

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notes of the earlier editors, as well as those based on recent historical study and the addition of the more important unpublished material in the original manuscript, unknown to earlier students, appreciably enlarge the contents of the book as originally published.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 WHEELOCK.

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 Penballow*, Esqr.

*Nescio tu quibus es, Lector, lecturus Ocellis,  
Hoc scio, quod siccis, scribere non potui.*

B O S T O N :

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.

vi, vii, \* } Ben's Colman  
IV }  
p. 100

# 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

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Notes, Index and Introduction  
by  
EDWARD WHEELOCK

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CORNER HOUSE PUBLISHERS  
WILLIAMSTOWN, MASSACHUSETTS 01267  
1973

THE 1924 EDITION  
REPRINTED 1973  
BY  
CORNER HOUSE PUBLISHERS

*Printed in the United States of America*

## 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.*

**T**HE Submission & Pacification of the *Eastern Indians* was made and done the thirteenth Day of *July*, 1713. Annoque Regni Reginae nunc *Magnae Britanniae Duodecimo.*

Present, 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.*

*Samuel Sewall,*  
*Jonathan Corwin,*  
*Penn Townsend,*  
*John Appleton,*  
*John Higginson,*  
*Andrew Belcher,*  
*Thomas Noyes,*  
*Samuel Appleton,*  
*Ichabod Plaisied,*  
*John Wheelwright,*  
*Benjamin Lynde.*

Esqrs.

And of *New-Hampshire.*

*Wil. Vaughan,*  
*Peter Coffin,*  
*Robert Elliot,*  
*Rich. Waldron,*  
*Nathan. Weave,*  
*Sam. Penhallow,*  
*John Plaisied,*  
*Mark Hunking,*  
*John Wentworth.*

Esqrs.

*These are not the same as in the Treaty.*

For a further Ratification of this Treaty, several Gentlemen of both Governments went from *Portsmouth* to *Casco*, 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;

sent; having no other Record of conveying to Posterity, but what they communicate from Father to Son, and so to the Son's Son. When the several Articles were read and explained, by Interpreters upon Oath, (the Delegates being present) they signified an unanimous Consent and Satisfaction, by loud Huzza's and Acclamations of Joy: Many Presents were then made them, which were thankfully received, and every Tribe had their proportion given out; but they were so disorderly, that *Mauxis* (altho' he was the chief *Sagamore* in all the *Eastern* parts) was rob'd by the Morning of all he had; upon which he made a miserable Complaint unto the *English* next Day, of the unruliness of his young Men, who had stollen away all he had, therefore beg'd a new Supply. But altho' their Government is so *Anarchical*, and their Chiefs have so little Respect and Honour shewn them, yet in their Council they observe a very excellent Decorum; not suffering any to speak but one at a time; which is deliver'd with such a remarkable Pathos, and surprizing Gravity, that there is neither Smile nor Whisper to be observed, until he that speaks has finish'd his Discourse, who then sits down, and after that another riseth up.

The Peace thus concluded and so firmly ratified, gave matter of Encouragment to the *Eastern Inhabitants* for re-settling their former Habitations; who were also countenanced and assisted by the Government, even from *Cape-Portus* 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 settled, as Bromswick, 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 Dobter 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 slighted; which occasioned the Inhabitants to with draw, and then the Indians burnt it with several other Houses;

In Kenebeck River the Sturgeon Fishery was also begun and carried on with so great Success, that many thousand Caggs were made in a Season; and esteemed as good as any that ever came from Hambrough or Norway; Besides vast quantities of Pipe Staves, Hoghead and Barrel, 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 Cattel were rais'd.

The French Missionaries perceiving the Growth of these Plantations, soon animated the Indians to disrest 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

Saga-

Sagamores, at least seventy Years before; and the Proprietors did not settle so high up by several Miles as was formerly posselt be their Predecessours.

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

No sooner was this Advice brought unto his Excellency, Samuel Shute Esq. who was now Captain General and Governour 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 Arowsick in Kenebeck River, in August 1717. 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 on 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 Miscarriages unto the young Men, but were now resolved on a firm Harmony, and would in no respect violare the former Treaties. Upon this his Excellency made them several Presents, which they thankfully received, and in acknowledgment thereof, returned him a Belt of Wampam, with some Beavour Skins:

M 2

After

August 1717

After this they drank the Kings Health, and promis'd Allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain; so that every thing had now 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 flusht 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 kill'd at one time four thousand and six hundred; for they followed them so close that they knockt them down with Billets 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 1720. they began to be more insolent, and appear'd in greater Bodies; upon which Collonel Walton was ordered with about two hundred Men to guard the Frontiers, and was after that appointed with Capt. Moody, Harman Penhallow, and Wainright 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 promis'd 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

Kene-

Kenebeck, where some time in July they came with ninety Canoos on Padishals Island, which lies opposite to Arowsick, and sent to speak with Capt. Penhallow, who fearing an intreague, refused. Upon which one hundred and fifty of them went over to him, with whom he held a Conference; especially with Mounsieur Delachase, and Sebastian Ralle who were Jesuits; Mounsieur Croizen from Canada, and St Casteen from Penobscot came also along with them, who brought a Letter for Governour 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 Collonel 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 slighted the Message with derision. Hereupon the Soldiers were order'd to continue, and reinforce the Garrisons that Winter. But in the Summer they renewed their insults, and on the thirteenth of June 1722 about sixty of them in twenty Canoos, came and took nine Families in Merry meeting Bay, most of which they afterwards set at liberty, but sent Mr. Hamilton, Love, Handson, Trescot 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

13 JUN  
1722

Aug 1719

Indian  
Duck-hunt

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 impresson, endeavour'd to undermine it, and had made a considerable progress therein, till upon the falling of much Rain, the Trenches caved in, which caused the seige 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 *Damaris Cove*: They pinion'd him and his Brother, and beat them very sorely: But at last one got clear and released the other; who then fell with great Fury upon the *Indians*, threw one over-board, 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 *Passamaquady* for Water. They were no sooner ashore, but found themselves hem'd in by a Body of *Indians*, the *French* basely standing by and suffering it. They wanted to divide the Cargo of the Sloop among them, and at last sent Capt. *Savage* on board to procure some Ransoms. But the Wind rising, he was forc'd off, and made the best of his way to *Boston*: Those that he left (after some Difficulty and Expence) were released.

Capt. *Harmon* who was now in *Kenebeck*, went up the River with a Detachment of thirty four Men, and seeing some Fires, went ashore in the Night, where he came on eleven Canooos: The  
Indians

*Indians* were lying round the Fire, and so wearied, by much Dancing the day before upon the Success they had, that they stumbled 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 mangled 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. *Harmon*, 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 Governour and Council could not readily come into it, considering the vast Expence and Effusion of Blood that would unavoidably follow: Besides some were not satisfied with the Lawfulness of it at this time: For altho' 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,