. Hist. Coll. iii : 323.]
Commission Officers of your several Companies, when it may be obtained, the greater part of whom to determine, and so the Lord of Ho£l the God of Armies go along with you, and be your Condu£t. Given under my hand the day and year abovefaid.

Per Robert Pike.

Being ready, they took the first opportunity and made the best of their way to Pęjęfoçt Fort, where they found nothing. From thence they March’d to Amreras-cogen, 91

92 Church’s letter to Gov. Hinckley, of date 30 Sept., 1690, narrating the events of this expedition—lately printed by Mr. S. G. Drake in his additions to Bayliss’s Plymouth [pp. 90-97]—says, “We sett a fire from Picataqua upon the 10th instant, at 2 in the afternoon, and came the 11th in the night amongst the Islands in Cafto Bay.” He proceeds as follows:

“Laid the vessells close out of sight—went on shore at break of day, upon an Island that had been inhabited by the English, called Capoag [Chebeague, or Chebacco, now known as Great Gebeg, and called “Sheab” on the “Ancient Plan.”] We ranged about, found where the enemy had lately been, but were driven off. This was the twelfth day. In the evening we gave on to Magpoot or Marpoot, the N. E. termination of Magpecook bay, in Freeport, Me.; and the 13th day about 2½ of the clocke in the morning we landed our men silently upon the Maine; and leaving soldiers on board to keep the vessels, we marched in the night up to Pochiffcutt [Pejęfoçt] fort.—divided the army into 3 companies, surrounded the fort, and when daylight appeared we found that the enemy were removed not long before we came there; also the soldiery found some little plunder, and a barn of corn.”

93 Williamfon [Hiß. Me. i: 624] makes the careless mistake of representing the flight of Doney, the release of the captives, &c., which really took place on the next day (Saturday, 14 Sept., 1690) at the upper falls, as taking place here at Brunswick Lower Falls.

94 Church says in his letter [see note 92, ante] that he went up “on the S. W. side of the river altho’ the way was extremely difficult: yet it was a more oblique way: the enemy using to march on the N. E. side.” He further says [p. 91] that they marched on the same day (Saturday) on which they reached Pejęfcoet, “above the middle falls, about 20 miles,” when it rained hard, and they there encamped. This was at Lewiston Falls, called by the Indians Amityonpoutook. They marched
and when they came near the Fort Maj. Church made a
halt, ordering the Captains to draw out of their several
Companies 60 of their meanest men, to be a guard to the
Doctor & Snapfacks; 85 being not a Mile from said Fort;
and then Moving towards the Fort, they saw young Doney 86
and his Wife, with two English Captives: the said Doney
made his escape to the Fort, his Wife was shot down, and
so the two poor Captives releas'd out of their bondage.
The said Maj. Church and Capt. Walton 87 made no stop,
making the best of their way to the Fort with some of
the Army, in hopes of getting to the Fort before young

the next day at dawn, and came within
fight of the fort about 2 P. M. [Me.
Hiij. Coll. iii: 322.]

85 "In short time came to the westerly
branch of the Great River, and there
left our baggage and those men that
were tired, and made them up to forty
men to guard the Doctor." Church's
Letter [Drake's Baylies, Pt. v: 91.]

86 In his Book of the Indians [p. 307],
Mr. Drake gives it as his opinion that
this Doney, or Dony, family were French
residents among the Indians, like Cas-
tis, and that this son was a half-breed.
Williamfon [i: 642] says he was one of
the Sokokis (or Sochhigowes), who were
the aborigines of the Saco valley. Sul-
ivan [Hiij. Dift. Me. ii 180] calls old
Doney "a fugivo." Mother [Magnalia,
B. vii: 56, 87] enumerates Robin Doney
among the Sagamores who signed the
"subnission" at Penmanquid in 1693,
and says he was feiz'd at Saco within a
year after. He is thought to have been
the "Old Doney" mentioned in a letter
written by Church, and the father of
this fugitive. Williamfon refers to him
[i. 642] with Bomaseen.

87 Shadrach Walton, of Great Island
(now Newcastle, N. H.), was second
son of George and Alice, was b. 1658, was
Captain in 1690; Major in the attack on
Fort Royal in 1701; Colonel of New-
Hampshire troops in 1710; Colonel of
the Rangers in active service the next
winter: was made a Royal Counsellor
in 1716; quieted the Eastern Indians
in 1720; was senior member and President
of the Council Board in 1733; was Judge
C. C. P. 1695-1698; Judge S. C. 1698,
1699; and again Judge C. C. P. 1716-
1737. He died 3 Oct., 1741, aged 83.
He was father of George: Benjamin
(H. U. 1729, a minister); Elizabeth
(m. Keefe); Abigail (m. Long); Sarah
(m. Sheafe); Mary (m. Randall, and
became g. g. m. of the founder of the
"Free-Will Baptist Connexion.") [Rev.
A. H. Quint, D.D., in N. E. Hiij. &
Gen. Reg. ix: 57.]
Doney, but the River thro' which they must pass being as deep as their Arm-pits; however Maj. Church as soon as he was got over ftrip'd to his Shirt and Jacket, leaving his Breeches behind, ran directly to the Fort, having an eye to see if young Doney, who ran on the other side of the River should get there before him: the Wind now blowing very hard in their Faces as they ran was some help to them; for several of our Men fired Guns, which they in the Fort did not hear; so that we had taken all in the Fort had it not been for young Doney, who got to the Fort just before we did, who ran into the South Gate, and out at the North, all the Men following him except one, who all ran directly down to the great River and Falls. The said Church and his Forces being come pretty near, he ordered the said Walton to run directly with some Forces into the Fort, and himself with the rest ran down to the River after the Enemy, who ran some of them into the River, and the rest under the great Falls; those who ran into the River

---

*Drake's Baylies, Pt. v: 91, 92.*
were kill'd, for he saw but one man get over, and he only crept up the bank, and there lay in open fight; and those that ran under the Falls they made no discovery of, notwithstanding several of his men went in under the said Falls, and was gone some considerable time; could not find them; so leaving a Watch there, return'd up to the Fort, where he found but one Man taken & several Women & Children, amongst which was Capt. Hakins Wife & Worumbos's Wife, the Sachem of that Fort, with their Children; the said Hakins was the Sachem of Pennacook, who destroyed Maj Walden and his Family, some time before, &c. The said two Women, viz. Hakins and Worumbos's Wives, requested the said Church that he would spare them and their Children's lives, promising upon that condition, he should have all the Captives that were taken, and in the Indians hands: He ask'd them, How many? they said about four-score: So upon that condition he promis'd them their lives, &c. And in the said Fort there was several English Captives, who were in a miserable condition; amongst whom

99 Kankamagus (alias John Ilogiun, Hawkins, or Hakins) was a Pennacook Sachem. About 1693 he wrote several letters to Gov. Cranfield, of New Hampshire, disclosing his fear of the Mohawks and his desire for English protection. He subsequently fled to the eastward, and joined the Androscoggin, where he became hostile to the settlers, and in 1689 headed the massacre of Maj. Waldron. His wife and four children were here taken captive, and his father was among the slain. [Book of the Indians, 297-300; Drake's Baylies, Pt. v: 97.]

100 Worombo (Worumbos) was a Tararatine, and Sachem of Androscoggin [Amos Coggen, Church spells it, in his letter, much as Pitkin wrote it (see note 91, ante)]. He had two children captured here. [Vid. Church's Letter, 97.]

101 See notes 12 and 32, ante.
was Capt. Huckings's Wife of Oyster-River. Maj. Church proceeded to examine the Man taken, who gave him an account that most of their fighting men were gone to Winter-harbour, to provide Provisions for the Bay of Fondy Indians, who were to come and join with them to fight the English. The Souldiers being very rude would hardly spare the Indians life, while in examination, intending when he had done that he should be Executed: but Capt. Huckings Wife and another Woman down on their knees beg'd for him, saying, He had been a means to save their Lives and a great many more; and had helped several to opportunities to run away & make their escape; and that

---

102 "We found a pretty deal of corn in barns under ground, and destroyed it; also we found guns and ammunition a pretty deal, with beaver, and we took 5 English captives, viz. Lieut. Robert Hookins his widow of Oyster River; Benjamin Barnards wife of Salmon Falls; Ann Heard of Cochecho; one Willif's daughter of Oyster River, and a boy of Exeter." [Ibid. 92.] Oyster River was originally a part of Dover, N.H., now Durham. James Huckins was son of Robert, Confiable 1683; had eldest son Robert; was killed in the outlaught of the Indians in August, 1689. [Farmer's Belknap's New Hamp. 131; Savage's Gen. Dict. ii. 487.]

103 Dictating to his son Thomas a quarter of a century afterwards, it is not strange that some particulars should have faded from the memory of Capt. Church. He here reprefents his halle to make the belft of his way back to Winter-Harbor to be for the purpose of intercepting and capturing thefe Indians, who were gone thither for provisions. But in his letter, written at the time, he informs Gov. Hinkley that—

"Both Indians and English informed us that the enemy had lately had a consultation. Many of them were for peace and many againſt it, and had hired and procured about 300, and intended for Wells with a flagg of truce and offer them peace. If they could not agree then to fall on. If they could not take Wells, then they resolved to attack Pifcattuqua." [p. 92].

He adds [p. 93]: "We made all halfe imaginable, for fear none of our towns should be attacked before we came home." This would seem to be the true explanation of his hurried march back; that he feared a massacre in his abfence.
never since he came amongst them had fought against the English, but being related to Hakims Wife kept at the Fort with them, he having been there two Years; but his living was to the westward of Boston. So upon their request his life was spared, &c. Next day the said Church ordered that all their Corn should be destroyed, being a great quantity, saving a little for the two old Squaws which he design'd to leave at the Fort to give an account who he was, and from whence he came: the rest being knock'd on the head, except what afore-mentioned, for an example, ordering them to be all buried.184 Having enquired where all their best Bever was? They said, it was carried away to make a present to the Bay of Fondy Indians, who were coming to their Assistance. Now being ready to draw off from thence, he call'd the two old Squaws to him, and gave each of them a Kittle and some Biskets, biding them to tell the Indians when they came home, [73] that he was known by the Name of Capt. Church, and liv'd in the Westerly part of Plymouth Government; and that

184 There is a tinge of barbarity in the narrative here, which is absent from the letter, and which leads us to imagine that the doughty old warrior, roughly telling his tale so long after, was scarcely just to himself in some of the motives which he intimates. The letter thus narrates it [p. 93], saying nothing about "knocking on the head" for "example," which would have been a most unlikely procedure where the aim was to secure "the like to ours": "We left two old squaws that were not able to march; gave them victuals enough for one week of their own corn boiled, and a little of our provisions, and buried their dead, and left them clothes enough to keep them warme, and left the wigwams for them to lye in,—gave them orders to tell their friends how kind we were to them,—bidding them doe the like to ours."
those Indians that came with him were formerly King Philips Men, and that he had met with them in Philips War, and drew them off from him, to fight for the English against the said Philip and his Associates, who then promised him to fight for the English as long as they had one Enemy left; and said, that they did not question but before Indian Corn was ripe to have Philip's head, notwithstanding he had twice as many men as was in their Country; and that they had kill'd and taken one thousand three hundred and odd of Philips Men, Women & Children, and Philip himself, with several other Sachems, &c. and that they should tell Hakins & Worambo, That if they had a mind to see their Wives & Children they should come to Wells Garrison, and that there they might hear of them, &c.  Maj. Church having done, Mov'd with all his Forces down to Mequoyt, where the transports were (but in the way some of his Souldiers threatened the Indian man Prisoner, very much, so that in a thick Swamp he gave them the slip and got away) and when they all got on board the transport; the Wind being fair made the best of their way for Winter Harbour, and the next

---

105 The letter says [p. 93]:—
"Also, if they were for peace to come to goodman Smalls [?] att Barwick within 14 days, who would attend to discourse them."

106 "Returned in that day, and one more, to our vessels at Macquait." [Ibid.]

107 Winter-Harbor was the earliest known English name for the "Pool" at Saco, Me., near the mouth of the Saco River, above Wood Island, and the settlement which grew up near it. Williamson [Hist. Me. i: 26] says it was "so called after an ancient inhabitant there by the name of Winter." But John Winter lived at Richman's Island, or at the mouth of the Spurwink.
Morning before day, and as soon as the day appeared they discovered some Smokes rising towards Skamans Garrison: He immediately sent away a Scout of 60 Men, and follow'd presently with the whole body; the Scout coming near a River discovered the Enemy to be on the other side of the River: But three of the Enemy was come over the River to the same side of the River which the Scout was of; ran hastily down to their Canoo, two of which lay at each end of the Canoo, and the third stood up to paddle over: The Scout fired at them, and he that paddled fell down upon the Canoo and broke it to pieces, so that all three perished; the firing put the Enemy to the

[Willis's Portland, i6.] A better suggestion of the origin of the name is that of Folliom [Hist. Saco, 24]: "We have the tradition of the inhabitants of that part of Biddford, that an English vessel wintered in the Pool before the settlement of the country, and that the shelter thus afforded gave rise to the name of Winter Harbor."

108 This would appear to have been Wednesday, 17 Sept. The fort was taken on Sunday; Monday "and one more" brought them to Mquant, and "the wind being fair," they seem to have failed immediately, and reached their destination the next morning.

109 Scammon's Garrison was "on the east side of the Saco, 3 miles below the falls." [Williamson, 1: 625.] Humphrey Scammon (Scammon, Scammond) was born 1640; m. Elizabeth, dau. of Dominicus Jordan, of Spurwink; lived at Kittery Point and Cape Porpoise (Kennebunk-port) before he went to Saco; where he received a town grant, in 1679, and the same year purchased of Henry Waddock's widow her 200 acres, extending from the lower part of the river across to Goose-fair brook, and so down to the sea." He died Jan., 1727. Had Humphrey, (b. 10 May, 1677); Elizabeth (m. 1697, Andrew Haley, of Kittery); Mary (m. Puddington); Rebecca (m. Billings); Samuel, (b. 1689.) [Savage's Gen. Dict. iv: 34; Folliom's Hist. Saco, 118.]

110 "I sent out a front of 60 men to Salco Falls to make discovery; the rest in arms ready on shore; intending at their returne to march by land to Wells."

111 "The scout met with a small pty. upon the river, making fish and other provision, viz. old Dony and his crue, — about 40, in all." [Ibid. p. 94.]

112 In the letter, Capt. Church repre-
run, 113 who left their Canoo’s and Provisions to ours; 114 and old Doney, 115 and one Thomas Baker an English Man who was a Prifoner amongst them, were up at the Falls and heard the Guns fire, expected the other Indians were come to their Assistance, so came down the River in a Canoo, but when they perceived that there was English as well as Indians, old Doney run the Canoo a shore, and ran over Bakers head and followed the rest, and then Baker came to ours; and gave an account of the Bever hid at Pejepefcot plain: and coming to the place where the plunder was, the Major sent a Scout to Pejepefcot Fort, to see if they could make any discovery of the Enemies Tracks, or could discover any coming up the River; who return’d and said they saw nothing but our old Tracks at said Fort, &c. 116

113 The letter states that “at this circumstance Lt. Hunniwell was shot thorough the thigh.” [Ibid.] This was Richard Hunniwell, concerning whose famous adventures as an Indian killer, see Mc. Hift. Coll. iii: 144-148.

114 “There we took a pretty deale of powder, shot and lead, and other plunder, and 8 or 9 cannoos.” [Ibid.]

115 Thomas Baker, Follen fays (on the authority of the Scarborough recorcs), was “an inhabitant of Scarborough, in 1681.” [Hift. Saco, 194.] Willis [Hift. Portland, 286] enumerates among those taken prisoners by the Indians, at the fall of Falmouth, 20 May, 1690, “Thomas Baker (a boy).” 

116 “The man we took from them at Salco, told us that the enemie from Cape Sables and all quarters were look’d for by that time to rendezvous at Pochepeuffat: also that he knew that the enemie had brought beaver and other goods to Pochepeuffat Plaine, and bid them: he suppofed it was a gratuity for the eastward Indians: also, that he
Now having got some Plunder, One of the Captains said it was time to go home, and several others were of the same mind; and the Major being much disturb'd at the Motion of theirs, expecting the Enemy would come in a very short time where they might have a great advantage of them, &c. Notwithstanding all he could say or do, he was oblig'd to call a Council, according to his Instructions, wherein he was out-voted. The said Commander seeing he was put by of his intentions propos'd if 60 Men would stay with him he would not imbarke as yet; but all that he could say or do could not prevail; then they mov'd to the Vessels and imbarke'd, and as they were going in the Vessels on the back side of Mayr-point they discoveryed 8 or 9 Canoo's, who turn'd short about, and went up the River; being the same Indians that the Major expected, and would have waited for; and the aforesaid Captain being much disturb'd at what the Major had said to him, drew off from the Fleet, and in the Night run aground; in the Morning Anthony himself knew within half a mile where it was hid. This made us alter our former Intention; and took ship and failed to a place more eaitward then Macquait (called Mare Point [the fourth extremity of Brunswick, Me.]) Landed our men by daylight, about 230: marched round in the woods: some upon the eaitward of Pechef: some upon the eastward of Pecke: — "Letter [Ibid. p. 94.]

117 "When we got upon the Plaine we parted into 3 companies: found none of the enemie: but we found the plunder: of which a pretty deale of powder and shot." Letter [Ibid.]

118 The only paragraph in Church's letter which can be constru'd into any reference to this conflict between him and his subordinates is this: "Many crost things falling out to frustrate the designe, too long here to relate: but from Major Pike your honors will hear more at large." [Ibid. p. 97.]

119 The letter says: — "As god would have it one of our vesse尔斯 run aground, which we did not
Brakel having been advis’d and directed by the Indian that made his escape from our Forces, came down near where the aforefaid Vessell lay a-ground, and got aboard; who has proved a good Pilot and Captain for his Country. The next day it being very calm and milly, so that they were all day getting down from Maquait to Perpodack; and the Masters of the Vessels thinking it not safe putting out in the Night, so late in the Year, Anchor’d there at Perpodack; the Vessels being much crowded, the Major ordered three Companies should go on shore, and no more, himself with Capt. Converse went with them to order their lodging, and finding just Housing convenient for them, viz. Two Barns and one House; so seeing them all settled and their Watches out, the Major and Capt. Converse return’d to go aboard, and coming near where the Boat was, understand (being in the night) and hauing left her we soon mist her, Capt. Alden concluding the had run aground. And before the came clear, there escaped one Anthony Brackett of Casco, who was informed by the lad that escaped from Amocoggin aforefaid, of our army: he [Bracket] made his escape, got into our track, and came to Macquait, hallowed to the vessell, that heard him, and gladly took him on board.” [Ibid. p. 93.]

121 *James Converse* was son of James of Woburn, who was son of Edward, who, with wife Sarah, came in the fleet with Winthrop, 1630; he was of Woburn, freeman, 1671, rep. 1679, 1684-6, 1689, 1692, and Speaker in 1699, 1702-3. He married 1 Jan., 1669, Hannah Carter; had James, John, Elizabeth, Robert, Hannah, Johia, Johia, Patience, and Ebenezer. He was distinguished as a Captain and Major in the Indian wars, and was mixed up with an ecclesiastical difficulty just before his death. [Savage’s *Gen. Dict.* i: 444; Mather’s *Magnalia*, vii: Appendix, 16; Hutchinson’s *Hist. Mfs.* ii: 67, 72; *Hist. and Gen. Reg.* xiii: 31.]
it was pretty dark, they discovered some Men, but did not
know what or who they were; the Major ordered those
that were with him all to clap down and cock their Guns,
and he call’d and ask’d them, Who they were? and they
said, Indians: he ask’d them, Whose Men they were?
they said Capt. Southworth’s: he ask’d them where they
intended to lodge? They said in those little Hutts that the
Enemy had made when they took that Garrison. The
Major told them they must not make any fires; for if they
did the Enemy would be upon them before day. They
laugh’d, and said, Our Major was afraid. Having given
them their directions, he with Capt. Converse went on
board the Mary Sloop; designing to Write home, and
send away in the Morning the two Sloops which had the
Small Pox on board, &c. But before day our Indians
began to make fires and to Sing and Dance; so the Major
call’d to Capt. Southworth to go a-shore & look after his
Men, for the Enemy would be upon them by’d by. He
order’d the Boat to be hall’d up to carry him a-shore, and
call’d Capt. Converse to go with him, and just as the day
began to appear, as the Major was getting into the Boat to
go a-shore, the Enemy fired upon our Men the Indians.
notwithstanding that one Philip an Indian of ours, who
was out upon the Watch, heard a man cough, and the
sticks crack; who gave the rest an account, that he saw
Indians; which they would not believe; but said to him,
You are afraid: his answer was, that they might see them
come creeping: they laugh’d and said, they were Hogs: Ay, (said he) and they [75] will bite you by’nd by. So presently they did fire upon our Men; but the Morning being misty their Guns did not go off quick, so that our Men had all time to fall down before their Guns went off, and saved themselves from that Volley, except one man, who was kill’d. This sudden firing upon our Indian Soldiers surprized them that they left their Arms, but soon recover’d them again, and got down the bank which was but low: the Major with all the Forces on board landed as fast as they could; the Enemy firing smartly at them; however all got safe a-shore. The Enemy had a great advantage of our Forces, who were between the Sun rising & the Enemy, so that if a man put up his head or hand they could see it, and would fire at it: However some with the Major got up the bank behind stumps and rocks, to have the advantage of firing at the Enemy; but when the Sun was risen the Major slip’d down the bank again where all the Forces were order’d to observe his Motion, \textit{viz.} That he would give three shouts and then all of them should run with him up the bank: so when he had given the third shout, ran up the bank, and Capt. Converse with him, but when the said Converse perceived that the Forces did not follow as commanded, call’d to the Major and told him the Forces did not follow; who notwithstanding the Enemy fired smartly at, yet got safe down the bank again, and Rallying the Forces up the bank, soon put the Enemy
to flight; and following them so close, that they took 13 Canoo's, and one Lufty Man, who had Joseph Ramdell's Scalp by his side, who was taken by two of our Indians, and having his deserts was himself Scalp'd. This being a short and smart fight, some of our Men were kill'd, and several wounded. Some time after an English Man who

---

123 Church's account in his letter varies a little:—

"I landed the most part of the men and went on shore and ordered them where they should lodge: but the Indians in particular I ordered to such a house, or clift to go on board again; but they, contrary to my order, took up their lodge on the river by Papooducke side, where the enemy had lately rendezowed. All the rest of the comandes and companies were where I ordered them to be. The enemy discovered the Indians first, — came in the night and discovered where the Companies lay, and ambushed them at day-light: made a shot upon our Indians; it being the 21st instant, and the Sabbath day. Our English arofe to the succour of the Indians, friends; being all ready at break of day, pr. my order, and drawing up towards them, many were wounded and slain: the enemy having great advantage of ours; for the light of the day, and flares reflecting upon the waters gave them advantage to see us, when as we could not see them at all, against the dark woods: especially we could not see to distinguish between our Indians and theirs. Whereupon I ordered to lie still under the fea bancks till day-light: I coming on shore the second boat, and

---

124 "We took 2 guns and many blankets and gun-cafes, and 4 cannoos." [Ibid. p. 96.]

125 "A company of soldiers from Lynn were impressed by order of the Governor, and fent out against the Indians in the depth of winter. One of the soldiers from Lynn, Mr. Joseph Ramdell, was killed by them at Cape Bay, in 1696." [Lewis's Life. Lynn, 1772. Newhall's Annals of Lynn, 289.]

126 The letter gives a more particular statement, as follows:—

"We went on board fent away two veffels with the captives and sick and wounded men, and buried our dead, which was 3 English and 4 Indians. The wounded were 17 English and 7 Indians. Them that were flain were
was Prisoner amongst them, gave an account that our Forces had kill’d and wounded several of the Enemy, for they kill’d several Prisoners according to their Custom &c. After this action was over our Forces imbarke’d for Piscataqua, and the Major went to Wells, and remov’d the Captain there, and put in Capt. Andras, who had been with him and knew the Discourse left with the two old Squaws at Ameras-cogen, for Hakins & Worumbo to come there in 14 days, if they had a mind to hear of their Wives & Children: Who did then or soon after come with a Flag of Truce to said Wells Garrison, and had leave to come in, and more appearing came in, to the number of Eight, (without any terms) being all Chief Sachems; and was very glad to hear of the Women and Children, viz. Hakins and Worumbo’s Wives and Children; who all said three several times that they would never fight

chiefly Plimouth. The wounded of Capt. Counyerle, 6; Capt. Floyd, 3; Capt. Southworth, 4; Capt. Waltons, 3; of Capt. Andrews, one, (since that); one Englishman of Plimouth died of his wounds, and an Indian: also an Indian and Englishman both of Plimouth dead of the small-pox.” [Letter, p. 96.]

127 The letter particularizes:—
“We embarked and came to Cape Neddicke, the 22d day, and marched with about 200 men, (all we had fit for service,) to Wells: Sent a scout the next day to Saco and Winter Harbour,—about 24 miles; made no discovery of the enemy later than we were there before. Then we returned and come to Portsmouth the 26th inst, because our doctor was gone home with the wounded men, and our men were several of them sick and lame, and wanted shoes and other recruits: or else we would have gone further before we had come home.” [Ibid. p. 96.]

128 Elija Andros [Andrews, Andrews] was son of James, (who was son of Samuel, and was born probably in Saco, 1635, and who married Sarah, dau of Michael Mitton, and Margaret ——,) and survived his father, who removed to Boston and died in 1704. [Savage’s Gen. Dict. i: 33; Willis’s Hist. Portland; 289.]
againeft the English any more, for the French made fools
of them, &c. They faying as they did, the faid Andras
let them go. Maj Church being come to Piscataqua, and
two of his tranports having the Small Pox on board;
and fewer of his Men having got great Colds by their
hard Service, pretended they were going to have the Small
Pox, thinking by that means to be sent home speedily; the
Major being willing to try them, went to the Gentlemen
[76] there and deiref them to provide an Houfe, for fome
of his Men expected they should have the Small Pox;
who readily did, and told him, That the People belonging
to it was juft recover’d of the Small Pox, and had been all
at Meeting, &c. The Major returning to his Officers
order’d them to draw out all their men that were going to
have the Small Pox, for he had provided an Hoftital for
them: So they drew out 17 Men, that had as they faid, all
the fymptoms of the Small Pox; he ordered them all to
follow him, and coming to the Houfe, he ask’d them, How
they liked it? they faid very well. Then he told them
that the People in faid Houfe have all had the Small Pox,
and was recovered; and that if they went in they muft
not come out till they all had it: Whereupon they all
prefently began to grow better, and to make excuses, ex-
cept one Man who defired to stay out till Night before he
went in, &c. The Major going to the Gentlemen, told them.

129 The letter fixes the date of ar-
rial: —
"And we returned to Portland the
26th instant." The letter bears date.
Sept. 30, 1690, which puts the arrival.
That one thing more would work a perfect cure upon his Men, which was to let them go home: Which did work a cure upon all, except one, and he had not the Small Pox. So he ordered the Plunder should be divided forthwith, and sent away all the Plymouth Forces. But the Gentlemen there desired him to stay and they would be afflicting to him in raising new Forces to the number of what was sent away; and that they would send to Boston for Provisions: which they did, and sent Capt. Plaisted to the Governour and Council at Boston, &c. And in the mean time the Major with those Gentlemen went into all those Parts and raised a sufficient number of Men, both Officers & Soldiers; who all met at the bank on the same day that Capt. Plaisted return'd from Boston; whose return from Boston Gentlemen was, That the Canada Expedition had dreen'd them so that they could do no more: So that Maj. Church notwithstanding he had been at considerable Expences in raising said Forces to Serve his King and Country was oblig'd to give them a Treat and dismiss them: Taking his leave of them came home to Boston in the Mary Sloop Mr. Alden Mafter, and Capt. Couerfe with him, of a Sat-

120 Capt. Ichabod Plaisted, of Kit- 
131 Strawberry Bank, i.e. Portsmouth.  
"Whereas the name of this plantation at present being Strawberry Banke, acci-
didentally so called, by reason of a banke where strawberries was found in 
this place, now we humbly desire to 
have it called Portsmouth, being a name 
most suitable for this place, it being the 
river's mouth, and good as any in this 
land, and your pett'rs shall humbly pray." [Petition to General Court for 
change of name. Brewster's Rambles 
about Portsmouth, p. 23.]  
132 Capt. John Alden, eldest son of 
Pilgrim John, was born in 1622; re-
moved to Boston as early as December, 
1659; was well known as a naval com-
urday; and waiting upon the Governour, and some of the Gentlemen in Boston, they look'd very strange upon them, which not only troubled them but put them into some contervation what the matter should be, that after so much toyl & hard Service could not have so much as one pleasant word, nor no Money in their Pockets; for Maj Church had but Eight Pence left, and Capt. Converse none, as he said afterwards. Maj. Church seeing two Gentlemen which he knew had Money, ask'd them to lend him Forty Shillings, telling them his necessity: Yet they refus'd. So being bare of Money was oblig'd to lodge at Mr. Aldens three Nights; and the next Tuesday Morning Capt. Converse came to him (not knowing each others circumstances as yet) and said he would walk with him out of Town; so coming near Pollards at the South End, they had some Discourse; that it was very hard that they should part with dry lips: Maj. Church told Capt. Converse that he had but Eight Pence left, and could not borrow any Money to carry him home. And the said Converse said, that he had not a Penny left; so they were oblig'd to part without going in to Pollards, &c. The said Capt.
Converse returned back into Town, and the said Church went over to Roxbury; and at the Tavern he met with Stephen Braton of Rhode-Island, a Drover; who was glad to see him the said Church, and he as glad to see his Neighbour: whereupon Maj. Church call’d for an Eight-Penny Tankard of drink, and let the said Braton know his circumstances, ask’d him whether he would lend him Forty Shillings? He answered, Yes: Forty Pounds, if he wanted it. So he thank’d him, and said, he would have but Forty Shillings; which he freely lent him: and presently after Major Church was told that his Brother Caleb Church of Watertown was coming with a spare Horse for him, having heard the Night before that his Brother was come in; by which means the said Maj. Church got home. And for all his travel & expenses in raising Souldiers, and Service done, never had but 14 l. of Plymouth Gentlemen, & not a Penny of Boston: notwithstanding he had wore out all his Clothes, and run himself in debt, so that he was oblig’d to Sell half a-share of Land in Tiverton for about

124 Stephen Brayton was son of Francis, of Portsmouth, R.-I.; freeman, 1678; on the grand jury, 1687; married, 8 March, 1679, Ann, dau. of Peter Tolman, of Newport, and had Mary, Elizabeth, Ann, Preferred, and Stephen. [Savage's Gen. Dict. i: 240; R.-I. Col. Rec. iii: 4, 233.]

125 Caleb Church appears to have been the fifth child of Richard — being the youngest son of at least nine children, as Benjamin was the eldest; admitted freeman 4 March, 1689-1690; kept a tavern from 1686 to 1711 [see Drake's Book of the Indians, p. 263]; lived first in Dedham, and afterwards in Watertown; Representative, 1713; married, 16 Dec., 1667, Joanna, dau. of William Sprague, of Hingham; had eight children, viz.: Richard, Ruth, Lydia, Caleb, Jofhua, Isaac, and Rebecca. The last two were twins; and, after giving them birth, their mother died, 11 July, 1678. [Bond's Hist. Watertown, 158; N. E. Hist. & Gen. Reg. xi: 154; Part I. of this edition, p. xxx.]
60 l. which is now worth 300 l. more and above than what he had. 136

Having not been at home long before he found out the reason why Boston Gentlemen look'd so disaffected on him; as you may see by the sequel of two Letters Maj. Church sent to the Gentlemen in the Eastward parts: which are as followeth.

**Bristol, Novemb. 27. 1690.**

_Worthy Gentlemen,_

Acceding to my promise when with you last, I waited upon the Governour at Boston upon the Saturday, Capt. Converse being with me. The Governour informed us that the Council was to meet on the Monday following in the afternoon, at which time we both there waited upon them, and gave them an account of the State of your Country, and great necessities. They informed us, that their General Court was to Convene on the Wednesday following; at which time they would debate & consider of the matter; my self being bound home, Capt. Converse was ordered to wait upon them, and bring you their resolves. I then took notice of the Council that

136 It is my impression, that the good Col. Church got a little mixed in his recollections of these events, when, in his old age, he dictated this narrative. The County Records contain no trace, which I have been able to discover, of any such sale of half a share of land in Tiverton by him at this time, or for years afterward; while the fact that he was almost constantly purchasing land — buying £170 worth within a year of this date — scarcely favors the idea of pecuniary distress. He did sell, however, in June, 1691, to Nathaniel Byfield, £50 worth of land (43 acres) on Popesfagh neck, in Bristol. He owned, at this time, largely in Tiverton, and in what is now the city of Fall River. [See Part I., Introductory Memoir, pp. xxix., xxx.]
they look’d upon me with an ill aspect, not judging me
worthy to receive thanks for the Service I had done in
your parts; nor as much as ask me whether I wanted
Money to bare my Expence, or a Horse to carry me
home. But I was forc’d for want of Money (being far
from friends) to go to Roxbury on foot; but meeting there
with a Rhode-Island Gentleman, acquainted him of my
wants, who tendered me Ten Pounds, 137 whereby I was
accommodated for my Journey home: And being come
home, I went to the Minifter of our Town, 138 and gave him
an account of the transactions of the great affairs I had
been imploy’d in, and of the great [78] favour God was
pleased to shew me, and my Company, and the benefit I

137 He doubtles refers to Mr. Bray-
ton [note 134, ante], but he states the
amount of the loan differently from his
former account of it.
138 Samuel Lee was born in London,
1625; the son of Samuel, who was a
merchant of large estate: took M.A. at
Oxford, 1649; had a Wadham fellow-
ship, and, in 1666, was Proctor and
Lecturer at Great St. Helen’s, London;
in 1677 was associated with Theophilus
Gale, in Holborn; in 1679 was settled
at Bignal, near Bicoller, in Oxfordshire;
was afterwards at Newington Green,
near London; in the summer of 1686,
he landed here; went soon to Bristol,
R.-L, and became pastor of the church
at its organization, 8 May, 1687; in
1691, moved by the hope of better times
under William and Mary in England
than he had left there, and greatly
to the regret of his people and of the
ministry and churches who knew him
here, he failed for England on the Dol-
phin; was captured by a French priva-
teer and carried into St. Malo, where
he died of prison fever, leaving a wife
and daughter, and was buried out side
the walls as a heretic. Cotton Mather
said of him, “It must be granted that
hardly ever a more universally learned
person trod the American strand.” He
left a dozen or more volumes of printed
works. While in Bristol, he lived on
the east side of Thames St. (which was
then the shore of the harbor), a short
distance north of the “Old Walley
house.” His house was afterwards the
residence of Jeremiah Finney, and of
his son Jonah. [Sprague’s Annals, i:
209; Palmer’s Calamy’s Nonconformist’s
Memorial, i: 95; Wood’s Ath. Oxon. ii:
882, 883; Shepard’s Discourses at Brif-
tol, R.-I., pp. 11, 50.]
hoped would accrue to your selves; and defired him to Return Publick Thanks: but at the same interim of time a Paper was presented unto him from a Court of Plymouth, which was holded before I came home, to Command a day of Humiliation thro' the whole Government, because of the frowns of God upon those Forces sent under my Command, and the ill success we had, for want of good conduct. All which was caused by those false Reports which were posted home by those ill affected Officers that were under my Conduct; especially one which your selves very well know, who had the advantage of being at home a Week before me, being sick of Action, and wanting the advantage to be at the Bank, which he every day was mindful of more than fighting the Enemy in their own Country. After I came home, being inform'd of a General Court at Plymouth, and not forgetting my faithful Promise to you, and the duty I lay under, I went thither, where waiting upon them, I gave them an account of my Eastward transactions, and made them sensible of the falseness of those reports that were posted to them by ill hands, and found some small favourable acceptance with them, so far that I was credited. I presented your Thanks to them for their seasonable sending

139 I find no record of this court, or of any such appointment of a day of humiliation. "A publick day of humiliation and fast" was appointed at the December court, to be held on the second Wednesday of January next. 140 Doubtless the "Captain" before referred to [p. 59] as having "said it was time to go home;" but I have not been able to identify him. 141 Strawberry Bank. 142 Held 4 Nov., 1690. See record of some things done then on the next page (note 143). [Plym. Col. Rec. vi: 252.]
thofe Forces to relieve you, with that expence and 
charge they had been at; which Thanks they gratefully 
received; and said a few Lines from your selves would 
have been well accepted. I then gave them an account 
of your great necessities by being imprifoned in your 
Garrifons, and the great mischief that would attend the 
Publick concerns of this Country by the los of their 
Majesty's Intereft, and so much good Eftate of yours & 
your Neighbours, as doubtlef would be on the deferting 
of your Town. I then moved for a free Contribution for 
your relief, which they with great forwardnefs promoted; 
and then ordered a day of Thankfhiving thro' the Govern-
ment upon the 26th. day of this Inftant. Upon which 
day a Collection was ordered for your relief (and the 
Places near Adjacent) in every refpective Town in this 
Government; and for the good management of it that it 
might be fafely convey'd unto your hands, they appointed 
a Man in each County for the reception & conveyance 
thereof." The perfons nominated and accepted thereof, 
are: For the County of Plymouth, Capt. Nathaniel Thomas 
of Marfhield; for the County of Barnstable, Capt.
Joseph Lathrop of Barnstable: And for the County of Bristol, my self. Which when gathered you will have a particular account from each person, with orders of advice how it may be disposed of for your best advantage, with a copy of the Courts order. The Gentlemen the effects are to be sent to are your selves that I now Write to, viz. John Wheelwright Esq; Capt. John Littlefield, and Lieut. Joseph Story. I defer'd writing expecting every day to hear from you concerning the Indians coming to treat about their Prisoners that we [79] had taken. The discourse I made with them at Ameras-ogen, I knew would have that Effect as to bring them to a treaty, which I should have thought my self happy to have been improved in, knowing that it would have made much for your good. But no intelligence coming to me from any

Elizabeth, widow of Captain William Condy; he was Representative 1672, and seven years more, and also at Boston under the new charter; served in Philip's War; died 22 Oct., 1718. [Savage's Gen. Dict. iv: 281; Thomas's Memorials of Marshfield, p. 14.] Joseph Lathrop was third son of Rev. John, of Barnstable; born in England; married 11 Dec., 1650, Mary Anfell; licensed to keep an ordinary, 1653; ranked as Lieut., 1670; was Deputy from, and Selectman at, Barnstable for various years, and was of the Council of War; had Joseph, Mary, Benjamin, Elizabeth, John, Samuel, John, Barnabas, Hope, Thomas, and Hannah. [Savage's Gen. Dict. iii: 120; Freeman's Hist. Cape Cod, ii: 262, 271; Plym. Col. Rec. vi: 30, 67, 85, 106, 128, 169, 240, 251.]

John Wheelwright was probably son of Samuel, of Wells; was Colonel and Deputy, and "a gentleman of a character above suspicion"; died 1745. Little seems to be known of him that can be accurately stated. [Savage's Gen. Dict. iv: 503; Allen's Biog. Dict. p. 846.]

John Littlefield was son of Edmund, of Exeter and Wells; was at Wells, 1636; Constable, 1661; Lieut., 1668; had a dau. Mary, who married Matthew Aulin. [Savage's Gen. Dict. iii: 100.]

Was he son of William, of Dover, 1637-1658? (N. E. Hist. & Gen. Reg. viii: 130.)
Gentlemen in your parts, and hearing nothing but by
accident, and that in the latter end of the week by some
of ours coming from Boston, informed me that the Indians
were come in to your Town to seek for Peace; and that
there was to be a treaty speedily; but the time they
knew not. I took my Horse, and upon the Monday set out
for Boston, expecting the treaty had been at your Town,
as rationally it should but on Tuesday Night coming to
Boston, there met with Capt. Elisha Andros, who in-
formed me that the Place of treaty was Sacata-hock, and
that Capt Alden was gone from Boston four days before I
came there, and had carried all the Indian Prisoners
with him, and that all the Forces were drawn away out
of your parts, except 12 men in your Town, and 12 in
Piscataqua, which news did so amuse me, to see that wis-
dom was so taken from the wife, and such imprudence in
their actions, as to be deluded by Indians; and to have a
treaty so far from any English Town, and to draw off the
Forces upon what pretence for ever, to me looks very ill.
My fear is that they will deliver those we have taken,
which if kept would have been greatly for your Security,
it keeping them in awe, and preventing them from doing
any hostile action or mischief, I knowing that the English
being a broad are very earnest to go home, and the In-
dians are very tedious in their discourses, and by that
will have an advantage to have their Captives at a very

149 See Williamson's Hist. Me. i: 626. 150 Sagadahoc, the site of Popham's
    convîèi-colony, of 1607. 151 See note 128, ante.
low rate to your great damage. Gentlemen, as to Rhode-
Island, I have not concern'd my self as to any relief for
you, having nothing in writing to shew to them, yet upon
discourse with some Gentlemen there, they have signified
a great forwardness to promote such a thing. I lying
under great reflections from some of yours in the East-
ward parts, that I was a very Covetous Person, and came
there to enrich my self, and that I kill'd their Cattel and
Barrel'd them up and sent them to Boston, and Sold them
for Plunder, and made Money to put into my own Pocket;
and the owners of them being poor People beg'd for the
Hides and Tallow, with tears in their eyes; and that I
was so cruel as to deny them; which makes me judge
my self incapable to Serve you in that matter: yet I do
affure you that the People are very charitable at the Is-
land, and forward in such good actions, and therefore advise
you to desire some good substantial Person to take the man-
age of it, and write to the Government there, which I
know will not be labour lost. As for what I am accused
of, you all can witnes to the contrary, and I should take it
very kindly from you to do me that just right, as to vind-
cate my Reputation; for the wise man says, A good Name
is as precious Ointment. When I hear of the effect of the

132 Williamson says Church "magnanimitously collected a considerable con-
tribution in Plymouth Colony, which he transmitted to the Eastern Provinces,
accompanied by an address to Major Froft, John Wheelwright, Esq., and
others, encouraging their expectations of still further relief." [Hist. Me. 1:
626.] If his authority is this letter of Church, — and I know of no other on
which he could have relied, — he over-
flates the facts.
‘Treaty, and have an account [80] of this Contribution, I intend again to Write to you, being very defirous, & should think my self very happy, to be favoured with a few lines from your selves, or any Gentlemen in the Eastward parts. Thus leaving you to the protection & guidance of the Great God of Heaven and Earth, who is able to protect and supply you in your great difficulties, and to give you deliverance in His own due time.

I Remain, Gentlemen,

Your most assured Friend to Serve you to my utmost power,

Benjamin Church.

Postscript.

‘Esq; Wheelwright, Sir, I intreat you, after your perusal of these lines, to communicate the same to Capt. John Littlefield, Lieut. Joseph Story; and to any other Gentlemen, as in your judgment you see fit: With the tenders of my respects to you, &c. and to Maj. Vaughan, and his good Lady & Family. To Capt. Fryer & good Mrs. Fryer, with hearty thanks for their kindness whilst in those parts, and good Entertainment from them. My kind Re-

138 William Vaughan was born probably in Wales; lived in Portsmouth; freeman, 1669; 1672 was Lieut. of cavalry under Capt. Robert Pike; Counsellor of Province of N. H. and Chief Justice of Sup. Court; died 1719. He married 8 Dec., 1668, Margaret, dau. of Richard Cutt; had Eleanor, Mary, Cuth, George, Bridget, Margaret, Abigail, and Elizabeth. [Savage's Gen. Did. iv: 368.]

134 Nathaniel Fryer was of Boston, where he had, by wife Chriftian, James, Sarah, and Elizabeth; removed to Portsmouth; married, as second wife, Dorothy Woodbridge; Deputy, 1666; Captain and Counsellor, 1683; died 13 Aug., 1705. [Ibid. ii: 214.]
To Maj. Fros\textsuperscript{155}, Capt. Walton\textsuperscript{156}, Lieut. Honeywel\textsuperscript{157}, and my very good friend little Lieut. Plaif\textsuperscript{158} with due respect to all Gentlemen my friends in the Eastward parts, as if particularly named. Farewell. B. C.

Bristol, Novemb. 27. 1690.

To Major Pike.\textsuperscript{120} Honoured Sir,

These come to wait upon you, to bring the tenders of my hearty Service to your Self & Lady, with due acknowledgment of thankfulness for all the kindness and favour I received from you in the Eastward parts, when with you. Since I came from those parts, I am informed by Capt. Andros, that your Self, and most of all the Forces are drawn off from the Eastward parts; I admire at it, considering that they had so low Esteem of what was done, that they can apprehend the Eastward parts so safe before the Enemy was brought into better Subjection. I was in charge of the Blue Point, Black Point, and Sparwink garrisons, in the winter of 1689 [see note 61, ante]; earned the sobriquet of "the Indian killer"; and was himself murdered by the savages, with circumstances of great atrocity, 6 Oct., 1703 [Savage says 1703, Southgate's Hisf. Scarborough says 1713].


\textsuperscript{155} Charles Fros, born in Tiverton, Eng., 1632; came over with his father Nicholas about 1637; Deputy, 1638-61; Councillor, 1693; Captain and Major, commanding the Yorkshire militia; was Judge of the Common Pleas when he was shot by the Indians, 14 July, 1697, at 65. [Savage's Gen. Dict. ii: 210; Williamson's Hisf. Me. i: 674; N. E. Hisf. & Gen. Reg. iii: 249-262.]

\textsuperscript{156} Richard Hunnivell was son of Roger, who lived on Parker's neck, near the entrance to the Pool, Saco; was of Black Point, 1631; Ensign, 1680; Lieut., 1689; was put by Church in charge of the Blue Point, Black Point, and Sparwink garrisons, in the winter of 1689 [see note 61, ante]; earned the sobriquet of "the Indian killer"; and was himself murdered by the savages, with circumstances of great atrocity, 6 Oct., 1703 [Savage says 1703, Southgate's Hisf. Scarborough says 1713].


\textsuperscript{157} See note 97, ante.

\textsuperscript{158} See note 90, ante.
hopes when I came from thence, that those that were so
desirous to have my room, would have been very brisk in
my absence to have got themselves some Honour, which they
very much gapped after, or else they would not have spread
so many false reports to defame me. Which had I known
before, I left the Bank, I would have had satisfaction of
them. Your Honour was pleased to give me some small
account before I left the Bank, of some things that were ill
resented to you, concerning that Eastward Expedition, which
being rowled home like a Snow-ball thro' both Colonies, was
got to such a bigues that it over-shadow'd me from the
Influence of all comfort, or good acceptance amongst my
friends in my Journey homeward. But thro' Gods good-
ness am come home finding all well, and my self in good
Health, hoping that those Reports will do me that favour,
to quit me from all other Publick Action: That so I may
the more peaceably & quietly wait upon God, and be a com-
fort unto my own Family in this dark time of trouble, being
as on that is 160 hid, till His Indignation is over past: I
shall take it as a great favour to hear of your Honours well-
fare.

Subscribing my self as I am, Sir,
Your most assured Friend and Servant.

Benjamin Church. [81]

Major Church did receive after this, Answers to his Let-
ters, but hath loft them, except it be a Letter from several
of the Gentlemen in those parts in June following: which
is as followeth.

160 Southwick's edition omits " that is."
78
Portsmouth June 29 1691.

Major Benj. Church.

Sir,

Y′our former readiness to expose your self in the Service of the Country against the Common Enemy; and particularly the late Obligations you have laid upon us in these Eastern parts, leaves us under a deep & grateful sense of your favour therein: And forasmuch as you were pleased when last here, to signify your ready inclination to further Service of this kind, if occasion should call for it; We therefore presume confidently to promise our selves compliancy accordingly; and have sent this Messenger on purpose to you, to let you know that notwithstanding the late overture of Peace the Enemy have approved themselves as perfidious as ever, and are almost daily killing and destroying upon all our Frontiers; The Governour & Council of the Massachusetts have been pleased to Order the Raising of 150 Men to be forthwith dispatch'd into these parts; and as we understand have Writ to your Governour & Council of Plymouth for further Assistance, which we pray you to promote, hoping if you can obtain about 200 Men English & Indians, to visit them at some of their Head-quarters up Kenebeck River, or else-where, which (for want of necessaries) was omitted last Year, it may be of great advantage to us: We offer nothing of advice as to what Methods are most proper to be taken in this affair, your acquaintance with our Circum-

---

161 This perhaps refers to the contributions, which had before this reached them, from the committee of which Church was a member.
flances as well as the Enemies, will direct you therein. We leave the Conduč thereof to your own discretion: But that the want of Provision, &c. may be no Remora to your Motion, you may please to know Mr. Geafford One of our principal Inhabitants now residing in Boston, hath promised to take care to supply to the value of two or three hundred Pounds, if occasion require: We pray a few lines by the bearer to give us a prospect of what we may expect for our further Encouragement, and remain,

Sir, Your Obliged Friends and Servants,

Will. Vaughan Charles Froft William Fernald Francis Hooke Nathanael Fryer Robert Elliott Richard Martyn John Wincol

A True Copy of the Original Letter; which Letter was presented to me by Capt. Hatch, who came Exprefs.

162 I find no trace of this man, unless he were William Grifford, who was a bricklayer, admitted to inhabit at Boston 28 Feb., 1654. [Drake's Hist.

163 Francis Hooke was son of Humphrey, Alderman of the city of Bristol, Eng.; lived at Kittery, Me.; was Magistrate, 1666; Captain; Treasurer of

164 Richard Martín (Martins) was at Portsmouth, N.H.; was made “over-

165 John Wincol (Wincola, Wincoll, Winkall, Winkle) was son of Thomas, feel of John Cutt’s will, 6 May, 1682; had the first place in “the front feat

166 William Fernald was eldest son of Reginald (or, as he himself, at least, of Watertown; freeman there 6 May, 1646; selectman, 1649, 56, 61, 62; Depu-

167 Robert Elliot (Elliot, Elliott) seems to have been of Port-

168 Philip Hatch, who was freeman, 1632, York, Me., or one of his sons? [Savage’s Gen. Did. ii: 375.]

80
Maj. Church sent them his Answer: the Contents whereof was, That he had gone often enough for nothing; and especially to be ill treated with scandals and false Reports, when left out, which he could not forget. And signified to them, That doubtless some amongst them thought they could do without him, &c. And to make short of it, did go out, and meeting with the Enemy at Maquait, were most shamefully beaten: as I have been inform'd.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁹ Cotton Mather makes the following statement in regard to this expedition here referred to: —
[82] The Third Expedition, East.

This was in the Year 1692. In the time of Sir William Phip's Government: Major Walley being at

tain Sherburn, and Captain Walton (Conners lying sick all Summer had this to make him yet more sick that he could have no part in these Actions) who landing at Macquoit, marched up to Peckyphoet, but not finding any signs of the enemy, marched down again. While the Commanders were waiting Aboard till the Soldiers were got aboard, such great Numbers of Indians poured in upon them, that tho' the Commanders wanted not for Courage or Conduct, yet they found themselves obliged, with much ado, (and without the Death of worthy Captain Sherburn) to retire into the Vessels which then lay aground. Here they kept pelting at one another all Night; but unto little other purpoze than this, which was indeed Remarkable, That the Enemy was at this time going to take the Isle of Skelates, and no doubt had they gone they would have taken it, but having exhausted all their Ammunition on this Occasion, they defiled from what they designed. [Magnalia, Book VII: 77.]

Sir William Phips (Philips) was son of James, gunsmith, from Bristol, Eng.; became a ship-carpenter; married Mary, widow of John Hall (not the mint-master); with her money set up a shipyard at Sleetshoet, and then in Boston when "driven in" by Indian hostilities; thence went to sea, 1677; at the Bahamas heard of the wreck of a Spanish treasure-laden galleon, and went to England and offered his services to the King to recover the gold; his project was approved, and he went to the spot with two frigates in 1683; failed for want of proper instruments; returned to England, and persuaded Monk, Duke of Albemarle, to furnish him for the work again; went back, fitted up £300,000, of which £16,000 fell to him, and he was knighted by James II., 25 June, 1687; Andros made him Sheriff of New England; joined Second Church, 8 March, 1690; May, 1690, conducted the attack on Nova Scotia; was chosen Affiant, projected the sily expedition, in the Augus following, against Quebec; went to London, 1691, was appointed Governor on Increase Mather's recommendation; arrived back 14 May, 1692; functioned the witchcraft delusion in 1693, bugged Collector William Brenton, and, 1694, caned Capt. Short of the Norfolk Frigate; and, through the trouble thence arising, was recalled to London, where he died 18 Feb., 1695, and was buried in St. Mary, Woolnoth, in Lombard St., where John Newton lies. [Savage's Gen. Dict. iii: 420; Palley's Hist. N. E. iii: 590; Hutchinson's Hist. Mass. ii: 76; Sparks's Amer. Biog. vii: 5-102; Mather's Magnalia, Book II: 17-75.]

170 See note 24, ante.
Boston, was requested by his Excellency to treat with Maj. Church about going East with him. Maj. Wallcy coming home, did as desired; and to encourage the said Maj Church, told him, That now was the time to have recompence for his former great expences; saying also, That the Country could not give him less than Two or three hundred Pounds. So upon his Excellency's request Maj Church went down to Boston, and waited upon him; who said he was glad to see him, &c. And after some discourse told the said Church, That he was going East himself, and that he should be his Second, and in his absence Command all the Forces: And being requested by his Excellency to raise what Volunteers of his old Souldiers in the County of Bristol, both English & Indians. Receiving his Commission: which is as followeth.

SIR William Phips Knight, Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over their Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England.

To Benjamin Church Gent. Greeting.

Reposing special Trust and Confidence in your Loyalty, Courage and good Conduct. I do by these presents Constitute & Appoint You to be Major of the several Companies of Militia, detached for their Majesty's Service against their French and Indian Enemies. You are therefore Authorized and Required in their Majesty's Names, to discharge the duty of a Major, by Leading Ordering and Exercising the said several Companies in
Arms, both Inferiour Officers & Souldiers, keeping them in good Order & Discipline, Commanding them to Obey you as their Major: And diligently to intend the said Service, for the prosecuting, pursuing, killing and destroying of the said Common Enemy. And your self to observe and follow such Orders & Directions as you shall from time to time Receive from my Self, according to the Rules & Discipline of War, pursuant to the Trust repos'd in you for their Majesty's Service. Given under my Hand and Seal at Boston, the Twenty-fifth day of July 1692. In the Fourth Year of the Reign of our Soveraign Lord & Lady William and Mary, by the Grace of GOD King & Queen of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

WILLIAM PHIPS.

By his Excellency's Command,
Isaac Addington, Secr.

Returning home to the County aforesaid, he soon raised a sufficient Number of Volunteers both English & Indians and Officers suitable to Command them, March'd them down to Boston. But there was one thing I would [83] just mention; which was, That Maj Church being short of Money, was forc'd to borrow Six Pounds in Money of Lieut. Woodman in Little Compton, to distribute by a

121 John Woodman, of Little Compton, perhaps son of John, a prominent citizen of Newport; Church bought land of him, 30 Oct., 1702; and his oldest son, Thomas, married Woodman's second daughter, Edith. [R-I. Col. Rec. iii: 106, 150, 168, 185, 231; Part I. of this work, pp. xxxii. xliiv.]
Shilling, and a Bit at a time to the Indian Soldiers; who without such Allurements would not have March'd to Boston. This Money Major Church put into the hands of Mr. William Fobes, who was going out their Commissary in that Service, who was order'd to keep a just account of what each Indian had that so it might be subducted out of their wages at their return home. Coming to Boston, his Excellency having got things in a readiness, they Embark'd on board their transports, his Excellency going in Person with them, being bound to Pemquid; But in their way stop'd at Casco, and buried the bones of the dead People there, and took off the great Guns that were there; then went to Pemquid: Coming there his Excellency ask'd Maj. Church to go a-shore & give his judgment about Erecting a Fort there? He answer'd, That his Gen-

172 "Bitt, a piece of silver in Barbadoes current at seven pence half-penny. [Bailey.] The name was applied later, especially at the South, to the nine-pence, or one-eighth of a dollar. [Bartlett's Dictionary of Americanisms, 33.] Mr. Drake says it was firstpence. [Church, (ed. 1827,) 209.]

174 See note 242, Part I.

175 "Pemquid, like Acadia, appears to have been of indefinite extent; but under this general name there seems to have been embraced, at a later date, Monhegan, and its companion, the island of Monanis, the cluster of the Damariscotta islands, and territory somewhat beyond the limits of the peninsula of Pemquid proper." [Me. Hist. Coll. v: 181.] "The river of Pemquid is ten miles east of Damariscotta. There is a large bay through which we pass to enter Pemquid harbor or river. The bay is full of islands, the greater part of which are settled. The fort, called Fort George, was on a point at the mouth of the river, and on the east side of it. The remains of the fortres are there at this day (1795)." [Sullivan's Hist. Diff. Me. 35.]

176 That is the bones of those—over 100 persons—who had been destroyed there by the savages under the Sieur Hertel, 17 May, 1690. [Holmes's Annals, i: 431; Belknap's Hist. N. Hamp. i: 257-9; Hutchinson's Hist. Mass. i: 353.]

177 This was early in August, 1692. [Me. Hist. Coll. v: 282.]
ius did not incline that way, for he never had any value for them, being only Nefts for Destructions; 178 His Excellency said, He had a special Order from their Majesties King William and Queen Mary to Erect a Fort there, &c. Then they went a-shore and spent some time in the projec-tion thereof. 179 Then his Excellency told Maj. Church that he might take all the Forces with him, except one Company to stay with him and work about the Fort; the Major answered that if his Excellency pleas'd he might keep two Companies with him, and he would go with the rest to Penobscot, and Places Adjacent. Which his Excellency did, and gave Maj. Church his Orders: which are as followeth.

178 Recall Church's previously expressed opinions in regard to the forts at Mount Hope and Pocasset. [pp. 25, 47, Part I.]

179 This fort was built of over 2000 cartloads of stone, in a quadrangular figure, 737 feet in circumference outside the outer wall, and 108 feet square within the inner walls. The southern wall, fronting the sea, was 22 feet high, and more than 6 feet thick at the ports, which were 8 feet from the ground. The great flanker or round tower at the west end of the southern wall was 22 feet high; the wall on the east line 12 feet high; that on the north 10 feet, and on the west 18. It had 28 ports, and 18 guns mounted, six of which were eighteen-pounders. The structure stood back 20 rods from high-water mark, and was garrisoned by 60 and sometimes 100 men. [Magnalia, Book VII: 81; Me. Hist. Coll. v: 282.]

This fort was not intended to operate against Indians merely, but against piratical rovers who infolded the sea, and against the French, who intended repoffession. That which Maj. Andros had built in 1677, and which the Indians took in 1690, was a mere block-ade: "un Fort, qui n'étoit à la vérité que de pieux, mais assez régulièrement construit." [Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i: 557.]
By his Excellency Sir William Phips Knight, Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over their Majesties Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England, &c. Instructions for Major Benjamin Church.

Whereas you are Major and so Chief Officer of a body of Men detached out of the Militia appointed for an Expedition against the French & Indian Enemy; you are duly to observe the following Instructions.

1. You are to take care that the Worship of God be duly & constantly maintained and kept up amongst you, and to suffer no Swearing, Curling, or other profanation of the Holy Name of God; and as much as in you lyes to deter and hinder all other Vice amongst your Souldiers.

2. You are to proceed with the Souldiers under your Command to Penobscot, and with what privacy & undiscoverable Methods you can, there to Land your men, and take the best measures to surprize the Enemy.

3. You are by killing, destroying, and all other means possible to endeavour the destruction of the Enemy in pursuance whereof, being satisfied of your Courage & Conduct, I leave the same to your disposition.

4. You are to indeavour the taking what Captives you can either Men, Women or Children, and the same safely to keep and convey them unto, me. [84]

5. Since it is not possible to judge how affairs may be circumstanced with you there, I shall therefore not
limit your return, but leave it to your Prudence, only
that you make no longer stay than you can improve for
advantage against the Enemy, or may reasonably hope
for the same.

6th. You are also to take care and be very industrious
by all possible means to find out and destroy all the Enem-
ies Corn, and other Provisions in all Places where you
can come at the same.

7th. You are at your return from Penobscot and those
Eastern Parts, to make all dispatch hence for Kennebeck
River, and the Places Adjacent, and there prosecute all
advantages against the Enemy as aforesaid.

8th. If any Souldier, Officer or other shall be disobe-
dient to you as their Commander in Chief, or other their
Superior Officer, or make or cause any Mutiny, commit
other offence or disorders, you shall call a Council of
War amongst your Officers, and having tried him or
them for offending, inflict such punishment as the merit
of the offence requires, Death only excepted, which if
any shall deserve, you are to secure the person, and sign-
nify the Crime unto me by the first opportunity.

Given under my hand this 11th day of August, 1692.

WILLIAM PHIPS.

Then the Major and his Forces embark'd and made the
best of their way to Penobscot; and coming to an Island in
those Parts in the evening, landed his Forces at one end

71 Seven Hundred Acre Island. [Williamson's Hist. Me. 1: 71, 636.]
of the said Island: Then the Major took part of his Forces and mov’d toward Day to the other end of the said Island, where they found two French Men, and their Families in their houses; and that one or both of them had Indian Women to their Wives, and had Children by them. The Major presently examining the French men, Where the Indians were? They told him, That there was a great company of them upon an Island just by: and showing him the Island, presently discover’d several of them. Maj. Church and his Forces still keeping undiscover’d to them, ask’d the French men where their passing Place was? Which they readily shew’d him; so presently placed an Ambaçade to take any that should come over. Then sent orders for all the rest of the Forces to come; sending them an account what he had seen & met withal; strickly charging them to keep themselves undiscovered by the Enemy. The Ambaçade did not lye long before an Indian Man and a Woman came over in a Canoo to the Place for landing, where the Ambaçade was laid: who haul’d up their Canoo, and came right into the hands of our Ambaçade, who so suddenly surpriz’d them that they could not give any notice to the others from whence they came; the Major ordering that none of his should offer to meddle with the Canoo, left they should be discover’d, hoping to take the moat of them if his Forces came as order’d, he expecting them to come as directed. But the first news he had of them was, That they were all coming,

181 Long Island. [Ibid. 636.]
tho' not privately [85] as ordered; but in the Vessels fair in fight of the Enemy, which soon put them all to flight; and our Forces not having Boats suitable to pursue them, they got all away in their Canoo's, &c. (which caus'd Maj Church to say, He would never go out again without sufficient number of Whale-boats) which for want of, was the ruine of that action. Then Maj. Church according to his instructions rang'd all those parts, to find all their Corn, and carried aboard their Vessels what he thought convenient, and destroy'd the rest. Also finding considerable quantities of Plunder, viz Bever & Moofe skins, &c. Having done what Service they could in those parts,\(^{182}\) he returned back to his Excellency at Pemquid;\(^ {183}\) where being come, said not long: they being short of Bread, his Excellency intended home for Boston, for more Provisions; but before, going with Maj. Church & his Forces to Kenebeck River, and coming there, gave him his further Orders; which are as followeth.

**By his Excellency the Governour.**

**To Major Benjamin Church.**

\(^{182}\) Mather says he "took five Indians" here; Hutchinson says "three or four." It is certain that he took but few. [Magnalia, Book VII: 81; Hutchinson's Hist. Mafs. ii: 69.]

\(^{183}\) His instructions were to "make all despatch"; thence "for Kenebeck River"; but in doing so he must naturally touch at Pemquid, which lay between.
cent, and use your utmost endeavours to kill, destroy and take Captive the French & Indian Enemy wherefoever you shall find any of them; and at your return to Pem-quad (which you are to do as soon as you can conveniently; after your best endeavour done against the Enemy, and having destroyed their Corn and other Provisions) you are to stay with all your Souldiers and Officers, and set them to work on the Fort, and make what dispatch you can in that business, staying there until my further order.

WILLIAM PHIPS.

Then his Excellency taking leave went for Boston; and soon after Maj. Church and his Forces had a smart fight with the Enemy in Kenebeck-River, Pursued them so hard that they left their Canoo's & ran up into the woods, still pursued them up to their Fort at Taconock, which

184 The witch trials were in progress in Boston during his absence, and it is not unlikely that it was while he was gone on this business that the incident occurred, which Hutchinson mentions, on the authority of a MS. letter; that Mrs. Phips, being applied to for interposition in the case of a lady accused of witchcraft, took the responsibility of signing a discharge for her, upon which document the jailor took the responsibility of setting the accused free,—to his own harm, it was said. Whether this had anything to do with that accusation of the Governor's lady herself as a witch, which Calef afferts and Douglafs hints, and which it was believed had some influence in opening the Governor's eyes, and laying the delusion with its plague of blood, is not obvious. [Hutchinson's Hist. Mass. ii: 61; Drake's Witchcraft Delusion, &c. iii: 159; Douglafs's Summary, i: 450.]

185 Taconet falls are on the Kennebec, opposite the village of Waterville. On the point of land above the confluence of the Seboaticook with the Kennebec, and below these falls, stood the old Taconet fort of the Indians, here referred to; and, in 1754, Fort Halifax of the English. The site of the fort itself is in Windlow, and the block-house was lately standing. [Williamson's Hist. Me. i: 50; Minot's Hist. Me. i: 186.]
the Enemy perceiving set fire to their Houses in the Fort, and ran away by the light of them, and when Maj. Church came to the said Fort found about half their Houses standing and the rest burnt; also found great quantities of Corn, put up into Indian Cribs, which he and his Forces destroyed, as ordered. Having done what Service he could in those parts return’d to Pemquid, and coming there employ’d his Forces according to his Instructions: being out of Bread, his Excellency not coming, Maj. Church was oblig’d to borrow Bread of the Captain of the Man of War that was then there, for all the Forces under his Command, his Excellency not coming as expected. But at length his Excellency came and brought very little Bread more than would pay what was borrowed of the Man of War: So that in a short time after Maj. Church with his Forces return’d home to Boston, and had their Wages for their good Service done. Only one thing by the way I will but just mention, that is, about the Six Pounds Maj. Church borrowed as afore-mention’d, and put in-[86]to the hands of Mr. Fobes, who distributed the said Money, all but 30 s. to the Indian Souldiers as directed, which was deducted out of their Wages, and the Country had Credit for the same; and the said Fobes kept the 30 s to himself, which was deducted out of his Wages. Whereupon Maj Walley and the said Fobes had some words. In short, Maj. Church was forc’d to pay the Six Pounds he borrowed out of his own Pocket, besides which

186 In the hateful business of fort-building.
the said Church was oblig'd to expend about Six Pounds of his own Money in Marching down the Forces both English and Indians to Boston, having no drink allow'd them upon the Road, &c. So that in read of Maj Church's having the allowances afore-mentioned by Maj. Walley, he was out of Pocket about Twelve Pounds more and above what he had; all which had not been, had not his Excellency been gone out of the Country.

The Fourth Expedition, East.

In 1696. Maj Church being at Boston, and belonging to the House of Representatives, several Gentlemen requesting him to go East again, and the General Court having made Acts of Incouragement, &c. He told them, if they would provide Whale Boats, & other necessaries convenient, he would: Being also requested by the said General Court, he proceeded to raise Volunteers, and made it his whole business Riding both East and West in our Province and Connecticut, at great charge and expenses; and in about a Months time raised a sufficient

187 Walley told him in the outset (p. 83), that "the country could not give him less than two or three hundred pounds"; so that, at the lowest calculation, Church made a loss of £188 upon his expectations "aforementioned."

188 I have found no trace of his appointment as Deputy this year, on the Bristol Town Records. This would seem, from various considerations, to have been just about as he was removing to Fall River. [See Part I. xxxi.] Plymouth and Massachusetts Colonies had been consolidated into the new "Province of Massachusetts Bay" by the new Charter of 1692.
number out of those Parts, and March'd them down to Boston; where he had the promise that every thing should be ready in three Weeks or a Months time, but was oblig'd to stay considerable longer. Being now at Boston he received his Commission and Instructions; which are as followeth.

William Stoughton, Esq; Lieutenant Governour and Commander in Chief in and over His Majesties Province of the Maffachufetts-Bay in New-England. To Major Benjamin Church, Greeting.

Whereas there are several Companies raised, consisting of English-Men & Indians for His Majesties Service, to go forth upon the Encouragement given by the Great and General Court or Assembly of this His Majesties Province, convened at Boston the 27th Day of May 1696. to prosecute the French and Indian Enemy, &c. And you having offered your self to take the command and conduct of the said several Companies. By vertue therefore of the Power and Authority in and by His Majesties Royal Commission to me

191 William Stoughton, son of Israel, of Dorchester, graduated at Harvard, and then at Oxford, Eng.; became a preacher; is named by Calamy among those ejected; came back, and preached the election sermon of 1668; became Selectman, Assistant, Commissioner of the United Colonies; went to England in 1677 with Bulkley as agent of the colonies; was one of Andros's Council; was chosen Lieut. Gov. under the new Charter; and became Chief-Justice; died 7 July, 1701. The recall of Sir William Phips left him in chief command until Bellamont's arrival in 1699. He was on the witch bench, and, unlike Sewall, never expressed penitence for the part he took. He built Stoughton Hall at Harvard. [Savage's Gen. Dict. iv: 215; Palmer's Noncon. Mem. i: 197; Quincy's Hist. Har. Uni. i: 178, 9; Elliot's Biog. Dict. 444.]
Granted, reposing special trust and confidence in your Loyalty, Prudence, courage and good conduct. I do by these Presents Constitute and Appoint you to be Major of the said several Companies, both English-Men and Indians, raised for His Majesty's Service upon the Encouragement aforesaid. You are therefore carefully and diligently to perform the duty of your place, by Leading, Ordering, and Exercising the said several Companies in Arms, both Inferior Officers and Soldiers, keeping them in good Order and Discipline, commanding them to obey you as their Major. And your self diligently to intend His Majesty's Service for the prosecuting, pursuing, taking, killing or destroying the said Enemy by Sea or Land; And to observe all such Orders and Instructions as you shall from time to time receive from my Self or Commander in chief for the time being, according to the Rules and Discipline of War, pursuant to the trust reposed in you. Given under my Hand & Seal at Arms at Boston, the Third Day of August, 1696. In the Eighth Year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord William the Third by the Grace of God of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Wm. STOUGHTON.

By Command of the Lieut. Governour, &c.

Izaac Addington, Secr.
Province of the Massachusetts-Bay.
By the Rt. Honourable the Lieutenant Governour and Commander in Chief.

Instructions for Maj. Benjamin Church, Commander of the Forces raised for His Majesties Service against the French and Indian Enemy and Rebels.

Pursuant to the Commission given you, you are to Embark the Forces now furnished and equipped for His Majesties Service on the present Expedition to the Eastern parts of this Province, and with them and such others as shall offer themselves to go forth on the said Service to Sail unto Piscataqua, to join those lately dispatched therewith for the same Expedition, to await your coming. And with all care and diligence to improve the Vessels, Boats and Men under your command in search for, prosecution and pursuit of the said Enemy, at such places where you may be informed of their abode or resort, or where you may probably expect to find or meet with them, and take all advantages against them which Providence shall favour you with.

You are not to lift or accept any Soldiers that are already in His Majesties pay and posted at any Town or Garrison within this Province, without special Order from my self.

You are to require and give strict Orders that the duties of Religion be attended on board the several Vessels, and in the several companies under your command, by daily Prayers unto God and reading His Holy Word, and Obser vance of the Lords Day to the utmost you can.

You are to see that your Soldiers have their due allow-
ance of Provisions and other necessaries, & that the Sick or Wounded be accommodated in the best manner your circumstances will admit. And that good order and command be kept up & maintained in the several companies, and all disorders, drunkenness, profane cursing, swearing, disobedience to Officers, mutinies, omissions or neglect of duty, be duly punished according to the Laws Martial. And you are to require the Captain or chief Officer of each company with the Clerk of the same, to keep an exact Journal of all their proceedings from time to time.

In case any of the Indian Enemy and Rebels offer to submit themselves, you are to receive them only at discretion. But if you think fit to improve any of them or any others which you may happen to take Prisoners, you may encourage them to be faithful by the promise of their lives, which shall be granted upon approbation of their fidelity. [88]

You are carefully to look after the Indians which you have out of the Prison, so that they may not have opportunity to escape, but otherwise improve them to what advantage you can, and return them back again to this place.

You are to advise as you can have occasion with Capt. John Gorham who accompanies you in this Expedition, and is to take your command in case of your Death. A

192 In pursuance of the policy by which, in the time of Philip's war, Cornelius the Dutch pirate, and others, had been taken out of Boston jail, and "allowed" to march against the Indians, the Province seems now to have swelled the ranks of its volunteers by a familiar resource. [Drake's Hist. Boxt. i: 402; Part I. note 56.]

193 John Gorham (Goram, Goram, Gorram, Gooram) was son of Capt. John, of Barnstable; was born at Marshfield, 20 Feb., 1654; was a tanner, like his father; was with his father in
copy of these Instructions you are to leave with him, and to give me an account from time to time of your proceedings.

Boston, August 12th. 1696. Wm. STOUGHTON.

In the time Maj. Church lay at Boston, the News came of Pemaquid Fort being taken, it came by a Shallop that brought some Prisoners to Boston, who gave account also that there was a French Ship at Mount-Defart, who

Philip's war; 5 June, 1690, was made captain in the Canada Expedition, and was afterwards Lieut. Col.; later was much employed as a conveyancer; died 9 Dec., 1716, and lies buried at the N.E. corner of the Unitarian meeting-house in Barnstable. He married, 24 Feb., 1674, Mercy, daughter of John Otis; had John, Temperance, Mary, Stephen, Shubael, John, Thankful, Job, Mercy; left a real estate of £2000, and personal of £222. [Otis's Hist. Barnstable, i: 217-222.]

194 The French conceived that Fort William Henry, at Pemaquid, had importance in controlling the western portion of Acadia, and determined to reduce it. Iberville was sent from Quebec with two ships of war, with arrangements to co-operate with Villebon and 50 Muskacks, and Captaine with 200 of his favages; on the way, met and captured one of an English fleet, and then invested and attacked Pemaquid. The fort was at the time in command of Capt. Pocoe Chubb (of Andover), who had shown his incompetence by treachery toward some Indian envoys in the previous February; and was hately surrendered without any determined effort at defence,—though Charlevoix suggests, through the cowardice of the garrifon compelling the captain against his will,—15 July, 1696. The fort was mostly demolished, after a history of four years fully justifying Church's fears in the beginning. Chubb was cashiered, and was not forgotten by the Indians, who succeeded in murdering him and his wife Hannah (Faulkner) at Andover, 5 March, 1698. [Williamson's Hist. Me. i: 642-4; Hutchinson's Hist. Mass. ii: 88; Charlevoix's Hist. Nouv. France, lii: 260-2: Abbott's Hist. Andover, 43.]

195 Hutchinson says it was "a French shallop belonging to St. John's, with 23 soldiers under Villebon, their captain."

196 Mount Desert Island lies just east of the debouchure of Union river,—say 25 miles east of the centre of Penobscot Bay, and is the largest island in the State, being 15 miles long by about 7 in mean width, and containing some 60,000 acres. A third part of this shoals up into 13 high and rugged peaks, visible 20 leagues at sea, and giving to it its French name, Monts Déferts (the defolate mountains—not, as Mr. Drake
had taken a Ship of ours; the discourse was that they
would fend the Man of War, with other Forces to take
the said French Ship and retake ours. But in the mean
time Maj. Church and his Forces being ready, embark'd,
and on the 15th day of August set Sail for Piscataqua,
where more Men were to join them (but before they left
Boston, Maj. Church discours'd with the Captain of the
Man of War, who promised him, if he went to Mount-
Defart in pursuit of the said French Ship, that he would
call for him and his Forces at Piscataqua, expecting that
the French & Indians might not be far from the said
French Ship, so that he might have an opportunity to fight
them while he was ingag'd with the French Ship:) Soon
after the Forces arrived at Piscataqua the Major sent his
Indian Soldiery to Col. Gidney at York, to be affil-

197 The "ship of ours" was the Newport, Capt. Paxton, which was cruising
off the Bay of Fundy (to intercept French Store ships supposed to be on their
way from Quebec to Villebois) with the Sorlings, Capt. Eames, and the Prov-
ince tender. The two latter escaped in a fog. Iberville refitted the Newport,
and took her with him to help reduce Pemaquid.
198 The Sorlings.
199 Bartholomew Gedney (Gidney) was son of John, of Salem; was bap-
tized 14 June, 1640; became a practicing physician; freeman, 1669; 1680-83,
Affiant and Councilor; joined Brad-
dstreet and others when they assumed
the government on Andros's overthrow;
was named as Councilor in the new
charter; 1690, commanded in the French
and Indian Expedition; 3 Oct., 1692,
was made Judge of Probate for Essex
County; same year was made Judge of
Court of Common Pleas for the same Coun-
ty. He was constantly engaged in civil
and military life until his death, 28
Feb., 1693. He married Hannah Clark,
and had Jonathan, Bartholomew, Han-
nah, Lydia, Bethia, Deborah, Samuel,
Deborah and Martha (twins), Priscilla,
and Ann. He was one of the seven
"witch" judges. [Savage's Gen. Diet.
ii: 240; Walburn's Judicial Hist.
Mass. 141, 147.]
200 "16 Aug., 1696, Col. Gedney
marches with 450 of his regiment for
ing for the defence of those Places; who gave them a good Commend for their ready & willing Services done, in Scouting, and the like. Lying at Piscataqua with the rest of our Forces near a Week, waiting for more Forces who was to join them to make up their complement; in all which time heard never a word of the Man of War. On the 22d of August they all im bark’d from Piscataqua, and when they came against York, the Major went a shore, sending Capt. Gorham with some Forces in the two Brigantees and a Sloop to Winter Harbour, ordering him to send out Scouts to see if they could make any discovery of the Enemy, and to wait there till he came to them: Maj. Church coming to York, Col. Gidney told him his opinion was, That the Enemy was drawn off from those parts, for that the Scouts could not discover any of them, nor their Tracks. So having done his business there, went with what Forces he had there to Winter Harbour, where he had the same account from Capt. Gorham, That they had not discovered any of the Enemy, nor any new Tracks: So concluding they were gone from those Parts towards Penobscot; the Major ordered all the Vessels to come to Sail and make the best of their way to Monhegin, which being not far from Penobscot, where the main body of Kittery. He is accompanied by a troop under Capt. John Turner.” [Felt’s An nals of Salem, ii : 509.]

The “complement” was 500 men. [Hutchinson’s Hist. Mas. ii : 91.]

Monhegan (Monckiggon, Monhiggon, Morattigun) lies 9 miles S. of George’s Islands, 5 leagues E. S. E. of Townend, and 3 leagues W. of Metinic, on the coast of Maine; and contains more than 1000 acres of good land, with a bold shore. [Williamson’s Hist. Mis. i : 61.]

It is perhaps 14 miles S. E. from
our Enemies living was; being in great hopes to come up with the Army of French & Indians, before they had scattered and were gone past Penobscot or Mount-Desart, which is the chief place of their departure from each other after such actions; and having a fair wind made the best of our way, and early next Morning they got into Monhegan, and there lay all day fitting their Boats, and other necessaries to embark in the Night at Muffel neck\(^{204}\) with their Boats; lying there all Day to keep undiscovered from the Enemy; at Night the Major ordered the Vessels all to come to Sail and carry the Forces over the Bay near Penobscot; but having little Wind,\(^{205}\) he ordered all the Souldiers to embark on board the Boats with eight days Provision, and sent the Vessels back to Monhegan, that they might not be discovered by the Enemy; giving them orders when and where they should come to him. The Forces being all ready in their Boats, rowing very hard, got a-shore at a Point near Penobscot\(^{206}\) just as the day broke, and hid their Boats, and keeping a good look-out by Sea, and sent Scouts out by Land; but could not discover neither Canoo's nor Indians; what Tracks and fire places they saw were judged to be 7 or 8 days before they

\(^{204}\) I am not clear whether the reference here is to a point of that name on Monhegan, or to the Muffel Ridges, which is a cluster of about a dozen islands, not far off.

\(^{205}\) The boats, of course, were with the ships; and fo, finding that the wind was too light to make progress by sails, he put his men into the boats, and sent the ships back.

\(^{206}\) At Owl's Head, in the N. E. corner of Thomaston. [Sewall's Anc. Dom. of Me. 215; Eaton's Hist. Thomaston, Rockland, and So. Thom. 1: 29.]
came: As soon as Night came that they might go undiscovered got into their Boats and went by Muffel-neck, and so amongst Penobscot Islands, looking very sharp as they went for fires on the shore, and for Canoo's, but found neither; getting up to Mathebflucks hills, day coming on, landed, and hid their Boats; looking out for the Enemy, as the day before, but to little purpose. Night coming on, to their Oars again, working very hard, turn'd the Night into Day; made several of their new Souldiers grumble: but telling them they hoped to come up quickly with the Enemy put new life into them; and by day-light they got into the Mouth of the River, where landing, found many Rendezvous and fire Places where the Indians had been; but at the same space of time, as before mentioned. And no Canoo's passe'd up the River that day. Their Pilot Joseph York inform'd the Major that 50 or 60 Miles up that River at the great Falls, the Enemy had a great Rendezvous, and plant'd a great quantity of

207 A large clufter of islands lie off in the mouth of Penobscot bay. Among them are Long, Seven Hundred Acre, Billy Job's, Marhell's, Laffell's, Mark, Saddle, Lime, Ensign, two Moufe, Spruce, and Fox Islands, with some unnamed.

208 These are Camden heights — as the crow flies, about 10 miles N. W. from Owl's Head, in the town of Camden. They are five or fix in number, the higheft being fome 1500 feet above the fea level. They can be seen 20 leagues at fena. [See Williamson's Hist, Me. i: 95.]

209 Williamson [Hist, Me. i: 645] calls this pilot John York, but gives no authority for differing from Church. A family of Yorks was among the earliert settlers of thefe regions, who were probably descendants of Richard, who lived in Dover, N.H., 1648. John York was one of the trustees of No. Yarmouth, 1685; and James, Thomas, and Samuel purchafed land of the Indians, in July, 1676, on the eafth fide of the Androscoggin. [Willis's Hist. Portland, 302; Sullivan's Hist. Me. 196.]

210 Suppofed to be the preffent Oldtown, 12 miles above Bangor.
Corn, when he was a Prisoner with them, four Years ago, and that he was very well acquainted there; this gave great encouragement to have had some considerable advantage of the Enemy at that Place; so using their utmost endeavours to get up there undiscovered: and coming there found no Enemy nor Corn Planted, they having deserted the Place. And ranging about the Falls on both sides of the River, leaving Men on the East side of the said River, and the Boats just below the Falls, with a good guard to secure them, and to take the Enemy if they came down the River in their Canoo’s: The west side being the Place where the Enemy lived and best to travel on, they resolved to range as privately as they could, a Mile or two above the Falls, discovered a birch Canoo coming down with two Indians in it, the Major sent word immediately back to those at the Falls to lie very close, and let them pass down the Falls, and to take them alive, that he might have Intelligence where the Enemy was (which would have been a great advantage to them:) but a foolish Soldier seeing them passing by him, shot at them, contrary to orders given, which prevented them going into the Ambuscado that was laid for them; whereupon several more of our Men being near, shot at them; so that one of them could not stand when he got a-shore, but crept away into the brush, the other stepped out of the Canoo with his Paddle in his hand, and ran about a rod, and then threw

21 Williamson says they left their boats at the “Bend,” in what is now Eddington. [Harp. Ms. i: 645.]
down his Paddle and turn'd back & took up his Gun, and so escaped: One of our Indians swam over the River and fetch'd the Canoo, wherein was a considerable quantity of bloud on the Seats, that the Indians fat on; the Canoo having several holes shot in her: They flogg the holes, and then Capt. Brackit with an Indian Souldier went over the River, who Track'd them by the bloud about half a Mile, found his Gun, took it up, and seeing the bloud no further, concluded that he flogg his bloud, and so got away. In the mean time another Canoo with three Men were coming down the River were fired at by some of our Forces, ran a-shore and left two of their Guns in the Canoo, which were taken, and also a Letter from a Priest to Casten, that gave him an account of the French and Indians returning over the Lake to Mount-Royal, and of their little Service done upon the Maquas Indians westward, only demolishing one Fort and cutting down some Corn, &e. He desiring to hear of the proceedings of

---

212 See note 120, ante.
213 See note 34, ante.
214 The Oneida or Onondaga lake.
215 Montreal.
216 The Maquas (Mingos) were the Five Nations of the English, and the Iroquois of the French. The expedition to which reference is here made was that of Frontenac, who added to all his own French regulars as many Indians as he could collect, and left Lachine, 7 July, 1696, with light batteaux for river portage, &c., with a powerful force to attack the Five Nations. After 12 days'
Deborahuel, and the French Man of War; and informed him that there were several Canoo's coming with workmen from Quaheck, to Saint John's, where since we concluded it was to build a Fort at the Rivers Mouth, where the great Guns were taken, &c. It being just Night, the Officers were call'd together to advise, & their Pilot York

march, they arrived at Cadaracqui, and scattered the Onondagas, but only captured a little corn and a Sachem 100 years old, whom they tortured in a way which extorted from Charlevoix the remark, that "never was a man treated with more cruelty, nor ever did any man bear torture with greater firmness and magnanimity." Frontenac marched back, with no further results for this expensive campaign than the treacherous capture of 35 confiding Osceolas, who were taken by the Chevalier Vaudreuil. [1 New-York Hist. Coll. ii: 44; iv: 121; Bancroft's Hist. U. S. iii: 190; Hildreth's Hist. U. S. ii: 193; Dunlap's Hist. New York, i: 227; Colden's Hist. Five Ind. Nations, 185-194.]

This is a curious illustration of the ease with which names are changed by passing from one language into another. Between Col. Church's way of pronouncing the name of this French admiral, and his son Thomas's way of writing it, the very respectable D'Iberville was metamorphosed into the abnormal, if not neutral, certainly peculiar, "Deborahuel."

Lemoyne D'Iberville was born in Montreal, 1642; was one of seven brothers active in Canadian affairs; went early to sea; distinguished himself for bravery and ability; commanded the expedition which recovered Fort Nelson to the French, 1686; successfully invaded Newfoundland, and gained victories in Hudson's Bay, 1697; was reputed to be the most skilful naval officer in the French service; was commissioned to explore the mouth of the Mississippi, and failed from Rockford for that purpose, 17 Oct., 1698; entered the river, 2 March, 1670; returned to France, but was again ordered to the river; captured Nevis, 1706; died at Havana, on board his ship, on the eve of an expedition against Jamaica, 9 July, 1706. Hutchison is wrong in his note, "This was not the Iberville who laid the foundation of the French colony at Mis-

Mississippi, 1690. He died in a year or two after that." The colony was founded in 1699, and D'Iberville lived seven years after that date. He was invading Newfoundland the next year after this expedition of Church, and there is no reason to doubt that he was the admiral in command of the French ships which captured and razed Pemaquid. [Hutchison's Hist. Mass. ii: 88; New Amer. Cyc. ix: 430.]

Saint John still stands — as the principal city and seaport of New Brunswick — on a rocky peninsula on the left bank of the picturesque river of the name.
inform'd them of a Fort up that River, & that it was built on a little Island in that River; and that there was no getting to it but in Canoo's, or on the Ice in the Winter time: This with the certain knowledge that we were discovered by the Enemy that escaped out of the upper Canoo, concluded it not proper at that time to proceed any further up, and that there was no getting any further with our Boats; and the Enemy being Alarm'd would certainly fly from them (and to do as they did four Years ago at their Fort at Taconock, having fought them in Kanebeck River, and pursu'd them about 30 Miles to Taconock; for they then set their Fort on fire, and run away by the Light of it, ours not being able to come up with them at that Place.) Maj. Church then encouraging his Soldiers, told them, he hop'd they should meet with part of the Enemy, in Penobscot bay, or at Mount-Defart, where the French Ships were. So notwithstanding they had been rowing several Nights before, with much toyl, besides were short of Provisions, they cheerfully embark'd on board their Boats, and went down the River, both with and against the Tide: and next Morning came to their Vessels, where the Major had ordered them to meet him, who could give him no intelligence of any Enemy. Where being come they refresh'd themselves; Meeting then with another disappointment, for their Pilot York [91] not being acquainted any further,
they began to lament the loss of one Robert Cawley, who they chiefly depended on for all the Service to be done now Eastward: he having been taken away from them the Night before they set sail from Boston (and was on board Mr. Thorpe's Sloop) and put on board the Man of War, unknown to Maj Church; notwithstanding he had been at the charge and trouble of procuring him. Then the Major was oblig'd to one Bord, procured by Mr. William Alden, who being acquainted in those parts, to leave his Vessel and go with him in the Boats, which he readily complied with, and so went to Nasket point, where being inform'd was a likely place to meet with the Enemy; coming there found several Housings and small Fields of Corn, the fires having been out several days, and no

---

223 Robert Cawley (Cante, Cantie), of Pemaquid, took the oath of fidelity to Massachusetts, at the Court, 7 Oct., 1674; and was undoubtedly the person here referred to. He may have been a son of Thomas, who was freeman, Cambridge, 1640; was "allowed to keep victualing in his house for strangers" 14 May, 1645, and appears to have been at Marblehead, 1671. [Mass. Col. Rec. ii: 98; v: 18; N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg. iii: 187; Savage's Gen. Dict. i: 350.]

224 There was a Robert Thorpe at York, 1660; and one of that name was admonished by the Court "not to adventure too many into any boate." [Savage's Gen. Dict. iv: 293; Mass. Col. Rec. i: 249.]

225 Henry Boode (Bord, Bode, Board) settled at Saco before 1636; was freeman at Wells, Me., 5 July, 1653; was Justice there 1653; died 1657. This man of whom Church speaks, may have been his son. [N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg. iii: 193; Poleman's Hist. Saco, 119.]

226 Capt. John Alden (see note 133, ante) had a son William, born 10 Sept., 1669, who would now be 27 years old, and may have followed his father's seafaring trade, and been a member of this expedition, as "matter of the Brigantine Endeavour." [Savage's Gen. Dict. i: 23.]

227 Nasket point is the S. E. extremity of the present town of Sedge- wick, Me.
new Tracks. But upon Penobscot Island they found several Indian Houses, Corn & Turnips, tho' the Enemy still being all gone, as before mentioned. Then they divided and sent their Boats some one way and some another, thinking that if any straggling Indians, or Casteen himself should be there-about, they might find them, but it proved all in vain. Himself and several Boats went to Mount-Defart, to see if the French Ships were gone and whether any of the Enemy might be there, but to no purpose: The Ships being gone and the Enemy also. They being now got several Leagues to the Westward of their Vessels; and seeing that the way was clear for their Vessels to pass: And all their extreme rowing and travelling by Land and Water, Night and Day to be all in vain. The Enemy having left those parts, as they judged about eight or ten days before. And then returning to their Vessels, the Commander calling all his Officers together, to consult and resolve what to do, concluding that the Enemy by some means or other had received some Intelligence of their being come out against them; and that they were in no necessity to come down to the Sea side as yet, Moofe and Bever now being fat. They then agreed to go so far East, and employ themselves, that the Enemy belonging to those parts might think they were gone home: having some discourse about going over to Saint John's; but the

226 Now called Orphan Island, containing some 5000 acres, and dividing the waters of the Penobscot into two branches. The island is taxed in Buckfield, port, and owned by descendants of an orphan, who inherited a part of the old Waldo patent. [Williamson's Hist. Me. i: 69.]
Maisters of the Vessels said, he had as good carry them to old France, &c. which put off that design, they concluding that the French Ships were there. Then the Major mov'd for going over the Bay towards Lahane, and toward the Gut of Cancer, where was another considerable Fort of Indians, who often came to the assistance of our Enemy, the barbarous Indians; saying that by the time they should return again, the Enemy belonging to these parts would be come down again, expecting that we are gone home. But in short, could not prevail with the Maisters of the open Sloops to venture a-crofs the Bay; who said it was very dangerous to late in the Year, and as much as their Lives were worth, &c. Then they concluded and resolved to go to Senaelnea, wherein there was a ready compliance (but the want of their Pilot Robert Cawley was a great damage to them, who knew all those parts;) how-

227 Misprint for La Have, a harbor of Nova Scotia on its S. E. coast, at the mouth of the Have, some 50 miles S. W. from Halifax. [Haliburton's Hist. Nova. Scot. i: 141.]

228 The gut of Caufon is the narrow channel between Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, from the Atlantic into Northumberland Strait; averaging scarcely more than 2 miles in width, to a length of 17 miles. Almost the whole length of Nova Scotia lies between it and St. John,—making it at least four and a half degrees farther E. than that town. The saying above, of the maisters, that "he had as good carry them to old France, &c.," must refer to their notion that St. John was as full of enemies as "Old France," and not to the ocean distance; as is shown here by their reluctance even to crofs the Bay.

229 Chigueculo Bay (Beau Buff) is an inlet between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, being the tapering northern extremity of the Bay of Fundy. This is two degrees farther E. than St. John's, and a little farther north. The fort, or settlement, of Beau Buff, which Church was proceeding to attack, was situated at the extreme N. E. terminus of the bay, and just N. of the entrance of the river La Planche, on nearly the same spot where Fort Lawrence afterward stood.
[92] ever Mr. John Alden Master of the Brigantiné En-
devour Pilotted them up the Bay to Senaflaca; and com-
ing to Grinflon-point, being not far from Senaflaca; then
came too with all the Vessels; and early next Morning
came to Sail, and about Sun-rise got into Town; but it
being so late before we landed, that the Enemy moft of
them made their efcape, (and as it happen’d landed where
the French & Indians had some time before killed Lieut.
John Paine, and several of Capt. Smithfon’s Men, that

200 I know not how to explain this, except it refers to Ifle des Maules (Ile of Grindthones, or Millithones), which is laid down on Charlevoix’s Map of Acad-
dia, a few miles N. W. of Beau Baffo, and juft out of fight from it round Cape des Maringouins (Mosquito Point).

201 I find no satisfactory account of this John Paine. Mr. Drake [ed. of Church (1843), 228; ed. of Hubbard, 1 II: 212] intimates that this may have been the John Pain who had trouble with the government in 1669, in the
matter of Thomas Dickinson’s murder at Pennacook in the previous sum-
mer, by an Indian bedle himself with rum, which Pain had furnished to him
and others. But the records are per-
fectly explicit on the point that that
man’s name was “ Thomas Payne, late
trader among the Indians at Pennicooke upon Merrimack river.” This Lieut.
John may have been his fon. [Mafs. Col. Rec. iv : Part II. 428; Bouton’s
High. Concord, N.H; 35.]

202 I am equally unfortunate with
regard to Capt. Smithfon. The name
is a very uncommon one in early New-
England annals. It does not appear in
Savage’s omnivorous pages; nor in the
crowded indexes of the 20 vols. of the
N. E. Hift. and Gen. Register, except
as the name of a passenger to Virginia
in 1635; nor in those of the 43 vols. of
the Collections and Proceedings of the
Mafs. Hift. Society; nor in that of
Drake’s Founders of New England;
nor in the lift of freemen of Mafs.; nor
in the indexes of the Mafs. Col. Rec-
ords; nor in the lift of the freemen of
Plymouth Colony, or the indexes of its
records; nor in those of the records of
the Colonies of Rhode Island, Con-
necticut, and New Haven. Under these
circumstances I have little doubt that the name is a mistake for another—
what, I have no useful conjecture. Nor
can I suggeft in what fasmine thes
lives had been loft, unlefs it were con-
ected with Sir William Phips’s Expe-
dition in 1690, when he seems to have
vifited Beau Baffo. [Halliburton’s
High. N. Scot. 1: 77; Hutchin-
fon’s High. Mafs. 1: 352.]
was with said Paine) They seeing our Forces coming took the opportunity, fired several Guns, and so run all into the Woods, carried all or most part of their goods with them. One Jarman Bridgway came running towards our Forces with a Gun in one hand, and his Cartridge-box in the other, calling to our Forces to flop that he might speak with them; but Maj. Church thinking it was that they might have some advantage, ordered them to run on; when the said Bridgway saw they would not flop, turn’d and run, but the Major call’d unto him, and bid him flop, or he should be shot down; some of our Forces being near to the said Bridgway, said it was the General that call’d to him: he hearing that, flop’d and turn’d about, laying down his Gun, flood, till the Major came up to him, his desire was that the Commander would make haste with him to his house, left the Salvages should kill his Father and Mother, who were upward of fourscore Years of Age, and could not go. The Major ask’d the said Bridgway whither there was any Indians amongst them? and where they liv’d? he shak’d his head, and said, he durst not tell, for if he did they would take an opportunity and kill him and his: so all that could be got out of him was, that they were run into the Woods with

233 “The English pursu’d, and soon met Bourgeois (Church calls him Bridgman) a principal inhabitant, coming to ask quarter for himself and family.” [Hutchinson’s Hist. Mass. ii: 92.] Haliburton calls him “one of the most respectable Acadians.” [Hist. Nova. Scot. i: 77.]

234 That is, Church’s Indians,— among whom probably were still some of those faithful old Sacouets who had followed him on so many war-paths.
the rest. Then orders were given to pursue the Enemy, and to kill what Indians they could find, and take the French alive, and give them quarter, if they ask'd it. Our Forces soon took three French Men, who upon examination said, That the Indians were all run into the woods. The French firing several Guns at our Forces, and ours at them; but they being better acquainted with the woods than ours, got away. The Major took the above said Farman Bridgeway for a Pilot, and with some of his Forces went over a River, to several of their houses, but the People were gone and carried their goods with them: In ranging the woods found several Indian-houses, their fires being just out, but no Indians. Spending that day in ranging to & fro, found considerable of their goods, and but few People: at Night the Major writ a Letter, and sent out two French Prisoners, wherein was signifyed, That if they would come in, they should have good quarters. The next day several come in, which did belong to that part of the Town where our Forces first landed, who had encouragements given them by our Commander, That if they would assist him in taking those Indians which belonged to those parts, they should have their goods return'd to them again, and their Estates should not be damnify'd; which they refused. Then the Major and his Forces pursued their design and went further ranging their Coun-

235 Probably the Missiquaw; and the houses were, most likely, where was afterwards Fort Cumberland.

try, found several more houses, but the People fled, and carried what they had away; but in a Crick \(^{237}\) found a prize Bark that was brought in there by a French Privateer: in ranging the woods took some Prisoners, who upon examination gave our Commander an account that there was some Indians upon a Neck of Land towards Menes; \(^{238}\) so a party of Men was sent into those woods, and in their ranging about the said Neck found some Plunder, and a considerable quantity of Hurtleburies, both green and dry, which were gathered by the Indians, and had like to have taken two Indians, who by the help of a birch Canoo got over the River \(^{239}\) and made their escape. Also they found two Barrels of Powder, and near half a bushel of Bullets; the French denying it to be theirs, said they were the Salvages; but sure it might be a supply for our Enemies: Also they took from Jarman Bridgway several Barrels of Powder, with Bullets, Shot, Spears and Knives, and other supplies to relieve our Enemies; he owning that he had been a Trading with those Indians along Cape Sable Shore, with Peter Affruch, &c. in a Sloop our Forces took from him; and that there he met with the French Ships, and went along with them to St. John's, and helped them to unload the said Ships and carried up the River Provisions, Am-

\(^{237}\) The mouth of Tantamar river, or the Memramcook? 

\(^{238}\) Les Mines was the name of the first bay running into the interior of Acadia, from the Bay of Fundy W. of Bou Bafin; and the neck was that which terminated in Cape Chieugnet, now known as Cumberland.

\(^{239}\) Riviere aux Pommes: now Apple River?
munition, and other goods to Vilboons Fort. The Major having ranged all Places as was thought proper, return'd back to the place where they first landed, and finding several Prifoners come in, who were much troubled to see their Cattel, Sheep, Hogs & Dogs lying dead about their houses, chop'd and hack'd with Hatches, (which was done without order from the Major) however he told them, It was nothing to what our poor English in our Frontier Towns were forc'd to look upon, for Men, Women and Children were chop'd and hack'd so, and left half dead, with all their Scalps taken of, and that they and their Indians serv'd ours so; and our Salvages would be glad to serve them so too, if he would permit them; which caus'd them to be mighty submissive, and beg'd the Major that he would not let the Salvages serv'e them so. Our Indians being some what sensible of the discourse, desired to have some of them to Rolf, and so make a dance; and dancing

240 The Chevalier Villebon was sent over from France to take the government of Nova Scotia, succeeding M. Perot. He made his fort at the mouth of the St. John the rallying point of French and Indians for their designs upon the English colonies. He participated with D'Iberville in the capture of Pemaquid, and was now back at his fort. Charlevoix makes the mistake of confounding him with Villeau (see note 194, ante), and so represents him as having been captured and releas'd by the English. Haliburton copies the blunder, saying he "was captured with 23 others, and sent to Boston." [Charlevoix's Hift. Nouv. France; Haliburton's Hift. Nov. Scot. i : 77.]

241 Charlevoix says that our soldiers plundered the Acadians until Burgeois produced a proclamation which had been given by Sir Wm. Phips, affuring them of protection so long as they remained faithful to King William; and that Church, being made acquainted with it, respected it, and ordered his soldiers to do the same, who however, he adds, still "conducted themselves as if they had been in a conquered country." [Hift. Nouv. France.]
in a hideous manner to terrify them, said, That they could
eat any sort of flesh, and that some of theirs would make
their hearts strong: stepping up to some of the Prisoners,
said, They must have their Scalps, which much terrified
the poor Prisoners, who beg'd for their lives. The Major
told them he did not design the Salvages should hurt
them; but it was to let them see a little what the poor
English felt, saying, it was not their Scalps he wanted, but
the Salvages, for that he should get nothing by them; and
told them, That their Fathers the Fryers and Governors encouraged their Salvages, and gave them Money to
Scalp our English, notwithstanding they were with them;
which several of our English there present did testify to
their Faces, that their Fathers and Mothers were [94]
served so in their fight. But the Major bid them tell their
Fathers the Fryers and the Governors, That if they still
persisted and let their wretched Salvages kill & destroy the
poor English at that rate, he would come with some hundreds of Salvages, and let them loose among them, who
would Kill, Scalp and carry away every French person in
all those parts, for they were the root from whence all the
branches came that hurt us; for the Indians could not do
us any harm, if they did not relieve and supply them.
The French being sensible of the Major's kindness to them,
kiss'd his hand, & was very thankful to him for his favour
to them in saving their lives; owned that their Priests was
at the taking of Pemaquid Fort, and were now gone to

[242] The Acadians were bigoted Romanists.
Layhorne with some of the Indians, to meet the French Ships, but for what they would not tell. The Commander with his Forces having done all the Service they could in those parts, concluded to go to St. John’s River to do further Service for their King and Country, Embark’d all on board their Transports, and having a fair wind soon got to Monogencot, which lies a little distance from the Mouth of St. John’s River. Next Morning early the Major with his Forces landed to see what discovery they could make, Travel’d a cross the woods, to the old Fort or Falls at the Mouth of St. John’s River, keeping themselves undiscovered from the Enemy; finding that there were several Men at work, and having inform’d themselves as much as they could, (the Enemy being on the other side of the River, could not come at them) Returned back, but Night coming on and dark wet Weather, with bad Travelling, was oblig’d to flop in the woods till towards day next Morning, and then went on board; soon after the Major ordered all the Vessels to come to Sail, and go into the Mouth of the River; being done, it was not long before the Major and his Forces landed on the

---

243 La Have (see note 227, ante.)
244 The scruples of those who thought “he had as good carry them to old France” as to St. John, when they were at Penobscot, were probably removed by finding that they would now be going near 150 miles toward home by repairing thither. It seems to have made a great difference in the valor of some of the party, whether they were heading E. or W.
246 Ile de Menagoniche (given on Haliburton’s Map as Meogenes) lies off the shore, a little W. of the entrance of the river St. John, and of the site of an old fort. The new fort, which Villebon was building, was on the other (E.) side of the river, just above the Ile aux Perdreaus (now Partridge L.)
East side of the River, the French firing briskly at them, but did them no harm; and running fiercely upon the Enemy, they soon fled into the Woods. The Major ordered a brisk party to run a crofs a Neck to cut them off from their Canoo's, which the day before they had made a discovery of; so the Commander with the rest ran directly towards the New Fort they were a building, not knowing but they had some Ordnance mounted. The Enemy running directly to their Canoo's was met by our Forces, who fired at them and kill'd one and wounded Corporal Canton, who was taken, the rest threw down what they had and ran into the woods; the faid Prifoner Canton being brought to the Major, told him, if he would let his Surgeon drefs his wound and cure him, he would be Serviceable to him as long as he liv'd: so being drefs'd, he was Examin'd: who gave the Major an account of the Twelve great Guns which were hid in the beach below high water Mark (the Carriges, Shot and Wheelbarrows, some Flower & Pork, all hid in the Woods:) And the next Morning the Officers being all ordered to meet together, to consult about going up the River to Vilboons Fort.

247 The neck, apparently, between the St. John and the Riviere de Canibochis (Haliburton gives it Kennebeckagäs), the first Eastern confluent of the former above its mouth.

248 It would be a hopeless task to conjecture what French name lies perdue under this cognomen.

249 The fort which was the headquarters of Villebois was up the St. John at the Gemfe. Haliburton gives the following paper, which describes minutely its condition in 1670; and which may be worth the space it will occupy as hinting the fashion of these Indian forts, and their fittings in the earlier days:

"INVENTORY.—1. At the entering in of said Fort, on the left hand we found a court of guard about 15 paces long, and 10 broad, having, upon the right
and none amongst them being acquainted [95] but the Aldens, who said the Water in the River was very low; so that they could not get up to the Fort, and the Prisoner Canton told the Commander, That what the Aldens said was true. So not being willing to make a Canada Expedition, concluded it was not practicable to proceed. Then ordered some of the Forces to get the great Guns on board the open Sloops, and the rest to rang the woods for the Enemy, who took one Prisoner, and brought in; who in their ranging found there a Shallop haul’d into a Crick, and a day or two after there came in a Young Souldier to our Forces, who upon examination gave an account of

hand a house of the like length and breadth, built with hewn stone and covered with shingles, and above them there is a chapel of about 6 paces long and 4 paces broad; covered with shingles and built with terras, upon which there is a small turret, wherein there is a little bell, weighing about 18 lbs.

"2. Upon the left hand as we entered into the Court, there is a magazine, having 2 stories built with stone, and covered with shingles, being in length about 36 paces long, and 10 in breadth; which magazine is very old and wanted much repair; under which is a little cellar, in which there is a well; and upon the other side of said Court, being on the right hand, there is a house of the same length and breadth the magazine is, being half covered with shingles, and the rest uncovered and wanting much repair; upon the ramparts of the said fort are 12 iron guns, weighing in all 21,122 lbs.

3. We do find in the said fort 6 murtherers, without Chambers, weighing 1200 lbs.

"4. 200 iron bullets, from 3 to 8 lbs.

"5. About 30 or 40 paces from the said fort, there is a small outhouse, being about 20 paces in length, and 8 in breadth; built with planks and half covered with shingles, which do not serve for any use but to house cattle.

"6. About 50 paces from said outhouse there is a square garden, enclosed with rails, in which garden there are 50 or 60 trees bearing fruit.

"Signed,

Le Chevalier de Grand Fontaine.
Jean Maillard.
Richard Walker.
Isaac Garnier.

Marshall, Sec'y."

[Haliburton’s Hist. Nova. Scot. i: 66.]

[95] Sir William Phips’s attack upon Canada had ingloriously failed in 1690, partly because of the lateness of the season at which it was undertaken, and
two more which he left in the woods at some distance; so immediately the Major with some of his Forces went in pursuit of them, taking the said Prisoner with them, who convey’d them to the place where he left them, but they were gone. Then ask’d the Prisoner, Whither there were any Indians in those parts? Said, No, it was as hard for Vilboon their Governour to get an Indian down to the water side, as it was for him to carry one of those great Guns upon his back to his Fort: for they having had Intelligence by a Prisoner out of Boston Goal, that gave them an account of Maj. Church and his Forces coming out against them. Now having with a great deal of pains and trouble got all the Guns, Shot and other Stores aboard, intended on our design which we came out first for, but the Wind not serving, the Commander sent out his Scouts into the woods to seek for the Enemy, and four of our Indians come upon three French Men undiscovered, who concluded that if the French should discover them would fire at them and might kill one or more of them, which to prevent fired at the French, kill’d one and took the other two Prisoners; and it happen’d that he who was kill’d was Shanelere, the Chief Man there &c. The same Day they mended their Whale-boats, and the Shallop which they took, fitting her to Row with Eight Oars, that she might be helpful to their Prosecuting their intended design against the Enemy in their returning homewards. Then the

partly because of its inherent weakness. be one of Villeau’s men (see note 195, [Hutchinson’s Hist. Mass. i. 352-6.] ante).

There was hardly time for this to 25 See note 248, ante.
Commander ordering all the Officers to come together, Inform'd them of his intentions and ordered that no Vessels should depart from the Fleet, but to attend the Motions of their Commodore, as formerly, except they were parted by Storms or thick Fogs, and if so it should happen that any did part, when they come to Paffamequady,²⁵³ should stop there a while, for there they intended to stop, and do business with the help of their Boats against the Enemy, and if they miss that to stop at Machias;²⁵⁴ which was the next place he intended to stop at, having an account by the Prisoners taken, That Mr. Lateril²⁵⁵ was there a trading with the Indians in that River: Incouraging them, said, He did not doubt but to have a good booty there; and if they should pass those two places, be sure not to go past Naskege-point,²⁵⁶ but to stop there, till he came, and not to depart thence in a Fortnight without his orders, having great Service to do in and about Penobscot, &c. Then the Major discoursed with Capt. Brackit,²⁵⁷ Capt. Hunewell²⁵⁸ and Capt. Larking,²⁵⁹ (with their Lieutenants) Commanders of the Forces belonging to the Eastward parts, who were to discourse their Souldiers about their proceeding, when they came to Penobscot; and the Major himself

²⁵³ The bay into which empties the St. Croix, the boundary between the United States and the British Provinces.  
²⁵⁴ The next port westward.  
²⁵⁵ Probably the Frenchman who is twice referred to subsequently (on p. 109 of the original paging) as "old Lotriol," and as being captured in the fifth expedition, with his family, some of whom were reported to be drowned.  
²⁵⁶ See note 225, ante.  
²⁵⁷ See note 120, ante.  
²⁵⁸ See note 157, ante.  
²⁵⁹ There was a Samuel Larkin among the early inhabitants of Portsmouth, N.H.
was to discourse his Indian-Soldiers, and their Captains; who with all the rest readily comply'd. The projection being such, That when they came to Penobscot the Commander design'd to take what Provisions could be spared out of all the Sloops, and put on board the two Brigantines, and to send all the Sloops home with some of the Officers and Men that wanted to be at home: and then with those Forces afore-mentioned (to wit) the Eastward Men, and all the Indians; and to take what Provisions and Ammunition was needful, and to March with himself up into the Penobscot Country, in search for the Enemy, and if possible to take that Fort in Penobscot River. Capt. Brackit informing the Major, That when the water was low they could wade over (which was at that time) the lowest that had been known in a long time. And being there to range thro' that Country down to Pemquid, where he intended the two Brigantines should meet them; and from thence taking more Provisions (viz.) Bread, Salt & Ammunition suitable (to send those two Vessels home also) to travel thro' the Country to Nerigwiwoc; and from thence to Ameras cogen-Fort, and so down where the Enemy us'd to Plant, not doubting but that in all this Travel to meet with many of the Enemy before they should get to Piscataqua. All which intentions were very acceptable to the

260 "Brigantine, — a small, flat, open, light vessel, going both with sails and oars, either for fighting or for giving chase." — Bailey.
261 Norridgewock (Narrantouat) is a point in the bend of the Kennebec opposite to the mouth of Sandy river, where was the ancient seat of the Canihas Indians. [Williamson's Hist. Me. 1: 467; Father Druillette's Journal 310.]
Forces that were to undertake it, who rejoicing, said, They had rather go home by Land than by Water, provided their Commander went with them: (who to try their fidelity) said, He was grown Ancient, and might fail them; They all said they would not leave him, and when he could not Travel any further, they would carry him. Having done what Service they could at and about the Mouth of St. John's River, Resolved on their intended design; and the next Morning having but little Wind, came all to Sail, the Wind coming against them they put into Mushquash Cove, and the next day the Wind still being against them, the Major with part of his Forces Landed, and employed themselves in ranging the Country for the Enemy, but to no purpose; and in the Night the wind came pretty fair, and at 12 a Clock they came to Sail, and had not been out long before they spy'd three Sail of Vessels; Expecting them to be French, fitted to defend themselves, so coming near, hail'd them: who found them to be a Man of War, the Province Galley, and old Mr. Alden in a Sloop, with more Forces, Col. Hathorne Commander. Maj. Church went aboard the

262 The outlet of Rivière de Mocouafi, the second stream coming into the bay W. of the St. John; which Haliburton's map names Musquah river;—which would seem to be a translation of found rather than of fene.

263 See note 133, ante.

John Hathorne (Hathorn, Hawthorne) was son of William, of Salem; born 4 Aug., 1641; freeman, 1677; Deputy, 1683; Affiant or Councillor, 1684-1712; Judge of Com. Pleas, 1692-1702; Judge of Supreme Court, 1702-15; Commissioner to Eastern Indians, and Commander, 1696; resigned his place on the bench on account of deafness, 1712; died 10 May, 1717, mt. 76. He had five sons. [Savage's Gen. Did. ii: 377; Walburn's Judic. Hist. Mass. 271.]
Commodore, where Col. Hathrone was, who gave him an account of his Commiffion & Orders, and read them to him. Then his Honour told Maj. Church, that there was a particular Order on board Capt. Southack for him: which is as followeth. [97]

Sir, Boston, September. 9th. 1696.

His Majiflies Ship Orford having lately furprized a French Shallop with twenty three of the Soldiers belonging to the Fort upon John's River in Nova-Scotia, together with Villeau their Captain, Providence seems to encourage the forming of an Expedition to attack that Fort, and to difrefl and remove the Enemy from that Post, which is the chief Scource from whence the moft of our difafers do issue, and also to favour with an opportunity for gaining out of their hands the Ordnance, Artillery and other Warlike Stores and Provisions lately supplied to them from France, for erecfling a new Fort near the Rivers mouth, whereby they will be greatly strengthened, and the reducing of them rendered more difficult. I have therefore ordered a Detachment of two new Companies consisting of about an Hundred Men

265 Cyprian Southack was commander of the Province galley; was with Church in his last Eastern Expedition, 1704; and went to Canada in 1714 on the Stoddard and Williams Expedition; lived on Tremont Street, which then embraced only that portion now included between School and Howard Streets; 19 Oct., 1733, was warned to secure "his hill near Valley acre, by rails, or otherwife, that people may not be in danger." Valley acre was the hill juft eall of Beacon hill, occupying the space, nearly, of what is now Pemberton Square. Capt. Southack's hill probably adjoined his house, which seems to have stood not far from the preffent site of the Albion. [Drake's Hift. Botl. i: 529. 539. 593; N. E. Hift. and Gen. Reg. v: 39.]
to joyn the Forces now with you for that Expedition, and have commissioned Lieut. Colonel John Hathorne, one of the Members of His Majesties Council, who is acquainted with that River, and in whose courage and conduct I repose special Trust, to take the chief command of the whole during that Service, being well assured that your good affections and zeal for His Majesties Service will induce your ready compliance and assistance therein, which I hope will take up no long time, and be of great benefit and advantage to these His Majesties Territories if it please God to succeed the same. Besides its very probable to be the fairest opportunity that can be offered unto your self and Men, of doing Execution upon the Indian Enemy and Rebels, who may reasonably be expected to be drawn to the defence of that Fort. I have also ordered His Majesties Ship Arundel, and the Province-Gally to attend this Service.

Colonel Hathorne will communicate unto you the contents of his Commission and Instructions received from my self for this Expedition, which I expect and order that your self, Officers and Soldiers now under you yield obedience unto. He is to advise with your self and others in all weighty attempts. Praying for a Blessing from Heaven upon the said Enterprise, and that all engaged in the same may be under the special Protection of the Almighty. I am your Loving Friend,

Wm. STOUGHTON.

The Major having read his last Orders, and considering his Commission, found that he was oblig'd to attend, All
Orders, &c. was much concern'd that he and his were prevented in their intended project, if carried back to St. John's. Then discoursing with Col. Hathorne, gave him an account of what they had done at St. John's, viz. That as to the demolishing the New Fort they had done it, and got all their great Guns and Stores aboard their Vessels; and that if it had not been that the waters were so low would have taken the Fort up the River also before he came away. Told him also that one of the Prisoners which he had taken at St. John's, upon examination concerning the Indians in those parts, told him, it was as hard for Vilboon their Governor to get one of their Indians down to the water side, as to carry one of those great Guns upon his back: and that they had an account of him and his Forces coming to those parts by a Prisoner out of Boston Goal. Also [98] told his Honour, That if they went back it would wholly disappoint them of their doing any further Service, which was that they came for to Penobscot, and Places Adjacent; but all was to no purpose, his Honour telling the Major that he must attend his Orders then received. And to encourage the Officers and Soldiers, told them, They should be wholly at the Majors Ordering & Command in the whole action: (and to be short did go back) and the event may be seen in Col. Hathorn's Journal of the said action. Only I must ob-

206 Church speaks as if Hathorn's Journal were public property; but I have not been able to find it. Mather sums up the issue thus: "But the Difficulty of the Cold Season so discouraged our Men, that after the making of some few Shot, the Enterprise found itself under too much Congelation to proceed any
ferve one thing by the way, which was, That when they
drew off to come down the River again, Col. Hathorne
came off and left the Major behind to fee that all the
Forces were drawn off; and coming down the River in or
near the Rear, in the Night heard a person hollow, not
knowing at first but that it might be a snare to draw
them into; but upon consideration sent to fee who or what
he was, found him to be a Negro man belonging to Marblehead,
that had been taken, and kept a Prisoner amongst
them for some time. The Major ask'd him, Whither he
could give any account of the Indians in those parts? He
said, Yes, they were or had been all drawn off from the
Sea Coast up into the Woods near a hundred Miles having
had an account by a Prisoner out of Boston Goal; that
Maj. Church and his Forces were coming out against them

further.” [Magnalia, Book VII: 90.]
Hutchinson says, “Villebon had timely notice of the return and re-enforcement,
and made the best preparations he could
for his defence. Four of the small vessels
went up the river, and landed their
men near the fort, October the 7th.
They raised a battery for two field
pieces, and began to fire with them and
with their musketry the same day;
and the French made return. When
night came on, which proved very cold,
the English lighted their fires to keep
them from perishing. This made them
a mark for the French cannon, which
disturbed them to that degree that they
were obliged to put out their fires, and
to be exposed all night to the inclem-
ency of the weather. They were soon
discouraged, for the next night they
re-embarked; and having joined those
at the mouth of the river, made the
best of their way to Boston. No notice
was taken of any lofs on either side,
except the burning a few of the ene-
my's houses; nor is any sufficient reason
given for relinquishing the design so

It is probable that the forces were
not provided with tents nor cloathing
sufficient to defend them from the cold,
which they had reason to expect to
increase every day, and it is certain the
old Colonel Church was offended at
being superseded in command.” [Hist.
Mass. ii: 94.]
in four Briganteens, & four Sloops, with 24 Peraougers, meaning Whale-boats, which put them into a fright, that notwithstanding they were so far up in the Woods were afraid to make fires by Day left he and his Forces should discover the Smokes, and in the Night left they should see the light. One thing more I would just give a hint of, that is, How the French in the Eastward parts were much surpriz'd at the motion of the Whale boats; said, There was no abiding for them in that Country: and I have been inform'd since, that soon after this Expedition, they drew off from St. John's Fort & River. But to return, Then going all down the River, Embark'd and went homeward; only by the way Candid Reader, I would let you know of two things that proved very prejudicial to Major Church and his Forces: The first was, That the Government should misit so much as to send any Prisoner away from Boston before the Expedition was over. Secondly, That they should send Col. Hathorne to take them from the Service & busines they went to do: Who with submission, doubtless thought they did for the best, tho' it prov'd to the contrary. So shall wind up with just a hint of what happen'd at their coming home to Boston. After all their hard Service both Night & Day, the Government took away all the great Guns, and Warlike Stores, and gave them not a Penny for them, (except it was some Powder, and that they gave what they pleas'd for it) and beside the Assembly past a Vote that they should have but half

---

367 Pirogue, boat of savages. — Spiers and Sureau.
pay. But his Honour the Lieut. Governour being much disturb'd at their fo doing went in to the Town-House where the Reprentatives were fitting, and told them except they did Re-affume that Vote, which was to cut Maj. Church and his Forces off half their pay, they should sit there till the next Spring. Whereupon it was Re-affumed: So that they had just their bare Wages. But as yet never had any Allowance for the great Guns and Stores; neither has Maj Church had any Allowance for all his Travel and great Expences in Raifing the said Forces Volunteers.

The Fifth and Last Expedition, East.

In the Year 1703, 4. Major Church had an account of the miserable Devetations made on Deerfield, a Town in the Westward parts of this Province, and the horrible Barbarities & Cruelties exercized on those poor Innocent People, (by the French & Indians) especially of their Cruelties towards that worthy Gentlewoman Mrs. Williams and several others, whom they March'd in that

269 Deerfield was destroyed 29 Feb., 1704; 38 were slain in the palisaded village and 9 in the meadow fight; and 112 were taken, of whom 2 soon escaped, 22 were slain or perished on their way to Canada, 28 remained in Canada, and 60 returned. A few of the captives and of the slain — 8 or 9 of each — belonged to other towns. [Judd's Hist. Hadley, 272.] Church probably had forgotten the exact sequence of events when dictating this, as his letter to Gov. Dudley is dated 5 Feb., 1705 — 24 days before Deerfield fell.
270 Mrs. Eunice Williams was daughter of Rev. Eleazer Mather of North-
extream Seafon; forcing them to carry great loads, and when any of them by their hard usage could not bare with it, were knock'd on the head, and so kill'd in cool Bloud. All which with some other horrible Infliances done by those Barbarous Salvages, which Maj. Church himfelf was an eye witnes to in his former Travels in the Eaftward parts, did much aftoniſh him. To fee a Woman that those Barbarous Salvages had taken and kill'd, expoſ'd in a moft brutifh manner (as can be expref'd) with a Young Child feiz'd faft with ſtrings to her breast; which Infant had no apparent wound, which doubtleſs was left alive to fuck its dead Mothers Breast, and fo niſerably to perifh & dye. Alfo to fee other poor Children hanging upon Fences dead, of either Sex, in their own poor Rags, not worth their ſtripping them of, in ſcorn and deriſion. Another Inflance was, of a ſtraggling Souldier, who was found at Cafco, expos'd in a shameful and barbarous manner; his body being flaked up, his head cut off, and a hogs head fet in the room, his body rip'd up, and his heart and inwards taken out, and private Members cut off, and hung with belts of their own, the inwards at one ſide of his body, and his private at the other, in ſcorn & deriſion of the English Souldiers, &c. These and ſuch like Barbarities cauſed Major Church to exprefs himſelf to this ampton, and wife of Rev. John Williams of Deerfield (who was ſon of Dea. Samuel, of Roxbury, who was eldeſt ſon of Robert); was marriſhed 21 July, 1687; taken captive, 29 Feb., 1701; was murdered on the road to Canada on the ſecond day's march by her Indian captor. [Savage's Gen. Dict. iv: 563; Holland's Hist. Wjt. Mafs. i: 153; Hoyt's Antyq. Researches, 190.]
purpofe, That if he were Commander in Chief of these Provinces, he would soon put an end to thofe barbarities done by the Barbarous Enemy, by making it his whole bufiness to fight and deftrvoy thofe Salvages, as they did our poor Neighbours; which doubtefs might have been done if rightly managed, and that in a short time &c. So that thofe with the late Inhumanities done upon the Inhabitants of Deerfield, made fuch an Impreffion on his heart as cannot well be expreffed; fo that his Bloud boy’d within him, making fuch Impulfes on his Mind, that he forgot all former treatments, which were enough to hinder any Man efpecially the faid Maj. Church from doing any further Service. Notwithstanding [100] all which, having a mind to take fome Satisfacfon on the Enemy, his heart being full. Took his Horfe & went from his own Habitation near Seventy Miles,\textsuperscript{271} to wait upon his Excellency, and offered his Service to the Queen, his Excellency & the Country; which his Excellency readily accepted of, and defired Maj. Church to draw a Scheme for the infuing action or actions; fo taking leave, went home, and drew it: which is as followeth.

\textsuperscript{271} Church was now in the laft year of his refidence at Fall River (then Tiverton). [Part I. xxxiii.] This is by the prefent direct route scarcely more than 51 miles from Boflon; and the more circuitous roads then exifting could hardly bring it up to 70. I think Col. Church, when dictating this para-

\[130\]
Tiverton, February 5, 1703.

May it please your Excellency,

According to your request when I was last with your Self; and in obedience thereunto, I present you with these following lines, that concern the preparation for next Spring's Expedition, to Attack the Enemy. According to my former direction, for it is good to have a full broach at them first, before they have opportunity to Run for it; for the first of our action will be our opportunity to destroy them, and to prevent their running away, in way-laying every passage; and make them know we are in good earnest, and so we being in a diligent use of means, we may hope for a blessing from the Almighty, and that He will be pleased to put a dread in their hearts, that they may fall before us and perish: For my advice is,

1st. That Ten or Twelve hundred good able Soldiers, well equipt be in a readiness fit for action by the first of April at the furthest, for then will be time to be upon action.

2ly. That five & forty or fifty good Whale-boats be had ready, well fitted, with five good Oars, and 12 or 15 good Paddles to every Boat: And upon the Wale[272] of each Boat five pieces of strong Leather be fastened on each side to flip five small Ash bars thro', that so when ever they land the Men may leap over-board, & flip in said bars a-crofs, and take up said Boat, that she may not be hurt against the Rocks. And that two suitable Brass Kittles be provided to

[272] The wale is the plank that runs and giving strength to its curves. — the outside of the boat, stiffening it, Totten.
an Army, being a trouble and vexation to good Commanders, and so many Mouths to devour the Countries Provision, and a hindrance to all good action.

9ly. That special care be had in taking up the whale-boats, that they be good and fit for that Service; that so the Country be not cheated, as formerly, in having rotten-Boats; and as much care that the Owners may have good satisfaction for them.

toly. That the Tenders or Transports, Vessels to be improved in this action be good Deck'd Vessels, not too big, because of going up several Rivers; having 4 or 6 small Guns a-piece for defence, and the fewer Men will defend them. And there is enough such Vessels to be had.

11ly. To conclude all, If your Excellency will be pleased to make your Self Great and us a happy People, as to the destroying of our Enemies, and easing of our Taxes, &c. be pleased to draw forth all those Forces now in Pay in all the Eastward Parts, both at Saco & Cape-Bay; for those two Trading-Houses never did any good, nor never will, and are not worthy the name of Queens Forts; and the first building of them, had no other Effect, but to lay us under Tribute to that wretched Pagan Crew; and I hope will never be wanted, for that they were first built for: but sure it is, they are very serviceable to them, for they get many a good advantage of us to destroy our Men, and laugh at us for our folly, that we should be at so much cost & trouble to do a thing that does us so much harm, and no manner of good: but to the contrary, when they see all our Forces drawn
forth, and in the pursuit of them, They will think that we
begin to be roused up and to be awake, and will not be satis-
fied with what they have pleas’d to leave us, but are resolved to
R etake from them, that they formerly took from us, and drive
them out of their Country also. The which being done, then
to build a Fort at a suitable time and in a convenient place;
and it [102] will be very honourable to your Excellency & of
great Service to Her Majesty, & to the enlargement of her
Majesty’s Government: (The Place meant being at Port
Royal.)

12ly. That the objection made against drawing off the
Forces in the Eastward Parts will be no damage to the in-
habitants; for former Experience teacheth us, that so soon
as drawn into their Country they will presently forfake ours
to take care of their own: And that there be no failure in
making preparation of these things afore-mentioned, for
many times the want of small things, prevent the compleat-
ing of great Actions; and that every thing be in a readiness
before the Forces be rais’d, to prevent Charges; and the
Enemy having Intelligence: And that the General Court be
moved to make suitable Acts, for the encouraging both Eng-
lishe & Indians; that so men of business may freely offer
Estates and Concerns to Serve the Publick.

This hoping what I have taken the pains to Write in the
sincerity of my heart and good affection, will be well ac-
cepted; I make bold to subscribe, as I am your Excellency’s
most Devoted and Humble Servant,

Benjamin Church.
Then returning to his Excellency presented the said Scheme, which his Excellency approv’d of; and return’d it again to Maj. Church and desired him to see that every thing was provided telling him that he should have an Order from the Commisary General to proceed. Then returned home and made it his whole business to provide Oars and Paddles and a Vessel to carry them round; and then return’d again to his Excellency, who gave him a Commission: which is as followeth.

JOSEPH DUDLEY Esq; Captain General and Governour in Chief in and over Her Majesty’s Provinces of the Maffachufets-Bay & New-Hampshire in New-England in America, and Vice Admiral of the same.

To Benjamin Church Esqr; Greeting.

BY Virtue of the Power & Authority in & by her Majesty’s Royal Commission to me granted I do by these presents, Reposing special Trust and Confidence in your Loyalty, Courage and good Conduct, Constitute and Appoint you to be Colonel of all the Forces rais’d and to

[102]

275 Joseph Dudley was son of Gov. Thomas, of Roxbury; freeman, 1672; Deputy, 1673-5; Artillery Company, 1677; Assistant, 1676-85; went to England in 1682; President of the Colonies of Mass. and N. Hamp., 1686; was of Andros’s Council, and Chief Justice of the unconstitutional Supreme Court; was imprisomed here; went to England in 1689; was Deputy Governor of the Isle of Wight eight years; came home 1702, as Governor of Mass. Col., which place he filled until Nov. 1715; died 2 April, 1720. His wife was Rebecca, dau. of Edward Tyng; they had Thomas, Edward, Joseph, Paul, Samuel, John, Rebecca, Catharine, Ann, William, Daniel, Catharine, and Mary. [Savage’s Gen. Hist. ii: 76; N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg. i: 71.]
be raised for Her Majesty's Service against the French & Indian Enemy and Rebels, that shall be improved in the Service to the Eastward of Capeo-Bay; And to be Captain of the first Company of the said Forces. You are therefore carefully and diligently to perform the Duty of a Colonel and Captain, by Leading, Ordering & Exercising the said Regiment & Company in Arms, both Inferior Officers & Soldiers; and to keep them in good Order and Discipline. Hereby commanding them to Obey you as their Colonel and Captain; And with them to do and Execute all acts of hostility against the said Enemy & Rebels. And you are to observe & follow such Orders and Directions as you shall receive from my Self or other your Superiour Officer, according to the Rules & Discipline of War, pursuant to the Trust reposed in you. Given under my Hand & Seal at Arms at Boston the 18th day of March. In the Third Year of Her Majesty's Reign. Anno Dom. 1703.

By his Excellency's Command, Ifaac Addington Secr.

J. DUDLEY. [103]

Col. Church no sooner received his Commiision, but proceeded to the raising of Men Volunteers, by going into every Town within the three Counties which was formerly Plymouth Government; advising with the Chief Officer

---

576 When Plymouth Colony was merged in Massachusetts, in 1692, it comprised Plymouth County (including Plymouth, Duxbury, Scituate, Marshfield, Bridgewater, Middleborough, and Accord Pond plantation [Abington]); Bristol County (including Taunton, Rehoboth, Dartmouth, Swansea, Bristol, Little Compton, Freetown, and Pocasset [Tiverton]); and Barnstable County.
of each Company, to call his Company together, that so he might have the better opportunity to discourse & encourage them to Serve their Queen and Country; treating them with Drink convenient; told them he did not doubt but with God's blessing to bring them all home again; all which, with many other arguments animated their hearts to do Service, so that Col. Church enlisted out of some Companies near 20 Men, & others 15. He having raised a sufficient number of English Souldiers, proceeded to the enlisting of Indians in all those parts where they dwelt, which was a great fatigue & expence; being a People that need much treating, especially with Drink &c. Having enlisted the most of his Souldiers in those parts, who daily lay upon him; was not less than 5 l. per day expenses, some days, in Victuals & Drink; who doubtless thought (especially the English) that the Country would have re-imburft it again, otherways they would hardly accepted it of him. Col. Church's Souldiers both English and Indians in those parts being raised, March'd them all down to Nantasket, according to his Excellency's directions; where being came, the following Gentlemen were Commissioned to be Commanders of each particular Company, viz Lieut. Col. Gorham, Captains John Brown, (including Barnstable, Sandwich, Yarmouth, Eastham, Rochester, Falmouth, Mashpee, and Monomoy or Chatham). [Baylies's Plym. Col. Part IV : 97.]

Nantasket was what is now Hull, accessible by land over the neck which unites it to Hingham and Cohasset, and favorably situated toward Boston harbor—of whose entrance its Point Allerton is one of the gateposts—for the embarkation of troops. [Plym. Col. Rec. vi : 168.]
Conflant Church, James Cole, John Dyer, John Cook, Caleb Williamson and Edward Church of the Forces raised by Col. Church, each Company being filled up with English & Indians as they agreed among themselves, and by the Colonel's directions; Capt. Lamb and Capt. Miricks Company, who were raised by his Excellency's direction, were ordered to join those aforesaid under the Command of Col Church. Matters being brought thus far on, Col. Church waited upon his Excellency at Boston to know his pleasure, what further measures were to be taken; and did humbly move that they might have liberty in their Instructions to make an Attack upon Port Royal: Being very well satisfied in his opinion, that with the blessing of God, with what Forces they had or should have; and Whale-boats so well fitted with Oars & Pad-

279 See references to his name in the Index of Part I.
280 James Cole was admitted freeman of Swansea, 1682; Ensign, 1686; Lieutenant, 1689; Deputy, 1690. [Plym. Col. Rec. vii: 86, 189, 223, 240.]
281 I cannot certainly identify this captain; nor Cook, next named.
282 Caleb Williamson of Barnstable, was perhaps son of Timothy of Marshfield; married Mary Cobb; had Mary, William, Timothy, Sarah, Ebenezer, Mercy, and Martha. He removed to Hartford, Conn., where he died 24 Dec., 1738, et. 87. [Savage's Gen. Dict. iv: 571.]
283 [See Part I. xliv.]
284 Col. Joshua Lamb, son of Thomas of Roxbury, in 1713, one of the first proprietors of Leicestershire. [Barry's Hist. Framingham, 311; Waalburn's Hist. Leicestershire, 9, 110.]
285 There was an Isaac Mirick, son of James of Newbury, who was now, if alive, near 40 years old; having been born 6 Jan., 1665. [Coffin's Hist. Newbury, 310.] This captain's name further on is seen to have been Isaac (p. 119, orig. paging.)
286 Port Royal was a fort upon the inlet of that name almost due south from the outlet of the St. John, across the Bay of Fundy, which is here some two leagues wide. It was named by De Monts, and was exceedingly difficult of access because of the narrowness of the mouth of the bay; only one ship being able to enter at a time, and
dles, as they had with them, might be sufficient to have taken it. His Excellency (looking upon Col Church) replied, He could not admit of that, by reason he had by the advice of Her Majesty's Council written to Her Majesty about the taking of Port Royal Fort, and how it should be disposed of when taken, &c. However Col. Church proceeding to get everything ready for the Forces down at Nantasket, which was the place of Parade. He happening one day to be at Capt. Belcher's, where his Excellency happened to come; who was pleased to order Col. Church to put on his Sword, and walk with him up the Common; which he readily complied with: where being come, he saw two Mortar pieces with Shells, and an Engineer trying with them, to throw a Shell from them to any spot of ground where he said it should fall: Which when Col. Church had seen done, gave him great encouragement & hopes that it would promote their going to Port Royal, which he had solicited for; and returning from thence after they had seen them tried by the said Engineer, and performing what was proposed. Coming near to Capt. William Clark's house over against the

that stern foremoft, and with great precautions. [Champlain's Voyages, 21; Shea's Charlevoix, i: 253.]

285 Andrew Belcher (Part I. notes 52 and 138) was son of Andrew, of Sudbury and Cambridge; lived first at Hartford, then at Charlestown, and then at Boston; Freeman, 1677; of Com. of Safety in the Andros Insurrection; Counsellor, 1702, to his death, 31 Oct., 1717. He married Sarah, dau. of Jonathan Gilbert, of Hartford; had Andrew, Deborah, Deborah, Mary, Ann, Martha, Elizabeth, and Jonathan, the Governor. He was a "very rich and leading man in the town." [Savage's Gen. Dict. i: 156. Drake's His. Bost. i: 539.]

286 William Clark was "of North Bolton" in 1699, and one of the peti-
Horfe-hoe,\textsuperscript{399} his Excellency was invited by Capt. Clark to walk over and take a Glass of Wine; which he was pleased to accept of, and took Col. Church with him; and in the time they were taking a Glass of Wine, Col. Church once more presumed to say to his Excellency; Sir, I hope that now we shall go to Port Royal in order to take it; those Mortars being very suitable for such an Enterprize. His Excellency was pleas'd to reply; Col. Church you must say no more of that matter, for the Letter I told you of I writ by the advice of her Majesty's Council, now lies at home on the board before the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's foreign Plantations, &c. After some days every thing being ready to Embark, Col. Church received his Instructions: which are as followeth.

\begin{quote}
By his Excellency \textit{JOSEPH DUDLEY} Esq; Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over Her Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, &c. in New-England, and Vice Admiral of the same.

\textbf{Instructions} for Colonel Benjamin Church in the present Expedition.

\'IN Pursuance of the Commission given you to take the "Chief Command of the Land and Sea Forces by me raised, equipped and set forth on Her Majesties Service, tiend for a bankrupt law "as in England"; contable, 1700; 1711, a "latch" for provisions for Hovenden Walker's Canada fleet; 1722, was one of the purchasers of pews in Chrift's Church. [Drake's \textit{Hist. Boh. i}: 518, 521, 540, 567; Snow's \textit{Hist. Boh.} 220.]

\textsuperscript{399} The "Horfe-hoe" was a tavern, believed to have been at the North End.
against her open declared Enemies the French, and Indian Rebels. You are to Observe the following Instructions.

First. You are to take care, That the duties of Religion be attended on board the several Vessels, and in the several Company's under your Command, by daily Prayers unto God, and Reading his holy word; And that the Lords Day be observed & duly Sanctified to the utmost of your power, as far as the circumstances and the necessity of the Service can admit; that so you may have the presence of God with, and obtain His Blessing on your Undertaking.

You are to take care, That your Soldiers have their due allowance of Provisions & other necessaries; That their Arms be well fixt, and kept fit for Service, and that they be furnished with a suitable Quantity of Powder and Ball, and be always in readiness to pass upon duty.

That good Order & Discipline be maintained; And all disorders, drunkenness, prophane Swearing, Curling, Omission or neglect of Duty, disobedience to Officers, Mutiny, Desertion, and Sedition be duly punished according to the Rules & Articles of War; The which you are, once a Month or oftener, to cause to be published & made known to your Officers and Soldiers for their Observeance & Direction in their duty. Let notorious & Capital Offenders be sent away to the next Garisons, there to be Imprisoned until they can be proceeded with. [105]

Let the Sick and wounded be carefully look'd after,
and accommodated after the best manner your circum-
stances will admit of, and be sent either to Cape Fort, or
ate Mr. Pepperell at Kittery, which may be easiest, fo
soon as you can.

You are forthwith to send away the Forces & Stores
by the Transports, with the Whale-boats to Piscataqua,
on Kittery side, there to attend your coming; whither
you are to follow them with all Expedition.

You are to Embark on the Province Galley, Capt.
Southack Commander, And let Lieut Col. Gorham go on
board Capt. Gallop; who are both directed to attend your
Motion on the French side; after which they are to return.

Let the Commanders of all the Store Sloops & Transports
know that they Sail, Anchor and Serve at your direction.

When you Sail from Piscataqua, keep at such distance
off the Shoar, that you be not observed by the Enemy to
Alarm them. Stop at Monticines and there Embark
the Forces in the Whale-boats for the Main, to range
that part of the Country, in search of the Enemy, to
Mount Defart; sending the Vessels to meet you there;
and after having refreshed & recruited your Souldiers,

299 William Pepperell was a native of Cornwall, Eng.; emigrated to the
Isles of Shoals, 1676; thence removed to Kittery point, Me., where he carried
on a large fishery; was a distinguished merchant and magistrate, and died
15 Feb., 1734, at. 85. He married Margaret, dau. of John Bray, of Kittery; had Andrew, Mary, Margery, Joanna, Meriam, Dorothy, Jane, and

iii. 392; Williamson's Hist. Me. i. 687.]

261 Samuel Gallop, son of Samuel,
and grandson of John, of Bolton?

292 Matinicus is an island off the coast
of Maine, early inhabited; containing
750 acres. It is 17 miles S. E. of
Owl's Head (Thomaston), and 10 E.
of Matinicus. [Williamson's Hist. Me.
i: 63.]
proceed to Machias, and from thence to Passamequado;
And having Effected what spoils you possibly may upon
the Enemy in those parts, Embark on your Vessels for
Menis and Signeço, touching at Grand Manan, if you
see cause, and from Menis & Signeço to Port Royal Gut;
And use all possible Methods for the burning and destroy-
ing of the Enemies Housing, and breaking the Dams of
their Corn grounds in the said several places, and make
what other Spoils you can upon them, and bring away
the Prisoners. In your return call at Penobscot, and do
what you can there, and so proceed Westward.
This will probably imploy you a Month or Six Weeks;
when you will draw together again, and by the latter end
of June consider whither you can march to Norrigwack,
or other parts of their Planting to destroy their Corn &
Settlements: And keep the Expedition on foot until the
middle of August next.
Notwithstanding the particularity of the afore-going
Instruction, I lay you under no restraint, because I am
well assured of your Courage, Care, Caution and Industry;
But refer you to your own Resolves, by the Advice of
your Commision Officers, not under the degree of Cap-
tain's, and the Sea-Commision Captains (whom you will,
as often as you can, Advise with) according to the Intel-
ligence you may receive, or as you may find needful upon
the Spot.
You are by every opportunity, and once a Week cer-
tainly, by some means, either by way of Casco, Piscata-
qua, or otherwise to acquaint me of your proceedings
and all occurrents, and what may be further necessary for
the Service. And to observe such further & other In-
structions as you shall receive from my Self. [106]
As often as you may, Advise with Capt. Smith and
Capt. Rogers Commanders of Her Majesty's Ships.
Let your Minister, Commiffary & Surgeons be treated
with juft respects.
I Pray to God to preserve, prosper and succeed you.
Given under my hand at Boston, the Fourth Day of
May, 1704.
J. DUDLEY.

Pursuant to his Instructions he sent away his Transports,
and Forces to Piscataqua, but was oblig'd himself to wait
upon his Excellency by Land to Piscataqua in order to
raise more Forces, in the way thither; and did raise a
Company under the Command of Capt. Harridon; taking
care also to provide a Pilot for them in the Bay of Fundy:
Col. Church being directed to one — Fellows, whom
he met with at Ipswich. And going from thence to Pif-

Thomas, commander of the frigate Jersey. [Drake's Church (ed. 1827),
297.] George, commander of the frigate Godport. [Ibid.]
John Haraden (Harradin, Har-
rendine) was son of Edward, who went
to Gloucester from Ipswich 1637; he
led a maritime life; 1709, was master of
a sloop fitted out to capture a French
privateer; 1711, he was pilot of ship
"Montague" in the expedition to Can-
ada, for which service he received an
allowance from the General Court, 1714;
died 11 Nov., 1724. He married Sarah
Giddings, by whom he had several chil-
dren. [Babson's Hist. Gloucester, 98.]
William Fellows was one of the
first settlers of Ipswich, and left a large
family, from which this pilot was proba-
bly descended. [Felt's Hist. Ipswich, 11.]

293 Thomas, commander of the frigate "Montague" in the expedition to Canada, for which service he received an allowance from the General Court, 1714; died 11 Nov., 1724. He married Sarah Giddings, by whom he had several children. [Babson's Hist. Gloucester, 98.]

295 William Fellows was one of the first settlers of Ipswich, and left a large family, from which this pilot was probably descended. [Felt's Hist. Ipswich, 11.]
cataqua with his Excellency, was there met by that worthy Gentleman Maj. Winthrop Hilton, who was very helpful to him in the whole Expedition, whose Name & Memory ought not to be forgot. Being ready to Embark from Piscataqua; Col. Church requested the Commanders of her Majesty's Ships, Capt. Smith & Capt. Rogers to tarry at Piscataqua a Fortnight, that so they might not be discovered by the Enemy before he had done some spoil upon them. Then moving in their Transports, as directed, Got safe into Montinicus undiscovered by the Enemy. Next Morning early fitted out two Whale boats with men, Capt. John Cook in one, and Capt. Constant Church in the other; and sent them to Green-Island upon a discovery; and coming there they parted, one went to one part, and the other to the other part, that so they might not miss of what could be discovered; where they met with old LaFauré with his two Sons Thomas & Timothy, and a Canada Indian. The Enemy seeing that they were discovered, threw down their Ducks and Eggs, who had got a conv

281 Winthrop Hilton was son of Edward of Exeter, and grandson of Edward of Dover; born about 1671; was the leading military man of the Province; 1706, was made Judge of Com. Pleas, which office he held to his death; was appointed Counsellor, but was killed by the Indians, 23 June, 1710, in that part of Exeter which is now Epping. He married Ann Wilfon, who afterwards married Col. Jonathan Wadleigh. They had Judith, Anna, Deborah, Elizabeth, Bridget, and Winthrop. [N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg. vii: 51.]

282 There are two "Green" islands N. E. of Matinicus, and near to it, each of 2 or 3 acres only.

283 Penhallow calls him "Monseur Lafebure, and his two sons, with a Canada Indian." [Indian Wars (ed. 1859), 28.] Church himself calls him Le Faver, further on (p. 110, old paging).
fiderable quantity of each, and ran to their Canoo's, getting into them, flood directly for the Maine; looking behind them, perceived the Whale-boats to gain so fast upon them, clapt side by side and all four got into one Canoo, which prov'd of little advantage to them, for the Whale boats gained so much upon them, and got so near that Capt. Cook firing at the Stores-man which was the Indian, & happen'd to graze his skull, and quite spoil'd his Paddling: upon which old Lafaure and Sons seeing their companions condition soon beg'd for quarter, and had it granted: the two Captains with their success pre- fently return'd to their Commander, taking care that their Captives should not discoursfe together before they were examined; when brought to Col. Church, he order'd them to be apart; and firft proceeded to examine old Lafaure, who he found to be very furly & crofs, so that he could gain no manner of intelligence by him; upon which the Commander was resolv'd to put in practice what he had formerly done at Segueflo; ordering his Indians to make two large heaps of dry wood at some distance one from the other, and to set a large stake in the ground close to each heap; then ordered the two Sons Thomas & Timothy to be brought and bound to the Stakes; also ordering his Indians to paint themselves with colours which they had brought for that use. Then he Colonel proceeded to examine firft Timothy; and told him, He

[107]

300 Steerman; i.e., the paddler in the stern of the canoe.
301 Stiles and Southwick reprint this.
had examin'd his Father already; and that if he told him the truth he would save his Life, and take him into his Service; and that he should have good pay & live well. He anfwer'd, That he would tell him the truth; and gave him an account of every thing he knew; which was all Minuted down: He being ask'd whither his Brother Thomas did not know more than he? His anfwer was, Yes. For his Brother Thomas had a Commissiion fent him from the Governour of Canada, to Command a Company of Indians who were gathered together at a Place where some French Gentlemen lately arrived from Canada, who were Officers to Command the ref that were to go Weftward to fight the Englijh, and that there was fent to his Father and Brother Tom, a considerable quantity of Flower, Fruit, Ammunition and Stores, for the supply of the faid Army. He being ask'd, Whither he could Pilot our Forces to them? faid, No: But his Brother Tom could, for he had hid it and that he was not then with him. The Colonel ask'd him, What Gentlemen thofe were that came from Canada? He anfwered Monfieur Gordan, and Mr. Sharkee. Being ask'd where they were? Anfwered at Passamequado; building a Fort there. Being alfo ask'd, What number of Indians and French

302 Penhallow (ed. 1859, p. 29) makes this Gourdun; Stiles and Southwick make it Gourdon; and Church, when referring (p. 119, old paging) to his capture, does the fame. The name was probably Gourdun. [Hutchinson's Hift. Mafs. ii: 133.]

303 Penhallow fays Sharkee (his name seems to have been Chartiers [Hutchinson's Hift. Mafs. ii: 133]) was taken prifoner by this expedition; which, it will be feen further on, is an error, Col. Church having "miffed" him on this foray. [Indian Wars, 29.]
there were at Penobscot? He answered, there were several Families, but they lived scattering. Ask'd him further, if he would Pilot our Forces thither? Answered, he would if the Commander would not let the Salvages roast him. Upon which the Colonel ordered him to be loosed from the Stake, and took him by the hand, told him, he would be as kind to him as his own father; at which he seemed to be very thankful. And then the Colonel proceeded to examine his Brother Tom, and told him that he had examined his Father and Brother, and that his Brother had told him every tittle he knew; and that he knew more than his Brother Timothy did; and that if he would be ingenious & confess all he knew, he should fare as well as his Brother, but if not, the Salvages should roast him. Whereupon he solemnly promised that he would; and that he would Pilot him to every thing he knew, to the value of a Knife and Sheafe (which without doubt he did.) Then the Colonel immediately gave orders for the Whaleboats to be ready, and went directly over where the said Goods & Stores were, and found them as inform'd, took them on board the Boats, and returned to their Transports: and ordering Provisions to be put into every Man's Sack for 6 or 8 days; so in the dusk of the Evening left their Transports, with Orders how they should act; and went directly for the Mainland of Penobscot, and Mouth of that River with their Pilots Tom & Timothy, who carried them directly to every Place & Habitation both of French & Indians thereabouts, with the assistance of one De
Young; whom they carried out of Boston Goal for the fame purpoœ, who was very serviceable to them: being there we kill'd and took every one both French & Indians, not knowing that any one did escape in all Penobscot; among those that were taken was St. Cafteens Daughter, who said that her Husband was gone to France, to her Father Monieur Cafteen: She having her Children with her, the Commander was very kind to her and them. All the Prisoners that were then taken, held to one Story in general, which they had from Lafauje's Sons; that there were no more Indians there-about, but enough of them at Paffamequado; upon which they soon return'd to their Transports with their Prisoners & Plunder. The Commander giving order immediately for the Souldiers in the Whale-boats to have a recruit of Provisions for a further purfuit of the Enemy, giving orders to the Transports to flay a few days more there, and then go to Mount Defart (and there to flay for her Majesty's Ships, who were directed to come thither) and there to wait his further order. Then Col. Church with his Forces immediately imbarke'd on board their Whale-boats, & proceeded to scour the Coast, and to try if they could discover any of the Enemy coming from Paffamequado; making their stops in the day time (at all the Points & Places where they were certain

304 Penhallow (orig. ed. 17) has this name D'Young; which in the reprint of the New Hampshire Historical Society (Collections, i: 37), and in the Cincinnati reprint of 1859, is made D. Young. The man was doubtless a French Canadian prisoner; probably one of Villebœuf's men. [See note 195, ante.]

305 See note 34, ante.
the Enemy would Land, or come by with their Canoo’s) and at Night to their Paddles. Then coming near where the Vessels were ordered to come, having made no discovery of the Enemy, went directly to Mount Desart, where the Transports were just come; and taking some Provisions for his Souldiers, gave direction for the Ships & Transports in 6 days to come directly to Paffamequado, where they should find him & his Forces. Then immediately mov’d away in the Whale-boats & made diligent search along shore, as formerly, inspecting all Places where the Enemy was likely to lurk: Particularly at Machias; but found neither Fires nor Tracks. Coming afterwards to the West Harbour at Paffamequado, where they entred upon action; an account whereof Col. Church did communicate to his Excellency, being as followeth.

May it please your Excellency,

I Received Yours of this Instant Octob. 9th. with the two inclofed Informations, that concern my actions at Paffamequado; which I will give a just and true account of as near as possible I can (viz) on the 7th of June last 1704. In the evening we entred in at the Westward Harbour at said Paffamequado; coming up said Harbour to an Island, where landing, we came to a French

306 There are three pallsages into Paffamaquddy bay, the western, the middle or ship channel, and the easter. The western is that first reached in coafting from Machias, and lies between west Quody head and the island of Campbello.

307 Mooffe island, on which Eastport now stands? The lay of the land sug-gets that it might be that.
houfe, and took a French Woman, and Children, the Woman upon her Examination said, her Husband was abroad a Fishing. I ask’d her, whither there were any Indians thereabouts? She said, Yes. There were a great many, and several on that Island. I ask’d her, whither she could Pilot me to them? Said, No. They hid in the Woods. I ask’d her, when she saw them? Answered, Just now, or a little while since. I ask’d her, whether she knew where they had laid their Canoe’s? Answered, No. They carried their Canoe’s into the woods with them. We then hastened away a-long shore, seizing what Prisoners we could, taking old Lotriet and his Family. This intelligence caus’d me to leave Col. Gorham, and a considerable part of my Men (and Boats) with him at that Island, partly to guard and secure those Prisoners, being sensible it would be a great trouble to have them to secure and guard at our next landing, where I did really expect, and hope to have an opportunity, to fight our Indian Enemies; for all our French Prisoners, that we had taken at Penobscot, and a-long shore had informed us, That when we came to the Place, where these Canada Gentlemen lived, we should certainly meet with the Salvages to fight us, those being the only Men that set the Indians against us, or upon us, and were newly come from Canada, to manage the War against us (pleading in this account and information their own Innocency) and partly in hopes that he the said Col. Gorham would

308 See note 255, ante.
have a good opportunity in the Morning to destroy some
of those our Enemies, (we were informed by the said
French Woman as above,) with the use of his Boats, as
I had given direction. Ordering also Maj. Hilton, to pass
ever to the next Island, that lay East of us (with a small
Party of Men and Boats) to surprize & destroy any of the
Enemy, that in their Canoe's might go here or there,
from any place, to make their flight from us, and as he
had opportunity to take any French Prisoners. We then
immediately moved up the River in the dark Night thro'
great difficulty, by reason of the Eddys and Whirlpools,
made with the fierceness of the current. And here it
may be hinted that we had information that Lotriel had
lost some of his Family passing over to the next Island,
falling into one of these Eddys were drowned; which the
two Pilots told to discourage me. But I said nothing of
that nature shall do it; for I was resolved to venture up,
and therefore forthwith Paddling our Boats, as privately
as we could, and with as much expedition as we could
make with our Paddles, and the help of a strong Tide, we
came up to Monsieur Gourdans, a little before day; where
taking notice of the Shoar, and finding it somewhat open
and clear, I ordered Capt. Mirick and Capt. Cole, (having
English Companies) to tarry with several of the Boats to
be ready, that if any of the Enemy should come down

309 Deer Island?
310 The tide rises here from 24 to 28
feet, and, except at favorable hours, the
rush of waters coming down through
these narrow inlets from the Schoodic
or St. Croix river makes "eddys,"
"whirlpools," and "a fierce current,"
as Church describes it.
out of the brufh into the Bay, (it being very broad in that place) with their Canoo's, they might take and destroy them. Ordering the remainder of the Army, being landed, (with my self and the other Officers) to March up into the Woods, with a wide Front, and to keep at a considerable distance; for that if they should run in heaps, the Enemy would have the greater advantage, and further directing them that if possible, they should destroy the Enemy with their Hatches, and not fire a Gun. This order I always gave at landing, telling them the inconveniency of firing, in that it might be first dangerous to them selves, they being many of them Young Souldiers, (as I had sometimes observed, that one or two Guns being fired, many others would fire, at they knew not what; as happened present after) and it would alarm the Enemy, and give them the opportunity to make their escape; and it might alarm the whole Country, and also prevent all further action from taking effect. Orders being thus passed, we moved directly towards the Woods, Le Faver's Son directing us to a little Hutt or Wigwam, which we immediately surrounded with a few Men, the rest Marching directly up into the Woods, to see what Wigwams or Hutts they could discover; my self made a little stop, Ordering the Pilot to tell them in the Hutt, that they were surrounded

311 They had now emerged from the narrow western entrance into upper Passamaquoddy bay, which is some 8 or 10 miles in width. 312 They must have landed upon what is now the town of Perry, Me.; or possibly further up, in Robbinston, or the lower part of Calais.
with an Army, and that if they would come forth, and surrender themselves, they should have good quarter, but if not, they should be all knock’d on the head and die: One of them shewed himself, I ask’d, Who he was? He said Gourdan; and begg’d for quarter: I told him he should have good quarter; adding further, That if there were any more in the house they should come out: Then came out two men; Gourdan said, They were his Sons, and asked quarter for them, which was also granted. Then came out a Woman, and a little Boy; she fell upon her knees, begg’d quarter for her self and Children, and that I would not suffer the Indians to kill them. I told them they should have good quarter and not be hurt. After which I ordered a small guard over them, and so mov’d presently up with the rest of my Company, after them that were gone before, but looking on my right hand over a little run, I saw something look black, just by me, flopped, and heard a talking, flopped over, and saw a little Hutt or Wigwam with a crowd of People round about it, which was contrary to my former directions: I ask’d them what they were doing? They reply’d there was some of the Enemy in a house, and would not come out. I ask’d what House? They said a Bark-house. I hastily bid them pull it down, and knock them on the head, never asking whether they were French or Indians; they being all Enemies alike to me. And passing then to them, and seeing them in great disorder, so many of the Army in a crowd together, acting so con-

155
trary to my Command & Direction, exposing themselves, and the whole Army to utter ruine, by their so disorderly crowding thick together; had an Enemy come upon them in that interim, and fired a Volley amongst them, they could not have miss’d a shot; and wholly neglecting their duty, in not attending my orders, in searching diligently for our lurking Enemies in their Wigwams, or by their fires, where I had great hopes, and real expectation to meet with them. I most certainly know that I was in an exceeding great Passion, but not with those poor miserable Enemies; for I took no notice of half a dozen of the Enemy, when at the same time, I expected to be engaged with some hundreds of them, of whom we had a continued account who were expected from Port Royal side. In this heat of action, every word that I then spoke, I cannot give an account of, and I presume it is impossible.\footnote{Church pleads for himself here as if he had been blamed, which was the fact. Hutchin\'on says, “Church seeing some of his men hovering over another hut, he called to them to know what they were doing; and upon their reply, that there were people in the house who would not come out, he, hastily bid his men knock them in the head; which order they immediately observed. He was much blamed for this after his return, and excused himself but indifferently. He feared the enemy might fall upon his men, whom he saw were off their guard, which put him in a passion.”} I hop’d but little here, but went directly

\[III\]

\[156\]
'up into the woods, hoping to be better employed, with the rest of the Army, I listen'd to hear, and looked earnestly to see what might be the next action; but meeting with many of the Souldiers, They told me, they had dis-covered nothing; we fetching a small compass round, came down again. It being pretty dark, I took notice, I saw two men lay dead as I thought, at the end of the house, where the door was, and immediately the Guns went off, and they fired every man as I thought, and most towards that place where I left the guard with Monfieur Gourdan. I had much ado to stop their firing, and told them, I thought they were mad, and I believed they had not killed and wounded less than 40 or 50 of our own Men. And I asked them what they shot at? They answered at a French man that ran away: but to admiration no man was kill'd, but he, & one of our own men wounded in the Leg; and I turning about, a French man spoke to me, and I gave him quarter. Day-light coming on and no discovery made of the Enemy, I went to the place where I had left Monfieur Gourdan, to examine him, and his Sons, who agreed in their examinations; told me two of their men were abroad: It prov'd a damage; and further told me, That Monfieur Sharkee lived several Leagues up at the head of the River, at the Falls;314 and all the Indians were fishing, and tending their Corn there; and that Monfieur Sharkee had sent

314 Great Falls, — "where the water descends 20 feet in a short distance"? [Williamson's Hist. Me. i: 86.]

157
down to him, to come up to him to advise about the
*Indian* Army, that was to go Westward; but he had
returned him answer, his business was urgent, and he
could not come up: and that *Sharkee*, and the *Indians*,
would certainly be down that day, or the next at the fur-
theist, to come to conclude of that matter. This was a
short Nights acti*n*, and all sensible Men do well know,
that actions done in the dark (being in the Night as
aforefaid) under so many difficulties, as we then laboured
under, as before related, was a very hard Task for one
Man, matters being circumstanc'd as in this action; which
would not admit of calling a Council; and at that time
could not be confin'd there-unto; at which time I was
transported above fear or any sort of dread; yet being
sensible of the danger in my Armies crowding so thick
together, and of the great duty incumbent on me to pre-
serve them from all the danger I possibly could, for fur-
ther improvement, in the Destruction of our implacable
Enemies; am ready to conclude, that I was very quick &
absolute in giving such Commands & Orders, as I then ap-
prehended most proper and advantagious. And had it not
been for the Intelligence I had received from the *French*
we took at *Penobscot*, as before hinted, and the false re-
port the *French* Woman (first took) gave me, I had not
been in such haste. I question not but those *French* men
that were slain, had the same good quar[112]ter of other
Prisoners. But I ever look'd at it a good Providence of
*Almighty* God, that some few of our cruel & bloody
'Enemies, were made sensible of their bloody Cruelties, perpetrated on my dear & loving friends and Countrymen; and that the fame measure (in part) meted to them, as they had been guilty of in a barbarous manner at Deerfield, & I hope justly. I hope God Almighty will accept hereof, altho' it may not be eligible to our French implacable Enemies, and fuch others as are not our friends. The fore-going Journal and this short annexment, I thought it my duty to exhibit, for the satisfaction of my Friends & Country-men, whom I very faithfully & willingly ferved in the late Expedition; and I hope will find acceptance with your Excellency, the Honourable Council & Representatives now Asembled, as being done from the zeal I had in the faid Service of Her Majefly, and her good Subjects here.

I Remain your moft humble & obedient Servant,

Benjamin Church.

This Nights Service being over immediately Col. Church leaves a fufficient guard with Gourdan, and the other Prifoners, mov'd in fome Whale-boats with the reft; and as they were going fpy'd a small thing upon the Water, at a great diftance, which proved to be a birch Canoo, with two Indians in her; the Colonel prefently ordered the lighteft boat he had to make the beft of her way and cut them off from the Shore: but the Indians perceiving their design run their Canoo a-shore & fled. Col. Church fearing they would run direftly to Sharkee made all the
expedition imaginable; but it being ebb and the water low, was obliged to land & make the best of their way thro' the woods, hoping to intercept the Indians, and get to Sharkee's house before them; which was two Miles from where our Forces landed. The Colonel being Ancient & Unwildly, desired Serjeant Edee to run with him, and coming to several Trees fallen, which he could not creep under or readily get over, would lay his breast against the Tree, the said Edee turning him over, generally had Cat luck, falling on his feet, by which means kept in the Front: and coming near to Sharkee's house, discovered some French & Indians making a War in the River, and presently discovered the two Indians afore-mentioned, who call'd to them at work in the River; told them there was an Army of English and Indians just by; who immediately left their work and ran, endeavouring to get to Sharkee's house; who hearing the noise, took his Lady & Child, and ran into the woods. Our Men running briskly fired & kill'd one of the Indians, and took the rest Prisoners. Then going to Sharkee's house found a Woman and Child, to whom they gave good quarter: and finding that Madam Sharkee had left her Silk Clothes & fine linen behind her, our Forces was desirous to have pursued and

315 This was probably a member of one of the families in the Old Colony descended from Samuel Eddy (Ede, Edy, Eady, Eadey, Edee, Edee), who settled in Plymouth from Cranbrooke, Kent, 1630, and left a numerous and noble posterity. [See N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg. iii: 336; viii: 201–205; Congregational Quarterly, iv: 223–235.]

316 Weir, — a fence of stakes and brush set in a river for the purpose of catching fi$h.
taken her: But Col. Church forbid them, saying he would have her run and suffer, that she might be made sensibler, what hardships our poor People had suffered by them, &c. Then proceeded to examine the Prisoners newly taken, who gave [113] him the same account he had before; of the Indians being up at the Falls, &c. It being just Night prevented our Attacking of them that Night. But next Morning early they mov’d up to the Falls (which was about a Mile higher:) But doubtless the Enemy had some Intelligence by the two afore-said Indians, before our Forces came, so that they all got on the other side of the River and left some of their goods by the Water-side, to decoy our Men, that so they might fire upon them; which indeed they effected: But thro’ the good Providence of God never a Man of ours was kill’d, and but one slightly wounded. After a short dispute Col. Church ordered that every Man might take what they pleas’d of the Fish which lay bundled up, and to burn the rest, which was a great quantity. The Enemy seeing what our Forces were about; and that their flock of Fish was destroy’d, and the season being over for getting any more, set up a horrid Cry, and so ran all away into the woods; who being all on the other side of the River, ours could not follow them. Having done, our Forces March’d down to their Boats at Sharkey’s, and took their Prisoners, Bever, and other Plunder which they had got, and put it into their Boats, and

317 The New-Brunswick side; the river being here the dividing line between the States and the British possessions.
went down to *Gourdans* house, where they had left Lieut. Col. *Gorham* & Maj *Hilton*, with part of the Forces to guard the Prisoners; (and kept a good look-out for more of the Enemy) who upon the Colonels return, gave him an account that they had made no discovery of the Enemy since he left them, &c. Just then Her Majesty's Ships and Transports arriving. The Commanders of Her Majesty's Ships told Col. *Church* that they had orders to go directly for *Port Royal Gut*, and wait the coming of some Store-Ships, which were expected at *Port Royal* from France; and Col. *Church* advising with them, proposed that it was very expedient and serviceable to the Crown, that Capt. *Southack* in the Province Galley should accompany them, which they did readily acquiesce with him in. Upon which the Colonel immediately embark'd his Forces on board the Transports, and himself on board Capt. *Jarvis*; ordering the Commiffary of the Stores, the Minifter, Surgeons & Pilots all to embark on board the fame Veffel with him; ordering all the Whale-boats to be put on board the Transports and then all to come to Sail. The Ships standing away for *Port Royal Gut*, and Col. *Church* with the Transports for *Menis*; In their way the Colonel inquired of the Pilot — *Fellows*, What depth of Water there was in the Crick near the Town of *Menis*? He answered him that there was Water enough near the

---

318 Commander of the frigate *Adventure*; as will be seen from the document commencing on the next page.
319 See note 238, ante.
320 See note 286, ante.
321 See note 296, ante.
Town to flote that Veffel they were in at low Water. So when coming near, Col. Church obferved a Woody Ifland between them and the Town, that they run up on the back-fide of the faid Ifland, with all their Tranfports undiscovered to the Enemy, and came to Anchor. Then the Colonel and all his Forces embark'd in the Whaleboats, it being late in the day mov'd directly for the Town, and in the way ask'd for the Pilot, whom he expected was in one of the Boats; but he had given him the flip, and tarried behind. The Colonel not know[ing] the difficulties as might attend their going up to the Town; immediately fent Lieut. Gyles who could fpeak French, with a Flag of Truce up to the Town with a Summons, which was writ before they landed, expecting their surrender: which is as followeth.

_Aboard Her Majesty's Ship Adventure near the Gut of Menis, June 20. 1704_ An agreement made by the Field Officers commanding Her Majesty's Forces for the present Expedition againft the French Enemies, and Indian Rebels.

Agreed.

That a Declaration or Summons be fent on Shoar at Menis and Port Royal, under a Flag of Truce.

---

222 From Charlevoix's map, this would feem to be Groffe Ifle.
223 John Gyles was fon of Thomas (who lived firft in Merry-meeting bay, was made prifoner, escaped to England, came back to live on Long Ifland, went thence to Pemaquid, where he was Juftice, and was killed by the Indians, 2 Aug., 1689); was captured at his father's death, when 14 years of age, and carried to Canada; whence, after a servitude of feveral years, he was purchafed.
Particularly,

We declare to you, the many Cruelties and Barbarities that you and the Indians have been guilty of towards us, in laying waste our Country here in the East at Cafo, and the Places Adjacent: Peculiarly, the Horrid action at Deerfield this last Winter, in Killing, Massacre, Murdering and Scalping without giving any notice at all, or opportunity to ask quarter at your Hands; and after all carrying the Remainder into Captivity in the height of Winter (of which they kill'd many in the Journey,) and expos'd the rest to the hardships of Cold and Famine, worse than death itself. Which Cruelties we are yet every day expos'd unto, and exercis'd withal.

We do also declare, That we have already made some beginnings of Killing and Scalping some Canada Men (which we have not been wont to do or allow) and are now come with a great number of English & Indians, all Volunteers, with resolutions to subdue you, and make you sensible of your Cruelties to us by treating you after the same manner.

At this time we expect our Men of War and Transport Ships to be at Port Royal. (we having but lately parted with them.)

by a French trader during Col. Haw-thorn's Eastern Expedition, and referr'd to his home and friends; he thereafter for many years serv'd the Government in the army, and as an interpreter; he printed, 1736, a memoir of his father; died 1755. [Savage's Gen. Dict. ii: 326; Sewall's And. Dom. Mo. 195-204; Willis's Law, Courts, and Lawyers, Mo. 32.]
In the left place, We do declare to you, That inasmuch as some of you have shown kindness to our Captives, and Expressed a love to and desire of being under the English Government, We do therefore notwithstanding all this, give you timely Notice, and do demand a Surrender immediately, by the laying down your Arms, upon which we promise very good Quarter; if not, you must expect the utmost Severity.

To the Chief Commander of the Town of Menis, & the Inhabitants thereof;
& we expect your answer positively within an hour.

Benjamin Church Colonel.
John Goreham Lieut. Col.
Winthrop Hilton Major.

Then moving to the Crick expecting to have had Water enough for the Boats, as the Pilot had inform'd them, but found not Water enough for a Canoo; so were oblig'd to land, 

intending to have been up at the Town before the hour was out, that the Summons expressed: (For their return was, That if our Forces would not hurt their Estates, that then they would Surrender, if otherwise intended, they should fight for them, &c.) But meeting with several Cricks near 20 or 30 foot deep, which were very Muddy and Dirty, so that the Army could not get over them; was oblig'd to return to [115] their Boats again, and wait till within Night before the Tide served for them to go up to the Town; and then intended to

324 That is, their boats soon grounding, they were obliged to get out of them into the mud, and wade toward the shore; which they were unable to accomplish successfully on account of the intervention of some creeks of deep water, which forced them back to the boats, and compelled them to wait in them for the tide to rise, - under the circumstances, a prosaic result.
go up pretty near the Town, and not to fall on till Morning, being in hopes that the banks of the Cricks would shelter them from the Enemy; but the Tides rising so high exposed them all to the Enemy; who had the Trees & Woods to be-friend them. And so came down in the Night & fired smartly at our Forces; but Col. Church being in a Pinis that had a small Cannon plac'd in the head, ordered it to be charg'd several times, with Bullets in small bags, and fired at the Enemy, which made such a rattling amongst the Trees, that caused the Enemy to draw off; and by the great Providence of Almighty God not one of our Forces was hurt that Night; (but as I have been informed they had one Indian kill'd, and some others wounded, which was some discouragement to the Enemy.) Next Morning by break of Day, Col. Church ordered all his Forces, (and plac'd Maj. Hilton on the right wing,) to run all up driving the Enemy before them, who leaving their Town to our Forces, but had carried away the best of their Goods (which were soon found by our Souldiers.) The bulk of the Enemy happening to lie against our right Wing caufed the hottest dispute there, who lay behind Logs and Trees, till our Forces, and Maj Hilton who led them, came on upon them, and forc'd them to run; and notwithstanding the sharp firing of the Enemy at our Forces, by the repeated Providence of God there was never a Man of ours kill'd or wounded. Our Souldiers not having been long in Town before they found

325 Pinnace.
considerable quantities of Strong Drink (both Brandy & Clarat) and being very greedy after it, especially the Indians, were very disorderly, firing at every Pig, Turky or Fowl they saw, of which were very plenty in the Town; which indanger'd our own Men: Col. Church perceiving the disorder, and firing of his own Men, ran to put a stop to it, had several shot come very near him; and finding what had occasion'd this disorder, commanded his Officers to knock out the heads of every Cask of Strong Liquor they could find in the Town, to prevent any further disturbance amongst his Army; knowing it was impossible to have kept it from them, especially the Indians, if it was saved, &c. Then some of the Army who were desirous to pursue the Enemy, having heard them driving away their Cattel, Requested the Colonel to let them go; who did: and gave them their orders. Capt. Cooke, and Capt. Church to lead the two Wings, and Lieut. Barker who led the Colonels Company in the Center: and the said Capt. Cooke and Capt. Church desired Lieut. Barker

256 A practical "temperance" movement, deserving extended imitation!
257 There may have been three "Lieut." Barkers then living, who might have been connected with Church's company: Lt. Robert, and Lt. Francis, both of Duxbury, and both sons of Robert; and Lt. John, of Andover, son of Richard. The latter died 1722; Robert had a dau. born 18 April, 1704; Francis, I do not trace later than 1689. As Church's company would be likeliest to be officered from Plymouth Colony, it seems probable that one of the Duxbury brothers is the one referred to; and, of these, I incline to the opinion that it was Robert. [Savage's Gen. Hist. i: 115; Winfor's Hist. Duxbury, 223; Abbot's Hist. Andover, 200; Plym. Col. Rec. vi: 218.] Charlevoix says that the "Lieutenant-General of the English forces" was killed—a mistake of Barker's rank. [Hist. Nouv. France.]

167
not to move too fast; so that he might have the benefit of their assistance, if he had occasion; but the said Lieutenant not being so careful as he should have been, or at least was too eager, was shot down, and another Man; which were all the Men that were kill'd in the whole Expedition. Towards Night Col. Church ordered some of his Forces to pull down some of the Houses, and others to get Logs [116] and make a Fortification for his whole Army to lodge in that Night, that so they might be together: and just before Night ordered some of his Men to go see if there were any Men in any of the Houses in the Town; if not, to set them all a fire: which was done, and the whole Town seemed to be of a fire all at once, &c.

The next Morning the Colonel gave orders to his Men to dig down their Dams, and let the Tide in to destroy all their Corn, and every thing that was good, according to his Instructions; and to burn the Fortification which they had built the Day before: And when the Tide serv'd to put all their Plunder which they had got into the Boats. Then ordering his Souldiers to March at a good distance one from another; which caus'd the Enemy to think that there was

328 Haliburton says that there are vast marshes skirting this Baye les Mines (Bafon of Mines), which, “when enclosed with dikes, and well drained, are exceedingly fertile, yielding, for several years in succession, abundant crops of wheat, and alternate rotations of hay and grain, without the aid of manure.” He adds: “the marshes, formed by the rivers emptying into the Bafon of Mines, are very superior to those in other parts of the Province—the water of that extraordinary reservoir being not only discolored, but actually turbid, with the great quantity of matter held in solution by it.” [Hist. Nova. Scot. ii: 363.] The Acadians had probably already begun this form of tillage, and these dikes to which Church here refers are thus explained.
not less than a thousand Men (as they said afterwards:) and that their burning of the Fortification, and doing as they did, caused the Enemy to think that they were gone clear off and not to return again. But it proved to the contrary, for Col. Church and his Forces only went aboard their Transports, and there said till the Tide serv'd; in the Night embarked on board their Whale-boats, landed some of his Men, expecting they might meet with some of the Enemy mending their Dams; which they did, and with the Boats went up another branch of the River, to another Town or Village; \(^{229}\) upon such a surprize took as many Prisoners as they could desire. And it happened that Col. Church was at the French Captains House when two Gentlemen that came Post from the Governour of Port Royal to him, who was the Chief Commander at Menis, with an Express to send away two Companies of Men to Defend the Kings Fort there; and to give him an account, That there was three English Men of War come into Port Royal Gut or Harbour; and that the Men sent for must be Post'd away with all speed. Col. Church, as was said before, being there, treated the two Gentlemen very handsomely, and told them, He would send them back again Post to their Master upon his business; and bid them give him his hearty thanks for sending him such good News, that part of his Fleet was in so good a Harbour. Then reading the Summons to them that he had sent to Menis. Further added, That their Master the Governour of Port Royal must im-

\(^{229}\) Pigignit, on the river of the same name, now the Avon?
mediately fend away a Post to the Governour of Canada at Quebec, to prevent his further sending any of his cruel & bloudy French and Salvages, as he had done lately upon Deerfield, where they had committed such horrible and bloudy outrages upon those poor People, that never did them any harm, as is intollerable to think of; and that for the future, if any such Hottilities were made upon our Frontier Towns, or any of them, He would come out with a thousand Salvages, and Whale-boats convenient, and turn his back upon them, and let his Salvages Scalp & Roft the French; or at least treat them as their Salvages had treated ours: Alfo gave them an account of part of that action at Passamequado, and how that his Souldiers had Kill’d & Scalp’d some Canada Men [117] there, and would be glad to Serve them so too, if he would permit them. Which terrifyed them very much, &c. The two French Gentlemen that came Post made feome Promifes that they would punctually do the Colonel’s Meſlage to their Governour. So with the desire of the French People there that the Governour might have this Intelligence, Col. Church difmifs’d them, and fent them away; telling the fame Story to several of the Prisoners, and what they must expeft if some speedy course was not taken to prevent further outrages upon the English. The number of Prisoners then Preſent (which were conferable) did unanimously intreat of Col. Church, that he would take them under the Protec{ion} of the Crown of England;

313 See note 313, ante.
making great Promises of their fidelity to the same, begging with great Agony of Spirit to Save their Lives, and to protect them from his Salvages, whom they extreamly dreaded: As to the matter of the Salvages, He told them, It would be just Retaliation for him to permit his Salvages to treat the French in the same manner, as the French with their Salvages treated our friends in our Frontier Towns: But as to his taking them under the Protection of the Crown of England, he utterly refused it, urging to them their former Perfidiousnes; they also urging to him, that it would be impossible for any French to live any where in the Bay of Fundy, if they were not taken under the English Government; for with the benefit of those Whaleboats, as the English called them they could take and destroy all their People in the Town of Menis in one Night: But he reply'd to them, It should never be; alleging to them that when they were so before, when Port Royal was taken last by the English that it prov'd of very ill consequence to the Crown of England, & the Subjects thereof in our Frontiers; for that our English Traders supplying them; enabled them (which opportunity they im-

231 The stress laid upon "whaleboats," both by Church in his report of his last expedition (p. 147) and his letter to Gov. Dudley (p. 131), and by the enemy, is explained by the fact that the enormous rise and fall of the tides in and near the Bay of Fundy made landing from, and coasting in, ordinary vessels — in that day when wharf conveniences were of the most primitive description — exceedingly difficult; a difficulty which the boats removed, since they could act as tenders, and leave the ship in deep water; and by the fact, that their swiftness made them more formidable in the pursuit of canoes than any other craft then in use, and their light draft enabled them to go in shallow water, and their light weight made them especially available at the portages.
prov'd) to supply the Indians our bloody Enemies; and therefore he could make no other Terms of Peace with them than that; if they the French at Menis, Signello and Canada, would keep at home with their bloody Salvages, and not commit any Hostilities upon any of our Frontiers, we would return home & leave them; for that we lived a great distance off, and had not come near them to hurt them now had not the blood of our poor Friends and Brethren in all the Frontiers of our Province cryed for Vengeance; especially that late unheard of Barbarity committed upon the Town of Deerfield; which wrought so generally on the hearts of our People, that our Forces came out with that Unanimity of Spirit, both among the English and our Salvages, that we had not, nor needed a Pref'd Man among them. The Colonel also telling them, That if ever hereafter any of our Frontiers East or West were molested by them, as formerly, that he would (if God spared his Life,) and they might depend upon it, Return upon them with a thousand of his Salvages, if he wanted them, all Volunteers, with our Whale-boats, and would pursue them to the last Extremity. The Colonels warm discourse with them wrought such a consternation in them, which they discovered by their Panick fears and trembling, their hearts sensibly beating, and rising up as it were ready to choke them; confessed they were all his Prisoners, and beg'd of him, for JESUS sake, to Save their Lives, and the Lives of their poor Families; with such melting Terms as wrought relentings in the Colonels
Breast towards them; but however, he told them, That his intent was to carry as many Prisoners home as he could, but that he had taken so many, they were more than he had occasion for, nor desired any more; and therefore he would leave them. The Colonel resolving the next day to compleat all his action at Menis, and so draw off. Accordingly, sent his orders to Col. Goreham and Maj Hilton, with all the English Companies both Officers and Soldiers, except some few, which he thought he might have occasion for to go with the Indians in the Whale-boats up the Eastward River, where a third part of the Inhabitants Lived; that so he might prevent any reflection made on them, in leaving any part of the Service undone. And therefore in the evening ordered all the Whale-boats to be laid ready for the Nights Service; and accordingly when the Tide Served, he went with his Indians up the River, where they did some spoil upon the Enemy going up. In the Morning several of their Transports came to meet them, to their great rejoicing, on whom they went on Board, and soon came up with the whole Fleet, with whom they joined, bending their course directly towards Port Royal, where they were ordered. Coming to Port Royal Gut where their Ships were, and calling a Council

322 Penhallow says the expedition "took a hundred prisoners." [Unit. Wars, 30.]
323 The Cobeguit, or Cobequid bay, terminating in Salmon river; from which was a portage over to Tatamaguache on Northumberland Strait, perhaps 7 miles in length.
according to his Instructions, drew up their result: Which is as followeth.

_Aboard the Province Galley, 4th. July 1704._

_In Port Royal Harbour._

Present all the Field Officers and Captains of the Land Forces.

We whose Names are hereunto Subscribed, having deliberately consider'd the cause in hand, whether it be proper to Land all our Forces to offend & destroy as much as we can at Port Royal, all or any part of the Inhabitants thereof, and their Estates, We are of Opinion, that 'tis not for our Interest & Honour, and the Countrys whom we Serve, to Land or expose our Selves; but quit it wholly, and go on about our other businesfs we have to do, for this Reason, That we Judge our Selves Inferiour to the Strength of the Enemy; and therefore the Danger & Risque we run, is greater than the advantage we can, or are likely to obtain, seeing the Enemy hath such timely Notice, and long opportunity to Provide themselves against us, by our Ships lying here in the Road about Twelve Days, before we could joyn them from Menis, where we were during that time, and being so very meanly provided with necessaries convenient for such an Undertaking with so small a Number of Men, not being above Four hundred capable and fit for Service to Land; and understanding by all the Intelligence we can get
from both English & French Prisoners, that the Fort is exceeding Strong.

John Goreham Lieut. Col.  Winthrop Hilton Major. [119]

Having, Pursuant to my Instruc-
tions taken the advice of the Gen-
tlemen above Subscribed, and
considering the weight of their
Reasons, I do Concur therewith. John Harradon Edward Church
Benj. Church.

Whereas Col. Church hath desired our Opinions, as to
the Landing the Forces at Port Royal, they being but
400 Effective Men to Land, and by all the Information both
of French & English Prisoners, the Enemy having a
greater number of Men, and much better provided to Receive,
than they are to Attack them, We do believe 'tis for the
Service of the Crown, and Preservation of Her Majefly's
Subjects to act as above mentioned.


After this, they concluded what should be next done;
which was, that the Ships should stay some Days longer at
Port Royall Gut, and then go over to Mount Defart Har-
bour, and there stay till Col. Church with his Transports
came to them. Being all ready, the Colonel with his
Transports & Forces went up the Bay to Signello, where
they needed not a Pilot, being several of them well
acquainted there: (and had not met with so many difficul-

334 Misprint for John. This captain's name is distinctly stated to be John
(p. 138). See note 275, ante.

175
ties at *Menis*, had it not been that their Pilot deceit'd them; who knew nothing of the matter, kept out of the way and Landed not with them, &c.) And coming to *Signeelo*, the Enemy were all in Arms ready to receive them, Col. *Church* Landing his Men; the Commander of the Enemy waving his Sword over his head, bid a Challenge to them: The Colonel ordering his two Wings to March up a-pace, and come upon the backs of the Enemy, himself being in the Center, and the Enemy knowing him, (having been there before) Shot chiefly at him; (but thro' God's goodnefs received no harm, neither had he one Man kill'd, nor but two slightly wounded) and then ran all away into the Woods, and left their Town with nothing in it; having had timely Notice of our Forces, had carryed all away out of the reach of our Army; for Col. *Church* while there with part of his Forces Ranged the Woods, but to no purpofe: Then returning to the Town, did them what Spoil he could; according to his Instruotions, and fo drew off, and made the beft of their way for *Passamequando*, (and going in) in a great Fog, one of their Transports ran upon a Rock, but was soon got off again. Then Col. *Church* with fome of his Forces embark'd in their Whaleboats, and went amongst the Islands, with an intent to go to *Sharkes* where they had destroyed the Fifh; but obferving a Springgy place in a Cove, went on Shore to get fome Water to drink, it being a Sandy beach, they

335 That is "they would not have met with fo many difficulties, &c."

336 *Bean-bafia*. See note 229, ante.

337 See p. 161.
efpy'd Tracks, the Colonel prefently ordered his Men to scatter, and make a search; soon found De Boiffes Wife, who had formerly been Col. Church's Prifoner, and carried to Boston; but returned, who seemed to be very glad to see him: She had with her two Sons that were near Men grown; the Colonel ordering them a part, Examined the Woman firft, who gave him this account following, That she had lived there-about ever since the Fleet went by, and that she had never seen but two Indians since, who came in a Canoo from Norrigiwock; who ask'd her, what made her to be there alone? She told them, She had not seen a French Man nor an Indian except thofe two since the English Ships went by. Then the Indians told her there was not one Indian left except thofe two, who belong to the Gut of Cancer, on this fide of Canada: for the Fryers coming down with the Indians to Monfieur Gordons, and finding the French-men slain, and their Hair [ipoiled, being Scalp'd, put them into a great Confetration; and the Fryers told them it was impoffible for them to live there-about, for the English with their Whale-[120] boats would serve them all fo; upon which they all went up to Norrigiwock: Alfo told her that when the English came along thro' Penobfot, they had swept it of the Inhabitants, as if it had been swept with a Broom, neither French nor Indians escaping them. Further told her, That when their Fathers the Fryers, and the Indians

338 De Boif probably taken prifoner when Church was here before, in a previous expedition.
met together at Norrigiwock they call'd a Council, and the Fryers told the Indians, That they must look out for some other Country, for that it was impossible for them to live there; also told them there was a River call'd Missippie where they might live quietly and no English come near them: It being as far beyond Canada as it was to it, &c. and if they would go and live there, they would live & dye with them, but if not they would leave them, and never come near them again. Whereupon they all agreed to go away; which they did, and left their Ruff household, and Corn behind them, and went all, except those two for Canada. Also her Sons giving the same Intelligence, so we had no reason to think but that it was true. Col. Church having done what he could there, Embark'd on board the Transports and went to Mount Defart, where he expected to have met with the Ships from Port Royal Gut; and going into the Harbour at Mount Defart, found

39 The Missiepi (Ind. Micke Sipe; called by the early Jesuits Missi-Sip). As early as 1669, Father Marquette resolved upon visiting this wonderful river, of which rumors came to him from the savages. It is first mentioned in the "Relations des Jesuites," in 1670, as "une grande Riviere large d'une lieue et davantage, qui venant des quartiers du Nord, coule vers le Sud, et si loin que les sauvages qui ont navigé sur cette Riviere, allant chercher des ennemis à combattre, après quantité de jours de navigation, n'en ont point trouvé l'embrancher, qui ne peut être que vers la Mer de la Floride, ou celle de Calif. fournie." [Relation, 1670: 80.] In 1673, Marquette, with Louis Jolliet, reached the river, and descended it probably as far as the mouth of the Arkansas. (His narrative of this journey may be found in Shea's Discovery and Exploration of the Mississipi Valley; having been first published, in 1681, in Thévenot's Recueil de Voyages.) Of course, his information had added certainty to all vague floating rumors before existing; and the Jesuits in Canada, before the date of this expedition of Col. Church, were able to speak with some confidence of this wonderful stream. [See Relations des Jesuites, 1670: 91, 100; 1671: 24, 47.]
no Ships there, but a Runlet\(^{240}\) rid off by a line in the Harbour, which he ordered to be taken up, and opening of it found a Letter, which gave him an account that the Ships were gone home for Boston. Then he proceeded & went to Penobscot; where being come, made diligent search in those Parts for the Enemy, but could not find or make any discovery of them, or that any had been there since he left those Parts, which caus'd him to believe what De Boiffes Wife had told him was true. (I will only by the way just give a hint of what we heard since of the Effects of this Expedition, & then proceed.) *[Firft,]
That the English Forces that went next to Norrigiwock found that the Enemy was gone, & had left their Ruff household-stuff and Corn behind them; also not long after this Expedition, there were several Gentleman sent down from Canada to concert with our Governour about the settling of a Cartel\(^{341}\) for the Exchange of Prisoners; and that the Governour of Canada has never since sent down any Army upon our Frontiers (as I know of) except some times a Scout of Indians to take some Prisoners, that he might be informed of our State, and what we were acting &c. and always took care that the Prisoners so taken should be Civilly Treated, and safely Returned, as I have been informed; that some of the Prisoners that were taken gave an account; so that we have great cause to be-

\(^{240}\) "Runlet (probably q. d. Roundlet),—a close cask for Liquors, containing from three to twenty Gallons."—*Bailey.*

\(^{341}\) *Cartel (from cartellus, from chartula, diminutive of charta, i.e., a "little writing"),—a writing, or agreement, between States at war, as for the exchange of prisoners."—*Wobster.*
lieve that the Message Col. Church sent by the two French Gentlemen from Menis to the Governour of Port Royal took Effect, and was a means to bring Peace in our borders, &c. Then Col. Church with his Forces embark'd on board the Transports, and went to Casco Bay, where they met with Capt. Gallop in a Vessel from Boston, who had brought Col Church further Orders; which was to send some of his Forces up to Norrigiwock in pursuit of the Enemy; but he being sensible that the Enemy were gone from thence, and that his Souldiers were much wore-out & spent in the hard Service they had already done, & wanted to get home, call'd a Council, and agreed all to go home, which accordingly they did. To Conclude this Expedition, I will just give a hint of some treatment Col. Church had before & after he came home: for all his great Expences, Fategues & Hardships in and about this Expedition, (viz) He received of his Excellency Fifteen Pounds as an earnest Penny towards Raising of Volunteers; and when he came to receive his Debenture " for his Colonels Pay, there was 2 s. 4 d. due to him; and as for his Captains Pay, & Man Jack he has never received anything as yet. Also after he came home some ill minded Persons did their endeavour to have taken away his Life, for that there was some of the French Enemy Kill'd this Expedi-

342 Debenture, — a writing or certificate signed by a public officer in evidence of a debt due; so called because, in Latin, such documents used to begin "Debentur mihi, &c.

343 His commission was twofold (see p. 136) appointing him Captain of the first company of his command, as well as Colonel of all the forces embarked upon the expedition.
tion: but his Excellency the Governor, the Honourable Council and House of Representatives saw cause to Clear him, and gave him Thanks for his good Service done.

Church's language here might almost suggest that some attempt had been made to bring him to a capital trial for alleged malfeasance in the matter at Passamquoddy (p. 157). But I find no evidence of anything of the sort.

The original edition of 1716 gives evidence of that “cutting the coat according to the cloth,” which was not unusual in books of that time, and which is not wholly unknown now. In the endeavor to come out even at the end of a page and of a signature, the last two pages are set in type of smaller size than the rest of the volume, the “spaces” are made thinner, and 51 lines are crowded into a page whose measure has been 42. In this process of compression, the MSS. doubtless suffered somewhat; and, could we recover the last page from which Green's compositors worked, we should be quite likely to find one or two closing remarks from the blunt yet courtly old warrior, which the inexorable demands of the “form” excluded.

FINIS.
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS.
Chronological Table of Events.

(See It will be noticed that the dates are comparatively few which can be exactly identified.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day of Week</th>
<th>Day of Month</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>EVENT</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>Last of Oct.</td>
<td>1688</td>
<td>Church received Andros's express at Little Compton</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Church went to Boston</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Th.</td>
<td>18 April</td>
<td>1689</td>
<td>Returned home</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>July</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>The Revolution which deposed Andros</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Church waited on Governor Bradstreet, by request</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Church went to Rhode Island to ask assistance</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>Aug.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Church returned to Boston, reporting progress, and goes to raising volunteers</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>6 Sept.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Church commissioned by Governor Hinkley for the First Expedition</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Church received his instructions from Danforth</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Church received his commission from Massachusetts, as Major</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Church received his instructions from Massachusetts, as Major</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Church sailed for Falmouth, Me.</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Had a fight with the Indians</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Ranged the country</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>11 Nov.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Held a council of war at Scarborough</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day of Week</td>
<td>Day of Month</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.</td>
<td>13 Nov.</td>
<td>1689</td>
<td>Church held a council of war at Falmouth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>— Jan.</td>
<td>1689</td>
<td>Church returned home</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.</td>
<td>16 Feb.</td>
<td>1689</td>
<td>Went back to Boston, to plead for the.down-easters</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Th.</td>
<td>6 Feb.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Church left his plea for them on the Council Board, and went home in disgust</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>— April</td>
<td>1690</td>
<td>Church goes to Charlestown, when the Canada Expedition is about to sail, to see his friends off</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>Church has an interview with the Governor and Council</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>Church goes to Barnstable, to see Governor Hinkley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>Church raises forces, and marches them to Plymouth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.</td>
<td>2 Sept.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Church is commissioned for the Second Expedition, by Governor Hinkley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.</td>
<td>3 Sept.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Church reaches Portsmouth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.</td>
<td>9 Sept.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Receives Major Pike’s Instructions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>Church sailed for Pejepscot, and marched to Androscoggin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>14 Sept.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Church took the fort</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.</td>
<td>17 Sept.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Went to Maguait</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>20 Sept.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Reached Saco</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>22 Sept.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Chased the Indians</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.</td>
<td>23 Sept.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bivouacked at Purpooduck</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>24 Sept.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Came to “Cape Neddicke”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>26 Sept.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sent scout to Saco</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>— Oct.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Got back to Portsmouth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>— Nov.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sailed for Boston in the sloop Mary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.</td>
<td>— Nov.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lodged at Captain Alden’s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>— Nov.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Borrowed 40s. of Brayton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>— Nov.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rode home on a borrowed horse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day of</td>
<td>Day of</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>EVENT</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Week.</td>
<td>Month.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Th.</td>
<td>27 Nov.</td>
<td>1690</td>
<td>Church wrote to some Eastern gentlemen</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>29 June</td>
<td>1691</td>
<td>The Eastern gentlemen replied</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1692</td>
<td>Church, on request of Major Wal-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ley, from Governor Phips, goes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>to Boston to consult about the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Third Eastern Expedition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>25 July</td>
<td>1692</td>
<td>Church receives Phips's commission</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;&quot; Embarks for Pemaquid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;&quot; Works on the fort there</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Th.</td>
<td>11 Aug.</td>
<td>1692</td>
<td>&quot;&quot; Is commissioned for Penob-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>scot, &amp;c.</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;&quot; Ranged those regions, de-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>stroying corn, &amp;c.</td>
<td>89-90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;&quot; Returned to Pemaquid.</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;&quot; Has more orders for the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;&quot; Kennebec</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;&quot; Had a fight, and burned</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;&quot; Ticonnet Fort</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;&quot; Returned to Pemaquid.</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;&quot; Came back to Boston and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;&quot; Bristol</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;&quot; Is at Boston as Deputy from</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;&quot; Bristol</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;&quot; Is persuaded to go East on</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;&quot; a Third Expedition</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>3 Aug.</td>
<td>1696</td>
<td>&quot;&quot; Raises volunteers</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;&quot; Is commissioned by Lieu-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tenant Governor Stoughton</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.</td>
<td>12 &quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>Church receives his instructions</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>15 &quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;&quot; Sailed for Portsmouth</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>22 &quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;&quot; &quot;&quot; York</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Sept.</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;&quot; &quot;&quot; Monhegan</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;&quot; (in boats) went up the Pe-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>noscots Bay</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;&quot; Had a skirmish, and took</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;&quot; captives</td>
<td>103-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;&quot; Back to the ships</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day of Week</td>
<td>Day of Month</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>EVENT</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1696</td>
<td>Church sailed for <em>Beau Basin</em></td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1696</td>
<td>Thence to St. John</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1696</td>
<td>On their way home from thence interrupted and superseded by Colonel Hathorne</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>1 Feb.</td>
<td>1703</td>
<td>Church home again</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>Waited on Governor Dudley to offer his services against the Indians and French, being moved thereto by late shocking outrages</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>Church writes Governor Dudley his ideas on the best way of carrying on another expedition</td>
<td>131-133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>18 March</td>
<td></td>
<td>Church goes to work to fit out the Fifth Expedition</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>Church receives Dudley's commission</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>Church raises volunteers in all the towns of the three counties of the Old Colony</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1704</td>
<td>Church marches his troops to Nantasket</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Th.</td>
<td>4 May</td>
<td></td>
<td>Receives his instructions</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>Went by land to Portsmouth</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>Raises another company there</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.</td>
<td>7 June</td>
<td></td>
<td>Moves to <em>Matinicus</em></td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>Takes prisoners who give him information</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>Went up the river, had a fight, and took prisoners, some of whom were knocked on the head</td>
<td>150-157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>Church failed to take <em>Chartier</em></td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>Burned the Indians' fish</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>Returned, went on board the transports, and sailed for <em>Port Royal</em> and <em>Les Mines</em></td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day of Week</td>
<td>Day of Month</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>EVENT</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.</td>
<td>20 June</td>
<td>1704</td>
<td>Church reached <em>Les Mines</em>, and summoned its surrender</td>
<td>163-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.</td>
<td>21 „</td>
<td>„</td>
<td>Church burned the town, and took many prisoners</td>
<td>166-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Th.</td>
<td>22 „</td>
<td>„</td>
<td>Church dug down their dams, and spoiled their crops; and at night captured <em>Pigignit</em></td>
<td>168-169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>23 „</td>
<td>„</td>
<td>Church took <em>Cobeguit</em>, &amp;c.</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.</td>
<td>4 July</td>
<td>„</td>
<td>Sailed for <em>Port Royal</em></td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>„</td>
<td>„</td>
<td>Had a council of war at <em>Port Royal</em></td>
<td>174-175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>„</td>
<td>„</td>
<td>Went up to <em>Beau Basin</em>, which they spoiled again</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>„</td>
<td>„</td>
<td>Sailed for <em>Passamaquoddy</em></td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>„</td>
<td>„</td>
<td>Took Du Bois's wife prisoner</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>„</td>
<td>„</td>
<td>Sailed for <em>Mount Desert</em>, and so to Casco, and home</td>
<td>178-180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>„</td>
<td>„</td>
<td>The Governor, Council, and House of Representatives clear Colonel Church of all imputations of misconduct, and give him thanks for his good service done</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX.
INDEX.

The Roman numerals refer to pages in the Introduction. The Arabic figures refer to pages in the "History," the numbering in all cases being found at the bottom of each successive page. The names of Indians are in italics.

A.
Addington, Isaac, notice of, 11 note.
Alden, Capt. John, a naval commander, 66 note, 67 note, 74; mention of him, 110, 120; William, 107.
Alexander, or Wamfutta, son of Maffafoit, succeeds his father, xx.; brought to Plymouth, xxi.; not ill treated there, xxii.; the facts stated, ibid.; dies, ibid.
Alger, Andrew, killed, 27 note.
Allen, Rev. James, of Boston, xiii.
Allyn, Samuel, of Barnstable, 42.
Amos, Capt., commands an Indian company, 7 note.
Andrews, Elilha, 29 note, 64 note, 74; James, 64 note; Samuel, ibid.
Andros, Sir Edmund, his history, 1 note; fends for Capt. Church, 1; sent prisoner to England, 32; date of this event, ibid. note.
Androscoggin, or Amerindogen, described, 49 note.
Arnold, Rev. Samuel, of Marshfield, xiii.
Athon, Rev. Hope, of Hatfield, xv.
Austen, Matthew, 73 note.

B.
Baker, Rev. Nicholas, of Scituate, xiv.; Thomas, a prisoner to the Indians, escapes, 58; notice of him, ibid. note.
Barbarities of the Indians, 129.
Barker, Lieut., killed at Les Mines, 168.
Barnard, Benjamin, 54 note.
Baffet, William, 29 note.
Belcher, Andrew, 140 note.
Berry, Thomas, 27 note.
Billinggate Point, described, 42 note.
Bit, a silver coin, its value, 85 note.
Black Point, where, 28 note; a fort there, ibid.
Blue Point, where, 29 note.
Boad, Henry, 107 note.
Bourne, Rev. Richard, missionary, xvii.
Bowers, Rev. John, of Branford, xiv.
Brackett, Anthony, 17 note; account of, 21 note; shot by the Indians, ibid.,
INDEX.

27 note: his children, 21 note: Anthony, his son, escapes, 60; again mentioned, 104, 120.
Bradstreet, Rev. Simon, of New London, xiv.; Simon, governor of Massachusetts, 3; his history, ibid. note; lends for Church, 4.
Brayhall, Mr., of Caflco, mortally wounded, 27 note.
Brayton, Stephen, of Portsmouth, R.I., a drover, 68; lends money to Church, ibid.; Francis, ibid.
Bridgway, or Bourgeois, Jarman, 111, 112, 113.
Brimfiead, Rev. William, of Marlborough, xv.
Brock, Rev. John, of South Reading, xiv.
Brown, John, captain in Church's Fifth Expedition, 138, 175; notice of him, 138 note.
Browne, Rev. Edmund, of Sudbury, xiv.; Thomas, of Caflco, wounded, 27 note.
Buckingham, Rev. Thomas, of Saybrook, xiv.
Burlton, Thomas, 27 note.
Buttolph, Prifcilla, 10 note.
Byfield, Nathaniel, of Briflot, 40 note, 69 note.

C.
Carter, Rev. Thomas, of Woburn, xiv.
Caflco, in danger from Indians, 17; fight with Indians there, 25-26; arrangements made by Church for their safety, 30; he returns home, 31; Caflco taken by the Indians, and the inhabitants killed or carried away, 36; the dead remain unburied two years, 85 note; buried by Phips's soldiers, ibid.
Caflin, Vincent de St., account of, 19 note; his lucrative trade with the Indians, ibid.; violates the capitulation of Caflco, and destroys the inhabitants, 36; commands an Indian force at the taking of Port William Henry, Pemaquid, 98 note; his daughter and her children taken prisoners by Church, 150.
Cawley, or Caule, Robert, of Pemaquid, 107; notice of him, ibid. note.
Chartier. See Sharkee.
Chauncey, Rev. Nathaniel, of Windfor, xiii.
Chubb, Paflco, surrenders Port William Henry to the Indians, 98 note; is murdered at Andover, with his wife, ibid.
Church, Capt. Benjamin, at Saconet, Little Compton, 1; is sent for by Gov. Andros, ibid.; arrives in Boston, 2; the Governor proposes an Eastern expedition, 3; Church declines the undertaking, ibid.; is sent for by Gov. Bradstreet after the overthrow of Andros, 4; comes to Boston, ibid.; undertakes an expedition against the Indians "in the Eastern Parts," ibid.; goes to Rhode Island to obtain subsistence, and returns to Boston, 5; his commissio from the Council of War, 6; commissio from the President of Maine, 8; commissioned as Major by the Governor and Council of Massachusetts Bay, 9; instructions from the Commissioners of the United Colonies, 11; his First Eastern Expedition, 16; arrives at Caflco, ibid.; hears of Indians in the
INDEX.

neighborhood, 17; orders given by him, 19; embarrased by the bullets furnished being too large, 22; his force attacked by a body of Indians, ibid.; their repulse, 26; he visits the garrisons at Black Point, &c., 28; holds a council of war at Scarborouh, 29 note; makes arrangements for the security of the Eastern settlements, 30; returns home at the approach of winter, 31; spends three weeks in Boston, 33; represents to the Governor and Council the exposed condition of the Eastern settlements, 33-35; this representation not attended to, 36; slender compensation of Church, ibid.; his SECOND EASTERN EXPEDITION, 37; he comes again to Boston, 38; the Council consult him in respect to the war, 39; his answer, 40; goes to Barnstable to fee Gov. Hinckley, ibid.; raises a force, and marches with it to Plymouth, 41; finds no preparation there, ibid.; commissioned by the Council of War of Plymouth Colony for a second expedition to Maine, 42; their instructions to him, 44-47; arrives at Pinatabaqua [Porthmouth], 47; receives instructions there from Major Pike, 48; fails for Pejeftoc, 50 note; lands at Maquoit in Freeport, ibid.; relieves two English captives, 51; takes the fort at Pejeftoc [Brunswick], ibid.; spares an Indian captive, 55; kills others, ibid.; returns to Maquoit, 56; fails to Winter Harbor [Saco], ibid.; puts the Indians to flight, 57; disagreement between him and his captains, 59; arrives at Purpoooduck, 60; encounters Indians there, 62; comes to Wells, 64; and to Porthsmouth, 65; sends home his soldiers, 66; fails for Boston in sloop Mary, ibid.; deftiture of money, and gets none from the government, 67, 68; tries to borrow a small sum, and is refused, 67; borrows forty shillings of a drover, 68; returns home, ibid.; a letter by his patriotic services, ibid.; his letter to Wheelwright and others, respecting the misrepresentations which had been made of his conduct, and his consequent loss of favor from the government, 69-76; state of things in Maine after Church's departure, 74; application to him from gentlemen at the eastward for help against the Indians, 79, 80; his answer, 81; his THIRD EASTERN EXPEDITION, 82; invited by Gov. Phips to accompany him in his expedition into Maine, 83; Church confutes, and receives a commission, ibid.; is forced to borrow money in order to go, 84; arrives at Pemaquid, 85; is disinclined to have a fort built there, 86; is sent to fight the Indians on the Penobscot, ibid.; his instructions from Phips, 87; ranges those parts, and destroys the enemy's corn, 90; returns to Pemaquid, ibid.; is ordered to the Kennebec, ibid.; has a brush there with the Indians, ibid.; returns once more to Pemaquid, 92; returns to Boston, and again deprived by the government of his just dues, ibid.; is a deputy in the General Court from Bristol, 93; his FOURTH EASTERN EXPEDITION, ibid.; raises a volunteer force, ibid.; receives a commission from Lieut. Gov. Stoughton, 94; his instructions to Church, 96, 97; fails for Piacataqua, 99; lands at York, 100; proceeds to Saco, ibid.; arrives at Monhegan, 101; ascends
INDEX.

Penobscot Bay and River as far as Old Town, 102, 103; returns to his vessels at the mouth of the river, 106; visits Mount Defeat and other places, but finds no enemy, 108; sails up the Bay of Fundy and lands at Beau Bafin, 110; the enemy take to flight, 111; Church takes several prisoners, 112, 113; penetrates into the country, and returns to Beau Bafin, 114; his discourse with the Acadians, 114, 115; refrains his Indian followers from hurting them, 115; enters the river St. John, 116; skirmish with the French, 117; is superseded by Col. Hathorne, 123; returns to Bolton, 127; his FIFTH EASTERN EXPEDITION, 128; he offers his services again to the government, 130; his plan for a campaign against the Indians, 131-133; his commission from Gov. Dudley, 136; raises volunteers, 137; in this incurs heavy expence, not re-imburfed, 138; requests permission to attack Port Royal in Acadia, 139; is denied, 140, 141; his instructions from Gov. Dudley, 141-145; proceeds on the expedition, 146; takes prisoners and obtains information from them, 147-149; takes Caitlin's daughter at Penobscot, 150; fours the coast as far as Paffamaquoddy, 150, 151; writes to Dudley a history of his proceedings, 151-159; his actions at Paffamaquoddy, 152; is greatly displeased with a party of his own soldiers, and why, 156; a busy night, 157; embarks for Les Mines, 162; demands the surrender of that town, 163; the document inquired, 163-165; takes possession of the town, 166; makes a “temperance movement,” 167; burns the town, 168; takes many prisoners, 169; sends a threatening message to Port Royal and Quebec, with good results, 170; his conference with the prisoners taken at Mines, 171; tells them of Deerfield, and threatens retaliation, 172; the prisoners greatly frightened, ibid.; he sails for Port Royal, 173; a council of war deviues from an attack on that place, 175; the document given, ibid.; takes possession of Chignecto, or Beau Bafin, after a skirmish, 176; returns to Paffamaquoddy, ibid.; receives information that the Indians had gone to Norridgewock, 177; sails to Mount Defert, 178; to Caico, and returns to Bolton, 180; receives thanks, but no pay. 180, 181. See Chronological Table, at the close of the volume.

Church, Caleb, of Watertown, brother of Benjamin, 68; notice of him, ibid. note; his children, ibid.; Conflant, captain in the Fifth Eastern Expedition, 139, 146, 175; Edward, captain in the same expedition, 139, 167, 175.

Clark, Thaddeus, of Pailmouth, 25 note, 29 note; killed by Indians, ibid.; his family, ibid.; Walter, governor of Rhode Lland, notices of him, 5 note; his family, ibid.; Isaac, ibid.; William, captain, notice of him, 140 note.

Cobbet, Rev. Thomas, of Ipswich, xiii.

Cole, James, captain in the Fifth Eastern Expedition, 139, 153, 175.

Collins, Rev. Nathaniel, of Middletown, xv.

Connecticut, towns settled therein, in 1675, x.

Converse, Capt. James, of Woburn, with Church, 50; notices of him, ibid. note; comes to Bolton with Church, 66; delitute of money, 67.
INDEX.

Cook, John, captain in Church's Fifth Eastern Expedition, 139, 146, 167, 175.
Cooke, Dr. Eliasha, 15 note.
Cuthing, John, of Scituate, 40 note.
Cut, Richard, 76 note; John, 80 note.

D.
Dane, Rev. Francis, of Andover, xiv.
Danforth, Rev. Samuel, of Roxbury, xiii.; Thomas, president of Maine, his commissiion to Church, 8; notices of him, 9 note.
Daniel, Capt., leader of an Indian company, 7 note.
Davis, Ambrose, 29 note; Silvanus, notices of, 14 note; his residence, 18 note; present at a council of war, 29 note.
Deerfield destroyed by the Indians, 129, 129; this moves Church to undertake his Fifth Eastern Expedition, 130; he threatens the French with similar treatment, 164, 170.
Deering, James, 21 note.
Doney, half Frenchman, half Indian, 51 note, 57 note.
Drake, Abraham, 21 note.
Dudley, Joseph, governor of Massachusetts, his commissiion to Church, 136; notices of him, ibid, note; his family, ibid.; his instructions to Church, 141-145.
Dummer, Rev. Shubael, of York, xv.
Dyer, John, captain in Church's Fifth Expedition, 139, 175.

E.
Eaton, Daniel, 37 note.
Ebens [Evans], Edward, 27 note.
Eddy, Edece, sergeant, 160.
Elliot, Robert, of Scarborough, 80 note.
Elkins, Henry, 17 note.
Eldibrook, Rev. Joseph, of Concord, xiii.
EXpedition, First, 16.
Second, 37.
Third, 82.
Fourth, 93.
Fifth, 128.

F.
Fellows, William, 145.
Fernald, William, of Kittery, sergeant, 80 note.
Finney, Jeremiah, of Bristol, R.I., 70 note; Josiah, ibid.
Fiske, Rev. John, of Chelmsford, xv.
Rev. Moses, of Quincy, xiv.
Fitch, Rev. James, of Norwich, xv.
Flint, Rev. Josiah, of Dorchester, xiii.
Fobes, William, 85.
Foxwell, Philip, 29 note; Richard, ibid; Freeman, John, of Eastham, 40 note.
Freeze, James, mortally wounded, 27 note.
Frontenac, Count, his expedition against the Maquas or Iroquois, 104 note.
Frost, Charles, Major, notice of, 77 note.
Fryer, Nathaniel, of Portsmouth, N.H., 76 note.

G.
Gallifion, Eliasha, 29 note.
Gedney, Col. Bartholomew, commands a force at York, 99; notices of him, ibid. note; John, ibid.
INDEX.

Gendall, Walter, 17 note.
Glover, Rev. Pelatiah, of Springfield, xiii.
Goodwin, Ozias, 16 note.
Gorham, Capt. John, second in command under Church in his Fourth Expedition, 97; notice of him, ibid. note; is sent by Church to Winter Harbor [Saco], 100; second in command under Church in his Fifth Expedition, 138, 152, 162, 165, 173, 175.
Gourdon, or Gourdan, a Frenchman, 148, 153, 155.
Green, Samuel, dies of small-pox, 32 note.
Gyles, John, sent with a flag of truce to demand the surrender of Les Mines in Nova Scotia, 163, 203.

H.
Hale, Rev. John, of Beverly, xv.
Hall, Nathaniel, 10 note, 12, 27, 39 note, 30 note.
Hanford, Rev. Thomas, of Norwalk, xv.
Haraden, John, of Gloucester, 145 note, 175; Edward, ibid.
Hathorne, Col. John, supercedes Church in the command of the Fourth Eastern Expedition, 123, 124.
Hawkins, John, an Indian. See Kankanmagus.
Heard, Ann, of Cochecho [Dover], 54 note.
Higginson, Rev. John, of Salem, xiii.
Hill, John, 30 note.
Hilton, Edward, 146; Winthrop, major in Church's Fifth Eastern Expedition, 146, 153, 162, 165, 173, 175.

Hinckley, Thomas, governor of Plymouth Colony, 6; notices of, ibid. note, 40 note.
Holmes, Rev. John, of Duxbury, xiii.
Hones, David, killed, 27 note.
Hooke, Francis, of Kittery, 80; notices of, ibid., note.
Hooker, Rev. Samuel, of Farmington, xv.
Huckins, James, of Oyster River [now Durham, N.H.], 54 note; Robert, ibid.; his wife intercedes for an Indian captive, 54.
Hunniwell, Richard, 30 note, 58 note; notices of, 77 note; "the Indian killer," ibid.; with Church at St. John, 120.

I.
Iberville, Lemoine d', a skilful naval commander, his name strangely metamorphosed by Church, 105; founds a colony on the Missisippi, ibid. note.
Indians, their numbers in 1675, x. Indians, Praying, their numbers in 1675, xvi.; improved condition of the Indians, xix.; causes of the Indian war, xxxi.; Indians accompany Church in his expedition, 20; Indians attack Church at Cape, 22; are repulsed, 26; take the fort at Pejepscot Falls [Brunswick], 39; evacuate it, 50; are put to flight at Saco, 57; and at Purpooduck, 63; kill several prisoners, 64; ask for peace, 74; their treacherous conduct, 79; attacked by Church, and their fort at Taconick [Winlow] burned, 91, 106; some are slain by
INDEX.

Church's soldiers on the Penobscot, 103; Indian barbarities at Deerfield, 128, 129.
Ingeroll, George, 29 note.
Inventory and equipments of a French fort, 117 note.

J.
Jacob, Richard, 20 note.
Jacobs, Nicholas, of Hingham, 72 note.
Jones, Rev. Eliphalet, of Stamford, xiv.
Jordan, Dominicus, 28 note, 57 note; Rev. Robert, 28 note.
José, Richard, 17 note.

K.
Kankamagus, or John Hawkins, a sachem of Pennacook, 53 note, 64.
Keith, Rev. James, of Bridgewater, xv.

L.
Lafauve. See Lefevre.
Lamb, Joshua, captain in Church's Fifth Expedition, 139, 173.
Lane, Edward, son of Edward, of Boston, 2 note; his name changed to Paige, ibid.
Larkin, captain with Church at St. John, 120.
Lathrop, or Lothrop, John, of Barnstable, 41; his family, ibid. note; Joseph, of Barnstable, notice of, 73 note; his family, ibid.
Lawrence, Robert, 29 note, 30 note.
Lee, Abram, 17 note; Esther, his wife, gives information concerning Indians, 19; Samuel, minister of Bristol, R.-I., his history, 70 note.
Lefevre, Lafebure, or Lafaure, a prisoner to Church in his Fifth Expedition, 147.
Lightfoot, a friendly Indian captain, 22.
Little, Isaac, of Marshfield, 40 note.
Littlefield, John, son of Edmund of Wells, 73 note.
Losses sustained by the colonies in Philip's War, xxxi.
Loyall, Fort, in Falmouth, 17 note.

M.
Maine, progress of colonization in, in 1675, ix.
Massapee Indians furnished soldiers in Church's expeditions, and in the Revolutionary War, 20 note.
Martin, or Marlyn, Richard, notice of, 80 note.
Mason, Samuel, notice of, 15 note; John, killed, 27 note.
Massachusetts, progress of colonization therein, in 1675, ix.
Massachusetts Indians, number in 1675, x.
Mather, Rev. Increase, of Boston, xiv.
Maxwell, James, notice of, 39 note.
Mayflower company, survivors in 1675, xi.
Mayhew, Rev. John, of Tisbury, xv; Experience, 7 note.
Mitton, Michael, 21 note, 25 note, 64 note.
Moody, Rev. Joshua, of Portsmouth, xv.
Myrick, or Mirick, Isaac, captain in Church's Fifth Eastern Expedition, 139, 153, 175.

N.
Narragansetts, their number in 1675, x.
New England, its condition in 1675, ix, xvii.; losses by Philip's War, xxxi.
INDEX.

New Hampshire, progress of colonization in, in 1675, ix.
Newman, Rev. Noah, of Rehoboth, xiv.
Newton, Rev. Roger, of Milford, xiv.
Nipmuk Indians, number in 1675, x.
Nemfas, a friendly Indian in Church's First Expedition, 7 note, 20 note, 27, 37 note.

O.

P.
Paige, Nicholas, of Boston, meets Col. Church in Braintree, 2; his history, ibid. note.
Paine, John, 110.
Palmer, Mr., of Capeco, wounded, 27 note; John, 29 note.
Palfgrave, John, 81 note.
Parker, Rev. Thomas, of Newbury, xiii.
Pautucket Indians, number in 1675, x.
Pemaquid, extent of application of the word, 85 note; Church, as second in command to Gov. Phips, arrives there, 85; description of the fort built there by Phips [Fort William Henry], 86 note; the fort taken by the enemy four years after, 98.
Pepperell, William, notice of, 143 note.
Pequot, their numbers in 1675, x.
Perkins, Rev. William, of Topsfield, xiv.
Philip, or Pometacon, the Indian chief, accused of plotting against the English, xxi.; goes to Plymouth, xxiv.; misconceptions of his character and plans, xxv.; had not been ill-treated by the English, ibid.; extravagantly overrated, xxvi.; Dr. Palfrey's account of him more just, ibid.; no proof of any extensive plot of his, ibid.; reported conference between him and the English, xxviii.
Phillips, Rev. Samuel, of Rowley, xiv.
Phips, Sir William, his eventful history, 82 note; invites Church to accompany him on his Eastern Expedition, 83; gives him a commission, ibid.; constructs a strong fort at Pemaquid [Fort William Henry], 86 note; returns to Boston, 91; his wife signs a discharge for a lady accused of witchcraft, ibid. note.
Pike, Robert, Major, of Salisbury, raises soldiers for Church, 48; his instructions to Church, 48-50; notice of him, 48 note; letter of Church to him, respecting reports circulated to Church's disadvantage, 77.
Pitkin, William, account of, 15 note, 49 note.
Plaisted, Ichabod, 66.
Plymouth Colony, its flow progress in wealth and population, xviii.; pays the debt incurred in Philip's War, xxi.; engages in the war with the Eastern Indians, 6; its commission to Church, 6, 42; schedule of the number of soldiers required of each town in 1689, 6 note; a similar schedule in 1690, 43 note; debt incurred by the Colony for the Eastern war, ibid.
Pokanokets, number in 1675, x.
Pollard, William, an inn-keeper in Boston, 35 note.
Portsmouth, Church arrives there, 47; small-pox there, 65; Church there again, ibid.; its name changed from Strawberry Bank, 66 note.
Prince, Samuel, 7 note.
Prout, Timothy, 31 note.
INDEX.

R.

Ramfeldt, Joseph, of Lynn, slain by Indians, 63 note.
Reynier, Rev. John, of Dover, xiii.
Rhode Island, progress of colonization in 1675, x; its condition at that time, xvii.
Rogers, George, 145, 146, 175.
Row, Giles, killed, 27 note.
Rowlandson, Rev. Joseph, of Lancaster, xv.
Ruffell, Rev. John, of Hadley, xv.
Rogers, George, 145, 146, 175.
Rowlandson, Rev. Joseph, of Lancaster, xv.
Ruffell, Rev. John, of Hadley, xv.

S.

Saffin, John, 15 note.
Saffamon, discovers Philip's plot against the English, xxiii.; murdered, xxiv.
Scammon, Richard, 17 note; Anne, ibid.; Humphrey, of Saco, 57 note.
Scottow, Joshua, 28 note; Thomas, ibid.; notices of him, 31 note, 36.
Sewall, Samuel, notices of him, 38 note.
Shepard, Rev. Thomas, of Charlestown, xiii.
Sherman, Rev. John, of Watertown, xiii.
Shove, Rev. George, of Taunton, xiii.
Small-pox in Boston, 32, 37; in Portsmouth, 65; on board of some of Church's transports, ibid.; some of his men seek to deceive him in regard to it, ibid.
Smith, Rev. John, of Sandwich, xiii.; Thomas, commander of the frigate Jersey, 145, 146, 175.
Southack, Cyprian, commander of the Province galley, 123 note, 143, 162, 175.

Southworth, William, a lieutenant in Church's First Expedition, 27; account of him, ibid. note; chosen by the Indians their captain, 32 note.
Sparrow, Jonathan, of Eastham, 40 note.
Sprague, William, of Hingham, 68 note.
Spurwink, where, 28 note.
Stoddard, Rev. Solomon, of Northampton, xv.
Story, Joseph, 73, 76.
Stoughton, William, Lieut. Gov., his commission to Church, 94; notice of him, ibid. note; his letter to Church, transferring the command to Col. Hathorne, 123, 124.
Street, Rev. Nicholas, of New Haven, xiv.
Swain, Jeremiah, notice of, 13 note.
Swanton, John, from the island of Jersey, 23; killed by Indians at Cafto, ibid. note; Hannah, taken by Indians, ibid.; Joshua and Joanna, ibid.; Mary, ibid.

T.

Thacher, Rev. Thomas, of Boston, xv.; John, of Yarmouth, 40 note.
Thaxter, Thomas, 27 note.
Thomas, Nathaniel, notices of, 72 note; his family, ibid.
Thorpe, Robert, of York, 107 note.
Tolman, Peter, of Newport, 68 note.
Torrey, Rev. Samuel, of Weymouth, xiii.
Trading-houses, or truck-houses, Church's opinion of them, 134.
Treat, Rev. Samuel, of Eastham, xiv.

V.

Vaughan, William, of Portsmouth, N. H., 76 note; his family, ibid.; he and
INDEX.

others apply to Church for help against the Indians, 79; George, St note.
Villebon, Chevalier, 114 note.

W.
Wakeman, Rev. Samuel, of Fairfield, xiv.
Waldron, or Walderne, Major Richard, 17 note; his children, ibid.; Either, his daughter, a captive to the Indians, ibid.
Walker, Rev. Zechariah, of Woodbury, xv.
Walley, Major John, to note, 15 note, 37, 40 note; is desired by Gov. Phips to speak to Church about going again to Maine, 83; Rev. Thomas, of Barnstable, xiv. 42 note.
Walton, Shadrach, colonel and judge, 51 note; his family, ibid.; George, ibid.; Benjamin, ibid.
Ward, Rev. John, of Haverhill, xiv.
Waterhouse, Richard, St note.
Wells, Rev. Thomas, of Amesbury, xv.
Whale-boats, much used in Church's Fifth Expedition, 131, 139, 147, 150, 151, 159, 169, 171, 177; explanation of its special value in such an affair, 171 note.
Wheelwright, Rev. John, of Salisbury, xiv.; John, Esquire, of Wells, 73 note, 75; letter addressed to him by Church, 69-76.

Whiting, Rev. Samuel, of Lynn, xiii.; Rev. Samuel, of Billerica, xv.
Whitman, Rev. Zechariah, of Hull, xiv.
Wiggleworth, Rev. Michael, of Malden, ibid.
Willard, Rev. Samuel, xv.; Simon, notices of, 10 note, 29 note.
William Henry, fort at Pemaquid, described, 86 note; taken by the French and Indians, 98 note.
Williams, Eunice, wife of Rev. John, of Deerfield, taken by Indians, 128.
Williamson, Capt. Caleb, 139, 175; notice of, 139.
Wilfon, Rev. John, of Medfield, xiv.
Wincoll, John, of Kittery, 80 note.
Winlow, Jofiah, brings Alexander, the Indian sachem, to Plymouth, xxi.
Winter, John, notice of, 56 note.
Winter Harbor, 56 note.
Witchcraft delusion, 91 note.
Witherell, Rev. William, of Scituate, xiv.
Withington, Mary, 9 note.
Woodbridge, Rev. Benjamin, of Windsor, xv.; Dorothy, 76 note; Rev. John, of Killingworth, xv.
Woodman, John, of Little Compton, 84.
Worombo, an Indian sachem, 53, 64.

Y.
York, Joseph, pilots Church up the Penobscot, 102, 105, 106.
NOTE.

My attention has been kindly called, by the Rev. J. A. Vinton,—who has prepared the foregoing Index,—to sundry statements in note 323 (p. 163), concerning the Gyleses, father and son, which he conceives to be inaccurate. Those statements were made upon the testimony of Sewall, who expressly refers, in regard to some of them, to an incomplete MSS. narrative of the Rev. Mr. Vinton, of the date of 1853, and who was therefore supposed to have, in this case, special authority. In order to place the reader in possession of all the facts, however, I gladly append here the following, prepared by Mr. Vinton,—containing facts subsequently brought to light,—which note, if it had not been too late, would have been substituted for the note referred to.

H. M. D.

John Gyles (p. 163 ante), born in what is now the town of Topsham, Me., about the year 1678, was son of Thomas Gyles (who, after a residence of some years on Merryymeeting Bay, where the Androscoggin joins the Kennebec, went to England to attend to some family matters, then returned to New England, and purchased a large farm at Pemaquid, where he was Chief-Justice, under the ducal government of the County of Cornwall, and was killed by the Indians, Aug. 2, 1689); was carried off by the Indians, after his father's death, to their savage haunts on the upper waters of the river St. John, in the present province of New Brunswick. After severe sufferings among them during six years, he was purchased by a French gentleman residing on that river, who treated him kindly, and who, three years afterward, permitted him to return to his friends at Boston. He served the Government of Massachusetts thirty-eight years, with some interruptions, as interpreter in their transactions with the Indians, and as commander of several military posts on the frontiers; was a man of great courage, and of stern, unbending integrity; retired from the military service in 1737, and took up his residence in Roxbury, near Boston, where he died in 1755, aged 77. In 1736, he printed a narrative of his adventures, which is still extant. [Vinton's Giles Memorial, pp. 103-111, 122-129.]