ample of the book. The notes of the earlier editors, as well as those based on recent historical study and the addition of the more important unpublished material in the original manuscript, unknown to earlier students, appreciably enlarge the contents of the book as originally published. There has been added that which was sadly wanting for nearly two centuries—an important aid in the study of this source book—an Index.

EDWARD WESLOCK.

THE HISTORY
OF THE
Wars of New-England,
With the Eastern Indians.
OR, A
NARRATIVE
Of their continued Perfidy and Cruelty,
from the 10th of August, 1703.
To the Peace renewed 13th of July, 1713.
And from the 25th of July, 1722.
To their Submission 15th December, 1725.
Which was Ratified August 5th 1726.

By Samuel Penhallow, Esqr.

Nescio tu quibus es, Lectore, lecturas Ocellis,
Hoc scio, quod scribere non posui.

BOSTON:
Printed by T. Fleet, for S. Gerrish at the lower end of Cornhill, and D. Henchman over-against the Brick Meeting-House in Cornhill, 1726.
PENHALLOW'S INDIAN WARS

A Facsimile Reprint of the First Edition, Printed in Boston in 1726
With the Notes of Earlier Editors and Additions from the Original Manuscript

Notes, Index and Introduction by EDWARD WHEELOCK

CORNER HOUSE PUBLISHERS
WILLIAMSTOWN, MASSACHUSETTS 01267
1973
Introduction

Penhallow's History of the Indian Wars is one of the rarest books of its class. When it first appeared it doubtless was read by some who may have been able to recall the setting up of the first printing press in New England; to most of its early readers the impressions of that first press were familiar objects. Though we may thus associate the book with the earliest of New England imprints, its age alone does not account for the scarcity of surviving copies, for many older books are more common. Its disappearance seems better explained by the fact that matters concerning the Indians were, excepting possibly religious controversies, of the greatest interest to the readers of that time and that such books as these were literally read to pieces; they were issued moreover in only small editions for relatively few readers, as there were probably not 175,000 people in the New England Colonies in 1726.

Here, moreover, the facilities for the preservation of printed matter were in general poor; too often in the outlying settlements the leaky cupboard was the library and the hearth with its flickering pine knot was the study. At the writer's elbow lies a copy of Penhallow's rare History, the mutilated survivor of a fireplace
Province of New-Hampshire.

The Submission & Pacification of the Eastern Indians was made and done the thirteenth Day of July, 1711. Annoque Regni Regina nunc Magne Britanniae Duodecimo.

Preface, his Excellency Joseph Dudley, Esq.; Captain General and Governour in Chief, in and over her Majesty's Provinces of the Massachusetts-Bay and New Hampshire in New-England, and Vice-Admiral of the same.

Councillours of the Massachusetts, and of New-Hampshire.


For a further Ratification of this Treaty, several Gentlemen of both Governments went from Portsmouth to Cape, where a great Body of Indians were assembled, to know the Result of matters: It being a Custom among them on all such Occasions, to have the whole of their Tribes present:

The Peace thus concluded and so firmly ratified, gave matter of Encouragement to the Eastern Inhabitants for re-settling their former Habitations, who were also co-inhabitated and cultivated by the Government, even from Cape-Pepos to Kennebeck River, where several Gentlemen who had large tracts of Land, granted a hundred Acres to every
every one for Encouragement that would go and Settle; supporting, a Minister besides (for some time) and employ'd a Sloop at their own Charge for carrying and re-carrying the Inhabitants, with their Stock; which gave so great Encouragement, that several Towns began to be lettered, as Brunswick, Topsham, Augusta, George-Town, &c. In which a great many fine Buildings were erected, with several Saw-mills, &c.

A Fishery was also undertaken by the ingenious Doctor Noyes, where twenty Vessels were employ'd at a time. He afterwards built a stone Garrison at Augusta at his own Charge, which was judged to be the best in the Eastern Country; and for a while was kept at the publick Cost, but afterwards lighted; which occasioned the Inhabitants to withdraw, and then the Indians burnt it with several other Houses;

In Kennebec River the Sturgeon Fishery was also begun and carried on with so great Success, that many thousand Caggs were made in a Season; and esteem'd as good as any that ever came from Hambo'gh or Norway; Besides vast quantities of Pipe Staves, Hogheads and Barrels, Pine Boards, Plank, and Timber of all sorts, which were not only transported to Boston, but to foreign places; Husbandry also began to thrive, and great stocks of Cattle were rais'd.

The French Missionsaries, perceiving the Growth of these Plantations, soon animated the Indians to assist them, by insinuating that the Land was theirs, and that the English invaded their Properties; which was a vile and wrong Suggestion, for that their Conveyance were from the Ancient Sagamores, at least seventy Years before; and the Proprietors did not settle so high by several Miles as was formerly possess'd by their Predecessors.

However the Indians could not be satisfied, but so threatened the Inhabitants, that many withdrew, and others were discouraged from going to Settle. Soon after they kill'd many of their Cattle, and committed many other Outrages.

No sooner was this Advice brought unto his Excellency, Samuel Shute Esq., who was now Captain General and Governor in Chief, in and over the Provinces of the Massachusetts Bay, and New-Hampshire, &c. (and one zealously affected for the Interest of the Country) but he appointed a Congress at Arrowsic in Kennebec River, in August 1713, where a great number of Indians, with the Chiefs of every Tribe accordingly met; And some of the Principal Gentlemen of both Provinces accompanied his Excellency to the place appointed. The Complaints of each side being impartially heard and debated, the Original Deeds from the Ancient Sagamores were produced and explained; having Interpreters on Oath. The Articles drawn up and signed in the year 1713, were again read and ratified, to the seeming Satisfaction of the Principal Sachems, who inclined to Peace, and imputed the late Mis-Carriages unto the young Men, but were now resolved on a firm Harmony, and would in no respect violate the former Treaties. Upon this his Excellency made them several Presents, which they thankfully received, and in acknowledgment thereof, returned him a Belt of Wampum, with some Beaver Skins:

M. 2 After
After this they drank the King's Health, and promised Allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain: so that every thing had new the promising Aspect of a lasting Peace. One thing I cannot here omit; three days after our departure, a number of Indians went a Duck hunting, which was a season of the year that the old ones generally shed their Feathers in, and the young are not so well flesht as to be able to fly; they drove them like a flock of Sheep before them into the Creeks, where without either Powder or Shot they killed at one time four thousand and six hundred; for they followed them so close that they knocked them down with Billers and Paddles, and sold a great number of them to the English for a Penny a dozen, which is their practice yearly, tho' they seldom make so great a Slaughter at once. But before two years were expired, they again began to insult the Inhabitants, being spur'd on by the Jesuits, which occasioned a Scout of fifty or sixty Men to be sent out, who kept them in some awe. But in the year 1729, they began to be more insolent and appeared in greater Bodies; upon which Colonel Watson was ordered with about two hundred Men to guard the Frontiers, and was after that appointed with Capt. Moody, Harman Peabody, and Winslow to send to their Chiefs for Satisfaction for the late Hostilities which they had done in killing the Cattle, &c. The Indians fearing the event promised to pay two hundred Skins, and for their fidelity to deliver up four of their young Men as Hostages. After this they became tolerably quiet, but in the Spring grew as insolent as before; especially in

Kenseck, where some time in July they came with ninety Canoes on Padisbals Island, which lies opposite to Kenseck, and sent to speak with Capt. Peabody, who fearing an intrigue, refused. Upon which one hundred and fifty of them went over to him, with whom he held a Conference; especially with Mounseur Delaucke, and Subsidiary Rale who were Jesuits; Mounseur Grézim from Canada, and St Caivan from Penobscot came also along with them, who brought a Letter for Governor Shute in behalf of the several Tribes, importing, That if the English did not remove and quit their Land in three weeks, they would burn their Houses and kill them as also their Cattle. Upon this an additional Number of Soldiers were sent under the command of Colonel Thaxter and Lieut. Col. Goff; and several Gentlemen of the Council were also appointed to enquire into the ground of these Tumults, and if possible to renew the Pacification; who accordingly went and sent Scouts to call the Indians in, but they flighted the Message with derision. Hereupon the Soldiers were ordered to continue, and reinforce the Garrisons that Winter. But in the Summer they renewed their outrages, and on the thirteenth of June 1732, about fifty of them in twenty Canoes, came and took nine Families in Merry mealtung, most of which they afterwards set at liberty; but sent Mr. Hamilton, Legs, Handson, Trelawny, and Edgar to Canada; who with great difficulty and expence afterwards got clear. They then made a descent on St. Georges, where they burnt a Sloop, took several Prisoners, and fought the Garrison some time; and in a
Month after came a greater Body from Penobscot, who kill'd five and engag'd the Fort twelve Days; being very much encouraged by the influence of the Fryar that was with them. But finding they could make no great impression, endeavoured to undermine it, and had made a considerable progress therein, till upon the falling of much Rain, the Trenches caved in, which caused the siege to break up, with the loss of twenty of them in the Engagement, as we were afterwards informed. About the same time Capt. Samuel with five others boarded Lieut. Tilton, as he lay at Anchor a fishing near Damianos Cove: They pinion'd him and his Brother, and beat them very sorely: But at last one got clear and releaft the other; who then fell with great Fury upon the Indians, threw one overboard, and mortally wounded two more.

Capt. Savage, Capt. Blin, and Mr. Newton, who at this time were coming from Annapolis, and knew nothing of their Ravages, went into Pasquesquid for Water. They were no sooner ahaore, but found themselves hem'd in by a Body of Indians; the French being standing by and suffering it. They wanted to divide the Cargo of the Ship among them, and at last sent Capt. Savage on board to procure some Rum. But the Wind rising, he was force'd off, and made the best of his way to Boston; Tho' that he left (after some Difficulty and Expense) were releaft.

Capt. Harman, who was now in Kennebeck, went up the River with a Detachment of thirty four Men, and seeing some Fires, went ahaore in the Night, where he came on eleven Canoes: The Indians were lying round the Fire, and so wearied, by much Dancing the day before upon the Success they had, that they stummbled over them as they lay asleep. Reports were various as to the number of Indians that were then slain; some say eighteen, others not so many: However they brought away fifteen Guns; and at a little distance found the Hand of an Englishman laid on the stump of a Tree, and his Body mangeled after a barbarous manner; having his Tongue, Nose and private parts cut off: They brought away the Body, and gave it a decent Burial. It was found to be the Body of Moses Eaton of Salisbury.

In this brave attempt of Capt. Harman, which was effected in ten minutes, we lost not one Man, yet at the same time a great Body of Indians lay near, who being startled at the Noise that was made, arose and fired several Guns, but did no Damage.

The Country at this time was in a surprizing Ferment, and generally disposed to a War; but the Governor and Council could not readily come into it, considering the vast Expanse and Effusion of Blood that would unavoidably follow: Besides some were not satisfied with the Lawfulness of it at this time: For although they believed the Indians to be very criminal in many respects, yet were of Opinion that the English had not so punctually observed the Promises made to them of Trading-houses for the benefit of Commerce and Traffick, and for the preventing of Frauds and Extortions, too common in the private dealings of the English with them. But the grand abuse to them is the selling of Strong Drink to them,