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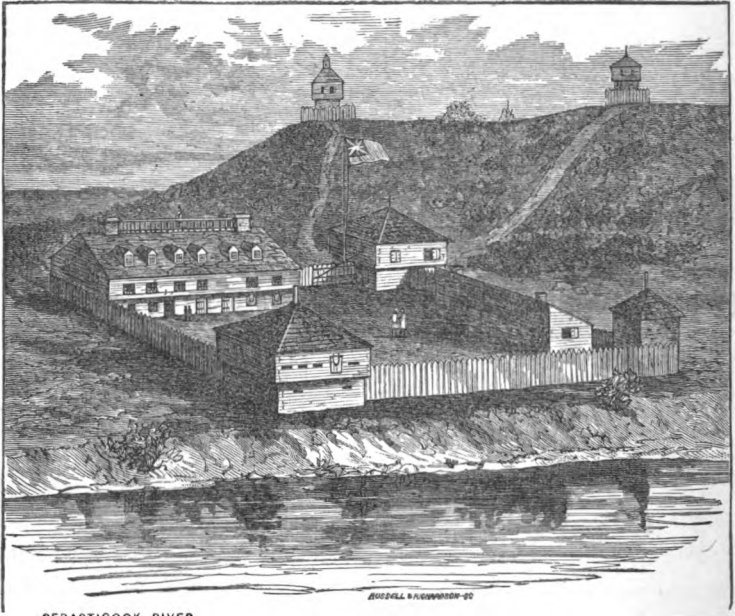
FORT HALIFAX:

ITS PROJECTORS, BUILDERS AND GARRISON.

BY

HON. WILLIAM GOOLD, OF WINDHAM.

READ BEFORE THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AT
PORTLAND, MARCH 30, 1876.



SEBASTICOOK RIVER.

FORT HALIFAX,

AS IT STOOD WHEN COMPLETED IN 1755. DRAWN FROM DESCRIPTIONS IN
OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS, TRACINGS OF THE FOUNDATIONS, AND
FROM THE REMAINING FLANKER.

BY W. G.

FORT HALIFAX:

ITS PROJECTORS, BUILDERS AND GARRISON.

[Unknown to each other, and about the same time, Mr. Williamson and myself copied, in Boston, a portion of the official documents relating to Fort Halifax. Some of the standing committee of the Maine Historical Society have expressed doubts of the expediency of publishing them in this article, as some of them were printed in Volume VII of this series, under the title of "Materials for a History of Fort Halifax." To preserve the continuity of this history it is necessary that these documents should be given chronologically, which was not done in Volume VII. W. G.]

The traveler who passes the old low wooden tower, with its conical roof and projecting upper story, situated at the west end of the railroad bridge that spans the Sebec at Winslow, when he is told that it is Fort Halifax, naturally supposes that it is all there was of the fort originally—that it was simply a timber house or camp to hide in from the Indians, not supposing that it is less than one-tenth part of the buildings of the strongest and most extensive fortress in Maine of the last century, but such is the fact.

As the territory on which this fort was erected, and on which the settlements it protected were made, was for forty years the property of the Plymouth colony, it would seem proper here to explain how and why they obtained it.

While the pilgrims in the *Mayflower* were on their perilous passage to the new world, King James the first granted a charter to "forty noblemen, knights and gentlemen" of England, in which the company were styled "The Council of Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling and governing New England in America." This charter bears date November 3, 1620, eight days before the combination was signed in the cabin of the *Mayflower*. It granted to the council all the territory between the fortieth and forty-eighth degrees of north latitude, and "from sea to sea." A prominent member of the council, and the prime mover of the enterprise, was Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

The older Virginia company, then existing, opposed the granting of this charter to the Plymouth company, alleging that it infringed on theirs, and three times Gorges was summoned and appeared at the bar of the House of Commons, to defend the charter. It was finally confirmed, and became the English authority for all the land titles of New England.

Before the pilgrims left Holland, the Virginia company had offered them a patent of land at Hudson River, which they accepted. Some Dutch merchants had a plan of establishing a colony on the Hudson, and, learning of the intention of the pilgrims, they bribed the master of the *Mayflower* to deceive them and prevent them from reaching their destination. Morton's *New England Memorial*, written in 1669, is the authority for this. He came to Plymouth only three years after the pilgrims in the *Mayflower*. He was a nephew of Governor Bradford, and attained an honorable position in the colony, and of course he is reliable authority. After mentioning the arrival of the pilgrims at Cape Cod, he says:

"Nevertheless, it is to be observed, that their putting into this place was partly by reason of a storm, by which they were forced

in, but more especially by the fraudulency and contrivance of the aforesaid Mr. Jones, the master of the ship; for their intentions and his engagement was to Hudson's River, but some of the Dutch having notice of their intentions, and having thoughts about the same time of erecting a plantation there likewise, they fraudulently hired the said Jones, by delays while they were in England, and now under pretence of the shoals, &c., to disappoint them in their going thither. Of this plot betwixt the Dutch and Mr. Jones, I have had late and certain intelligence. * * Being thus fraudulently dealt with, and brought so far to the northward, the season being sharp, and no hopes of obtaining their intended port, and thereby their patent being made void and useless, as to another place, &c."

They were set down on the barren sands of Cape Cod against their will, and without any title to the inhospitable shore. Their agent, John Pierce, a merchant of England, in 1623 obtained of the Council of Plymouth a patent for one hundred acres of land for each settler, but this was not satisfactory. Gorges, in his "Brief Narration," thus alludes to this charter. "They hastened away their ship with orders to their solicitor to deal with me, to be a means that they might have a grant from the Council of New England's affairs, to settle in the place, which was accordingly performed." The Plymouth colonists had made coasting trips to the eastward to obtain necessary supplies from the fishing ships at Monhegan, and learned of the furs which the natives brought to the mouth of the Kennebec, and coveted that trade, but they had nothing to exchange with the Indians until 1625. After harvest that year, they found that they had raised a surplus of the new staple, Indian corn, and began to think how they should turn it to account, and settled upon this venture, as recorded by Governor Bradford in his history of Plymouth. He says:

“After harvest this year, they sent out a boat’s load of corne, forty or fifty leagues to the eastward, at a river called Kennebeck; it being one of those two shallops which their carpenter had built them y^e year before, for bigger vessel had they none. They had laid a deck over her midships, to keep y^e corne dry, but y^e men were faine to stand it out in all weathers without shelter, and that time of yeare begins to grow tempestuous; but God preserved them and gave them good success, for they brought home 700 pounds of beaver, besides some other furs, having little or nothing else but this corne which themselves had raised out of y^e earth. This viage was made by Mr. Winslow and some of y^e old standards, for seamen they had none.”

This is the first trading voyage of the many that the colonists made to the Kennebec, and seems to have suggested to Governor Bradford the plan of securing the entire trade.

In the spring of the same year, two ships came to Plymouth for cargoes of fish; one was very small. They were successful, and in the fall were preparing to return to England, when Winslow returned from the Kennebec. In the small ship the colonists shipped their furs. Bradford gives this account of her loss:

“The master was so careful, being so well laden, as they went joyfully together, for he towed y^e lesser at his stern all y^e way overbound, and they had such fair weather as he never cast her off till they were shot deep into the English channel, almost in sight of Plymouth, and yet there she was taken by a Turk’s man of war and carried into Sally [Sallee, a port in Morocco], where y^e master and men were made slaves, and many of y^e beaver skins were sold for fourpence apiece. Thus was all their hopes dashed, and y^e joyful news they meant to carry home turned to heavy tidings.”

In the largest ship, the colony sent Capt. Standish as their agent, with letters to the Council of New England. These

letters undoubtedly contained a petition for a grant of territory, including the river Kennebec. Capt. Standish returned the next spring, not having obtained the grant.

In 1727, says Bradford :

“They now sent over-Mr. Allerton againe into England; he had orders to procure a patent for a fit trading place in y^e river Kennebeck, for being emulated, both by the planters at Piscataqua and other places to y^e eastward of them, and also by y^e fishing ships, which used to draw much profit from y^e Indians of those parts, they threatened to procure a grant and shut them out from there, especially after they saw them so well provided with commodities as to carry the trade from them. They thought it but needful to prevent such a thing; at least, that they might not be excluded from free trade there, where themselves had first begun, and discovered the same and brought it to so good an effect.

“Mr. Allerton having settled all things thus, in a good and hopeful way, he made haste to return in y^e first of y^e spring. He also brought them a patent for Kennebeck, but it was so strait and ill bounded, as they were faine to renew and enlarge it the next year, as also that they had at home. Having procured a patent for the Kennebeck, they now erected a house up above in y^e river, in y^e most convenient place for trade as they conceived, and furnished the same with commodities for that end, both in winter and summer, not only with corne, but with such other commodities as y^e fishermen had traded with them; as coats, shirts, rugs and blankets, pease, prunes, &c., and what they could not get out of England they bought of the fishing ships, and so carried on their business as well as they could.”

Russell's “Pilgrims' Memorials” says this trading house was “at a place called Cushenac” (now Augusta).

This Kennebec patent describes the bounds thus :

“Unto William Bradford, his heirs and associates, and assigns, all that tract of land * * which lyeth within, or between, and

extendeth itself from y^e utmost limits of Comaseconty, which adjoineth y^e river Kennebeck, towards the western ocean, and a place, y^e falls of Nequamkick, and y^e space of fifteen English miles on each side of said river, and all y^e said river Kennebeck that lyeth within the said limits.”*

* Robert Gardiner, in his History of the Kennebec Purchase, published in Volume 11, M. H. S. Coll., 1847, page 275, says: “What place was intended by the falls of Nequamkike is not known to this day.” The term falls led people to look for a perpendicular fall. Judge Lithgow’s deposition, 1763, points out unmistakably the intended boundary:

“The deposition of William Lithgow, of a place called Fort Halifax, on Kennebec River, in the County of Lincoln, Esq., of lawful age, testifieth and saith that the deponent has lived on Kennebec River ever since the year 1748, till this present year 1763, and is well acquainted with the most remarkable places on said river, by enquiring of the Indians of the Norridgewock tribe, with whom I have traded on the province account for some number of years; and well knowing where Taconick Falls are, also where the falls of Nequamke are, which last mentioned falls are about five or six miles below said Taconick Falls, towards the sea; and a little below said Taconick Falls are two islands which are never covered or hid by any overflowing of the river, as there are a number of trees on each island.

“The signification of said Nequamke, as the Indians have described them to me, is by scooping down and up their hands, and they said those falls took their name from such a motion of the water. Said Nequamke Falls does not anywhere fall perpendicular, but in rather a rippling which breaks all times of the year, even when the river is flowed by the highest freshets. There are a great number of other rippings or falls, between said Taconick Falls and Cushnock Falls, where Fort Western now stands, but Nequamke is the most remarkable, as all the other rippings run almost smooth when the river is highest by the spring freshets. I am also well knowing to a considerable stream which empties itself into Kennebec River on the western side of said Kennebec River, and is about six miles below Cushnock, or Fort Western, and I have often been told by sundry Indians that the very mouth of the above stream has been always called Cobbesacontee, but only the mouth of this stream as it emptieth itself into said Kennebeck river.

“I have enquired of the Indians the names of some of the ponds which are on the above said stream, and those names are as follows: Gumscook,

The resident agent of the colony in England, in a letter, says that

“Allerton got granted from ye Earl of Warwick, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, all that Mr. Winslow desired in his letters to me.”

It has been said that Gorges opposed the interests of the Plymouth colonists, as they were Puritans, and he was a member of the church of England, but his dealings with them contradict this assertion.

In a letter to Gorges, from Governor Bradford and others in 1628, they say :

“Honorable Sir: As you have ever been, not only a favorer, but also a special beginner and furtherer of the good of this country, to your great cost and less honor, we whose names are underwritten, being some of every plantation in the land, deputed for the rest, do humbly crave your worship’s help and assistance,” &c.

I make these extracts for the purpose of defending the fair fame of Maine’s greatest benefactor.

This Kennebec grant was the center of the lands and waters which were claimed and inhabited by the powerful tribe of

Maroonscook* and Annabescook. As the signification of Cobbasecontee, the Indians have told me that it took its name from the sturgeons jumping at the mouth of the above said stream. I have also heard the English call the above said stream and ponds, for this twelve years, Cobbasecontee. This stream is about eleven or twelve miles above Richmond Fort. I also know a small stream on the east side of Kennebeck River, called by the name of Nahumkeag. This stream is below Cobbasecontee, about two or three miles, and further saith not, William Lithgow.

“Suffolk, ss., September 14, 1763. The within named William Lithgow to the within written affidavit, taken at the request of James Noble, Esquire, in perpetuum rememoriā, before B. Dana, Justice of the Peace and Quorum. Belcher Noyes, J. P.”

*This “Maroonscook” is the lake in Winthrop which has lately been made attractive as a place of resort, on the line of the Maine Central Railroad.

Canibas Indians, whose fighting men numbered fifteen hundred. Of course their catch of furs was desirable, as they could be obtained for goods which in this traffic paid an enormous profit. Bradford and his associates carried on this trade in their own name until 1640, when they surrendered the patent to "all the freemen of New Plymouth," after which it was held and managed by the colony.

The Indians gradually sought other purchasers for their furs, and the colony's revenue fell off so much that it was decided to lease the river trade, with the houses, to a company of their own people, of whom Governor Bradford was at the head, for fifty pounds per year for five years. At the expiration of the lease it was renewed for thirty-five pounds, and finally it went down to ten pounds, and in 1661, the colony sold the patent to four gentlemen, one of whom was Edward Winslow, who, in 1625, made the trading voyage to Kennebec, in command of the shallop. He had been Governor of the colony in 1636. The consideration paid for the patent was 400 pounds. From this time these and their associates were called "The proprietors of the Kennebec purchase." For nearly ninety years the title lay dormant, from the unsettled relations between the English and the Indians.

Fort Richmond, at the head of Swan Island, was built by Massachusetts Province in 1723, as a check upon the Indians. It was garrisoned by the Province, and so continued until the forts above were built.

In 1749, there was a movement of the heirs of the four purchasers of 1661, who were all dead, to look up the title to the Kennebec lands, which were being settled by squatters, to ascertain their bounds and value.* A meeting was held under a

* 1767, June 6, William Lithgow deposed that Fort Richmond was built in about 1723. In 1748, he had command of Richmond Fort.

warrant from "John Storer, Esq., one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of York," at the Royal Exchange

1750. "About this time the Plymouth gentlemen proclaimed their patent; for my part, I never heard anything of this patent until the latter end of the year 1749, and then being in company with old Robert Temple, Esq., and Major Noble (James), at said Temple's house, Capt. Temple told us he was concerned in an old patent, by virtue of which he and four or five more gentlemen were entitled to a tract of land lying between Nequamkee and Cobiseconteague, and asked me where Nequamkee was. I told him that I did not know, for that I had never been further up than Cobiseconteage. Said Temple told us that he should be glad to have three or four more substantial partners to make the number seven or eight good men, and did not know but in such a case they might be able to extend their bounds near as low down as Richmond Fort, as he looked upon Clark and Lake's title to be slighty. And further signified to us there were many heirs belonging to said patent who would sell out for a trifle, and asked us if we would be concerned, which we declined.

"About the year 1752, the Plymouth Company erected two blockhouses about 24 feet square and two story high, and placed some cannon therein. The above blockhouses at opposite angles of a picket work 200 feet square, and a shed built about 40 feet long. The roof built lintow ways, which building was called Fort Shirley, alias Frankfort.

"Fort Western, above, was built by the Plymouth Company, the description of which is as follows: Four blockhouses two stories high, two of which were about 24 feet square, the others about 12 feet square. Those blockhouses stand at the four corners of the picket work, 150 feet square, composed with a row of open pickets round two squares, within the above picket work. The house about 100 feet long, and about 32 feet wide, built of hewed timber, and two stories high. When this fort was built it was under guard of the Province.

"The same year Fort Halifax was built, and the cannon and ironwork of which were carried up with two scows or gundaloes, which drew about two feet of water. The gunnels of which vessels were about a foot clear above water, and were towed up to Fort Halifax by the assistance of the army that guarded them."

Certified by Jonathan Bowman and Thomas Rice, Justices of the Peace, June 6, 1767. At that time both these Justices resided at Pownalborough.

Vol. 24, H. Gen. Register, p. 21. The original is in the possession of Mrs. Henry Rice, a great granddaughter of Col. Lithgow.

Coffee House in Boston, on the first day of September, 1749. Nine of the heirs attended. Soon the number was increased by forgotten heirs and by those who had purchased rights.* The

*At a meeting held in October, 1750, it was voted that "In order to determine the qualifications of voters and how votes shall be collected for the future, that every proprietor bring in his title or claim next meeting, and the proprietors to be warned by advertising the same in the Evening Post." The first tax was voted on the sixth of February, 1750, of one thousand pounds, Old Tenor. In October, 1753, "All persons concerned in the Kennebec purchase," were "desired to bring in their claims to the clerk of said proprietee, showing how they came by their rights, and how they have descended from Antipas Boyes, Edward Tyng, Thomas Brattle and John Winslow, they being the first purchasers."

Finally, before the division, Nathan Dane, the distinguished lawyer of Beverly, was employed to trace the pedigree of each claimant, or his purchased right. He made a voluminous report, from which much can be learned of the genealogy of ancient provincial families.

"The residue, be it more or less, of all the lands belonging to the Plymouth Company, that have not been sold, granted or given away" were advertised, and at the appointed time were sold "on the floor of the Exchange Coffee House, Boston."

The sale commenced twenty-second of January, 1816. There were remaining lots in a large number of towns—in some towns large tracts were unsold, and were all sold by the acre. The principal purchasers were Thomas L. Winthrop, Robert G. Shaw and John Hancock, of Boston, James Bridge and Reuel Williams, of Augusta, and Robert H. Gardiner, of Gardiner. The increase in value of these lands added largely to the estates of the three Kennebec purchasers. The amount realized by the land company from this sale was \$40,160, aside from the securities held by them.

At an adjourned meeting of the Plymouth Company, held at the Royal Exchange Tavern, King Street, Boston, on the thirteenth of April, 1761, the following preamble and votes were passed :

"The Judges of the Superior Court of Common Pleas, and Justices of the Court of Sessions for the County of Lincoln, by their letter to this proprietee, bearing date Novem. 18, 1760, say that there is no convenient place for holding said Courts in said County ; and, whereas, the said Judges and Justices have signified their desire in their said letter, that this proprietee will provide a convenient place for that purpose, within the parade of

first recorded vote after the organization was the choice of Samuel Goodwin, of Charlestown, and Jabez Fox, of Falmouth, to lay out a township.

In 1753, an act of incorporation was obtained with this title:

Fort Shirley, so called, situated on the west side of the town of Pownalborough, on Kennebeck River, and in case said proprietors will comply with their desire, the said Judges and Justices will establish the same as the place for holding the said Courts of Common Pleas and Courts of Sessions, for the County of Lincoln, for the future.

"In consideration, therefore, of the said Judges and Justices engagement aforesaid,

"*Voted*, That this proprietee will forthwith build, or cause to be built, at their own cost and charge, a house forty-five feet long and forty-four feet wide, and three stories high, and that one room on the second story, of forty-five feet long and twenty feet wide in said house, shall be fitted with boxes, benches, &c., needful for a Court House for holding such Courts of Common Pleas and Courts of Sessions. And the standing committee of this proprietee are hereby desired and empowered to erect, at the cost and charge of this proprietee, the said house as soon as may be.

"Also *Voted*, That the eastermost blockhouse of said Fort Shirley, with the land on which it stands, be appropriated as a goal for the use of said County of Lincoln. Also the easterly part of the Barrack in which Major Samuel Goodwin now lives, be appropriated as a house for the goal keeper for said County; and that said room be improved as a Court House together with the blockhouse and easterly part of the Barrack aforesaid (to be improved as aforesaid), be for the use of the said County for the term of twenty-one years from this day.

"*Voted* the said County of Lincoln three lots of land containing three acres each, in the town platt of said Pownalborough, * * * to be chosen by the Judges, for erecting a Court House and goal.

"Present:—James Bowdoin, Moderator; Thomas Hancock, Esq.; James Pitts, Esq.; Benjamin Hallowell, Esq.; Sylvester Gardiner, Esq.

"DAVID JEFFRIES, *Prop.'s Clerk.*"

The construction of the Court House being of three stories, and only one room appropriated to the County's use, indicates that it was intended also for a tavern for the accommodation of those attending court and the proprietors. The building is yet standing (1881), and occupied for a dwelling house by Mr. Goodwin, grandson of Major Samuel Goodwin, who was the Com-

"The proprietors of the Kennebec purchase from the late colony of New Plymouth," but the corporation was commonly known as the "Plymouth Company." Their headquarters were fixed at Boston, where all the meetings were held and where their records were kept.* Duplicate plans and records of grants were kept by their agents and surveyors at Kennebec.

pany's agent, and lived in the barrack of Fort Shirley, which was relinquished to the jailer. The house with a hip roof is conspicuous on the east side of the river, in Dresden, as seen from the Maine Central Railroad, above Richmond. On a recent visit, I saw some of the original pine shingles which covered the north, or then the back wall, and were removed after being on one hundred and eleven years, and were then so sound, although they never had been painted, that a part of them were relaid on a small building.

A few years ago Mr. Goodwin removed the foundation of the "easternmost blockhouse of Fort Shirley," which was the jail. In so doing he found a timber vault, built very strong—dovetailed at the corners, which he supposed was the magazine of the fort. As the building was last used for a prison, I think it was the dungeon—perhaps it had been both. There is a tradition that the first person hanged in the State was on a gallows which stood on a knoll north of this timber jail.

Another spot of interest in Dresden is the foundation and churchyard of St. John's Episcopal Church, and the cellar and well of the parsonage—the home of its only Rector, the Reverend Jacob Bailey, a graduate of Harvard in 1755, having for classmates President John Adams, Governor John Wentworth, of N. H., and several others of equal distinction. Like Wentworth, and unlike Adams, Mr. Bailey took the side of the mother country in the Revolutionary struggle, and was driven from his parish because he insisted on using the full ritual of the English Church in the service, and died in exile. The site of the church, parsonage and its large garden is less than a mile from the old court house. It is overgrown with trees and bushes, and the inscribed headstones have been removed from the churchyard. An aged lady of the vicinity remembers when the shrubs of the desolate garden were sought to ornament others at a distance. The history of the reverend gentleman's eventful life has been faithfully and pleasingly written by the Rev. William S. Bartlett, in a volume entitled "The Frontier Missionary."

* Their meetings were usually held at "the Royal Exchange Tavern, King Street," kept by Capt. Robert Stone. In 1765, it was kept by Seth Blodgett.

At the commencement of the Spanish war of 1741, Governor Shirley, who had just received his commission, enquired into the state of the frontier defences of his Province. The strong probability (which soon became a fact) that France would join Spain, alarmed the people of Maine, as that would be sure to include the Indians. In the twenty years of the existence of Fort Richmond it had become decayed, and in 1741 it was decided to rebuild it in enlarged form.*

Meetings were sometimes adjourned to be held "at the Sign of the Royal Exchange." In 1768, a meeting was held at the "British Coffee House, King Street." A few years previous, one was held at the "Bunch of Grapes Tavern."

*The government agent for the rebuilding was Capt. John Storer, of Wells. The officers of the garrison were John Minot, of Brunswick, Captain; Capt. Joseph Bean, Lieutenant, and Indian interpreter; "Rev. Stephen Parker" was probably Chaplain, as goods from the truckhouse are charged to him, and the Province is charged with a window put in his room. An armorer was one of the garrison. The government was obliged to keep an armorer at each of the principal frontier forts to repair the Indians' guns. There was a truckhouse kept at the fort, in charge of a provincial officer, called a truck-master, who was supplied by the Commissary General, at Boston, with goods to barter with the Indians, for their furs—to pay the four or five Indian pensioners, and to sell to the settlers. Capt. Minot was also truck-master. The late John McKeen, of Brunswick, obtained at Mare Point a small account book kept by Capt. Minot at the truckhouse, during the years from 1737 to 1742. Parts of the book are missing, but the remainder is valuable, as it shows the kinds of goods dealt in. The prices would have an interest if they were not given in a depreciated currency, which was continually becoming more so. Captain Minot was afterwards a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. Rev. John Wiswell, minister of St. Paul's Church, Falmouth (1764), married his daughter Mercy. His account book contains the names of the soldiers of the garrison, those of the Indian pensioners (who were allowed, some ten and others fifteen pounds annually), one of whom was Quinoius, the Norridgewock Chief, who spoke for his tribe in the conference with the commissioners at St. George's Fort in 1752. Also the current accounts with most of the settlers and business men on the river below,

In September, 1750, with a garrison of only fourteen men, the fort was attacked by 100 Indians, but, under cover of darkness the next night, it was relieved by a small party under Capt. Samuel Goodwin, who was one of the Plymouth proprietors, and their agent.

Although the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was concluded with

several of whom subsequently became prominently known in provincial history.

Among the charges in Minot's book are goods "given to the Indians by order of the Government," frequently repeated. The Province is charged with goods "*damned* in the trade," and is also charged with "two hogsheads of spring beaver shipped pr. Captain Saunders." Another charge to the Province is "for building an Indian house 18 × 16 feet."

In 1739, Puckanumbamet, an Indian, is charged with "so much paid a young man you killed his horse." The soldiers seem to have had the privilege to work for themselves when not on scouting or guard duty. Richard Collar, a soldier, is credited "by 800 rails and 22 posts, sent pr. Capt. Saunders to Governor Belcher." They also split out large numbers of "oar rafters," which were shipped. These were ash sticks to be finished into oars. "Province of Massachusetts Bay to sundries given to sixty Indians when they went to the treaty at Georges pr. Capt. Oulton's consent and advice." "To sundries given them last winter, in an extreme time of difficulty, in January." Capt. Storer, while rebuilding the fort, is charged with the services of James Coller in "dressing victuals for the men. He also brewed for them."

Something of the number and extent of the buildings at Fort Richmond may be learned from these items in Minot's charges to the Province.

1741. "To 196 mugs of Philip at 1s. 2d."

"Rum more, given the men at raising the works,
gun room, truckhouse, &c. I charged at 2s. 8d. pr. quart."

In 1759, the inhabitants of Frankfort petitioned the society for the propagation of the Gospel for a missionary to be sent to them. They said, "As soon as we enjoy the blessings of peace we shall build a church, and in the mean time we can have Richmond Fort for an house for the minister, the *chapel* belonging to it for Divine service, and the farm around it for a glebe." At the time of the rebuilding of the fort, Capt. Minot mentions the bringing of a gondola load of bricks from Arrowsic, and charges the Province with "ten hogsheads of lime received of Capt. Savage, at Pemaquid."

the French two years before, the Indians continued their raids until 1751, when commissioners of the colonies met the Indians at St. Georges Fort, in August, and the treaty was confirmed. The Plymouth Company soon began to think of pushing the settlement of their lands while there was a peace with the savages. In September, only one month after the St. Georges treaty, the Company held a meeting and decided to lay out two townships for settlement. About this time, according to their records, the ship "Prissillah" and other ships had arrived in Boston from Germany, with emigrants, some of whom had not paid their "freight." A colony of Germans was already commenced at Broadbay, which probably suggested to the Plymouth proprietors the project of a similar settlement on the Kennebec.*

In December of the same year (1751), the Company voted that the first of the two townships should be laid out on the

* General Samuel Waldo's son Samuel was sent by his father to Germany, to obtain settlers for the Waldo patent, and issued a circular at Frankfort on the Main, dated March, 1753, in which he names the German settlement at "Broadbay" (now Waldoborough), and also "*Germantown*."

In Dr. Gardiner's bill of charges for money paid and other items, "the Germans" are frequently mentioned.

In September, 1752, he charged for "horse hire for Goodwin (the Company's agent) to go to Germantown." "November 10, paid Wilson (a coasting Captain) freight of 48 French and Germans." "Paid boat hire and two men three days to bring them from Germantown." "Paid Peter Wills (a German interpreter) for his attendance on them." From these charges I infer that a part of the French and Germans (who were driven here by the revocation of the edict of Nantes) went first to Germantown, and that Peter Wills, who was in the employ of the Plymouth Company, prevailed upon them to go to Frankfort on the condition that their passage from Boston should be paid by the committee. Germantown was a rival settlement. There is a charge for "flax for the French shoemaker," and for "an iron pot for the stocking weaver at Germantown."

The descendants of many of these Germans and French are still living at Dresden.

eastern side opposite Fort Richmond. "Voted that this propertee will build a defensible house 400 feet square, for the greater security of the settlers." "And whereas a number of German protestants are lately arrived from Germany, that such of them as will settle in the township aforesaid, have granted them one hundred acres of land." A vote was also passed to supply them with provisions through the winter and spring, on one year's credit, and that the township should be called Frankfort. On the thirteenth of December, 1751, it was "voted" that as soon as twenty men appear to go to settle in the township of Frankfort, on the terms to be agreed upon, that the committee (Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, Maj. Nathaniel Thwing and Mr. William Bowdoin) get a vessel to carry said men down, and begin to make the defensible house. This defensible house was completed the next summer, and was afterwards named "Fort Shirley" in honor of the Governor. It was called "the defensible house" in the records until 1757, when the name Fort Shirley occurs.*

* BOSTON, April 27, 1757.

To the HON. JOHN WHEELWRIGHT, *Commissary General*:

Sir:—We are informed you have appointed several of the company destined for the protection of the eastern country to march from Frankfort eastward and westward, and as Fort Shirley, at said Frankfort, is a place of security for the stores and provisions, and of security for the soldiers, we take this opportunity to acquaint you that said Fort Shirley is at the government's service for the uses aforesaid, reserving only two small apartments for Capt. Samuel Goodwin, who has the care of the affairs of this propertee.

We are your humble servants,

CHARLES APTHORP,
 JAMES PITTS,
 SYLVESTER GARDINER,
 BENJ. HALLOWELL,
 THOMAS HANCOCK,
 WM. BOWDOIN.

In 1757, 260 men were ordered by the General Court to be raised to scout from Salmon Falls to St. Georges.

The Kennebec had for many years been a highway for the Indians, between Canada and the seacoast. It interlocks with the Chaudiere, which falls into the St. Lawrence, with a carrying place of about four miles between the two first-named rivers. The Indians acknowledged allegiance to the civil and religious authorities at Quebec, and there all their councils of war were held and their plans perfected. To reach Quebec, the Penobscots came by a chain of ponds and streams from the Penobscot to the head of the Sebasticook, and down that river to the Kennebec, and thence over the same route with the Canibas tribe to Canada. In troublous times, the scattered settlements naturally looked for the hostile bands of savages to come from that quarter. The Indians usually began hostilities long before war was formally declared between England and France, and continued their raids as long after peace was concluded. Between 1675 and 1760, there were six Indian wars, during which there were thirty-five years of war.

Fort Richmond was the principal fort on the Kennebec, and all the territory comprised in the original Kennebec purchase lay above that fort, and could not be settled unless a strong fortress could be built, as an outpost, further up the river.* Unless that could be obtained, the Indian war, then imminent, would destroy all hopes of settling the Company's lands, which the proprietors had for some time entertained.

In February, 1754, Governor Shirley, of the Massachusetts Province received information from Capt. Lithgow, at Fort Richmond, that the French from Canada were building a fort

*In October, 1750, the Plymouth Company voted "to petition the General Court to remove Richmond Fort further up the river."

In December, 1751, a petition signed by the proprietors and inhabitants of the Plymouth Company's patent, for the better defence of the inhabitants, was presented to the General Court.

at the portage between the Kennebec and Chaudiere. The Governor immediately ordered Capt. North, of the Pemaquid fort, to proceed with an armed force to the portage, and in His Britannic Majesty's name order off, as trespassers, any armed party who might be there. Capt. North's instructions were dated February 8th, in which he was urged to proceed with expedition, so that he could return in season to lay the result before the General Court in March. About the same time a large party of Indians appeared at Fort Richmond, using threatening language, which were suspected to be spies from Canada. This served to increase the alarm, and the House of Representatives declared their readiness to use force to break up any settlement the French might attempt at the great carrying place, and requested the Governor to proceed to the Kennebec with 500 men for that purpose, and also to erect a fort of about 120 feet square, as far above Fort Richmond as he judged expedient, and to dismantle Fort Richmond.

As a fort at Taconnet could not be safely erected and maintained, unless there was another at the head of the tide to store the supplies, the Assembly, with the Governor, concluded to make the Plymouth Company the following proposition, which, by the company's records, appears to have been considered and agreed upon two weeks previous :

“ BOSTON, April 16, 1754.

“ GENTLEMEN :—The Great and General Assembly of this Province, having in their present session, by their message to me, desired that I would order a ‘fort to be erected, of about one hundred and twenty feet square, as far up the Kennebec, above Richmond Fort, as I shall think fit;’ and whereas the placing such a new fort upon this occasion, near Taconett Falls, would contribute more to the defense of the said river and protection of the settlements which already are, or shall hereafter be made upon it,

than erecting a fort at or near Cushenac, but would be attended with this inconvenience, that the depth of water in said river will not admit provisions and stores to be transported in a sloop, higher than Cushenac; so that it is necessary, in case a fort shall be erected at Taconett Falls, that a strong defensible magazine should be built at Cushenac for the reception of the government stores and provisions, in their carriage to the said fort. I think it proper to acquaint you, that in case you shall, forthwith, at the expense of your proprietee, cause to be built, at or near Cushenac, upon said river as I shall order, a house of hewn timber, not less than ten inches thick, one hundred feet long, and thirty-two feet wide and sixteen feet high, for the reception of the Province stores, with conveniences for lodging the soldiers who may be placed there by the Government; and will piquet in the same, at thirty feet distant from every part of the house, and build a blockhouse, of twenty-four feet square, at two of the opposite angles, agreeable to a plan exhibited by you to me for that purpose, and furnish the same with four cannon carrying ball of four pounds, I will cause the workmen who shall be employed in building the said house to be protected in their work until the same shall be finished, and will give orders, as soon as may be, for erecting a new fort at the charge of the government, of the dimensions proposed by the general assembly in their aforesaid message to me, above Taconett Falls, upon the above said river, for the protection of the settlements made, or which may hereafter be made, upon the same, and in the adjacent country, and use my best endeavors to cause the same to be finished with the utmost expedition.

I am, gentlemen,

Your friend and servant,

W. SHIRLEY.

“To the proprietors of the Kennebeck purchase from the late colony of New Plymouth.”

This letter shows that the project of building a fort at

Taconnet originated in the Plymouth Company. The Governor's language is conclusive evidence of it. He says, "agreeable to a plan exhibited by you to me for that purpose."

The records of the Plymouth Company show that the following vote was passed at a meeting of the Company, held on the third of April, twelve days before "the general assembly" authoring the Governor to make the proposal to the land company:

"Voted, That in case the General Court of the Province of Massachusetts Bay shall, at their present session, come to a determination to build a fort at Taconnet, upon Kennebeck River; that then this proprietee will (if desired by the government), at the time of their building of the fort above mentioned, build or cause to be built, at or near Cushenock, as the Governor shall order, a house of hewn timber not less than ten inches thick, one hundred feet long, thirty-two feet wide and sixteen feet high, for the reception of the said Province's stores, with conveniences for lodging the soldiers who may be placed there by the government; and will picquet in the same at thirty feet distance from every part of said house, and build a blockhouse of twenty-four feet square at two of the opposite angles, agreeable to a plan ready to be exhibited when it shall be called for, the government protecting the people while building said house."

A building committee of five were chosen at the same time, of which Robert Temple, Esq., was Chairman.

It will be noticed that the language used by the Governor in the description of the house to be built by the Plymouth Company is the same as that of their vote of the third of April.

The Plymouth Company at this time consisted of some thirty members, who owned a large or small number of shares. Several of them were the most wealthy and influential men of the Province; some were officially connected with the government.

Among its members were judges, merchants and baronets.* In fact, this corporation might, with almost as much truth, exclaim as did Louis XIV, "I am the State."

Sullivan, in his history of Maine (1795), says of the Plymouth Company, "They had great influence with the Government; to them Governor Shirley was very attentive."

The Company did not take much time to consider the Governor's letter, proposing the erection of the forts, but at a meeting of the proprietors the next day, they promptly accepted the proposal, after re-considering the vote of April 3d, and voted to erect the fort at Cushenoc, and chose a superintending committee, consisting of Thomas Hancock, Doctor Sylvester Gardiner, James Bowdoin and William Bowdoin, all of Boston.

On the twenty-fifth of April, the Governor, at the request of

*On the 24th of January, 1753,

"Voted unanimously, That this proprietee have a common seal, and that a seal cut by Mr. Thomas Johnson, representing an anchor with a codfish across the same, with the following motto, *Nee Trustra Dedit Rex*, be the seal, and kept by the clerk of this proprietee for the time being."

The Plymouth Company were continually in litigation, as the Court Records of Cumberland and Lincoln and their own records show. John Adams, afterwards President, and other leading lawyers of Massachusetts, were frequently in attendance at these courts, to prosecute or defend the Company's suits. Several cases were appealed to the "King in Council."

The case of Jeffries against Col. Donnel, of York, was so appealed, in which the Company was the actual plaintiff. Florentius Vassall was one of the Company, and its Agent in London. Thomas Goosetrey, of London, was their Attorney, and "Mr. Forester" his counsellor. The whole of the papers were printed. The printing of the appendix alone, cost fifteen pounds sterling. One bill of the Attorney against the Company contained 182 items, and amounted to 351 pounds sterling. The reading of this bill of items gives one a good knowledge of the forms, petty fees and delays of an English Court of the time. The appeal was presented in 1767, but the decision was not reached until 1770, which was in favor of the land company.

the Company, ordered Capt. North, of Fort Frankfort, to send a well armed force to Taconnet Falls, to observe what timber may be there suitable for building a fort. A few days previous, Capt. Joseph Bane, of York, had been ordered by the Governor to ascend the river and ascertain if the French were fortifying at the carrying place between the Kennebec and Chaudiere, and to observe the river, with the view of transporting stores between Cushenoc and Taconnet.

In compliance with the vote of the assembly, the Governor decided to visit the Kennebec, but having a rupture with the Indians, he invited the Norridgewocks and Penobscots to meet him and the Commissioners of New Hampshire, at Falmouth, in June, for a conference and a renewal of treaties. The real object was to obtain their consent to the erection of the proposed forts. The Governor at first decided that 500 men should compose the force for the expedition, but from some reports from Nova Scotia, he increased the number to 800. In the archives of Nova Scotia is a letter from Governor Shirley to Sir Thomas Robinson, Secretary of State of England, which explains the cause of this increase of the force. It is dated Boston, twenty-third of May, 1754, and is as follows:

“I propose to set out for the eastern parts of this Province in about seventeen days, with a party of 500 men, which is to proceed up the river Kennebeck, in quest of the French fort or settlement said to be erected there in the summer before last, of which I had the honor to acquaint the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Holderness, in a former letter, and to cause a fort to be built about sixty miles up the river, and to have an interview with the Norridgewock, Penobscot and Arregunticook Indians, at Falmouth, in Casco Bay. But if the advices are well founded which I have received this morning from Halifax and Annapolis Royal, that some of the rebel inhabitants of Schiegnecto, together with the Indians of the Peninsula and St. John’s River, through the influence of the French garrison

at Beausejour, are engaged in an enterprise to break up all the eastern settlements of this Province as far as the river Kennebeck, where it is suspected they are gone, the force which is raised to proceed with me will not be sufficient to execute the design I go upon."

The Secretary replied under date, White Hall, July 5th. He said: "I have the King's orders to repeat his Royal approbation and encouragement already signified to you in my letter of the twenty-first of June, not doubting but that you will continue the same zeal and vigor, which you and the government under your care have begun in defense of the just rights and possessions of His Majesty's crown." This letter enclosed the copy of an order to Lieut.-Governor Lawrence, of Nova Scotia, to cooperate with Governor Shirley, in removing the supposed French encroachments, and not until the eleventh of November did Governor Shirley inform the Secretary that the rumor was unfounded, relating to the intentions of French and Indians of Nova Scotia. He then takes only one line of a long letter to the Secretary, concerning the French fort at the head of the Bay of Fundy, to say "that the absence of the French and Indians of Nova Scotia proved to be a mistake."

The falsity of both of these alarming reports—that of the French settlement and fort at the great carrying place between the Kennebec and the Chaudiere, and also that of an intended invasion from Nova Scotia, would seem to imply that the whole was a ruse of the land Company to induce the government to build a strong fortress near their most remote boundary. If this was a fact, Governor Shirley must have known of the deception, and favored it, or was deceived himself months before any action was taken. The probability of the latter his reputation for sagacity contradicts.*

*The Plymouth Company's records show that on the eleventh of December, 1754, before Fort Halifax was completed, a proprietor in the Company,

That the House of Assembly should be easily deceived in the matter is not improbable, as it had been long surmised, and finally was proved to be a fact, that the French, whose colonial seat of power was at Quebec, were preparing to make a desperate effort to regain Nova Scotia, and to seize the eastern outposts of Maine and prevent the English from invading Canada. To accomplish this they had, almost unknown to the English colonies, erected a chain of forts at strong points, from the head of

who owned 3,200 acres of land immediately below the fort, of which he received a grant from the Company the same day, and from which the usual settling conditions were removed two months after, "*for great services done this proprietee,*" as alleged in the vote, conveyed to Governor Shirley, eight shares of the 192, in the Company's lands and securities.

Were these eight shares conveyed to Governor Shirley as attorney's fee? He was a practicing lawyer in Boston.

The extract below shows that the Governor had a fatherly care for the interest of his children. It is from the Nova Scotia Archives.

Extract from a letter from Governor Shirley to Governor Lawrence of Nova Scotia, relating to the expedition to drive the French out of that Province. It is dated Boston, January 6, 1755:

"Your Honor hath, I perceive, given Colonel Moncton (who was enlisting men, ordering supplies and transports in Boston,) unlimited credit upon Messrs. Apthorp and Hancock, and he looks upon himself confined by that to those gentlemen for every article to be provided for this expedition. * * * My kindness still remains for them, and we are upon exceedingly good terms; but as I have a daughter lately married to a merchant here, who is a young gentleman of extreme good character, and for whose fidelity and honor in his dealings I can be answerable, of some capital, and eldest son to a merchant of the largest fortune of any one in Boston, I think I shall not do anything unreasonable by Mr. Apthorp and Hancock, if I request your Honour to let my son-in-law, Mr. John Erving, be joined with them in furnishing money and stores for this expedition upon the same terms they do."

The register of King's Chapel shows that Robert Temple, son of the elder Robert, who had deceased, was married to Harriet Shirley, daughter of the Governor, one month after the movement in the House of Representatives to build Fort Halifax. Young Robert Temple was by inheritance a large proprietor in the Plymouth Company.

the Bay of Fundy along the frontier nearly to New Orleans, several of which were on admitted English territory. To remove some of these encroachments, the next year Braddock's expedition was set on foot, which so signally failed by his folly of attempting to maintain English army tactics, in an Indian fight in a wilderness, a large part of his forces being colonial troops, used only to bush fighting. Rumors of this French activity were brought to Boston, consequently the House, many of whom were from the remote towns of the Province, were ready to believe any reasonable report, cunningly invented and judiciously circulated. I did not, at the commencement, intend to unsettle colonial history which has been accepted for a century and a quarter, but these possibilities, if not probabilities, forced themselves upon my consideration as I proceeded, that Fort Halifax was projected by the Plymouth Company to further the settlement and add to the value of their lands.

Governor Shirley decided to give the command of the troops and mechanics of the expedition to Capt. John Winslow, who was made a General of the Province. He was the great grandson of Edward Winslow, who came in the *May-flower*, and who commanded the party who made the trading voyage to Kennebec in the shallop, 130 years before. Edward Winslow, who was one of the four who bought the Plymouth patent in 1661, was a brother of General John Winslow. The family yet owned a large interest in the Plymouth Company, and of course Gen. Winslow was earnest in the erection of the fort, from family interest. Who and what he was can best be learned from a letter on file at Halifax. It was written by Governor Shirley to Lieut.-Governor Lawrence, of Nova Scotia. It is dated at Boston, January 6, 1755, and relates to the intended expedition for the reduction of the French Fort Beauséjour, at the head of the Bay of Fundy. Shirley held a Colonel's

commission in the British army, and had received orders to recruit his regiment to the full number for that expedition. He says: "I shall give the Lieut-Colonel's command to Capt. Winslow, late of Phillips's regiment, who had the chief command of the late expedition upon the Kennebec river, under me, and is extremely well qualified for the present service. He hath the best reputation, as a military man, of any officer in this province, and his character in every respect stands high with the government and people, and he is peculiarly well esteemed and beloved by the soldiery, so that I greatly rely upon him for success in raising the men."

General Winslow was popular as an officer, and of course was not long in enlisting the required force of 800 men for the expedition. They embarked at Boston in transports for Fal-mouth, now Portland. The Governor, with a quorum of the Council, the Speaker of the House, with several of its members and several other gentlemen connected with the colonial government, also Col. Mascarene, Commissioner from Nova Scotia, all embarked at Boston, on board the Province frigate Massachusetts, of twenty guns, for the same place. The industrious journalist, Parson Smith, recorded their arrival and every day's movements while there, and his own preparations to receive them. Of course it was quite an event in the little town of not over 150 families. The reverend gentleman's first mention is:

"June 18. We have been painting and fitting up our house for the treaty which is approaching.

"June 21. The Norridgewock Indians came here—forty-two in all, and twenty-five men.

"June 24. Several transports that have the soldiers for Kennebeck got in to-day.

"June 25. Eight hundred soldiers got in and encamped on Bangs' Island.

"June 26. The Governor got in this morning. P. M. Came on shore and lodged at Mr. Foxes.*

"June 27. The government dined at the Court Chamber.

"June 28. Yesterday and to-day we had a vast concourse dined us at our expense.

"June 29. The gentlemen yesterday met the Norridgewock Indians, and to-day proposed to them the building of a fort at Teuconic.

"June 30. Sunday, Parson Brockwell preached in the forenoon and carried on in the church form.†

"July 1. The Norridgewock Indians gave their answer and refused the fort's being built at Teuconic.

"July 2. The treaty was signed between the Governor and the Norridgewock Indians.

"July 3. The Indians had their dance; three of the Indians went to Boston and the rest returned home.

"July 5. The Penobscot Indians came—fifteen men, and the government met them in the meeting house.

"July 6. The treaty was finished; seven gentlemen went up the bay and the others to Boston." ‡

* Jabez Fox, who had been one of the Governor's Council three years. He was the son of Rev. John Fox, of Woburn, whose wife inherited an interest in the Plymouth Company from her father, Edward Tyng, one of the four purchasers of 1661. Jabez Fox had been employed by the Company as a land surveyor. He was sick at the time of the Governor's arrival, and died April 7, 1755, aged fifty. He occupied one of the best houses in the town, on the west side of Exchange Street.

† Rev. Charles Brockwell, assistant minister of King's Chapel, Boston, where Governor Shirley worshiped. He came as Chaplain to the Governor and Council.

‡ These treaties are preserved in the archives at Boston. They were drawn on very large sheets of parchment, elaborately ornamented, and colored, probably to impress the Indians with their sanctity. All the gentlemen connected with the government, and the Commissioners from New Hampshire and Nova Scotia, signed them. The Indian signatures are hieroglyphics, effi-

July 8th, Rev. Mr. Smith mentions, "The ship sailed with Mr. Danforth, Oliver, Bourn, and Hubbard from us, and the whole body of representatives." The ship referred to was the Frigate Massachusetts. Mr. Hubbard was Speaker of the

gies of some bird, beast or fish, with their Indian name annexed, written probably by the Secretary of the Province, who was a clerk of the Council. Sacred as these treaties were considered, they were soon broken.

The seven gentleman who went up the bay, as mentioned by Mr. Smith, were probably Gen. Winslow and the committee of the Plymouth Company, to build Fort Western. They undoubtedly went up New Meadows River, and walked across to the Androscoggin, where a boat was waiting to take them to Cushenoc, by the way of Merrymeeting Bay. It was by this route that the express was established the next year.

Articles of agreement indented and made the sixth day of July, A. D. 1754, between Capt. Isaac Ilsley, of Falmouth, in Casco Bay, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, carpenter, on the one part, and his Excellency, Wm. Shirley, Esq., Governor of said Province, of the other part, as follows, vizt: The said Capt. Isaac Ilsley covenants, promises, and agrees to and with the said Wm. Shirley, that he will, on the ninth day of July instant, proceed with twelve other persons, all carpenters, whom he hath engaged for that purpose, to Kennebec River in a schooner, or other vessel, to be hired by the said government, and there continue with the aforesaid twelve other persons, for the space of two months, to be employed in helping to build a fort, to be erected at or near Taconnet Falls, or such other place upon, or near said river, as shall be judged most convenient by Maj. General Winslow. The said Ilsley and his four apprentices, being five of the twelve, at the rate of 9 pounds old "tenour" per day. Six others, 30 shillings old tenor each, and John Tomes at the rate of 45 shillings, together with the Province's ordinary allowance of provisions and drink. To commence on the ninth of July, to continue until they return to Falmouth.*

(Signed,) WM. SHIRLEY,
PAUL MASCARENE,
JOSEPH CALEF.

Ilsley's bill, which is on file, is dated the twenty-eighth of September, being 82 days each for himself and twelve men, amounting to 1660 pounds, 10 shillings.

* Mr. Ilsley was often employed as Captain of scouting parties. He was the ancestor of all of the name in Portland and vicinity. He was at the taking of Louisburg, in 1745. He died in 1781, aged 78.

House. The following letter by Governor Shirley to the Secretary of State, explains why the ship returned to Boston. It is dated at

“FALMOUTH, CASCO BAY, July 8, 1754.

“SIR:—The Speaker, to whom I am much obliged for his assistance in the public business here, and the pleasure of his company, both of which I shall miss upon his leaving me, doth me the favor to be the bearer of this.

“As he is able to give you a perfect account of the issue of the conference with the Indians who met me here, and the result of the interview, I refer you to him for it. It hath been, I think, favorable beyond even our expectations, and may, I hope, have good consequencys for the tranquillity of the Province, and the general service. It certainly will if Indian faith may be in the least depended upon. Mr. Danforth, Mr. Oliver, and Col. Bourn, are to embark this day with the Speaker, and some other gentlemen of the House, for Boston. Mr. Fox is extremely ill, so that there will be wanting four gentlemen of the Council to make up a quorum upon any emergency of public business. I must therefore desire you to let Mr. Wheelwright, Mr. Chever, Cols. Minot, Weston and Lincoln know that their attendance upon it here will be requisite, and that I hope they will not fail of letting us see them here as soon as may be. They will have an opportunity of coming in the ship which I have ordered to wait upon the gentlemen of the Council and Mr. Speaker, and the gentlemen of the House who go up to Boston, and to attend upon Mr. Wheelwright and the other three gentlemen, to bring them hither.

“I hope you will transmit to me what public letters or accounts of public affairs you shall judge proper to be communicated to me here, from time to time, how matters go on, and to revive your letters upon any subject.

“I am with truth, sir, your faithful friend and humble servant,

W. SHIRLEY.

“To Hon. Secretary WILLARD.”

July 14th, being Sunday, Parson Smith mentions :

“Mr. Brockwell preached; he gave great offence as to his doctrine. Our fishermen have all fled home, alarmed with the news of a French war proclaimed at Halifax.”

Parson Smith continues :

“July 19th. The ships returned. Mr. Wheelwright, Lincoln and Minot of the Council, Hancock and others.”

This was Thomas Hancock, chairman of the committee of the Plymouth Company for the construction of the fort at Cushenoc.

The journal continues :

“July 23d. The Governor dined at Col. Cushing’s—the rain prevented me.”

“28th. Capt. Osborn sailed for Boston, having paid me near one hundred pounds for my house.”

“August 30th. The Governor and the gentlemen with him sailed in Saunders * for Kennebec.”

Parson Smith records: “Sept. 3d. The Governor returned from Kennebec.” It will be well to note that Mr. Smith mentioned on the thirtieth of August that the Governor, and gentlemen with him, sailed for Kennebec. The date of his return shows that he had been absent only four days.

The Governor wrote the same day from Falmouth, to Secre-

*This Capt. Saunders deserves a special notice, as he had much to do in supplying Fort Halifax in after years. His name appears on all occasions where there is any freighting to be done for the Province. He commanded the armed sloop Massachusetts, which was constantly in commission. Thos. Saunders was an inhabitant of Gloucester, Cape Ann. His name appears in the Province service in 1725. At the siege of Louisburg, in 1745, he commanded the Province sloop of war, and received a special letter of thanks from Commodore Warren. In 1761, he was sent by Governor Barnard to convey Prof. Winthrop, of Harvard College, to New Foundland, to observe the transit of Venus. We shall meet him often in this sketch. He died in 1774, aged 70.

tary Willard, "I finished my business at the two places, Cushe-
noc and Taconett, and arrived at this place last night, having,
for the sake of expedition, proceeded from Taconett to Fal-
mouth in the Castle pinnace* and left the sloop to follow me
with several of the gentlemen."

In the Governor's letter to Secretary Willard he referred him
to the Governor's son,† who had accompanied the expedition to
the head waters of the Kennebec, and was the bearer of his
father's letter. On his arrival in Boston, young Shirley com-

*The only "castle" within the Governor's jurisdiction was Castle Wil-
liam, Boston Harbor, now Fort Independence, and the "Castle pinnace," in
which the Governor came from Kennebec, was probably the small vessel
used by the officers of the garrison to go up to town. She would now be
called a yacht. How the pinnace came to be at Kennebec, is, I think, ex-
plained by the following circumstance: The Council records mention the
sending of a dispatch by express to Governor Shirley, while he was in the
eastern country. Accompanying it was an order to Enoch Freeman, Cap-
tain of the fort at Falmouth, saying that, if the Governor was gone to Ken-
nebec, to forward the dispatch to him there. The Castle pinnace was prob-
ably a fast vessel, and as nearly all communication with Maine was then by
water, she was sent as a dispatch vessel. On her arrival at Falmouth, Capt.
Freeman undoubtedly thought the most expeditious way to convey the dis-
patch, was to send the same vessel to Kennebec with it. We have seen that
the letter from Sir Thomas Robinson, Secretary of State, to the Governor,
was dated at London, July 5th, and it will also be recollected that the Gov-
ernor, in his letter of July 8th, directed Secretary Willard to forward to him
all dispatches of a public nature while he was absent. Probably Sir Thomas
Robinson's dispatch to the Governor was brought by the Castle pinnace to
Kennebec.

† From Council records, page 281 :

"FALMOUTH, August 29, 1754.

"The forces being returned from their march to the head of Kennebec River,
the result of which you will hear from my son, I shall be at Boston in less
than a fortnight.

"JOSEPH WILLARD, Esq.

WM. SHIRLEY."

If there is any necessity for issuing papers I will send power of attorney.

municated the result of the march to the newspaper, by which it is preserved for us.

From the *Boston Gazette* of Tuesday, September 8, 1754 :

“On Saturday last, John Shirley, Esq., son of His Excellency, our Governor, arrived here from Falmouth in Casco Bay, by whom we have the following account, viz: That the forces under General Winslow set out from Teconnett with something more than 500 men and 15 battoes, on the eighth of August past, but after proceeding two days up the river, the General was taken so ill that he was obliged to return, leaving the command, with the instructions to him, with Col. Preble, who on the 10th, at nine in the morning, proceeded with thirteen battoes, one-half the men on one side, and the other half on the other side of the river, and on Tuesday, the thirteenth, arrived at Norridgewalk, which is thirty-one miles above Teconnet, beautifully situated, near 400 acres of clear land, on which the grass is generally five or six feet high. Here they found six Indian men, three squaws and several children, who appeared at first surprised to see such a number of men and battoes so far advanced into their country, but after they were told by Col. Preble that they had nothing to fear from him, that none of his men should hurt the least thing they had, nor go into their houses, and that Governor Shirley had ordered they should be treated with civility and kindness, they appeared well satisfied and were kind and friendly; and Passequeant, one of their chiefs, presented him with two fine salmon, and some squashes of their own produce, and were all very free in drinking King George’s and Governor Shirley’s health, and told him he was welcome there. They camped that night half a mile above the town, and the next day, leaving the battoes there with a detachment sufficient to guard them, they proceeded on their march to the great carrying place between Kennebec and the river Chaudiere, where the French were said to be building a fort, and arrived there on the eighteenth, which is thirty-eight miles and three-quarters above Norridgewalk,

a few miles below which they met three birch canoes with eight Indians in them, who had lately come over the carrying place, and as they supposed from Canada. The Indians were much surprised on discovering the party, and endeavoured to return up the river with their canoes, but the rapidity of the stream prevented their speedy flight, on which they run the canoes on shore, on the opposite side of the river, caught one of them up and ran off into the woods, leaving the other two on the spot, and made their escape to the carrying place, and so returned to Canada, to carry intelligence, as Col. Preble supposed, for he tracked them in his march across the said carrying place; the course of which from the head of the Kennebec River is due west, and the distance three miles, three-quarters and twenty-two rods, to a pond about two miles long and one and a half miles wide; beyond that there is another carrying place of about one mile, which leads to another pond, that runs into the Chaudiere.

“They returned from the first mentioned pond the same day, and came to Norridgewalk the twenty-first of August, early in the day, where they found Capt. Wright and the detachment under his command all well, and thirty-five Indians, old and young, who, upon the knowledge of Colonel Preble’s return, dressed themselves up in their way very fine, *by putting on clean shirts and painting and decorating themselves with wampum*. They saluted him with a number of guns and three cheers, and then a number of them waited on him at the camp, welcomed him back, and seemed to express a good deal of satisfaction at his return.

“After drinking King George’s and Governor Shirley’s health, they invited him to their houses, and ten or twelve of their chiefs desired a short conference with him; and after having cleared the house of young men, who diverted themselves, meanwhile, playing ball, &c., told him that he had passed and re-passed through their country, they were glad to see him come back, and he was heartily welcome; and they had told him, before he went, there was no French settlement at the carrying place, and since he had been

there and found it so, hoped he would now look upon them as true men ; and that we were now all one brothers ; and if their young men should get in liquor and affront any of the English, hoped we should take no notice of it, that they were determined to live in friendship with us ; and if the Canada Indians had any design to do any mischief on our frontiers, they would certainly let us know it ; and if any disputes arose betwixt the French and us, they were determined for the future to sit still and smoke their pipes.

“The Colonel told them the resolution they had taken would be very pleasing to Governor Shirley, and as long as they kept their faith with us they might depend on being treated as friends and brethren, and be supplied with all the necessaries at Teconnet, which would be much more convenient than at Richmond ; all of which they told they liked very well ; and were sorry they had no liquor to treat them with, but desired he would see their young men dance and they ours, which they said was a token of friendship, and was accordingly performed.

“Next morning, on the Colonel’s taking his leave of them, they wished him safe to Teconnet, and saluted him with thirty or forty small arms, as fast as they could load and discharge.

“The army arrived at Teconnet on Friday, the twenty-third of August, at five o’clock in the afternoon, having been sixteen days on the march [History of Augusta says ten]. As to the course of the river into the country, it must be referred until a plan of the same, which has been taken by a skillful surveyor, shall appear. The soil, for the most part, is extremely good and appears to be fertile. There are many beautiful islands in the river, some of which contain near a thousand acres of intervale ; but the land is not plentifully supplied with timber.

“The navigation to Norridgewalk is considerably difficult by reason of the rapidity of the stream and rippling falls, but ’tis likely will be much easier when the water is higher. There is but one fall above Teconnet Falls that is necessary to carry the battoes

around before we come to Norridgewalk, betwixt which and the carrying place the navigation is vastly better than below, there being only two falls to carry round, one of which, notwithstanding it is a mile in length, there is a plain beaten path; the other is not above thirty or forty rods."

Later historians all concur in the erroneous assertion that Governor Shirley accompanied the exploring expedition to the head waters of the Kennebec. It was brought about a little at a time, in this way.

Minot, 1803, II, p. 186, says :

"The Governor then (that is, after the treaty) proceeded to the building of the fort at Taconett Falls, and explored the river up to the great carrying-place between the Kennebec and Chaudiere."

Holmes, II, p. 202, three years later, says :

"The Governor proceeded to explore the Kennebec about forty miles above Norridgewog."

Williamson's history, 1832, II, p. 300, says :

"He [Gov. Shirley] proceeded to Taconnet and ascended the river as far as Norridgwock."

Parson Smith, in his journal, notes : "Aug. 30th. The Governor sailed for Kennebec." In his revised edition of the journal, 1849, p. 229, Mr. Willis distrusts Mr. Smith's accuracy, and, to make the journal harmonize with later historians, says : "This date should be July 30."

In the History of Portland, 1865, p. 249, Mr. Willis still doubts the accuracy of Parson Smith, and asserts that "The Governor continued in this neighborhood until *July* 30th, when he sailed for the Kennebec, and proceeded to Teconnet and marked out the site of a fort."

The "Materials for a history of Fort Halifax," in Vol. VII of this series, contains an extract from Governor Shirley's message

to the House, October 18th, which is correctly copied, until it comes to the Governor's account of his visit to the forts on the last days of August, when like Mr. Willis, the editor seems to distrust the Governor's language and substitutes his own. He says, p. 176 :

“The Governor also states that with five hundred men he went up the river seventy-five miles to the great carrying-place, and explored both sides ; that the time occupied was ten days.”

To set this right, it is only necessary to note the Governor's letter to Secretary Willard on his return, the vote of the Council advising his stay at Falmouth, and his message to the House, on the eighteenth of October ; of all of which copies are here given :

“FALMOUTH, CASCO BAY,* Sept. 3, 1754.

“Finding it necessary, too, for the public service upon which I came down here that I should visit the two forts at Cushenoc and Taconnet before I returned to Boston, I sent for Capt. Saunders and embarked on board the Province sloop, on Friday, thirtieth of August, about five in the afternoon ; finished my business at those two places and arrived at this place (where I likewise have some business to settle) about ten o'clock last night.

Yours,

Mr. Sec. WILLARD.

W. SHIRLEY.

Council records, 25th July, 1754 :

COUNCIL AT FALMOUTH, COUNTY OF YORK, 27th July.

Resolved unanimously, That His Excellency stay in Falmouth until Major General Winslow's return from his march up to the head of Kennebeck River, and as long afterwards as His Excel-

*In the Provincial documents, when Falmouth, Maine, was mentioned, “Casco Bay” was annexed to distinguish it from Falmouth, a seaport in Barnstable County.

lency shall judge proper *upon the advice he shall receive from the march to the head of Kennebeck River.*

Governor Shirley's message to the House of Representatives October 18, 1754, relating to the erection of Fort Halifax, and the exploration of the river above :

“In compliance with a vote of the House, I raised eight hundred men and went to Falmouth, where I had an interview with the Penobscot and Norridgewock Indians, and caused the workmen to proceed to Tacconnett with orders for five hundred men to go up the Kennebeck River and explore if there were any French settlements between that river and the great carrying-place on the Chaudiere.

“The place where I concluded to erect a fort was thirty-seven miles above Richmond, on a fork of land formed by the Kennebeck and Sebesticook, the latter emptying into the former about three-fourths of a mile from Tacconnett Falls. It is computed to be not quite fifty miles from Penobscot and thirty-one from Norridgewock by water, and twenty-two by land, as measured by a chain.

“The only known communication which the Penobscots have with the river Kennebeck and the Norridgewock Indians, is through the Sebesticook, which they cross within ten miles of Tacconnett Falls, and their most commodious passage from Penobscot to Quebec is through the Kennebeck to the Chaudiere, so that a fort here cuts off the Penobscots, not only from the Norridgewocks but also from Quebec, and as it stands at a convenient distance to make a sudden and easy descent upon their headquarters, is a strong curb upon them, as also upon the Norridgewocks. As the river is not navigable above Cushenoc, a storehouse must be erected there, which the Plymouth Company proposed to build there as per plan. The vote I accepted, and the Company have built such a storehouse, which will protect the public stores as well as offer inducements to settlers. I caused a road of communication between

Cushenoc and Fort Halifax to be cleared for wheel carriages, and transportation in one day will be rendered practicable.

“A plan of Fort Halifax shall be laid before you. It is capable of containing four hundred men, and being garrisoned with one hundred, is of sufficient strength to stand any assault which may reasonably be expected to be made on it by Indians or French with small arms.

“As it is overlooked by an eminence from behind within cannon shot, I should have chosen and *sent orders* to have it placed there, but finding, upon examination, that the carriage of stone sufficient for the foundation of a fort of the dimensions proposed would occupy three teams of oxen five months, and that it could not be completed until next summer and would have cost double, and considering the difficulty the French must have to transport cannon and mortars by land to attack it, there is but little danger of their attempting it. I ordered Major General Winslow to proceed in carrying on the fort upon the point of land where it is now built. General Winslow and his officers, in a council of war, unanimously fixed it as the best plot of ground near Taconnet, and have no doubt it will answer every purpose. In the meantime, to avoid a surprise of this kind, I have caused a strong redoubt of twenty feet square in the second story, and picqueted round, to be erected on that part of the eminence which overlooks the country round, and mounted with two small cannon, two pounders, and one swivel, and garrisoned with a sergeant’s guard of twelve men. It is large enough to contain five large cannon and fifty men.

“And after all this, and the opportunity I had of conferring with the General at Falmouth soon after his return from the march, I found it necessary for me to secure, in the most effectual manner, the execution of some principal parts of the service; to make a visit to Fort Western and Fort Halifax, which I did: and I think everything which could be proposed to be done within the time for which the troops were raised, is executed in the best manner it can be expected.

“The General’s journal, gentlemen, of the proceedings from the day of the troops sailing from Casco Bay, being the Fourth of July, to the time of their landing at Cushenoc, and his account of their proceedings afterwards to the end of them, and the state in which he left Fort Halifax, contained in his letter to me, dated on the twenty-first of September (copies of which the Secretary shall lay before you), will, I am persuaded, satisfy you how well the troops employed their time; and I should not do justice to the officers in general if I did not express to you my approbation of their behavior in the whole course of the service. But the extraordinary vigilance, activity and good conduct of the Chief Commander in every part of his command, and of the several officers in performing the several parts of their duty under him, particularly in the transportation of the cannon and military stores from Cushenoc to Tacconnett, and the march from thence to the middle of the carrying-place and back to Fort Halifax merit an especial regard.

“As to the nine days which the troops remained encamped on Bang’s Island, from the time of their arrival at Casco Bay to the day of their embarkation for Kennebeck, I did not think it proper that they should proceed to execute any part of the intended service before I had finished the conference with Norridgewock Indians, though I had determined to have the march made to the head of Kennebeck River and half way over the carrying-place, and to have the forts erected at Tacconnett and Cushenoc, whether they gave their consent or not; yet that might have given them or the French too much colour to have taxed us with stealing an opportunity to march through the country of the Norridgewocks and build forts upon the Kennebeck, whilst we had drawn them to Falmouth and engaged them in a treaty with us there. Such a reproach would have ill suited the honor of this government; wherefore, now we have obtained a formal treaty, not only to our doing this, but to making new settlements upon the river, to all of which they were ever before, and even at the beginning of the late conference,

greatly averse. And besides, I am persuaded that this appearance of the troops at Casco contributed not a little to our gaining this consent from them. * * Though the troops, gentlemen, found no French settlement to be removed, yet by their late march on both sides of the river Kennebeck to the head of it, and to the first pond on the carrying-place, you have probably prevented them from attempts to make one there. * * *”

We see that the Governor remained at Falmouth during the time occupied by Gen. Winslow and his troops in the building of a part of the fort, the march to the portage and the making of eighteen miles of wheel road between the two new forts, being fifty-six days. With him was a quorum of the Council. The frigate Massachusetts was running as a dispatch and passenger vessel between Falmouth and Boston, for the accommodation of the Council and the other gentlemen connected with the government.

Governor Shirley also arranged an express route to Fort Halifax by whale boats, by which dispatches could be transmitted in twenty-four hours and return in twenty hours. This was probably by the way of Casco Bay and New Meadows River to Brunswick, thence through Merrymeeting Bay to the Kennebec. This became necessary, as the announcement was daily expected of war between England and France, which Parson Smith mentions as being already known at Halifax.

Before Governor Shirley left Fort Halifax, he appointed, as commander of the garrison, Capt. William Lithgow, who had for several years been in command of Fort Richmond, and had long been in the employ of the Province.

Some writers have severely criticised the selection of the site for Fort Halifax, but the Governor in his message gives good reasons for it. If it had been the work of the Governor, Lithgow would not have ridiculed it, as will after appear. General

Winslow was an officer of education and experience, and much better qualified than Governor Shirley as a military engineer. It will be recollected that the Governor said he had the best reputation of any officer in the Province. As to the mistake of erecting the fort where it was overlooked by a hill, it was no mistake at all. It *would* be now. Every fort on the Kennebec was overlooked by higher land near. It was a part of the original plan to have a redoubt on the hill, as shown by Winslow's draft. Col. Montresor, yet to be spoken of, was an educated European engineer, and would not probably look favorably upon the work of any Provincial officer. It was contempt for Provincial advice, given by Major Washington, his aid, that cost Gen. Braddock his life, and the nation the loss of 60 officers and 600 men, killed and wounded; but British officers finally came to respect the Provincial Major. After speaking disparagingly of Fort Halifax, Montresor frankly admitted that either of the blockhouses on the hill was "more than sufficient for protection against an enemy who had no other offensive weapons than small arms." Perhaps it would have been possible to transport very small cannon from Quebec, but no others. A besieging force by the way of the Kennebec, could not bring large cannon by water within twenty miles of Fort Halifax, and would be compelled to run the gauntlet of Forts Richmond, Shirley and Western, or capture them all in succession, and then the game would not be worth the cost to the French. Even Capt. Lithgow, after ridiculing the site chosen, was at last compelled to admit that it was best to finish it by the river. To find fault requires much less ability than to originate. Undoubtedly Winslow thought that a garrison of two hundred, which Lithgow said the fort would accommodate, could not be supplied with water in case of being besieged, on the top of a sand hill, 100 feet high, considering that a deep

well was required near the river. The second blockhouse was built to command a view of the river and to overlook the falls, where much fishing was done, and where a fishing party from the fort was attacked by the Indians. If the fort had been intended to, or would be compelled to withstand a siege, Winslow knew that with short notice a covered way could be constructed between the several parts of the fortress; this was a very common appendage to works for defence, at that day, especially where a small garrison was to be maintained.

The wilderness of the Kennebec had never resounded to so much bustle and activity as at the building of Forts Halifax and Western.* One condition required by the Plymouth Company in their agreement with government to erect a "defensible house" at Cushnoc, was that the Provincial forces should protect the Company's workmen while they were engaged in the building. To do this and shelter all, the timber and other materials were prepared under the guns of Fort Shirley at Frankfort, now Dresden. The fort was built by the Company and garrisoned by the Province. When ready for being put in place, the materials were built into rafts and floated up the river with the tide, but of course they needed much towing. Each raft must have an armed guard, for fear of an attack from the Indians, who looked upon the erection of the forts as an aggression, although some of the chiefs had reluctantly consented to it.

It must have required a large force to make the eighteen

*Fort Western was erected on the site of the original Plymouth trading house of 1629, and was a fortified stone house and dependence of Fort Halifax. The first year it was under the care of Capt. Lithgow. He enumerates it, in his letter to Lieut.-Governor Phips, as one of the several posts he is obliged to garrison.

miles of wheel road between the two new forts.* Besides, Gen. Winslow erected five separate timber buildings in the few weeks which he spent at Taconnet; the center blockhouse of his plan, two stories, and the four one-story buildings fronting the corners of the center building, which were used for barracks. These were each twenty feet square, and were moved, and joined in a line for the same purpose the next year, by Captain Lithgow. The center building became Lithgow's north flanker, where it originally stood. There were 800 feet of palisades set to enclose the main works. A blockhouse was also built on the hill and similarly enclosed; and yet Fort Halifax was not half built as it stood when completed. Another wearisome toil was the transportation of the cannon to arm the two blockhouses. These were carried from the head of the tide in two gondolas drawing two feet of water, and, according to Captain Lithgow's deposition, "they were towed up by the army that guarded them." The falls where is now the Augusta dam, and the falls of Nequamkike, had to be surmounted by deeply-laden scows towed by men, who had no other path but the shoal water near the bank. To accomplish all this, and the time occupied in going and returning to Falmouth, was but fifty-six days, sixteen of which 500 men were absent on the exploration of the river, for seventy-five miles.

The Governor remained at Falmouth from the third to the eighth of September, when he sailed for Boston. His embarkation is thus recorded by Parson Smith: "September 8th. The Governor sailed with Col. Mascarene, Mr. Brockwell, Mr. Wheelwright, Richmond, Gerrish, Minot and Price. Thus ends a

*Although this road was cleared and graded at great expense of labor, it was of little service for the transportation of stores. Capt. Lithgow wrote that the drifting snow filled the valley ten or fifteen feet deep, and that there was not sufficient passing over it to keep it open.

summer scene of as much bluster as a Cambridge Commencement, and now comes on a vacation when our house and the town seem quite solitary." We can readily imagine the change. The town had, for ten weeks, been the headquarters of a large number of the dignitaries of the provincial government, with the commissioners from New Hampshire and Nova Scotia; these officials were then invested by the people with much more dignity and splendor than now. The representatives of two dreaded Indian tribes swelled the pageant, who closed the treaty with a dance, in all their paint and feathers. All this bustle and parade in the little town of 1,000 inhabitants, unused to such scenes! A man-of-war was anchored in front of the town, which, with the fort, announced every movement of the Governor, as the custom then was, with guns and flags.*

Those Royal Governors were not like the modest, unostentatious chief magistrates of our time. When they arrived at Boston, from any distant official service, they first landed at the Castle and waited for an enthusiastic reception to be arranged for the next day, when they embarked under a salute of the Castle guns and the men-of-war in the harbor, and landed at Long wharf under another salute, where the "Governor's company of Cadets" received and escorted them to the Province house. Governor Shirley arrived at the Castle on the ninth of September,

* Before leaving Taconnet, the Governor went through some ceremony, with a salute, and named the work "Fort Halifax," and had a complimentary inscription in Latin cut on a stone, of which this is a translation: "For the benefit of the Massachusetts Province, Wm. Shirley, her Governor, under the auspices of the most noble George Montague Dunk, Earl of Halifax, the highly distinguished friend and patron of the British Provinces throughout America, has reared this fortress September 6, 1754."

The Earl of Halifax was appointed "First Lord of Trade and Plantations," in 1748, and a Major General the following year. He died in 1771, when the title became extinct.

and after all this parade took charge of the government the next day.

The commanding General, and all the forces, received from the Governor and House of Representatives, expression of approval, and in addition to 7,000 pounds previously raised, 600 pounds were voted by the House to defray the expense and 300 pounds for presents to the Indians. Before the presents were delivered, the Indians commenced hostilities, by attacking a party of six persons who were engaged in hauling timber for the fort. One man was killed and scalped and four others were carried off. An express arrived at Boston on the sixth of November with this intelligence, by the newly-arranged express route. This outrage was a surprise to the government, coming, as it did, so soon after the treaty was completed. The Indians were displeased at the erection of the new forts, notwithstanding their chief men had reluctantly consented thereto, after being shown Indian deeds of the territory, which they contended were obtained by making their chiefs drunk, as they had never before heard of these deeds.

The House of Representatives became alarmed, and on the eleventh of November voted to request the Governor to send a reinforcement to the garrison of Fort Halifax, and on the twelfth passed an order directing the Commissary General to provide 100 pairs of snow-shoes and as many pairs of moccasins for the garrison. The same day the Governor issued a warrant to Captain Lithgow, who was in command, to impress men to fill up the garrison, if he could not make up the established number by enlistment. The Province sloop, with stores for the Kennebec forts, and also the presents for the Norridgewock Indians, was ready to sail from Boston; but on the arrival of the express she was detained, and an embargo of twenty-six days was laid

on all vessels having supplies on board, for fear of their being seized by the French cruisers.*

In December, there was another alarm from Canada, which is thus alluded to by Governor Shirley, in a letter dated Jan. 6, 1755, to Governor Lawrence, of Nova Scotia, which is now in the archives at Halifax :

“Another circumstance which increases my apprehension, is that I have undoubted intelligence by an English captive from Montreal, that when he left that place the French were transporting parties of soldiers (in all 400) and 100 Indians from thence to Quebec, with a design, as he conjectures, to attack Fort Halifax on the Kennebeck.”

The Governor did not take the same view, but thought they might be intended for Nova Scotia, and so cautioned Governor Lawrence. The House of Representatives thought the captive's apprehension a reasonable one, and on the twenty-third of December they voted “That the Captain General be desired to appoint, as soon as may be, some suitable person to repair to Fort Halifax, with special authority to strengthen the same, as also the blockhouse or redoubt on the hill near the same, in such manner as to make the same proof against small cannon in such parts of the fortress as are exposed to the approach of an enemy, and the said person be authorized to govern and conduct the whole affairs of said garrison during his stay there, and that he be directed to employ the soldiers in scouting and garri-

*Governor Shirley, in a communication to the House of Representatives, says, “I have stopped the Province sloop, with the Commander of Fort Halifax on board, till it is determined what orders ought to be given on the occasion. The sloop being loaded with the winter stores for the several forts in the eastern parts, must go first to St. Georges and Pemaquid, to be discharged of some part of her lading, before she will be able to go to Cusheoc with the stores for Fort Halifax.”

son duty, also to do the labor necessary to strengthen said fortress, at such moderate rates as he may agree with them. He also ordered a draft of forty men to reinforce the garrison, from the independent companies at the eastward, and that 450 more be raised out of said companies of militia nearest said garrison, to be held in readiness to march instantly for their relief on the first advice of an attack, or the approach of an enemy.*

January 3d, the Governor wrote to Capt. Lithgow that he had appointed Jedediah Preble,† of Falmouth, to be commander

*The House of Representatives passed an order that "the Commissary General forthwith provide twenty double beds and forty single blankets for the use of the forty men ordered for the reinforcement of the garrison of Fort Halifax." Also, on the twentieth of December, the House "Voted, that the Captain General be directed to give orders that there be five Cohorn mortars sent to Fort Halifax." These were small brass mortars, so named for Baron Cohorn, who invented them; they were mounted on a wooden block, between long handles, to be carried by men to any desired position. The caliber of these mortars is indicated by bomb-shells found near the site of the fort about twenty years ago, which were two and three-quarter inches in diameter. When Gen. Nicholson, in command of the Provincial troops, besieged Port Royal, now Annapolis, Nova Scotia, in 1710, he had twenty-four Cohorn mortars in position, and only two of the larger mortars.

† "Jedediah Preble, of Falmouth," who, Gen. Shirley wrote to Capt. Lithgow, had been appointed to strengthen the fort, was the Col. Preble who ranked next to Winslow in the expedition to build the fort and explore the river. As he will not again appear in this sketch, perhaps this is a proper place for a notice of his previous and subsequent services.

He descended from the Preble family of old York. He was in Waldo's regiment, under Gen. Pepperell, at the siege of Louisburg in 1746. He was probably a subaltern, as he was commissioned as Captain in the same regiment while there. He was commissioned Lieut.-Colonel for the Kennebec expedition. He removed to Falmouth about 1748. He acted as Major under Monckton at the taking of the French forts in Nova Scotia, and in the removal of the Acadians in 1755, in which service he was slightly wounded at Chignecto.

Col. Preble was again with Gen. Winslow, in the expedition against Ticonderoga. He was next in command under Governor Pownall in the

of the fort, but that Lithgow must not wait for the new commander, but proceed in strengthening the fort; and should Preble not soon arrive, he must proceed to the completion without delay. Preble did not arrive, as he was engaged in recruiting at Falmouth, for the expedition against Fort Beausejour, at the head of the Bay of Fundy, which sailed from Boston on the twenty-second of May, under the command of Col. Monckton. This has been alluded to in Shirley's letter to Governor Lawrence, of Nova Scotia.

The state of Fort Halifax and its garrison is vigorously set forth by Capt. Lithgow, who was left in command, in the following letter to Governor Shirley, dated January 9, 1755 :

"May it please your Excellency :

"The soldiers of Fort Halifax are in a most deplorable condition for want of shoes, bedding and bodily clothing, &c., as I have signified in my letter of y^e twentieth of December, and it is with the greatest concern that I am obliged further to acquaint your

building of Fort Pownal, on the Penobscot, in 1759, and took command of its garrison when the fort was completed, and remained there until 1763, when he resigned the command. He was representative to the General Court and Counsellor of the Province. In 1774, he was elected Commander-in-Chief of the Massachusetts forces, but declined the office on account of age and infirmities, when Gen. Ward was promoted to that office.

In 1778, Gen. Preble was appointed Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for Cumberland, and in 1783, he was appointed Judge of the Inferior Court under the new Constitution. He died in 1784, aged 77 years.

Gen. Preble was the father of ten children, one of whom was Commodore Edward Preble, and grandfather of Admiral George H. Preble, of the U. S. Navy.

Willis's History of Portland says that General Preble commanded a company of Provincial troops under Gen. Wolf, on the Plains of Abraham, and "was near Gen. Wolf when he was killed," September 13, 1759. This is a mistake. General Preble was with Governor Pownal in his Penobscot expedition to build Fort Pownal, which was completed in July, 1759, and was left there in command of its garrison, where he remained until 1763.

Excellency that we have scarce thirty men in this fort that are capable of cutting and hauling wood for the supply of the fort, and it is with great difficulty they can supply themselves with wood from day to day, the snow is so deep. It is three feet at this place, and having no snow shoes, and our being in a manner naked, it is out of our power were we in health, to keep scouts abroad, or even to send a guard with those men who haul wood, neither can they carry their arms with them, being hard put to it to wallow through the snow with their sled-loads of wood; and it is hard service for these men to supply themselves and y^e invalids with firing, which takes up two entire barracks.

“We have now but four weeks allowance of bread in this fort, one barrel of rum and one do. of molasses, and God knows how or when we shall be able to get any supplies from Fort Western on account of y^e snow is so deep.

“I left Fort Halifax on y^e fourth instant to see if y^e river was passable on y^e ice, with one soldier for company, and also to try if I could collect some leather or shoes for a present relief till more shall be sent, which I have got, and I have two shoemakers to work it up. We came all y^e way on y^e ice, which we found very weak between Fort Halifax and Fort Western, on account, as I suppose, of y^e great body of snow which lyes on it, which hinders its freezing. Y^e ice there is covered with snow and water about two feet and a half deep; y^e under ice was so weak that we broke through sundry times, and it was with great difficulty and hazzard of lives that we got to Fort Western, where we were detained by a storm two days.

“Y^e eighth instant we arrived at Richmond fort, where I thought it my duty to write y^r Excellency this letter.

“I think it was a verry bad affair that y^e barracks had not been kept in better order, and that there had not been more supplies laid up in this fort when the river was open. If it was bad carrying up y^e stores then, I aver it is ten times worse now, and I fear will continue so this winter, for I doubt y^e river above Fort West-

ern will be hard to freeze, on account of the strong current that runs there, and as to the cut road being of any service, it would take fifty men and ten yoke of oxen two days to brake, and after it was broken, it would choke up with y^e first wind that blew; some of y^e gullies now are drifted ten or fifteen feet deep with snow, and I think it never will be of much service to us for transporting our provisions, till such time as y^e country is settled, and more teams frequent that road than what may be allowed for Fort Halifax. But these dull complaints avail us but little to extricate us out of our difficulties.

“It remains to think of the best way by which that garrison can be relieved, and I would, with submission, offer your Excellency my humble opinion upon the matter, which is, that your Excellency give the independent companies or other forces which may be raised for the defence of the river, orders to provide or impress oxen or other cattle, with provender, and sleds or carts, and those cattle to be employed in hauling the stores and other supplies that will soon be landed for this river—for the supply of Fort Halifax—up to Fort Western, for further, I believe, cattle will be of no service, on account of y^e river being dangerous for cattle to travel on, as I have already observed, and that a proper number of good men, with snow-shoes, may be employed in carrying up provisions from Fort Western to Fort Halifax, and after y^e road is beaten well, and y^e invalids that may be able to travel after being shod, for them to march down y^e river and tarry with y^e provisions, which will save a great deal of fatigue of carrying of y^e provisions to them, and that there be good men placed at Fort Halifax in their room.

“I should now have dismissed some worthless fellows, who do little other duty than eat their allowance, could they have traveled home, for they never will do any service here or anywhere else. This garrison, I think, has its full share of such creatures, that resemble men in nothing but y^e human shape, but such will do for forts where they have nothing to do but eat and sleep. * *

“We want very much an assortment of herbs for the sick. Our

doctor has left us, and we have no one here that knows y^e use of our medicines.

“A great many of our men have been sick and continue so, but none of them have yet recovered to their former health, nor will do so, I believe, this winter. The men, in general, seem very low in spirits, which I impute to their wading so much in y^e water in y^e summer and fall, which I believe has very much hurt y^e circulation of their blood, and filled it full of gross humors, and what has added to their misfortune is their being straightened for want of room and lodgings. In y^e spring of y^e year, must be sent to Fort Western ten loads of English hay for y^e supply of y^e oxen that must haul the timber for y^e buildings of Fort Halifax, otherwise we cannot go on with the buildings there. I have employed three carpenters this winter to prepare timber for these buildings. I have agreed with two of them at thirty pounds per month till the last of March, and after that thirty shillings per day till the last of May. I would again recommend to your Excellency eight flat-bottomed boats, carrying two tons each, which I mentioned in my last letter, and that they be sent to Fort Western as early as possible next spring to carry up our supplies to Fort Halifax, which I am fully satisfied must be the way we must be supplied at the fort.

“I add no further than that we will do the best we can to subsist till we have more help. With submission, I beg leave to subscribe myself your Excellency’s most dutiful, obedient servant,

“WILLIAM LITHGOW.

“Richmond Fort, January y^e 9th, 1755.”

From this letter we get a good idea of the hardships endured by the builders of Fort Halifax.* Captain Lithgow’s letter to

*A petition, signed by General Winslow, is on file in the Massachusetts archives, which confirms what Captain Lithgow wrote concerning the exposure of the troops. It is dated December 4, 1754, and directed to Governor Shirley, Captain General. He asked to have “blankets, knapsacks and bandoliers (a belt to go over the shoulder to hold ammunition) issued to the men of his expedition to the eastward, and said “theirs were worn out by

the Governor was nine days in reaching Boston. Under date of January 18, the Governor replied that ten days ago a vessel was sent with stores, and that he had now sent another, with provisions and clothing for the garrison, and had ordered Major Denny and Gen. Watts, at Arrowsic, to impress horses and oxen for the transportation, together with a guard of men, to get the stores up to Fort Western. The Governor expressed sorrow at the state of the garrison and confidence in the commander's ability and prudence.

This brought a more hopeful letter from Captain Lithgow, in which he expressed great dissatisfaction with the plan of the fort and proposed a plan of his own.

“RICHMOND, February 21, 1755.

“*Sir, may it please your Excellency:*

“I have received your Excellency's letters of January 18, 1755,

the continual marches, and passing sometimes by water and sometimes by land—lying on the ground, and transporting provisions, as well in their blankets as knapsacks, and divers men entirely lost their blankets, as well as arms, by oversetting their boats, &c. ;” and that the whole of these articles are worn out and rendered unserviceable, and requests that they may not be required to return them to the Commissary General. Which request was granted.

On the thirtieth of October of the same year, Second Lieutenant Thomas Lawrence, of Groton, petitioned the General Court for remuneration “for a hurt I received in the expedition up the ‘Cenebec’ River, and after my return from the long march up the river was called upon to assist in raising a block-house at Fort Halifax, which I did, and in laying down one of the plank, which was too heavy for one, it gave me a sudden Rinch, which I often feel the effects of, and shall, as long as I live, and soon after was taken with a slow fever, and it is now five weeks next Saturday since I landed in Boston, and was carried to Mrs. Sparrow's, where I have been ever since, but now, through the goodness of God, am got so well as to endeavour to ride in a chair, if I had one.” The General Court gave him eleven pounds, ten shillings extra compensation. This is a sample of many like petitions received and continuing to be presented for two years after, most of which were granted, showing that these men had the sympathy of the people.

and have observed y^e contents of them, which gives me grate satisfaction to find your Excellency has been pleased in so generous a manner to comply with my proposals respecting the boats and the transportation of the supplies from "Arousick" to Fort Western, which supplies, I understand, is soon to be landed there. Also, I would inform your Excellency, nothing gives me more pleasure than that your Excellency is pleased to approve of any of my conduct (being sensible of my own incapacity for y^e trust your Excellency is pleased to repose in me), which I can but own is not extraordinary. But this, your Excellency may assure yourself, so far as I am capable, will do y^e best to answer your Excellency's expectations in every particular.

"Relating to my present station of life, which has given me no small concern and care, I assure your Excellency I have not had one day's rest in body or mind since I left your Excellency last fall, which may seem extraordinary to any else but your Excellency, who does not consider y^e trouble we had with y^e hay in y^e fall, which was landed at Richmond Fort, from whence we were obliged to carry it in gundalows to Fort Western, and sundry times drove ashore in our passage by ice, and had like to have lost both hay and gundalows, which gave us considerable toyle, and all on account of y^e hay's not being sent '*timoniously*,' as other various circumstances of y^e situation of Fort Halifax. But I am greatly encouraged for your Excellency's wisdom and goodness that our present trouble will, in a short time (in some measure), be abated here. I can inform your Excellency that I have received the supplies sent last by Capt. Saunders, which were landed at Arousick, twenty miles below Richmond Fort, on account of y^e ice, from whence we gundalowed them to the chops of Merrymeeting Bay, and, after having lodged the above supplies there, the men being much fatigued in this piece of service, occasioned me to apply to Capt. Hunter, of Topsham, and Capt. Dunning, of Brunswick, two independent Captains, for their assistance to help me in the transportation of y^e above supplies, as also to assist in conveying

the provision from Fort Western to Fort Halifax, which garrison was almost destitute of provisions and clothing.

“My application to y^e above Captains was before we had y^e account of your Excellency’s resolve of re-inforcement of the garrison of Fort Halifax with forty men. * * * They came, and brought with them nineteen men out of the several companies, which continued twenty-one days in the Province service, and at the expiration of those days they were discharged, in which time, by their assistance and two horses which I impressed, we carried to Fort Halifax all these supplies which were left at the chops of Merrymeeting Bay; and after I had distributed y^e above shoes and stockings, blankets, beds, &c., which were exceedingly wanted there, I then could muster forty efficient men at the above fort, which I employed by turns with those of Capt. Hunter and Dunning’s men, and have lodged entirely all y^e supplies in Fort Halifax that belonged there, so that we now have about two months and a half of provisions for that fort.*

“Our next relief, I would inform your Excellency, will entirely depend on the boats I proposed. If these be not sent before the above provisions are expended, the fort may be lost for want of supplies which we can’t purchase no otherways without vast expence to the Province, and great hazzard of men’s lives. On this depends y^e preservation of Fort Halifax; and as y^e enemy will have great advantage on account of y^e difficulty of y^e river, which seems to invite them, as it were, to oppose our going up and down

*In a letter to Governor Shirley, without date, Captain Lithgow wrote that in January, 1755, Captain David Dunning, of Brunswick, and Captain Adam Hunter, of Topsham, “being joined with a few soldiers at Richmond, in ye space of three weeks, *hauled on handsleds* on the ice from Arrowsic to Fort Western, beds, blankets, shoes, &c., and about two hundred barrels of provisions from Fort Western to Fort Halifax.” In consideration of their services, Captain Lithgow recommended them to the attention of the government. The History of Augusta says that it was a popular saying that “Every biscuit sent to Fort Halifax cost the Province a pistareen.”

said river, which I make no doubt is their design ; and as we may expect a powerful party of Indians, joined by the French, to oppose the transporting of our stores, therefore I think those stores must be guarded by a strong party of our side, in order to give the enemy a smart repulse, if they should attempt us in this manner, and I expect no other than they will.

“ Now, in answer to the proposal of your Excellency and the Honorable Court, namely, to fortify against the but of small cannon in such parts as may be exposed most to the approach of the enemy, &c., and herewith great submission to all my superiors in judgment, as well as on other accounts, I offer your Excellency my sentiments on y^e present fort under consideration.

“ In the first place, Fort Halifax is so placed under a hill, which rises near 100 feet higher than the ground where it stands, which will render said fort very costly to fortify agreeably to your Excellency's instructions ; and I must confess I know of no other way to comply with the above instructions, than either to erect a wall which must be cannon proof, and not less than sixteen feet high, and 200 feet long, to encompass half the fort which is exposed to the hill, or to cover those barracks already built, as well as those to be erected for the officers and reception of the stores, by another timber wall at a proper distance and fill between with clay, and this must be done on all parts of those buildings that must be thus secured, to answer any end against cannon. Now, if the height of the hill be considered, I think it will be allowed that the wall must be of the height I have proposed, and the houses to be fortified up to the wall-plates, or eaves, which eaves are about eight feet high. And as to there being a proper place for another redoubt on the hill, which your Excellency desires to be informed of, I have surveyed the ground and find there is. Now, considering the additional buildings, which can be no less than two houses of forty-four feet long, for the officers and reception of stores, &c., and three small blockhouses to be erected in the half-moons, or places of arms, for the defence of a piquet work, as also for the sentrys to stand

guard in, and all these to be fortified as above, with that expense of another redoubt on the hill, will be considerable; and after it is done in this manner, which is the best method I can think of, it will be as irregular, ill-formed assemblage of buildings, on account of their irregularity, as was ever huddled together to be called a fort, and it will be hard to defend all those buildings on account of their irregularity and the large circumference of the piquet work. Now, as this fort has no defence by cannon, than a right defence, which is next to no defence in fortification, I would, with submission, ask your Excellency whether I might not entirely alter the present Fort Halifax, and make a regular fortress of it, with either two or four flankers, agreeable to Colonel Mascareen's draft, which will be cheaper in the end to the Province, than to finish it as 'tis begun; for this reason, because the vast number of piquets that now encompass the present buildings, will forever want repair, whereas, if it was made a compact fort of about 100 feet square, with but two flankers, it would afford five times the room it now contains, and would be five times easier of being defended than what it will be, if it is finished as 'tis begun.

“Now if this should be agreeable to your Excellency to have it built in the manner I have proposed, the blocks of the present buildings will be all serviceable—that there will be no considerable waste in them. Now, as I know not what objections may be offered against this proposal of mine, I cannot well answer them. * * * The cost will be but a trifle more in this way than to finish it as begun. * * * I would pay no regard to the buildings called Fort Halifax, but would at all adventure erect such a fort as I have proposed on the eminence, which would save the cost of another redoubt, and might be made, with very little cost, proof against any cannon, or any attempts the French would ever make to destroy it. Was it placed here, the flanks next the plain only need to be made cannon proof, for in them would be room enough to contain the soldiery which would be requisite to defend the fort.

“Thus I have given your Excellency my very best opinion how this fort ought to be done, in three ways—either to finish it in the

form it is begun, or to alter the present situation and make a regular fort of it, where it now stands, or build on the hill. * * *

And as for your Excellency or the Court to suppose this fort could be completed in two month's time, it is impossible, were it to be attempted by a regiment of men, and the best officer in the Province to head them, unless all the materials were on the spot, which, to complete this work will require 450 tons of timber for the walls, boards, plank, and so forth, forty or fifty thousand of shingles and forty thousand brick. Now as there is but very few brick, they can't be burnt or made until the weather is seasonable. And as we have no stone, but what must be fetched across the river, which can't be done also, until the weather is warm and the river fallen—had the forty recruits arrived at the time the Court prescribed, our provisions would have been expended before we could have possibly got more, for which reason I discharged Captains Hunter and Dunning, with their men, who were willing to have furnished me with their quota of men agreeably to your Excellency's instructions, and Capt. Hunter was to have remained with them during your Excellency's pleasure as their officer, as he is a complete carpenter, and well skilled in log work. I then agreed with Capt. Hunter that he should bring with him, out of Capt. Dunning's and his companies, both their quotas of men of such as are skilled both with the broad and narrow axe, * * * but not to come until I had informed him I had got hay. * * Now I have appointed Capt. Hunter to be with me on the eighteenth of February. * * *

“Now, in answer to your Excellency's letter of January 31st, as to the joinery and carpentry work inside of the buildings, floors, cabins, window shutters for close quarters and the like, I have constantly this winter employed three carpenters in the woods, and in storms, when they could not go abroad to work, have employed them in doing those sundry jobs, as your Excellency prescribed in said letter. All I can say, I done the best in my power.

“February 14, 1755.

WILLIAM LITHGOW.”

“One thing I forgot to inform your Excellency, that I have been obliged constantly to allow those men that hauled pine wood, stores, &c., to Fort Halifax a certain quantity of rum, without which it would have been impossible to have done anything.”*

On the eighth of March the Governor replied to this long letter, assuring Captain Lithgow that the fort should be completed the coming season, with suitable accommodations to receive his family.

Captain Lithgow again wrote to the Governor, changing his previously proposed plan, which is as follows. The originals of all these letters, in the Captain's plain business hand, are on file in the office of the Secretary of State, Boston.

Governor Shirley wrote from Boston March 8, 1755, to Captain Lithgow, that the flat-bottomed boats are about ready, two of them, one building at Brunswick, and the two others will be sent by Saunders on his next voyage, “and the commissary is ordered to provide two more as soon as possible, and to have all of them armed with four swivel guns each.”

*The first officer under Captain Lithgow, at Fort Halifax, was a Captain Lane, of whom Captain Lithgow complained to Governor Shirley as inefficient. In a postscript to his letter of the eighth of March, 1755, already quoted, Governor Shirley says, “I have well weighed what you have mentioned concerning Captain Lane, and have determined to make some other provision for him, and have directed him to come to Boston as soon as possible, and have thought proper to appoint a Second Lieutenant under you, and now enclose to you a blank commission, to be filled up by you, with Captain Dunning's or Captain Hunter's name, or some other person in whom you may have the most confidence of his supplying your absence with the best ability.” Captain Lithgow replied on the twenty-second of March, thanking the Governor for the provision he had made for Captain Lane, saying that he was an object of pity, but did not say whose name had been inserted in the blank commission. He several times mentioned that both Captain Dunning, of Brunswick, and Captain Hunter, of Topsham, were employed at the fort, but does not name either as an officer of the garrison.

A part of this letter relates to strengthening the fort temporarily, according to the Captain's suggestion. The Governor adds, "I have thought proper to appoint a second Lieutenant under you, and now enclose to you a blank commission to be filled up by you with the name of Captain Dunning, or Captain Hunter, or some other person in whom you may have most confidence of his supplying your absence with the best ability." A Captain Lane had been serving under Captain Lithgow who was not efficient, and was ordered to Boston.

March 22, Captain Lithgow wrote to Governor Shirley "that the inside of the buildings are ready to receive the soldiery; that he had made plank shutters to the windows and doors."

The Captain continues :

"I have on y^e eminence 200 tons of hewn timber. I am determined to erect another redoubt on the eminence, cannon proof, that will be capable of containing a sufficiency of men to defend it against any considerable army that may be furnished with grate artillery. I have thought this can be of no disadvantage, for if your Excellency determines to have y^e fort built on y^e hill, I can but join the fort to the redoubt, which will make a good flanker for it. And if it should be continued where it now stands, there must be a redoubt erected that will command the hill, otherwise it will be in the power of an enemy to surprise it at their pleasure, whenever they may think proper to make their approach with cannon. I also have 100 tons of board logs, and bolts for shingles, most of which I have gotten hauled by hand. I want the assistance of oxen and hay prodigiously—had I that, I should have no occasion to go into the woods for timber after the snow was off the ground. Would pray the commissary to send ten tons of hay, which must be delivered at Fort Western.

WM. LITHGOW."

We see by this letter that Captain Lithgow had procured one hundred tons of board logs, which must have numbered 200

logs, and these had been hauled by hand. To have a proper idea of the immense labor performed, we must consider that these board logs must be sawed with pit saws, worked by two men each, one standing on top of the log, which must be rolled on to a frame, with a pit below it for the lower man to stand in. That the roofs were covered with boards and not with long split clefts, as most barns were at that time, called long shingles, we are sure, for in the Massachusetts archives is the original bill of Captain George Berry, a famous shipbuilder, and military officer of Falmouth, for boarding "the great house at Fort Halifax, 100 feet by forty," his Honor, Spencer Phips, successor to Governor Shirley, being the debtor. This gives us the size of the building used for officers' quarters, and for the store house. Of course it was only the roof that was boarded, as the walls were of hewn timber.

On the nineteenth of April, Capt. Lithgow again reported to the Governor, proposing another plan for completing the fort, as follows:

"May it please your Excellency:

"I think I have timber sufficient to build a redoubt thirty-four feet square and two stories high, cannon proof, which will command the eminence against a considerable army that might be furnished with cannon. I have determined to make the walls of said redoubt five feet thick, of square timber, locked together with oak ties at proper distances. This way will be less cost than a double wall filled with earth, which would soon rot the timber.

"I have also got timber sufficient to build a small square fort of about eighty or ninety feet square, with the help of those small blockhouses Gen. Winslow erected. I propose to join this fort to the large blockhouse that now contains the cannon, which blockhouse will answer for one of the flankers. This, with one flanker more at opposite angles, with the help of two watch boxes at the

other two opposite angles, will afford a very good defense, a draft of which I have enclosed your Excellency, the incorrectness of which I hope will be excused, as I had no scale but that of a carpenter's square.

“The above redoubt, with this fort, is really the cheapest way I can think of to finish those works, for a great many reasons. I shall give your Excellency only one. The piquets that now encompass those buildings are composed of 800 foot in length, a great many of which will soon fall, being in some places set scarcely in the ground. They are considerably racked already, and I fear they will fall this spring. Now, the repairing of those piquets, once added to that of building houses for the officers and stores, will cost more than the fort I have proposed, which fort will stand 100 years if kept shingled or clapboarded, and will be vastly more defensible, as it will be small, for certainly 320 foot in the compass. The fort I propose is easier of being defended than that of 800 foot, as it now stands piqueted, which will forever want repairing and no way defensible. This small fort will upon occasion lodge 200 men comfortably, as also y^e stores. I do not think it material to lay the sundry apartments of the barracks in the inside, as also the placing of chimneys and gateway, &c.

“My reason for placing this fort below, contrary to my opinion, is in order to save those buildings already erected, which would be lost were it placed on y^e eminence.

“I shall trouble your Excellency no further respecting this fort at present, but say I have given my best opinion, and am fully persuaded those methods I have here proposed will be far cheapest, and answer the end of the government better than any other way they can finish it in.

“I would beg your Excellency's opinion on this affair—am now obliged, for want of instruction, and lest the carpenters should be idle, to set them on the above redoubt, and should set them on the lower fort had I your Excellency's opinion.

“Our number at the fort does not exceed seventy-four, and, includ-

ing officers, out of which I can't muster upwards of forty effective men. And as it will be highly necessary to hold possession of the new redoubt, as the wall is raised four feet high, which will require no less than twenty of our best men to assist and guard the workmen, and as brick must be made and stone provided, all of which I think will require a re-inforcement of good men, besides those employed transporting the stores, for which service, agreeable to your Excellency's instruction, I applied to the independent companies, as also to Colonel Cushing, for 150 good men that are capable of marching from Fort Western to Fort Halifax, as also managing the boats that carry the provisions.

"I have appointed the first of May, old style, for those guards to be at Fort Western, by which time most of the people will have finished their planting, &c. If those guards should fail me at that time, it will be out of our power afterwards to transport the provisions, on account of the river will then be fallen so that the boats will not have water to float them. The two boats come from Boston will no ways answer the end, being vastly too big, so that I now have to depend on but two built at Brunswick. I wanted eight boats thirty feet long, two feet deep, and six feet wide, flat bottomed. Now out of this number I shall have but two—must be obliged to press canoes. Though there were gentlemen enough in Boston who were perfectly well acquainted with this river, who could have directed the building of proper boats for this purpose—had I not thought so, I should have shaped a piece of wood in the form of one of these boats, and sent it for a pattern.

"All of which I leave to your Excellency's wise consideration, and pray a speedy answer respecting the fort.

"With all submission, I beg leave to subscribe myself your Excellency's humble servant.

●
WM. LITHGOW.

"Fort Halifax, April 19. If your Excellency thinks proper to retain a number of men at Richmond Fort, I should think it a

great favor to be allowed to name the officer that commands those men, on account of my stock and improvements must be left there.

WM. LITHGOW."

To avoid responsibility and not offend either of his two military friends, Gen. Winslow and Capt. Lithgow, the Governor laid the two plans of the fort before the Council, who referred them, as the following extract from the Journal shows :

[Massachusetts General Court Records for 1755, page 505.]

"June 22, 1755. Ordered, that the Committee of Wars take into consideration the two plans of Fort Halifax, and report to his Excellency, the Captain General or Commander-in-Chief for the time being, which they judge the most advantageous to the Province, and also what alterations (if any) they think proper to be made in either of those plans.

"In Council, read and concurred.

"June 26, (1755). The Committee of Wars report to the Governor about Fort Halifax, viz :

"*May it please your Excellency:* The committee to whom was referred the two plans have perused the same, and beg leave humbly to report that we are of opinion that the plan drawn by Capt. Lithgow, touching the alteration of Fort Halifax, if pursued, will be most advantageous to the Province, and that we cannot find any amendments to make thereon. Which is humbly submitted to your Excellency.

JOHN OSBORNE, *by order.*"

Gen. Winslow's original plan is on file. It is thus endorsed.

"BOSTON, NEW ENGLAND, Oct. 4, 1754.

"To his Excellency, Wm. Shirley, Captain General and Commander-in-Chief, in and over His Majesty's Province of Massachusetts Bay, N. E.

"This plan of Fort Halifax, at Ticonnett Falls, on Kennebeck River, with a redoubt standing east $16\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, north $61\frac{1}{2}$ rods,

on an eminence, is dedicated by your Excellency's most obliged, most dutiful and most humble servant,
JOHN WINSLOW."

"N. B. The officers' apartments, guardhouse and armourer's shop proposed to be built within the piquet, not yet erected. The timber and brick sufficient provided for that purpose. And also an order given for sinking a well, before we left the fort, and kentlings provided to secure it.

"Blockhouse on the hill square—upper story 27 feet, lower 20. A, lower story of blockhouse, 20 feet; B, upper story, 27; C, barracks, 20 feet square; D, proposed line, 120 feet square; E, the flag staff; F, places of arms; G, gate; H, the close piquet."

A memorandum on the back of the plan says :

"Copy sent to Capt. Lithgow attested by the Secretary. The Governor's letter sent—no copy taken by the Secretary, one by the Commissary. Lithgow's plan also sent him."

There is no date to this memorandum, but probably it was made when the copy was sent to Lithgow with his own plan. The report of the Committee of War, deciding that Lithgow's plan was best, is dated June 26, 1855.

We must now take leave of Governor Shirley, as connected with the finishing of Fort Halifax. The submitting of the rival plans to the Council was his last act in that direction. As he was considered the projector of the enterprise for building that fortress, and its dependence, Fort Western, the subsequent career of this remarkable man claims our notice. He had weightier matters on his hands than the defences of Maine. He had, since November, been in correspondence with the home government, and Governor Lawrence, of Nova Scotia, concerning an intended expedition to reduce the French fort at Chignecto, Nova Scotia, the building of which the English claimed was an encroachment.

In a letter to Governor Lawrence, at Halifax, dated December 14th, he wrote: "I have for several days had an inevitable load on my hands. It is now eleven at night, and I have been writing ever since seven in the morning to dispatch a London ship waiting for my letters, and can scarce hold my pen in my hand."

During the winter, Governor Shirley, with Col. Moncton, of the British army, and Provincial Gen. Winslow, raised two thousand New England troops for, and fitted out the Bay of Fundy expedition against the French forts, which sailed from Boston on the twenty-second of May. The Governor was also raising and fitting out another expedition for Oswego, of which he took command, after being commissioned a Major General. He left Boston for that place on the twenty-eighth of June. Gen. Braddock was killed and his army defeated on the Monongahela, on the ninth of July. Among the officers killed in that action was Wm. Shirley, son of the Governor, who was Braddock's Secretary. By the death of Braddock, Gen. Shirley became Commander-in-Chief of the army in America. He was an officer of great energy and perseverance, but having failed in an expedition against Crown Point, in 1756, he was superseded by Abercrombie, and was ordered to England. However, he was finally cleared of the charges against him.

Governor Shirley's first wife (to whose family influence it is said he owed his first advancement) was Frances Barker, born in London in 1692, and died in Dorchester, Mass., in 1746. She was the mother of the Governor's four sons and five daughters. She has a mural tablet in King's Chapel, with her family arms and a lengthy Latin inscription.

In 1749, Governor Shirley was appointed by the Crown, Commissioner to France, to settle the boundary of Acadia. While he was in Paris, on the commission, he secretly married a young

Roman Catholic, the daughter of his landlord. This injudicious alliance subsequently caused him much mortification and regret. In 1759, he was made Lieutenant-General, and after long solicitation was appointed Governor of the Bahama Islands, in which he was succeeded by his son Thomas. He was the author of several pamphlets on the French Wars, and in 1748 devised the scheme of establishing a British colony in Nova Scotia (the inhabitants were then all French), which was carried out the next year by the founding of the city of Halifax. Governor Shirley was born in England, in 1693, where he practiced law, came to Boston in 1735, and pursued his profession until his appointment as Governor of the Massachusetts Province, in 1741. At the appointment of his son to succeed him in the government of the Bahamas, he returned to Massachusetts, and died at Roxbury in 1771, aged 78. He was buried with military honors in his family vault, under King's Chapel, in Boston. This church was re-built mainly by his exertions. The corner stone was laid by him in 1752.

Minot says of Governor Shirley, "Although he held some of the most lucrative offices within the gift of the Crown in America, he left nothing to his posterity but a reputation, in which his virtues greatly outweighed his faults."

The Suffolk Probate Court records show that he died intestate.

Governor Shirley's residence, erected in about 1748, was in Roxbury, and was called Shirley place.

F. A. Drake says, "It became, in 1764, the property of Judge Eliakim Hutchinson, Shirley's son-in-law. Long afterwards it became the home of Governor Eustis. Washington, Franklin, Lafayette, Webster, Clay, Calhoun and Burr were numbered among its distinguished guests."

It is now (1881) rented in several tenements. It is of wood, two stories, with windows on the roof, and a cupola and vane. It rests on a high basement of dressed granite. The wide veranda at the rear remains, but that formerly on the front has been removed. The main entrance is reached by a long and wide flight of freestone steps. The parlors have been divided by partitions, but the elaborate finish and original ample size can be seen. The spacious entrance hall is the grandest of the old suburban houses. The stair-case is of easy circular ascent; the stair-rail, with a generous scroll at the bottom, is of the richest St. Domingo mahogany, inlaid with various colored woods, and the balusters are artistically carved.

On the eleventh of May, Capt. Lithgow wrote from Fort Halifax to Governor Shirley that he had not received answer to his request about the two plans of the fort submitted. He said he had several men sick, and had no doctor to dress a wound in case of an engagement, and continues :

“For the want of your Excellency’s instructions, and for what your Excellency mentioned concerning a redoubt being built that would command the eminence, and lest the workmen should be idle, I have begun a redoubt in a suitable place, thirty-four feet square, four feet and nine inches, the wall’s thickness; two-story high, hip roof, watch box on top, to be surrounded at proper distance with open piquets; this will be cannon proof. The first story is raised, the wall square timber, tyed with oak duff tails.

“This redoubt will command the eminence, as also the falls. It is erected on the highest knowl eastward of the cut path that ascends the eminence. In this building, it will be very necessary that two pieces of good cannon, carrying fourteen or eighteen pound ball, be placed therein. These cannon should be well fortified and as long as the wall is thick. We can make the carriages here, which we can suit to the height of the embrasures.

“I would humbly pray your Excellency’s wise consideration on the above particulars, with an answer to your Excellency’s most dutiful, humble servant.

“WM. LITHGOW.

“P. Script. Richmond, May 11, 1755.

“Col. Cushing has given orders for the impressment of 100 men, some of which is this day arrived; but I cannot proceed to the transportation of the stores till the whole number be complete, fearing an ambuscade, as I am persuaded the enemy design such a thing.”*

In the House of Representatives, Aug. 11, 1755, “voted that a detachment of thirty men be made out of the several companies for the defence of the Eastern frontiers, that are destined to march from New Boston to Frankfort, and from there to the blockhouse on George’s River—and that they be employed in guarding the provisions up to Fort Halifax, and in guarding the workmen while at work, as the commanding officer of said fort shall order.”

New Boston is now Gray. This body of troops probably marched through what is now Pownal, Freeport and Brunswick, and embarked on the Androscoggin, and thence by Merry-meeting Bay to the Kennebec.

October 30th, the House also “voted that Fort Halifax and storehouse at Cushenoc be garrisoned with eighty men and no more.”

* May, 1755. The Secretary laid before the Council a letter he had received from Capt. David Dunning, addressed to his Excellency, dated April 2, 1755, requesting that he may have two whale boats allowed him for transporting his company from Brunswick to Fort Western, on the Kennebec River. Whereupon, advised that the Commissary General give orders that two of the Province whale boats be forthwith repaired, and that Capt. Dunning be furnished with them for transporting his company accordingly.—[*Massachusetts Council Records*.

The number of the garrisons of other forts was fixed by the same vote.*

As the House fixed the number of the garrisons, we may conclude that Capt. Lithgow had completed his barracks and officers' quarters. The winter passed without an attack, and the next spring the garrison became discontented with their long detention.

June 11, 1756, the House voted that His Honor, the Lieut.-Governor, be desired to give orders to Capt. Wm. Lithgow for enlisting forty-three men to relieve those who have been posted at Fort Halifax and storehouse on Kennebeck River for near two years, and that they be paid three dollars bounty at the end of twelve months.

May 13, 1755, Captain Lithgow wrote to the Governor, giving the particulars of the burning of a house at Frankfort, now Dresden, and the killing of one "Tufts and Abner Macon," by the Indians, and says further that "if orders do not arrive to the contrary, I shall abandon Richmond Fort."

June 8th, he again wrote that he had part of the stores up to the fort, sufficient for use until February. The redoubt (on the hill) would be done, all to covering and chimney, in about a week. He says, "the boats, of which I gave a pattern by forming a piece of wood, built by Mr. Wood, of Brunswick, answer the end very well; but the two built in Boston may be recalled as being of no advantage here, so that we have but three boats instead of six, that would answer. Had we had the number I prescribed, should have conveyed the whole of the stores as

*The same month the House voted "that His Honor, the Lieut.-Governor and Commander-in-Chief (Spencer Phips) be desired to give orders to the chief officers in the towns of the Eastern and Western frontiers to oblige the soldiers under their respective commands to go completely armed to their several places of public worship on Lord's days, in this time of danger."

soon as what we did. I was obliged to get whale-boats at Falmouth, and canoes. We had good success—never hurt one of our boats nor wet one mouthful of the provisions.”

Captain Lithgow wrote, on the fourteenth of June, 1755, about furs he had shipped to J. Wheelwright, the Provincial Commissary General. At the bottom he says :

“The boats built at Brunswick answer exceedingly well ; they go as well as a whale-boat, and when loaded draw eighteen inches of water, and will carry twenty-five barrels of pork and bread. The York company, under Captain Bragdon, came just as we were done and returned home. The cannon I will send up by the vessels you order to fetch the goods belonging to the Province.”*

*The goods mentioned were probably those kept at Fort Richmond to supply the Indians, for which furs were received in time of peace. The cannon mentioned were the armament of that fort, and of small caliber, not suited to the new fort. The building of Fort Halifax made that at Richmond unnecessary, and as it was in a dilapidated state it was dismantled. It was standing in 1761. The Rev. Mr. Bailey, the Frontier Missionary, who was located at Pownalborough, now Dresden, was allowed the use of the land around the fort, and moved into the fort for a dwelling, as his people had not provided one for him on the east side of the river. In their petition to the society, for the propagation of the gospel, the people of Pownalborough represent that “in the mean time they can have Richmond Fort for an house for the minister, and the chapel belonging to it for Divine service, and the farm around it for a glebe.” In 1766, Mr. Bailey concludes a letter to the venerable society, with an account of Dr. Gardiner’s liberality in “giving the use of Richmond house and farm for the use of the minister for seven years.”

In 1774, Rev. Mr. Bailey wrote in his journal, “I have a wealthy parishioner, Mr. Ayling, from England, who has purchased Richmond farm to the amount of sixteen hundred and fifty acres, and is on the spot making great improvements.”

“Richmond Fort” stood near the bank of the river, a few rods above the present ferry-house, on the western shore. In a recent visit, the traditional site of the fort was pointed out to me, but there is nothing remaining to verify the tradition.

After Governor Shirley left for the western frontier, Lieutenant-Governor Spencer Phips was at the head of the government. Phips's original name was David Bennet, but he took the surname of his uncle, Sir Wm. Phips, by whom he was adopted.

July 18th, Capt. Lithgow addressed a letter to Governor Phips in very different phraseology from those directed to Governor Shirley. Probably Lithgow knew the Lieutenant-Governor when he was plain David Bennet, of Rowley. He commences thus: "Let me beg, for God's sake, I may have assistance, so that the fort may be completed; for till that time I shall have no peace night or day." It will be noticed that the Captain had received his instructions from Governor Shirley, enclosing the decision of the Committee of War, recommending the acceptance or adoption of his plan for finishing the fort. He continues: "Your Honor may remember my instructions came but the other day, and with them orders to reduce the garrison to eighty men, and with four distinct forts to be defended, viz: at Teconnet, three (that is, two redoubts on the hill and the main Fort Halifax); Cushnoc, one (Fort Western)." He continues: "I suppose it is well known that Fort Halifax is not compact, but built in three distinct parts, and would beg to know if it may be reasonably thought that men can be spared sufficiently out of those four distinct forts to guard the hauling of timber and dragging stone at a distance from the fort, and go up and down the river occasionally, as must be the case till the thing be completed."

Capt. Lithgow did not report progress to Governor Phips as frequently as he did to Governor Shirley. If he did, his communications have not been preserved. He undoubtedly proceeded with the utmost dispatch to complete the fortress, as he was now the engineer as well as the constructor.

May 23, 1757, Capt. Lithgow wrote to the Governor that—

“Rafts were discovered drifting by the fort, which I suppose the Indians used to ferry themselves across, and imagine they have gone down the river among the inhabitants to do mischief. I have duly warned the settlements of the approach, and the boat in which I sent the intelligence was attacked in its return by seventeen Indians, ten miles below the fort. Said boat contained an Ensign and nine men. The Indians first fired within twenty yards of the boat, and wounded two men—not mortally, only flesh wounds, one in y^e side and one in y^e head. The officer and crew behaved very gallantly, and immediately returned the fire upon y^e enemy, who were all in full view. They killed one Indian, who fell on y^e bank and lay in full view during the action, which continued very furious on the boat until she retreated to the other side of the river, in which time several men discharged their guns three times. After our men crossed the river, one hundred yards or less wide, they sheltered themselves behind trees, and so continued till y^e Indians retreated over a piece of cleared land, carrying y^e dead Indian and one who appeared to be wounded.”

1759, Nov. 7, the House of Representatives voted pay and subsistence for two Sergeants, two Corporals, one Armorer, one Drummer and twenty-three privates at Fort Halifax; and for one Lieutenant and nine privates at Cushenoc. Also “voted that the Captain General give orders for discharging the sixteen men who have requested it, and that five dollars be given to three men each, who shall enlist into the service. *If they cannot be enlisted, to be impressed.*”

In 1756, Capt. Lithgow petitioned to have men sent to relieve “those who have been more than two years at Fort Halifax,” saying that “men could not be enlisted for three dollars bounty when they could get six dollars bounty to go to Crown Point in the expedition.” As these men could not be enlisted, the House passed an order desiring the Lieut.-Governor

to issue his order for the impressment of forty-three effective men from out of the lower regiment of the County of York, and, on their delivery at Fort Halifax, that Capt. Lithgow be directed to discharge the forty-three mentioned.

The Provincial government declared war with Indians on the eleventh of June, 1755, and offered to volunteer companies two hundred dollars for each Indian scalp, and two hundred and fifty dollars for each captive.

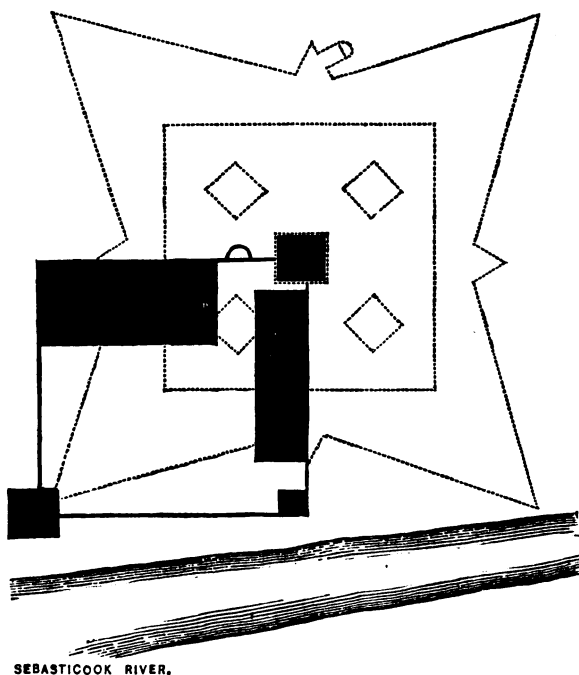
In June, 1756, Great Britain declared war against France, which was not ended until the fall of Quebec.

In the spring of 1756, two of the garrison of Fort Halifax were fishing at the falls, and, notwithstanding they were in sight from the nearest hill blockhouse, they were fired upon by a party of Indians and mortally wounded. One, however, returned the fire. The report of the guns aroused the garrison, who sent relief so speedily that the Indians did not take the scalps of the wounded men.*

It will be recollected that the Council "Committee of Wars" decided in favor of Capt. Lithgow's second plan for finishing the fort. Unfortunately, no copy of his plan was preserved, but from his minute description in his letters to the Governor, the remains of the fort, and from several other sources, I am enabled to reproduce the ground plan, and even the appearance of the several buildings.†

* Williamson's History of Maine, Vol. II, p. 323.

† For a general view of the fortress as it stood when completed, see the frontispiece at the commencement of this article.



GROUND PLAN OF FORT HALIFAX.

GEN. WINSLOW'S PLAN OF 1754 IS REPRESENTED BY THE DOTTED LINES.
 THE CONTINUOUS BLACK LINES AND SQUARES REPRESENT THE
 FORT WHEN COMPLETED BY CAPT. LITHGOW IN 1755.

The cut is inserted to show how Lithgow's accepted plan differed from, and what it included of Winslow's plan of 1754, which is represented by the dotted lines. The continuous black lines and squares show the fort as it stood when completed by Lithgow, in 1755. He used Winslow's center building for his north flanker. It will be noticed that the palisade joined the flankers in the center, permitting one gun from an embrasure on the outside of the palisade to rake that side.

Col. Montresor, an English officer of Engineers, came through from Canada by the Kennebec route to Fort Halifax in about 1760, and kept a journal during his journey. The first leaf of the manuscript, containing the date, is missing. This journal was published in the first volume of the Maine Historical Society's collections. This officer remained two days at the fort, and thus describes it:

“We came to Ticonic Falls, which are immediately above Fort Halifax. We left our canoes and went into the fort. Fort Halifax was built by Mr. Shirley in 1754, to awe the Indians and cover the frontiers of New England. It is square—its defence a bad palisade, (flanked) by two blockhouses, in which there are some guns mounted; but as the fort is commanded by a rising ground behind it, they have been obliged to erect two other blockhouses, and to clear the woods for some distance around. They are capable of making a better defence, and it must be confessed that either of them is more than sufficient against an enemy, who has no other offensive weapons than small arms. The fort is garrisoned by a company of New Englanders and supplied from the settlements below. The tide brings sloops to Fort Western, six leagues below Fort Halifax.”

Col. Montresor evidently thought it impossible to transport even small cannon from Canada, and concluded that the blockhouses on the hill were stronger than the situation required. This manuscript journal fell into the hands of Col. Benedict Arnold, and suggested to him the expedition by this route against Quebec, in 1775.

In 1852, Rev. T. O. Paine, then residing at Winslow, became interested in the history of Fort Halifax, and made excavations and a survey of the foundations, which were then nearly perfect. The result of his investigations was published in the “*Waterville Mail*,” one number of which came into my hands, which I preserved. By the kindness of David Wing, Esq., one

of the publishers of the *Mail*, I obtained the whole of Mr. Paine's paper.* He had not seen the official documents relating to the building of the fortress, but his conclusions are mainly correct, as to the plan, except that he concluded that there were three blockhouses on the hill.

After being shown Montresor's description, he thought that the third blockhouse might have been built after his visit, but this is improbable, as there was no necessity for it. French power had become extinct in Canada the previous year.

Mr. Paine found the well which Gen. Winslow said he had given orders to have sunk, and for which he had "kentlings prepared to secure." These kentlings were probably narrow planks, now called scantlings. As the ground was sandy, they were used like the staves in a cask, to prevent the caving of the sandy soil until it could be bricked up inside. In digging among the stones and earth with which the well was filled, and what he supposes was a vault, Mr. Paine found broken curved bricks, which, when perfect, were twelve inches long, evidently made for the purpose of walling up the well. He says there is a tradition that the water proved bad, and the garrison was supplied from a well 200 feet north of the fort, from which water was then (1852) used. This last well was only five feet deep, while the other is said to have been eighty feet deep, which is evidently a mistake.

Mr. Paine mentions that there was a stone in the back of the chimney of the fort house, on which was cut the name "Wheelwright," but it is missing. There was a Commissary General of the Province named Wheelwright, who was with Governor Shirley on his visit in 1754, but the large house was not built

* There is a revised copy of Mr. Paine's article in the newspaper, now in the library of the Maine Historical Society.

until the following year. Judge Bourne, in his *History of Wells and Kennebunk*, says that one of the six men who were sent from Wells to guard Fort Halifax in 1756 was Daniel Wheelwright. He undoubtedly cut his name on a stone of the broad chimney-back. Mr. Paine found the place where the gates were, by a wall of masonry, laid in a trench which was a continuation of the cellar wall of the main house. This was to prevent an enemy from digging under the gate.

From Mr. Paine's description of several cannon shot and shells which have been found near the site of the fort, we are enabled to determine the size of the ordnance mounted there. One ball was four and a quarter inches in diameter, which would indicate a twelve pound shot when new. Also a bomb-shell of two and three-quarters inches, which fixes the size of the bore of the "Cohorn mortars" already mentioned. A grape shot, the barrel of a blunderbuss and a sword blade have been dug up at different times and at different points. Many curious people and treasure-seekers have repeatedly turned the soil over in search of valuable relics.

At the time of Mr. Paine's investigation, there was living at Winslow an old lady, Mrs. Elizabeth Freeman, who was born in 1778, at or near the fort. She was the daughter of Ezekiel Pattee, who was Ensign at the fort in 1760, and afterwards kept a store in the fort.* Mrs. Freeman had often heard her father tell of the life they led, and of remarkable occurrences at the fort. One night some of the soldiers went up to "Fort

*The Howard Brothers' account books, kept at their trading house at Fort Western, show that Ezekiel Pattee was in trade at Fort Halifax in 1778. His credits on those books during that year show what he received of settlers as pay for his assorted goods. As the prices are given in depreciated currency, they are of no interest. He is credited by the Howards for barrel staves, 46 moose skins, 7 barrels salmon, shingles, 24½ lbs. of beaver, 2 sables, and 4 muskrats.—[*History of Augusta*, p. 115.]

Hill" to get wood, and came running back, frightened at what they supposed were Indians. They were up all night watching the shadows of the yard pickets, which looked like Indians stooping. This proves that the pickets were of unequal height. Mrs. Freeman said that the largest gun in the hill redoubt was often fired for an alarm gun,* and also on the receipt of good news, and for sport. A Catholic missionary among the Indians lived at the mouth of the mile brook; there was a Mass house at the same place. His name was Bethune. Mrs. Freeman's father kept tavern in the fort house, after the fortress was dismantled. He had many guests from Boston, and other places, who were anxious to know about the fort, and her father's replies and stories she recollected. At the time the officers' quarters were used for a tavern house, the soldiers' barracks were used for a stable. She recollects the sentry's walk on the

*The means adopted during the Indian wars to give settlers notice of danger were reduced to a system. To arm small forts in frontier towns, small cannon and "swivels" were used in the upper story of flankers. In 1744, the General Court authorized the purchase of long nine-pounder guns for alarm guns, which were distributed to frontier settlements, as their report could be heard at a greater distance. These were usually mounted on the ground, and kept charged. In 1746, when Gorham was attacked by Indians, the firing of a six-pounder brought relief from Falmouth, twelve miles off. Every man and boy, and many females, were experts at discovering signs of Indians; even the dogs showed intelligence when they scented or saw Indians. On discovering indications of the common enemy, three discharges of small arms in quick succession communicated notice to the neighborhood, when all fled within the gates of the nearest garrison or block-house; and the long gun communicated the notice of danger to all within a radius of ten or fifteen miles. Signals by smokes were sometimes agreed upon, and piles of brush were kept ready for lighting. Williamson's History says there was another expedient recommended, and to some extent tried, as a security against the sudden and silent incursions of the savages. This was the use of "staunch-hounds," which, by the scent of footsteps, could detect skulking parties and rout or frustrate ambuscades.

ridge-pole of the large house. When a child she was put up there, but was not allowed to walk far, as it was decayed. Mrs. Freeman recollected all the buildings of the fort proper, but the hill blockhouses were removed before her recollection. Her father took down one of them and rafted it down river, and set it up again at the lower part of the town. She said the large house had very small glass in the windows, but the barracks had no glass windows. She recollected what she had heard of Arnold's expedition, which left part of their stores at the fort. Arnold and his staff were there several days. Dr. Senter, a surgeon in the expedition, in his journal, says they arrived there on the twenty-seventh of September, 1775, and remained three days. Aaron Burr was a volunteer with Arnold. Mrs. Freeman heard that Burr made love to the fair Sarah Lithgow (daughter of the Captain) and wrote sonnets on the bark of the silver birch, which he sent to her by his servant, but she would receive no attentions from him.

This is the first bit of genuine romance which has come to my notice, during my investigation of this history. These scraps of tender sentiment should be nursed by historians, and made to pass for all they will bear. To the average reader they are refreshing, while poring over page after page of dry history. They are "like the shadow of a great rock in a weary land." As a truthful chronicler, I am sorry to be obliged to doubt the authenticity of this narration. By consulting the genealogy of the Lithgow family, I find the fair Sarah had, in 1775, been married nine years, and was the joyful mother of children. This does not, however, prove the story to have been without foundation, as she may have been visiting Ensign Pattee's family at the fort. Her father had removed to Georgetown. It is well known that if Burr used rhymes in pursuing his amours, he was not always governed by reason.

Miss Lithgow married Samuel Howard, son of the Captain of Fort Western, and brother of Wm. Howard, who was Lieutenant at Fort Halifax under Captain Lithgow. One who knew Sarah Lithgow wrote that she was a woman "of pre-eminent personal beauty."*

There were several aged people alive when Mr. Paine wrote, who could remember the old buildings of the fort proper, but they knew nothing more than Mrs. Freeman. There was a tradition that after the treaty of Paris, in 1763, the fort was dismantled and abandoned by the colony. It seems that there was no garrison at Fort Halifax when Arnold passed up. He does not mention any in his letters, nor does his surgeon, Dr. Senter, in his diary. Mrs. Freeman, in her narration, says, "Burr came to the *tavern*," or fort house. This, of course, she heard from her parents, as she was not born until three years later.

In 1764, Governor Bernard recommended that Forts Halifax and Western be garrisoned, which implies that they were not then garrisoned. The large building of Fort Halifax, after the fort was dismantled, was used successively as a dwelling house, a meeting house, tavern, for public dancing parties, town meetings, and afterward as a dwelling again for poor families. It was taken down by Mr. Thomas, who built the Halifax House, for a tavern in 1797. Mr. Paine found, by digging, the lower ends of palisades or pickets of oak nine inches square and set close together.

Mrs. Freeman, from whom Mr. Paine obtained many facts, died February 6, 1866, aged eighty-eight years.

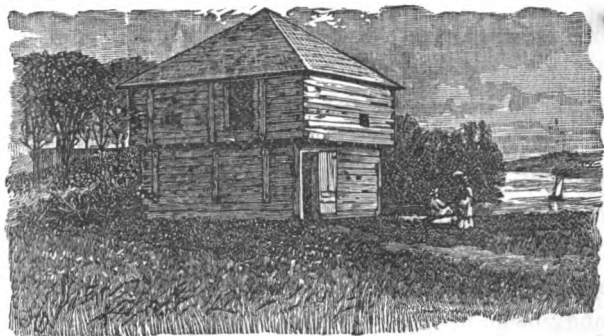
Of this fortress, so long a frontier post between civilization and barbarism, only the south corner flanker, or blockhouse,

*Daniel Sewall, of York.—[*North's History of Augusta.*]

remains to show the manner of constructing these buildings for defence, which were so common a century ago. They stood at the corners of all defensible garrison houses; some were small and were called watch boxes. This one of Fort Halifax is the only one remaining in New England which was built previous to the Revolution, to my knowledge. They are first mentioned by Morton in the New England Memorial, written in 1669.

In his account of the settlement at Plymouth, he says the Narragansett Indians sent to the Pilgrims a bundle of arrows tied in a snake skin, to which they made a spirited reply, and adds, "This made the English more careful to look to themselves, so they agreed to enclose their dwellings with a good strong pale, and made flankers in convenient places, with gates to shut." Most of the dwelling houses two centuries ago, frame as well as timber houses, were built with the second story projecting beyond the lower story, not particularly for defence, but it was the fashion in large towns. I recollect them in Boston, Salem and Ipswich, with turned or carved ornamental drops on the lower end of the projecting posts. Some of these, I think, are yet to be seen in each of the towns named. The only remaining samples of this style of architecture in dwellings in this State, I think, are the McIntire and Junkins houses in Scotland parish, old York. They are called garrison houses, but there are no marks nor tradition of flankers or watch boxes, as there must have been if they were built for defence or refuge. There is a large blockhouse, similar to that at Winslow, at Annapolis, Nova Scotia. It is in a good state of preservation. The walls are covered with clapboards and the original plank shutters to the cannon and musket port holes are yet in place. It was probably built by Gen. Nicholson soon after the old French fortress, then called Port Royal, surrendered to him in 1710. His last "traverse," a trench fifteen feet deep and thirty

feet wide, in the graveyard, within 100 yards of the fort, is as perfect as when, 165 years ago, he had twenty-four Cohorn and two large mortars mounted before it.

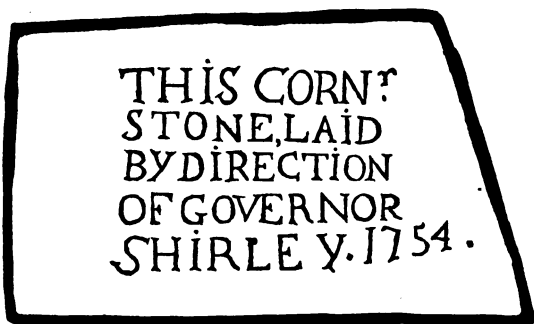


THE SOUTH FLANKER OR BLOCKHOUSE OF FORT HALIFAX, AT WINSLOW, ERECTED 1755. THE UPRIGHT PLANKS ON ONE SIDE HAVE BEEN RECENTLY PLACED THERE TO SECURE THE TIMBERS.

The remaining blockhouse of Fort Halifax was the south flanker, built by Captain Lithgow in 1755. It projected ten feet beyond the east and south lines of the enclosure, and its guns were intended to rake those sides if the fort was attacked; but the defences of this strong fortress, for those times, never were tested. An attack from any force which the French and Indians could have brought against it would have been hopeless. This relic stands at the west end of the Maine Central Railroad bridge, which spans the Sebasticook at Winslow.* The track

*It would be a graceful act for the Superintendent of the Railroad to order those in charge of accommodation trains to "slow up" at this point, to allow passengers to take a hasty look at this military relic of a past age. It would be equally graceful for the town authorities to cause a plain inscription to be placed upon it, with name and date of its erection, for the information of travelers.

crosses the foundation of the large house, which was the dwelling of the officers and the store house. In the State House at Augusta (placed there by Judge Redington in about 1845) is an irregular slate stone of about eighteen inches in height, which bears an inscription, of which the accompanying tracing is a reduced *fac-simile*. The letters are one and one-half inches in length. It was placed by Gen. Winslow in the foundation of his center blockhouse, which became Captain Lithgow's north flanker in the fortress when completed.



A memorial stone, with an inscription, was taken from the fort to the Winslow residence, at Marshfield, by a son of Gen. Winslow, whose name it bore.*

* Gen. Winslow, who selected the site for Fort Halifax, drew the original plan and commanded the expedition for its construction, was the son of Isaac Winslow, of Marshfield, and great grandson of Governor Edward Winslow, of Plymouth Colony.

Gen. Winslow was a Captain in the unfortunate expedition against Cuba in 1740. In 1755, he was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel in Shirley's regiment, and was next in command to Colonel Monckton in the expedition which resulted in the surrender, in June, of the French forts Beausejour and Gaspereux, at the head of the Bay of Fundy. While in Nova Scotia, it was decided to remove the Acadians from their ancient homes, for no crimes but for fear they would commit some overt act; and Colonel Winslow was

There is also one building remaining of Fort Western—it is a long, low, two-story tenement house, with the original massive chimneys, and dormer windows. Its timber walls are covered with clapboards, and the windows have been enlarged and new sashes put in. It was originally the officers' quarters and store-house. The upper story does not project. There is nothing in its exterior to indicate that it was ever enclosed by a double line of palisades with flankers, in which guns were mounted, and which had watchboxes on top, but such was the fact. In these boxes the sentry looked up and down the river for the coming of the Indians, or the Province sloop, Capt. Saunders, from Boston, with letters from the outside world, supplies for Fort Halifax, and perhaps, as passengers, some of the officials of the Land Company. It might be Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, who

sent with three hundred men to their chief settlement, Grand Pré, on the shore of the Basin of Minas, where he forcibly removed the entire population, numbering 1,923 souls, who were crowded on board insufficient transports and sent to the several English Colonies. To prevent their return or escape, their buildings containing their crops were burned, and their cattle in November left to starve without shelter. In a letter to Governor Shirley, Colonel Winslow said that it was "the most disagreeable piece of service in which he was ever engaged."

Gen. Winslow's next service was as second in command of Shirley's expedition against Niagara in 1756, which proved a failure for want of a sufficient force.

He was a councillor of Massachusetts, and was employed by the Plymouth Company to survey into lots the territory around ancient Cushenoc. His plan, dated June, 1761, is yet the official authority for the settlement of bounds.

He died at the ancient family seat of the Winslows at Marshfield, in 1774, aged 71. His portrait and manuscript journals are in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. He left two sons, Pelham and Isaac, who were Loyalists during the Revolution, but remained at Marshfield undisturbed. It was the son, Dr. Isaac Winslow, whom tradition says carried the other corner-stone of Fort Halifax to Marshfield.

was a generous benefactor of the thriving city below, which bears his name. Or perhaps James Bowdoin, who became Governor of his native State. Or the wealthy bookseller, Thomas Hancock, who may have taken with him his nephew, John Hancock, on whom he finally bestowed his wealth, and who not only made his mark, but also wrote his name in an unmistakable hand. Fort Western, originally built for a way station for freight and passengers bound to Fort Halifax, became the nucleus around which gathered the hamlet, the rambling settlement, the village, and finally the capital city of the State, for a few weeks of official residence in which, more planning is done than was required for the erection of the fortification.

It is remarkable that both Fort Halifax and Fort Western, built the same year, should have only one military commander each—Wm. Lithgow* and James Howard, and that both should become Judges of the Court of Common Pleas for Lincoln County.

Capt. William Lithgow, who drew the second plan, and erected the most of the buildings of Fort Halifax, was its only commander after its completion in 1755. His grandson, L. W. Lithgow, of Augusta, wrote in 1857 that his great-grandfather's name was Robert. (Me. Hist. Coll., Vol. v.) "He emigrated

* William Howard was at one time Lieutenant under Capt. Lithgow. His biographer says when he was but nineteen years old; that would be in 1759. That year Governor Pownall mentions in his journal of the Penobscot expedition, the arrival at George's Fort, of "young Lieut. Howard, from Capt. Lithgow, of Fort Halifax," but does not explain his errand. He was the son of Capt. Howard, who was in command at Fort Western, and brother of the coasting Captain, Samuel Howard, who married Sarah Lithgow. They were long in trade at Fort Western, under the firm name of S. & W. Howard. Lieut. Wm. Howard was the first representative from the town of Hallowell, to the General Court. He was a Lieut.-Colonel in the Bagaduce expedition, in 1779. He died at Fort Western in 1810, aged 70 years.

from Ireland, his ancestors having fled from Scotland at the time of the rebellion. He came over to Halifax, and from thence to Boston, where I understand his son William was born, but at what time I cannot state." Mr. L. W. Lithgow is mistaken about Halifax being the first place of arrival. The site of Halifax was a wilderness until the arrival of the fleet carrying the colonists in 1749.

The son William deposed under oath, in 1767, that he was then fifty-two years old, and that when he was about six years old he lived with his parents at Topsham. That would have been in 1721, twenty-eight years before Halifax was settled. He further testified that he fled with his parents to Brunswick Fort for safety from the Indians, on seeing "many settlers taken prisoners and some murdered." This was probably in June, 1722, when the Indians made a descent upon the settlements on Merrymeeting Bay, as described by Capt. Penhallow, page 114 of this volume.

In the Topsham records for 1741, against lot No. 20, is set the name "Robert Lithgood," so spelled in two places, and has the mark annexed indicating "those who built and inhabited three years," and also the word "present," all of which indicates that he took up his lot in 1738. Capt. Minot, the truckmaster at Fort Richmond, in his book, has goods charged to "Robert Lithgow (so spelled), of Topsham," in 1739. In Col. Noble's will the name is spelled "Lithgoe."

Probabilities indicate that Robert Lithgow came over in one of Robert Temple's chartered ships to Boston, and from thence to Temple's settlement, at or near Merrymeeting Bay, and that the son William was then a child of three or four years of age. Mark Langdon Hill, (Vol. v, Me. Hist. Coll.) who was his neighbor at Phippsburg, says, Colonel Lithgow "was by profes-

sion a gunsmith," an artisan who was sure to find employment in those days, when every man was a skilled marksman and trusted in his gun. At the conferences with the Indians promises were usually made that a gunsmith should be kept at each fort to repair the Indians' guns. Most of their fire-arms were light hunting guns with brown barrels, not liable to corrode. They were of French make and bore the crest of the Bourbons. These French gun-barrels are now considered very valuable. In the deposition already mentioned, Captain Lithgow says that he "first became acquainted with the Indian language by trading with them—first at St. George's Fort, and then at Richmond Fort, and at present at Fort Halifax, in behalf of the government, for thirty years past." In 1754, he wrote to Governor Shirley that he had been twenty years in the employment of the government. These assertions show that he was attached to the garrison of St. George's Fort, in 1734, when he was only nineteen years of age. In this same deposition he says he "had command of Richmond Fort in 1748." Captain Lithgow was married to Sarah, only daughter of Colonel Arthur Noble, of Georgetown, previous to November, 1746, as she and her husband are named in her father's will, which was executed at that time. She was born in 1725.

Capt. Lithgow and his wife reared in the wilderness a family of nine children, several of whom became distinguished. On the organization of Lincoln County in 1760, Capt. Lithgow was appointed, with three others, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and was continued in the same office under the revolutionary government. When he was first appointed he was in trade at Fort Halifax, which he continued several years after, as the salary of a judge at that time was small. Judge Hill, in his notice of Judge Lithgow, says his house at Georgetown was built in 1766. Of course it must have been built before he left Fort

Halifax, as his deposition of 1767 says "at present of Fort Halifax." He had retained and improved his wife's inheritance, and they had probably become sole owners of the farm at Pleasant Cove. That Capt. Lithgow was carrying on the farm, is shown by the town record of Georgetown. In 1759, "Capt. William Lithgow's mark" for cattle and sheep is recorded as the law required.

Judge Lithgow's house at Georgetown was of two stories, with high stud. Those who recollect, say that it was an imposing structure as it appeared from the river for a long distance below. It did not occupy the site of Col. Noble's house, but was farther up the slope from the high bank. Some twenty years ago, the present owners of the farm divided it and removed the Lithgow house to another part of the farm, and it is now used as a barn, but still showing the spacious outlines of the rooms. The grounds surrounding the old foundations still have the fruit and ornamental trees and shrubs. There is a group of lilacs, some of whose trunks measure eight inches in diameter.

At the extremity of a field west from the old cellar, and near the private road, is the Lithgow burial ground, with no separate enclosure. Each grave has an unpretending head-stone of slate, with a brief inscription. That of the Captain of Fort Halifax reads thus:

IN MEMORY OF
COL. WILLIAM LITHGOW, Esq.,
WHO DIED DEC. 20, 1798,
AGED 86.

His age as given on the stone, we have seen, was an error, according to his age as given in his deposition, which of course was correct. His age at the time of his death was but eighty-three. His wife died November 11, 1807, aged eighty-two, but

I saw no monumental stone. William and Sarah Lithgow had ten children, probably all born at forts Richmond and Halifax. The oldest, Sarah, married Captain Samuel Howard, of Augusta. Susanna married the Rev. John Murray, of Boothbay. Jane died unmarried. Mary married James Davidson, of Bath. Jane died young. Charlotte died unmarried.

Robert, the eldest son, was a sea captain. During the Revolutionary war, he sailed for the West Indies, in command of his father's vessel, and was never heard from afterwards.

James N., another son, resided at Dresden. His son, Llewellyn W., died in June, 1881, at Augusta. Another son of James, Alfred G., resides at Dresden.

Gen. William Lithgow, Jr., the most distinguished of the Judge's sons, entered the Revolutionary army as a Major, and was wounded in the right arm at Ticonderoga, in 1777, for which he received a pension. He was at the surrender of Burgoyne, and his likeness is in Trumbull's painting at Washington. After the war, he commenced the practice of law at Fort Western, having his office in a room of the fort. In 1789, he was appointed, by President Washington, United States District Attorney for the District of Maine. He was twice elected State Senator. He died of disease of the liver in February, 1796, at the age of forty-six, unmarried. He was buried in the family burial ground at Pleasant Cove. His plain slate stone, which is broken, bears the following inscription :

IN MEMORY OF
MAJ. GEN. WILLIAM LITHGOW,
WHO DIED FEB. 16, 1796,
AGED 46.

Arthur, the youngest son of Judge Lithgow, first engaged in trade at Winslow. He was appointed Sheriff of Kennebec

County in 1799, which office he held until 1809. He removed to Boston and held an office in the Custom House. He married Martha, daughter of Edmund Bridge, of Pownalborough; by her he had six children.

Their daughter Mary married Charles Devens, a merchant of Boston. They were the parents of Gen. Charles Devens, who was a distinguished officer in the army during the rebellion. He was United States Attorney General during the administration of President Hayes, and is now (1881) a Judge of Massachusetts Supreme Court.

The younger daughter of Arthur Lithgow married John L. Payson, formerly American Consul at Messina.

There are several descendants of Judge Lithgow not named in this sketch.

In 1766, the territory now comprised in the towns of Winslow and Waterville was granted by the Plymouth Company to Gen. John Winslow, who was a proprietor in the Company, and five associates. Mr. North says: "It was the only township granted by that Company, of which the title was confirmed to the grantees in consequence of their performing their obligations of settlement." Within four years they obtained fifty settlers, twenty-five of whom had families. Their success was probably owing to the security offered by the fort, and by the business which sprung up there, which attracted settlers and caused some soldiers, discharged from the garrison, to remain near.*

In 1771, all of that territory was incorporated as a town by the name of Winslow, in honor of Gen. Winslow, who com-

* Williamson's History says, (II, p. 330) "In 1758, it was proposed to the Legislature by the Plymouth Company, that they would settle fifty families in each of the two townships in the vicinity of Fort Halifax, provided fifty of the men could be employed and paid for garrison duty; a project which the Governor and others favored."

manded the fort and who was one of the original grantees. To his sagacity and skill as a military engineer and land surveyor, the town is indebted for its prosperity, beyond its neighbors, in the early years of its settlement. In gratitude to the memory of its distinguished founder, I hope the old town, and its thriving daughter Waterville, will keep in repair the remaining relic of the fortress, which gave its name to the region round ancient "Ticonnet" for many years.

The old blockhouse has recently had its roof covered with shingles and the decayed timbers replaced with new, but its walls should be protected from the weather by some covering, which would preserve it for an indefinite period. Its structure could be examined as well from the inside as the outside. Captain Lithgow wrote to Governor Shirley that the fort, properly built and clapboarded, would last a century. That has long since passed, and although not clapboarded, one building yet remains, a relic of the military engineering of a by-gone age, and year by year increases in interest. It is the last of its kind and period in New England. These remains of the Kennebec forts seem like mementoes of the Pilgrims of the Mayflower. They were the direct outgrowth of their enterprise, and should be preserved as cherished relics of the French and Indian Wars.