EARLY PORTSMOUTH HISTORY

BY

RALPH MAY

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EARLY PORTSMOUTH HISTORY

Portsmouth in 1777 or a Little Earlier.

This engraving appeared in 1777 in the "Atlantic Neptune," published by the British Admiralty, for the use of the admiral of the British fleet on the North Atlantic Coast. J. F. W. Des Barres, hydrographer.

This print probably represents very closely the appearance of Portsmouth from across the Piscataqua River in 1777. It includes the original strawberry bank. The township of Strawbery Banke, which later took the name of Portsmouth, derived its name from this bank.

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Early Portsmouth, N.H. History

BY

RALPH MAY

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PREFACE

Much has previously been written about early Portsmouth history. A number of these accounts, however, are parts only of wider historical reports, and no one of them has combined all of the facts that have especially interested the writer of the following pages.

It is, primarily, to satisfy a personal desire that the following compilation is presented. The author has also felt that he has had, by circumstance, exceptionally easy access to many important references on Portsmouth history.

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EARLY PORTSMOUTH HISTORY

CHAPTER I

THE PISCATAQUA AWAITS DISCOVERY

THERE is a saying that every one who has made his or her home in Portsmouth loves to return there. The old town does exert a pull on the hearts of all who truly know it, and there is something like a fraternity the world over among men who hail from Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Portsmouth has a dignity and a repose that are above the changing times and that carry on through the years, not wholly unaffected by new and foreign influences, but still evident in the face of them. It is, perhaps, this continued indication of a rich past which especially delights the home-comer, coupled with the remembrance of happy days spent near the shores of the Piscataqua.

Those who are conscious of the charm of Portsmouth will doubtless agree that much of it is due to the Piscataqua River. This beautiful inlet of the sea, unchanging except as nature changes it, with the rushing ebb and flood of its tide, its swirling eddies, its calm breadth at high water, is the commanding influence in the history of Portsmouth. The Englishmen who first saw the Piscataqua gave it prominence in their reports and on their maps. Capt. John Smith called the surrounding country by the Indian name characterizing the river.[1] It was near the mouth of the river, and, presumably, because of the river and its

near-by fishing grounds, that the first settlement in New Hampshire, in 1623, occurred.[8]

The earliest stages of settlement found the river an easy line of progress and of unity, and as the separate settlements along the river banks grew, it was the Piscataqua that for a considerable time identified them. Once firmly rooted, these same settlements developed more rapidly and with greater relative importance because of the Piscataqua River and its harbor.

History does not record the discovery of the Piscataqua until 1603.[7] Voyagers may have visited it earlier, or coasted by its mouth and seen it, as is indicated by Gosnold and the Popham Expedition, in 1602 and 1607, respectively, finding French and Spanish implements and boats already in the hands of the Indians, near what was probably Nahant, and at Monhegan. But 1603 is the earliest date of any known description by Europeans of the Piscataqua River. Whether or not explorers of American waters before 1603 reached what is now the short New Hampshire coast line, all of them, in some degree, influenced the discovery of the Piscataqua, and their adventures and risks seem to have a place in the history of Portsmouth.

Tradition has it that in A.D. 1000, Lief "the Lucky," the son of Eric "the Red," an Icelandic chief, sailed with thirty-five brave companions along what is now the New England shore. Lief is reported "a mickle man and stout, most noble to see; a wise man and moderate in all things."[18] This same tradition carries Lief from Nova Scotia to Cape Cod. The report pictures his party as wintering in New England and as returning in the spring to their homeland, with news of the discovery of the new country, which they had named Vineland.[6]

A further Norse tradition states that in A.D. 1007, Thorfin Karlsefni, another famous Icelandic sea rover, headed an expedition of one hundred and fifty-one men and seven women, with the purpose of founding a plantation in Vineland. This party is said to have explored the bays and harbors of the New England coast. They built huts, carried on a brisk trade with the natives, and stayed for three years. Lief's brother, Thorvald, is reported as the first Christian buried in America.[6] He was killed by the natives, apparently after some provocation on the part of the Norse. It was on this same expedition, as the Sagas indicate, that the first white child was born in America.[6]

The Norse contact as reported, though intermittent, lasted for a considerable time. According to the Sagas, the last year of the Norse occupation of Vineland was in 1347.[6] This was about the date of the black plague, from the ravages of which it took Europe one hundred years to recover. It was probably the black plague that put an end to the Norse expeditions to the far westward.[6]

After the dates of the Norse contact with the American continent, if such occurred, there was a long lapse of time before published history shows Europeans again setting foot in the New World. Whatever foothold the sea rovers had obtained was lost or absorbed, and no physical evidence of their sojourn remained other than a few rude buildings attributed to them.

The Sagas probably had their effect on the later discovery of the New World by Europeans. It is likely that some report of the voyages of the Norsemen penetrated the courts of Spain, and it is possible that the Sagas themselves, relating to the Norse occupation of Vineland, were retold in southern Europe, and that,

coupled with the reports of other and later voyages, they stimulated the imagination of Columbus.[6] Their romantic record was likely to spread beyond their immediate sphere.

> Rude as their ships, was navigation then,
> No useful compass or meridian known;
> Coasting, they kept the land within their ken,
> And knew no North, but when the pole star shone.
>
> — John Dryden.

The Rev. William Hubbard, who lived in Ipswich, Massachusetts, wrote the first history of New England.[8] On October 11, 1682, the General Court of Massachusetts granted him £50 "as a manifestation of thankfulness and for this history."[8] It is perhaps fitting that the words of the Rev. William Hubbard should introduce the generally acknowledged discoverer of the New World. As the Rev. William Hubbard put it, "Christopher Columbus, a Genoesian, had the happiness and honour first to discover this before unknowne part of the world."[8] Columbus, "a gentle man of Italie,"[15] first saw and landed in the West Indies on October 12, 1492.[10, 16, 17] The details of his voyage spread rapidly throughout Europe, his discovery being of especial interest to the Italian Republics, enriched by the commerce of the Middle Ages.[9]

After the return of Columbus from his first voyage, almost immediately, in 1493, Pope Alexander VI issued a Bull, or legal statement, in which he referred to Columbus in happy terms, and in which he drew an imaginary line from the North Pole to the South, one hundred leagues west of the Azores, assigning to Spain all that lay to the west of that boundary, while all to

the east of it he confirmed to Portugal.[10, 14] This Bull of Pope Alexander VI, in 1493, established the principle that discovery alone gave an inchoate title, to be perfected by occupation.[14] In this Bull, Pope Alexander VI authorized the King and Queen of Spain to subdue all newly discovered countries not in the possession of any Christian prince. He incidentally threatened with excommunication all who did not conform to his edict.[14]

After the fall of the Byzantine Empire, maritime enterprise was transferred to the European Atlantic coast.[9] The Italian Republics were no longer relatively in so strong a position, and England became a competitor in the New World.[9] News of the discovery by Columbus, and the Papal Bull of Alexander VI, stimulated Henry VII, in 1497, to send John Cabot, a Venetian residing at Bristol, England, and with him perhaps also his son, Sebastian Cabot, some say English, some Venetian born,[15] on a voyage of discovery.[16] The purpose of this voyage was to find a northwest passage to the East Indies,[15] the theory of which is said to have originated with Sebastian Cabot.[10] John Cabot and those who went with him discovered, in 1497, Cape Breton[16] and the western continent of North America, which they reached, probably, in the latitude of about 56° north.[9] The next year, 1498, John Cabot headed another expedition to the New World.[16] As Hakluyt's "Voyages" has it, this expedition discovered "that great tract of land stretching from the Cape of Florida unto those islands which we call Newfoundland, all of which they brought and annexed unto the Crownne of England."[15] We have no definite information that John Cabot or any one with him saw or landed on the New England shore; but he is recorded as ranging a

great part of the unknown coast line from 67° north latitude far southward, and he returned not only with news of his discovery, but also with a detailed description of Newfoundland, — its salmon, the cod of its waters, the partridge on its shores, the Indians to be met with.[15, 16]

As were those who heard the story of the first discovery by Columbus, Columbus himself was stimulated to further adventure. In November, 1493, he arrived again in the West Indies,[10] this time with seventeen ships carrying fifteen hundred persons [12] and cows, seeds, lime, bricks, etc.[10] In 1498 Columbus made a third voyage, on this expedition discovering the continent of South America.[10]

It is of interest that the Piscataqua River was not discovered until relatively late. The great number of the voyages that came to the American coast, before the voyage that resulted in the first report in history of the Piscataqua, seems important. Expeditions radiated from England and from continental Europe to the south and the north for over one hundred years before any one of them is reported to have hit on the Piscataqua.

One of those who had accompanied Columbus on his second voyage was Alonzo de Ojeda.[10, 12] In 1499 he continued the explorations which Columbus had initiated.[10] With de Ojeda sailed Amerigo Vespucci,[10] who later gave his name to the American continents.[12] Though he "never saw any other part of the continent than that the admiral [Columbus] had discovered, yet he impudently pretended to have first discovered the continent."[10] At the same time, Pedro Alonzo Niño, who had been with Columbus on his third voyage,

"conducted a successful trading venture in the West Indies, and Vincente Pinzon, who had been with Columbus on his first voyage, explored the coast of Brazil."[12] Just later, in 1501, Cortereal, a Portuguese, sailed along the coast of North America for six or seven hundred miles.[9] Cortereal and his own vessel were lost on the return voyage, but two of the accompanying ships reached home safely from the expedition.[16] "That this record of successful navigation and discovery was possible within so few years and with vessels of so small a size, is a marvel, and that more were not lost is testimony to the high courage and expert seamanship of these early voyagers."[12]

Safe home, safe in port!
Rent cordage, shattered deck.
Torn sails, provisions short
And only not a wreck:
But, oh the joy upon the shore,
To tell our voyage perils o'er!

— Adapted from the Greek by J. M. Neale.

"Tidings of the great West Indian adventure of Spain awoke in other countries of Europe a spirit of emulation."[12] "In 1501 Rodrigo de Bastidas and Juan de la Cosa added some three hundred miles to the known coast line,"[12] southwest of the first landing place of Columbus. The French also soon appeared in the New World. Within seven years of the discovery of the continent, the fisheries of Newfoundland were visited by the French.[9] In 1506 a map of the St. Lawrence was drawn by Denys, a citizen of Honfleur.[9] In 1508 "savages from the New England coast had been brought to France."[9]

Balboa and Pizarro were in the West Indies in 1509,[12] and by 1510 "Juan Ponce de Leon had settled and established a firm government in the Island of Puerto Rico."[12] In 1517 Francisco Fernandez de Cordova discovered Yucatan.[9] Magellan, 1519–1522, sailed around the world.[11] Cortez was in Mexico in 1519.[10, 15] Pizarro, in 1524, began his exploration of the west coast which resulted, a few years later, in the conquest of Peru.[10] While this activity was occurring in southern waters, Verrazzano is said to have sailed along part of the New England shore. The report of his voyage speaks of Verrazzano as in latitude 41° 40′ north, and as trading with the Indians on what is now believed to be Cape Cod.[15] There is thought to be some indication that Verrazzano landed on the New England coast north of Cape Cod.[9] Returning to the West Indies, Narvaez was busy there in 1527.[9] In 1541 and 1542 the Spaniards appeared in the Mississippi Valley.[9] From 1530–1540 "the work of conquest and occupation in the New World progressed without interruption." [12]

Though the principal early explorations were in the tropics, the northern waters also received attention. A letter to Henry VIII of England, written in August, 1527, from what later was St. John, Newfoundland, where an English captain lay, declared that "he found in that one harbor eleven sail of Normans and one Breton engaged in the fishery." [9] A Florentine, James Cartier, employed by King Francis I of France, arrived in Newfoundland in 1534, and in August of that year discovered the St. Lawrence River.[9] On his return Cartier described the country he had visited.[9] By 1550 the Spaniards had sailed along the coast as high as 44°.[10]

As was natural, the tide of exploration and of annexation developed earlier in the warmer zones. There was some earlier exploration and speculative attempt to gain wealth, and some definite business undertaking in the fisheries to the north, along the Newfoundland and the Labrador coasts, which were comparatively near the northern countries of Europe; but the greatest effort of Europe, 1525–1600, was made in the tropics and in the semi-tropical countries, which had greater wealth, and which provided a more ready money return to European adventurers. Up to 1575 little, apparently, was known of the great middle ground from northern Florida to Newfoundland. Much was known of the West Indies and of the shores of the Caribbean Sea, and to a less extent of the Newfoundland country. Around 1550 the press "teemed" with books of travel, maps and descriptions of the earth.[9] In England in 1548 a great company was in existence, at the head of which was Sebastian Cabot, organized for the benefit of commerce and under the title of "Merchant-Adventurers for the Discovery of New Lands."[10] Undoubtedly the purpose of this company was rapid money profit. About 1575 "from thirty to fifty English ships came annually to the bays and banks of Newfoundland."

During the middle part of the sixteenth century Spain was the great power of Europe.[12] In 1583 the seamen in England were found to be but 14,295 men,[13] and, earlier, Henry VIII had been obliged to hire ships to fit out a navy.[13] Elizabeth bettered this situation, and she also greatly encouraged expeditions to the West Indies. There was, toward the middle part of the sixteenth century, considerable English adventure and exploration in the newly discovered seas. Hawkins

was in the West Indies in 1565,[12] sailing there with one ship of seven hundred tons, one of one hundred and forty tons and two of fifty and thirty tons, respectively.[12] In 1576 Martin Frobisher, an Englishman, reached Labrador.[9, 15] Perhaps it was he who brought back the stone from the "frozen region" which in London was pronounced to contain gold.[9] In 1577–1578 Drake added to the prestige of England in the new waters by sailing through the Straits of Magellan and then northward to California.[11, 12, 15] In 1579 Gilbert and Raleigh unsuccessfully attempted an expedition to go to the New World.[9] In 1583 Sir Humphrey Gilbert sailed to Newfoundland and took possession of that country in August of that year, in the name of his sovereign.[9] It seems worth while to state that Gilbert probably did not see the New Hampshire coast. William Sanderson, a London merchant, in 1585, was the principal man in an undertaking that sent out Capt. John Davis on a voyage of discovery.[10] Davis made the American coast in north latitude 64° 15′.[10] It was in 1585, also, that Sir Walter Raleigh sent out one hundred and eight colonists to Roanoke Island, Virginia, Virginia being named by Elizabeth for herself.[17] Raleigh sent out a relief expedition in 1587. The settlement tragically failed.[10, 17]

Spain, throughout this period, was threatening, and it was not until the defeat of the Spanish Armada by the English in 1588[13] that English explorations and plans for colonization in the New World led to real success.[12] The defeat of the Armada made possible English colonization in New England.[12] If victory had lodged with Spain, New England's history might easily have been different.

We have fed our sea for a thousand years
And she calls us, still unfed,
Though there's never a wave of all her waves
But marks our English dead:
We have strawed our best to the weed's unrest
To the shark and the sheering gull.
If blood be the price of admiralty,
Lord God, we ha' paid in full!

* * * *

We must feed our sea for a thousand years,
For that is our doom and pride,
As it was when they sailed with the Golden Hinde
Or the wreck that struck last tide —
Or the wreck that lies on the spouting reef
Where the ghastly blue-lights flare.

* * * *

If blood be the price of admiralty,
Lord God, we ha' bought it fair!

— Rudyard Kipling.

Elizabeth's reign lasted from 1558 till 1603.[13] England under Elizabeth developed steadily. "She kept France in great awe," [10] and after the defeat of the Armada, although Spain was still a dangerous enemy and a great stumbling block in the path of English adventure in the New World, English incentive to such adventure was greatly increased. Hakluyt's "Voyages," or, as the title reads, "The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation," by Richard Hakluyt, abounds in fascinating reports of the adventures and early voyages by Englishmen. "One Henry May, a worthy mariner," tells of the sailing, in April, 1591, of three tall ships from Plymouth, England, for the West Indies. On his return voyage May was wrecked on

the Bermudas, and he and his comrades were the first Englishmen to set foot on that soil. They finally escaped and sailed to Cape Breton and from there to England, which they reached in 1594.[15]

Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins led an expedition against the Spanish settlements in America in 1597. They were unsuccessful in their endeavor and Drake died on the expedition.[15] Spain was still very strong.[13] Up to 1600 the principal interest of Europe still centered on the lands explored and conquered by Spain. More was known of them than of the vaguer regions to the northward, and there seemed more definite possibilities of return on any money venture in this particular part of the world. It is to be noted that by 1600 there was a very considerable fund of information in England and in Europe generally in regard to the New World. The many English voyages, particularly those toward the end of the century, had been reported and printed in detail. The Spanish conquest and the gain of great wealth, reports of which were very likely exaggerated, had aroused great interest throughout Europe. There was zeal in the hearts of Englishmen, as in the hearts of men of all other European maritime countries, to find easy riches, especially gold, in the new continent. There was also the thought of wealth to be acquired from trading and from the fisheries. Towards these ends the lines of seemingly least resistance, based on information which had already come in, were being followed. This meant particular interest in territories and waters previously explored. Those who engaged in the great adventure of the day — that of discovery and of the attempt at the acquisition of wealth in the New World — tried not to go blindly into their program of adventure.

They followed the experience of as many as possible before them, and they did not wholly feel that they were pitting themselves against a great unknown. This was true, also, later, when the time came for the northern settlements by Englishmen who ventured their lives in New Hampshire and in Massachusetts. These men did not venture their lives with utter recklessness. By a slow process information came in from voyagers, probably largely fishermen, regarding newer territory, including the New England shore. The men who finally settled in New England knew when they went there much of what they had to face, and their fund of information, considerable in quantity, but not very specific in quality by 1605, was improved materially between the years 1605 and 1625.

> I remember the black wharves and the slips,
> And the sea tides tossing free;
> And Spanish sailors with bearded lips,
> And the beauty and mystery of the ships,
> And the magic of the sea.
>
> — H. W. Longfellow.

CHAPTER II

DISCOVERY

DAVID HUME, in his "History of England," says that what chiefly renders the reign of James I of England memorable is the commencement of the English colonies in America, — "colonies established on the noblest footing that has ever been known in any age or nation."[1] James I reigned from 1603 to 1625.[1] England's grasp on the New World, well developed by the end of the reign of Elizabeth, carried over into the reign of James and increased in force. Emigration naturally follows parallels of latitude. It was only natural that English incentive under James should have turned toward colonization of the middle northern part of the coast line of North America.

Sir Walter Raleigh had, before 1600, projected England into Virginia. France, before 1600, had gained an uncertain foothold in what is now Canada. The coast line from Virginia to Nova Scotia was little known, and was especially debatable. The history of the twenty-five-year period, 1600–1625, proved England the permanent winner of almost this entire coast line, her grip to be broken only by the American Revolution.

France at this time was under the mild rule of Henry IV, who died in 1610.[2] Henry IV was the wisest, bravest and best monarch of the House of Bourbon.[3] The reign of Henry IV was tolerant, which made it easy for ventures in the New World, but it

was without any especial impulse for foreign conquest. At the death of Henry IV he was succeeded by the young King Louis XIII, and Richelieu held the reins of power. Richelieu[2] was of a sterner mould than Henry, and under him a great incentive was given to French conquests overseas. In 1619 French court politics threatened civil war;[2] but a little later, when the New England settlements had just started, if they had not secured their foothold when they did, it is likely that France would have been a much sterner competitor along the shores of Maine, New Hampshire and Massachusetts,[4] even to preventing the English holding land in this territory.[4]

On November 8, 1603, based on vague claims on the part of France, Sieur de Monts obtained a patent from Henry IV of France covering all that part of the New World between the 40th and 46th parallels of north latitude.[4,24] This roughly corresponded to what King James of England, in 1606, granted to the so-called Plymouth Company. France, however, made the first known grant of what later was Maine and New Hampshire soil. This land granted de Monts was known as Cadie or Acadie.[4] De Monts, who had been in Canada just before, under Chauvin,[31] attempted a colony on an island at the mouth of the St. Croix River.[31] Later, in 1613, two Jesuits and forty-five colonists planned to settle at what is now Bangor.[6,31] They changed their plan, however, when driven off their course by fog, and finally settled on Somes Sound, near the entrance, at Mount Desert.[31] The French settlers called this spot St. Sauveur.[20] Relying on a clause in their charter giving them the right to remove by force any unauthorized persons who settled within their limits, the Virginia company, in the person of

Samuel Argall, admiral of Virginia, in July, 1613, unexpectedly sailed in and attacked this Jesuit colony.[31] Argall by some was called a freebooter. He was off the coast at the time, and had heard of the settlement from Indians. Argall was successful and removed the French from Mount Desert.[6, 31] This was the only serious attempt by the French at settlement in New England south of the St. Croix River.[6]

The basis of all effort in the New World, around 1600, was money profit. This effort found one expression on March 26, 1602, when Bartholomew Gosnold, and with him Bartholomew Gilbert, son of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, sailed from Falmouth,[7,8] England, on a voyage "to the north parts of Virginia,"[8] as the middle North American coast was then known. This expedition had the backing of a group of Englishmen, and was sent for speculative purposes. It was composed of not more than thirty-two persons, of whom twelve, it was proposed, should form a settlement.[3] Gosnold was an excellent mariner,[3] and is reported to have sailed in American waters previously.[3]

This expedition made first the Azores; then, sailing northwestward from the Azores, they made land on May 14, 1602, in about latitude 43° north.[3,7,8,12] Gosnold and his men probably were not the first Europeans to anchor in this vicinity on the American coast, namely, that of 43° north latitude, but there is no definite record of others arriving earlier on the coast at this latitude. "Hakluyt mentions the landing of some of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's men upon some part of the continent, but it is probable that was farther eastward upon what is now called Nova Scotia." [4]

Gosnold named the land which he discovered "Mavoshen." [4] As the party looked along the land in

front of them, they saw savages on a conspicuous rock.[12] Because this was their first sight of savages they called the rock "Savage Rock."[12]

Forty-three degrees north latitude runs through the Isles of Shoals, and reaches the mainland at Rye Harbor, New Hampshire. One writer places Savage Rock as the Nubble,[8] just east of York Beach, Maine, but most authors agree, after studying the reports of Gosnold's voyage, that his landfall was on the Massachusetts coast, west of Cape Ann, and probably near Nahant. Captain Waymouth, who followed Gosnold in 1605 into New England waters, said that Gosnold's chart was more than half a degree off the exact latitude,[11] which further confirms the statement made in "Navagantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca," Vol. II, that Gosnold reached these shores west of Cape Ann, and probably west of Gloucester Harbor, in latitude 42° and some minutes.[3] Again, the account of Pring's voyage speaks of making for "Savage Rock," discovered the previous year by Captain Gosnold. The account indicates that Pring sailed to the south of Portsmouth Harbor in making for this landmark.[12]

The story of that interesting morning when Gosnold's party first anchored off what probably was near Nahant is found in a relation or account of the voyage written by John Brereton, who sailed with the expedition. It begins: "To the Honorable Sir Walter Raleigh, Kt., Honorable Sir, Being earnestly requested by a deere friend to put down in writing some true relation of our late performed voyage to the north parts of Virginia, at length I resolved to satisfy his request."[8] Relations of the voyage go on to say that after making land, on May 14, the expedition saw eight Indians

who came out to meet them "in a Biscay shallop with mast, saile and oares, an iron grapple and a kettle of copper, who came boldly aboard, one dressed in wast-coat and breeches of black serdge, made after our sea fashion, hose and shoes on his feet," [8] "hat and band [12] on his head." "The rest were all naked;" "a people tall of stature, broad and grim visaged, their eye-browes paynted white." [8] "It seemed by some words and signs they made that some Basks or of St. John de Ley, have fished or traded in this place, being in the latitude of 43°. But riding here in no very good harbour, and doubting the weather, we weighed, and standing southerly off into the sea came to" [7] "a mighty headland," which Gosnold named Cape Cod.[7,12] The account goes on to say that the expedition saw much sassafras,[8] then worth three shillings a pound.[8] A long list of trees, flowers, beasts, fish, fruits and metals met with, is included.[8,12]

Purchas, Vol. IV, London, 1625, publishes the following account of Gosnold's arrival at Savage Rock: "The fourteenth, about six in the morning, we descried land that lay north etc. The northerly part we called the North land, which to another rocke upon the same side lying twelve miles west, that we called Savage Rocke, because the savages first showed themselves there. . . . From the said Rocke came towards us a Biscay shallop with saile and oares, having eight persons in it, whom we supposed at first to be Christians distressed. But approaching us neere, wee perceived them to be savages. These coming within call hayled us, and wee answered. Then after signs of peace and a long speech by one of them made, they came boldly aboord us, being all naked, saving about their shoulders certaine loose Deere-skinnes, and neere their wastes

seale-skinnes tyed fast like to Irish Dimmie Trouses. One that seemed to be their commander wore a waste-coate of blacke worke, a paire of breeches, cloth stockings, shooes, Hat and band. One or two more had also a few things made by some Christians. These with a peice of chalk described the coast thereabouts. They spake divers Christian words, and seemed to understand much more than we. These people are in colour swart, their haire long uptied in the part of behind the head. They paint their bodies. These much desired wee longer stay, but finding ourselves short of our proposed place we set saile west wards." [12]

The Massachusetts Historical Society Collections review the report that Gosnold was welcomed at his first stopping place in latitude 43° north by eight savages who came boldly aboard from one of their shallops, showing "that probably some beseamers [9] had been wrecked in fishing there." [9] The boldness of these savages is referred to, the thought being that they were used to Europeans. On this proof it is conjectured that the coast in the vicinity of 43° north latitude had been visited by fishermen from France, Spain or elsewhere before 1602.[5] If this conjecture is correct, so important a harbor as that of the Piscataqua very likely was not passed by and was also visited.

Captain Gosnold, not liking the weather at his first stopping place, as the account reads, weighed anchor, and the next morning, "finding himself drawing nigh a mighty headland, let fall his anchor neigh the shore, and then himself with four men went on shore." [7] The relation describes the headland as part of the mainland, and around the headland many islands. The Massachusetts Historical Society Collections point

out that the hill Gosnold climbed was presumably on the south side of Cape Cod,[7] and the islands, the Elizabeth Islands,[4] named by Gosnold for Queen Elizabeth, who was still alive when he left England.[4] While near the Cape, Gosnold's men "caught more codfish [12] than they knew what to do with, and this promontory hath ever since borne the name of Cape Cod, which he was not willing to exchange for the royal name that Capt. Smith or some other mariner hath given." [7] Gosnold explored the Elizabeth Islands and built a fort.[4]

Mr. George Parker Winship, who has edited "Voyages Along the New England Coast," tells interestingly that Gosnold sailed to the north parts of Virginia, probably because he went without any license from Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom had been granted exclusive trading rights in Virginia. If the expedition had had such a license it would naturally have gone to the southward. It seemed probable that the operations of the expedition would be less likely discovered if the party sailed to the "north parts of Virginia," and so there they went; but Mr. Winship goes on to say that Gosnold's party got so much sassafras, then considered a panacea for all ills, that when they put it on the market in England on their return they broke the market, and the sudden drop in price attracted so much attention that the voyage was discovered. The expedition made peace with Sir Walter Raleigh, and later made it out as if they had sailed with his full approval.[8] Gosnold later died in Virginia, 1607, in the at first ill-fated colony at Jamestown.[18]

As previously stated, there is no known description of the coast by early voyagers prior to the end of 1602 that tallies with the Piscataqua River or the short

Lower Harbor, Newcastle, Fort Point, Gerrish Island and the Sea

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New Hampshire coast line.[14] From then on, however, integral parts of the New England coast were more and more reported to the English public. These reports came, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, through attempts to gain wealth out of the New World. Adventuring in America was at that time a business proposition. A group of merchants would combine in a venture. They would license a ship or ships, fit them out and send them, under capable command, to bring back, if possible, gain to the original adventurers, who were merchants staying in the home country. It was on this basis that the New Hampshire coast was first officially reported in Europe.

The first description of the New Hampshire shore of which there is record is the result of an expedition headed by Martin Pring (also found spelled Pringe,[3] Pryne and Prin [7]). This report is found in "Purchas His Pilgrimes," published in London in 1625. The account follows:

"Upon many probable and reasonable inducements used unto sundry of the chiefest merchants of Bristol by Master Richard Hakluyt, Prebendary of the Cathedrall Church of the said city, they resolved to set forth a voyage for the further discoverie of the north part of Virginia. And first they sent the said Master Hakluyt to obtain permission of Sir Walter Raleigh (which had a most ample patent of all those parts from Queen Elizabeth) to enter, meddle and deal in that action. Leave being obtained from him under his hand and seal, they speedily prepared a small ship called the 'Speedwell', in burthen about fifty tunnes, manning the same with some thirty men and boys, wherein went for master and chief commander in the voyage

one Martin Pring, a man very sufficient for his place, and Edmund Jones, his mate, and Robert Salterne (who had sailed with Gosnold the previous year [13]) as their chief agent, with a barke called 'The Discoverer', of six and twenty tunnes or thereabout, wherein went for master William Browne and Samuel Kirkland, his mate, both good and skilful mariners, being thirteen men and a boy in all in that barke. The aforesaid ship and barke were plentifully victualled for eight monethes, and furnished with slight merchandizes thought fit to trade with the people of the countrey, as hats of divers colors, green, blue and yellow, stockings and shoes, saws, pick-axes, spades, shovels, axes, sizzers, hatchets, nailes, fish hooks, bels, bugles, looking glasses, thimbles, needles, pinnes, and such like."[12] The expedition set sail from Kingrode the twentieth day of March, 1603.[12] They passed by the Azores, and, as the account continues, "after we had runne some five hundred leagues, we fell with a multitude of small islands on the north coast of Virginia, in the latitude of 43°,[3, 12] the —— day of June, which islands were found very pleasant to behold, adorned with goodly grasse and sundry sorts of trees. Heere we found excellent fishing for cods, which are better than those of Newfoundland, and with all we saw good and rockie ground fit to dry them upon; also we see no reason to the contrary but that salt may bee made in these parts, a matter of no small importance. We sailed to the southwest end of these islands and there rode with our ships under one of the greatest. One of them we named Foxeland because we found those kinds of beasts thereon. So, passing through the rest with our boates to the mayneland, which lieth for a good space northeast and southwest, we found very

safe riding among them in six, seven, eight ten and twelve fathomes. At length, coming to the Mayne, in the latitude of forty-three degrees and a halfe, we ranged the same to the southwest. In which course we found foure inlets, the most easterly whereof was barred at the mouth, but having passed over the barre, wee ran up into it five miles, and for a certain space found very good depth, and coming out again, as we sailed southwestward, we lighted upon two other inlets which, upon our search, we found to pierce not far into the land, the fourth and most westerly was the best, which we rowed up ten or twelve miles. In all these places we found no people but signes of fires where they had been." [12] The expedition reported seeing sundry sorts of beasts, and also that the party found no sassafras in this particular locality.[12]

The parallel of 43° north runs through the Isles of Shoals, between Duck and Appledore Islands. The mouth of the Saco River is approximately 43° 27′ north. There is shoal water at the entrance of the Saco River today. The coast line from the Saco River runs southwestward. There are two inlets between the Saco and the Piscataqua which do not run far inland, one the Kennebunk River, and the other the York River. The broad estuary of the Piscataqua can be pursued twelve miles up. This report of the voyage of Martin Pring seems almost surely to identify the land which he first saw after leaving the Azores as the Isles of Shoals, and the most westerly of the four inlets to which he refers, as the Piscataqua.[13] This description of the coast is identical with the topography today. We do not know that Martin Pring and his men were the first Europeans to see the Piscataqua River, but this report of the Piscataqua is the first

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record that we have of any European visiting the Piscataqua or the New Hampshire shore.

On the trip up the Piscataqua, Pring's party is said to have landed at various points in search of sassafras. After leaving the Piscataqua, Pring and his men went well to the southward. They found a goodly supply of sassafras, then especially regarded as a cure for the French pox.[12] They filled one ship and sent it home to England ahead of the other. The second vessel, also well laden, reached home about a fortnight after the other.[3] The expedition reached England in October, 1603.[3] Pring was twenty-three years old [15] when he was given command of the "Speedwell." Later, in 1606, a Capt. Martin Pring, presumably the same, was sent by Chief Justice Popham, in command of a ship, to the Maine coast. Pring reached Monhegan, and made a careful reconnaissance of rivers and harbors along the coast.[19]

In 1603, when Sieur de Monts secured his grant from Henry IV of France,[5] he proposed to Samuel de Champlain to accompany him into the New World,[20] and chose him to conduct the vessels of the expedition to Acadia.[31] Champlain had already voyaged — 1599–1602 — to the West Indies and Mexico.[20] He had charm and an adventurous disposition: "He was remarkable, not only for his good sense, strong penetration and upright views, but for his activity, daring, enterprise and valor. He had a natural gaiety of spirit, which made him at all times a cheerful companion. His zeal for the interest of his country was ardent and disinterested. His heart was tender and compassionate, and he was thoroughly unselfish. He was a faithful historian, intelligent and observant as an explorer, and an experienced seaman." [31] It is also stated

that in 1603 a company of merchants at Rouen, France, formed a company to make profit out of Acadie, or France in America, and that this group of merchants put Champlain at the head of an expedition.[18] If this is true, the affairs of this expedition seem to have merged shortly into the larger plans of de Monts. Champlain went with de Monts, with the permission of the King of France, and under instructions from the King to report back to him regarding his discoveries and adventures.[20]

As has been stated, de Monts, and his expedition on which went Champlain, founded a colony on an island in the St. Croix. Champlain explored the near-by coast, and on September 5, 1604, saw and named Mount Desert "Isle des Monts Déserts." [20] The party passed a miserable winter in 1604 at St. Croix, and the next fall, 1605, removed to Port Royal, now Annapolis.[31]

On June 18, 1605, Champlain, serving under Sieur de Monts, and with de Monts and some gentlemen, twenty sailors and a savage named Panounias, sailed southward along the shore. The party also took Panounias' wife with them, whom Panounias was unwilling to leave behind. The two savages were taken as guides.[20] Champlain has told simply, and with great charm, the story of this voyage. Champlain traveled southward along the shore until he came, on July 12, 1605,[20] to what he called "Island Harbor," which was probably what is known today as Cape Porpoise Harbor. This he describes as follows: "At the entrance there are some dangerous reefs. This island harbor is in latitude 43° 25′." [20] From this harbor, the account states, Champlain and his party sailed along the shore for twelve leagues, the account

reading as follows: "On the 15th of the month [July] we made twelve leagues. Coasting along, we perceived a smoke on the shore which we approached as near as possible, but saw no savage, which led us to believe that they had fled. The sun set and we could find no harbor for that night, since the coast was flat and sandy. Keeping off and heading south, in order to find an anchorage, after proceeding about two leagues, we observed a cape on the mainland, south a quarter southeast of us, some six leagues distant. Two leagues to the east we saw three or four rather high islands, and on the west a large bay. The coast of this bay, reaching as far as the cape, extends inland from where we were perhaps four leagues. It has a breadth of two leagues from north to south, and three at its entrance. Not observing any favorable place for putting in, we resolved to go to the cape above mentioned with short sail, which occupied a portion of the night. Approaching to where there were sixteen fathoms of water, we anchored until daybreak. On the next day we went to the above mentioned cape, where there are three islands near the mainland. We named this place 'Island Cape,' near which we saw a canoe containing five or six savages, who came out near our barque, and then went back and danced on the beach. Sieur de Monts sent me on shore to observe them and to give each one of them a knife and some biscuit, which caused them to dance again better than before." [20]

Champlain calls the bay referred to "Bay Longue," and gives the latitude of the cape as 43° and some minutes. Champlain names the cape "Island Cape," because of three islands just off it. Maps accompanying Champlain's report show the coast line according

to his description. There is little doubt but that Champlain sailed down the coast to the southwestward from what is now Cape Porpoise Harbor, which coast survey charts place in latitude 43° 21′ 43″.[20] The point from which he describes his observations is probably a point about four or five miles off Little Boar's Head. The "three or four rather high islands" are undoubtedly the Isles of Shoals, "Island Cape" (Cape Ann), and "Bay Longue" (Ipswich Bay).[20]

That Champlain was in error as to the latitude of the Island Cape was probably in accordance with much of the navigation of the time. He had been at Cape Porpoise Harbor July 12 to 14, and he gave very exactly the latitude of this spot. The 15th was apparently smoky, and the day, seemingly, did not clear until toward sundown. Champlain very likely figured the latitude of the Island Cape from dead reckoning. Gosnold was reported at least half a degree off in his latitude, and there must have been many similar errors. Champlain himself made at least one known mistake in latitude.[20] The science was crude. Longitude was still a mariner's dream. Seamen wanted to work it out, but they had no proper method. In 1598 Philip III of Spain offered a reward of one hundred thousand crowns to any one who would solve the problem of how to work out longitude correctly.[21] In 1635 a Frenchman, John Morin, proposed to Cardinal Richelieu a method much like the lunar method used later, but it was not readily accepted.[21]

What is now Portsmouth Harbor is hard to pick up by a glance at the shore line from a point four or more miles at sea. Agamenticus stands out in clear weather, and the white sands of the Rye shore, but the reefs off the western end of Gerrish Island seem to make, with

Wood Island, a solid wall of land, and the actual mouth of the Piscataqua sinks into the rocky and green shores that border and back it. Champlain apparently sailed along, that fifteenth day of July, with a faint haze over the water that did not clear until sundown. When the low sun, setting over Hampton, lit the shores of Cape Ann and the remainder of the coast line, Champlain was able to take an estimate of the situation, but apparently not to his satisfaction previous to that moment on that day. Otherwise the Shoals would surely have been seen, and probably remarked on. It is to be noted that Champlain placed the Shoals to the east, which seems to imply that he was well beyond the entrance to Portsmouth Harbor before he saw them clearly, though they are only seven miles from shore, and he must have been within four miles or so of them.

Mrs. Celia Thaxter, who lived many years at the Isles of Shoals, wrote the following lines, which, perhaps, fit that long sail of Champlain and of Sieur de Monts, on July 15, 1605:

> Lazily, through the warm grey afternoon,
>   We sailed toward the land;
> Over the long sweep of billows soon,
>   We saw on either hand
> Peninsula and cape and silver beach
>   Unfold before our eyes.

From the Island Cape this expedition of Champlain sailed southward until July 25, when it turned and came back to the Island Cape, then headed northeast one-quarter east for fifteen leagues, until the party came to the coast again.

On September 5 of the following year Champlain

sailed again southward along the coast in a barque of eighteen tons. The party got many mackerel as they went. The account reads: "Continuing our course, we proceeded to the Island Cape, where we encountered bad weather and fogs." [20] Wishing a place to put in, Champlain states that he remembered that on his previous voyage he had seen a harbor which had looked suitable. As he puts it, this harbor was about a league back, but he does not make clear at what point he was when he described the direction of the harbor. He directed his party to this harbor, and, as Champlain's account reads, "We proceeded to anchor at the mouth, and went in next day. Sieur du Pontraincourt landed with eight or ten men of our company. They saw very fine grapes just ripe, peas, pumpkins, squashes and two hundred savages." [20] They also saw tuberous sunflowers, which the Indians cultivated for the roots, which were good to eat.[15] Champlain was delighted with this little harbor and named it "Beauport," [20] drawing a map which accompanies his report. Champlain gave the latitude of Beauport as 43°.[20] Champlain says of Beauport: "This harbor is very fine, containing water enough for vessels, and affording a shelter from the weather behind the islands." [20]

One historian has placed Beauport as on the New Hampshire coast, close to Portsmouth Harbor.[15] The map of Beauport, however, which accompanies Champlain's written report, is almost identical with the coast charts of Gloucester Harbor. Champlain's description of Ipswich Bay is accurate. There is today water of about sixteen and more fathoms right off the shore of Cape Ann. In his account, Champlain describes sailing from off Island Cape a league to the

point at which he anchored, off the harbor which he called Beauport. It is six nautical miles from the eastern end of Thatcher's Island at the end of Cape Ann to Gloucester Harbor. Gloucester Harbor has an island well in from the present entrance. A map outlining Champlain's voyages along the New England coast, dated 1629, shows Beauport west of Cape Ann, where Gloucester is today. This map shows the Island Cape, that is, Cape Ann, in its correct position, and also Portsmouth Harbor and Rye Harbor approximately where they should be properly placed. Rye Harbor, which is just 43° north latitude, is only a little inlet from the sea, and does not qualify under Champlain's description, nor does Little Harbor, very near Portsmouth Harbor, at 43° 3½′, nor does Hampton Harbor, nor Newburyport, nor Annisquam. The editor of Champlain's voyages seems clearly to identify Beauport as Gloucester. Probably Champlain's little barque of eighteen tons went in behind the island on the inner side of Gloucester Harbor.

In 1604 England made peace with Spain.[3] In 1605 Capt. Thomas George Waymouth, or Weymouth,[3] reached Plymouth, England, with the news of his discovery of Monhegan and of a cruise along the Maine shore from Penobscot Bay to Seguin. The relation of his voyage, written by James Rosier, who sailed with him, contains a delightful and glowing account of the beautiful St. Georges River.[8] Waymouth had been sent out with twenty-nine stout seamen, by the Right Honorable Sir Thomas Arundel[7] as a result of Gosnold's voyage,[7] to find whatever of value he could south of 39° north latitude. By reason of cross winds, however, Waymouth made land at 41° 20′,[7] from which landfall he cruised northward along the coast to

44° north latitude, "finding many convenient places on the mainland, and islands and rivers as he went." Another report states that Waymouth turned at 41° 21′ because he had not made land,[3] and that he did not reach land until, sailing on his new course northward, he made the Maine coast near Monhegan. The discovery of Monhegan and of the Kennebec River resulted from this expedition. It was on this voyage that Waymouth took back with him several savages, three of whom he turned over to Sir Ferdinando Gorges.[32]

England, by 1606, felt that she had title to the greater part of the North American coast line. Such title was under, however, vaguely defined rights, and with these rights vigorously debated by other nations. In 1606 certain knights, gentlemen, merchants and others of the city of London, England, and elsewhere, and certain knights, gentlemen, merchants and others of the cities of Bristol and Exeter and of the town of Plymouth and other places in the west of England, applied to James I for his license "to deduct a colony into Virginia." [18] The King eagerly entered into the design. As "Navagantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca, or a Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels," Vol. II, by John Harris, puts it: "His Majesty, in order to promote so noble a work, which might tend to the Glory of God in propagating the Christian religion among infidels and savages and bring them to humanity and civility, did graciously accept their petition." The King divided the almost limitless territory of the New World, for the purposes of colonization and hoped-for profit, equally between the two rival groups of London and of the western part of England. The London Company was to lead forth

"the first colony" of Virginia to lands which James I granted to them, between the 34th and the 38th parallels of north latitude. The other group, from the west of England, formed what was known as the Plymouth Company. James I granted them the lands north of 41° north latitude as far as 45°.[18] This group was to plant what the King called "the second colony" of Virginia.[3]

In 1607 certain of the patentees of the north colony planned a great colony near the mouth of the Sagadahock,[5] now the Kennebec River. Sir John Popham was the principal promoter of the design. At least contingently interested with him was Sir John Gilbert. All the necessary titles were supplied the expedition and great hopes must have burned in the hearts of those interested. The men who sailed on the expedition were George Popham, president, brother of Sir John, Rawleigh Gilbert, admiral and brother of Sir John Gilbert, Edward Harlow, master of ordnance, Robert Davies, sergeant major, Ellis Best, marshall, James Davies, commander of the fort, and about one hundred "commonalty."[4]

The expedition reached Monhegan, and had not been at anchor there two hours before a number of Indians in a Spanish shallop[5] came out to them from the shore, and the next day returned in a Biscay boat, thus showing that fishermen of Spain and of France had been in this region before the Popham expedition.

This unfortunate colony[22] landed on August 19, 1607, near the mouth of the Kennebec. They built a stockade, protected by a ditch, and they mounted twelve pieces of artillery. They worked hard and built a small boat which they called "The Virginia."

Their own ships, the "Mary and John" and the "Gift of God" sailed back to England.[19,22]

The first winter was extremely severe. The colonists suffered greatly. During that year, too, Sir John Popham and Sir John Gilbert died in England.[4] George Popham, president of the expedition, died in this country, and in 1608, on the return of the "Mary and John," as it is reported, those of this unfortunate colony who were then living returned to England, probably in the "Mary and John."[19]

At the same time that England was putting forth her effort in the north parts of Virginia, France was claiming the same territory as far south as the 40th parallel of north latitude,[19] below which France placed Florida, which belonged to Spain. The whole of North America was claimed by rival powers through right of various discoveries. Argal's expedition against the French on Mount Desert proved the dislodgment of France from what was soon to be New England. The claims of these several nations were further complicated in 1609, when Hudson discovered the Hudson River.[8] Hudson had sailed to the north in 1607.[13] "The next yeere, 1608, he set forth on a discovery to the northeast, at which time they met, as both himself and Iuet have testified, a mermaid in the sea, seen by Thomas Hils and Robert Rainer. Another voyage he made in 1609 to the coast of Newfoundland and thence to Cape Cod."[13]

In 1608 Capt. Edward Harlow is reported to have voyaged to Cape Cod.[23] In 1609 Richard Vines was on the Maine coast.[22]

The English claim to New England territory was augmented materially in 1614 by Capt. John Smith. Smith had been an adventurer of note, much in the

public eye in England. He had been in Virginia in 1607,[18] and after efficient service there, and his life saved by Pocahontas, he had returned to England, where he steadily maintained that it was the duty of England to colonize the New World.[18] He claimed that there was great financial opportunity in so doing.[18]

His adventurous disposition led Capt. John Smith, then about thirty-five years old,[27] in 1614, to accept employment by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, "to take whales and to make trials of a mine of copper and gold, and if these failed to take furs etc." [24] Smith says: "We found this whale fishing a costly conclusion. We saw many and spent much time in chasing them, but could not kill any." [24] Disappointed as to mines also, Smith left his vessel, and with his headquarters at what is now Monhegan, Maine, to which he had come in the summer of 1614, Captain Smith, with a crew of eight men in a small boat, explored the coast from Penobscot Bay to Cape Cod, entering the harbors along the shore.[24] On this voyage, during which Capt. John Smith sailed along the New England coast, he named the country which he saw "New England." [24] On his return to England, Capt. John Smith dedicated a map of the New England coast line and an account of the country "to the afterwards famous Prince Charles, of blessed memory, humbly entreating him to adopt it for his own, and make a confirmation thereof." [7] Prince Charles accepted the compliment, and confirmed the name of New England on the country.[7] At, or at about the same time, Smith besought Prince Charles, later Charles I, to change the "Barbarous names" reported on his map, "for such English, as Posterity may say, Prince Charles was their Godfather." [27] It was at

this time that the Charles River, at Boston, received its name. Smith called it first "Massachusetts River," this name later, under the direction of Prince Charles, being changed to "the River Charles." Smith placed it correctly on his map, finally, under this name.[27]

Capt. John Smith, on this voyage in 1614, studied and reported on what is now the Maine, New Hampshire and Massachusetts shore in greater detail than had any previous explorer. His map is fairly accurate. On this voyage, Capt. John Smith saw what are now the Isles of Shoals, and named them "Smyths Iles." They appear on his map correctly placed, as do also what is now Portsmouth Harbor and Little Harbor. On his return to England, Capt. John Smith published his map and treatise under the title of "A Description of New England." This treatise gave detailed information regarding the New Hampshire coast. In this volume Smith described "Smyths Iles" as "a heape together, none neere them, against Accominticus."[25] Smith, in this treatise, described the mainland by its Indian divisions, one of which he referred to as "Accominticus;" another "Passataquack."[25] He described what is now Portsmouth Harbor and York Harbor as "two convenient harbors for small barkes, and a good countrie within their craggie cliffs."[25] It is especially to be noted that Capt. John Smith referred to Portsmouth Harbor and to the coast in the vicinity of what is now Portsmouth, New Hampshire, as being known under the Indian name of "Passataquack." Smith wrote of the country in detail, and also the lobsters, fish, beavers, foxes, deer, eagles, grapes, crows, geese, ducks, whales, etc., and intimated mineral wealth.[25]

He gave considerable information on each section of the New England shore and the territory abutting it, this by its Indian-named divisions.

Smith's map shows clearly what is now Cape Ann. Smith writes: "From thence doth stretch into the sea the faire headland now called Cape An, fronted with three Iles wee called the three Turkes heads."[23,25] Capt. John Smith first called Cape Ann Cape Tragabigzanda,[27] in memory of the "beauteous," [27] well born, young Turkish girl to whom in his earlier and equally adventurous days he had been given as a slave when a prisoner among the Turks, and who showed him great favor.[20,27]

To those who sail a little south of Whale's Back light, at the entrance of Portsmouth Harbor, the adventures of Capt. John Smith which led to his naming "the three Turks Heads," and Cape (Ann) "Tragabigzanda," may be of interest. Smith, born in 1579, an orphan when about thirteen years old, and apprenticed at fifteen, early broke away from the routine life of a young Englishman of his station, and sought adventure in war, — first in France, then in the Low Countries of the Netherlands, and then with the Christians in Southern Europe who were fighting the Turks. Smith became captain of a company with the Christian forces. He early distinguished himself; but his greatest success was at the siege of Caniza. At this siege progress on both sides was slow, and the Turks let it be known that they were bored at the lack of progress of the siege. One day the Turks sent out a flag of truce with a letter from one of the Turkish leaders. This Turk said that the ladies with the Turks, of whom there seem to have been a considerable number, longed to see some courtly

The Upper Harbor

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pastime. This Turk thereupon challenged any company commander among the Christians to mortal combat in tournament, the looser to forfeit his head. The Christian company commanders drew lots to see who should fight the Turk, and the lot fell to Smith. A truce was called, and the tournament was held. Smith killed the Turk, and cut off his head. The dead Turk's best friend thereupon challenged Smith. Smith fought him, killed him, and cut off his head. Smith then sent a broadcast challenge to the Turks for a third opponent. A third appeared, and Smith cut off his head. For this deed Smith was given a quartering on his coat of arms of three Turks' heads. Later Smith was wounded and taken prisoner. The Turks sold him as a slave, and he was marched as one of "twenty and twenty" with a collar around their necks to Constantinople. Then he was given as a present to the young Charatza Tragabigzanda. She liked him and helped him, and, as Smith later said, "did all she could to secure me." Smith spoke in warm praise of her, as also of Pocahontas, who saved his life in Virginia. In friendly memory of Tragabigzanda, Smith gave her name to what is now Cape Ann, the first Englishman's recorded name for this cape. Smith called it "the faire headland Tragabigzanda" in his description of New England.[25,27] It was in further memory of his Turkish adventures that Smith called the little islands off the end of Cape Ann "the three Turks Heads." Later, when Smith asked Prince Charles, later Charles I, to give English names to the country he described as New England, under the direction of Charles he renamed the cape Cape Anna, Charles changing the name as he did in honor of his, Charles' mother, who was Anne of Denmark.[20]

Prince Charles gave English names to various prominent sections of the New England shore reported by Smith.[25] Among other names which Charles bestowed he called the territory near Portsmouth Harbor, on Smith's map, "Hull." Smith called Agamenticus Sassanowes Mount. Prince Charles called it "Snadoun Hill." The Rye shore was also designated "Hull."

Smith stated that on the mainland there was plenty of wood of all sorts. Capt. John Smith especially enthused over Newburyport. His report reads: "Heere there are many rising hills and on their tops and descents many corne fields and delightful groves. On the east is an isle of two or three leagues in length; the one-half, plaine moorish grass fit for pasture, with many fair, high groves of mulberrie trees, and there is also okes, pines and other woods to make this place an excellent habitation, being a good and safe harbor."[25] "But there are many sands at the entrance of the Harbour, and the worst is it is imbayed too furre from the deepe sea."[25]

Capt. John Smith, after his return from the voyage of 1614, was filled with enthusiasm for further effort in New England. He worked hard in this cause. He shortly sailed again, from Plymouth, England, to found a plantation and to attempt the fishing; but he was forced back by a tempest minus his masts,[27] "his ship wonderfully distressed."[12] He was furnished with another ship, which on the voyage over was halted by the French. Smith was deserted by his men while momentarily on one of the French ships. As a result, the French held him prisoner and forced him "to suffer many extremities before he was free of his troubles."[27] He reached England in 1616.

Though Capt. John Smith does not appear again as

an important character in New England history, he continued his adventurous efforts in behalf of the New World. He wrote considerably of New England, and also published a general history of Virginia, published in London in 1627. In this volume he showed that in 1619 negro slavery had occurred in the colonies.[27]

On his voyage to New England in 1614 Capt. John Smith had intended to stay in New England and to hold possession of "those large territories," as he puts it, with ten men. Not capturing any whales and securing no profit from the initial program, he changed his plans. He ultimately secured, as a result of this voyage, Smith says, eleven hundred beaver skins, besides martins, otters and fish, of a total gross value, as he has stated, of nearly £1,500. Smith seemed contented with the money return on his venture.[12]

From 1614 to 1623 there is no record of visitations to the Piscataqua by Europeans, yet almost surely mariners explored this region in further detail during this interval. As Hubbard said: "Of the period 1602–1620, probably every year's experience might adde something to the fuller knowledge of the havens, rivers," etc.[7] Smith's map and his published reports of New England, written while he was a prisoner of the French, just after his voyage to New England in 1614, and published on his return to England, aroused enormous interest in England, and probably within two or three years drew more fishing expeditions to the New England coast than had gone there in all the previous time. Capt. John Smith advertised New England in glowing colors, and to a degree which it might have taken others years to equal. In 1615, four good ships, Smith says in later writings by him

regarding New England, sailed from London for the New England deep-sea fishing.[27] In 1616, four more went from London and four from Plymouth.[27] Smith was poor, and he was not only interested but needed employment. After Capt. John Smith's return, in 1616, from his capture by the French, he reports spending a long time that year, 1616, in the west of England, talking to the gentry there and trying to arouse their enthusiasm to send fishing expeditions to his New England. These men promised him twenty sail the next year, 1617, and though promises were more easily made than fulfilled, probably some ships did go as planned. Two went in 1618. In 1619–1620 one ship sailed from Plymouth for New England.[27]

Probably the French were active on the New England coast at this same time. In his description of New England Smith says that in 1614, when in New England, two French ships were known by him to be fairly near him, to the westward. He also speaks of French activity prior to his going there in 1614, in Massachusetts Bay.[25]

In 1616 Sir Ferdinando Gorges sent out Richard Vines, with a party hired to remain the following winter at what is now Winter Harbor. Vines stayed in Indian huts, at the mouth of the Saco River.[22] Vines had been on the Maine coast earlier, in 1609.[22] In 1618, Edward Rowcroft, employed by Gorges, left a few men to stay on or near the Kennebec.[17] Capt. John Smith refers to Master Thomas Dirmire as spending a considerable time in New England in 1619. Dirmire found among the Indians two Frenchmen, who had been wrecked on Cape Cod.[27] David Thomson, who led the first settlement at the mouth of the Piscataqua River, in 1623, was reported to have been on the

American coast before,[28] and it is possible that he had actually previously seen the Piscataqua shore, which he occupied under his grant. From the business arrangements made by Thomson before he came over, he seems to have had a fairly clear understanding of the territory to which he came. Thomson's expedition was largely interested in the fishing off the mouth of the Piscataqua. In 1620 six or seven sail went from the west of England.[27] In the spring of 1622, thirty-five ships were reported as sailing from the west of England to fish off the coast of New England.[29] During the season of 1623 the Isles of Shoals were a fishing center for a number of vessels.[8] Printed reproductions of Smith's map of the New England coast showed the Isles of Shoals and also Portsmouth Harbor, the most interesting looking indent in the coast appearing on this map between Cape Cod and Portland.[27] The map, in Vol. IV of "Purchas His Pilgrimes," published in London in 1625, showed the coast from Cape Cod to Newfoundland, and clearly indicated Portsmouth Harbor and the Isles of Shoals.[12] The deed between David Thomson and his merchant backers, dated December, 1622, referred to the sending of three men to join Thomson, presumably meaning joining him near the Piscataqua, on the next expedition going to New England. This indicated fishing expeditions which were acquainted with the Piscataqua and likely to go there. In 1578 there were one hundred and fifty French vessels at Newfoundland.[18] "One French mariner, before 1609, had made more than forty voyages to the American coast."[18] It is highly likely that the Piscataqua was known by Europeans before Martin Pring saw it, and, although we do not actually know it, the chances are that one or more, and probably several,

of the many known expeditions sailing to the New England coast between 1614 and 1623 entered the Piscataqua and reported on its surrounding territory.

Who hath desired the sea? — the sight of salt water unbounded —
The heave and the halt and the hurl and the crash of the comber wind-hounded?
The sleek-barrelled swell before storm, grey, foamless, enormous, and growing —
Stark calm on the lap of the line or the crazy-eyed hurricane blowing —

* * * *

Who hath desired the sea? — the immense and contemptuous surges?
The shudder, the stumble, the swerve, as the star-stabbing bow-sprit emerges?
The orderly clouds of the trades, and the ridged, roaring sapphire thereunder —
Unheralded cliff-haunting flaws and the headsail's low-volleying thunder —

* * * *

Who hath desired the sea? Her menaces swift as her mercies,
The in-rolling walls of the fog and the silver-winged breeze that disperses?
The unstable mined berg going south and the calvings and groans that declare it —
White water half-guessed overside and the moon breaking timely to bare it;

* * * *

Who hath desired the sea? Her excellent loneliness rather
Than forecourts of kings, and her outermost pits than the streets where men gather!

* * * *

— Rudyard Kipling.

CHAPTER III

SETTLEMENT

IN 1620 the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth, Massachusetts. "Persecution had driven one Mr. Robinson and his church from England to Holland, about the year 1608. They stayed about a year at Amsterdam, and then removed to Leyden. In 1617 they began to think of moving to America. The manners of the Dutch were too licentious for them." They were at a loss whether to go to Guiana or to Virginia, but the majority were in favor of Virginia.[1]

The Dutch endeavored at first to have them go to Hudson's River in America; "but they had not lost their affection for the English,"[1] and so they applied "to the Virginia Company for a patent of land"[1] to the south of New England. The Virginia Company at first welcomed this application, but later the request for a patent met with political obstruction.[5] The affairs of the Virginia Company, moreover, were in great confusion,[1] and it was the last part of the year before the Pilgrims' patent was granted. One Mr. Thomas Weston, who was working in their behalf in England, and other merchants of London, agreed to help them with money, or to go over to the New World with them,[1] and urged them to go to New England.[5] In August, 1620, they sailed for America, but they were obliged repeatedly to put back. They had intended to make Hudson's River, or near that, but the Dutch are reported to have bribed their pilot, and he carried them farther

to the northward, so that they made land at Cape Cod, arriving in Provincetown Harbor, November 11, 1620.[1,5] Provincetown Harbor was not to their liking, and they coasted along shore in their vessel until they found a place "more agreeable for a plantation, though not so good a harbor."[1] They gave their new abode the name of "New Plymouth."[1] Captain Smith had given the name of "Plimouth" to the same place on his map in 1614.[1] The Pilgrim Fathers arrived without any definite grant covering the territory which they occupied. Great care was exercised to prevent any identification of the Pilgrims in England.[2] For more than a year the Plymouth, Massachusetts, colony was mentioned in the minutes of the Council for New England as "Mr. Peirce's Plantation."[2] Plymouth did not secure a royal charter, and for its legal existence was solely dependent upon the acts of the Council for New England.[2]

As the seventeenth century progressed, members of the so-called Plymouth Company, that is, those of the west of England, interested in planting the northern colony of Virginia, found that their patent "did not secure them from intrusions of others."[3] They consequently petitioned "for an enlargement and confirmation of their privileges."[3] Sometime later, November 3, 1620,[4] the King, by his sole authority, "constituted a Council, consisting of forty noblemen, knights and gentlemen," by the name of "The Council Established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the Planting, Ruling and Governing of New England in America." This Council became at once a corporation with perpetual succession through election by the majority.[3] Its rights over territory extended from the 40th degree north latitude to the 48th.[1] Belknap

says, in his description of this, the Grand Council of Plymouth, or the Council for New England: "Their affairs were transacted in a confused manner from the beginning."[3]

Two of the most active members of the Council for New England were Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. John Mason, son of John Mason of King's Lynn, County Norfolk.[15,18] Captain Mason had been a London merchant, then later a sea officer.[3,4] He was, after the peace, governor of Newfoundland.[3] Later still, much interested in America, when elected to the Council for New England, he became its secretary.[4] He lived for some time in Portsmouth,[4,18] Hampshire, England, and, in 1629, he was captain of the fort at Portsmouth, Hampshire, England.[4] Gorges, who was now about fifty-four years old,[2] had served in the Spanish wars. He had been an officer in the navy of Queen Elizabeth, and had been governor of the fort and islands of Plymouth, England, in Devonshire.[3] Gorges was of Somerset family, "which had been seated near Bristol since 1260."[2] He had been intimately connected with Sir Walter Raleigh, "of whose adventurous spirit he had a large share."[3] Captain Waymouth, who had been employed to search for a northwest passage, and for other explorations, had brought five natives from Pemaquid, Maine, into Plymouth Harbor, England, when Gorges was governor there. Gorges had eagerly seized three of these natives, whom he retained in his service for three years. He won their affection and learned from them of the country from which they came, and its rivers, harbors, islands, fisheries and other resources. From this information Gorges conceived sanguine hopes "of indulging his genius and making

his fortune by a thorough discovery of the country."[3] In this purpose Gorges and others ventured several ships.[3] In 1616, as has been stated, he employed Vines on a colonization expedition to Maine. Gorges had put out so much effort in New England that he was made President of the Council for the Affairs of New England.[3]

On March 9, 1621, Capt. John Mason secured a grant of land running from what is now Salem, Massachusetts, to the end of Cape Ann, and around Cape Ann to the Merrimac River. "This district was called Mariana."[3] On August 10, 1622, this was supplemented, so far as Mason was concerned, by a grant from the Council of Plymouth, that is, the Council for New England, to Capt. John Mason and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, jointly, of all territory lying between the middle of the Merrimac River and the middle of the Sagadehock, or Kennebec River.[3] This grant carried title to all land up to the head waters of the rivers mentioned, that is, the Merrimac and the Kennebec, and continued sixty miles back from the coast. It also included all islands along the coast.[4] On November 3, 1622, Capt. Robert Gorges, the younger son of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, obtained a patent from the Council of Plymouth on the northeast side of Massachusetts Bay, ten miles into the land.[7] This territory lay between the Charles River and Nahant.[7] In 1622, also, the Council of Plymouth gave a grant of Massachusetts territory to Thomas Weston, the early friend of the Pilgrims. Weston began a plantation that year, 1622,[14] at "Wessagusquaset,"[14] now Weymouth, Massachusetts. He sent over there fifty or sixty men in two ships. They are described as a dissolute crew who robbed the Indians.[1] A little later,

in 1625, one Captain Wallaston, with about thirty persons, began a plantation near Weston's. They called it Mount Wallaston. "One Morton was of this company."[1] Thus, by the end of 1625 the great interest which the information given by Capt. John Smith had aroused in England, in regard to New England, had found expression in grants, plans for colonization and actual small oases of colonization.

The patent to Gorges and Mason in 1622, by the Council of Plymouth, referred to the territory granted them as a province, which the grantees intended to call "The Province of Maine."[4] There has been speculation as to why the name "Maine" was given this territory. It has been stated as likely that the term "Province of Maine" arose through some complimentary, but undefined, association with Henrietta Maria, the Queen of Charles I, and the French Province of Mayne.[7] Dr. Henry S. Burrage, state historian of Maine, in his "Gorges and the Grant of the Province of Maine," says that we have not far to look "for the word 'Maine' as used in the grant of the 'Province of Maine' to Gorges and Mason. In the first decade of the seventeenth century, the voyagers and explorers who visited our coast had need for a name for it, as it rose from the sea on their approach. Outlying islands they mentioned as islands, but the land to them was the 'main', or 'maine land', and so they called it in their relations and narrations. Pring, in his account of his approach to the coast, in 1603, refers to it as 'maine land'; also 'The Mayne'. Rosier, in his narrative of Waymouth's visit here in 1605, mentions 'the maine land'. So also, in the relation of the Popham Colony we have the designation 'the main Land'. King James, in the Great Charter of 1620 to

the Council for New England, made mention of 'maine Lands', and 'Land upon the Maine'. What other designation, therefore, could the Council for New England, in 1622, more naturally use in their grant of a province to Gorges and Mason, than the designation 'Province of Maine', inserting in the title the word that had been used so long in any mention of the territory conveyed?"[7]

Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. John Mason secured their joint grant on August 10, 1622.[3] There is a record in existence referring to a patent granted one David Thomson and two others, all of Plymouth, England, in 1622, covering a point of land in the Piscattowa River in New England.[11] This may have referred to an earlier grant, now lost, which Thomson never took advantage of.[11] On December 3, 1622, however, the records of the Council for New England show that as of that date Mr. Thomson propounded that he had an order from the Council for New England for the transportation of ten persons to New England, these persons to pay the usual rates to the Council for their transportation, after two years.[11] On December 14, 1622, a deed passed between David Thomson of Plymouth, England, and Abraham Colemer, Nicholas Sherwill and Leonard Pomerie, or Pomery, all also of Plymouth. This indenture recited that under date of October 16, 1622, the Council for New England granted to David Thomson six thousand acres of land and an island in New England, and that David Thomson had actually conveyed one-quarter part of that island to the three merchants of Plymouth named in the agreement and had promised to convey one-quarter of the six thousand acres.[11] Three-quarters of the charge of planting the said island were to

be borne by Thomson, one-quarter by the three merchants.[11] It is stated that the deed to Thomson referred to as dated October 16, 1622, was signed by the Council for New England November 16, 1622.[11]

Apparently Thomson designed a plantation near the mouth of the Piscataqua River.[11] The deed to Thomson, signed by the Council for New England November 16, 1622,[11] has not been discovered, and what it contained is judged only by reference to it in the agreement Thomson had with Colemer, Sherwill and Pomerie, and by subsequent history. The agreement between Thomson and Colemer, Sherwill and Pomerie provided that Thomson was to convey in fee simple one-quarter of the six thousand acres which Thomson recited had been granted to him by the Council for New England, this conveyance being to Colemer, Sherwill and Pomerie. In consideration for this conveyance these three men, who were merchants of Plymouth, agreed, at their own charge, that present year to provide and send two men with Thomson in the ship "Jonathan" of Plymouth, to New England. The deed also provided that the said merchants, Colemer, Sherwill and Pomerie, were to victual and provide the ship for the voyage, and that if within three months after the ship passed Ram Head, which was a promontory just outside Plymouth Sound, England, Thomson and his party landed in New England, whatever was left of the victuals provided for three months by Colemer, Sherwill and Pomerie should be given to Thomson at that time.[11]

The deed provided also that the three merchants, at their own charge, should send three more men in the ship "Providence" of Plymouth, if they could, or in some other ship, with the first expedition going to

New England, the charges of these three men to be borne equally by all parties to the contract.[11] There was also a provision that two additional men were to be sent that present year in the "Jonathan," the cost to be borne equally by all parties to the contract.[11] Provision was made that as soon as Thomson and the seven men referred to were landed, they were to search out a fit place to make choice of the six thousand acres which Thomson had recited had been granted to him;[11] also to select a spot to erect buildings. Adjoining these buildings six hundred acres were to be allotted within five years.[11] All benefits and profits of the six hundred acres for five years were to be divided equally between Thomson and his three merchant partners, but the three merchants might employ ships to fish at their own charge, if Thomson did not pay his share of such charge.[11] The profits of the residue of the six thousand acres were to be divided, Thomson to have three parts, the others one part.[11] The indenture provided that "the colony, so landed, shall use their best endeavor, with as much convenience as may be, to find out some fitt place to settle and build some house or houses or buildings for habitacons, on which they are to begin, with as muche expedicon as they maye."[12]

All buildings and appurtenances, on the six hundred acres already spoken of, at the end of five years were to be divided equally among all parties to the contract, and all charges for planting on the six hundred acres, and for building,[11] etc., were meanwhile to be borne equally by all parties to the contract. The undivided portion of the six thousand acres was to be divided at a convenient time into four parts, Thomson to have three parts, and one part to be divided among

the three merchants. At the end of five years the island was to be valued in four parts, of which Thomson was to have three parts and the others one part.[11]

The three merchants of Plymouth — Colemer, Sherwill and Pomerie — were well-known men. Colemer was mayor of Plymouth in 1615, Sherwill was mayor in 1618 and Pomerie was mayor in 1623. It was stated, in 1630, that the ship "Jonathan," of one hundred and fifty tons, was owned by "Nicholas Sherwell" and Abraham Colemer.[11] This gives corroborative testimony as to the interest of these men in Thomson's venture.

David Thomson is described in the "New England Canaan," published in 1637, as "a Scottish gentleman, that was conversant with the natives, (of North America) a scholar and traveler, that was diligent in taking notice of these things, as a man of good judgment."[10] David Thomson was born about 1590. He was originally an apothecary. He married Amias Cole of Plymouth, England, July 13, 1613.[15] Her father was a shipbuilder. Though said to be of Scotch descent Thomson was probably born in Plymouth. It is thought that he made several voyages to New England, before 1623.[9] Thomson's name is found with various spellings, including Tomson,[21] but the authority seems to rest with Thomson.

Mason and Gorges, having secured their joint grant from the Council for New England only a few months previous to the comparatively small grant obtained by Thomson, and it seeming fairly certain that Thomson's grant was included within the limits of the joint grant held by Mason and Gorges, it is probable that there was no friction between Gorges and Mason on the one hand and Thomson on the other; also that

Thomson entered on his venture with the full approval of Mason and Gorges.[12] The three Plymouth merchants who backed Thomson were prominent men, and they would hardly have entered the venture handicapped by any friction with Mason and Gorges, or on any basis but a definite one as to the locality of the grant and knowledge of it. It is to be presumed that the machinery in England back of the venture ran smoothly.

It is to be noted particularly that it was provided at first that seven men only were to go with Thomson to start the colony. Probably no more than ten landed with Thomson, if so many.[12] This number was in line with the number of prospective settlers provided for Gosnold's expedition and others of about the same period. Expense was obviously kept down, and plans were laid in a comparatively small way at first. As arranged in the agreement, Thomson sailed in the ship "Jonathan" in the late winter or early spring of 1623, and arrived, probably in April or early May of that year, off the mouth of the Piscataqua River. Thomson took his men ashore at what is now Odiorne's Point, and there founded the first settlement in New Hampshire.[10]

Thomson and his men, who numbered probably not more than ten, and very likely not more than seven, and possibly five, selected Odiorne's Point, on the outer edge of what is now known as Little Harbor, as a "fitt place to build their houses for habitacons," probably because this point was a part of what was, at high tide, an island of about six hundred acres in area.[10] What may have also influenced Thomson was a spring on the harbor shore near their landing place.[10] The salt creek which, at high tide, made their landing spot

Reach of the Piscataqua River above Eliot Neck

Published through the courtesy of Miss Katharine Thaxter

an island, perhaps in their minds made this particular locality more easily defensible, if need for defense came.[10] Taking the salt creek into consideration, this spot, which lay about two miles southwest of the main entrance of the Piscataqua River, fitted the specifications referred to in Thomson's agreement with the three Plymouth merchants, and with the deed to which that agreement referred.[10] It also was in line with the deed, dated, probably, a little earlier, which it was said Thomson had, of a point of land lying in the "Piscattowa river." This may have been accident; but it may have been according to plan. As stated, Thomson may have seen Odiorne's Point previously. There seems more chance that he had seen it than not.

We do not know definitely the names of the men who came with David Thomson. Hubbard states, in the first history of New Hampshire which was written, that two men named Hilton, Edward and his brother William, fishmongers of London, came with Thomson,[14] but this apparently was not so. William Hilton went to Plymouth in 1621,[15] and his wife and two children went there in 1623.[15] Edward may have come with David Thomson; Mr. Everett S. Stackpole says he probably came with him. If he did not actually come with Thomson it seems certain that he came very shortly afterwards.[15] Edward Hilton, probably some little time after Thomson landed, pushed on up the Piscataqua River, of which Little Harbor is one outlet, and set up stages for drying fish at a spot the Indians called Winnichahannat,[3] or Wecanahunt.[10] Hilton called the spot "Northam," afterwards Dover.[3] The natural sequence of events, if Edward Hilton did come with Thomson, or if he came shortly after Thomson arrived, was for him to stay with Thomson at least for

a little while at the first landing place, and it is likely that this is what occurred. Levett, in describing his stay at Thomson's plantation, did not refer to any settlement up the river, which he probably would have done if there had been one in existence at that time.[12]

Thomson with his men, after landing, proceeded to carry out the terms of the agreement with the three merchants of Plymouth. They erected stages for salting and drying fish, and built a house to be used for a habitation, and for defense.[10] Hubbard says that this house was built of stone, and intimates that it was of considerable size.[10,14] Mr. Everett S. Stackpole says that Thomson "probably built a house of pine logs with a chimney of stone set in clay," and no impressive mansion.[15] Thomson named the settlement on Odiorne's Point, at Little Harbor, "Pannaway," "perhaps from the Indian appellation."[10] The house itself was known as "Piscataqua House,"[10] and later "Capt. Mason's stone house."[10] Hubbard says that the chimney and some parts of the stone wall of this house were standing in his day — 1680.[14] Samuel Maverick described the house as a house and fort which Thomson "built on a point of land at the very entrance of the Pascataway River."[12] He further described it as a "strange and large house," enclosed "in a large, high palizardo," with "mounted guns, and a terror to the Indians."[12]

News of the settlement of Pannaway speedily spread along the coast and attracted attention in England. In the spring of 1622, the previous year, as many as thirty-five ships planned to go from the west of England to the northeast coast of New England to fish. It is probable that there were at least this number sailing for the same purpose in the spring of 1623, and

that a number of them touched at the Isles of Shoals, and very likely also at Pannaway. One Phinehas Pratt visited Pannaway as early as May, 1623.[10] He is pictured by Mr. John S. Jenness, in his "Notes on the First Planting of New Hampshire," as reciting before the crackling fires of a cold spring his adventures in the terrible winter he had just passed at Wessaguscus, or Wessagussett,[20] or Wesaguscasit,[21] or Wessagusquaset,[14] of his escape into New Plymouth over nearly fifty miles of frozen forest, and of the resulting later expedition against the Indians.[10,21] Capt. Francis West, then in his early thirties, was sent over almost immediately from England to be admiral of all New England.[14] He arrived at Plymouth about the end of June, 1623,[22] for the purpose of restraining all interlopers who came to New England to fish or trade upon the coast without license from the Council of Plymouth. There seems no evidence that he visited Pannaway. Thomas Weston of Wesaguscasit, now Weymouth, Massachusetts, at odds with the Plymouth Colony over religion, while cruising along the coast in a shallop, about June or July, 1623,[10] was cast away near Hampton or Rye. He was attacked by Indians, stripped of his clothing and was in a very bad plight when he finally made his escape and reached Pannaway.[10] It was this same Weston, as has been stated, who was the faithful friend of the Pilgrims before they sailed from England for America.[10] At about the same time that same season, Capt. Miles Standish came from Plymouth, sent by the Plymouth colonists to buy provisions "for the refreshing of the Plymouth Colony." [10] The men at Pannaway helped Standish, who went back with provisions, taking with him Mr. David Thomson, who paid the Plymouth

settlement a visit.[10] As Governor Edward Winslow said in his "Good News of New England," published in 1624, and quoted by Mr. Everett S. Stackpole in his "History of New Hampshire," Thomson "began a plantation twenty-five leagues north-west from us, near Smith's Isles, at a place called Pascataquack, where he liketh well." [15]

In November, 1623, Capt. Christopher Levett arrived at the Isles of Shoals, spent the winter there, and in the following spring passed a month at Pannaway.[10,12,17] The following lines of Mrs. Celia Thaxter, who lived so long at the Shoals, are, perhaps, apt:

> So bleak these shores, wind-swept, and all the year
>   Washed by the wild Atlantic's restless tide,
> You would not dream that flowers the woods hold dear
>   Amid such desolation dare abide.

"Capt. Levett was an officer of the royal navy, high in favor at court." [10] He came to project the Episcopal Church into northern New England, and to found a city to be named "York," after York, England. He intended to place there "a full prelatical establishment" which should extend its power over all New England.[10] The fact that Pannaway was settled, not by the Puritans, but by men supposedly of the Church of England, and the fact that it was the only settlement available for his purpose on the coast at that time, probably made him come to Pannaway.[12] Levett has given us an interesting story of his sojourn. He writes as follows: "The first place I set my foote upon in New England was the Isles of Shoulds, being illands in the sea about two leagues from the mayne. Upon these illands I neither could see one good timber tree nor so much good ground as to make a garden. The

place is found to be a good fishing place for six shippes, but more cannot well be there for want of convenient stage-roome, as this year's experience hath proved. The harbor is but indifferent good. Upon these illands are no savages at all. The next place I came unto was Pannaway, where one M. Tomson hath made a plantation. There I stayed about one moneth, in which time I sent for my men from the east, who came over in divers shipps. At this place I met with the governour, who came thither in a barke, which he had from one M. Weston, about twenty days before I arrived in the land. The governour then told me that I was joyned with him in commission as a counciller, which being read, I found it was so. And then he, in the presence of three more of the Counsell, administered unto me an oath. After the meeting I went a coasting in two boats with all my company. In the time I stayd with M. Tomson I surveyed as much as possible, the weather being unseasonable and very much snow. In those parts I saw much good timber, but the ground it seemed to me not to be good, being very rockey and full of trees and brush wood. There is great store of fowle of divers sorts, whereof I fed very plentifully." [17]

"About two English miles further to the east, I found a great river and a good harbour, called Pascattaway. But for the ground I can say nothing, — but by relation of the Sagamore [who probably lived on Sagamore Creek] or King of that place, who told me there was much good ground up in the river about seven or eight leagues. About two leagues further to the east is another great river called Aquamenticus. There I think a good plantation may be settled. About six leagues farther to the East is a harbour called Cape Porpas." [17]

Champlain, on his arrival on the New England coast, in midsummer, 1605, found the Indian corn about two feet high, some three feet high. Beans were flowering then, in July, and also pumpkins and squashes.[23] The description of the country as these early explorers found it seems important.

It is to be noted that Levett said, in referring to the Isles of Shoals: "The place is found to be a good fishing place for six shippes, but more cannot well be there for want of convenient stage-rooms, as this year's experience hath proved." This indicates that at least six fishing vessels were at the Isles of Shoals together during the spring or early summer of 1624. Presumably they were all English. This bears out markedly the supposition that the waters near the Piscataqua were visited, not by a large number, but still by at least several fishing expeditions between the years 1614 and 1623.

Levett after leaving Pannaway went down the coast. In describing his stay on the Saco River he writes: "Wee had plenty of craine, goose, duckes, and mallard, both boyled and roasted, but our spits and racks were many times in danger of burning (being wooden) before the meate was ready."[17] Levett mentions his stay at Cape Elizabeth. He tried to convert the savages, but he seems to have found some difficulty in so doing, and to have been discouraged. Levett says that the different groups of savages who lived apart could not understand each other. He gives interesting information about Indian customs. The Indians, he says, took their children and burried them in the snow to make them endure the cold the better.[17] Levett also speaks of the "musketoes."[17]

While Christopher Levett was at Pannaway in the

spring of 1624, spending his month there, Governor Robert Gorges, son of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, arrived.[11] Capt. Robert Gorges had a patent of land on the northeast side of Massachusetts Bay, as has been stated.[14] He received a commission under the great seal, making him Lieutenant General and Governor of New England.[10] It is said that he came with a considerable company. It was by Governor Robert Gorges that Levett was sworn in as councillor.[10]

The settlement at Pannaway does not seem itself to have developed, but it gave offshoots, though these, too, for a considerable time grew very slowly indeed.[1] Though Thomson, according to Governor Edward Winslow, was at first well pleased with the site of Pannaway, his satisfaction did not last. Thomson was at Pannaway during part of 1626,[4] but before long he was not happy in the situation at the mouth of the Piscataqua, and he removed in the spring of 1626 to an island in Massachusetts Bay,[15] title to which the General Court of Massachusetts afterwards confirmed to his family, the island still bearing his name. Before Thomson removed, which was toward the time of the closing of his contract with his three merchant backers in Plymouth, England, he is reported to have had his wife join him at Pannaway, and it is said that at Pannaway their son, John Thomson, was born.[10] Mr. Everett S. Stackpole, in his "History of New Hampshire," says that John Thomson was probably born earlier than 1623, and so not on New Hampshire soil.[15] Thomson's wife was called a widow as of 1628.[15]

According to one Edward Colcott, who went there in 1631,[1, 14] through 1630 only two other houses besides the house built by Thomson were erected along the

Piscataqua River. In 1630 the settlement at Little Harbor, known originally as Pannaway, passed by lease into the hands of the Company of Laconia, to which reference is shortly to be made. The venture headed by Thomson was then practically ended. Capt. Walter Neale, who represented the Company of Laconia as governor, took possession of Pannaway at this time, and took up residence in "Piscataqua House."[10]

In 1628 it appeared that Mr. Edward Hilton owned land at Dover Neck.[12] According to Hubbard, much criticized for inaccuracies, writing about 1680, Edward Hilton came over with Thomson. Edward Hilton was granted a patent of the so-called "Hilton's Point" at Dover Neck March 12, 1629, old style dating.[10] This patent recited that Edward Hilton and his associates had already transported sundry servants to New England to begin a plantation at a place called Hilton's Point, lying some two leagues from the mouth of the River Pascattaquack. Mr. John S. Jenness says that the earliest record of the Dover settlement is 1628, or possibly 1627.[10] The Hilton settlement was on land called by the Indians "Wecanacohunt."[10] William Hilton resided in Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1624, and was not mentioned as living on the Piscataqua River until several years later.[10] William Hilton's wife and two children, as stated, came to Plymouth in 1623. Apparently Edward Hilton came to Hilton's Point before his brother. A declaration made in 1654 to the Massachusetts General Court, by John Allen, Nicholas Shapleigh and Thomas Lake, recited "that Mr. Edward Hilton was possessed of this land about the year 1628."[12] William Hilton planted corn in that part of Kittery that is now Eliot in 1634.[15]

Mr. George Wadleigh, in his "Notable Events in the History of Dover, New Hampshire," says: "As to the fact of priority of settlement, if a mere fishing and trading post is to be regarded as such, it may be admitted that at Little Harbor, now in the town of Rye, the first planting of New Hampshire was commenced."[16] Mr. John S. Jenness, in "Notes on the First Planting of New Hampshire," says that the settlement at Pannaway was several years anterior to that of Edward Hilton at Dover.

Neither Pannaway nor the Hilton settlement up the Piscataqua River was of much importance for a considerable time, and as a result the outside world for some years regarded the different groups of settlers on the banks of the Piscataqua as one, and knew them collectively under the name of the settlement of Pascattaquack.

It seems fitting that mention should be made of the Indian derivation of the word "Piscataqua," and of the various phases through which the name went before arriving at its present day spelling. Capt. John Smith was the first European that history records as making use of this word for the name of the river and for the name of the near-by country. He spelt it "Passataquack." A letter from England in 1631 to Ambrose Gibbons, who was then in the Piscataqua settlement, spelt it "Pascataquacke." Governor Winthrop's "The History of New England," referring to the year 1630, spelt it "Pascataquac," also "Pascataqua," and as of 1631 "Pascataquack." The grant of "Pescataway," 1631, referred to the settlement as the colony known under the name of "Pascataway, als Pascataquack, als Pascaquacke." York Deeds, under the date of 1642, used the spelling "Pascatta-

quacke," also, in 1652, "Pischataqua." Among other spellings found are "Pascatoquack," "Pascattaquacke," "Piscataquacke," "Pascattaway," "Passataquacke," "Passataway," "Piscataway," "Paskataway," "Pascataqua," "Piscattowa," "Pascataque," "Pischataq," "Piscataquack." York Deeds in 1674 spelt it "Pischataqua." Hubbard about 1680 spelt it "Pascataqua." Hubbard also in one place spelt the word "Piscataqua," the earliest appearance we have found of this spelling. York Deeds in 1680 spelt it "Pischaqua," and, at last, in 1697, "Piscataqua."

Mr. John S. Jenness says in his "Notes on the First Planting of New Hampshire" that the Indian name of "our noble river" was "Paskataquauke, or Paskataquagh," as nearly as it can be expressed in English letters. Mr. Jenness says: "The syllable 'quauke', or 'quagh' is clearly the Indian word 'auke', signifying a place or locality, a word found abundantly scattered over the Abenaki country, in confirmation with various descriptive prefixes. The prefix 'pa-skata', as the Indians seem to divide the word, with a strong accent on the last syllable, we have recently been led to believe signifies a branch, division or separation." Mr. Jenness says that an Indian stated that the word meant "the place where three rivers make one." Another Indian stated to him, personally, so Mr. Jenness says, that the word meant "the branch or division of the river into two parts," the whole word meaning, "a place where boats or canoes ascending the river together from its mouth were compelled to separate according to their several destinations." Mr. Jenness goes on to say that it does not appear that the Indians had any name for the whole river. The upper rivers, he remarks, bore names very similar to the generally

used Indian name Pascataquauke: Pascaquack, for Great Bay, for example. The Maine Historical Society collection, Volume IV, page 108, in an Indian vocabulary defines "Piscataqua" — "Piscataquis," as meaning "a river." This same volume includes a letter from Mr. C. E. Potter, dated November 10, 1855, from Manchester, New Hampshire, which states that the writer has worked out the following derivation from Indian word roots: pos — great; attuck — deer; auke — place.

At all events, the present-day name seems an Anglicized and derived word from the original. Mr. Potter's letter is of value in bearing out the statement of Mr. Jenness that the word "auke" means place or locality, and that this root appears in the original word from which Piscataqua is derived. He does not seem to substantiate the appearance in the original word of the other Indian roots he uses, and the greater authority seems to rest with the meaning which Mr. Jenness attributes to the original word, which he confirmed, as he says, directly with Indians. The liquid sound of the word "Piscataqua" would seem to indicate a great rushing stream, and the fact that there is a Piscataquis River in northern Maine, which is a long, forking river, and whose name is apparently derived from the same Indian roots as Piscataqua, also strengthens the theory of Mr. Jenness.

The word "Piscataqua" is derived from the Abnaki (spelt also Abenaki and Abnaqui) language. The Abnaki race occupied the country between the Penobscot River and the territory near the Piscataqua.[24] To the east of the Kennebec dwelt the Tarratines, probably a subdivision of the Abnakis, but a fierce race and one at deadly enmity with the Indians around the

Piscataqua.[14] Much information regarding the Indians of eastern Maine comes from Father Rasles, a Frenchman who took residence at Naurantsouak, on the Kennebec, in 1691. His Indian dictionary found its way into the library of Harvard College. Hubbard intimates, about 1680, that there were a number of tribes about the Piscataqua,[14] all of which probably owed fealty to the chief sagamore of the Pennacooks.[24]

The Pennacooks, a subdivision of the Abnakis, were, apparently, the nearest principal Indian tribe to the Piscataqua settlements. They dwelt, generally speaking, to the westward of the Piscataqua.[24] Around 1680 it was the Pennacooks who were especially conspicuous. Minor tribal centers were close to the river on the west. Christopher Levett referred to the sagamore, or Indian king of the country near Pannaway, and the Wheelwright Deed in 1629 was signed by sagamores of Pennacook, of Pantucket, of Squamscot and of Newichwannock,[3] — all places near or fairly near the Piscataqua River.

Hubbard's "A General History of New England," written about 1680, and the first published history of New England, describes the Piscataqua as follows: "The next river of note, on that side of the coast, about thirty miles from the former, [the Saco] is that called Piscataqua, which has been frequented ever since the country was first planted, by such as came this way for traffick with the inhabitants, natives and others, that have seated themselves in several plantations about the uppermost branches thereof. The channel is very swift and spacious, fit for vessels of great burden for the space of nere twenty miles, when itt divides itself into many considerable bayes and small branches, whose streams are, in their passage

obstructed with falls of broken rockes that put a stop to such as, at the entrance, might by the help of its streams, be in hopes of aspiring higher into the inland parts of the country. Merrimac is another gallant river."

One must traverse the Piscataqua to know its virtues. It is an unusual river, vigorous and interesting throughout its course. Excepting for several small tributary streams ten or fifteen miles from its mouth, the river is wholly tidal. Through its creeks and branches it penetrates deeply a wide area of the mainland, carrying individuality wherever it reaches, and adding character to what man has accomplished on its banks.

Recent years have not changed the actual river. There is, as previously, the same lower harbor, lending its waters to two beautiful creeks and various backwaters behind islands that add to its charm. There is the same upper harbor, on the west bank of which now stands Portsmouth, while now on the opposite side is the United States Navy Yard. The river tears along at half tide just as it always did, here and there swirling and eddying, again sweeping out broadly in steady flow.

The lower harbor, with a mile wide entrance where it meets the ocean, covers, first, about a square mile, and then makes a right angle turn behind what, in 1693, became Newcastle. After running westward about a mile and a quarter or so from this turning point, the lower harbor ends in the Narrows, made by the rapidly converging shores of the main river, both sides turning northwestward at this point. Just below the Narrows, on the south side, a mile of shallow waters, that make Newcastle an island, connect the Piscataqua

with the indent of the sea known as Little Harbor. Little Harbor lies a mile to the west of the main entrance of the Piscataqua River. It was on a point on the mainland just south of Little Harbor that the first settlement in New Hampshire was effected.

If the first known explorer of this region, Martin Pring, when he rowed up the Piscataqua, reached the Narrows at ebb tide, he may have duplicated the name given a point just below the Narrows on the south shore — "Pull and be Damned Point." If he came up the river on the flood he passed rapidly through the Narrows into the upper harbor, which he saw had a slight westerly crook, and which stretched before him for a little over a mile. The current and the eddies in the upper harbor are very swift. The first widening of the river above the Narrows, at the southwest end of the upper harbor, was in the old days called "the Pool."

Four miles above where Portsmouth now stands the river forks, at what is called Dover Point, which stretches its apex southward on the line of the west bank of the main river just below. Dover Point is separated from the upper harbor of the Piscataqua principally by a beautiful reach of the upper river. It was at Dover Point that the first Dover settlement took place.

The western fork of the Piscataqua at Dover Point soon bends, in a southerly direction, and shortly widens into a large tidal bay, Great Bay, five miles long. Ultimately, through a tidal creek of some length, the waters of Great Bay reach what is now Exeter.

The northern arm of the Piscataqua stretches narrowly from Dover Point almost due north for six miles or so. Following this northern arm of the river for

some distance from Dover Point one comes to the spot on the east bank of this same northern arm where occurred the early settlement of Newichwannock; also on this northern arm of the Piscataqua are Quampegan, now Salmon Falls, of early historic fame. On the west bank of this northern arm of the river, some little distance above Dover Point, a tributary river flows into the main stream. This river is known as the Cocheco River, and on it the city of Dover now stands.

Hubbard called the Piscataqua a "river of note." Those who know the river believe him justified.

CHAPTER IV

THE LACONIA ADVENTURERS

THE Rev. William Hubbard, first historian of New England, who in 1682 received £50 from the General Court of Massachusetts for writing his history,[1] says that the discovery of Capt. John Smith and others "of the north parts of Virginia," meaning New England, "being bruited abroad amongst the western country of Europe, no doubt filled the minds of many with the expectations of famous plantations likely ere long to be erected in those parts of the New World."[1] It was on this basis that the settlement on the shores of the Piscataqua began. Hubbard goes on: "Encouraged by the report of divers mariners that came to make fishing voyages upon the coast,"[1] "some merchants and other gentlemen in the west of England, belonging to the cities of Exeter, Bristol, Shrewsbury, and the towns of Plymouth, Dorchester, etc.,"[1] "sent over [1623] one Mr. David Thom(p)son."[1] "How great a mind and so ever is, or hath been, made about the Province of Maine and the lands about the Pascataqua River, comprehended in sundry patents and grants, that were long since said to be jointly and severally made to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. John Mason, the whole history thereof may be comprised in a few words, so far as anything may be found in either of them worthy to be communicated to posterity."[1]

This uncomplimentary notice of about the date of 1680 was not quite lived up to by the Rev. William

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Hubbard. He devoted considerable space in his history to the Piscataqua settlements.[1] The Massachusetts Bay Colony looked with no too friendly eye on their Piscataqua neighbors, and the Rev. William Hubbard, writing for a Massachusetts audience, may have had a somewhat biased point of view.

It is true that the settlement at Pannaway, and its offshoots, grew slowly. The colony apparently did not progress, yet the seven to ten original settlers must have been in touch with England with reasonable frequency. We know of several visitors the little settlement had in 1623 and 1624, as has been stated. Through the years 1625–1628, inclusive, so far as records go, little or no contact appears between Pannaway and the home country; but it seems evident that more and more fishing and trading expeditions were touching at or near Pannaway. The Plymouth Colony had its own line of communication, and Thomson's backers in England, and Gorges and Mason, as well as independent fishing vessels, must have had contact with Pannaway during this time. Probably a considerable number of vessels visited the Piscataqua from 1625 to 1628, inclusive. Thomson is reported to have had his wife join him. Edward Hilton's grant of Dover Point, dated March 12, 1629, old style, March 23, 1630, new style,[2] stated that he, Hilton, and his associates "hath already transported sundry servants to plant in New England, at a place there called by the natives Wecanacohunt, otherwise Hilton's Point, lying some two leagues from the mouth of the River Paskataquack in New England."[2] There seems much proof of communication between the Piscataqua settlers and England from 1624 to 1628, inclusive, just as there was communication between

Pannaway and the thin fringe of other New England coast settlements. This communication was sufficient in the latter case, in 1628, for the Piscataqua settlements to be assessed £2, 10*s*, as their share in the expense incurred in preventing the sale of firearms to the Indians.[7]

Mr. John S. Jenness, in "Notes on the First Planting of New Hampshire," says that it was during the years 1628–1629 "that Mr. Edward Hilton, a member of the Ancient and Honorable Guild of Fishmongers of London, with the aid of a number of Bristol merchants, put up a few cabins at the point [Dover Point], which took his name."[2] The grant Hilton secured in 1629 came from the Council of Plymouth, but covered only that territory known by the Indian name of "Wecanacohunt, or Hilton's Point, with the south side of the river up to the fall of the river and three miles into the mainland,"[2] a small tract of land. Mr. Jenness points out that Edward Hilton was himself away from his plantation, presumably in England, when he secured his patent,[2] and that he soon after returned to the Piscataqua "with reinforcements and supplies."[2] As stated, Edward Hilton was probably with Thomson at Pannaway before moving up the river. Thomson grew dissatisfied with Pannaway and left after a few years, as we have seen. It seems that Edward Hilton, perhaps of a more dogged nature, went where the Indians and where he himself saw a more attractive location than Pannaway provided, moving from Pannaway to Dover Point. On a new and on an independent basis he continued the work that Thomson had begun.

There were, between 1624 and 1628, further indications of communication between Pannaway and

England. Capt. John Mason continued and probably augmented his interest in his New England project. This must have been largely because of reports from the Piscataqua. On November 7, 1629, the Council of Plymouth, that is, the Council for New England, gave Mason a new grant, based on his promise to establish a government. This grant covered the territory from the middle of the mouth of the Piscataqua, up the river to the farthest head, thence northwest for sixty miles from the mouth of the harbor, then across country to approximately a corresponding point above the mouth of the Merrimac.[3,7] This territory, the grant stated, Mason "with the consent of the President and Council intends to name New Hampshire,"[7] this name being used because of Mason's regard for Hampshire, England. As has been stated, Mason lived at Portsmouth, Hampshire, England.

A Rev. John Wheelwright, with others, had, at about this time, bought rights to land near Exeter from the Indians.[3,7] Jeremy Belknap, in his "History of New Hampshire," has suggested that Mason secured his grant of November 7, 1629, to frustrate Wheelwright.[3]

It is to be noted that although the words "New Hampshire" appeared in Mason's grant, this title was little used for many years. As a matter of fact, it was the claim of Capt. John Mason's grandson, about 1674, that revived the name. One writer has gone so far as to say that the territory now known as New Hampshire might easily have continued to this day to bear the name of Piscataqua if it had not been for the legal and political pressure brought to bear by Mason's heir to recover the rights he then claimed.[4] This may be a considerable stretch of the imagination,

but it is interesting. It was not until the existence of a commission, directly from the Crown, in 1679, that the name of New Hampshire became fixed.[3]

The difference in England between old style dating and new style, when the new was adopted, amounted to eleven days plus the change of having the new year begin on January 1 instead of on March 25, which was the official New Year's day up to 1752 in England. Pope Gregory XIII, in 1582, had reformed the calendar for all Catholic countries, and in March, 1582, had published an edict establishing the new system. He then instructed all Ecclesiastics under his jurisdiction to adopt his new method of dating, urging all Christian princes to do the same. In Great Britain popular prejudice for a long time prevented the general use of the Gregorian calendar, so called; but there was inconvenience from having two methods in vogue. As a result, in 1752, a statute was passed by Parliament establishing the Gregorian or new style, the law becoming effective September 14, 1752. As England's old official dating had gained eleven days over the Gregorian or new method, these eleven days were canceled, what would have been September 3, old style, becoming September 14, new style, and the new year, with its new number, coming in on January 1 next thereafter, instead of March 25 next.[6]

"In 1629 peace was made with France, and the war with Spain was coming to an end."[12] This may have paved the way for another grant, dated November 17, 1629, about four months prior to the execution of the Hilton patent. This grant of November 17, 1629, was in favor of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Capt. John Mason and seven associates whom Gorges and Mason were to admit.[7,10] This referred

to a considerable territory, vaguely defined, bordering Lake Champlain,[5,7] then called "Ye Lake of Ye Irroquois" (spelt Troquois according to the Indian language).[7] "This grant included all those lands and countries lying adjacent or bordering upon the great lake, or lakes or rivers, commonly called or known by the name of the River and Lake or Rivers and Lakes of the Iroquois."[7] The territory was inhabited by savages of the Iroquois who, according to this grant, were supposed to dwell in the land running from Lake Champlain to the coast, between the Merrimac and the Kennebec Rivers.[7] According to the deed, the large tract covered by this deed was to be called "the province of 'Laconia.'"[7] Records show that it was then believed in England that Lake Champlain was only about ninety miles inland, and could almost be reached from the headwaters of the Piscataqua.[2,7] A superlatively erroneous picture of the country as to its fertility and animal life was in the minds of the Englishmen interested in the undertaking.[3] Great hopes of profit from trading with the Indians, of taking beaver skins, of discovering mines of precious metals, were built on this grant. Those who ventured under its provisions have become known as "The Laconia Adventurers."[2] It is to be remembered that Gorges and Mason already had a grant of the coast line between the Merrimac and Kennebec, and for a considerable space inland between these rivers, a territory which was partially duplicated in the grant to Mason, dated November 7, 1629. The Laconia grant of November 17, 1629, apparently, did not conflict with either of these two other grants.[7]

The settlement at Pannaway was not flourishing in 1629. Gorges and Mason had not secured any bene-

fits from their grant of 1622. Now, through this Laconia grant, a new lease of life was given the original joint enterprise of Gorges and Mason. Pannaway seemed the key to the new attempt. The Laconia Adventurers leased the buildings put up by David Thomson at Pannaway.[2] From this time on sight was lost of the original merchant adventurers, who, with Thomson, banded together to commence the settlement at Pannaway. The Laconia Adventurers, having leased the Pannaway buildings, "established there a factory or entrepot, as a basis for their magnificent designs upon the New York lakes."[2] At the same time these Laconia Adventurers fed in new blood to the settlement.

About 1631 there was an oasis of settlement on the upper easterly bank of the north branch of the Piscataqua, opposite and considerably above the Hilton settlement at Dover Point.[8] It does not appear whether David Thomson commenced this settlement and made it a direct offshoot of Pannaway, or whether Gorges and Mason sent out a very few men to begin this up-river plantation. The settlement occurred at Newichwannock,[2] or Newichewannick,[5] near the falls of the upper river (Quanpegan Falls)[2] now part of South Berwick. Part or all of this tract is said to have been purchased from the Indians.[8] The post consisted of only a rude building,[1] and it was probably instituted for trading with the Indians and for trapping. This was, very possibly, the third house that Edward Colcott said that he found on the Piscataqua when he came there in 1631, the other two being one at Pannaway and one at Hilton's Point. It is stated that prior to 1631 no record exists of the settlement at Newichwannock.[8] The Laconia Adventurers,

though not clearly as a company, took over the house and plantation at Newichwannock, as well as the one at Pannaway.[8] The principal house on the river, however, was the large house at Pannaway, built by Thomson and his men.

In 1630 the bark "Warwick" and another vessel, the "Pied Cow," arrived in the Piscataqua.[12] On board the "Warwick" were Capt. Walter Neal,[5,12] or Neale,[7] and Ambrose Gibbons.[5,8] Possibly one Warrenton arrived at the same time. Warrenton, according to instructions, took charge of the Great House at Strawberry Bank, built in 1631.[5] Neale had been appointed attorney for the New England Council to put Capt. John Mason in formal possession of his newly named territory of New Hampshire, which he had acquired under his grant of November 7, 1629.[12] Neale had also been appointed Governor[7] and agent in behalf of the Laconia Company, that is, those adventurers who were striving to profit out of the Laconia grant on the borders of Lake Champlain, and who had made Pannaway, Newichwannock and the Piscataqua River the entering wedge to the same.

Captain Neale, the most important person of the Piscataqua settlements at the moment, took up residence at the house at Pannaway.[8] His duty of placing Capt. John Mason in formal possession of his territory seems to have been of minor importance; also he had to govern few in number.[8] Neale was primarily the agent of the Laconia Company.[3] He, apparently, had promised to try to discover the more or less mythical lakes referred to in the Laconia grant, to secure the beaver skins which his employers desired, and to discover the mines they hoped for.[3] Neale made an effort to keep his promise, and he is said to

have started out on foot with Darby Field to find the beautiful inland lakes.[3] They went as far as the White Mountains, which, from crystal stones reported found on them, became known as the "Chrystal Hills."[3] Of these hills, a report, questioned as to its accuracy, says they said that they were "a ridge extending an hundred leagues, on which snow lieth all the year."[3] Neale stayed as agent of the Laconia Company for three years, leaving the colony July 15, 1633,[12] and returning to England with the report, "Non est inventa provincia."[1] Ambrose Gibbons, who, report states, came with Neale in the "Warwick," took charge, as instructed, of the upper plantation at Newichwannock.[5] He planned to set up a sawmill there.[8] He resided in a palisaded house at this upper settlement, and traded with the Indians.[3] There was but little regard at this time for agriculture on the Piscataqua River. What the financial backers in England and what their representatives on the Piscataqua seem almost wholly to have had in mind was trade with the Indians, exploration in the hope of discovering mines, fishing, and, to a small extent, the raising of grapes.

Capt. John Mason gave hearty backing to his interests in the New World. Though his individual interests were merged and confused with those of Sir Ferdinando Gorges and the Laconia Adventurers in many ways, Mason had his own individual ambitions in connection with the Piscataqua settlement. This settlement, apparently, did not include the settlement at Hilton's Point. Mr. Edward Hilton, largely, if not wholly, emancipated himself, through his grant of 1629, from Mason's control; and the Hilton settlement seems to have been managed in-

dependently of Gorges and Mason. This seems to have occurred naturally and without friction between Gorges and Mason on the one part, and the Dover colony on the other. Mason and his associates sent over to the Piscataqua, or adopted from other colonies, fifty men, twenty-two women and eight Danes.[7]

One of the men who arrived in 1631 was Humphrey Chadbourne, a carpenter, who later settled at what became South Berwick.[8] The house at Pannaway had no cellar.[2] The site of the Pannaway settlement was relatively bleak. It was not directly on the river. The settlements up the river, the one at Hilton's Point and the other at Newichwannock, if, as is probable, it was then in existence, seemed to have advantages that Pannaway had not. In 1631, Humphrey Chadbourne, acting under orders from certain or all of the Laconia Adventurers, directed artificers who had arrived in the country, in the building of a house, called "the Great House." [1,8] This was erected on the west bank of the upper harbor of the Piscataqua River. According to Mr. Charles W. Brewster, in "Rambles About Portsmouth," First Series, the Great House stood on what is now the southeast corner of Court Street, where it crosses Water Street in Portsmouth. The west shore of the main river, looking northward from the entrance of the upper harbor, is first low, and then rises moderately in a low hill, which edges the river, the rushing tide just below. This is a beauty spot of the whole Piscataqua. Here, on the south slope of this hill, Chadbourne built his house; and because of a profusion of strawberries found on this bank in early summer,[11] the bank was called "Strawberry Banke," [3,10] a name which for years identified the settlement, and which persisted

until late in the century as the name of the colony that grew up around and because of the so-called Great House. This Great House was the beginning of Portsmouth. Thomas Bailey Aldrich has said, in "An Old Town by the Sea," Mr. Chadbourne "consciously or unconsciously sowed a seed from which a city has sprung."

In 1631, also, the proprietors were careful to provide for the defence of the men they were sending to the Piscataqua, and the plantations these men were beginning. These proprietors sent over four cannon, given by a London merchant, which they directed their agents to mount at the most convenient place for a fort.[3] These agents, accordingly, placed the cannon on the northeastern point of Great Island (Newcastle), at the mouth of the harbor, about a bowshot back from the water's edge, by a high rock.[3] The next year, 1632, the coast was alarmed by the news of a pirate, one Dixy Bull, who with fifteen others had rifled the fort at Pemaquid, to the eastward.[3,7] The early settlers on the Piscataqua must have felt the safer because of their cannon. Neale, with others, in four pinnaces and shallops, manned with forty men, and joined by twenty men in a bark from Boston (settled 1630), is reported to have journeyed to Pemaquid.[7] The story goes that they did not meet Dixy Bull,[9] but that they did make prisoner an Indian, who had been concerned with the murder of an Englishman, and that they hanged him on their return.[3]

Probably the influx of new settlers and servants came largely with Neale, or shortly afterwards, 1630–1633. A list of stewards and servants sent by Capt. John Mason has been handed down. One was George Vaughan, who remained but a short time in the Prov-

ince;[8] a William Vaughan came shortly afterwards. Another was Reginald or Renald Fernald, who lived at Strawberry Bank, and who died on Peirce's Island in 1656.[8] He had been a surgeon in the English navy, and was physician to the colony. Henry Sherburne came over in the ship "James," arriving in the Piscataqua June 12, 1632. He married Rebecca Gibbons, daughter of Ambrose Gibbons, November 13, 1637.[8] William Seavey said, in a deposition, 1676, that he came as a fishmonger to the Isles of Shoals about a year before Captain Neale.[8] Seavey had a grant of fifty acres in Rye in 1652, and was a selectman in Portsmouth in 1657,[8] Portsmouth then including Newcastle, Rye, Greenland and part of Newington. Ralph Gee kept Mason's cattle and was employed in making staves.[8] Letters show that Roger Knight was on the Piscataqua before May, 1632. He was entertained by Ambrose Gibbons, and was of the group associated with Mason and the Laconia Adventurers. Another who came to the colony through Mason was Thomas Wonerton, or Wannerton, who, it is possible, came over with Neale. He had charge of the property of Gorges and Mason on the Piscataqua after Neale left, and also of the Great House at Strawberry Bank until about 1644.[3, 8] Winthrop is quoted as saying of Wannerton, that he had "been a soldier many years, and lived very wickedly." [8] Others sent over by Mason about 1631 were Francis Rand, William Berry, who is said to have been the first settler at Sandy Beach, Rye,[8] and William Brackett.[8] Anthony Brackett, who was killed by the Indians in 1691,[4] settled in Strawberry Bank before 1640. Alexander Jones, born in 1615, was the first owner of land in Kittery.[8] He was a resident of Portsmouth in 1657, and of the Isles of

Shoals in 1661.[8] William Chadbourne came in 1634 to build the mill at Newichwannock.[8] He was the father of Humphrey Chadbourne, who came in 1631, and who built the Great House.[8] Thomas Wolford had been the first settler at Charlestown, Massachusetts, but removed to Strawberry Bank (Portsmouth), and later settled at Sagamore Creek.[8] John Goddard came as a millwright in 1634, presumably to help William Chadbourne. Goddard owned a lot of land at Dover Neck in 1648.[8] Thomas Withers, born in 1606, obtained a deed from Sir Ferdinando Gorges, of four hundred acres of land in Kittery, directly opposite Portsmouth, and eight hundred acres more at the head of Spruce Creek.[8] John Peverly owned land at Portsmouth in 1657.[8] Francis Matthews, who married Thomasine Channon, November 22, 1622, in Devonshire, came over in 1634.[11] In 1637 he was given a lease of one hundred acres of land on the northwest side of Great Island (Newcastle), commonly called "Muskito Hall."[8] He signed the Exeter Combination in 1639, and he was living at Oyster River Point, where he died in 1648.[8]

The surnames of those stewards and servants sent by Capt. John Mason to his Piscataqua territory is as follows:

Neal	Furnald
Gibbins or Gibbons	Gee or Goe
Comock	Cooper
Raymond	Chadborn
Williams	Mathews
Vaughan	Rand
Wonerton	Johnson
Jocelyn	Ellins
Norton	Baldwin
Lane	Spencer

Furrall	Langstaff
Herd	Berry
Chatherton	Walford
Knight	Moore
Sherborn	Beal
Goddard	James
Fernald	Jones
Withers	Ault
Canney	Bracket
Symonds	Newt
Peverly	Wall
Seavey	Brakin

Also eight Danes and twenty-two women.[7]

Apparently a number of individuals lived together in each of the widely separated houses at Pannaway, at Strawberry Bank, at Hilton's Point and at Newichwannock. It was a lonely country, and the palisaded design of house at Pannaway and at Newichwannock was probably followed at Strawberry Bank and at Hilton's plantation. Gradually, outlying buildings and houses arose, and daring spirits slowly erected new home units away from the first centers. The Indians were a source of danger, more imagined than real, at this earliest stage of the settlement, yet savages they were, and not to be trusted. The Massachusetts settlers had already had varying difficulties with the Indians, but so far as the records show, the Piscataqua settlements had no real difficulty with their Indian neighbors until 1636, when slight encounters with the Pequots are reported at Eliot.[14] Even then the struggle between white man and Indian does not seem to have been of much moment on the banks of the Piscataqua. The settlers wanted to trade with the Indians. Ambrose Gibbons gave them shelter and food, and they were of reasonably friendly disposition.

No great Indian difficulties seem to have arisen on the Piscataqua until much later.

Contact with England developed considerably from 1630 on. We know of a small English ship that arrived in the Piscataqua in 1631 with provisions, and carrying also some Frenchmen, sent over to make salt, presumably for curing the fish at Pannaway.[7] In 1633 seventeen fishing vessels came to the Isles of Shoals [9] and most, if not all, of them probably anchored in the Piscataqua before they sailed home again. The Laconia Adventurers in England kept up a mail service with their agents on the river. There were, also, those in England who were interested in Hilton's settlement at Dover Point, and who doubtless kept in touch with it.

The same men who had secured the Laconia grant[2] — namely, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Capt. John Mason and seven others — obtained, November 3, 1631,[7] an important patent or grant called "The Grant and Confirmation of Pescataway."[10] They obtained this grant from the Council for New England. The grant recited that the nine men specified were confirmed in their title to "all that house and chief habitation situate and being at Pascataway als Pascataquack als Passaquacke in New England, wherein Capt. Walter Neale and ye colony with him now doth, or lately did reside, together with the gardens and corne ground occupied and planted by the said colonie, and the salt works already begun;"[10] also, "all that land beginning upon the seacoast five miles to the westward of or from said habitation or plantation, being in the latitude 43° or thereabouts, in the harbor of Pascataquack, upwards to the plantation of Edward Hilton and thence westward"[10] "in ye middle of the river

and through midle of ye bay or lake of Pasquacack [Great Bay], also called Pascaquack,"[10] thence to the river of Pascassocke (Exeter River), at the westerly head of Great Bay, and thence to the sea, to the starting point. This grant also included the "Isles of Shoales," so spelt in this deed.[10] It is said that the object of this deed was to define the dividing line between the Hilton patent and the lower settlements.[20]

This deed was granted, as it recited, because of the cost to Capt. John Mason, Sir Ferdinando Gorges and the seven others,[7] due to divers special services done by them for the plantations, such as the "making of clapboard and pipe staves, making of salt pans and salt, transporting of vines for making wines, searching for iron ore, being all busenisse of very great consequence for causing of many soules, both men, women and boys, a store of shipps to be employed thither, all which has cost them, as we are creditably informed, £3000 and upwards."[10] This deed indicated that the Laconia Adventurers had thoughts of the probable development of their up-river plantation at the expense of Pannaway, which the deed rather implied was to be abandoned. This deed also indicated extensive communication between the Piscataqua and England.

The Laconia Adventurers spent much time and money on their schemes, but after two years of effort and of unfulfilled hopes, they abandoned their project, disheartened,[2] and "the major part of them either relinquished the design or sold their shares to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. John Mason."[3] They did not, however, resign or in any way give up their original patent, and claims under this patent caused much litigation for years after, almost to the Revolution.[2]

In 1633 smallpox spread to Pascataquack, as Massachusetts then called, indiscriminately, all of the Piscataqua River settlements. This same report states that all but one or two of the Indians on the river died from this epidemic.[9]

As of 1633, there exists considerable information bearing on the Piscataqua settlers during the effort of the Laconia Adventurers. This, to a considerable extent, comes from letters, copies of which are easily available. These sketch a picture of the lives of the men of the Piscataqua, 1630–1634, and outline their hardships and their contact with the home country. One of these letters was from Ambrose Gibbons (spelt Gibbins), written at the palisaded house at Newichwannock (spelt Newichwanicke), to one of the Laconia Adventurers in England. This letter reads: "You may perhaps think that fewer men would serve me but I have sometimes on C (100) Indians from far and neybors. These that I can I set to pale in ground for corne and garden. I have digged a wel within the palizado, where is good water. More men I could have and more employ. These four men with me is Charles Knell, Thomas Clarke, Steven Kidder and Thomas Crockitt. Three of them is to have for their wages until the first of March, £4 per peese, and the other for the year £6, which in your behalf I have promised to satisfy in money or beaver at ten shillings per pound. The vines that were planted will come to little. I have sent you a note of the beaver taken by me at Newichwanick, and how it hath gon from me."[3] Another letter from Gibbons, 1631, says: "A good husband with his wife to tend the cattle and to make butter and cheese will be profitable; for maides they are soon gone in this country."[3] A letter from Thomas Eyre, one of the

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Laconia Adventurers in England, written to Ambrose Gibbons, and dated the last of May, 1631, speaks of a letter written from Plimouth, New England, to Eyre, dated April 8, 1630. This same letter refers to Gibbons as having said that he had entertained Roger Knight. It also refers to letters from Gibbons, dated from Pascataquacke, July 21, 1630, and August 14, 1630. The same letter from Eyre says that he, Eyre, was about to send out by the bark "Warwicke" to the Piscataqua a factor to take charge of trade goods and a soldier "for discovery." This letter intimates that the "Pide-Cowe" also had sailed, or was about to sail, for the Piscataqua with provisions and commodities.[7] This letter from Eyre to Gibbons, dated May, 1631, says: "I wish all your wives were with you, and that so many of you as desire wives have such as they desire; for the adventurers desire not to be troubled with quarterly payments. I take notice of your complaints for the want of trade goods, and so much as lieth in me it shall be otherwise, especially if you send us returns. I hope you will find something to relode the 'Pide-Cowe' and the 'Warwicke.'[3] I will now put on the sending of you the moddell of a saw mill that you may have one going. Your wife and child, Roger Knight's wife and one wife more we have already sent you, and more you shall have as you write for them. You write for another mason. We hope you will find out some good mines, which will be welcome news unto us." [3] The letter also states that the Laconia Adventurers had received a letter from Captain Neale. Another letter from the Laconia Adventurers in England, written after Neale's departure, and towards the end of the venture by the Laconia Adventurers, reads: "The Adventurers have bine soe dis-

couraged by the small returnes sent thither by Capt. Neal, Mr. Herbert, etc. Wee praie you to take care of our house at Newichwannick and to looke well to our vines. Also you may take some of our swine and goates, which we praie you to preserve. We have committed the chief care of our house at Pascattaway to Mr. Godfrie and written unto Mr. Warnerton to take care of our house at Strawberry Bancke. Our desire is that Mr. Godfrie, Mr. Wannerton and you should joyne lovingly together in all things for our good, and to advise us what our best course will be to doe another year."[3]

The letter to Ambrose Gibbons, dated at London, December, 1632, and written by the Laconia Adventurers, in speaking of the discouragement of the Laconia Adventurers, reads: "wee have written to Capt. Neale to dismiss the household."[3] This same letter provides that those who needed the right to stay on the land might do so, with the sanction of Gibbons, Godfrie and Neale. A letter from Gibbons to the Laconia Company, dated from the Piscataqua June 24, 1633, says: "I have delivered unto Mr. John Raymon [who was probably the factor referred to in Eyre's letter], seventy-six pounds, four ounses of beaver, ten otters, six musquashes, and on martin more."[3] This letter states that Captain Neale had three hundred and fifty-eight pounds, eleven ounces of beaver and otter, seventeen martins, one black fox skin, one other fox skin, three raccoon skins, fourteen musquashes, two of them with stones.[7]

A letter written by Gibbons to the company, dated Newichawinick, July 13, 1633, says: "Mr. Wanerton hath the charge of the house at Pascatawa, and hath

with him William Cooper, Rafe Gee, Roger Knight and his wife, William Dermit and on boy. I have taken into my hands all the trade goods that remains of John Raymone's and Mr. Vaughan's. You complain of your returnes. A plantation must be furnished with cattle and good herd hands, and necessaries for them." [7] Gibbons wrote, in 1633, that there was "no amity between the west countriemen and them" (meaning Londoners).[3] This was in reply to a criticism that his returns of the fishing were not satisfactory. Gibbons says: "A Londoner is not for fishing." He adds: "Those that have been here this three year some of them hath neither meat, money nor clothes. For myself, my wife and child and four men, we have but half a barrel of corne: beef and pork I have not had but on peese this three months, nor beare this four months. I have for two and twenty months had but two barrels of beare and two barrels and four booshel of malt."[3] All these letters are worth reading in full. They draw a picture of the situation pertaining to the settlers of the Piscataqua, with some humor in it, no very vigorous initiative, and no results satisfactory either to the backers of the venture which brought the settlers there, nor to the settlers themselves.

The Laconia Adventurers had used the "Warwick" and the "Pied-Cowe" as their vessels for communication with the Piscataqua.[12] In 1631 the "Warwick," John Dunton, master, was in the Piscataqua again, arriving September 9.[12] She sailed for Virginia September 19, 1631, and then came back from Virginia to the Piscataqua the next year, and delivered there seven hundred barrels of corn. Sailing from the Piscataqua again for Virginia she stopped at the Isles of

Shoals on the way back.[12] In the spring of 1632 another ship, the "John," was sent over to the Piscataqua.[12] That year, also, the company chartered the "Lyon's Whelp" of London. She reached the Piscataqua the last part of April.[12] In May, 1634, Gorges and Mason sent the "Pide-Cowe" again to the Piscataqua River.[12] This time they directed her also to call at Agamenticus, now York. Henry Josselyn was sent out by Mason on her as steward, and it was on this trip that William Chadbourne also came to the Piscataqua. With him were James Wall and John Goddard, all three being carpenters with whom Mason had made a contract for five years, to build his sawmill at Newichwannock.[12] Josselyn "described the whole coast as a mere wilderness, with here and there a few huts scattered by the seaside." [18] Thirty years after its settlement Portsmouth boasted only fifty to sixty families.[18] Josselyn succeeded Neale as Governor, representing Mason as such in the lower plantation, when Neale left in 1633.[12] Probably Thomas Cammock also came with Chadbourne.[10]

The "Pide-Cowe" arrived in Piscataqua Harbor, July 8, 1634, and anchored at Newichwannock, July 13.[8, 12] She took on iron "ore" from the shores of the Piscataqua,[12] and landed some finely bred Denmark cattle. The cove where they landed, about half a mile below the falls, has been since known as "Cow Cove." [8, 13]

There were probably at this time a considerable number of settlers along the shores of the Piscataqua River, who had purchased or who had hired land from the Laconia Company. The first corn mill in New England to be operated by water power was erected

at Newichwannock.[8] This was sent over in July, 1634, with another one for "Aquamenticus." Gorges and Mason sent them.[7,12]

The owners of the patent covered by Hilton's settlement at Dover Point wished their patent surveyed. Mason, at the same time, wished the lower river territory surveyed, and also his larger patent running up to the Massachusetts line on the west. At this time Captain Wiggin represented the English owners of the Hilton's Point settlement.[2] Acting under instructions, in 1633, Neale and Wiggin are said to have surveyed their respective territories.[7] Having done so, they wrote to Capt. John Mason in England, asking that he present their report to the patentees of Laconia and Hilton's Point. This letter, as handed down, has been claimed a forgery, made much later than its date, and for political purposes. Even so, it contains interesting information of an early date. The letter reads as follows: We "have surveyed the river from the mouth of the harbor to Squamscutt Falls, and from the harbor's mouth to the Massachusetts bounds, and find that your patents will not afford more than for two townes in the river of Piscataway. And the remainder will make another good towne, having much salt marsh in it. And because you would have four townes, named as you desired, wee have treated with a gentleman who had purchased a tract of land of the Indians at Squamscott Falls, the gentleman's name being Wheelwright, and he was to name said plantation Exeter. And the other two townes in the river, the one North-ham, and Portsmouth the other, bounded as follows, viz: Portsmouth runs from the harbor's mouth by the seaside to the entrance of a little river between

two hed lands, which we have given the names of the little Bores-hed and the great Bores-hed, and from the mouth of that little river to go on a straight line to the creeke, which we have named Wheelwright Creeke, and from thens down to the harbor mouth, where it began. And North-ham is the bounds of all the land of Hilton's Point side, and the other land from the little river between the two Boores-heds, to run by the sea till it meets with the line between Massachusetts and you, and so to run from the sea by the said Massachusetts line into the woods eight miles, and from thence atwart the woods to meet with Portsmouth line neere Wheelwright's creeke, and that tract of land to be called Hampton, so that there is foure townes named as you desired, but Exeter is not within the bounds of your patents." [7] This letter goes on to speak of conflicts of patents.[7] This letter indicates that Mason desired that the name Portsmouth be given the territory which now bears the name of Portsmouth, and if not a forgery is of historic importance in this connection. There seems no collateral testimony that Mason ever had the design of calling Strawberry Bank, Portsmouth. Just, however, as Mason proposed that the territory under his grant of 1629 should be called New Hampshire, he may have proposed that the town which his vision saw growing where Portsmouth now stands should be called Portsmouth. Mason had had so long an association in England with Hampshire, and, as stated, living in Portsmouth in Hampshire, he may easily have expressed this wish.

Capt. John Mason was a good man, ambitious, yet fair and kindly. He was bitterly disappointed over the way his affairs went on the Piscataqua. After two

years or so from the receipt of their charter, the Laconia Adventurers, disheartened at their expenses, abandoned their plan, and the company passed out of existence as an active organization; but the Laconia Company, as stated, never relinquished their charter rights, and, also, as stated, their original grant was the cause of much litigation in after years.

On December 6, 1633, a partial division of property on the Piscataqua occurred between Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. John Mason. It was agreed that "Pascattaway House," the house at "Strawberry Banke," and all the "islands and isletts" within the river of "Pascattaway," "the Isles of Shoales," the house at Newichwannock, and all land on the southwest side of the river, should remain in common until a more general division could be made.[10] "Soon after this the Laconia Company appears to have been dissolved, so far as regards joint action in maintaining the plantations."[12] At, or about the date 1633, Gorges and Mason bought most of the rights of the others of the Laconia Company.[7] On February 3, 1634, the Council for New England, which was about to resign its authority, confirmed Mason in certain lands on the Piscataqua.[10] This confirmation covered the land from the "Namekecke" River, around "Cape Anne" to "Pascataway" Harbor, and up the river to the head of the "Newichewannock." This grant also included "the south halfe of the Isles of Shodles."[10] Gorges and Mason planned to divide their property on the Piscataqua in as friendly and fair a way as they could.[7] Mason also wished to simplify his activities.[7] Writing, in 1634, to his agent Gibbons, after the division, Mason said: "The servants with you, and such others as remain upon the

Company's charge, are to be discharged, and paid their wages out of the stock of beaver in your hands, at the rate of twelve shillings [2] the pound. And you must afford my people some room at Newichwannock House, and the cows and goats which are all mine, and fourteen swine with their increase, some grounds to be upon til we have some place provided upon my new divided lands. The cristall stoanes you sent are of little or no value, unless they were so great to make drinking cups or some other good works, as pillars for fair looking glasses or for garnishing rich cabinets. Good iron or lead ore I should like beeter of if it could be found. I have disbursed a great deal of money in ye plantation, and never received one penny, but hope, if there were once a discovery of the lakes, that I should, in some reasonable time, be reimbursed again." [7] Mason signs himself "Yor verie loving friend" John Mason.[7]

The Council of Plymouth, that is, the Council for New England, granted to Capt. John Mason, April 22, 1635,[7] the territory from the "Naumkeeke" River,[7] around Cape Ann to "Pischataway" Harbor, and up the Piscataqua River to the headwaters of the "Newitchawannack," then inland, northwestward, for sixty miles from the mouth of the Piscataqua, then back across country to a corresponding point above the "Naumkeeke."[7] This territory included the original Hilton patent. It was "from henceforth to be called New Hampshire." [7, 10] This grant also included the south half of the Isles of Shoals,[7] dividing them on a line which still separates Maine and New Hampshire. This grant confirmed the authority given Mason by the Council February 3, 1634, over this territory. In addition to this grant of April 22, 1635, in September,

1635,[3] Gorges sold to Mason a tract of land on the northeast side of the Piscataqua River, three miles in breadth, and following the course of the river from its mouth to its furthest head.[7] This included the sawmill, and, presumably, the other buildings which had been built at Newichwannock.

There were occasional unexpected excitements in the colony, not wholly overshadowed in history by the territorial alignments that were being put through England at this time. "Sept. 1, 1635 divers lewd servants, viz., six, ran away [from Massachusetts Bay] and stole a skiff and other things. A commission was granted at the General Court, to Captain Trask, to fetch them and other such from the eastward. He pursued them to the Isle of Shoals, and so to Pascataquack, where, in the night, he surprised them in a house, and brought them to Boston. At next court they were whipped and ordered to pay all charges." [7]

Mason, perhaps, was preparing to come to his colony on the Piscataqua when he died, in November, 1635,[3] leaving his rights on the Piscataqua largely to his infant grandsons, Robert and John Tufton, on condition that they should take the surname of Mason.[3] Mason's estate in New England was valued, in inventory, at £10,000.[3] Mason was the chief patron of the lower Piscataqua settlement. He seems to have been a fine type of man. After Mason's death, his widow sent over Francis Norton as her general attorney,[3] but the house at Newichwannock was burned, the cattle sold, and Mason's estate here was ruined.[3,15] There was not enough left to pay expenses.[3]

In 1635 Sir Ferdinando Gorges obtained from the Council of Plymouth, that is, the Council for New Eng-

land, before it gave up its charter to the King, a grant covering the territory from the Piscataqua River to the Kennebec, and up the Kennebec until a square was formed of about one hundred and twenty miles.[17] Later, April 3, 1639, Gorges obtained from the Crown a charter of the soil and jurisdiction of Maine.[17] This included, as did his grant of 1635, the north half of the Isles of Shoals.[7] This grant of 1639 carried "as ample powers as were ever granted by the King of England to any subject."[17] The province designated under this royal charter, 1639, was to be called "the province of Maine."[16]

In 1639, Gorges, who was then about seventy-three years old,[16] appointed a governor and council, and as a result, government in Maine was administered on this basis until 1652, when the inhabitants submitted to Massachusetts.[16] In 1691, through a charter from William and Mary, the Province of Maine was definitely incorporated with Massachusetts.[16] In 1642, in spite of Sir Ferdinando Gorges' efforts in this country, all that his deputy could find in Maine belonging to him "was not enough for the scanty furniture of a cottage."[18] Gorges died in 1647,[19] at the age of about eighty-one years.

The Council for New England had been much attacked, and had enemies in the Virginia Company, and in Parliament.[3] In 1635 the Council for New England was dissolved, surrendering its charter to the King, when it was thought best to place the American colonies directly in the King's hands.[3] There is in existence a printed report that Mason had his patent confirmed by the King, but it is not clear that there was any such royal confirmation.[3] Gorges, as stated,

later received a royal grant, when it was decided to divide New England into royal provinces, responsible directly to the Crown. If Mason had lived he very probably would also have secured a royal charter, covering New Hampshire.

The close of 1635 marked the end of a definite era for the Piscataqua colonies. The Laconia Adventurers had ceased to be an active body. Gorges and Mason had divided their rights, Gorges withdrawing from what became New Hampshire. Then Mason had died. It was a somber phase of the Piscataqua settlements' history.

CHAPTER V

SOME COLLATERAL HISTORY

A LITTLE to the west of the Piscataqua River a more important settlement occurred. In 1624 a small company of fishermen had come to Cape Ann and had formed a colony there under the leadership of Roger Conant.[1,2] This group removed in 1626 to a spot called Naumkeag, now Salem.[3] Naumkeag, with Plymouth, Weymouth and Mount Wollaston, kept Massachusetts prominent in the minds of those in England. On March 19, 1628, the Council of Plymouth granted John Endicott and others territory from three miles south of the Charles River to three miles north of the Merrimac, and west to the Pacific Ocean.[2,8,10] A royal charter, dated March 4, 1629,[11] confirmed this grant and incorporated the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay.[2] The full title of the government was to be "The Governor and Council of London's Plantation in the Massachusetts Bay in New England."[8] Endicott was elected Governor April 30, 1629[10] (new style); but he had already arrived at Naumkeag the previous September, with six vessels.[8]

Augmented by Endicott's considerable company, Naumkeag quickly turned into, relatively, an important English colony. Endicott took the leadership, and not favoring the name Naumkeag, he and his colony changed the name to Salem.[3] As Hubbard has it, in 1629 "three ministers" and "sundry honest, well-affected people in several ships arrived safe at Naum-

keag, intending to settle there." They then christened Naumkeag, "Salem."[3] They at once proceeded to carry out their plan of developing that colony.

Meanwhile, in England, in the spring of 1630, about fifteen hundred persons were contemplating a final departure to America.[1] Charles I had succeeded James I in 1625, reigning until his execution in 1649.[13] Already the departure of the Pilgrim Fathers to Plymouth, and other less spectacular, but important religious upheavals in England, had indicated what was soon to come. Four religious parties had grown up in England by 1600, — the Catholics, the members of the English Church, the Puritans, the Separatists. The Puritans were simply non-conformists.[8] The Pilgrims at Plymouth were Separatists.[8] This new contemplated emigration was further expression of the religious movement which finally resulted in the civil war which broke out at Portsmouth, England. The war, in turn, gave rise to the successful armies of Parliament, the leadership of Cromwell, the execution of Charles I, and the Commonwealth.

The fifteen hundred or so men and women who planned to go to America were under the leadership of John Winthrop.[10] He was a man "well approved for his piety, liberality, wisdom and gravity."[6] In the group about him, "all of the forty counties of England were more or less represented," but "the shires on the eastern side of England contributed far more than all the rest."[6] In the spring of 1630 this large company, under Winthrop, sailed for Naumkeag.[1] Five ships made up one section of the fleet that bore these immigrants to New England. These ships were the "Talbot," the "George," the "Lyons Whelp," the "Four Sisters," the "Mayflower."[11] The "Lyons Whelp"

is described as "a neat and nimble ship of 120 tunnes and 8 peices of ordinance."[11] In all, seventeen ships were employed.[2] On June 12, 1630, John Winthrop, Governor of the company, arrived off Baker's Island.[1,3] That night, the Governor, with certain associates, went to Salem, where they were entertained "with a good venison pasty, and good beer, which was probably not their everydays commons."[3] By the end of July, 1630, eleven ships from England had arrived in Massachusetts Bay. "Six more came before the end of the year,"[1] bringing in all fifteen hundred passengers.[1]

When Winthrop arrived at Salem he found but eight or ten pitiful hovels, and one larger tenement for the Governor. The newcomers did find an abundance of corn fields,[8,11] but actual corn and bread only enough for a fortnight's supply.[2] The total population when Winthrop arrived was about one hundred souls, above eighty having died the previous winter.[6]

Winthrop, after a few days' rest, went in search of a more suitable site for a town than Naumkeag, or Salem.[6] On July 12, 1630, his expedition removed to Charlestown.[6] "Winthrop's government superseded Endicott's," and the colony around Charlestown[5] became at once the principal settlement in New England. Winthrop remained as Governor or Deputy Governor for twenty years, until his death.[7] As was natural, with so many settlers at hand, a considerable spreading out soon occurred. Boston, Dorchester, Cambridge and other near-by centers were settled in 1630.[1]

Governor Winthrop's colony was of sturdy disposition. The group of men and women comprising it were generally well educated, of excellent English stock, and of high minds and firm convictions. Re-

ligion and law played important rôles in their lives. From the first, the Boston colony was a religious one.[1] From the first a firm basis of law was inaugurated.[1] A General Court was established October 19, 1630.[2] Over one hundred inhabitants were admitted to be freemen.[2] Religion and law went hand in hand. Wrongdoers and semi-traitors were sternly dealt with. One Morton and one Gardiner[1] appeared in this class, and with them was grouped one Ratcliffe. On June 14, 1631, the General Court ordered "that Philip Ratcliffe shall be whipped, have his ears cut off, be fined £40, and banished out of the limits of this jurisdiction for uttering malicious and scandalous speeches against the government and the church of Salem." [6]

Transported from the days of his Puritan environment to the present time, Morton's own story of the doings at "Mare Mount" has considerable fascination. It was Morton who raised the Maypole at Mount Wollaston with due celebration, Mount Wollaston being named for Captain Wollaston who was at the head of the enterprise. The "New English Canaan," by Thomas Morton, genially describes the author's leadership in search of a certain amount of revelry in the face of physical hardships and a most antagonistic Puritan influence. "In the month of June, Anno Salutis 1622," Morton writes, "it was my chaunce to arrive in the parts of New England with thirty servants and provision of all sorts for a plantation; and whiles our houses were building I did endeavour to take a survey of the country. The more I looked the more I liked it." Morton's further account makes him appear in perspective, as he was, a thorn in the flesh of the Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth colonies.[14]

We have spoken of the Rev. John Wheelwright. At

religious odds with the authorities at Salem, and of an adventurous and honest mind, Wheelwright, in 1629, is said to have traded with the Indians for a tract of land around what became shortly after, Exeter, New Hampshire. On May 17, 1629, for consideration in coats, shirts and kettles, conscientiously thinking that they must buy the land from the Indians, a group of men, among whom was John Wheelwright of the Massachusetts Bay colony, William Wentworth, Thomas Leavit, Thomas Wight and Augustine Story, or Storer, held a mass meeting of the Indians at Squamscott Falls. For the consideration specified they obtained a deed from the Indians, who sold to Wheelwright and the others, "all that part of the mainland, bounded by the river Pascataqua and the river Merrimack, to begin at Newichwannock Falls,[12] in the Pascataqua river," then running down to the sea, then along the coast to the Merrimac, and up the Merrimac, thence northwest for twenty miles, and thence northeast to the starting point.[12] "The Wheelwright deed was for a long time in controversy as to its genuiness."[16] Wheelwright had been desirous of founding a settlement near the Piscataqua, which was the cause of this purchase. For the Indians the deed was signed by Passaconaway, sagamore of Penacook; Runnaawitt, sagamore of Pantucket; Wahangnonawitt, sagamore of Squamscot; and Rowls, sagamore of Newichwannock.[12] As Governor Hutchinson says, in his "History of Massachusetts," "Mr. Wheelwright went to New Hampshire and laid the foundation of the town and church of Exeter."[1] Wheelwright later, in 1637, was banished from Massachusetts.[1] A little later, when Exeter came under Massachusetts jurisdiction, Wheelwright moved to Wells,[12] Maine. He was re-

The Benning Wentworth House

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leased from banishment by the Bay Colony, in 1644.[1] Freed from banishment he moved at this time to Hampton, where he was minister many years.[12] He was in England in 1658, and in favor with Cromwell.[1] He returned to this country, and lived to be, as is said, the oldest minister in New England, dying at Salisbury,[23] where he had settled on his return from England.[1]

At the same time that the Massachusetts Bay colony was getting under way, while Wheelwright was founding Exeter, and while the Laconia Adventurers were dreaming and failing on the Piscataqua, the Hilton settlement at Dover Point, on the Piscataqua, was moving forward. Edward Hilton was a gentleman of energy and probity. After he secured on March 23, 1630 (new style), his patent of Dover Point and the relatively small tract of land near it, already referred to, Hilton and his associates were placed in still more formal possession of their territory July 7, 1631.[15] This occurred through another patent which Hilton and his associates, who were west county adventurers of Bristol and Shrewsbury,[12] secured from the Council for New England, covering Hilton's Point, "called by the natives Wecanocohunt, in the River Paskataquack, where they [Hilton and his associates] have already built some houses and planted corn."[15] This patent was known as the Hilton or Squamscott patent.[15]

The Wheelwright purchase from the Indians may have been a disturbing influence in Hilton's mind. It may have been that his neighbors, the Laconia Adventures, were in a position to annoy him as to land titles. All concerned on the Piscataqua River seem to have wished, and to have obtained, con-

firmations of their titles at this time. Perhaps one was obtained in protection against the other. The first grants made were vague, and, as we have seen, there were various conflicts. As, year by year, more definite knowledge of the territory was obtained by the owners, and as their plans for development of this territory changed, it was but natural that they should have wished renewed legal confirmation of their rights.

As early as 1631 there appeared "upon the banks of the Piscataqua one Capt. Thomas Wiggin, a stern Puritan, and a confidential friend of Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts Bay."[15] The Bristol merchants associated with Hilton, and those operating with them, about 1631 had sent Wiggin to the Dover Point colony to manage the same and to represent the English owners.[12] After about a year Wiggin returned to England, — this was in 1632, — having in mind securing more money and support for the colony, and probably with personal ambition in connection with the same. Before he returned to this country he, through associates, among whom were the Lords Say and Brooke, bought all of the rights to Hilton's land, under Hilton's patent covering Dover Point and the near-by country, paying £2,150 for it.[15] It is said that two-thirds of the Hilton patent belonged to merchants of Bristol, and one-third to those of Shrewsbury.[12] The Bristol men sold now their interest to the Lords Say and Brooke and others,[12] "who continued Wiggin in the agency."[12] The rights which Wiggin and his associates bought from Hilton and his associates were later the cause of much litigation. Wiggin, apparently, had the right to grant land.[12]

Wiggin returned almost at once from England to

the Dover Point settlement. Edward Howes wrote from London to Governor John Winthrop, March 25, 1633: "There are honest men about to buye out the Bristol men's plantation in Pascataqua, and do propose to plant there five hundred good people before Michelmas next."[16] Again, this same man wrote, June 22, 1633: "He [Captain Wiggin] intends to plant himself and many gracious men there [Dover Point] this summer."[16] Mr. Everett S. Stackpole, in his "History of New Hampshire," gives Wiggin the credit for founding the town of Dover Neck, and says that it was first named Bristol, and so called on a map in 1634.[16] We have not come across further confirmation of this name of Bristol as at any time given the town of Dover.

There is the report that in 1633 Wiggin was "chosen Governor."[21] Edward Hilton, at about this time, withdrew largely from the picture, although he lived for many years on the Piscataqua, and was looked up to as a man of high quality.

When Wiggin returned to the colony he found himself unpopular.[15] The settlers were on a frontier and having none too easy a time of it. Wiggin was a friend of Governor Winthrop and of the Massachusetts Bay government. There was at this time much jealousy and enmity between the little Piscataqua settlements and the larger Massachusetts Bay Colony. The Massachusetts point of view was that the Bay Colony was in peril from Capt. John Mason because he and Gorges had endeavored to get their charter set aside, claiming certain lands under old charter rights, within the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Massachusetts also stated that Gorges and Mason had encouraged Morton and Gardiner,[9, 12]

whom the Massachusetts Bay Colony had censured and sent back to England, to petition against the Massachusetts Bay authorities.[12] There was keenly the thought that the Piscataqua territory itself could be claimed under the charter given the Massachusetts Bay Company. Then, too, there existed a wide gap in religious feeling between those associated with Gorges and Mason and those directly concerned with Massachusetts.

The Piscataqua point of view was that Massachusetts was greedy for their lands, that Captain Wiggin was desirous of turning over the Dover Point colony to Massachusetts, and that he was working for Winthrop, if not actually in his employ.[15] Wiggin, if he wished, was unable to effect any such consolidation with Massachusetts because of the hostility he at once encountered.

When Wiggin returned to the Piscataqua, Neale was still at the lower settlements and in command of them. A collision between Wiggin and Neale occurred almost at once.[15] Neale forbade Wiggin to go upon a certain point of land (Fox Point), a little to the west of Dover Point and on the opposite side of that westerly arm of the Piscataqua which, branching from the main river at Dover Point, flows into Great Bay. The disputed point (Fox Point) lay "in the midway," [15] between Dover and Exeter. Wiggin decided to defend his rights in the matter by force of arms, as did Neale and the lower river colonists. The two parties met at the point in question (Fox Point), ready to do battle with each other, but both sides had sense enough "to waive battle." No blood was shed, but the point is still called " Bluddy Poynt," [21] because of the blood both sides were so eager at first to spill there.[15]

Neale, in early 1633, was still in command of the lower river settlements, and Wiggin, as stated, had assumed the governorship of the Dover Point colony. The two districts were separated by a few miles only, but each was directed by its own respective financial backers and each was independent of the other. The little settlement on the north arm of the Piscataqua, on the opposite side of the river and above Dover Point, namely, Newichwannock, later part of Kittery, and later still, of South Berwick, was grouped with the lower settlements under Neale. In spite of friction, the various colonies seem to have been able to work with each other. Neale and Wiggin, in 1633, so report says, as has been stated, jointly surveyed their respective patents and did further work in this connection for Capt. John Mason.

Governor John Winthrop's Journal reads: "The Governour received a letter from Capt. Wiggin of Pascataquack, informing him of a murder committed the third of this month, October 1631, at Richman's Isle [near Portland, Maine], by an Indian sagamore." [21] This was not in Wiggin's jurisdiction, but Wiggin tried to have Governor Winthrop send twenty men to take revenge. Winthrop declined, "understanding that Neale would attend to it, and it being the season of frost and snow and they having no fit boats for the expedition." The man killed was one Walter Bagnall, called Great Watt. Bagnall had been a servant in the Bay Colony, and was a wicked fellow.[21] Perhaps the Indian sagamore had some justification for his act. Again, in 1634, Wiggin appealed to his friend, the Bay Colony, writing to Winthrop asking him to have two men tried.[21] Winthrop's entries are not too complimentary to his more easterly neighbors.

He writes, in 1631: "Then came a shallop from Pascataqua, which brought the news of a small English ship come thither [1631], with provisions and some Frenchmen to make salt. By this boat Capt. Neal, Governor of Pascataqua, sent a packet of letters to the Governor, directed to Sir Christopher Gardner, which, when the Governor had opened, he found it came from Sir Ferdinando Gorges (who claims a great part of the Bay of Massachusetts). In the packet was one letter from Thomas Morton (sent prisoner before into England) by both which letters it appeared that he had some secret design to recover his pretended right, and that he expressed much trust in Sir Christopher Gardner." [21] Again Winthrop writes: At Pascataquack [1632] a party bound for the Bay, "coming to Pascataquack in a shallop, with £200 of commodities, one seaman going to light his pipe, set fire to a barrel of powder on board" and was blown to pieces. "Some on the boat was so drunk and fast asleep they did not wake with the noise." [9] In 1632 Winthrop's journal tells us of a fishing shallop upset at the Isles of Shoals.[9] All of Winthrop's news from Pascataquack seems of an unfavorable nature. Again, as of the same year, Winthrop's journal reads: "one Cowper [William Cooper], of Pascataquack, going to an island upon the Lord's day to fetch some sack, he and a boy coming back in a canoe, (being both drunk) were driven to sea and never heard from." [9]

The Massachusetts Bay Colony had some reason for their lack of friendliness. Dangers surrounded them, both within and without. Morton, at Mount Wollaston, had behaved in so disorderly a fashion, through selling arms to the Indians in defiance of the King's proclamation, that the colonists were afraid

that Indians in the woods might be armed with guns. They were in much terror, the fear spreading to the Piscataqua settlements.[12] Morton had also allowed his plantation to accept discontented servants, whose desertion weakened the settlements they left.[12] Morton, as stated, was sent prisoner to England, but came back again, in 1643, and died at Agamenticus about 1645.[1]

The Massachusetts Bay government was resentful of and antagonistic toward those of New England who were not with that government, both politically and religiously. The Piscataqua settlement felt that Massachusetts was greedy for their lands, and although of the same race, and of much of the same stock and way of thinking, there were so many differences of viewpoint between the lower Piscataqua River settlements plus the Dover Point settlement, as opposed to the Massachusetts Bay government, that, about 1635, there was a distinct antagonism between them. The lower Piscataqua River settlement and the Dover Point settlement also had differences of opinion, and, except in a minor way, could not operate together. On the Piscataqua, however, the affair at Bloody Point seems to have been the only physical expression of the difference in point of view between these two settlements.

Early New Hampshire history makes many references to "the four towns."[16] These were Portsmouth, Dover, Exeter and Hampton. Hampton is reported surveyed as early as 1633.[19] A little later the salt marshes there attracted the attention of Massachusetts, which claimed this part of the seacoast. In 1636 the Bound house was erected at Hampton under authority of the General Court of Massachusetts

Bay.[19] On October 7, 1638, under authority of the Massachusetts Bay government, the right to settle in Hampton was extended to several persons of Norfolk, England.[19] It is said that in 1639 as many as sixty families were resident at Hampton.[19] The first town meeting in Hampton was probably held October 31, 1639.[22]

There was still another colony near the Piscataqua, on Gorges' land in the Province of Maine. This grew into what is now York. Politically, this colony did not materially influence the situation on the Piscataqua, and it was not politically grouped with the Piscataqua River settlements. Its history, however, is collateral to that of Portsmouth. Gorges had early been interested in settling a plantation on the Agamenticus River, at what is now York, only eight miles or so to the east of the Piscataqua River. It is not known exactly at what date this settlement commenced, but as we have seen, it was receiving support through the medium of one of the ships sent over by the Laconia Adventurers in 1634. Edward Godfrey was living there at about this time. The copy of the letter to Mason from "Nele" and Wiggin in regard to the surveying of Portsmouth, Dover and Hampton, claimed to be spurious, was dated from Georgeana, August 20, 1633. It was attested as a true copy by Richard Vines and Henry Jocelyn, who gave as their address and place of affidavit Gorgeana, now York.[12]

The colony went by the name of the Plantation of Agamenticus, up to early 1641,[19] and was at that time the principal settlement in Maine, with about three hundred inhabitants.[20] It was then, April 10, 1641, though a wilderness, incorporated as a borough,[19] and officially named Georgeana.[20] A borough was an in-

Council Chamber, Benning Wentworth House

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corporated town, usually governed by a council chosen by the freemen, and a bailiff appointed by the lord who granted the borough its charter.[20] A town was a place that had a church.[20] On March 1, 1642, Sir Ferdinando Gorges named this borough a city, and gave a new charter to the settlement to this effect,[19] confirming the name Gorgeana by this charter.[19] Thomas Gorges, a son of Ferdinando Gorges, had been appointed mayor.[19] The colony went by the name sometimes of Georgeana and sometimes of Agamenticus until about the year 1652, when Massachusetts sent commissioners to that part of the county.[19] These commissioners proposed to name and did name the county "York County," and changed the name of Georgeana to York.[19] York retained its city privileges given it by Gorges until 1662, when it was made a town.[19] In 1716 it was made the shire town of York County, then called Yorkshire.[19]

CHAPTER VI

THE PISCATAQUA SETTLEMENTS, 1635–1641

THE division of property on the Piscataqua, between Capt. John Mason and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and the death of Mason, which very shortly followed this division, left the lower Piscataqua settlements without a controlling influence, and without financial backing. Though Mason's widow investigated her husband's estates in New England, when she found that there was almost nothing there of tangible value, she gave no further support to the Piscataqua colony, which was left to shift for itself.[4]

The lower river settlements consisted of Pannaway, which soon after seems to have grown inactive as a settlement, Strawberry Bank, where the Great House stood, later called Portsmouth, and Great Island, later called Newcastle; also, in 1636, Kittery. Added to this group was the trading post and sawmill at Newichwannock on the east side of the upper river, and scattered claims in what became Newington, Greenland and Rye.[1] This group of settlements was still, in 1635, of small size. The fifty men, eight Danes and twenty-two women whom Mason had sent over, or whom he had accepted from other colonies, had separated and had spread out. They did not form a unit, and the group of settlements representing Mason was not an important factor in New England in 1635. Dover, though also small, had grown in 1635 to a greater degree than had the combined settlements representing Mason.

Capt. Walter Neale did not stay long on the Piscataqua. He went back to England, probably in 1633, saying, as has been stated, in regard to the beautiful inland lakes, and the Province of Laconia: "Non est inventa provincia." Hubbard says that Neale did nothing noteworthy outside of his conflict with Wiggin at Bloody Point.[5] When Neale left, Capt. Henry Josselyn succeeded him as head of Pannaway, then called Pascataway, the name Pannaway by this date apparently not being used. Josselyn remained the leader there until about 1638. Mr. Wannerton, who lived at the Great House at Strawberry Bank, had charge there till about 1644.[19] He took over much or all of the property Neale held for the benefit of Mason and the Laconia Associates.[2] Wannerton later was killed in 1644, on a venture in which he was engaged at Port Royal.[2] Mr. Francis Williams, who had come in 1631, when Humphrey Chadbourne came, to take charge of the salt works for the Laconia Adventurers,[5] by 1638 had been appointed, or chosen, Governor of the lower settlements on the Piscataqua.[5] He remained Governor for some years. Hubbard says that Mr. Williams was "a prudent man and a better quality than the rest" sent over.[5] Belknap says he was continued in office by annual suffrage.[1] Hutchinson reports him as "a discreet sensible man and a gentleman."[6]

The settlements on the lower Piscataqua grew slowly, but they did grow. They were of some importance in the eyes of the Massachusetts Bay colony, though not at this time to so great a degree as Dover, which was then the larger colony. At Dover, Capt. Thomas Wiggin was still Governor, representing his English associates, who were banded together for profit. Wiggin was a stern Puritan, and he remained

a confidential friend of Governor John Winthrop of the Massachusetts Bay colony. As such, and because of what went with this friendship, Wiggin remained unpopular in Dover. With religious fervor he had brought over a minister, one William Leverich, "a worthy man,"[6] but Leverich's allowance was so small he could not afford to stay, and he moved to other parts.[1] Leverich was succeeded, in 1634, by George Burdett,[1] a staunch churchman but otherwise of not so good a character.[18] "Ye River of Pascataqua is very beneficiall for plantacon," wrote Burdett, in 1638, "having also an excellent harbor." [7]

Governor Wiggin steadily maintained his allegiance to Winthrop and to the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Increasing friction arose between Wiggin and the settlers he governed. England and the financial backers of the colony were far away. The settlers believed they had won the right to govern their own lives, and they did not wish to be under Wiggin's direction. In 1637 they deposed Captain Wiggin, setting up an independent government by themselves, the governorship, for want of a better name, going to George Burdett, the minister.[7] Belknap says that Burdett thrust out Captain Wiggin.[1] The colonists, however, soon quarreled with Burdett, who removed to York,[6] where he later bore an unsavory reputation.[9] In his place, in 1638, the colonists elected as Governor, Capt. John Underhill,[6, 10] very likely on the basis that he was hostile to Massachusetts Bay.[7] Captain Underhill was reported in the Bay as an immoral man, who had been ex-communicated for adultery, "an enthusiast, who obtained his assurance, as he expressed himself before the church of Boston, while he was taking a pipe of the good creature tobacco." [6] Captain Under-

hill had been banished from Massachusetts and had come to Dover.[7]

Underhill's rise to power in Dover was displeasing to Massachusetts. That same year, 1638, the General Court of Massachusetts had instructed Governor Winthrop to write those at "Pascataquack," meaning both the lower river settlements and Dover, to signify to them that they looked on it as an unneighborly part that they should encourage and advance such as "we had cast out." [8] The claim was that the Piscataqua River settlements had aided John Wheelwright in the commencement of his plantation, and that they had planned to make Captain Underhill their Governor in the place of Burdett. Those at Pascataquack returned answer in two letters, disclaiming any such plan. "The others, at the River's mouth, disclaimed likewise, and showed their indignation," and offered to call him (Underhill) to account, "only they desired us to have some compassion of him, and not to send any forces against him. After this Captain Underhill's courage was abated, for the chiefest in the River fell from him, and the rest little regarded him." [8] Underhill seems to have turned about after this. The Dover Point population came to believe, in 1640, that he was plotting to deliver the colony into the hands of Massachusetts.[7]

There was increasing friction. When the Lords Say and Brooke had bought, in England, from the Bristol owners, their rights to the original Hilton patent, that is, to Dover,[1] it was stated that they had done so at the instigation of Massachusetts, and for the benefit of Massachusetts. A definite party rose against Underhill, his opponents believing that he was plotting to turn the Dover colony over to the Bay.[7] On Underhill's

side was the minister of Dover of that day, the Rev. Hanserd Knollys[1] or Knolles.[6] He had a rival minister, one Larkham, who had arrived from Northam in England. Many of the colonists had been much taken with him, and were determined to have him for their minister in the place of Mr. Knolles.[6] Knolles' party, however, stood by him, laid violent hands on Larkham and excommunicated Larkham.[6] "The magistrates of the colony took part in the dispute, some on one side and some on the other." [6] Hutchinson says that Larkham's party, being the weaker, went to Francis Williams, who was then at the head of the lower river settlements, asking him for aid.[6] Williams came up from the lower river with a force of men, besieged Knolles' house, where Underhill then was, and took him prisoner.[6] Larkham was leading the rebellion against Underhill as much as he was opposing Knolles. Francis Williams, sitting as judge, set a fine on Underhill and obliged him to remove from the plantation.[6,7] Knolles was charged with being too familiar with some of his female domestics, and found it necessary to depart.[6] Hutchinson says that Larkham, a zealous churchman, followed him for an offence of the same nature.[6] Captain Underhill later, "being struck with horror and remorse for his offences against church and state," writes Winthrop, "could have no rest till he had obtained a safe conduct to come and give satisfaction; and accordingly, in 1639, at a lecture in Boston, he made a public confession." [8] Winthrop, in 1639, refers to "the upper part of Pascataquack," "viz. Dover." [8]

Church and State at Dover had not progressed satisfactorily. The need was felt by the settlers in Dover for a more definite civic structure, and it was

natural that the little colony should look towards the larger and stronger colony of Massachusetts Bay for inspiration and aid. Massachusetts governed at this time, 1637–1640, with a strong hand. To prevent tumults, about fifty to sixty inhabitants of Boston were required to give up their arms. Fines were established for any who should profane any court or any court sentence. The fines might be increased to banishment.[6]

"In 1639, a committee from Dover was sent to the General Court at Boston, proposing that Dover should come under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts Bay." [9] The General Court at Boston appointed a commission of two to look into the matter.[9]

Meanwhile, at Exeter, though probably to a less degree, a desire and need arose for a more definite government. On October 4, 1639,[6] John Wheelwright and those with him entered into a political Combination, signed by John Wheelwright, William Wentworth, John Walton and thirty-two others. It read: "we his loyal subjects (of our dread sovereign Charles), bretheren of the church of Exeter, situate and lying upon the River Piscataquacke, with other inhabitants there, considering with ourselves the holy will of God, and our own necessity, that we should not live without wholesome laws and civil government amongst us, of which we are altogether destitute, do, in the name of Christ and in the sight of God, combine ourselves together to erect and set up among us such government as shall be, to our best discerning, agreeable to the will of God, professing ourselves subject to our Sovereign Lord, King Charles, and binding ourselves solemnly by the grace and help of Christ and in his name and fear to submit ourselves to all such christian

laws as are established in the realm of England." [6, 20] In 1640 a similar Combination occurred at Dover, the signatories binding themselves together on the following terms: "Wee, being inhabitants upon the River Pascataquack, have voluntarily agreed to combine ourselves into a body Politique, that wee may the more comfortably enjoy the benefit of his Majesties Laws." [11] Among those who signed this document were the following: —

John Follett
William Jones
Richard Pickhame
Bartholomew Hunt
William Bowden
John Heard
John Hall
Francis Champernoon
Hansed Knowles
Edward Colcord
Stephen Teddar
Robert Huggins
Thomas Larkham
Richard Waldern
William Waldern
William Storer
Edward Starr
William Furbur
Tho. Layton
Richard Laham
Samuel Haines
John Underhill
John Cross
John Dam
William Pomfret
George Webb
James Rawlins
Peter Garland

There were forty-two signatures to this document.[11] Hutchinson says of this Combination: "The lords and others concerned had prevailed upon several persons of good estates, who made the profession of religion, to transplant themselves and families to Piscataqua so as to make inhabitants enough for a considerable township; and having no charter, commission or power of government from the Crown, they were under the necessity of entering into a combination of agreement among themselves," which they did, October 22, 1640.[6]

The lower settlement at Strawberry Bank, which

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at this time, 1639–1640, included Great Island or Newcastle, Rye, Greenland and part of Newington, also felt the need of a stronger government. The King was over all, but the civil government, the English law had stated, about 1636, remained vested in the hands of those who were the principals in the patents granting territory placed under colonization. A majority of freeholders, however, had the right of veto.[12] When Mason and Gorges divided their original rights on the Piscataqua, Mason had kept as his share what fell within the confines of the lower settlement on the west bank of the Piscataqua. Then, as has been stated, Mason died and his widow left her husband's colonists to their own devices. As a result there were no governing hands over Strawberry Bank, representing those to whom the patents covering Strawberry Bank had been granted.

The lower river settlement had the sound hand of Francis Williams as its Governor, but the colony was poor, the population small, and there was little or no support. Even though Strawberry Bank included a wide territory, there were not enough early settlers on the river to give any strength of population. Across the river, the very small settlement of Kittery was, for purposes of social intercourse, included as part of the lower river settlement, but it was known as "Pascattaquacke in the Province of Mayne," [12] and from a legal aspect it was not included with the lower river settlements on the land acquired through charter by Capt. John Mason.

Besides the question of law and order, the religious factor in the situation was of importance at this time. "The first who enterprised the settlement of Piscataqua had some religious as well as civil views," [6] but

their assistance was over, and there was no other background in England to guide and strengthen the colony religiously. The lower river settlements were Episcopalian, in so far as they were to be catalogued from a church standpoint. This was at the greatest variance from the situation in Massachusetts Bay.

At Strawberry Bank and its allied settlements, no such formal combination in body politique apparently occurred as at Dover. There probably was not the same need. The smaller population had at its head the much respected Francis Williams. In harmony with the characteristic legal turn of mind of New England colonists, Williams was probably, from time to time, reappointed head of the colony, or Governor, by some sort of mutual understanding among the colonists under him. Much the same result was obtained at Strawberry Bank as at Dover and Exeter, but apparently in a less formal way. Many of the first town records were destroyed in 1652.[13] These may have included the record of some form of political agreement among the early settlers, though no reference occurs elsewhere to any such combination.

The lower river settlement, namely, Strawberry Bank, did evolve a written declaration of union among the settlers. This was non-political, and on the basis of church organization. Provision for worship had been made at Strawberry Bank as early as about February, 1639.[14] There was a small chapel with parsonage house attached,[4] probably built of logs. It stood on the land this side of the present Universalist Church, and apparently faced toward the marsh land. In 1635 there were available for religious use one great Bible, twelve service books, one pewter flagon, one communion cup and cover of silver, two fine table

cloths and two napkins. In this chapel and with these furnishings, Rev. Richard Gibson, a Church of England minister, officiated, from probably about February 1639 to November 1640.[4, 14]

On May 25, 1640, the townspeople of Strawberry Bank joined in the aforesaid common declaration of purpose in writing.[4] This declaration was effected through a deed of trust made by twenty settlers of the lower Piscataqua settlements. This deed of trust consisted of a grant of fifty acres of land for a glebe. It read as follows: "Whereas divers and sundry of the Inhabitants of the lower end of Pascataquack, whose names are hereunder written, of their free and voluntary mind, good wills and assents, without constreint or compulsion of any manner of person or persons, have granted, given and contributed divers and several sums of moneys toward the building, erecting and founding of a parsonage house with a chappell thereto united, as also fiftie acres of Glebe land which is annexed and given to the said Parsonage. Now, the said Inhabitants aforesayd, by their common assent and consent toward the furtherance and advancement of the honor and glory of God, doe give, grant, alien and sett over with Thomas Walford and Henry Sherburne, church wardens of this Parish, to them and their successors, all the said parsonage house, Chappell, Cornfield, Garden, Glebe land, with the appurtenances in perpetuite, to the use of the aforesayd parish, and that the said Church Wardens and their successors and either of them which are yearly to be chosen bye said parishioners, be deemed and adjudged only as ffeofes in trust to the use and behoofe of the said parish. Foreasmuch as the said parishioners have furnished and built ye said parsonage house and chaple with the

appurtenances at their own proper costs and charges, and have made choyse of Mr. Richard Gibson to be the first parson of the said parsonage, soe likewise whensoever the said parsonage happens to be voyd by death of the incumbent or his time agreed upon expired, that then the patronage presently and nomynination of the Parson to be vested and remane in the power and election of the sd parishioners, or the greater part of them forever." [13]

Francis Williams, Governor
Ambrose Gibbons, assistant
William Jones
Renald Ffernald
John Crowther
Anthony Brackett
Michael Chatterton
Jno. Wall
Robert Puddington
Matthew Coe
Henry Sherburn
John Landon or Lander
Henry Taler
Jno. Jones
William Berry
Jno. Pickering
Jno. Billing
Jno. Wolten
Nicholas Row
William Palmer [13]

Rev. Lucius Harrison Thayer, D.D., of Portsmouth has pointed out, in "The Story of a Religious Democracy During Two and One-Half Centuries," that the use of the term "wardens" in this Glebe deed of trust probably accounts for the term "wardens" as applied today in various churches. He says that this term is "probably unknown in non-Episcopal churches, except in this region." [14] Twelve acres of the glebe land were situated in what is now the heart of Portsmouth. [14] The rest was on the road leading from the head of the north mill pond, to the plains, [14] near what was referred to as "Strawberry Banke Creeke."

Gibson was sent from England as minister to a fishing plantation belonging to one Trelawney. [1] This

plantation was on Richman's Island, near what is now Portland, Maine. Gibson removed from Richman's Island to Pascataquack.[3] After Massachusetts took over the Piscataqua settlements, the Bay government found fault with Gibson. As Massachusetts put it: "He was wholly addicted to the hierachy and discipline of England and exercised his ministerial function according to the ritual. He was summoned before the Court of Boston for scandalizing the government and denying their title, but upon his submission they discharged him."[1] This incident occurred apparently late in 1640.[1] In 1642 Gibson was entertained by fishermen at the Isles of Shoals, when he preached to them.[3]

The Massachusetts Bay government was operated continually in a firmer manner. In 1637 the Pequot War against the Narragansett Bay Indians was waged.[6] Again, in 1637, Mrs. Hutchinson was tried and convicted of traducing the ministers, and on declaring her revelations she was banished.[6] Those in command at the Bay did not waste time or effort in the administration of their scope of duty, and they dealt sternly with those who were not in harmony with them.

When Dover, in 1639, had applied to Massachusetts for union, as has been stated, a commission was appointed to treat with the settlers at Dover Point. This particular conference did not bring immediate results, but in 1640 the famous Hugh Peters, with two others, came to the Piscataqua River, sent by the Massachusetts Bay government, "to understand the minds of the people, to recognize some differences between them, and to prepare them." [7] "Peters spent a considerable time on the river, and upon his return, in the spring of 1641, he reported to Governor Winthrop that

the Piscataqua people were, in his opinion, ripe for our government. They grone for Government and Gospel all over that side of the country. Alas, poor bleeding soules!"[7]

A year or more of agitation followed the conference between Dover and the government of Massachusetts Bay, and the consequent appointment of a commission by Massachusetts Bay to treat with the Dover settlers.[9] Although during this time no agreement was arrived at, there was a steady drawing together of the settlers on the Piscataqua, both at Dover and near the mouth of the river, and the Boston government. "Distraction in England had cut off all hope of Royal attention."[1] Finally, on April 14, 1641,[1] the then patentees of the Dover colony transferred their title to the Dover Point territory, and the colony on it, to the General Court of Massachusetts, "to be forever annexed to this jurisdiction."[9] This transaction was concluded April 14, 1641, in the presence of the General Court of Massachusetts, certain of the patentees as of that date, of the Dover colony, signing for themselves and for their associates.[1] On the basis of the consent of the settlers on the west bank of the lower Piscataqua River, these same signers of this document apparently included, in the deed of transfer to the General Court of Massachusetts, Strawberry Bank and the entire settlement grouped with it, situated on the west bank of the Piscataqua River.[6,9]

This submission was dated the 14th of the fourth month, April 14, 1641.[1] It read as follows: "Whereas some lords, knights, gentlemen and others did purchased of Mr. Edward Hilton and some merchants of Bristol, two patents, the one called Wecahannet, or Hilton's Point, commonly knowne by the name of

Dover, or Northam, the other pattent set forth by the name of the south part of the ryver Pascataquack, beginning at the seaside or near thereabout and coming around the said land by the river unto the falls of Quamscott, as may more fully appear by the said grant, and whereas also the inhabitants residing at present within the limits of both the said grants have of late and formally complained of the want of some good government amongst them, and desired some help from the Massachusetts Bay, whereby they may be ruled and ordered according unto God, both in church and commonweal, and for the avoyding of such unsupportable disorders whereby God hath been much dishonored amongst them, those gentlemen whose names are here specified do, in behalf of the rest of the patentees, dispose of the land and jurisdiction of the premises as followeth: being willing to further such a good work have hereby for themselves and in the name of the rest of the patentees given up and set over all that power of jurisdiction or government of the said people dwelling or abiding within the limits of both the said patents, unto the government of the Massachusetts Bay, by them to be ruled and ordered, in all causes criminal and civill as inhabitants dwelling within the limitts of the Masachusetts Bay." [7] The General Court, in an order of October 9, 1641,[1] arranged for the necessary details as to the government of the submitting colonies, which had thus transferred their rights April 14, 1641.

Hutchinson, in reviewing the acquisition of the Piscataqua settlements by Massachusetts, says particularly of Strawberry Bank, that is, Portsmouth, "although nothing is said of Strawberry Bank in the submission yet all the settlements seem to have concurred, and Williams, the governor below, was made

one of the magistrates." [6] Mr. Everett S. Stackpole, in his "History of New Hampshire," says of the lower river settlements: "Meanwhile the inhabitants of Strawberry Bank had expressed their desire to come under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and on the ninth day of the eighth month [old style], 1641, the General Court formally took under its government the whole region west of the Piscataqua except Exeter." [9] Mr. Nathaniel Adams, in "Annals of Portsmouth," says: "The government of Massachusetts, desirous of extending their jurisdiction over a territory which they thought was included in their charter, were willing to receive them [the Piscataqua settlements]. On the 14th of April, the terms of the union were agreed on, and the contract was subscribed in the presence of the General Court. By this contract Massachusetts was to have jurisdiction of government of the said people dwelling or abiding within the limits of the said patents, to be ruled and ordered in all causes, criminal and civil, as inhabitants dwelling within the limits of Massachusetts' government, and to be subject to pay in church and commonwealth as the said inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay do, and no other: and the freemen of the said two patents to enjoy the like liberties as other freemen do within the said Massachusetts government: and that there shall be a court of justice kept within one of the two patents, which shall have the same power that the courts of Salem and Ipswich have. Exeter was not included in the contract, but was admitted into the union in September, the following year." [2]

Massachusetts promptly, June 2, 1641, ordered commissioners to the Piscataqua,[15] who appointed Francis Williams, Thomas Warnerton and Ambross Gibbins

of the lower river settlements as magistrates of their district.[16] The General Court at Boston confirmed these appointments.[2] Because of the small number of settlers living at Strawberry Bank and its allied territory, these same commissioners, in 1641, refused to consider Strawberry Bank a town,[13] on which point they had authority to decide. It is also to be noted that there is no record earlier than 1652 of Strawberry Bank sending the two deputies she was permitted to the General Court of Massachusetts.[13]

The General Court of Massachusetts passed an order in October, 1641, including the words, "according to our patent the river of Piscataquack is within the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts."[6] The General Court then declared the inhabitants on the west and the south side of the Piscataqua, both at Dover and at Strawberry Bank, to belong to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.[1] So far as orders of the General Court could effect it, the inhabitants of Strawberry Bank, which was soon to change its name to Portsmouth, were at last included among the citizens of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, where it was claimed they had belonged since the date of the charter of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.

CHAPTER VII

STRAWBERY BANKE

IN January, 1641, before the Massachusetts Bay government took over the Piscataqua settlements, "a shallop with eight men, though advised to the contrary, on the Lord's Day would go from Pascataqua toward Pemaquid, but by the northwest wind were driven to sea for fourteen days. At length they recovered Monhegin. But four of them, in this time, had perished with the cold." [9] This was the year that "the bay before Boston" was frozen over from January 18 to February 21, so that "they passed over with horse and cart." [9] Of 1642, Winthrop wrote: "this winter was the greatest snow we had since we came into the country, but it lay not long." [10]

As soon as Massachusetts gained control of the Piscataqua territory, the lower plantation, as Mr. John S. Jenness calls it, fell into the hands of strict Puritans, who used their new power, religious and civic, and allotted nearly all the valuable lands among themselves.[11]

In December, 1642, "those of the lower part of the river Pascataquak" invited Mr. James Parker of Weymouth to be their minister.[10] Mr. Parker was "a godly man and a scholar," [10] and one who, for many years, had been a deputy of the public court.[10] After advising with divers of the magistrates and elders, Mr. Parker accepted the call, and spent the winter of 1642 and 1643 with the settlers on the lower Piscat-

aqua. "It pleased God to give great success to his labors, so as above forty of them, whereof the most had been very profane, and some of them professed enemies to the way of churches, wrote to the magistrates and elders acknowledging the sinful course they had lived in and bewailing the same, and blessing God for calling them out of it, and earnestly desiring that Mr. Parker be settled among them." Later, so the records read, "most of them fell back again in time, embracing this present world." [12]

Though the commissioners, appointed under the agreement of 1641 with Massachusetts, at first refused to consider Strawberry Bank a town,[1] the lower settlements, as well as Dover, were now growing considerably. As the lower Piscataqua settlements grew, they became more a part by themselves in the eyes of Massachusetts and of other outsiders; that is, they were no longer grouped as they had been, vaguely, with the entire Piscataqua River group of settlements, upper and lower, but were looked on more generally as a unit. What had been known under the collective name of "Pascataquack," and later by the term "the lower Piscataqua settlements," now took on the name of the principal unit among the lower river settlements. This name was Strawberry Bank. The town that developed out of these lower river settlements was named "Strawbery Banke." [1] It was so spelt in the old Portsmouth town records, under date of August, 1643,[1] in recording an order of the court at Boston. The settlement was referred to by the name of Strawberry Bank in Dover, in 1645.[14] In 1645 Strawberry Bank included Newcastle, Rye, Greenland and part of Newington.[17] Later, as the separate parts of the lower Piscataqua River settlements themselves grew,

and needed distinctive names, the term Strawberry Bank was applied simply to what is now Portsmouth, to differentiate it from the near-by localities, — Great Island, Sandy Beach, Greenland and Newington. The term "the Bank" was applied to Portsmouth by dwellers in the near-by towns well into the eighteenth century, though seventy-five years or more before that time Portsmouth was Portsmouth in the eye of the law.

It was under the name of Strawberry Bank that the town organization was inaugurated, but on just what date we do not know, owing to the destruction of many of the earliest town records. We read: "At a town meeting held at Strawberry Bank the 15th day of August 1646, it is ordered that John Pickringe shall have four acres of marsh in the fresh marsh." [11] An entry of the same date refers to the "great house." [1] The first town record remaining, undated, provided that "Brian Pendilton, John Pickringe, Renald Fernald, Sherborn, and James Johnson, shall have full power to ——— and lay out land according as they think best for the conveniency of the town; and we do fully agree that these before named towns-men shall have full power to hear all our town affairs as though ourselves the whole town were present."[1] This entry was signed by William (Seavy), Elias Stileman, Robert Mussell, William (Brookin), Robert Davis, Walter Abbite, Francis Rand, Thaddeus Riddau, John Jones, Roger Knight, Oliver Trimings, Anthony (Bracket), Francis Trike, George Walton, John Jackson, John Sherburn, Thomas (Peverley), William ———, Robert (Padington), Thomas Walford, Richard Cutt.[1] Apparently the town organization first occurred spontaneously, without further authority.[18]

For a number of years Brian Pendilton, or Pendleton, Renald Fernald, Henry Sherborn, John Pickringe, or Pickering, and James Johnson signed the early records, showing that this group acted as townsmen, and as such had charge of town affairs. Strawberry Bank was growing quickly at this time into a settlement of some size and importance. The town was conducted in a satisfactory manner, according to the best traditions of English towns. This was in keeping with the general procedure among all New England towns of the period.

Town meetings at this time, and later, did not hesitate to take up and regulate the lives of individuals within the respective town limits, to an astonishing degree. Apparently almost anything which any considerable number of those attending town meetings considered important, as affecting the interests of the entire town, was discussed, no matter how intimately it concerned a private individual. If the town, as a whole, considered that a situation under discussion deserved regulation by the town, or would be bettered for the good of the whole by such regulation, a town meeting regulated accordingly. The regulations governing individual action in this country during the World War, under which so many felt that they were rigorously treated, and the fixing of prices occurring at the same time, were almost as nothing compared with the regulation of individual lives by town meetings, during the early colonial period of New England.

The inclusion in the town Strawberry Bank, later Portsmouth, of Great Island or Newcastle, Rye, Greenland and part of Newington lasted for many years. Greenland was part of Portsmouth until 1703, when it was separately incorporated.[2] The settlement of

"Greenland" was so called in the Portsmouth town records in 1661.[1] It had three hundred and twenty inhabitants in 1705.[2] Newington was incorporated as a parish in 1713, and as a town in 1760.[2] Rye, including Sandy Beach, was incorporated as a town in 1719,[2] and Newcastle, which at first included Rye, was separately incorporated as a town in 1693.[2]

What is now Kittery, across the river, had been settled about 1635 by men who came over through Gorges and Mason and the Laconia Adventurers. Land was allotted in Kittery by Walter Neale, representing the owners. Mr. Everett S. Stackpole says in "Old Kittery and Her Families" that the only deed by Neale on record was to Thomas Cammock, who, apparently, was on the Piscataqua in 1632. This deed, Mr. Stackpole says, covered what later became the Shapleigh farm in what is now Eliot. "It is probable," says Mr. Stackpole, "that Thomas Wannerton and Henry Jocelyn also had deeds from Neale of lands adjacent to Cammock's." Alexander Shapleigh built the first house in Kittery, in 1636, on the point now owned by Mr. Stephen Decatur. Nicholas Shapleigh, in 1635, owned this land, or land alongside of it, which was early known as "Warehouse Point." On December 12, 1636, Arthur Champernowne was granted what is now known as Gerrish Island plus Cutt's Island. This estate was named Dartington in the deed, "from the name of an estate owned by Champernowne in England." [3] Arthur Champernowne's son, Capt. Francis Champernowne, inherited this New England estate, which became known as Champernowne's Island. Capt. Francis Champernowne is buried on the far eastern end of Cutt's Island, part of his original estate, the stones marking his grave standing to this day.

Francis Champernowne was a cousin of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and a leader in early Piscataqua days.[3]

Kittery was called in 1642 "Pascattaquacke in the Province of Mayne."[4] The name Kittery probably comes from Kittery Point, on the river Dart, England, on the opposite side of the river from Dartmouth. There have been other traditions as to the name, but the association between Kittery Point on the Dart and Kittery Point on the Piscataqua seems logical and almost a certainty. "Francis Champernowne came from Dartington, about ten miles from Kingsweare, on the river Dart, where Kittery Point is located, also a village known as Kittery Court."[5] Alexander Shapleigh came from Kingsweare. "Either of these might have given the name to the settlement which afterward became the town of Kittery in 1647." The author wrote to the mayor of Dartmouth, England, asking for confirmation of the name Kittery Point as applied to a locality near Dartmouth, England. He received the following reply:

BOROUGH OF DARTMOUTH

TOWN CLERK'S OFFICE,
GUILDHALL,
DARTMOUTH,
23d, November, 1925.

DEAR SIR: — His Worship the Mayor has handed me your letter of the 9th instant, and in reply thereto, would inform you that Kittery point still exists on the Kingswear side of the River Dart.

Yours faithfully,

J. J. R. DAY,
Town Clerk.

Eliot, at first part of Kittery, became a parish July 17, 1660, and a town March 1, 1810. The name of Eliot comes from the Eliot family. There was an association

with Robert Eliot who lived in Newcastle, and whose children married into Kittery families; and also the story goes that the Rev. John Eliot of Boston, "an intimate friend of Gen. Andrew Pepperell Fernald" of Kittery, desired that the town take his name, promising a bell for the meeting house "as a christening gift." "Gen. Fernald strongly seconded his request, and so we have been called Eliot to this day." [8] "In regard to the bell, — no belfry was ever builded, and so the bestowment was never made!" [8]

Above Strawberry Bank, the considerably larger settlement of Dover Point was growing at this time. In Dover, too, town affairs were well regulated. In Dover, in 1643, "George Webb was presented by the court for living idle like a swine." [14] In 1645 John Baker was fined ten shillings for drawing his sword and running after Indians with it drawn. He was further presented for beating another so that he was black and blue, and for throwing a fire shovel at his wife.[14] In Dover, in 1649, the Oyster River falls were granted to Valentine Hill and Thomas Beard.[14] The earliest record of any town meeting in Dover is dated October 1, 1647.[6]

At the Shoals the population was growing. Ultimately, Mr. Jenness says, the Shoals population ran up to about six hundred.[16] In 1653 there were at least twenty there, for at that time "some twenty of the inhabitants petitioned that year to be made into a separate township." [16] Their petition was not granted at that time, and the inhabitants at the Shoals again petitioned, in 1659.[16] In 1661 Massachusetts ordered that all the Isles of Shoals should be incorporated into the township of Appledore.[16] The name Appledore comes, probably, from the name of an English

Landing and Paneling, Moffat–Ladd House

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fishing hamlet in the parish of Northam, North Devonshire.[16] Dover was first called Northam, and the sequence of the association seems to have carried over to the name Appledore. The name Gosport, which later was given to the township on Star Island,[16] probably comes from Gosport, England, "a little village half a mile over the water" from Portsmouth, England.[20] It was at Gosport, England, that on August 18, 1642, one of the first battles was fought between the forces of Charles I and Parliament.[20] Quoting from Dickens, "the war broke out at Portsmouth."[19] "Annals of Portsmouth" England, by W. H. Saunders, state that a Lord Wentworth was one of the leaders of the Royal forces in the town at the time of this attack.[20]

So confused were the Gorges and Mason lands, and so closely allied, that for a considerable time nearly every important person dwelling in either territory seems to have lived a short time before, or a short time afterwards, in the territory belonging originally to the other patron, or in Dover.[13] The same stock was up and down and across the river, and the fact that Mason or Gorges had been the original owner seems to have made no vital difference in the local point of view. By 1650,—Strawberry Bank, Dover and Kittery were fairly on their own footing, and each was distinct from any other town. But there was a homogeneous feeling covering the three towns. This was especially true of Strawberry Bank and Kittery, the association lasting to this day. In New Hampshire the four towns of Strawberry Bank, or Portsmouth, Dover, Exeter and Hampton were the only civic communities for a considerable period.

Land titles were a source of much regulation by the towns in the early days. York Deeds, Book I,

Introduction, gives the following statement of the point of view regarding land titles in Maine: "The source of all land titles in Maine is the crown of England. The first English settlement here was authorized by a royal license, which guaranteed to the emigrants all the liberties, franchises and immunities of Englishmen at home. They came as English subjects, and they brought with them the laws of England."[4] This same authority declares that one purpose of the coming of these emigrants was to bring the savages living in this region to humane civilization and to a settled and quiet government. "The Indians occupied the soil as a boat occupies a river. They did not enclose and improve any considerable portion of it. They did not possess it as their property. The origin of property is the right which every man has to the fruits of his own labor. If he fences, clears and cultivates a piece of land, previously unimproved and unoccupied, he creates a value which is justly his. The Indian deeds conveyed no property of this kind. The King's license conveyed no property in this sense. King and Sagamore alike granted permission to English subjects to create property in American lands."[4] The following deed of land, taken from York Deeds, Part I, Folio 12, illustrates one transfer: "Know all men by these presents, that I, Robert Mendam, of Pascataquacke, have bought the house and four accors of ground of Thomas Crockett, wch he bought of William Wormwood. And I, the sd Robert Mendam am to give to the sd Thomas Crocket for his house and four accors of ground, the sum of £9 and 10 shillings, to be paid the next springe, £3 in money and the rest in comodities, at Mikellmus next in the year 1648." This deed was dated September 21, 1647.[4]

In 1644 the "Annals of Portsmouth," by Nathaniel Adams, say that Warnerton died, and that at that time Sampson Lane, one of Mason's stewards, took possession of the Great House for two years.[7] There were attached to the Great House at this time, Adams says, about one thousand acres of land, mostly under improvement.[7]

In Strawberry Bank, "at a town meeting held on the 10th day of July, 1648, whereas there was by a former act of the town, granted unto the parsonage house the full tenth part of the fresh marsh, with upland to belong thereunto, and as yet the tenth part cannot be known, by reason it is not yet measured nor laid out; we whose names are underwritten, do assign unto said parsonage house, four acres of the before named fresh marsh next westward of the marsh of Mr. Francis Williams, which in his time he mowed, and upon the south side of the freshet or brook, the which marsh was never mowed." This was signed by Renald Fernald, William Seavy and Robert Padington.[1]

On April 14, 1650, the record of a town meeting in Strawberry Bank reads: "It is ordered this town meeting that every ordinary keeper in this town for every pipe of wine they draw shall pay to the town, twenty shillings."[1] April 5, 1652, "it is granted this day that Mr. Richard Cutt is to have a lot between the fresh marsh creek and the next freshet below the fall."[1] According to Adams, Richard Cutt succeeded Lane in occupation of the Great House. On May 3, 1652, land on Great Island was granted, and it was also provided "that each inhabitant of this town, with arms, meet for a foot company within the space ——— after the date hereof, viz: by the 3rd of June next, for our defense if need require."[1] An entry dated May 17,

1652, reads: "Ambrose Lanne and James Johnson are chosen commissioners to the next court at Boston." [1] This is important, as this was the first sending of commissioners from the lower Piscataqua settlements to the General Court of Boston, under the agreement by which these settlements came within the authority of Massachusetts, in 1641. On April 7, 1651, the town records read that, "Mr. Ambrose Lams, or his assigns, shall have full libertie to fell any timbere lieing in common for the use of his mills in Sagamore Creeke, and to lett any particular men in the limits of Strawbery bank town to have boards on shilling in a hundred foot cheapper than the price that he selleth unto others, provided that it is for their own particular ues: except building of ships and barks or boats, they are to take the price curante." [11] At a town meeting held October 20, 1651, it was agreed that John Jones should have twenty shillings the year for making clean the meeting-house.[1]

May 17, 1652, "it is granted this day that Ellixsander Bacheller is to keep the ferry from the Great Island over to the rendervous or the great house, to receive for each single person, four pence to the great house, and from goodman Sherborn's Point unto Strabery banke, six pence the man and two pence the man from the Great Island to goodman Sherborn's Point." [1] On August 10, 1652, "Goodman Sherborn" was chosen treasurer of the town, to be accountable unto the selectmen.[1] September 13, 1652, "it is ordered that from henceforth all licensed persons shall give a just account of what wine they shall take into their house for sale, within three days after the receipt of the same, the which account is to be given unto the town treasurer, Mr. Henry Sherburne, upon forfeiture of such wines as shall be neglected. For French wines

the rate is five shillings the hogshead, and for all other wines ten shillings the hogshead, and for all other smaller casks proportionately." [1]

Earlier that same year, 1652, on January 13, the selectmen examined the old Strawberry Bank town book, and what was not approved in the old records was crossed out, and what was approved was left to be recorded "in this book, and to be confirmed by the present selectmen." [1] "It is probable that this was done in part to obliterate certain recorded transactions which might help the cause of Mrs. Mason." Under that same date, January 13, 1652, the selectmen granted George Walton "thirty foot of land, at the waterside, for the building of storehouse upon the eastern side of the gravelly cove next his house, so that it has not been another man's former right." [1] Under that same date, also, January 13, 1652, the following entry appears: "It is granted that each inhabitant is to have out lots of [land] according unto the order under written:"

	Acres.		Acres.
Mr. Brian Pendilton	30	Richard Seward	10
Mr. Richard Cut	45	Mrs. Mason's house	10
Mr. Leaders Hous	45	Mr. Campion's house	10
Richard Commons	45	Goodman Chatterton house	10
Arcullus Humpkins	50	Nicholas Row	50
Walter Abbit	30	John Morgris	15
William Cotton	20	Mr. Ambrose Lane	25
John Jackson	10	William Brookins	10
William Hame	50	Thomas Walford	50
Edward Barton	20	Thomas Peverly	20
Captain Champernon	50	John Sherborne	30
John Webster	15	Henry Sherborn	5
Renald Ffernald	50	William Sevy	5
Anthony Ellins	25	Willian Berry	3
Henry Berke	10	Thomas Sevy	1
William Euins	10	Ollyver Trimings	1

On September 13, 1652, Joseph Pendilton was granted one full acre upon the Great Island, by common consent, and George Walton was at that time also granted one acre upon Great Island "near unto his house."[1] It may have been that this grant to George Walton was because, under the same date "George Walton hath agreed with the town this day for all the wine he hath drawn before this day, and is to pay unto the town the full sum of six pounds."[1] This date of September 13, 1652, seems to have been a date of settlement. The records read, as of this date: "John Webster hath agreed with the town for all the wine he hath drawn before this day, and is to pay fifty shillings."[1]

On December 7, 1652, Henry Sherborn and Renald Fernald were sworn commissioners for the year.[1] At about this date appears the record that "it is generally agreed upon that every wolf that hereafter shall be killed in this town, the party shall have twenty shillings of the town stock."[1] At the same time it was ordered, "that there shall be a court kept for the ending of small causes, upon the 28th of this present month."[1] This same meeting provided that Renald Ffernald "is this day chosen for to keep the town book, and to have for his pains twenty shillings for the year, and for all copies he shall be paid by whom shall employ him."[1] A more important entry, resulting from this meeting, follows: "It is likewise agreed that Mr. Brian Pendilton, Mr. Richard Cutte and Renald Ffernald, are requested to confer with our neighbours of Dover and Kittery about sending unto the General Court about fortifying the river for our defence."[1] Also at this meeting it was "further ordered that Robert Pudington, with Philipe Lewis or some other,

is to search out the nearest part to cut out a highway to meet that our neighbours of Hampton have made." [1]

On January 30, 1653, Nicholis Row was granted the right to mow in the fresh marsh adjoining the plains.[1] On March 27, 1653, grants occurred at Sandy Beach, Rye, to Francis Rands, Thomas Sevy, Anthony Brackit, John Sherborn, William Barry.[1] On December 5, 1653, it was generally agreed "that from henceforth the minister's wages shall be paid by way of rate of the visible estates: the invoice shall be taken within two months hereof." Under this date arrangements were made for laying out the Plains and for a highway to be laid out northwest and southeast through the Plains.[1] This highway made the first connection with Boston.

In 1653 the meeting-house and parsonage were referred to.[1] On March 27, 1654, seats for this same meeting-house were arranged for.[1] On March 14, 1654, Captain Champernon, John Pickringe, Samouell Hains and Renald Ffernald were appointed "to lay out the heyways by goodman Pudington's to the plains."[1] In 1653 the Winacout River was spoken of.[1] The record of September 23, 1653, shows that Goodman Humpkins bought Roger Knight's house.[1]

In May, 1653, Strawberry Bank petitioned the General Court at Boston to be called Portsmouth. The Massachusetts General Court acted on this petition as the town of Strawberry Bank wished, and in 1653 the name Strawberry Bank was officially changed to Portsmouth, through act of the General Court of Massachusetts, and as a result of this petition. The following entry occurs: "Whereas the name of this plantation at present being Strawbery banke, accidentally soe called by reason of a banke where strawberies was

found in this place, now your petitioners Humble desire is to have it called Portsmouth, being a name most suitable for this place, it being the River's mouth and a good (harbour) as any in this land." [15, 18] This was signed by Brian Pendleton, Richard Cutt, Renald Fernald, Samuel Gaines and John Sherebourn.[17] "The petition states that there were fifty or sixty families at Strawberry Bank." [18] "Although in 1631 eighty emigrants came into the colony, yet twenty-six years after, the citizens of Portsmouth over twenty-one years of age, and females unmarried over eighteen, numbered scarcely a hundred." [19] Though the petition does not say so, perhaps back of the thought expressed in the petition was a wish of Capt. John Mason that the settlement on his land at the mouth of the Piscataqua be called Portsmouth, after Portsmouth, Hampshire, England. There was much association between the two localities.

Portsmouth, Lady of the River,
  Throned upon thy rocky seat,
Ocean's strong arms thee encircle
  While the salt tides lave thy feet.
Sweet to thee the breath of ocean
  When the soft fog veils thy face;
Distant breakers make thee music
  When the hurtling storm-clouds race.

Strawberry Bank, thy restless river,
  With its eddying, hurrying tide,
Floweth landward, seaward, ever
  Thy gray wharves and fields beside,
Oftimes cold, forbidding, sullen,
  Yet at sunset hour, behold,
Crimson fire that streams and ripples,
  Wavelets flecked with red and gold.

Red men haunted once thy river;
  Roamed the forests, their demesne;
Named Piscataqua this region
  Where thou sittest now as queen.
Comely ships and gallant sailors
  Dropping seaward with the tide
For adventure, warfare, treasure,
  Made thee famous far and wide.

* * * *

From thy past the breath of romance
  Steals across these hueless days,
Figures great, whose names are cherished,
  Ghost-like walk the ancient ways.
Gentles, poor wights, live in legend,
  Still they haunt in quaint attire
Market, tavern, hall and garden,
  Where they glowed with youthful fire.

Heaven bless thee, well-loved city,
  And in these thy later days
For thy heritage give children
  Who shall bring thee no dispraise.
Heaven set thy name in honor
  From the White Hills to the sea;
Make thy homes the happy dwellings
  Of a people nobly free.

* * * *

Portsmouth, rock-bound on thy river,
  Yet a mystic life is thine;
In our grateful hearts we cherish
  Thee, an influence most divine.
Purged of all thy dross we see thee
  With thy spires and towers most fair;
Blazoned on thy walls, prophetic,
  Name of old, "The Lord is there."

— Lucius H. Thayer.

CHAPTER VIII

PORTSMOUTH, 1652–1682

POLITICAL history in England made for the taking over of Portsmouth by Massachusetts. This union would very likely have occurred apart from the effect of English politics, but the Commonwealth government in England held back encouragement and assistance from the Piscataqua settlements, and gave assurance to the rulers in the Massachusetts Bay government to extend their political and religious convictions over as large a sphere as possible. The history of Portsmouth was influenced in noticeable degree by the Puritan control emanating from Boston. Though especially true of the period now under consideration, the seed sown at that time developed into an important influence on the later history of Portsmouth.

One of the more prominent men in Portsmouth at the beginning of this period was Capt. Brian Pendleton. In 1652 he was made leader of the "Train Band," [1] by which we understand is meant the armed force of the town. Brian Pendleton's name appears constantly in the town records for a considerable period at about this date. Later, in 1658, he was sent to the General Court as a deputy, and that same year he was chosen a third time treasurer of the town.[1] He was, in 1658, also chosen commissioner and townsman.[1] This same Captain Pendleton was one of those against whom, still later, certain of the townspeople of Portsmouth directed a petition, on the basis that he was one of the five or

six of the richest men of the parish who had "swaied and ordered all officers, both civill and military at their pleasures."

The question of a minister in the town of Portsmouth was a subject of general importance. In 1655 the inhabitants of Portsmouth wanted the Rev. Mr. Browne to serve them.[5] He resided at Portsmouth from 1654 to 1656, and pleased his listeners so much that they asked him to continue with them, but he seems to have left the colony in 1656.[2] On October 7 of this year it was agreed that Henry Sherburne was "to go to the westward in behalf of the whole town to seek and inquire for an able and sufficient minister," [1] the town to pay Sherburne for his pains.[1] The town records read November 10, 1656: "The townsmen have agreed that Mr. Dudlow [Dudley] is to be our minister and to come unto us this next spring and to have four score pounds the year."[1] Mr. Dudlow, however, apparently did not put in an appearance as scheduled.[5] Mr. Worcester (Woster) was called in 1657,[1] but he does not seem to have accepted the invitation. "The quest was crowned with success," however, in 1658 or 1659, when the Rev. Joshua Moodey began his pastorate at Portsmouth.[2, 5] Mr. Moodey became a great power in the colony, and his sojourn at Portsmouth is one of the most picturesque lifework efforts that the history of the town has afforded.

In 1656 witchcraft appeared at Little Harbor. An outbreak of this epidemic had occurred in somewhat earlier years in Massachusetts, and the fear of witches had developed previous to this time on the Piscataqua River. No actual evil practice, however, had been previously called to the attention of the authorities. It seems that Susannah Trimmings, on March 30,

1656, the Lord's Day, as she was going home at Little Harbor with Goodwife Barton, separated from the said Goodwife Barton at "the freshet next her house." As Susannah Trimmings later deposed before Bryan Pendleton, Henry Sherburne and Renal Fernald, who signed her deposition, after she had left Goodwife Barton "she heard a rustling in the woods and presently after, there did appear to her a woman whom she apprehended to be Goodwife Walford." "She asked me where my consort was," deposed Susannah Trimmings, "and said, 'Lend me a pound of cotton.' I told her I had but two pounds and I would not spare any to my mother. She said I had better have done it, that my sorrow was great already but that it should be greater, for I was going on a great journey, but should never come there. She then left me and I was struck as with a clap of fire on the back, and she vanished towards the waterside, in my apprehension, in the shape of a cat." [11, 17]

On the strength of this most serious accusation, Jane Walford was brought to court on the charge of witchcraft, June, 1656. Oliver Trimmings, husband of Susannah Trimmings, made deposition as follows: "My wife came home in a sad condition. She passed by me with her child in her arms, laid the child on the bed, sat down on the chest and leaned upon her elbow. Three times I asked her how she did. She could not speak. I took her in my arms and held her up. She forced breath and something stopped in her throat. I unlaced her clothes and soon she spake and said: 'Lord have mercy upon me, this wicked woman will kill me.' I asked her what woman. She said 'Goodwife Walford.' I tried to persuade her it was only her weakness. She told me 'No,' and related as above, that her back was

as a flame of fire and her lower parts were numb and without feeling. I pinched her and she felt not. She continued very ill and is still bad of her limbs and complains daily of it." [11]

Nicholas Rowe testified "that June Walford, shortly after she was accused, came to the deponent in bed in the evening, and put her hand upon his breast so that he could not speak and was in great pain until the next day. By the light of the fire in the next room it appeared to be Goody Walford." [11] John Puddington deposed that "three years since, Goodwife Walford came to his mother's. She said that her own husband called her an old witch; [17] and when she came to her cattle, her husband would bid her begone, for she did overlook the cattle which is as much as to say in our country, bewitching." [11] It was also brought out in testimony that Goodwife Walford was at home when, as Goodwife Trimmings had deposed, she appeared to her.[17] The case of Jane Walford was considered in court, but she was allowed to go free on her good behavior.[5] Apparently, the case was dropped, and the accused was never punished for her evil practices.[11] In 1669 Jane Walford brought an action against her accuser, and recovered £5 damages and costs.[5] The witchcraft of Goodwife Walford, as represented by Goodwife Trimmings, was famous, and Sagamore Creek became known as Witch Creek.[6] "Later, before 1672, Mary Greenland, wife of Dr. Henry Greenland, then living at Kittery, was accused by some of the gossips of being a witch, but nothing came of it." [5] There was at least one other case of a suspected witch on the Piscataqua; but no convictions seem to have occurred. There is no record of any one having been put to death for witchcraft in New Hampshire.[5]

The case of Jane Walford calls attention to the titles of the period that were commonly used. Nathaniel Adams says, in "Annals of Portsmouth:" "The first settlers were careful not to give titles to persons who had no claim to them. The degree of Esquire was conferred on none but rulers and magistrates, and very few were addressed by the title of Mister. The common appellation between neighbors was Goodman and Goodwife, or Goody." [11]

By 1657 new names were appearing in the town. The name of Odihorne appeared on the records as that of a landowner, in 1660.[1] Also, at about this time, appeared the names of Thomas Peverlie and Tobias Langdon.[1] The name of John Locke also appeared in 1656.[1] The name of John Webster was prominent at about this date.[1] In 1655 "the Great Bay" appears in the town records.[1] In 1658 "upland" at the head of "Sagemore Creeke" was allotted.[1] The chapel and parsonage house, then called the meeting-house, was, apparently, outgrown at this time. The town voted, in 1657, to build a new meeting-house and to repair the old one [1] so as to furnish it for a dwelling house for the minister.[2] The new meeting-house was to be forty feet square, sixteen feet high and to have a flat "ruff." [2] Rev. Lucius Harrison Thayer, D.D., in his "The Story of a Religious Democracy during Two and One-Half Centuries," says, "It was not built without differences of opinion, for the General Court of Massachusetts, in response to a petition, ordered a commission of three to hear both sides and to decide where the new meeting house should be built." [2] Great Island, or Newcastle, which once had a larger population than Strawberry Bank, wanted it where the inhabitants from Great Island could reach it easily, claiming that "health, if

not life, was hazarded in coming to meetings." [2] The commission finally decided to locate the building some distance away from where the first meeting-house stood, and away from the glebe land.[2] Dr. Thayer points out that the site chosen was back of where South and Marcy streets divide.[2] Among other statements in connection with the argument over the site of the meeting-house, appears the declaration: "The meeting house was sett where 'tis principally for the convenience of Great Island, and we never heard and hope never shall of any being lost in attempting to come to meeting."[2] Some time later, in 1669, the town granted "to Mr. ffryer, the townes right of twentie foote square of land neere the meeting house, to sett up a house and keep wood in for to accommodate himself and family in winter time when he comes to meeting." [2] Dr. Thayer points out that Mr. Ffryer was from Newcastle, and that this action "was an act of mercy since there was no fire allowed in the meeting house until long after that date." [2] He says that the house which Mr. Ffryer was to set up was one of the "Sabba-day houses," or "noon houses," "not common in the early days," and used by families and their friends to warm themselves before meeting and between services.[2] In 1658 John Pickering was granted the mill privilege "at the outlet of the south creek, on condition that he should keep in repair a way for foot passengers over the dam in going to and from meeting." [11] A great earthquake occurred this year, 1658.[11] The town records of the year about this period are of considerable historic interest. The "Winicunt" River was referred to in these records in 1655, and land was allotted near it as early as this date.[1] This name, however, dated back much earlier, as is shown by the records during the

life of the Laconia Adventurers. In 1655, July 10, Capt. Francis Champernowne was granted "three hundred acres of upland meadow adjoining his dwelling house at Greenland." [1] It was from the name of this estate that the town of Greenland took its name.[5] Champernowne's house was on what became the farm of the late Col. Joshua W. Peirce.[9] Captain Champernowne was one of the very large landowners in the district around Portsmouth.[14] Champernowne owned land on both sides of the river, including Gerrish Island, then called Champernowne's Island. "Sir Walter Raliegh's mother was a daughter of Sir Philip Champernon, and it appears that Gorges was allied to the Champernons by marriage." [19] This fact probably accounts for Capt. Francis Champernowne coming to the Piscataqua.[2]

Walter Neall secured fifty acres of land in 1655.[1] May 13, 1658, the records read: "this day William Evans hath delivered his wife into the towns disposal." [1] In 1658 the name of John Hart appears; [1] also that of Joshua Rogers.[1] In 1659 John Cutt was given permission to set up a sawmill and corn mill "on the creek leading up to the fresh marsh." [11] He was to grind corn for the town, as required.[1] Richard Cutt, brother of John Cutt, in 1660, was appointed to superintend the turning of the old meeting-house into a parsonage.[1] He was given the right to call on the citizens to lend a hand in the work as needed.[1] "John and Richard Cutt were merchants, sons of a Welsh member of Cromwell's Parliament. John later became President of the Province," Richard its richest man.[2] Dr. Thayer has pointed out that John Cutt left £100 for a free school in Portsmouth.[2]

By 1660 the town of Portsmouth seems finally to have settled the question of a minister. Mr. Moodey

The Boardman–Marvin House
The Sherburne House

The Peirce House
The Jacob Wendell House

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had been tried out and found to be very satisfactory. On March 5, 1660, the town voted to settle on him as minister, though he was not formally installed until 1671.[2] As has been stated, Mr. Moodey had a long and successful pastorate in Portsmouth, and was a power in the land. Also, this year, 1660, the town resolved to put itself on a firmer basis historically, and sent Henry Sherburne to Boston to search the records there which concerned the town.[1] The townsmen and the citizens were making every effort to clarify land grants.[1] In 1660 there were many grants of land and attempts to define exactly what these grants covered; also, this same year the town records show that any one fencing in common land without a license was to be fined £10.[1]

Among the landowners in Portsmouth in 1660 were [1]

Toby Langdon
Mr. Wallis
William Seavey
John Oddihorne
John Cutt
Richard Cutt
Samuel Hams
Fran. Rann
Wa. Abbutt
Mark Hunkins
Richard Shortridg
Chrispr. Sowden
Jno. Sherburne
Roger Knight
Geo. Walton
Mr. Moodey
John Berry
Thom. Peverly
Nath. Drake
William Broken
Phill. Lewis
Anthony Bracket, Jun.
John Pickering
Jno. Jackson
Richard Sloper
John Moses
Wm. Ham
Edw. Melcher
Geo. Row

John Odiorne, in 1660, held and occupied forty-three acres in the vicinity of Odiorne's Point, which took its name from John Odiorne.

In 1661 the Rev. Joshua Moodey was granted eighty acres,[1] and a short while after secured twenty more. Under date of 1661 the name of Robert Elliots appears.[1] In 1662 the town records state that it was voted, "That whosoever shall kill a woolfe in the bounds of this town and shall bring some of the next neighbors where such woolfe is killed, to testify it was done in this town's bounds, and shall nayle the head of such woolfe upon the meeting house, he shall have £5 for his paynes, to be paid by the treasurer, the proof thereof being made to the treasurer." [1]

Discipline of town members was looked out for. In 1659 Thomas Everie was fined twenty shillings for his disorder in town meeting.[1] In 1663 William Evenes agreed with the selectmen to be at one-half the expense of keeping his wife both in clothes and in other charges.[1] In 1662 Capt. Brian Pendleton, it was arranged, was to be paid by the selectmen of Dover and Portsmouth £10, 8*s*. 4*d*. "as satisfaction for so much by him expended on a frozen person who came to the river, whose charity this Court judgeth it meet to encourage."[8]

It was in 1662, also, that it was ordered "that a cage be made or some other means invented by the selectmen to punish such as sleepe or take tobacco on ye Lord's Day out of ye meeting in time of the public exercise." [1] This helpful measure was not carried into effect until some time later.[4]

On September 25, 1662, the town records read: "It appearing too apparent to the town that George Walton had neglected to renew his license at the last countie court, and being very remiss in keeping the ordinary, it was propounded to him whether he were willing to keep up his ordinary or lay it down. He answered he

would keep it better than ever he had done. It was asked him if he and his wife would be resident at home to keep a decorum in their house and to give attendance to their guests. He answered he would not promise that but for himself. He would have inspection over those he should put in. Thereupon it was voted in this meeting whether this poynt did give satisfaction, and the negative was voted. Then it was voted whether another should be chosen, and the affirmative was voted, and left to the selectmen to choose another, and the commissioners to confirm him according to the order of the last countie court." [1]

Across the river in Kittery, at the Point, John Bray built his house, probably in 1662.[14] This house is still standing, and is the oldest house in Kittery. In 1661 Christian Remmick was granted land near Boiling Rock, up the river, on the Eliot shore.[14] In 1659 Thomas Spinney owned land on the end of Eliot Neck.[14] Still other early Kittery settlers were Thomas Langley, Robert Wadleigh, Hugh Gunnison and John Lander.[14] "Brave Boat" Harbor, the entrance of the creek beyond Sea Point, towards York, that bears this name, was so called as early as 1645.[14]

William Hilton lived in Kittery where Shapleigh first built on Warehouse Point, at Kittery Point. Hilton turned his house into an inn about 1648, and was in turn succeeded by Hugh Gunnison as keeper of the ordinary.[14] He had a rival in Kittery in Robert Mendum, who was licensed as keeper of an ordinary, or pub., as early as 1644.[14]

While speaking of Kittery it is interesting to note that Humphrey Chadbourne, who settled at Newichwannock, took a deed from the Sagamore Rowles in 1643; also that, according to Mr. Stackpole, " Frank's

Fort," from which Frankfort Island opposite Greenacre, is named, is "a very ancient name." [14]

The source of the names Gerrish Island and Chauncey Creek seem also worthy of mention. In 1709 Timothy Gerrish and his wife obtained a grant of the west end of Champernowne's Island, since known as Gerrish Island.[14] The easterly end, separated from the other by a marsh, was sold to Richard Cutt, and has since been known as Cutt's Island.[14] Francis Champernowne had another estate, on the Kittery mainland, at the mouth of the creek separating the mainland from Gerrish Island. This creek was first known as Champernowne's Creek, but later, when Champernowne's house on this more westerly estate of his in Kittery became the residence of Charles Chauncy, the creek took the name of "Chauncy" Creek.[14]

In 1666 George Wollis was granted thirty-seven acres "beginning at the lower end of a pond by the seaside called Cow-hall pond," [1] showing that land was then being taken up to a still further degree some distance out from the town of Portsmouth. On October 10, 1663, it was decided to lay out a highway from "Winecote" River Falls eastward, and also to build a passable road "through the Great Swamp, near Greenland." [1] Highways on Great Island, that is, Newcastle, were also planned during this same year.[1] In 1663 the highway to Sagamore Creek was referred to in the town records.[1] In 1660 there was a grant of eight acres near "the boyling Rock." [1] In 1667 Edward Randle was granted land.[1] In or about 1664 the Jackson house on Christian Shore, still standing, was built.[3]

It was not by any means a simple life that the citizens led at Portsmouth. Charles II had hardly taken

his throne before, in November, 1660, Robert Tufton Mason, the grandson of John Mason, commenced petitioning for a confirmation of his rights in New Hampshire.[5] This was not to the liking of Massachusetts, and it was, also, not to the liking of Portsmouth. On the other hand, there was a strong party in Portsmouth opposed to Massachusetts, considerable friction resulting. There were many conflicting groups and parties in the Puritan colonies, and to try to settle all of their reported difficulties Charles II sent over, in 1665, three commissioners, named Carr, Cartwright and Maverick, to hear grievances and to report back to the throne.[10, 11] They reached Portsmouth in June, 1665.[11] They were promptly met with a mass of information.[11] In July, 1665, a petition was presented these royal commissioners, "for the affairs of New England in America," by inhabitants of " Portesmouth," stating that they, "for several years past have bin kept under the government of the Massachusetts by a usurped power, which power five or six of the ritchest men of this parish have swaied and ordered all offices, both civill and military at their pleasures." [13] Thirty-two men signed this petition, among them Edward West, Henry Savage, John Ffrost, John Tanner, Sam. Ffernalle, Abraham Corbet, Ffranceis Champernoune, Ffrancis Drake, Mark Hunking, Joseph Attkinsin.[13] The five or six of the richest men referred to as having usurped power were Joshua Moodey, Richard Cutt, John Cutt, Elias Styleman, Nathaniel Ffryer and Bryan Pendleton.[13] The petition stated that these same five or six men had kept the petitioners under hard servitude and denied them common prayer sacraments and decent burial of the dead, all contrary to the laws of England. The petition further asked

that this procedure be rectified.[13] A later petition, in 1665, signed by sixty-one inhabitants of Portsmouth, Dover, Exeter and Hampton, begged that they might be joined with Maine, which was then under the direct rule of England, and not subject to Puritan regulation.[13]

The commission heard all sides in the consideration of Mason's claims and other collateral petitions, but came to no decision, excepting that the commissioners informed the inhabitants of Portsmouth that they would release them from Massachusetts.[11] They appointed Justices of the Peace. One of them, Abraham Corbett, took office on the strength of this appointment.[11] Massachusetts, which, from the beginning, had not made life too easy for the commissioners from England, promptly declared Corbett's act in taking office on the strength of his commission one of high misdemeanor, fined him £5, and committed him until the £5 was paid.[11] Massachusetts found Corbett guilty "for his tumultuous and seditious practices against government."[11] He was sentenced to find sureties for his peaceable behavior and obedience to the law. He was prohibited from retailing liquors and disqualified from holding office.[11] In 1666 the King's commissioners were recalled. Although they reported on the situation in New England, there was so much else of importance confronting the English court, that their visit, for the time being, had no practical result. As soon as they had gone, Massachusetts again, in all essentials, regained her jurisdiction over the towns in New Hampshire, including Portsmouth.[11]

Massachusetts had, also, in 1665, sent a commission to Portsmouth to hear grievances.[11] The records show that the majority of the townspeople had said

at that time that there was no cause to complain, and declared their satisfaction with the Massachusetts government.[11] While the royal commissioners were in Portsmouth, they had received notice from the King to have the harbors fortified. Massachusetts promptly forbade any action in this connection.[11] On June 19, 1666, however, the town voted as follows: "For the bettering and carrying on of the fortifications at fort poynt, it was consented unto and voted that every dweller and liver in the towne, above the age of sixteen years, whether householder, children, servants or any other residing in the towne shall and do here promise to worke at the same one whole week betwixt this and the last of October next ensuing, and shall appeare upon such days as they shall have notice given them from time to time, untill they have accomplished their several sayd week's worke, and to be allowed out of their subscriptions three shillings per day, and to be at the fort by seven a'clock in the morning and to give over at six in the evening, to begin on the Great Island and so round by Sandy Beach, and thence through the whole towne." [1]

With the royal commissioners back in England, and Massachusetts once more in command, there was less incentive for civic disturbance, and the life of the town rolled on more smoothly. About 1666, eighty-six men subscribed to the maintenance of the minister.[1] Among the names on the list were those of Hunking, Walford, Weeks, Brookin, Moses, Batchelder, Peverly, Jackson, Langdon, Mason, Cutt, Hart, Ffernald, Hill, Griffin, Ham, Walker, Hall, Elliot, Cotton, Knight, Webster, Locke, Smith, Pickering, Pendleton, Atkins, Brackett, Broughton and Paull.[1] In 1667 the following was voted: "for the better and more regular providing

of Mr. Moodey's maintenance and discharge of our duty towards him for his great paynes and labour in the work of the ministry amongst us in this towne, and that as the way has been hither unto by way of volluntary subscription, which hath been and is most pleasing unto him, its voted that the towne will and doe hereby promise to make good unto him all and every sum or sums subscribed by the several inhabitants from yeare to yeare, so long as they shall see meete to goe on in this way of subscriptions, provided that such be not suffered to subscribe that are pencioners in the towne. Furthermore, the selectmen are hereby desired to see that all and every inhabitant and dweller in the towne doe subscribe to the ministy." [1] This happy backing up of the minister's salary put Mr. Moodey on a firm basis, of which apparently he took full advantage. In 1664 the town voted to hang the meeting-house bell.[1]

The town was growing rich. In 1669 the inhabitants subscribed £60 towards a new building at Harvard College, the same to be subscribed for seven years.[7] Dover subscribed only £30; Exeter, £10.[11] This building was burnt in 1764.[10] On May 12, 1669, Goodman Glanfield was allotted £4 per year, according to the town records, for ringing the bell and keeping the meeting-house clean.[1] Under the same date Goodman William Cotton was to look after the furnishing of the schoolhouse near the meeting-house, and again, at the same time, Henry Dering, constable, was given a warrant to give Mr. Henry Russell warning "to be gon out of this town unless he doth give the town good security" that he would keep the town harmless from being burdened in any way as a charge on the town.[1] On March 17, 1670/71, it was voted to permit a

The Austin–Lyman House
The Abraham Wendell House

The Langdon House
The Warner House

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bridge to be built from "Strawbery Banke to the Great Island."[1] In 1672 it was voted that Mr. Nicho. Hogkins "have full liberty to teach schoole in the Great Island."[1] In 1667 it was voted "that a pound be made."[1] In 1671 the town records referred to the Isles of Shoals as a subdivision of Portsmouth.[1] There were allowances made at about this time for poor persons in the town.[1] On March 24, 1669/70 a schoolhouse was arranged for, to be forty feet long and twenty broad.[1] The selectmen, March 24, 1669, were instructed "to get an able schoolmaster to teach school therein."[1] It was arranged with Richard Cutt to build the frame of the schoolhouse.[1]

Robert Tufton Mason, Capt. John Mason's grandson, who, as soon as Charles II came on the throne, had begun to petition to be confirmed in the rights he claimed in New Hampshire, was a biased witness as to the prosperity of Portsmouth at this time. It is interesting, though, to read his point of view, as reflected in 1671, when he wrote urging his claim, as follows: "The people live generally very comfortably and happy and having a great trade to all parts and store of shipping of their town [Portsmouth] which exports and imports yearly some thousands of tons of goods, of their own growth and foreign. Goods exported yearly twenty thousand tons of deals and pipe staves, ten thousand quintels of fish, ten shiploads of masts and several thousand of beaver and otter skins. Imported three hundred tons of wine and brandy, two hundred tons of goods from the leeward islands, and two thousand tons of salt."[13]

The term "township of Portsmouth" appeared in the town records on May 12, 1669.[1] On July 24, 1671, the town agreed with Goodman John Pickerin to make

shutters for the meeting-house windows. He was to be allowed thirty shillings for the same.[1] Under the same date the town agreed with the same citizen "to build a Kage of twelve foote square and seven foote stud in height, the studs of the said kage is to be six or seven inches broad and four inches thick, and but three inches asunder, the studs are to be round the said kage and at the bottom, and overhead, and all the studs round the kage are to be framed into the sills and plates with tennants, and to make a good strong door, and to make a substantial payre of stocks and place the same in the said kage, and to build upon the rough of the said kage a firm pillory, all of which kage, stocks and pillory is to be built and raised some convenient space from the westerly end of the meeting house." [1] Pickering was to receive £5 for his labor.[1] One hundred and sixty persons subscribed, in 1671, to the subscription list for Mr. Moodey,[1] who was much in evidence in town affairs at this time. New names appearing at this period were those of Richard Shortridge, John Holmes, Jno. Bandfield, Edward Randle, Tho. Guptell, Edward Melcher, Robert Eliot, William Graves, Joakin Harvey, John Amaseen, Samuel Wentworth, Tho. Wakeham and Edward Bickford.[1] Samuel Wentworth was the founder of the famous Wentworth family, later so prominent in Portsmouth.[3] Samuel Wentworth first kept the Dolphin Inn on Great Island, and afterwards built a great tavern "across the ferry in Portsmouth." [5]

In 1671 more of the common lands were granted.[1] In 1673 John Preston was hired to ring the bell of the meeting-house and to keep the meeting-house clean. He was awarded this contract at £4, 10*s*. for the year.[1] That same year, John Preston, according to the town

records, was to keep the key of the pound for that year, and to have the fees belonging to the pound keeper.[1] Taxes were commonly paid, in this period, in lumber or provisions.[11] On March 13, 1672/3, the town voted that the £60 annually to be subscribed to Harvard College, as arranged in 1669, was to be levied on the rest of the inhabitants if not paid by the subscribers. At the same time it was stated that payments might be made in goods.[1] This is particularly interesting, as it is to be noted that Harvard College for many years permitted its term bills to be paid in merchandise.

The fort on Great Island was in the minds of the townspeople, and the General Court at Massachusetts was asked, in 1672, to send a company of soldiers to take charge of it.[1] About 1672 Christopher Banfield or Banefield was a settler on the outskirts of Kittery.[14] In 1674/5 there was a schoolhouse on Great Island,[1] and as of this date the "widow Lock" was granted permission to teach the children to read and "sow." [1] In 1676 the name of Capt. Thomas Daniel appeared in the town records.[1] In 1672 it was voted that "if any shall smoke tobacco in the meeting house in any public meeting, he shall be fined five shillings." [1] On May 12, 1669, Joshua Moodey received one hundred and fifty acres, which the town assigned to him in consideration of the townspeople being behind with their subscriptions.[1] Throughout this period the town records frequently referred to the Great Swamp and also to Sandy Beach.[1] In 1679 the town records referred to the "Piscattaqr" River, spelling the word as stated.[1] In 1680 an agreement was entered into by the town, with Goodwife Sampson, "for the maintaining of John Rayne, viz.: to pay him from this day each week 2 bush. of corn, and 1 gal. of molasses."[1] That same

year Splan Lovell, so the town records show, was to ring the bell at the meeting-house on every public day's meeting, and at every burial, this for one hour.[1] He was also to ring the meeting-house bell every night "at nine of the clock." [1] In 1678 it was arranged with Dea. Samuel Haynes to keep an orphan child. At about this time complaint was made regarding the way that Hampton maintained the highway. Again, in 1678, appeared on the town records applications for places in the meeting-house.[1] On May 30, 1680, it was ordered that Mary Richards should be prosecuted on suspicion of having stolen a serge petticoat.[18] That same year Edward Colcord and his wife were brought before members of the Council "for scratching and fighting." [18] On March 22, 1683, occurred the highest tide ever known. The bridge to "Grete Island broke off in the middle, to the great joy of many." [16] In 1689 it was arranged that a pound should be built to herd straying cattle.[1] A pound was standing until recently in Portsmouth, a little way out on the Greenland road. On June 7, 1692, Aaron Moses informed the town that he had killed two wolves the past year, asking for the bounty.[1]

It was at about this time that Boon Island was named. On a coastwise voyage in April, 1682, a small vessel, the "Increase," was wrecked on Boon Island rock. A portion of the hull and spars, with three white men and one Indian clinging to it, drifted on the main island. The men were forced to remain there for a month, subsisting on shellfish and rain water. In May they observed smoke rising from the top of Mt. Agamenticus. It was the day of the funeral of St. Aspinquid, and the fire was in homage of the saint.

The castaways, presumably, had flint and steel. They built a fire, the smoke of which was seen by Indians on the mountain. These Indians paddled out to the island and rescued the castaways, who "named the island Boon Island, for it had proved a boon to them." [12]

St. Aspinquid, who died in 1682, was an Indian convert of the Rev. John Eliot. He was buried on the top of Mt. Agamenticus. On his death the following animals are said to have been sacrificed to his departed spirit: "25 bucks, 69 does, 99 bears, 36 moose, 240 wolves, 82 wild cats, 900 musk rats, 59 woodchucks, 482 foxes, 520 raccoons, 501 fishes, 38 porcupines and 112 rattlesnakes." [12]

At a town meeting in Portsmouth "held on the twenty-second of March 1677/78 it was voted that the selectmen appoint some honest men to inspect their neighbors, as the law directs, for preventing drunkenness and disorders." Under this authority the following so-called "Tythingmen" were appointed, each to look after a specified list of citizens: Mr. Wallis, Sergt. Brewster, Tho. Jackson, Jno. Light, Jno. Dennitt, Dr. Fletcher, Obadiah Morss, James Leech, John Lewis, Robert Eliot, Phineas Rydor, George Bramhall, Sam'l Raise, Lt. Neale, Ens. Drake.[1] In 1680 the town agreed with Nicholas Bond "to look after the demeanor of the boys at meeting, at twenty shillings per annum." [1] There were many complaints as to improper fencing at this period, and the town records are full of efforts to rectify this fencing situation.[1]

In 1676 further effort on the part of Robert Tufton Mason to regain his claimed rights in New Hampshire brought Edward Randolph, a relative of Mason, to

New England.[10] He reached Portsmouth in July of that year, and published there a letter from Mason to the inhabitants, claiming New Hampshire as his, Mason's, territory.[11] This letter caused much alarm in the town.[11] On October 22, 1677, fifty-six Portsmouth citizens petitioned that the town might remain under the government of Massachusetts.[13] Among those signing this petition were William Vaughan, Tobias Leare, John Brewster, Leonard Weeks, Richard Tucker, Richard Shortridge, Samuel Wentworth and William Hamm.[13]

Robert Tufton Mason was now at about the peak of his effort to gain title over Portsmouth and New Hampshire. Through 1678 he was working vigorously to this end.[10] In 1679 Randolph, who had been at Portsmouth in his behalf, returned to England, confirming Mason's complaint against the government of Massachusetts. The English courts having decided in favor of Mason, and the earlier report of the royal commissioners sent over in 1665 giving additional strength to Mason's argument, King Charles II determined to make New Hampshire a separate province, under a President and Council appointed by the King, the reins of government to rest in the King's hands. On July 24, 1679, notice was sent to Massachusetts, informing that government that New Hampshire was to be made a royal province.[10]

Edward Randolph was the moving spirit in England concerned with this result.[5] Randolph was promptly sent back to New Hampshire to bear the King's proclamation and to inaugurate the new government. Randolph arrived at Portsmouth, December 27, 1679,[5] and on January 1, 1680, proclaimed at Portsmouth

the royal commission which made the territory of New Hampshire a royal province.[11] The commission covered Portsmouth, Dover, Exeter and Hampton and all lands extending from three miles north of the Merrimac to the Province of Maine.[10] The Isles of Shoals were not included, and were not under any government till 1682, when "it was held by construction" that the south half was under the jurisdiction of Cranfield.[15] Under this commission Randolph appointed John Cutt of Portsmouth President for a year, or until another should succeed him.[10, 11] Elias Stillman of Great Island, Samuel Dalton of Hampton and Joe Clements of Dover were elected to the Council.[11] The four towns of New Hampshire, Portsmouth, Dover, Hampton and Exeter, were to be represented in a General Assembly.[11] Portsmouth, at this time, had seventy-one voters; Dover, sixty-one; Hampton, fifty-seven; and Exeter, twenty.[11] John Cutt did not wish to serve as President, but finally took office. Cutt was an elderly man at the time. He is described as "an ancient and infirm man," [13] and at the same time "a very just and honest man." [13]

John Cutt did not live long after he had taken the position of President. He died April 5, 1681, esteemed by all who knew him. Richard Waldron, in due order, succeeded Cutt, appointing Elias Stillman his deputy.[11]

Robert Tufton Mason came over in late 1680, but was not well received at Portsmouth, as was quite natural, and did not stay, returning March 27, 1681. He left the town in an unhappy state. Mason demanded rent, which the town had no desire to pay. Portsmouth, with the neighboring New Hampshire towns, Dover, Hampton and Exeter, then wished to

remain under that authority which would give them most freedom of individual government. They saw no aid in this direction from a Masonian-Royal arrangement such as was inaugurated.[10, 11] Mason never succeeded in his effort to become the landed proprietor of New Hampshire; but his attempt to this end was responsible for a definite era in the history of New Hampshire, and contributed towards its being an independent state today, apart from Massachusetts.

Middle Street

State Street

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CHAPTER IX

INDIAN DIFFICULTIES

WHILE Portsmouth was undergoing the political inroads referred to at the hands of Robert Tufton Mason and those associated with him, Portsmouth citizens and their neighbors in the surrounding territory were undergoing far greater physical depredations. The Indians in the near-by country were becoming far more hostile, and were burning and killing in considerable degree. This was a result of King Philip's War, waged to the south of Boston.

Philip had retired, in 1675, to a great swamp in Rhode Island, where he was finally killed.[3] Numbers of the southern Indians at his death fled and took refuge with the Pennacooks and other tribes to the north.[1] It was chiefly through these refugees that the war in the north was fomented.[3] The New Hampshire settlers may or may not have treated the Indians fairly, but at any rate they lived at peace with them for many years, and the war that came was not simply the result of friction between the New Hampshire settlers and the original possessors of New Hampshire soil.

Mr. Everett S. Stackpole, in his "History of New Hampshire," Volume I, says: "The settlers of New Hampshire lived at peace with the Indians, traded with them and bought land of them for over half a century before any trouble arose. There were acts of injustice here and there. Wars result from the crimes and ambitions of the few rather than of the

masses. The Indians were cheated in trades and in purchase of lands, as the ignorant are generally cheated by those who have superior knowledge. They sold whole townships and counties for a few trifles that might well have been given them in token of friendship. They parted with tons of beaver skins and other valuable peltry for a blanket, a gun, a string of beads and some fire water." [2] "Old Passaconaway, Chief of the Penacook [Pennacook] tribe saw that the white men must become the conquerors, and cautioned his people to let them alone and live peaceably with them. His son, Wonalancet, followed his advice." [2, 4] "It is unfortunate," says Mr. Stackpole, "that no history of the early Indian wars was written by an Indian." Mr. Stackpole pictures an Indian Hubbard's point of view. "In 1677 a document was signed by nine Abenaki Indians. They said, 'because there was war at Narragansett, you came here when we were quiet and took away our guns and made prisoners of our chief sagamores; and that winter for want of our guns there were several starved. Is it your fashion to come and make peace and then kill us? Major Waldin do lie; we were not minded to kill anybody. He give us drink and when we were drunk killed us.'" [2] "We have seen how from Maine to Cuba, the explorer was the aggressor." [1]

In 1675, regardless of the rights in the matter, "all the plantations at Pascataqua, with the whole eastern country, were now filled with fear and confusion. Business was suspended and every man was obliged to provide for his own and his family's welfare. The 7th of October was observed as a day of fasting and prayer." [4] The first blow in New Hampshire, in the northern warfare, had been struck, in September, 1675, at Oyster River, which runs into Great Bay

above Portsmouth and near Dover.[2] The Indians burned two houses and killed two men, one of whom lived on the south side of the river.[2] Soon after, William Beard, "a very good old man," was slain on the north side without his garrison.[2] About September, 1675, a man was killed near Exeter, and Charles Randlet, or Rundlet, of Exeter was captured, though he soon escaped.[2] Tozier's garrison on the upper Newichawannock was then attacked.[2] The story goes that a maiden held the front door while fifteen persons escaped by the rear. The maid was then knocked on the head with a tomahawk and left for dead, but she revived and lived for many years.[2, 4]

In July, 1676, Maj. Richard Waldron concluded a peace with the Piscataqua and Casco Indians.[1] This did not stop Indian ravages to the eastward, but it was hoped that it would conclude the war in the territory immediately bordering the Piscataqua. It might not have in any case, but it never had a fair trial. After King Philip's War, certain of his followers had been taken prisoners and put in Dover jail.[1] They escaped and incited the Maine Indians to further depredations.[1] Squando was one of the worst of the Indian offenders.[10] Because of Indian ravages to the eastward, two companies of soldiers from Massachusetts, under Capts. William Hawthorne of Salem and Joseph Syll of Cambridge, reached Cocheco, or Dover, September 6, 1676.[4] This force was joined by Captain Frost of Kittery with his company. The military found at Dover four hundred Indians,[1] about two hundred of them Pennacooks, the rest southern Indians, camped around Maj. Richard Waldron's house. This body of Indians apparently had no hostile intent, as they had their women and children with them,[1] but

Waldron, with the other military leaders, decided to take them all prisoners.[1] Waldron proposed a strategy. Inviting the Indians to a sham fight the next day, and having got them to fire their pieces so that their fire was drawn, the English surrounded and disarmed them. The Pennacooks were set free, the rest, about two hundred, were sent to Boston as prisoners, among them "one-eyed John and Sagamore Sam."[10] Six or seven were tried and hanged for past offences, many others sold into slavery.[1,2]

The Pennacooks looked on Waldron's act as the grossest treachery and never forgave him.[1] Much has been written in defence of, and against, Waldron. It is said that he was ordered by the General Court[2] to act as he did in treacherously taking the four hundred Indians prisoners.[4] Robert Mason accused Waldron of high misdemeanor, charging that he entertained these Indians for about fourteen days "with victuals and strong drink,"[2] and then seized them all. Mr. Everett S. Stackpole, in his "History of New Hampshire," says that Waldron's act "is perfectly in harmony with Major Walderne's character."[2] Waldron was an able military leader, one of the strong men of his day, but he was cold and hard. His ability is expressed by the fact that he was five times elected speaker of the General Court.[2] In support of Waldron, Hubbard says that if Waldron's attack on the four hundred Indians had not occurred, these Indians would very likely have joined with the eastern Indians and destroyed the English plantations beyond the Piscataqua.[10] It is said that Waldron was opposed to the seizure.[1]

After the attack at Cocheco and the capture of the Indians referred to had occurred, the military forces

went to the eastward. On November 6, 1676, the Peace of Casco was effected through representatives of Massachusetts and an Indian leader named Mogg, of questionable character.[4] Mogg later disappeared, and the peace had little effect.[4]

In 1677 there was more trouble with the Indians.[9] At that time it was ordered that all Indians about the Piscataqua should be settled at Quochecho.[6] No Indian had the right to travel in the woods this side of the Merrimac without a permit from Major Waldron.[6] "It was hoped in the beginning of 1677 that the warfare of New England had been accomplished, but it appeared by the sequel that the storm was not yet over."[10] On April 6, 1677, three persons were killed by the Indians at Wells, Maine.[9] On April 7, six or seven men were killed near York.[10] On April 12 two more were killed near Wells.[9] On April 16, 1677, the house of John Kenniston, at Greenland, was burned, and Kenniston himself was slain.[2] On June 13 the enemy appeared at Hampton, killing four men.[2] All inhabitants in the four New Hampshire towns flocked to their garrisons.[2] Three men were slain in the woods near Portsmouth, "whereof one was riding to give notice of the danger to others in the outparts of the town. Two of the men slain were very much lamented, being sober, active young men."[10] Waldron was sent to the eastward, but was not immediately successful in stopping the Indian ravages.[2] The Indian, Mogg, had been killed at Wells, but the Indians were still most troublesome. Efforts for peace were made, and in the spring of 1678 Maj. Nicholas Shapleigh, Capt. Francis Champernowne and Mr. Nathaniel Fryer were appointed to make peace with Squando, the sagamore at Saco, and other chiefs.

This was effected at Saco, tribute in corn being promised the Indians, and for the time being the war was over.[2, 9]

It seems well to consider the various Indian wars together. The flight of James II from England to France brought on an Indian invasion of New Hampshire by Canadian Indians, incited by Jesuit priests.[16] There were also local difficulties which remained unsettled.[3,4] The war that resulted was known as King William's War.[4] Wells, Berwick, Kittery and York were attacked. Especially did the Indians aim to revenge themselves on Maj. Richard Waldron. On June 27, 1689,[1, 2] thirteen years after Waldron's capture of the four hundred Indians gathered around his house, he met his death as a result of that action. The night before, the suspicions of the settlers were aroused, but Waldron said, "Go plant your pumpkins."[1] An Indian chief named Mesandowit supped at Waldron's house and said, "Suppose strange Indians come now, Brother Waldron."[1] Waldron replied, "I have but to raise my finger and one hundred soldiers will be at my command."[1] That evening, later, two squaws begged leave at each of the three garrison houses in that vicinity to sleep on the hearth by the kitchen fire.[1] At two of these houses leave was granted, these being Waldron's and Hurd's.[1] As Waldron was barring doors for the night, one of the squaws said, "White father, big wampum, much Indian come."[1] Just before dawn they came. The squaws rose and opened the doors. At Hurd's a dog barked, waking Elder Wentworth. He hurried down, meeting the savages who were just entering. He was seventy-three years old, but threw his weight against the doors and held the Indians back until help came,

thus saving the garrison.[1] At Waldron's the Indians swarmed into Waldron's room. He sprang from his bed, and although over eighty years of age held them back with his sword, but was at last felled, killed and butchered.[1] His house was burned, his daughter and grandchild taken captive, his son-in-law killed. The houses of Coffin and his son were also destroyed.[1]

Meantime, the widow Hurd and her sons with her daughter and son-in-law, were returning from a day in Portsmouth, where they had been trading. They were coming up the river in the late night in a row boat or a canoe. They heard the alarm and at Waldron's saw the Indians before they were seen.[1] The son-in-law and daughter rowed back to Portsmouth to spread the alarm.[1] Mrs. Hurd tried to hide, but was discovered by a young Indian. To her surprise he left her unmolested. She then realized that this was an Indian who, at Waldron's capture of the four hundred, so long before, she had protected. This was his payment of his gratitude. Mrs. Hurd finally escaped across the river.[1] On the morning after the night on which the attack had occurred at Cocheco, a pursuit party followed the Indians, who, as usual, divided their forces. The pursuers, however, did catch up with one party of the Indians and recovered some of their prisoners, among them three of Otis's daughters.[1] A few days after the massacre at Cocheco, the Indians were active on Oyster River, burning houses there and killing about twenty.[4]

The massacre at Waldron's was one of the most spectacular outrages among all the Indian attacks along the Piscataqua. In 1689 the four New Hampshire towns — that is, Portsmouth, Dover, Exeter and Hampton — were without any definite govern-

ment. They finally agreed, in 1690, among themselves, to choose commissioners to meet in joint convention and to devise in this convention some method of protecting themselves against the common enemy, the Indians. Hampton was at first reluctant to join in this convention, but later did join, though she never accepted the resolutions of the convention.[6] Perhaps encouraged by their successes on the upper river, the Indians continued their depredations in the vicinity during the following years. Portsmouth and Hampton were in more protected areas than were Dover, Exeter, Berwick, Wells and Kittery. These outlying districts bore the brunt of the Indian attacks, but all communities suffered.

On May 18, 1690, two hundred and fifty Indians and French attacked Salmon Falls and Berwick.[2] In 1690 three or four hundred refugees from Maine, mostly from near Saco, came to Portsmouth. It is reported that several houses were burned at this time at Fox Point, near Great Bay,[7] and that fourteen people were killed there.[7] There was a short truce in 1690. About 1691 Portsmouth sent out scouts to cover the surrounding territory, but they availed little.[2] There is a tradition that the Indians ravaged the Isles of Shoals and that one woman, Betty Moody, saved herself by hiding in what afterwards was known as Betty Moody's cavern.[14]

On September 29, 1691, at Rye, then part of Portsmouth, the sons of Francis Rand went afishing. The sons of Goodman Brackett were in the salt marsh, and with no suspicion of danger, the settlers went about their usual avocations. Early in the afternoon a number of Indians came from the eastward in canoes, and landing at Sandy Beach left the garri-

son unmolested, but attacked the houses which were defenceless, killing and capturing twenty-one persons.[8] Among the killed was Francis Rand, one of the first settlers, sent over by John Mason. His wife was also killed by Indians. It is stated that Thomas Walford, another of the first settlers who came over in 1631, was killed by the Indians on the hill,[8] a sad ending after years of frontier effort and hardship! The sons of Anthony Brackett, who had the guns with them in the marsh, ran first to the garrison house, but two children of the family were captured, a boy and a girl. The boy was recovered, but the girl was carried captive to Canada, there married a Frenchman, and afterwards came back to claim her share in her father's estate. Anthony Brackett was killed and his house set on fire. "One child, stolen from its cradle in the absence of its mother, was returned to the father in exchange for a keg of rum." [8] The Indians used a tall tree at Locke's Neck as a lookout station.[8] The garrison house was at Sandy Beach.[8]

In February, 1692, that part of the town of York on the north side of the York River was entirely destroyed.[15] Fifty of the people were killed and one hundred carried into captivity.[5] One man was shot dead just as he was taking his horse.[1] His wife was captured and carried off by the Indians.[1] Another woman, Mary Plaisted, with her three weeks old son and two older daughters, was carried into captivity.[1] Mary Plaisted later returned, and later still, 1696, was admonished "for not attending ye public worship upon ye Lord's Day," [1] and for this offence she was fined four shillings six pence.[1] In 1692 the town of Wells was also attacked.[1] New Hampshire was

much reduced in circumstances by this Indian War.[1] The lumber trade and husbandry were injured, and the four towns, including Portsmouth, passed through one more difficult phase of their existence.[4] It was once said in the Council minutes that the people of New Hampshire were even ready to quit the province.[4] "There was almost no money, and every sort of commodity for food, clothing or enjoyment was scarce and dear." [17] In 1692 Portsmouth, Dover and Exeter were jointly assessed two hundred and nine and one-half bushels of Indian meal, equal to £26 3*s.* 3*d.*, as a contribution towards the war against the Indians and the French.

A peace with the eastern Indians was made in 1693 at Pemaquid,[2] but it does not seem to have been observed for any length of time.[4] In 1694 the Oyster River settlement, which seemed a particular field for the activities of the Indians, was once more attacked,[4] with killings and captures. The garrison of Charles Adams at Oyster River Point was burned and, apparently, all its inmates perished. Fourteen persons were killed.[4] "A boy of nine years old was made to run through a lane of indians as a mark for them to throw their hatchets at." [4] That same year John Locke was killed while reaping grain in his field.[13] In 1694, also, the widow of President Cutts (Cutt), Ursula Cutts (Cutt), who had refused to come into a more settled community, was scalped, about two miles above Portsmouth, as she was hay making.[7] In 1695 two men were killed at Exeter.[7] In 1696 John Church was killed and scalped at Cocheco.[7]

Though Portsmouth was less exposed than Dover, on June 26, 1696, the Portsmouth Plains were attacked.[7] The Indians came from York Nubble to

Sandy Beach in canoes. They hid there in the woods for the moment. Cattle ran out of the woods, giving some intimation that the enemy were near at hand, but the alarm was not spread.[8] Early in the morning the Indians went to the Plains settlement, presumably using an old Indian trail which ran from Concord Point to Breakfast Hill.[8] Simultaneously they attacked the five houses at the Plains.[4] They burned four houses and nine barns, killed fourteen persons,[2] wounded six and took four prisoners.[2] One woman, Mrs. Mary Brewster, was scalped and left for dead, but she revived [2] and became later the mother of four sons, living until 1744.[8] One of those killed was Dinah, the slave of John Brewster.[2]

News of the massacre at the Plains reached Portsmouth at once. Captain Shackford and Lieutenant Libbey, with a military force, pursued the enemy and caught up with them just beyond the Great Swamp as they were cooking their breakfast on the farther side of a hill. This hill, on the Lafayette Road running into Portsmouth, has ever since been known as Breakfast Hill.[2] The Indians had placed their captives between them and the top of the hill so that if they were attacked the captives would first receive the bullets. Captain Shackford and his men rushed upon the Indians from the top of the hill, retaking the captives and the plunder. The Indians, however, escaped and reached the shore. Although another party of settlers had put to sea in order to cut off the Indians' retreat, through error the Indians became aware of them, and, making outside the Shoals, got away.[2]

On July 4, 1697, Major Frost was killed by Indians at Kittery.[7] Another peace was made with the In-

dians in 1698,[4] this due to the Peace of Ryswick between England and France; but again peace lasted but a short time. More trouble occurred with the Indians along the Piscataqua in 1702.[12] In 1703 France was attempting to extend the Province of Arcadia to the Kennebec, and her agents incited the Indians to aid her.[3] On June 20, 1703, the Indians attacked Wells, Saco and Hampton.[1] At Wells, August 10, 1703, thirty-nine inhabitants were killed or captured, some or all being taken prisoners to Canada.[1] One of these, Esther Wheelwright, was discovered by a French priest, and taken by him from the Indians. She later became Mother Superior of the Ursulines in Quebec.[1] In 1704 the Indians attacked North Hampton.[12] On April 27, 1706, there were further depredations by them near Oyster River.[12] It is interesting to see the following schedule of payments for Indian scalps at about this time. Bounty to the regular forces under pay was £10 per scalp; to volunteer forces in service, £20 per scalp; to volunteer forces serving without pay, £50 per scalp; and to any troop or company that went to the relief of any garrison, £30 per scalp.[12]

In 1707 and 1709 settlers were killed by Indians at Dover and at Exeter.[4] In 1708 the Indians again made trouble at Exeter, Dover, Wells and Kittery.[12] In 1712 there were Indian ravages at Spruce Creek and at Exeter,[12] as well as further depredations by them.[12] Another peace was signed July 13, 1713; [12] but in spite of the good names appearing as signatures on this treaty, — namely, John Wentworth, Mark Hunking, William Vaughan and Samuel Penhallow,[12] — it had no great effect.[12] Samuel Penhallow was an Englishman who married a daughter of President

Cutt and established himself in trade in Portsmouth.[12] In 1718 there were further difficulties with the Indians.[7] The Portsmouth records of about this date complain bitterly of the poverty of the town, the result of the throes through which it had been passing, caused chiefly by the Indian warfare. The sky was about to clear, however. From now on the situation turned for the better. Perhaps by force of numbers, perhaps because they had worn out the Indians, the settlers gradually pushed their frontier forward to the point where the Piscataqua settlements were practically free from the Indian scourge. On May 24, 1724, George Chesley was killed and scalped at Oyster River.[4] This was a last flare. In 1725 occurred Lovewell's battle with the Indians near Winnipiseogee, and the death of the Jesuit Rasle in Maine.[4,12] In December, 1725, peace was made with the Indians,[4] a peace which seems to have brought the Indian struggles around Portsmouth to a close.[4] A further Indian treaty at Deerfield, August 27, 1735, made still another milestone in the closing of Indian warfare along the New England coast.[11]

CHAPTER X

EARLY INDEPENDENCE

WHEN Randolph inaugurated the first New Hampshire Assembly, which occurred at Portsmouth, Rev. Mr. Moodey opened the Assembly with a prayer and a sermon.[1] It was fitting, historically, that Mr. Moodey should have done so, in view of the conspicuous part which he was so soon to play in connection with the government of the province.

As we have seen, after President Cutt died, Richard Waldron, the Deputy President, held the reins of government in his hands.[1] Waldron was the man, who, when John Cutt was first appointed President, said, in bitter opposition to the new government, and referring to the commission which Randolph had just brought to Portsmouth, "He would be hanged at his door before he would act by authority of that commission."[7] Just before President Cutt died, Robert Mason, who had come to Portsmouth in late 1680, returned to England. Mason had taken his place in the Council as Lord Proprietor, and had made every effort to obtain rents from the inhabitants, even to the point of threatening to sell their lands if they refused to pay him. He met with the greatest opposition, and at the time of his return to England, March, 1681, he had accomplished nothing of moment in connection with his object.[1] "Experience having now convinced Mason that the government he had

procured was not likely to be administered in a manner favorable to his views, he solicited a change" [1] (from the King). Mason arranged to give up to the King one-fifth part of the quit rents which had, or might, become due, and at about the same time he mortgaged the whole Province of New Hampshire to one Edward Cranfield for twenty-one years, for the payment of £150 per year, for seven years.[1] Cranfield was thereupon commissioned Lieutenant Governor and Commander-in-Chief in New Hampshire.[1] He gave up a profitable office in England on the gamble of what he might gain in New England, and with the aforesaid commission, dated May 9, 1682, he arrived at Portsmouth in October, 1682.[1] "Cranfield made no secret of his intention to enrich himself." [1]

Mr. Edward S. Stackpole says that Cranfield seems at first to have adopted a moderate policy, and Mr. Stackpole makes the point that the state of mind of the settlers and their economic condition was such that no one could have succeeded among them who voiced Mason's claims.[6] Dr. Thayer says that Cranfield "appeared to be fair-minded and desirous of getting on with the situation." [5] Belknap draws rather a different picture. At all events, Cranfield was soon at loggerheads with the inhabitants of the four towns of New Hampshire, — Portsmouth, Dover, Exeter and Hampton. He promptly suspended Waldron, Deputy President, who was acting as President at the time of his arrival, and dissolved the Assembly, in 1683.[1] He packed the Council with his own partisans and he and the Council made laws to suit themselves.[1] Cranfield tried to prevail on the inhabitants to take out leases from Mason. From

every angle he enjoyed almost immediate unpopularity, and met with universal friction.[1]

Lieutenant Governor Edward Cranfield found himself shortly in so weak a position, and the inhabitants so hostile, that when the frigate "Lark" was in Portsmouth Harbor he asked to have her remain there for a considerable period.[7] Cranfield wrote, December 1, 1683, "The sight of the Lark frigate in their harbor put an awe upon them, but so long as their preachers exercise a countermanding power to his Majesty's authority and oppose all persons and things which receive not a sanction from one of them, I am in much doubt where to find honest and fit persons enough in this small colony to administer justice, serve on juries and execute the several parts of government." [5,7]

The Rev. Mr. Moodey was particularly obnoxious to Cranfield.[5] Moodey was a Puritan, Cranfield of the established Church of England. Moodey voiced many of the sentiments of the colonists in opposition to Mason. Cranfield voiced the interests of Mason, transferred by mortgage to himself. On December 1, 1682, Cranfield wrote from Portsmouth: "Introducing the way of the Church of England will not be practical here." Again he said: "The perverse temper of many of them who are influenced by Waldron and Moodey, who at my first coming I was so charitable to believe they were better men than I now found them." [5] Still again, December 30, 1682, he wrote: "I found Mr. Moodey and his party so troublesome that I believed myself unsafe to continue longer amongst them until I had the convenience of a frigate and full instructions to reduce them to a better understanding." [5]

Cranfield wrote: "Although the Massachusetts ex-

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ercise no authority in this province, yet they influence things as they please, there being a strict Confederation between the ministers and church members of this province and those of the Massachusetts colony who govern and sway people as they please. No pope ever acted with greater arrogance than these preachers, who inflame the people to their fantastic humors and debauch them from their duty and obedience to His Majesty and his laws." [5] On June 19, 1683, Cranfield said in a letter: "It will be necessary to dissolve their University of Cambridge for from thence all the several colonies in New England are supplied, the people looking upon their teachers as little less than apostles. It is incredible what an influence they have over the vulgar and do make it their business daily to excite and stir them up to rebellion, being professed enemies to the King's government and church." [5]

Harvard College survived this attack. Harvard opened its doors to scholastic pursuits probably in 1638.[11] In March, 1639, it was ordered that the college should be called Harvard College, in honor of its great benefactor, the Rev. John Harvard, who was minister at Charlestown, and who, dying in 1638, left one-half of his estate, this half being £779 17*s.* 2*d.*, toward the erection of a college.[11]

More and more Cranfield and the colonists became at odds with each other. A vessel had been seized by the government at Portsmouth. During the night she was quietly taken out of the harbor by other than government officers.[4] Cranfield at once dismissed Capt. Elias Stillman, who had command of the fort at the harbor's mouth. This was ostensibly for letting the ship pass to sea. Cranfield appointed Capt.

Walter Barefoote, a citizen of Portsmouth, in his place as commander of the fort.[1] Barefoote was also made a judge and Cranfield's deputy.[1] It was this same Barefoote who, according to the records, in 1678 was to receive, for caring for Richard Harvey, who broke his leg, £20, or oak staves at £3 10*s*. per thousand, if he, Barefoote, perfected a cure. If he did not perfect a cure, Barefoote was to receive only 20 shillings, already paid him.[3]

The ketch, which had been quietly sailed or taken out of the harbor away from the hands of the government, became a considerable factor in Cranfield's increasing difficulties. When questioned, the owner swore he had not had a hand in the taking off of the vessel.[4] Cranfield was apparently unable to prove that the owner had acted in defiance of his authority, and the owner found some means of settling the matter with him.[4] After a time Cranfield passed over the incident. Not so did the Rev. Mr. Moodey, who went to Cranfield with proof that the owner of the ketch had lied to him. Moodey further stated that he would have no false swearers among his people, and as is told in "An Account of the Several Religious Societies in Portsmouth, New Hampshire," Moodey preached a sermon against false swearing and finally brought the owner of the ketch to public confession of his falsehood.[4] At this Cranfield became bitterly angry, saying that he had forgiven the man, and that Moodey was meddling. At an extreme degree of friction Cranfield ordered Moodey to administer the Lord's supper,[4] "according to the liturgy."[1] As was to be expected, Moodey refused. Cranfield accordingly brought him to trial, as he could under a special statute, and had him put in

prison for thirteen weeks.[4] Moodey was finally released, in May, 1686, on condition that he should preach no more in the province.[4] As a result he accepted a call to act as temporary assistant to the pastor of the First Church in Boston.[5] The account goes on to tell of the misfortunes that, as if by divine providence, fell on those who condemned Mr. Moodey.[4]

Meanwhile, an unruly citizen of Hampton, Edward Gove, who has been described as a fanatic, incited an armed rebellion against Cranfield's government in Hampton.[1] He tried also to incite the citizens of Portsmouth to similar action.[6] Gove was made a prisoner, tried and condemned to a terrible death by the court, for his traitorous action.[8] He was sent to England, imprisoned in the Tower for about three years and then, after effort, was released.[1] "In a country," says Belknap, "where the love of liberty had ever been the ruling passion, it could not be expected but that some forward spirits would break the restraints of prudence." [1] "The government became extremely offensive to the people, and they determined to petition the King for redress." They drew up remonstrances and sent Nathaniel Weare of Hampton to England with their petition, raising the money by subscription to pay his expenses.[1,2] Weare went secretly from Boston, and made valiant, but not very successful, efforts in London in behalf of the New Hampshire inhabitants.[1] Major Vaughan of Portsmouth had helped Weare and had accompanied him to Boston when he sailed. On Vaughan's return to Portsmouth, Cranfield suspected him of traitorous act, and demanded security for his good behavior. On Vaughan's refusing to give the same, Cranfield

threw him into prison.[1] Another citizen of Portsmouth, imprisoned by Cranfield, was John Amazeen.

The principal aim of the petitioners who had sent Weare to England was arrived at in a natural way in this country. Cranfield became discouraged at the resistance his authority met, and at his failure to secure money through his office.[1] In 1685 he asked for leave of absence, and embarked shortly after, in 1685, secretly, on board a vessel bound for Jamaica. He went from the West Indies to England, where he secured the Collectorship of Barbadoes.[1] He filled this office well, and is said to have paid particular attention to vessels hailing from Portsmouth.[1] Cranfield seems to have lived a decent life in his new field. Mr. Stackpole says that many writers may have pictured him in too dark a hue.[6]

Cranfield's tenure of office was memorable for a number of events, but especially for the eviction of Mr. Moodey. After the Rev. Mr. Moodey left Portsmouth his name appeared frequently in the town records. On June 14, 1686, the town sent a delegation to Mr. Moodey, asking him to come back to Portsmouth; but, on his giving no explicit answer, the Rev. Gilbert Lourie, who had been preaching at Portsmouth in Mr. Moodey's absence,[4] was engaged for six months more, the town agreeing to pay him £36 for that period, plus the expense of his removal from Boston, and house room for him and his family. Mr. Moodey did not return. He wrote from Boston March 29, 1691, to the town, an affectionate but diplomatic letter, suggesting that he return.[3] The town answered, June 5, 1691, saying that Mr. Moodey's suggestion was too late, and that they had engaged the Rev. John Cotton to be their minister.[3]

Mr. Cotton, however, advised the town to try once more to secure Mr. Moodey,[4] and on October 8, 1691, Portsmouth offered Mr. Moodey £80 a year in money and the use of a house and glebe land, if he would return.[3] Mr. Moodey felt that the call was not unanimous and he did not accept. It is said that the Rev. Mr. Moodey was offered the presidency of Harvard College in 1684, and that he refused.[4] Mr. Moodey died in Boston on July 4, 1697.[4] His last sermon was numbered 4,070.[4] Dr. Cotton Mather, in his funeral sermon said of Mr. Moodey, "Our breach is like the sea — who can heal it?" [5]

At Cranfield's departure from Portsmouth in 1685, Deputy Lieutenant Governor Walter Barefoote became head of the provincial government in New Hampshire.[1] There was great opposition to Barefoote among the inhabitants. Barefoote acted as Governor for a short time only, but during that time one incident occurred which showed the temper of the people and the general situation between Mason and his party and the inhabitants of Portsmouth. Mason, having returned to England in 1681, came back again to Portsmouth, and was in Portsmouth in 1685, staying at Great Island with Walter Barefoote at the latter's house.[1] One evening, while Mason was there, Thomas Wiggin, or Wiggins, Barefoote's brother-in-law,[6] and Anthony Nutter called to see him. A heated discussion took place during this call, Wiggin and Nutter telling Mason in plain language what they thought of his claims. Then, as Mason later deposed in a personal statement as to what occurred, "Wiggins took hold of my cravat, and being a big strong man, pulled me to the chimney and threw me upon the fire. . . . I was no sooner

got out of the fire but the said Wiggins laid hands on the Deputy Governor, threw him into the fire and fell upon him so that two of the Deputy Governor's ribs were broken. I did with much difficulty pull Wiggins off the Deputy Governor." [6] "Two servant maids testified that Anthony Nutter did walk about the room in a laughing manner and gave no assistance to either Barefoote or Mason." [6] "Yet Barefoote, in his will, 1688, gave nearly all his houses and lands to this same Thomas Wiggins," [6] as he put it, "my brother-in-law and to my sister, Sarah, his wife." [6] The quarrel just described was with Mason, not Barefoote.[6]

A word or two of collateral English history seems appropriate at this time. Charles II, who had been recalled to the British throne in 1660, died in 1685,[15] being succeeded by his brother, who became James II. Prof. Edward Channing, in "A History of the United States," says: "The second Charles was not an admirable historic figure, but he shines in comparison with his younger brother." [16] Moreover, James II was a Catholic, whereas "the English nation was Protestant to the core." [16] The reign of James II was short. In 1688 he fled from the country. Mary, who was Protestant, was the eldest daughter of James II. She had already married William of Orange.[16] In 1688/1689 William and Mary were proclaimed the sovereigns of England.

The political changes in England, and the support which ex-King James II received in France,[16] brought on war between England and France in 1689. This war had its effect in America in increased ravages by the Indians, under French urging, against the English colonists.[16] In 1697 the Peace of Ryswick brought an end to the war.[15] Mary had died in 1694.[15]

William died in 1702,[15] being succeeded by Queen Anne, who reigned from 1702 till her death in 1714.[15] Almost throughout her reign England and France were at war, from 1702 till the Peace of Utrecht in 1713,[15] — a war that again had effect in Indian depredations against the English colonies in America. In 1714 George I succeeded to the throne, reigning till his death in 1727.[15]

In 1685 Massachusetts allowed her charter to be forfeited. This same year James II commissioned Joseph Dudley President of the Province of New England, which, under this commission, included Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Maine.[1] The new government, headed by Dudley, went into operation May 25, 1686.[1] This administration was preliminary to one of more rigid caliber. In May, 1686,[6] Sir Edmund Andros was appointed Captain General and Governor-in-Chief of New England.[1] Andros had been Governor of New York from 1674 to 1682.[6] Andros arrived in Boston December 30, 1686, and at once began to function as head of the New England government.[1] He had little to do directly with New Hampshire, but he had the power to grant lands in New Hampshire, which brought him into direct conflict with Mason, to Mason's disadvantage. Andros ruled arbitrarily and with utter lack of harmony with the people of New England under him. For one thing he opened the Old South Meeting House in Boston on Good Friday, 1687, for those of the Church of England. This made him most unpopular in his Puritan environment.[9] Belknap says, "The people of New Hampshire had their share of sufferings under this rapacious administration." [1]

The overthrow of James II in England, in the

glorious revolution which brought William of Orange to the throne, "emboldened the people of Massachusetts to strike for freedom." [6] A rebellion occurred at Boston, April, 1689, which put an end to the Andros régime.[6] Andros was imprisoned with others and sent to London, where he was acquitted;[6] but when he was imprisoned "the Stewart dominion in New England came to an end." Mr. Stackpole says that Andros was "a wise and trusted governor, and a man of unblemished character." [6]

Left without government, in 1689, New Hampshire faced the Indian problem and other trials alone. An attempt was made to bring the four New Hampshire towns together in a convention in July, 1689, as has been stated, but Hampton was jealous of Portsmouth, and this particular convention was not held till the following year.[8] A convention did meet at Portsmouth, January 24, 1690, Dover, Hampton, Exeter and Portsmouth being represented. A simple constitution was drawn up and submitted to the four towns, "the first by popular initiative ever submitted to the people for adoption." [8] Hampton, still fearful of Portsmouth's larger share in the government, would not accept it.[8] The attacks by the Indians, meantime, had created a crisis. Political leaders in Portsmouth desired to be reunited with Massachusetts;[2] but this did not occur.

Portsmouth, in spite of her Indian and other troubles, was at this time gaining in power and importance. In 1690 the "Faulkland," a fifty-four gun ship, was built at Portsmouth, by order of the British government; in 1696 the "Bedford" galley, of thirty-two guns, was built.[2] In 1692 an epidemic of smallpox occurred in Portsmouth.[2]

The citizens of New Hampshire, probably foreseeing further pressure from Mason's claims, petitioned to be joined again to Massachusetts;[6] but New Hampshire now seemed worthy, in the eyes of the King of England, of being maintained as a distinct royal province. This was furthered by the fact that Robert Tufton Mason's two heirs had sold their rights in New Hampshire to one Samuel Allen, a London merchant, for £750.[1] Allen sued for his title in the courts, and as part of his effort to put himself in control of New Hampshire, he obtained a commission from the King as Governor and Commander-in-Chief in New Hampshire. In London, at about this time, was John Usher, who later became Allen's son-in-law,[6] a citizen of Boston, a rich stationer there,[1] and a man who had been one of Andros' Council.[6] Allen obtained a commission for John Usher as Lieutenant Governor of New Hampshire. Usher arrived in Portsmouth with his commission August 13, 1692.[1] He at once published his appointment.[2]

Usher is said to have been "intent on gains rather than a statesman and a courtier."[6] As had his predecessors, he found difficulty in raising money for salaries, including his own. He said the people of New Hampshire were not poor, but sullen,[6] adding that, "to his own knowledge there were persons in Portsmouth who had £100 per annum, and were rated at only £20, yet they plead poverty."[6] Dr. Belknap says: "The transfer of title from Mason to Allen was only a change of names."[1] Usher early ran into difficulty. He demanded the papers relative to Mason's suit under his claims. Capt. John Pickering, a determined citizen, and in opposition to

Usher, had gone with a company of armed men to the house of the late clerk, and had taken those papers by force, carrying them to Kittery, where he secreted them. At last, under Usher's pressure, he gave them up.[6]

Usher continued disappointed as to monetary gain. Even Allen did not pay him as arranged.[2] Again, the citizens were in more or less open rebellion against the government. The people finally agreed, in 1695, among themselves, to attempt to place William Partridge of Portsmouth in the office of Lieutenant Governor in place of Usher.[2] Partridge went to England and came back with a commission as Lieutenant Governor, dated June 6, 1696.[6] There is some question as to whether Partridge at once published this commission.[2] Usher was in Boston at the time of his arrival. Though Partridge made known his appointment, it is said that he did not at once assume office.[1, 2] Usher styled Partridge's attempt to supersede him as "The Piscataqua Rebellion."[1] He wrote to Allen urging him to come over "and take the reins of government in his own hands and try to drive unbroken steeds." Allen arrived in 1698.[1] Meantime, in the face of the general confusion as to who was in command in New Hampshire, — Allen, or, in his absence, Usher or Partridge, or the people themselves, — the King, in 1697, appointed Richard, Earl of Bellomont, Governor General of Massachusetts, New Hampshire and New York.[1] The Earl arrived in Portsmouth July 31, 1699.[2] Great preparations had been made there to receive him. He established a government "in favor of the people, and they rejoiced in the change."[1] The respite was short-lived, for the Earl of Bellomont, of whom great hopes had

been nourished, died in New York March 5, 1701.[1] His administration was noteworthy for the taking prisoner of Captain Kidd at Boston. Kidd was sent to England for trial, where he was condemned and executed.[10] The ghost of one of Kidd's men was long supposed to haunt Appledore, of the Isles of Shoals, for years a favorite haunt of freebooters and smugglers.[12] Immediately after Bellomont's death, the New Hampshire Assembly claimed the authority to govern, with Allen in controversy with them, and suing ineffectually in the courts.[1]

King William died in 1702, and Queen Anne succeeded him.[1] She expressed her royal wish in connection with New England by appointing Joseph Dudley, former President of New England, as Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire in 1702.[1] Under him and by Queen Anne, John Usher was confirmed as Lieutenant Governor.[2] He remained such from 1703 to 1710, during which interval Allen died, May 5, 1705.[2] Allen, at the time of his death, was discouraged and poor. Belknap says that he had made an offer to the New Hampshire towns which had been refused by them.[1] Later, Queen Anne wrote him hoping that he might find comfort in a settlement of his claims.[8] The towns made a liberal offer of land and money, but Allen died just after this offer was made, and before accepting the same.[8] "Allen is represented as a gentleman of no remarkable abilities, and of a solitary, rather than a social disposition, but mild, obliging and charitable." [1] He belonged to the Church of England, but attended worship in the congregation of Newcastle.[1] He was buried in the fort at Newcastle.[1] His son continued his suit for title to New Hampshire soil.[1] It was in

this suit that the Wheelwright Indian deed, which has been claimed as a forgery, was produced as evidence.[6, 10] Allen's son, in turn, died in 1715, which put an end to this particular litigation.[6]

Governor Dudley was popular in New Hampshire,[1, 6] largely because "he favored the claims of the freeholders against those of Allen." [6] He pursued a policy of compromise, but his administration neither protected the church nor befriended his opponents, and his administration did not give general satisfaction. In Dudley's administration the charge for the carrying by mail of a letter from Boston to Portsmouth was sixpence.[10]

It was during Dudley's administration that a recurrence of Indian outbreaks near the Piscataqua River occurred, recounted in Penhallow's "Indian Wars." In 1707 the frontiers were kept in continual alarm. In 1707 two girls were taken prisoners by the Indians at Oyster River in May, and in July two others were killed near there.[6] For years prior to that time, and following that time, as has already been described, there was much fear and actual loss of life as a result of the Indian outbreaks.[6] During these, and in connection with other executive work, Usher, who had been again confirmed as Lieutenant Governor, "behaved as a faithful servant of the Crown," [1] going into New Hampshire as Governor Dudley directed, "yet his [Usher's] austere and ungracious manners, and the interest he had in Allen's claim, prevented him from acquiring that popularity which he seems to have deserved." [1]

The Indian War did not disrupt business at Portsmouth. "At a meeting of the Selectmen ye 3rd of May 1708," the town records read, "agreed with Mr.

Nathaniel Freeman for keeping a free schole on ye South Side of ye Mill Dam this year and to teach all such of ye Town Children as shall be capable of reading wrighting and speling according to his best skill and judgment." [3] Mr. Freeman had previously been an instructor of the youth of "Greenland, the Plains and Sagamore Creek." [13] It was in 1708 that the town voted to build a "scool house upon the land Mrs. Bridget Grafort lately deceased gave for a scool house." [13]

When, in 1715, King George I of England ascended the throne, New England looked for a change in their government. As an attempt to prevent this, a petition was sent King George, asking for Dudley's continuance in office,[1] but it was not long before the Crown appointed Col. Eliseus Burges Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire.[1] This occurred in 1715, and that same year George Vaughan was appointed Lieutenant Governor in New Hampshire.[1] On reviewing the situation, just after Burges was appointed Governor, it was decided in England that he would not be suitable to the colonists. Burges was prevailed on to resign, on the promise of £1,000, and Col. Samuel Shute was appointed Governor in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, in place of Burges.[1] Governor Shute arrived in New Hampshire, publishing his commission there on October 17, 1716.[1] In so doing he superseded Dudley who, in the meantime, had not gone into New Hampshire, expecting to be replaced.[1]

Governor Shute and Lieutenant Governor Vaughan had differences of opinion as to who was in authority in New Hampshire when Governor Shute was out of that province. Before long, in 1717, Vaughan com-

plained in London, seeking confirmation of his authority.[1] As so often happened, the complaints on the part of one man resulted in the appointment of another. In this case the result was that John Wentworth of Portsmouth was appointed Lieutenant Governor of New Hampshire in place of Vaughan. Wentworth's commission was published December 7, 1717,[1] and he himself was handsomely received in Portsmouth as Lieutenant Governor. John Wentworth had been commander of a ship, and had accumulated a fortune through mercantile industry.[1] He is said to have been of "a prudent, obliging deportment."[1] He is also said to have received or taken over 3,000 acres of land, and his family as much more.[6]

The administration of Lieutenant Governor Wentworth gave a dignified beginning to the administrative record of his family, which covered so large a part of the eighteenth century in Portsmouth. Incidentally, his administration was famous for a great snowstorm that brought, it is said, eight feet of snow on the level. John Wentworth served as Lieutenant Governor until he died, December 12, 1730.[2] Governor Shute went back to England in 1723,[1] after three years "of obstinate antagonism" between the citizens of Massachusetts and himself. Belknap says that the people of New Hampshire were satisfied with Shute's administration.[1] In New Hampshire, for six years after Shute's withdrawal, there was a separate government in that province, with Lieutenant Governor Wentworth at its head.[10] From 1717 to 1725 there were important Indian outbreaks, and it was Wentworth's executive effort that was largely responsible for the way in which they were handled by the New Hampshire inhabitants.[2] Belknap says of him: "During the war the

Lieutenant-Governor managed the executive department with much prudence." [1] "The people were satisfied with his administration and entertained an affection for him." [1] At length, in 1725, peace was made with the Indians, at Boston. The last effort of this enemy in southern New Hampshire had been made.

In 1728 Governor Burnet was appointed over Massachusetts and New Hampshire, Lieutenant Governor Wentworth still acting as the executive officer on the ground, his title being Lieutenant Governor of New Hampshire.[1] Governor Burnet visited Portsmouth in 1729.[2] Burnet died shortly after, in September, 1729,[2] Jonathan Belcher succeeding him as Governor of New Hampshire.[2] Belcher was fond of display, and is reported to have had a troop of horse meet him on the road and escort him to Portsmouth, the capital city of the province. Under Belcher, at Lieutenant Governor John Wentworth's death, David Dunbar succeeded to the Lieutenant Governorship, June 24, 1731.[2] Richard Wibird was appointed Collector.

During this early period in which executive officers, deriving their authority directly from the Crown, governed New Hampshire, Portsmouth, in spite of Indian warfare, developed from a frontier settlement to an important colonial capital.[1] Some degree of wealth had also been accumulated in the town, though Palfrey says that the poverty of New Hampshire, in 1692, "was undeniable." [10] There were already promises of the architectural development that occurred later. As early as June, 1683, Cranfield wrote: "The country grows very populous." [7] The environs of Portsmouth were growing. Stratham became a township in 1716.[14] Politically, New Hampshire showed its initiative during this period in

many ways. As stated, a simple constitution had been prepared by the convention which met at Portsmouth January 28, 1690, representing Portsmouth, Exeter, Hampton and Dover, "the first by popular initiative, ever submitted to the people for adoption." While the four towns were waiting for a more satisfactory constitution to be prepared, Allen and Usher obtained their commissions, and the opportunity for self-government was gone.

During this period the religious growth of the town was noteworthy. In 1692 the parish of Portsmouth consisted of two hundred and thirty-one families,[5] forty-three at Great Island, sixty-eight at Greenland, and one hundred and twenty at Strawberry Bank.[5] After the engagements of the Rev. Gilbert Lourie and the Rev. John Cotton, Portsmouth obtained the services of the Rev. Nathaniel Rogers as minister. Mr. Rogers was ordained May 3, 1699, over a church consisting of twenty males and fifty-nine families.[5] "He was to have use of the parsonage and the glebe, besides one hundred pounds a year." [5] Mr. Rogers was a graduate of Harvard College, of the class of 1687, and was the youngest son of the president of the college.[5] He died, still in charge of his pastorate, at Portsmouth in 1723, leaving the reputation behind him of having been a most excellent minister.[5] "Tradition adds that he had a very agreeable manner of preaching, and was very elegant in person and deportment. He was buried at the expense of the parish, at the Point of Graves." [5]

It was during Mr. Rogers' pastorate that, in 1712, "an unhappy division arose which was attended with sharp controversy and strong feeling, and which resulted in the forming of the South Church and

The Langdon–Pickering House

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parish."[4,5] "In September, 1711, it was voted in general town meeting, to build a new meeting-house on the corner of the minister's field" "on the north-east corner of the glebe," "which should be the stated meeting house of the town."[2] This occurred by a close decision, the vote being sixty-five to forty-five. "The trend of population was north and west,"[5] and the south end seemed to offer no suitable place for the meeting-house. Also, by this time Newcastle had been granted her own ministry.[2] Mr. Rogers, when he was confirmed as pastor of the new meeting-house, preached from a point considerably north of where the old meeting-house stood.

The inhabitants at the south end opposed the change.[2] They held a town meeting, in 1713, which was attended with disorder and tumult, and declared dissolved by the justices present;[2,4] but, under the leadership of the doughty John Pickering, a vote was passed that the old meeting-house should continue the town meeting-house forever, and when out of repair, so that it could not be conveniently repaired, to build a new one on the place.[4] The controversy was referred to the Legislature. The result was that when Mr. Rogers was confirmed as the established minister of the new meeting-house, provision was made, in 1714,[2] for the support by the town of a minister at "the other meeting house at the mill dam." "At this meeting house, Rev. John Emerson[4] was installed as minister of the remonstrant people, but the town authorities refused to pay his salary." "This resulted in the practical formation of a second parish." "Thus arose the division of the original town parish into two separate organizations — the North and South Parishes."[17] Local religious schisms were of importance in town

affairs. In 1740 the two parishes conferred in an attempt to reconcile their differences, and an exchange of pastors followed.[5] "Such was the attention to the preached word, women used frequently to walk from Greenland to Portsmouth, six or eight miles, in order to attend publick worship." [4] As in other New England towns, the religious democracy of the town was in close keeping with town politics, and was interwoven with all other town affairs.

With the end of the period directly under discussion, the town entered on a new phase of its existence, socially, politically and religiously. Even the old glebe land was by this time well broken up, which was indicative of the changing times. Leases of parts of the glebe land, one in favor of Richard Wybird, had then been made for nine hundred and ninety-nine years, in accordance with an arrangement as to leases effected in 1705.[13] The glebe land was of importance. It is stated that the differences of opinion as to the new meeting-house, voted in 1711, would not have been so great if the site selected had not seemed to dwellers in the south part of the town to give the dwellers in the north part undue advantage as to the old glebe land.[4] The eastern section of the glebe was in the heart of the town, "44 poles upon Pleasant and Court Streets, and extending to the westward."[4] This part of the glebe was bounded by what are now Congress, Pleasant, Court and Chestnut streets. Two lots were on the western side of Chestnut Street.[13]

CHAPTER XI

A COLONIAL CAPITAL

ABOUT 1730 a new era began in the history of Portsmouth. Primeval forests and the uncultivated banks of the Piscataqua had given way, between 1623 and 1730, to a small township which had been many times torn in its struggles with the frontier, with the Indians, with Massachusetts, and with its own duly appointed Lieutenant Governors. Very slowly but steadily this little township had won its way through struggle, and had gained inherent strength and solidity. By 1730, though still poor, Portsmouth was on a sound political and civic basis, and stood ready to reap the benefits of its earlier well-fought battle for existence, progress and independence of action. The one-hundred-year period, 1730–1830, saw Portsmouth relatively important in colonial and revolutionary history, and in the early civic life of the United States.

Private letters in 1732 showed that there was still lack of money in Portsmouth; but such lack was not apparent much longer, for shortly after 1730 Portsmouth began to acquire wealth. This arose chiefly from imports by sea, which in turn were bought with the proceeds of the considerable export trade in lumber, masts and fish. The wharves bustled with the loading and the unloading of deep water and coastwise vessels, and the town showed many signs of successful merchants. Up to 1741 the advance of

Portsmouth in wealth and importance was slow; but in 1741 a tide of emigration set in to New Hampshire from England.[8] Mr. George Barstow says, in "The History of the United States," that in 1749 the population of New Hampshire had doubled in eighteen years.[8]

The seeds of distinction had sprouted in Portsmouth before 1730, and still more by 1741, even though the town was not in a flourishing state before this latter date. There is a mass of available information showing that Portsmouth from 1741 on rapidly became a colonial capital and a polite center where intelligence, beauty and dignity were much in evidence. The files of "The New Hampshire Gazette," the records of the Library Society, founded in 1750, the architecture of the town, all give evidence to this effect.

As was natural, this development of Portsmouth found particular expression in architecture. The period beginning in 1741, and lasting until about 1820, brought into being in Portsmouth most of the beautiful houses for which the town is famous. The social background for this architectural expression was especially rich, and the result was a colonial style of building that has not elsewhere been surpassed.

Early types of houses were noteworthy. The Jackson house, still standing, built about 1664 by Richard Jackson,[1] was over seventy-five years old in 1741. The Samuel Wentworth house, still standing, built probably before 1671, is another example of very early Portsmouth architecture. The first brick house built in Portsmouth, erected by Richard Wibird toward the close of the seventeenth century,[2] no longer standing, had also given evidence of the ambition of one home builder. Another old house, still

standing, said to have been built about 1709, on the old glebe land, back of the North Church and the post office, represented good early style. This is perhaps the third oldest house now standing in Portsmouth. The Warner house, built 1718–1723,[1] still standing, gave the strongest evidence of the early architectural good taste existing in Portsmouth, and a few years later the beautiful Buckminster house, built in 1720,[1] still standing, confirmed the same, and gave promise of the distinguished colonial type of which so many examples were soon to be built in Portsmouth. The Livermore–Hatch house, still standing, built about 1730,[1] is also noteworthy.

After 1735 all courts in New Hampshire were held at Portsmouth.[4] A fairly brisk trade in 1735 was carried on in the exportation of lumber and fish with Spain, with Portugal and with the Caribbean Islands.[7] In 1732 the first Episcopal Church,[1] Queen's Chapel, was erected on the hill over the river, near where St. John's stands today. The church was named Queen's Chapel for Queen Caroline. "The bell was brought from Louisburg in 1745."[1] Queen Caroline presented the Church with several folio prayer books,[7] and with an altar service of plate.[1] The Rev. Arthur Browne was inducted as minister in 1736. St. John's was built in 1808.[1] In 1740 the North Parish gave permission to any person or persons, who desired, to procure a clock at their own cost and to set it in the steeple. This resulted, in 1749, in the purchase of a clock by Daniel Peirce and others, who had it placed in the steeple of the North Meeting House, and who presented it to the town.[6] In 1746, during the war with France, a battery was placed on Jeffrey's Point, which Mr. Brewster in "Rambles

about Portsmouth," First Series, says is a name that probably is a corruption from Jaffrey's Point.

The trade of New Hampshire flowed chiefly through Portsmouth, the only seaport of the province. Exports at this time, 1730, were almost wholly of lumber and fish.[14] "Such commodities were sent to Europe and the West India Islands to the value of £1000 sterling."[4] "The coast trade in timber and lumber amounted to about £5000."[4] "The sea-faring men numbered only forty,[8] and five ships of one hundred tons burden belonged to the province. There were three or four hundred tons of other shipping that traded in Portsmouth annually."[4] Portsmouth later, as shall appear, built a very large number of vessels on the Piscataqua, or, as Belknap spells it, the "Pascataqua."[13] Belknap says: "There are no workmen more capable of constructing good ships than the carpenters of New Hampshire;"[13] but this outlet of civic industry and enterprise appeared in very vigorous form only beginning at about the time of the Revolution. The fifty-four gun "Faulkland" had been built in 1690; the thirty-two gun "Bedford" galley in 1696. The next ship of importance launched on the Piscataqua was the forty-gun "America," built in 1749, "at the north end of the town,"[6] for the royal navy under the direction of Col. Nathaniel Meserve of Portsmouth.[6] She was the first ship of the line built in America, and she was one of the four vessels ordered by the British Admiralty to be built in New England.[11] Her interesting model is in the Portsmouth Athenæum.

"Launching a ship in these early times was an event of great importance, and always attended by all persons of both sexes living in the vicinity, who

expected an ample supply of good cheer. We read in the life of Sir William Pepperell, that on the occasion of his launching a vessel at Saco, he allowed and sent down to his agent a barrel of wine and a barrel of rum for the festivities of the occasion, and that the vessel was launched with her sails bent, it being dangerous tarrying on account of hostile indians, and expensive to keep the men upon pay." [12]

It was over a Portsmouth full of promise that Governor Jonathan Belcher and Lieutenant Governor Daniel Dunbar held office in 1731. Belcher was Governor of both Massachusetts and New Hampshire; Dunbar was Lieutenant Governor of New Hampshire only. Like so many of their predecessors they both of them failed to make the most of their opportunities for successful administration. Governor Belcher wished to unite Massachusetts and New Hampshire, but he was at a loss to know how to accomplish it.[7] A party arose in New Hampshire in opposition to him, working to have New Hampshire made a separate province, one wholly distinct from Massachusetts, and under its own royal Governor.[7]

Lieutenant Governor Dunbar joined the party in opposition to Belcher, and he was soon at odds with his Governor. Dunbar was "rigorous in the conduct of his office," which was in keeping with his previous record. Dunbar, also, as Surveyor General of the Woods, was called "violent." [7] Mr. Stackpole quotes Dunbar as called "that bull-frog from the Hibernian fens." [4] Dunbar became unpopular. Incidentally, Dunbar tried to be made Governor of New Hampshire.[4] There was much political intriguing going on at Portsmouth from 1731 to 1735.[4,7]

One of the principal causes for political friction,

in 1731, was the dispute with Massachusetts over the boundary line.[7] Both the Massachusetts and the New Hampshire governments claimed the power to allot land on the disputed border.[4] During the dispute Massachusetts bought from John Tufton Mason (Robert's grandson) the right to certain of the border territory; this, regardless of the sale earlier of the Masonian grants to Allen.[4] This purchase brought on further ill feeling in which Governor Belcher was a conspicuous figure. New Hampshire claimed that Belcher did not play fairly in the border controversy.[4] Justly or unjustly, he was very unpopular in Portsmouth and in New Hampshire. Mr. Stackpole says, "Falsehood and forgery were employed to misrepresent him to the King's ministry." [4] Mr. Stackpole goes on: "His interest was in Boston rather than in New Hampshire. During eleven years it is not easy to point to any progress due to his activity and influence."[4] In 1641 Governor Belcher was superseded in the Governorship of Massachusetts by William Shirley, who at that time was appointed Governor of Massachusetts.[4,7] Before this happened, however, on March 5, 1740, the King in Council settled the boundary dispute between Massachusetts and New Hampshire by defining the dividing line as commencing at the sea three miles north of the Merrimac and following the course of the Merrimac River on the north side three miles from the river. This was a better result than New Hampshire had dared to expect.[7] The line that was at once run was excellently laid down and stands today practically unchanged.[4]

While Governor Belcher was undergoing political difficulties, his Lieutenant Governor in New Hampshire was in similar circumstances. Dunbar's rights

of office brought him into easy conflict with those under him. The Lieutenant Governor was commander of the Fort on Great Island, and as such had authority to grant passes to outward bound vessels. His income from this post was about £50.[4] He also had the power to grant marriage licenses.[7] In addition the Lieutenant Governor was Surveyor General of the Woods, for which he received a salary of £200 and £100 extra, which he had to divide with his deputies.[4] By tactless and ill-judged conduct in office Dunbar antagonized many.[4] He seized trees on lands granted to individuals, claiming these trees in the name of the King and reserving them for the royal navy.[7] Dunbar's office must have been profitable, for when a little later Benning Wentworth wanted to become Surveyor General of the Woods in addition to being Governor of New Hampshire, he paid Dunbar £2000 to turn over the Surveyor's office to him.[4]

In 1737 Lieutenant Governor Dunbar went back to England.[4] From then until New Hampshire became a separate royal province, a determined effort was made in New Hampshire to bring this end about, and to have the province under its own Governor, not under a Lieutenant Governor subordinate to a Governor who was over both New Hampshire and Massachusetts.[6] It so happened that about this time Benning Wentworth, of Portsmouth,[7] son of former Lieutenant Governor John Wentworth, was in England. Benning Wentworth was born July 24, 1696.[4] He graduated from Harvard College in 1715, and he was one of the leading merchants in Portsmouth.[4] He had entered into a contract with an agent of the Spanish Court to deliver oak timber in Spain.[6] He had borrowed money in London to

finance this deal.[6] Wentworth delivered the lumber at Cadiz,[4] but was refused payment.[6] On the return voyage the ship that had carried the lumber foundered, all of which very much injured Benning Wentworth financially. He pleaded his cause in England, where were many similar complaints against the Spanish government. Benning Wentworth aroused sympathy among British merchants, but owing to the war between England and Spain he secured no financial redress.[6] Wentworth did, however, obtain the promise of being made Governor of New Hampshire as soon as this province should be separated from Massachusetts, which it was expected would soon occur.

In 1741, by the King's decree, New Hampshire was made a royal province apart from Massachusetts. Benning Wentworth was appointed Governor as he had applied to be.[4] Wentworth sailed for America, arriving in Portsmouth December 12, 1741.[6] He was met there by "a large concourse of people,"[6] who hailed him after his long absence "with great marks of popular respect." One remark made to him was "that he had been instrumental in rescuing New Hampshire from contempt and dependence." The Assembly voted him a salary of £250,[7] then granted him £250 more.[6,7] Later they voted him further sums and "usually added something for house rent."[6,7] In 1743 Benning Wentworth secured from Dunbar, who was still Surveyor General of the Woods, the title and rights of that office.[6] From this office Wentworth received a salary of about £800, but from this he had to pay the wages of four deputies.[4]

For twenty-five years after the inauguration of Benning Wentworth as Governor, there was no Lieutenant Governor in New Hampshire. For twenty-

five years Benning Wentworth ruled, not supreme, for the people would not let that happen, but without much interference until toward the end of his tenure of office.[4] "Governor Benning Wentworth was careful to conserve all the dignity and power that belonged to his office." [4] There was constant friction over his salary, yet "with some presents and large grants of land he managed to redeem his fortunes and after ten years or so to build himself one of the oddest and most spacious mansions in New England," [4] "about two miles from old Strawberry Bank, and situated near the shore of Little Harbor." [4] Originally this house had fifty-two rooms.[4] Finally, Governor Benning Wentworth was accused of charging exorbitant fees for passing patents of land, and he was also charged with neglect of duty in his office as Surveyor General; but this was years after he was first hailed as Governor on his return from England, and much that was important occurred in Portsmouth in the interval.

A glance at English history seems advisable at this moment. George II succeeded to the throne in 1727, reigning until 1760. In 1739 war occurred between England and Spain. In 1743 France entered the conflict, and joined forces with Spain against England. It was this that brought about the capture of Louisburg by the New England colonists in 1745. Peace was made at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 by which Louisburg was restored to the French, but this peace was inconclusive, especially as it affected India and America. Soon France and England were fighting again. The American colonists and the French were in military opposition to each other in the Ohio Valley, and the conflict that began between them in the American wilderness in 1754 spread quickly to Europe and

initiated the Seven Years' War in Europe, 1756–1763, and the French and Indian War in America, which closed only with the Peace of Paris in 1763. During this period Quebec was captured, in 1759. George III succeeded George II in 1760; but he and his ministers had not learned the lesson of successful diplomacy, and the immediately succeeding years brought intensively increasing friction between England and the American colonies. These same American colonies had united and had in a way become nationalized by the stress of the French and Indian War in America. The Stamp Act was passed in England in 1765, and aroused every bit of the national spirit in the American colonies. It was repealed in 1766. The tax on tea, however, followed. Not taxation, but inexpedient and wrongly proportioned taxation, and taxation without representation, was the torch that lit the fire of the American Revolution.[15]

Benning Wentworth became Governor of New Hampshire at a propitious moment in the affairs of Portsmouth. The spontaneous development and success of the town during his administration lent glory to his tenure of office. Early in his administration came the capture of Louisburg, in 1645.[7] The attack on this fortress was part of the war then being waged by England against France and Spain.[7] William Vaughan of Portsmouth — Harvard, 1722 [4] — is said to have originated the idea of the capture of Louisburg,[7] though the resulting expedition was really a Massachusetts undertaking.[4] Vaughan urged Governor Shirley of Massachusetts to put the plan he suggested into effect; but it was because of the executive effort of Massachusetts that the expedition sailed against Louisburg on Cape Breton Island in the early

summer of 1745.[4] Louisburg was "the strongest fortress in the western world." [4] The land forces were under the command of William Pepperell of Kittery.[4,7] The sea forces were commanded by Commodore Peter Warren.[4] Vaughan acted as a Lieutenant Colonel.[4] The total English colonial force was not large, but New Hampshire had only one regiment with it. This was commanded by Col. Samuel Moore of Portsmouth and had a complement of only three hundred and four men.[4] New Hampshire later sent one hundred and fifteen men more to this regiment,[4] and she also furnished the crew of one armed sloop and had some additional men with the Massachusetts forces.[4] Officers from New Hampshire serving against Louisburg were: Lieut. Col. Nathaniel Meserve; Maj. Ezekiel Gilman; Captains Whitton, Waldron, Dudley, Mason, Seward, Ladd, Sherburne, Fernald, Hale, Tilton and Williams.[4] The colonials took forty-two pound cannon balls with them, though they had no guns large enough to hold them. They expected to capture the larger guns to fit the balls from the French, in which they were not disappointed.[4]

Without firing a musket Vaughan and a party under him took an important outlying Louisburg battery of thirty cannon, and then bravely defended it against attack until reinforcements came.[7] Thus well begun, the siege finally accomplished its purpose, and after forty-nine days, on June 16, 1745, Louisburg surrendered.[4] "Col. Pepperell was knighted for this exploit,"[4] the first colonial who received a baronetcy. "The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle restored the fortress to the French,[7] and another siege was necessary after a few years, yet the efforts and sacrifices of the people of New England were not in vain. They helped to

determine the character of western civilization and to bring all America under the sway of English people."[4] "The very drums which led the triumphal march into Louisburg sounded in the ears of the patriots at Bunker Hill."[4]

Sir William Pepperell, Commander-in-Chief against Louisburg, was "of unblemished reputation and engaging manners." [7] He was the son of William Pepperell, a native of Cornwall, England, who emigrated to the Isles of Shoals in 1676, settling there as a fisherman. He was poor. The story goes that the lady at the Shoals to whom he paid his addresses would not listen to him. He applied himself industrially, the tale goes on, and by frugality acquired enough to send out a brig. "The lady now came forward and gave her consent. After his marriage he removed to Kittery where he became a very wealthy merchant."

That same initiative which brought glory to Portsmouth and New Hampshire against Louisburg, appeared in the town in 1646, but in a way that brought internal friction. In 1745 John Tufton Mason secured in the courts the right to sell his interest in New Hampshire.[6,7] He offered it to the New Hampshire Assembly.[6] There was much discussion and delay on the part of this body.[4] In the interval twelve men of Portsmouth bought, July 30, 1746,[4] a large portion of Mason's interest in New Hampshire for £1,500.[6] These men were Theo. Atkinson, Mark Hunking Wentworth, Richard Wibird, John Wentworth, Jr., George Jaffrey, Jr., Samuel Moore, Nathaniel Meserve, Thomas Packer, Thomas Walingford, Jothan Odione, Jun., Joshua Peirce, John Moffat.[4] They were known as "The Masonians." [7]

There was great uproar when this sale became

known.[4,7] The Masonians were accused of depriving the province of what it should have been allowed to acquire; and though Benning Wentworth was not directly one of the purchasing group, his family was intimately represented, much to the anger of many.[4] The Masonians began to grant townships, which caused further disturbance.[4] Allen's heirs menaced them with threats of the law,[7] and the dispute was not settled until it sank practically out of sight in the Revolution.

There was much complaint against Governor Benning Wentworth. It was said that he attempted to pack the Assembly with members representing improperly organized townships.[4] Later the attack focused on the claim that he gave too vague grants, charged exorbitant fees for the passing of patents of land [7] and made use of unbusinesslike methods. The fact remains that he died a rich man. He lived well. The story of his marriage to Martha Hilton, renowned in Longfellow's poem, gives a well-known picture of him and of his social and physical environment.

Portsmouth in 1750 was a civic and a social center of importance and interest. "The first book of the Records and Proceedings of the Library Society in Portsmouth in the Province of New Hampshire begun and formed the ninth day of August 1750 by a previous joint subscription and a public general meeting of the subscribers," reads as follows: "Proposals for beginning a social library in Portsmouth." "As the advancement of learning and the increase of all useful knowledge is of great importance both to the civil and religious welfare of a people, and as all gentlemen who have any taste for polite literature or desire to have any acquaintance with the various affairs of man-

kind . . . cannot but look upon it to be a great privilege to have always a good collection of books at hand . . . ; it is therefore propos'd to the gentlemen of this town, and a number of persons whose names are subscribed have agreed to join in purchasing a set of books to the value of about £12 for each man concerned, as the beginning of a library for their common use, as a society." The names subscribed to this preamble are Elias Huske, John Moffatt, Henry Sherburne, Jun., Daniel Warner, Theodore Atkinson, Mark Hunking Wentworth, Jotham Odione, Joshua Peirce, Richard Wibird, Thomas Wibird, George Jaffrey, Daniel Rogers, Thomas Westbrook Waldron, Samuel Hale, Benjamin Dearborn, Robert Traill, Paul March, Sam'l Penhallow, Samuel Langdon, Job Strong, Samuel Sherburne, John Penhallow, John Sherburne, Andrew Clarkson, Matthew Livermore, Nathaniel Meserve, Sen., Daniel Peirce, William Parker, Thomas Durant, John Hart, Nath'l Peirce, Seth King and Edmund Quincy, Jun. Among the first books installed were Bingham's "Antiquities," ten volumes; Dr. Samuel Clarke's "Sermons and Paraphraise;" Rapin's "History of England;" Burnet's "History of our Own Times;" Boyles' "Experimental Philosophy," three volumes; "Heroditus;" "Thucidides;" Chapman's "Tracts;" "Gulliver's Travels;" and Gregory's "Elements of Astronomy." There was £396 subscribed with which to purchase books. Arthur Browne gave a book valued at £15, 16*s*. The document from which the quotations immediately preceding are taken is in the valuable library in the delightful third floor old library room of the Portsmouth Athenæum.

On November 6, 1745, Mr. Samuel Langdon was invited to assist Mr. Fitch as minister in Portsmouth,

The Rundlet–May Garden and House

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Mr. Fitch being feeble.[3] Mr. Langdon had just returned from the Louisburg expedition, where he had served as a regimental chaplain. It was arranged that he should continue a grammar school which he had been conducting. Samuel Langdon was of the Harvard class of 1740.[3] He was finally ordained pastor in Portsmouth February 4, 1747, over a church consisting at that time of one hundred and sixty-four members, forty-eight of them males, one hundred and sixteen females.[3] "The ordination dinner cost the parish £48 11*s*, 6*d*."[3] Mr. Langdon continued his ministry at Portsmouth for twenty-eight years, leaving his pastorate to become president of Harvard College.[3] Church going in Mr. Langdon's day was still a part of a citizen's routine, and was still something of a hardship physically. Foot stoves were used in church.[3] In 1762 the wardens of the North Church voted that whoever left a foot stove in church should pay a fine of 20 shillings.[3] The back seat in the church at the mill dam was reserved "for young people about fourteen years of age, unmarried," [3] the boys under that age to sit in the men's aisle of the church, the girls on the women's side.[3]

At the South Parish Church, of which Mr. Emerson had assumed the pastorate in 1715, there were seven hundred and sixty-two baptisms between 1715 and 1732. Mr. Emerson received one hundred and twenty-four into the church during this time. The Rev. William Shurtleff succeeded Mr. Emerson. During his ministry at Portsmouth he baptized more than seven hundred. After Mr. Shurtleff died several candidates were considered, the parish finally settling on the Rev. Job Strong, who was ordained in 1749. He was of the class of 1747 at Yale. The Rev. Job

Strong died in 1751, aged about twenty-seven. In 1752 the Rev. Samuel Haven, D.D., was ordained pastor of the South Parish, the parish then consisting of two hundred families. Dr. Samuel Haven served many years, baptizing about two thousand during his pastorate. The Rev. Timothy Alden, Jun., was ordained collegiate pastor in 1799.[14]

In 1749, as has been stated, the "America" was built at Portsmouth for the royal navy, giving evidence of designers' and carpenters' skill that was already evident in the architecture of the town. From many angles, Portsmouth at this period showed good taste, initiative and ability in organization.

On October 7, 1756, Daniel Fowle published at Portsmouth the first newspaper in New Hampshire. This was named "The New Hampshire Gazette," and was a weekly. The first issue reads: "Upon the encouragement given by a number of subscribers agreeable to printed proposals, I now publish the first weekly gazette for the Province of New Hampshire, depending upon the favor of all gentlemen who are friends to Learning, Religion and Liberty, to countenance my undertaking, as this is the beginning of printing in this province, so that I may go on cheerfully, and continue this paper in a useful and entertaining manner." [5] The subscription price was one dollar a year, or "the equivalent in bills of credit," "computing a Dollar this year at Four Pounds old tenor." [5] The weekly contained news from Antigua, Halifax, Philadelphia, New York and Boston. The first issue told of the coming to Portsmouth of an express with advice of the advance by the French against "our camp at Lake George." This same issue reported entries in "at the Port of Piscataway"

(notice the spelling) of one schooner, the "Rye," one sloop, one ship, two brigs; and entries out and clearance of four schooners, two ships, one snow, two sloops and two brigs.[5] The third issue spelt the name of the port as "Piscataqua," this under date of October 21, 1756.[5] A map dated 1791, accompanying Volume I of "The History of New Hampshire," by Jeremy Belknap, 1813 edition, spells Piscataqua, "Pascataqua."

In 1755 "a haymarket, with convenient scales for weighing, was erected at the lower end of Islington Road, and near middle road."[6] In 1716 Portsmouth erected an almshouse,[1] another being built in 1755.[1] In 1759 a jail was built.[1] An earlier one had been built in 1699.[1] Before that the fort at Newcastle had been used as a jail. On April 20, 1761, Mr. John Stavers, who kept a public house, commenced running a stage from his inn, the "Earl of Halifax," at Portsmouth, to Boston. It was scheduled to leave early Monday mornings, proceeding as far as Ipswich the same day, where the night was spent, reaching Charlestown Ferry the next day.[5] The trip back commenced Thursday mornings.[5] The stage was sufficiently wide to carry three passengers.[5] The rate was 13*s.* 6*d.* sterling, for each person, Portsmouth to Boston.[5] In 1763 the house of John Wendell was burnt.[6] In 1764 there was a whipping post in Market Square. Mr. Brewster says this post was the town pump.[10] In 1764 Peter Levius was granted the right to dam Islington Creek and to build one or two gristmills on the watercourse.[6] He at once built the dam and the gristmills on it.[6] This dam led to Christian Shore, so called, Brewster says in "Rambles about Portsmouth," Second Series, because about 1760, "when

there were but few families beyond where the North mill bridge is now, there were several who were strict adherents to Puritan principles, while others were more loose in their habits, and might be found sometimes late at night at Foss's Tavern, enjoying their flip and cracking their jokes. When the time for parting arrived, 'Well, we must leave for Christian Shore', was frequently the jocose remark; and from it that part of Portsmouth soon took its name." In the town books that part of the town was earlier designated as "the land on the other side of Strawberry Bank Creek." [9] In 1767 there were "one hundred and twenty-four male and sixty-three female slaves" in Portsmouth.[3,10] Most of these were emancipated during the Revolution.[3] The year 1767 saw Portsmouth the most populous town in the Province of New Hampshire.[4]

Beautiful houses with beautiful interiors were going up in Portsmouth at this period. Dr. Samuel Langdon built about this time the house which is at present the Unitarian parsonage. It is said that this house was built in 1749. Benning Wentworth for a time lived in the Warner house, but in 1750 built his interesting house at Little Harbor.[1] Captain Purcell built what later was the Lord house, probably between 1750 and 1760. This is now the home of the Portsmouth Historical Society. It was here that John Paul Jones boarded.[1] The Moffat–Ladd house was built about 1760, this being one of the most pleasing of all Portsmouth houses, and a delightful example, as expressed in architecture, of the taste, desire and imagination of the period. The Governor John Wentworth house, on Pleasant Street, was built about 1769.[1] Other old houses of this era are the Cutter house, built by

Charles Treadwell about 1750,[1] the Spence house, the Whipple house on State Street, the Jacob Wendell house, the Aldrich house. An assembly house for the town, no longer standing, was built in 1750.[1]

In 1764 Samuel Cutts advertised imports by vessel, in "The New Hampshire Gazette," as follows: broadcloths, sewing silk, mohair hats, Irish linens, mitts, hose, damasks, tea "kittles," anchors, ink pots, razors, knives and forks, glue, duck shot, frying pans, marline, bellows, hair lines, bed ticks, etc.[5] William and Joseph Whipple advertised imported goods that year; so, also, did Benjn. Goldthwaite.[5]

The life of the town appears set forth on the sheets of "The New Hampshire Gazette," the four-page weekly. "London news," some months old, was regularly published. In 1764 one week's record shows eight ships coming into the port of Portsmouth, three outward bound. On September 7, 1764, an advertisement appeared offering twenty dollars' reward for the return of a runaway negro man named Scipio to his master.[5] In 1767 William Fernald advertised in the "Gazette" that "The Piscataqua Packet," a "neat" schooner of forty tons, would take passengers and freight to Boston during the summer months, once a fortnight, wind and weather permitting.[5]

The civic life of Portsmouth obviously rolled on with vigor during the administration of Governor Benning Wentworth. Politically, after the reduction of Louisburg, the next important development was the conference of all the colonies north of the Potomac at Albany, in 1754.[4,7] This was to bring about a mutual protective association of the colonies against the French and Indians to the west and north of the northern colonies.[4,7] War in America against the

French seemed very imminent. New Hampshire sent delegates to this Albany conference.[4,7] George Washington had been sent by the Governor of Virginia to interview the French commander in the Ohio Valley, and later to complete an English fort at the forks of the Ohio River. Attacked by the French, in 1754, Washington, with difficulty, extricated himself and his force from the Ohio Valley, leaving it in the hands of the French.[11] This was the commencement of the French and Indian War which spread to Europe, which lasted seven years there, and paved the way in America for the independence of the United States.

In 1755 came Braddock's defeat[7] and an English campaign on the shores of Lake George.[4,7] In 1759 Crown Point was reduced after a previous attack.[4] In 1759 Quebec was taken.[4,7] That same year New Hampshire raised one thousand men for service.[4] During the war the province furnished five thousand.[4]

The war brought financial stress to New Hampshire. By lax business methods, Governor Benning Wentworth made the difficulties of New Hampshire still greater. Much paper money was issued, 1754–1756,[4] and the province became poor,[7] due to the long-drawn-out war, closed at last, in 1763, by the Peace of Paris.[4]

Benning Wentworth's popularity, so evident on his arrival, was rapidly waning. He had, like other royal administrative officers in New Hampshire, a difficult rôle to play; but even with due allowances, his record does not appear happy.

Wentworth soon had to meet a still harder political situation for a royal Governor to handle. After the Peace of Paris the government of George III in Eng-

land devised the scheme of taxing the American colonies for their share in the expense of the public debt which had been doubled by the French and Indian War. This in itself was not unfair, but that this taxation should be levied on the colonies without a word of consent or of friendly criticism from them was abhorrent to the men who had fought their way, and whose fathers had fought their way, against the rigors of a new continent. These same Americans were now united by war. They had tried their strength in battle against the French alongside of the English, and they were aware of their comparative merit. It was also believed that the British ministry was attempting to exploit the American colonies.[7]

In 1765 England passed the Stamp Act.[4] November 1, 1765, was the date appointed for it to go into effect.[4] On October 31, 1765, in Portsmouth, "The New Hampshire Gazette" appeared with a mourning border, proposing to go out of business because of the Stamp Act.[6,7] On November 1 the day was ushered in by the tolling of bells; the vessels in the harbor had their colors half-mast high. About three o'clock a funeral procession was formed to bury the Goddess of Liberty. "As it passed the parade minute guns were fired." [6] At the last moment "some signs of life appearing, Liberty was not deposited in the grave but carried off in triumph." [6] "The bells began to ring, the drums that had been muffled, beat a lively air, and instead of the Goddess of Liberty, was buried the Stamp Act."[4,6,10] "The person appointed distributor of stamps in New Hampshire was George Messerve" of Portsmouth.[4,7] The state of public opinion was forcibly brought to his attention before he arrived at Portsmouth, and he resigned at once before he got to Portsmouth.[4] This,

however, was not enough for the citizens of Portsmouth. Effigies of Messerve, Lord Bute and the devil were burned in Portsmouth, and when he arrived at Portsmouth the Sons of Liberty, a local patriotic organization similar to others in other northern colonial towns, forced Messerve publicly to deliver up his commission and instructions.[10] "An oath was administered to him [early in 1766] [7] by Justice Claget, that he would neither directly or indirectly attempt to execute his office." Prior to this, on November 5, Guy Fawkes Day, which "had always been observed as a day of hilarity in remembrance of the powder plot," especial care was taken to preserve order.[7] This day was still observed in Portsmouth, to within a few years.

"To provide for the worst," Belknap says, "an association was formed by the 'Sons of Liberty' in all the northern colonies to stand by each other and unite their whole force." [7] These organizations were loyal to the King, but they were determined not to be oppressed.[7] It is to be distinctly noted that Portsmouth, like other colonial political centers, wished to be loyal. There was no real desire to be disloyal, and there was a most strong desire to be in happy union with the mother country. At the same time, and paramount to this thought, there was the desire for the liberty of independent expression and action. Until the Revolution was well under way these two states of mind in Portsmouth, as elsewhere, were in strong conflict in most individuals, and while the war was first going on the political history of the town was affected by this conflict of thought, not only between parties of individuals, but in the minds of individuals themselves.

The loyalty of Portsmouth to England was shown in 1766, when the Stamp Act was repealed. When the

news of the repeal reached Portsmouth on May 22, "at early dawn the bells began to ring. A discharge of cannon hailed the rising sun." [6] A battery of twenty-one guns was erected near Liberty Bridge, formerly Swing Bridge, where in January, 1766, a Liberty standard had been flown, inscribed "Liberty, Property and No Stamp." [6] This battery was dedicated to His Majesty.[6] "Another battery of thirteen guns was erected on Church Hill in honor of Mr. Pitt, and a third of five guns on the town wharf." [6] "Ships in the harbor were decorated with their colors. Drums and military music contributed to the hilarity of the day. At twelve o'clock a royal salute was fired at Castle William and Mary [at Newcastle at the entrance of the harbor] which was answered by batteries in the town. A large number of gentlemen assembled at the Colonial Chamber and drank several patriotic toasts.[6] In the afternoon a grand procession was made through the principal streets and a salute was fired at each of the batteries as they passed. In the evening a bonfire was lighted on Wind Mill hill" (Mason's hill).[3,6] At the bonfire "a mast had been raised, the foot of which was set several feet in the ground. The fire ascended majestically to the top of the mast where it communicated with a bomb deposited there, which made a fine explosion." [6]

When the Stamp Act went into effect with its resultant commotions in Portsmouth, "Governor Wentworth was silent." [7] He passed through these political disturbances as well probably as any royal Governor could, in so far as English politics were concerned. There were other factors in his political situation at Portsmouth, the combination of all factors in the end forcing him from office. "A spirit of speculation in

new lands" [6] was now setting in. This "prevailed among all ranks in society." [6] "Applications were continually made to the governor for grants, and he rapidly complied with the requests." [6] As stated, there was complaint against Benning Wentworth as to vagueness of his grants and his unbusinesslike procedure. Especial reference was made to his "too vague reservation of pine trees." [4] Wentworth had appointed three relatives to lucrative positions,[4] and he was accused of reserving five hundred acres for himself in each township he granted.[4] Altogether the people of New Hampshire wanted to be rid of him, and they said so, as they seem always to have said what was in their minds when they felt strongly. Complaint of Benning Wentworth was made in England, and it was decided by the government there to appoint a successor to him.[7]

John Wentworth, son of Mark Hunking Wentworth and a nephew of Governor Benning Wentworth, was in England at this time.[7] He knew particularly well the Marquis of Rockingham, who was at the head of the ministry.[6] John Wentworth said what he could in behalf of his uncle,[4] with the result that it was finally arranged that Benning Wentworth should be deprived of his office without undue emphasis, and that he should resign [6] his office of Governor in favor of his nephew, John Wentworth, whom Rockingham appointed, in 1766, Governor of New Hampshire and Surveyor of the King's Woods.[7] John Wentworth sailed for Charleston, South Carolina, arriving there in March, 1767,[6] and traveling from there by land to Portsmouth,[6] where he was received on his arrival "with every mark of respect and affection." [7]

Benning Wentworth withdrew, as it had been arranged he should withdraw. Belknap says that Benning Wentworth was neither brilliant nor contemptible.[7] He had the gout.[4,7] Benning Wentworth ended his days at his estate at Little Harbor, and died there a wealthy man, at the age of seventy-five, on October 14, 1770.[4]

CHAPTER XII

THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

WHEN Governor John Wentworth arrived in Portsmouth on June 13, 1767,[8] with the great cavalcade which accompanied him, the guns at the fort and in the town thundered a salute, and the General Court voted him a salary of seven hundred pounds and his house rent.[3] "Two troops of horse escorted him, and a regiment of militia was drawn up on the Parade." [8] He was given a reception and banquet that cost £175.[8] The issue of "The New Hampshire Gazette" of June 19, 1767, described the celebration in detail.[2]

Like the other high administrative officers of New Hampshire, Governor John Wentworth took office under seemingly auspicious circumstances,[9] and, like the others, his popularity waned almost from the moment of his inauguration. Of all the royal Governors and Lieutenant Governors, Governor John Wentworth had the most difficult task, that of maintaining his royal allegiance and his local popularity as the Revolution drew near. At first all went fairly well. Like his predecessor, John Wentworth lived in Portsmouth and made Portsmouth the capital of the province. He had initiative, but it was sometimes selfishly directed. "It may be noticed," Mr. Stackpole says, "that Governor John Wentworth was as careful to name his relations and friends in grants of land as his predecessor had been;" [8] but in Portsmouth this brought no complaint, for grants by Governor John

Wentworth were more favorable to Portsmouth people than to the inhabitants of any other town. The new Governor desired a baronial estate, and soon after his inauguration he bought land in Wolfeboro for a country seat, adding 2,770 acres to this in 1770.[8] Governor John Wentworth had graduated from Harvard in 1755.[3,8] When, in 1769, George III granted Dartmouth College its charter, Governor John Wentworth signed the document as witness of the will of the King. John Wentworth sponsored Dartmouth [8,9] and was the first-named trustee in the charter of the college. The many friends of the institution rivaled each other to secure its settlement as each wished. Governor Wentworth offered the college a township if it should be located in his domain. There was a momentary early suggestion, with which John Wentworth did not agree, that the college be called "Wentworth." The salary of the President of Dartmouth College in 1785 was $666⅔, with an additional amount added in the last half of the year as extra compensation.[14,15] Dartmouth College was named for "William, Earl of Dartmouth, one of its principal benefactors in England." [3] Governor Wentworth planned roads from Wolfeboro to Dartmouth College, and also to Montreal and Quebec.[8] Governor Wentworth also planned to connect Lake Winnipesaukee and the Piscataqua River by a canal.[8] In 1771 the Province of New Hampshire was divided, under Governor John Wentworth, into five counties,[8,9] Rockingham County being so named at that time for Charles Watson Wentworth, Marquis of Rockingham.[8] That same year, 1771, paper currency was abolished.[9] The year 1771 also saw the first lighthouse established at Fort Point, this through the urging of Governor John Wentworth,

and largely, if not wholly, at his temporary expense. It is said that the debt was paid back the next year.[6] In 1768 Ruth Blay, of tragic story and famed in verse, is said to have been executed.[3]

Portsmouth, from 1770 to 1780, was more than ever a civic and social center of importance. Once the American colonies operated as an independent nation, the importance of Portsmouth became still more pronounced. The town was in touch with the world at large, and had the cosmopolitan air of an important seaport. In 1770 "The New Hampshire Gazette" published news even from Constantinople, Rome and Venice, and was full of London news as well.[2] Exports from Portsmouth in 1791 were pine boards, masts, boats, cart wheels, fish, whale oil, Indian corn, bricks, candles, New England rum, staves, spars, shingles, oak timber, sheep and cattle.[10] Probably the period 1770–1780 saw about the same exports. The names of John P. Lord, Samuel Chauncy and Colonel Ladd were prominent at this period. In 1773 Rockingham County had 7,170 voters.[8] In 1775 Rockingham County had a total population of 37,850.[9] In 1790 a census showed that Portsmouth had a population of 4,720.[3] These figures give an approximate picture of the size of the community during the Revolutionary period.

The architecture of this period was interesting. The Tobias Lear house deserves mention, built before 1760.[6] Tobias Lear was Washington's private secretary for sixteen years. President Washington visited this house.[6] The Salter house was built in 1770.[6] The Eben Wentworth house, now the Mark H. Wentworth Home for Chronic Invalids, was erected about 1769 for Governor John Wentworth.[6] The Mark H. Wentworth house, now the home of Miss Susan J.

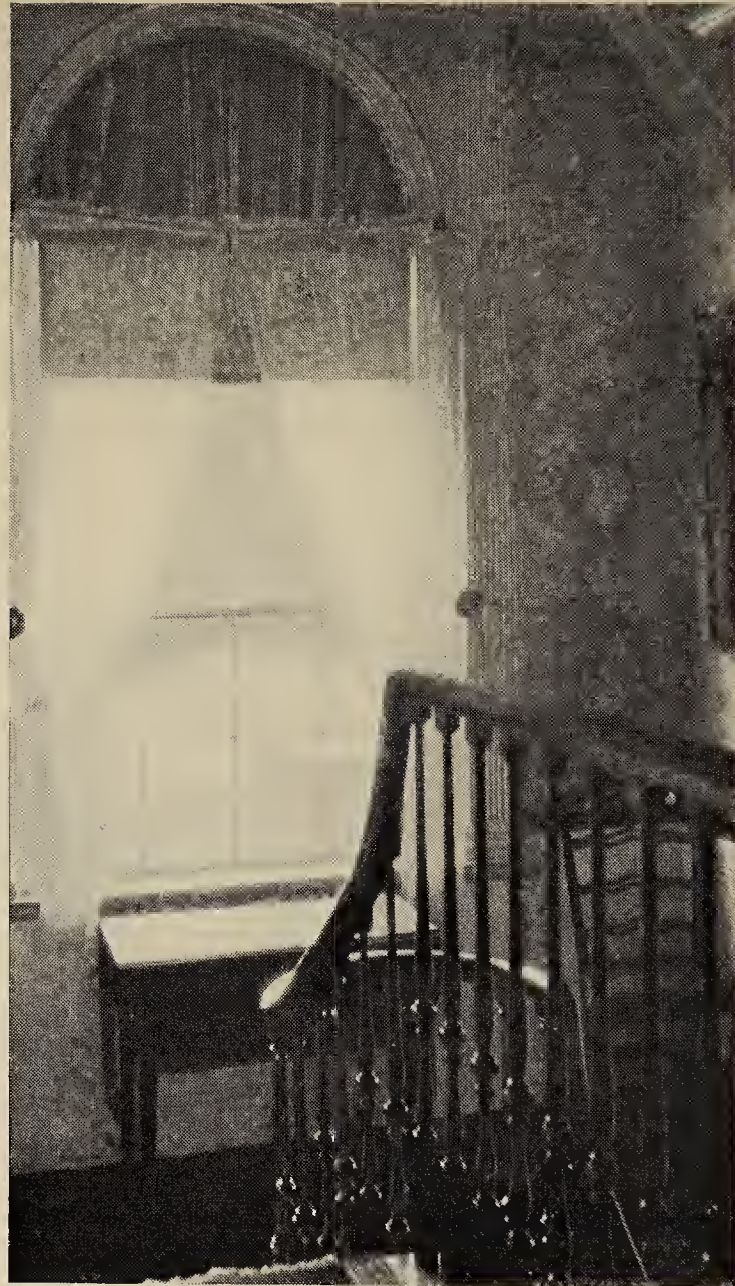
Wentworth, was built in 1784.[6] The Samuel Wentworth house, it is to be noted, was built much earlier, about 1670. The date of the interesting Wentworth–Gardiner house is not known, but it is pre-revolutionary.[6] The Spence house is also another old house of about this date.[6] The Bailey–Aldrich house deserves mention;[6] also, especially, the Joseph Haven house, on Pleasant Street, still standing, built in 1780; also the Colonial dining room in the Rockingham Hotel. This was part of the residence of the Hon. Woodbury Langdon, and was built before 1781.[6] The house, with the exception of this room, was destroyed by fire. The Whipple house, on State Street, was built before 1782.[6] The date of the Austin–Lyman house was 1782, now the home of Miss Theodora Lyman. This house was an especially happy product of its day. In 1784 the beautiful Langdon house on Pleasant Street was erected,[6] this being still one of the most conspicuously beautiful of New England houses. The first part of the Revolutionary War apparently saw no new houses of importance built, as was natural; but as the end of the war drew in sight, building commenced again, and the building of the Langdon house, built the year after the close of the Revolutionary War, showed that the war had not shut off the development of Portsmouth, expressed architecturally.

Religiously, Dr. Stiles was minister at Portsmouth, 1777–1778, after which pastorate he became President of Yale.[1] The Rev. Joseph Buckminster succeeded him, being ordained January 27, 1779.[1] The pastorate of Dr. Haven at the South Church has already been referred to.

The files of "The New Hampshire Gazette" give something of the atmosphere of the times, though the

press seems to have been censored carefully as to the expression of pre-revolutionary thought, and as of this time it does not give much local news. On February 11, 1774, Governor John Wentworth published a letter addressed to the Speaker of the House, in regard to the reports which he alleged had been sent to England as to his, Governor Wentworth's, mal-administration.[2] The issue of February 18, 1774, referred to tea as the principal topic of conversation.[2] An issue in January, 1775, reflected the loyalty of the people, publishing a reference to the King as "our gracious sovereign." [2] The issue of September 5, 1775, bore a published appeal from the colonies beginning, "We, your Majesty's faithful subjects of the Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations." [2] Of lighter local color was the advertisement of John Stavers, January 15, 1773, referring to his stage run from Portsmouth to Boston, price per passenger one dollar and a half.[2] On February 26, 1773, it was stated: "The mercury in Farenheit's thermometer stood at fifty-two degrees below freezing last Sunday."[2] In 1779 there was a night watch in the town. In 1788 "a night walking watch" was voted from November 1 to April 30:[7] "Voted, that the selectmen have discretionary power to order the Night Watch to walk silently or to give the Hour of the Night." [7] In 1806 the night watch was still in force.[7]

The Governor, from 1770 to 1773, had a vigorous and intelligent citizenry about him. In Portsmouth he succeeded for a considerable time in maintaining his popularity, but, says Mr. Stackpole, "John Wentworth wanted to please the people of New Hampshire and George III at the same time." [8] There were more than whisperings against him, but in spite of these



Doorway and Landing, Rundlet–May House

Published through the courtesy of
Mr. H. P. Montgomery

Published through the courtesy of
Miss Katharine Thaxter

attacks a petition was sent to England for his continuance as Governor.[9]

The patriotic spirit of the people of Portsmouth, that had been so apparent at the time of the Stamp Act, had in no way abated as the Revolution drew near. The Sons of Liberty were in active existence and they, like practically all other citizens, though loyal to the King, were more than ever determined to stand by what they were convinced were their rights. One of the principal of these rights which they demanded was that they should not be taxed without representation. On December 16, 1773,[3] the date of the Boston Tea Party,[8] "a public meeting was held in Portsmouth, and resolutions were framed and sent to every considerable town in the Province, declaring the action of the British Parliament to be unjust" and arbitrary.[8] Two lots of tea were brought to Portsmouth at this time, one of twenty-seven chests and one of thirty chests; but a town meeting was called and it was arranged to have the merchant importing the tea reship it to Halifax.[3,8,9] "So much tea and so many Tories went to that place that it may have given rise to the exclamation, still sometimes heard, 'Go to Halifax.'"[8]

Portsmouth chose a Committee of Safety of forty-five, with the Governor's uncle, Hunking Wentworth, seventy-eight years old, an ardent patriot, as its chairman.[8,9] This committee of Portsmouth opposed Governor Wentworth's sending carpenters to Boston to help build barracks for General Gage's soldiers there.[8] In spite of protest the Governor sent these carpenters, and became accordingly unpopular.[8,9] In 1774 Portsmouth instructed its representatives to join with representatives of the other colonies in opposing taxation of

the American colonies without their consent. The inhabitants of Portsmouth entered into an agreement not to import, sell, purchase or consume East India tea until the duties were taken off. On October 10, 1774, the town voted £200 to be given for the relief of the industrious poor in Boston and Charlestown, which were blockaded by act of British Parliament.[3]

On December 13, 1774, Paul Revere rode express to Portsmouth from Boston with the news that troops were to be sent to reinforce Fort William and Mary at the harbor's mouth, and that no more gunpowder was to be exported from England to America. He rode from the Boston Committee of Safety to the Portsmouth committee. The next day, at Newcastle, occurred "the first important aggressive, armed action of the Revolutionary patriots." On December 14 the Sons of Liberty of Portsmouth with the patriots of Newcastle, in all, about four hundred, under the direction of Maj. John Sullivan and Capt. John Langdon, went by order to Fort William and Mary and surrounded it, together with the garrison in the fort, which consisted of Capt. John Cochrane and his five soldiers. Captain Cochrane conducted himself well, made as much pretence of defence as seemed permissible, and, without shooting anybody, ultimately surrendered. The patriotic force took one hundred barrels of gunpowder, fifteen light cannon and all the small arms, carrying a considerable portion of the powder to Durham for safe-keeping.[3,8] It was kept under the pulpit of the old meeting-house at Durham.[13] Mr. Stackpole says, "Had some blood been shed when the powder was taken from Ft. William and Mary, the date of the beginning of the Revolutionary War would have been fixed in history as December 14, 1774, but

Capt. John Cochrane aimed his guns so as to harm nobody." [8,9]

The attack on the fort was a staggering blow to the authority of the Governor. In "The New Hampshire Gazette" of January 6, 1775, Governor John Wentworth published a vigorous proclamation, dated December 26, 1774, in regard to the disloyalty to the government shown in the attack.[2] The attack had occurred, however, and doubtless no patriot concerned in it wished it undone. On April 19, 1775, came the fight at Lexington. New Hampshire men at once "took arms and flew to the assistance of their brethren." [9] The town was promptly formed into companies, and plans were made for the defence of Portsmouth.

At Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775, Maj. Andrew McCleary fell. For him Fort McCleary, at Kittery, was named, the old name of Fort William, or Fort Pepperell, being superseded after the Revolution.[6] This fort was originally a garrison house, the central unit rebuilt in its old style from time to time. "The elder Pepperell" was chosen captain, and for him it was called Fort Pepperell.[6]

The people, at the outbreak of the Revolution, wished Governor John Wentworth well treated, and the Governor himself still hoped for peace.[8] A little later an officer, Captain Fenton, sought refuge from the anger of the people in Governor John Wentworth's house. The people planted a cannon in front of their once popular Governor's house, aimed it at the front door, and said they would fire it if the Governor did not give up the man they wanted. Fenton surrendered.[3] The Governor said that this was an insult to him, and he sought refuge shortly after in Fort William and Mary, which was still in the hands of the British

authorities.[3] Governor Wentworth stayed in the fort two months, and then sailed, August 22, 1775, on a frigate which was in the harbor, for Boston.[8] In September he came back as far as the Isles of Shoals, from which point he dissolved the Assembly.[8] After this, John Wentworth apparently went to Halifax.[8] "During the latter part of 1775 New Hampshire was virtually without a government." [8] The province, in September, 1776, voted to become the State of New Hampshire.[8]

Portsmouth was at some distance from the seat of military operations in the Revolution, yet the town took a vigorous part in the war. Capt. Thomas Pickering was "one of the most renowned of our Revolutionary heroes. He, with a few like himself, surprised and captured Fort William and Mary at Newcastle December 15, [14,] 1774." "In 1775 the Scarborough, man of war, was in our harbor, causing much annoyance to the inhabitants. Thomas Pickering and Samuel Hutchings went down to Union Wharf, the wharf next to Liberty Bridge, and fired upon a provision barge belonging to the ship. The men, in alarm, ran the boat ashore by the mill bridge and abandoned it. Pickering fastened horses to it and dragged it through the streets to the Pound where it was locked up."[6,12] Mr. Brewster in "Rambles about Portsmouth," First Series, gives a somewhat different version of this incident. "In October of the same year Pickering and his men boarded and took the British ship 'Prince George,' which came into the lower harbor in a storm. Nearly two thousand barrels of flour were on board, which were sent to Washington's army in Cambridge, three hundred barrels being reserved, with Washington's consent, for the use of Portsmouth, as for weeks there had not been a barrel of flour in the Province."[6,12] "Captain Pickering afterwards had command of the 'Hampden,' a vessel

of twenty guns, and was killed in an engagement in 1779."[6,13] On May 21, 1776, the "Raleigh," a thirty-two gun frigate, was launched at Portsmouth,[3] and in 1777 the "Ranger," eighteen guns, slipped down the ways into the Piscataqua.[3] Privateers from Portsmouth were active at sea. A letter dated November 30, 1775, tells of the taking of a two-hundred ton brig by one of these Portsmouth privateers, and the capture of thirty tons of powder and two thousand stands of arms, "another argument for devote thanks to Gd.," as the letter says in closing. "The New Hampshire Gazette" published, April 21, 1775, the account of the battle at Concord and Lexington under the heading, "Bloody News." [2] When, in 1775, the British government in New Hampshire was dissolved, the people, in a provincial convention, made Matthew Thornton President.[9] Portsmouth sent a delegation of five in May, 1775, to the general meeting at Exeter, from which delegates were sent to the larger convention of all the colonies.[3] In 1776 the Continental Congress ordered the building or purchase of three ships of seventy-four guns. In accordance with this order the keel of the "America" was soon laid down at Badger's Island in the Piscataqua opposite Portsmouth. The master-builder was Mr. Hackett.[13] It took several years to build her, and she was not launched till November 5, 1782.[3] The "America" was "the heaviest ship that ever had been laid down on the continent for which she was named,"[13] and she was "the first ship of her class ever built by the confederated colonies after their rupture with the mother country." [13] She was one hundred and eighty-two feet six inches long on the upper gun deck, and fifty feet six inches wide.[13] Ultimately the "America" was given to France to replace a ship of the line which France had lost in Boston

Harbor, through running aground.[13] Adams says she was given to France because the Continental Congress found it difficult "to procure materials for fitting her for sea." [3] Badger's Island, where the "America" was built, was formerly called Langdon's Island.[6] It was here that "Master William Badger built a hundred ships, reserving the one hundredth to bear his own name." [13]

Portsmouth had the honor of building and sending to sea one of the most famous ships of the Revolution. This was the "Ranger." When she was launched, in 1777, she was officered and manned chiefly from the Piscataqua region, and her home station seems to have remained Portsmouth; for later, in 1779, "The New Hampshire Gazette" carried an advertisement for men to go on her on a cruise.[2]

The first commander of the "Ranger" was Capt. John Paul Jones. Capt. John Paul Jones was born John Paul. His parents were Scottish peasants, and he came into the world in a fishing village on the Solway Firth. When twelve years old he went to sea as an apprentice. At nineteen he was first mate and part owner, and for the next two years he engaged in the African slave trade. At twenty-one John Paul was master of an East Indiaman. When twenty-seven, the young man fell heir to William Jones, a Scottish-American planter of Virginia, and because of this fact he took the name of Jones.[4] "With instant adaptation to environment, which was his most dazzling characteristic, John Paul turned himself into an ardent American in less than two years." [4] In the early days of the Revolution Jones advocated privateering against England, and on June 14, 1777, he was appointed by Congress to command the "Ranger" at Portsmouth. She carried fourteen nine-pounders and four six-pounders.[4]

John Paul Jones was one of the most romantic personalities of the Revolution and of Portsmouth history. Women adored him for the beauty of his features and the elegance of his address.[4] As a sailor and sea fighter he was in the first rank.[4] "Had he remained a subject of Great Britain and passed from the merchant to the naval service, there is no height to which he might not have risen — perhaps to the summit of a memorial column in Trafalgar Square itself." [4] "The girls at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where the Ranger was built, made the ground of the flag for him from pieces of their best silk gowns." [4] This flag was that adopted by Congress for the thirteen original states, "on the same day and in the same hour in which Capt. John Paul Jones was appointed to command the Ranger." [4] "It was not the first edition of the stars and stripes to be flown upon an American war ship, for Jones was not ready with the Ranger to sail for Europe until the 31st of October; but it was the first flag of stars and stripes to be saluted in Europe by the guns of an old naval power, and it was the first stars and stripes to which the union flag of Great Britain was struck in battle." [4] "The thirteen stars in Jones' flag were cut from the bridal dress of Helen Seavey, in which she had been married, in May 1777, to a naval officer." [5] "Of the quilting party who made that flag, we can find but five names — Mary Langdon, Caroline Chandler, Helen Seavey, Augusta Peirce and Dorothy Hall." [5] After Burgoyne's surrender, France allied herself to the United States. Jones, who had taken thirty-two days in the "Ranger" from Portsmouth to Nantes in France,[4] on February 14, 1778, flew his silken stars and stripes in Brest Roads, and received the salute of the French grand fleet.

The "Ranger," John Paul Jones commanding, fired a salute of thirteen guns to the French fleet in Quiberon Bay on February 14, 1778, and received in return a salute of nine guns from Admiral La Motte Picquet, "the same salute authorized by the French court to be given an admiral of Holland or of any other republic." Thus was American independence first acknowledged in Europe, and by a foreign power. This information comes from the office of the Secretary of War at Washington.

The "Ranger" was built at Badger's Island. This illustration is reproduced from one of the marine paintings by Edward Moran in the National Museum at Washington. This particular reproduction is from a picture in the possession of the State Street Trust Company, Boston, and is published through the courtesy of the State Street Trust Company and Mr. Allan Forbes, its President.

Jones' private estate in England had been burned and ravaged by British raiders. Thirsting for revenge, and changing the armament of the "Ranger" to fourteen long nine-pounders and four six-pounders, Jones gave the "Ranger," though nominally a sloop, the armament of a light frigate. Capt. John Paul Jones in the "Ranger" promptly captured the "Drake" and also a merchantman. "In less than a month he filled England with dismay." [4]

Jones' successes led him to ask for more equipment, which he requested from the American Commission in France, this including Dr. Franklin and John Adams. These men had not the money to help him. Friction resulted, and the Commission ordered Jones to give up the "Ranger," which he did, but not the silken flag made by the girls of Portsmouth.[4]

Anne, Duchess of Châtres, came to the relief of Jones, shipless and eager for further battle. She helped him politically, and through her Jones secured an old ship from the French government. He rechristened her "Bon Homme Richard," for Benjamin Franklin, and he went to sea in her, flying "his own stars and stripes cut from the silk gowns of the girls of New Hampshire." [4] In the "Bon Homme Richard" Jones fought and conquered the British ship "Serapis." His ship was old. It looked, in the thick of battle, as if the "Serapis" had won. The silken stars and stripes were momentarily shot away, but replaced. The captain of the "Serapis" asked if the enemy had struck. "Struck!" roared Jones, "We have just begun to fight." [4] A little later the ships came together, and under Jones' orders the "Bon Homme Richard" was held touching the "Serapis." When he saw the right time had come, Jones ordered his crew to board the

enemy. A little later and the "Serapis" was taken, but the "Bon Homme Richard" went down after the battle, and the stars and stripes, which Jones had described as born with him from the same womb of destiny, were permitted by him to go down with her.[4] "You did exactly right," said Miss Mary Langdon, who had contributed her skirt to the making of the flag. "That flag is just where all of us wish it to be, flying at the bottom of the sea over the only ship that ever sank in victory."[4]

> "Captain," they cry, "the fight is done,
> They bid you send your sword."
> And he answered, "Grapple her stern and bow,
> They have asked for steel,
> They shall have it now,
> Out cutlasses and board!"
>
> — RUDYARD KIPLING.

John Paul Jones later returned to Portsmouth to take command of the ship "America," to which he was ordered before she was completed. It was at this time that Captain Jones is believed to have boarded in the Purcell–Lord house in Portsmouth, and to have written his name on a pane of glass there. As stated, the "America" was later given to France, and Captain Jones was relieved of his duty with her before she was actually finished.

John Langdon of Portsmouth was one of the most conspicuous of the Revolutionary patriots of the town. In 1777 he offered $3,000 and his plate toward the fund raised to help defeat Burgoyne.[8] Another conspicuous Revolutionary patriot in Portsmouth was William Whipple. He was made a general in the Revolution. He also three times attended the Con-

tinental Congress as a delegate. He was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. At the time of his death in 1785 he was a judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature. The Whipple School is named for him, through the request of Storer Post, G. A. R.

Portsmouth was fortified during the Revolution as well as it could be. Fortifications were erected during the war at the Narrows on Peirce's and Seavey's islands.[6] There was good reason for this defence, for ships were being built in the upper harbor, and Portsmouth was an important center of war activity, even though considerably removed from the scene of most of the military operations. In 1782 the French fleet visited Portsmouth Harbor.[3] That same year Lafayette visited Portsmouth.

The ladies of the town also aided during the war, as they had in the case of John Paul Jones' flag. During the Revolution, in 1775, when British ships were off the harbor, it is said that the commander planned to sack Portsmouth, and that he was prevented only by the beautiful Mary Sparhawk of Kittery, who captivated him, and who, exerting her great charm, prevailed on him to go to Falmouth, now Portland, instead.[12] It is said that he burned more than four hundred houses in Portland.[12] Baron Steuben was in Portsmouth in 1777.[11] It was to Miss Peggy Sheafe of Boston, probably of the family of Jacob Sheafe of Portsmouth, that Baron Steuben said, when introduced to her, "I have been cautioned from my youth against mischief [Miss Sheafe], but I had no idea her charms were so irresistible." [11]

Showing the situation at the peak of the war, the town records read, as of July 27, 1779, that only three hundred and fifty-three men were on the list of the

train band and alarm list; all the rest of the men belonging to the town were in the navy, army or captivity, except a few persons on privateers. The life of Portsmouth rolled on during the war in spite of many absentees. There was considerable suffering, but imports came in, and trade by no means lagged; though, apparently, there was no general prosperity, figured in cash. The amount of cash in the town was insufficient to pay the taxes.[7] Appeal was made to reduce taxes in proportion to loss of trade.[7] Beautiful houses went up in the late Revolutionary period, yet in its issue of December 9, 1785, "The New Hampshire Gazette" asked for payment of back accounts by subscribers and advertisers, saying that produce of any kind would be accepted in payment, if promptly presented.[21]

During the Revolution there was price fixing of merchandise by retailers and wholesalers in Portsmouth, and also of labor.[7] Early in the war all the inhabitants of the Isles of Shoals were ordered to vacate, and as a result Portsmouth was burdened with the poorer class of them, and was at the expense of supporting them.[7]

Portsmouth had always thrived on difficulties, and Portsmouth emerged from the Revolutionary War period in a stronger position than ever. The town had taken a notable part in the events that led up to the war and during the war. Portsmouth had acted vigorously and patriotically. The town held a distinguished position in the minds of Americans of the day. Moreover, a considerable degree of wealth existed in Portsmouth at this time. As the clouds of war rolled away, trade promised to increase in the near future. The Peace that brought the Revolution

to a close was signed in 1783. When, on October 30, 1789,[3] President Washington visited Portsmouth, he found the town close to the peak of its distinguished civic position. With this visit of the first President of the United States to Portsmouth, the Revolutionary War period in the history of the town may be said to close.

CHAPTER XIII

LATER MARITIME AND OTHER HISTORY

PORTSMOUTH entered the twenty-five year period, 1790–1815, in happy fashion. Her citizens had been reared in experience and in success of many kinds. There was wealth and cultivation in the town. Trade flourished, especially the West India trade. As business conditions improved just after the war, Portsmouth enjoyed her full share of the resulting benefits. It was at this stage of the history of Portsmouth, 1790–1815, that the town was in the fullest of its vigor and relative success.

In the twenty-five year period, 1790–1815, a number of beautiful houses were added to the already large list in Portsmouth. One of the most distinctive of these was the Daniel H. Peirce house, built in 1799,[1] now the home of Mr. J. Winslow Peirce. This was typical of the large, nearly square, high-studded, three-story house that was particularly characteristic of the best home building of this period. The Boardman–Marvin house was built soon after 1800. The Treadwell house, built by Hon. Jeremiah Mason,[1] was erected in 1808.[1] The Woodbury house, built by Capt. Samuel Ham, came in 1809.[1] The Larkin–Rice house,[7] on Middle Street, was built in 1811; the Rundlet–May house in 1806–1807. In 1798 there were six hundred and twenty-six dwelling houses in Portsmouth, sixteen of them only of three stories. "In the three years after, there were five of the latter class of houses

added."[7] The Athenæum Building was built about 1803.[1] The Academy, now the Portsmouth Public Library, was a noteworthy addition to Portsmouth buildings. It was erected about 1800.[1] A teacher well remembered in the early life of the Academy was Mr. William C. Harris. The Academy has also served as a "Memorial Hall" of Storer Post, G. A. R. Many other pleasing houses not enumerated, still standing, and built prior to 1815, added to the charm of Portsmouth of that date.

"The New Hampshire Gazette," about 1794, carried much more advertising than previously. In 1792 the New Hampshire Bank was established in Portsmouth.[2] In 1794 a corporation was formed for the building of a bridge over that part of the Piscataqua flowing into Great Bay, thus connecting Portsmouth with Dover Point. The bridge connected Newington and Durham, just below the outlet of Little Bay.[2] This, the Piscataqua Bridge, was two thousand three hundred and sixty-two feet long and thirty-eight feet wide.[2] By November 25, 1794, this bridge could be passed over.[2] Apparently, it was difficult to pay the repair expenses of this bridge, in spite of the tolls that were levied, and in May, 1804, a Piscataqua Bridge Lottery was advertised in "The New Hampshire Gazette," the profits to go to the benefit of the bridge.[6] Harvard College also advertised a lottery in Portsmouth through the medium of the "Gazette." Under date of March 3, 1795,[6] the College offered fifteen thousand tickets at five dollars each. There were to be five thousand and thirty-seven prizes and nine thousand nine hundred and sixty-three blanks. There was one prize of ten thousand dollars.[6] The

advertisement of this lottery was headed: "Not Two Blanks to a Prize." In May, 1805, the "Portsmouth Bath" was opened.[6]

Among prominent names in Portsmouth, 1792, were George Gaines, Elisha Hill, John Goddard, Samuel Cutts. The name of Cutt was changed to Cutts in 1736.[7] Mr. C. H. Cutts–Howard, a descendant of the Cutt family of Portsmouth, says that before the family came to this country from England the name was Cutts, "used as Cutt after their coming here for about three generations, presumably for political reasons." The following is from a letter penned in 1790, from Miss Eliza Eppes Cutts, a daughter of Samuel and Anna Holyoke Cutts of Portsmouth. It is included through the courtesy of Mr. C. H. Cutts–Howard. "I arrived here Thursday last. Friday I spent at Mr. John Langdon's; the description of Mrs. L's beauty has not been exagerated; she received me with politeness. The superbness and elegance of her house you have already heard."

An old society founded in Portsmouth shortly after the Revolution, the Federal Fire Society, continues to this day. Originally organized in 1789 for the mutual protection of its members from fire, it has continued, as a social organization, with its motto "Esto perpetua." Its by-laws require that members shall have their fire buckets ready for use. The buckets are still inspected twice a year by the wardens, and reports as to their condition are read at the two dinners of the Society held each year. For the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Federal Fire Society, March 7, 1889, Mr. James Brackett Parrott wrote four verses, the first of which follows:

U. S. S. Portsmouth at the Portsmouth Navy Yard

Published through the courtesy of Mr. J. W. Newell

While stars shall burn, or girls shall smile,
  Or ships shall shake their sails,
While tides do run, while winds do blow,
  Or ducks shall shake their tails;
As centuries shall fill their count,
  Let time pass fast or slow,
We'll revel as our fathers did
  An hundred years ago!

The Mechanics' Fire Society of Portsmouth, with quarterly dinners, also continues old traditions.

The year 1799 brought the Portsmouth Aqueduct and its resulting benefits to the town.[2] That same year an infantry organization known as "Governor Gilman's Blues" was active.[2] On May 14, 1806, there were presented at the "Theatre Portsmouth," "Stranger, or Misanthrope and Repentance," and "Rosina, or The Reapers." Tickets were seventy-five cents each. Doors opened at six-fifteen; the curtain rose at seven-thirty.[6] In 1802 occurred a great fire in the town,[2] though not to be confused with the still greater fire of 1813, which destroyed two hundred and forty-four buildings.[2] In 1808 a livery stable was started. That same year, 1808, the brig "Dolphin" was advertised for passengers and freight for Charleston, South Carolina.[6] Ships sailed from Portsmouth at this time fairly frequently on such long voyages as to New York. In 1801 Daniel Austin advertised for sale corn, rye, soap, starch, coffee, chocolate, teas, oil, iron, this showing what was available in certain merchandise as of about that date. That same year Samuel Hill advertised about the same list of commodities. Among other advertisers in 1801 were Banj. Brierly, Edward Parry, Peter Coffin, Joshua Blake,

Henry Ladd, S. Larkin, James Rundlet. In 1801, also, the Bell Tavern was referred to in "The New Hampshire Gazette;" also the Portsmouth Marine Society.[6] Daniel Webster was a resident of Portsmouth in 1807.[9] In 1806 the United States government bought Fernald's Island, this the first of the two islands now joined together forming the present United States Navy Yard. The price paid for Fernald's Island was five thousand five hundred dollars.[7] The second island, Seavey's, was purchased much later, in 1866. Before 1806 the construction of naval vessels was carried on at the island north of these two, originally called Wither's Island, then Langdon's and later Badger's. "Here were built the Ranger and the frigate America, presented in 1782 to the French government."[12]

In 1798 the "Crescent," a frigate of thirty-two guns, built at Portsmouth in 1796,[3] sailed for Europe.[2] She was being given as a present to the Dey of Algiers as compensation by the United States for unfulfilled treaty obligations on our part. The captain and many of the crew had been prisoners, previously, in Algiers.[3] In 1791 there were thirty-three vessels of over one hundred tons belonging to the port of Piscataqua, and fifty more of under a hundred tons.[4] In 1790 eight vessels were built on the Piscataqua;[4] in 1791, twenty.[4] The era of shipbuilding, the seeds of which had been sown long before, was now developing in earnest.

Only keen salt sea-odors filled the air.
Sea-sounds, sea-odors — these were all my world.
— Thomas Bailey Aldrich.

Portsmouth furnished thirteen privateers in the War of 1812, the privateer "Portsmouth" being especially conspicuous. She was commanded by John Sinclair and T. M. Shaw.[7] A relic of the War of 1812, still standing, is deserving of notice. Portsmouth, in the second war with England, more than ever needed protection from attack by sea. When, in 1814, a British fleet was "hourly expected,"[1] Walbach Tower at Newcastle, just to the west of Fort Constitution, earlier Fort William and Mary, was "planned and constructed under the care of Colonel Walbach."[5] "He was a German Count who had fought against Napoleon in twenty-six battles."[5]

> If you should turn your feet from yonder town
> Intent to bathe your eyes with healing sight
> Of open sea, and islands rising through,
> Mere heaps of shattered ledge that have withstood
> Eternal storm, though grey defiant still,
> The river shows the way that you must go;
> Its stream engrails the shores of twenty isles,
> And pleasant is the way as is the end;
> For you will idle on the bridges three,
> And loiter through the ancient village street,
> That crowns the harbor mouth; then you will come
> To beaches hard, and smoothed by each new tide
> Rolling between the low, port-cullised rocks,
> Rocks bare a-top, but kirtled at the feet
> With sea weed draperies that float or fall,
> As swells or sinks the lonely, restless wave.
> There, just above the shore is Walbach Tower,
> Its crumbling parapet with grass and weeds
> O'ergrown, and peaceful in its slow decay.
>
> — John Albee.

The files of "The New Hampshire Gazette" of 1812 afford interesting reading as to the war and the

successes of the United States on the sea. In its issue of March 24, 1812, the "Gazette" gives notice that England is trying to annex New England, and refers to American seamen impressed by British press gangs.[6] The issue of November 3, 1812, gives a long list of British ships captured as prizes by United States vessels.[6] Under date of December 8, 1812, the "Gazette" publishes the story of the fight between the United States frigate "United States," Commodore Decatur, and the British frigate "Macedonian," a brilliant victory for the "United States" and Decatur, that added great prestige to our navy.[6]

One of the smaller but most active of the United States naval forces in the War of 1812 was the frigate "Essex." "The New Hampshire Gazette" of September 29, 1812, reads as follows: "A passenger of the brig Lyon from Havana to New York, captured by the frigate Southampton, Sir James Yeo Commander, is requested by Sir James Yeo to present his compliments to Cpt. Porter, Commander of the American frigate Essex, would be glad to have a *tête-à-tête* anywhere between the capes of Delaware and Havana, where he would have the pleasure to break his own sword over his damned head, and put him down forward in irons."

"Cpt. Porter, of the United States frigate Essex presents his compliments to Sir James Yeo, commanding his Britanic Majesty's frigate Southampton, and accepts with pleasure his *polite* invitation. If it is agreeable to Sir James Cpt. Porter would prefer meeting near the Delaware, where Cpt. Porter pledges his honor to Sir James that no American vessel shall interrupt their *tête-à-tête*.

"The Essex may be known by a flag bearing the

motto 'Free Trade and Sailors' Rights.' Note — the Southampton is rated 32 guns and probably carries over 40. The Essex is also rated 32. Cpt. Porter has been emphatically pronounced in our hearing by all his seniors an ornament to the American Navy." [6]

Porter, later, impersonated Sir James Yeo in Brazil, under orders, which aggravated the earlier particular hostility of the British toward him. The "Essex" and Porter did not meet the "Southampton" in action. Shortly after 1812 the "Essex" under Porter went into the Pacific to destroy British shipping. The "Essex" was finally lost in action against a much superior force.[10]

In 1820 a census gave Portsmouth a population of seven thousand three hundred and twenty-seven.[2] On September 10, 1822, the bridge to Kittery was opened for passengers, and the ferry discontinued.[2] This bridge cost thirty thousand dollars and took five months to build.[2]

One might ramble on with personal enjoyment over bits of Portsmouth history. The Civil War, the Spanish War, the Russo–Japanese Peace Conference held at the Portsmouth Navy Yard, the part played by Portsmouth in the World War, these all afford ample themes; and the gaps are no less interesting. They do not, however, belong to the early history of the town. "History," said Voltaire, "is a fable which men have agreed upon."[13] It is, perhaps, on the basis of this philosophy that early history has an especial charm, and may properly be separated from the accounts of more modern times. There is one factor, however, in later happenings on the Piscataqua that follows through directly from the earliest history of the river and of Portsmouth. It would be a not

wholly loyal narrator of Piscataqua River and of Portsmouth history who did not tell of the ships built in the Portsmouth district from about 1800 on.

I must go down to the seas again, to the lonely sea and the sky,
And all I ask is a tall ship and a star to steer her by;
And the wheel's kick and the wind's song and the white sail's shaking,
And a grey mist on the sea's face, and a grey dawn breaking.
— John Masefield.

"The New Hampshire Gazette," on October 16, 1798, reads: "On Thursday last a most beautiful copper-bottomed, twenty-gun ship, called 'Portsmouth' and built for the service of the United States, was launched from the Continental Navy Yard, Langdon's Island." [6] The pride in the ship, expressed by the "Gazette," was undoubtedly justified, and the following years proved that the art of building fine ships on the Piscataqua was as evident as had been the art of building beautiful houses in Portsmouth.

The author hoped to list all vessels launched on the lower Piscataqua, but there are too many of them for anything like comfortable reading — really, an astonishing number. From 1800 to 1850, inclusive, four hundred and eighty-six vessels were built in the district of Portsmouth. Two hundred and eighteen of these were ships, nineteen of them barks, eighty-four of them brigs, one hundred and fifty-eight of them schooners, and seven sloops. Their total tonnage was 126,454.[11]

Shipbuilding has always come naturally to Portsmouth and to Piscataqua men, but it seems to have come most naturally, of all the decades in which it flourished, between 1850 and 1860. In 1851 the

"Witch of the Wave," 1,499 tons, was built by George Raynes at Portsmouth.[11] She was built for owners at Salem, and after launching she was towed to Salem with a merry party on board, who celebrated her advent among the Salem witches. As they went around, a poem was recited in the ship's honor. It included the following lines:

> They say she's bound to sail so fast
> That a man on deck can't catch the mast,
> And a porpoise trying to keep ahead
> Will soon be run over and killed stone dead.

Whittier also wrote a poem in honor of this vessel.[8]

In 1850, in the district of Portsmouth, the ship "George Raynes," 999 tons, was built; also the "Albert Gallatin," 850 tons, and the "Sea Serpent," 1,402 tons. In 1851 the ships "Globe," "Levi Woodbury," "Typhoon," "Wild Pigeon" and "Witch of the Wave" were built, — a total tonnage that year of 8,778. The same year Portsmouth shipyards turned out the bark "What Cheer" and the schooner "Bell." In 1852 were built the ships "Frank Peirce," "Hope Goodwin," "J. Montgomery," "Josephine," "Judge Shaw," "Orient," "Piscataqua," "Red Rover" and "Samuel Badger." In 1853 the ship "Adelaide Bell" was built. Among other vessels built from 1850 to 1860 were the ships "Anna Decatur," of 1,045 tons, built in 1856; "Arkwright," of 1,244 tons, built in 1855; "Portsmouth," of 994 tons, built in 1859; "Granite State," "Governor Langdon," "Morning Glory," "Ocean Rover," "Emily Farnum," "Express," the schooner "Yankee Maid," etc. The largest was the "Sierra Nevada," of 1,942 tons, built in 1854. Most were of about 1,100 tons. In 1857 there were

six ships built, averaging 1,000 tons each. The shipyards were at Badger's Island, where the builder was John Yeaton, at Peirce's Island, and Union Yard, Tobey & Littlefield's Yard and George Raynes' Yard. Fernald & Petigrew, Samuel Badger, Jno. Johnson, Sam'l Hanscome, Jr., Daniel Moulton and A. Tibbets were also building ships in the Portsmouth district.

> Where would I be?
> Where the swift gallant ship sails the ocean o'er,
> And steers her proud course by the rock-bound shore;
> Where the tempest is fierce and the billows roar,
> There would I be.
>
> — Old Song.

There were many names on the Portsmouth shipping list. The ship "Annie Sise," built in 1856, of 1,031 tons, is one that should be mentioned; also the "Ella E. Badger," of 1,120 tons, built in 1856. The "Henrietta Marcy," of 1,099 tons; the "Kate Prince," of 991 tons, built in 1856; the "Alice Ball," of 898 tons, built in 1857; the "New Hampshire," of 999 tons, built in 1857; and the "Sagamore," 1,164 tons, were part of the Portsmouth fleet in 1857. That same year the "Sarah E. Pettigrew," of 1,193 tons, joined the fleet, and also the brig "Mollie Stark," of 160 tons, later lost at sea. We jump from such good New Hampshire names to that of the "Orozimbo," a ship of 890 tons, built in 1858, and to the ships "Othello," "Colorado," "Star of Hope" and "Venice." Then, too, there was the ship "Nightingale," 1,066 tons, built in 1851; the ship "Coeur de Lion," of 1,099 tons, built in 1853; the ship "Eagle Speed," of 1,113 tons, built by John Yeaton in 1856; the ship "Mary Washington," of 934 tons, built in 1856; and the ship

"Charger," of 1,131 tons, built by E. G. Peirce in 1856.[11] The ships "Rockingham," "Georgianna," "Richard III," "Shooting Star" and "Liverpool Packet" were also Portsmouth vessels of about this date.[11] From 1800 to 1860, inclusive, 575 vessels were built in the district of Portsmouth. It seems worthy of mention that during this period one "snow" only was built on the Piscataqua. She was the "Equator," of 154 tons, built by Mark Green in 1801.[11] Later, after 1860, were built the "Appledore," the "Edwin I. Morrison," the "Meteor," the "Jean Ingelow," the "Yosemite," the "Clara E. Simpson" and the "Lizzie J. Call." The famous "Kearsarge," which defeated the "Alabama" and helped to save the Union, was built at the Portsmouth Navy Yard.

The impetus of shipbuilding on the Piscataqua in 1860 carried through into 1870 and beyond, but its peak was well passed at this latter date. It is of interest that during the World War the desire to build ships on the Piscataqua quickly reappeared, and that excellent wooden and steel vessels were launched at and near Portsmouth, to the considerable benefit of the allied cause. The following list of ships built on the Piscataqua during the World War, or as a result of our shipbuilding effort during the War, has been furnished through the courtesy of Mr. F. W. Hartford of Portsmouth:

Wooden Steamships of 3,500 Tons launched at the Shattuck Yard at Newington

Hull.	Name.	Launched.	Sponsor.
391	Roy H. Beattie . .	July 4, 1918	Miss Helen Beattie.
392	Chibiabos . . .	July 4, 1918	Miss Althea Shattuck.
393	Wesagye . . .	May 29, 1919	Mrs. N. J. Pluymert.
394	Milton	July 4, 1918	Mrs. James Lawrence, Jr.
395	Haverhill . . .	Aug. 24, 1918	Henry W. Keyes.
396	Silvanus . . .	Apr. 14, 1919	Mrs. George S. Hewins.
397	Ammonoosuc . . .	Sept. 21, 1918	Mrs. Robert Jackson.
398	Yawak	Nov. 9, 1918	Mrs. John Jameson.
399	Winapie . . .	May 3, 1919	Mrs. F. A. Jones.
400	Woyaca . . .	Dec. 7, 1918	Mrs. F. W. Hartford.
401	Newton	Jan. 4, 1919	Miss Marjorie Nickols.
402	Yustan	June 2, 1919	Miss Virginia Shedd.
403	Ulak	June 28, 1919	Mrs. Mary I. Wood.
404	Dover	July 24, 1919	Mrs. F. C. Smalley.
405	Newburyport . . .	Aug. 14, 1919	Mrs. D. P. Page.

Steel Vessels of 8,800 Tons launched at the Yard of the Atlantic Corporation, Portsmouth

Name.	Launched.
Kisnop	Jan. 18, 1919
Babboosic	May 3, 1919
Portsmouth	July 4, 1919
Nipmuc	Oct. 28, 1919
Norumbega	Jan. 10, 1920
Brookline	May 1, 1920
Springfield	May 26, 1920
Tolosa	July 17, 1920
Pachet	Aug. 28, 1920
Pagasset	Oct. 9, 1920

Through the courtesy of Rear Admiral W. D. MacDougall, Commandant United States Navy Yard, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, the following list of vessels of war built on the Piscataqua is included.

Under date of October 19, 1926, Rear Admiral MacDougall says: "I am enclosing a copy of a list of ships built on the Piscataqua so far as we have been able to find out."

Built for the Royal Navy

Name.	Guns.	Class.	Year.
Falkland	54	Frigate	1690
Bedford	32	Frigate	1696
America	60	Frigate	1749

Built for the Colonial Navy

Name.	Guns.	Class.	Year.
Raleigh	22	Frigate	1775
Ranger	18	Sloop	1776
Crescent	32	Frigate	1778
Congress	38	Frigate	1799
America	74	Ship of line	1776
Portsmouth	24	Sloop	1797
Scammel	14	Schooner	1798

Built for the Navy of the United States

Name.	Guns.	Class.	Year.
Washington	74	Ship	1814
Alabama	74	Ship	1817
Launched (name changed to New Hampshire)	–	– – –	1864
Porpoise	11	Schooner	1820
Santee	44	Frigate	1820
Launched	–	– – –	1855
Concord	24	Sloop	1827
Preble	20	Sloop	1839
Congress	50	Frigate	1841
Saratoga	24	Sloop	1842

Built for the Navy of the United States — Concluded

Name.	Guns.	Class.	Year.
Portsmouth	24	Sloop	1843
Saranac	11	Steam frigate . .	1848
Light ship for Nantucket . . .	–	– – –	1855
Jamestown (rebuilt)	24	Sloop	1857
Mohigan	9	Steam sloop . . .	1857
Port Fire	–	Tug	1864
Blue Light	–	– – –	1864
Agamenticus	4	Ironclad . . .	1864
Passaconaway	4	Ironclad . . .	1864
Piscataqua	15	Sloop of war . .	1864
Minnetonka	15	Sloop of war . .	1864
Illinois	15	Sloop of war . .	1864
Ossipee	9	Steam sloop . . .	1861
Kearsarge	9	Steam sloop . . .	1861
Sebago	9	Steam sloop . . .	1861
Mahaska	9	Steam sloop . . .	1861
Sacramento	10	Steam sloop . . .	1862
Sonoma	10	Steam sloop . . .	1862
Connemaugh	10	Steam sloop . . .	1862
Sasacus	10	Steam sloop . . .	1863
Franklin	60	Steam frigate . .	1863
Patuxet	9	Steam sloop . . .	1863
Nipsic	9	Steam sloop . . .	1863
Shawmut	10	Steam sloop . . .	1863
Decota (rebuilt)	10	Steam sloop . . .	1863
Contoocook	15	Steam sloop . . .	1864
Behecia	11	Steam sloop . . .	1865
Monongahela (rebuilt) . . .	10	Steam sloop . . .	1869
Marion	10	Steam sloop . . .	1873
Enterprise	7	Steam sloop . . .	1873
Essex	7	Steam sloop . . .	1874
Boxer	–	Training ship for Cadets	1904

Submarines

Name.	Date of Launching.
L- 8	Apr. 23, 1917
O- 1	July 9, 1918
S- 3	Dec. 21, 1918
S- 4	Aug. 27, 1919

Submarines — Concluded

Name.	Date of Launching.
S– 5	Nov. 10, 1919
S– 6	Dec. 23, 1919
S– 7	Feb. 5, 1920
S– 8	Apr. 21, 1920
S– 9	June 17, 1920
S–10	Dec. 9, 1920
S–11	Feb. 7, 1921
S–12	Aug. 4, 1921
S–13	Oct. 20, 1921
V– 1	July 17, 1924
V– 2	Dec. 27, 1924
V– 3	June 9, 1925

"U. S. S. V–4 and V–5 are now building," at the Portsmouth Navy Yard, "October, 1926."

Today the Navy Yard at Portsmouth is building submarines that are a credit to the will and the skill of shipbuilders in the district of Portsmouth, as were the ships in earlier days.

We now come to the close of this particular account of the early history of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. May a more comprehensive story be written, for there is a large field as yet uncovered, and there is a mass of data on Portsmouth history still unassembled. The work holds agreeable employment for those who have at all the inclination.

The Hon. Joseph Hodges Choate said at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the landing of Governor Endicott: "Of course, Mr. President, it requires great foresight for a man to select a birthplace of which he shall always be proud; but he must indeed be an unreasonable creature who, having America for a continent, Massachusetts for a state, Essex for a county, and Salem for a native town, is not entirely

satisfied."[14] One thinks of Portsmouth in the same spirit.

The following stanzas by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow seem to convey the love of the poet for an old town by the sea. Mr. Longfellow wrote them of Portland, but they also carry the thought that many have for Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

Often I think of the beautiful town
  That is seated by the sea;
Often in thought go up and down
  The pleasant streets of that dear old town,
And my youth comes back to me.
  And a verse of a Lapland song
Is haunting my memory still:
  "A boy's will is the wind's will,
And the thoughts of youth are long, long thoughts."

I can see the shadowy line of its trees,
  And catch, in the sudden gleams,
The sheen of the far-surrounding seas,
  And islands that were the Hesperides
Of all my boyish dreams.
  And the burden of that old song,
It murmurs and whispers still:
  "A boy's will is the wind's will,
And the thoughts of youth are long, long thoughts."

Strange to me now are the forms I meet
  When I visit the dear old town;
But the native air is pure and sweet,
  And the trees that o'ershadow each well-known
    street,
As they balance up and down,
  Are singing the beautiful song,
Are sighing and whispering still:
  "A boy's will is the wind's will,
And the thoughts of youth are long, long thoughts."

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