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Freedom of Commerce: The History and Archaeology of Trade at St. Castin's Habitation 1670-1701

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“The Freedom of Commerce”
The History and Archaeology of Trade at
St. Castin’s Habitation 1670-1701

By Brooke Ann Manross
B.A. Miami University, 1991

A THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts
(in History)

The Graduate School
University of Maine
December, 1994

Advisory Committee:

Dr. Alaric Faulkner, Professor of Archaeology, Advisor
Dr. Richard Judd, Professor of History
Dr. Warren Riess, Professor of History

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Brooke Ann Mansors
December 1, 1994

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Thesis Advisor: Dr. Alaric Faulkner

An Abstract of the Thesis Presented in Partial
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Settled on the often disputed border of New England and Acadia during the last quarter of the 17th century, the Baron Jean Vincent de l’Abbadie de St. Castin operated a trading post at the confluence of the Penobscot and Bagaduce Rivers near the modern town of Castin, Maine. Castin was an entrepreneur who traded with the Abenaki Indians of Acadia and Maine for peltry. Although he was French, Castin exchanged this peltry with Massachusetts merchants in order to get the European trade items necessary to supply his Abenaki clientele. Castin preferred trade to warfare, nevertheless, he was often embroiled in violent disputes between New England and Acadia, as well as conflicts between the Abenaki Indians and New Englanders.

Using 17th-century maps in conjunction with subsurface testing, the site of St. Castin’s Habitation was located in 1983. Excavations followed in 1984 and 1990-1993. Because it was a place where French, English, and Indian cultures converged, St. Castin’s Habitation provides a unique opportunity to study the way Europeans and Indians interacted on the Acadian frontier. Analysis of the thousands of artifacts recovered from the site, especially those associated with trade, show how cultural boundaries were readily crossed in order to survive, and in Castin’s case, prosper.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my principal advisor, Dr. Alaric Faulkner, for his careful proofreading, his help translating French documents pertaining to Castin, and the time he took to create and/or modify several of the figures and maps I have included in my thesis. The impromptu vocabulary and grammar lessons I received as he edited my thesis have improved my writing skills dramatically.

Dr. Richard Judd deserves special thanks for agreeing to join my committee on rather late notice. In spite of being pressed for time, he did a very thorough job of editing the manuscript and provided many helpful suggestions.

I am also very grateful to my third committee member, Dr. Warren Riess for his quick and precise proofreading. Because of Castin's involvement in maritime trade, Dr. Riess's expertise in maritime history was very helpful.

Several other people have contributed to my thesis. Gretchen Faulkner, the St. Castin Archaeology Project's historian, collected many of the secondary sources pertaining to St. Castin as well as some of the primary documents. She was also kind enough to look up information in the National Archives of Canada during a trip to Ottawa.

Murial Sandford, head librarian of Fogler Library's Special Collections Department, provided advice and assistance in locating many of the sources used in this thesis. Her enthusiastic interest in my progress was always appreciated.

Steve Bicknell assisted in photographing artifacts from St. Castin's Habitation, and the quality of the photographs presented in my thesis is largely due to his help.

Matthew Palus allowed me to use his illustrations of pipes from St. Castin's Habitation. His careful attention to detail is greatly appreciated.

Several University of Maine students wrote papers on artifacts from St. Castin's Habitation which greatly facilitated my research. Scott Allen's paper on cloth seals from the Habitation and Pamela Crane's paper on Jesuit Rings were particularly helpful.

Finally, I owe thanks to Richard Johnson, who recently published an excellent biography of Castin's business partner, John Nelson. I was unfamiliar with archival resources in Canada and New England when I started this project, and Johnson's bibliography allowed me to "jump-start" my research because many of the sources he used were pertinent to my topic.

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Introduction

For most of the 17th century, the French colony of Acadia acted effectively as a buffer between New England and New France. This borderland occupied the modern Canadian provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and extended through part of the state of Maine. The exact eastern boundary between Acadia and New England was often in dispute; the English claimed that the border was as far east as the St. Croix River, the present day boundary between New Brunswick and Maine, while the French insisted that it extended as far west as the Kennebec River.

By the last quarter of the 17th century, though still tied politically to New France, Acadia had become economically dependent on Massachusetts. Especially during times of war between New France and New England, this situation left Acadian settlers and officials with the arduous task of accomadating each of these neighboring relative superpowers. Early on, the Acadians developed an independence and pragmatism that allowed them to deal with their precarious geographic and economic position.

One Acadian who epitomized these qualities was the legendary Baron de St. Castin, a French officer-turned-entrepreneur, who occupied the most volatile spot in all of Acadia during the last quarter of the 17th century. Castin lived and operated a trading post among the Penobscot Abenaki Indians at Pentagoet, the French name for the region at the confluence of the Penobscot and Bagaduce rivers.¹ Pentagoet lay in the heart of territory claimed by both the English and the French, but New Englanders were unable to wrest control of it from Castin or his Abenaki allies. Although French officials disapproved of Castin's independent lifestyle, his influence among the Abenaki Indians was invaluable to Acadia's defense. Castin's truck house and dwelling were located in

close proximity to a Penobscot village consisting of 32 wigwams and 160 Indians.² By marrying Mathilde, daughter of the highly esteemed sachem, Madockawando, Castin strengthened his alliance with the Penobscots. According to contemporary rumor, Castin preferred life with the Indians to that of a French gentleman, and was a great leader among Abenaki.³

Because English goods were cheaper and more readily available than those from France, Castin sustained positive relationships with Boston merchants in order to keep his trading post supplied. Moreover, Anglo-Indian relations in Acadia and Maine were marred by distrust; the Abenaki preferred to deliver their peltry to Castin rather than trade directly with the English. According to one 17th-century observer, Castin prospered from the arrangement and had "above two or three hundred thousand crowns...in his pocket in good dry gold."⁴ Although the extent of trade Castin conducted with the Abenaki was remarkable, trade between Massachusetts and Acadia was by no means limited to Castin's business; Massachusetts merchants were eager to exploit Acadia's rich supplies of fish, timber, mineral deposits, and peltry.

Castin has been the subject of several fanciful biographical accounts, beginning with the Baron Lahontan's sketch of him in his *New Voyages to North-America*, which was published even before Castin's death.⁵ Perhaps the most famous account of Castin's life is Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's poem, "The Baron de St. Castin" in which Mathilde, Castin's Penobscot bride, is exalted as an Indian princess more than worthy of the rusticated French aristocrat's affections. More accurate biographies of Castin include Robert Le Blant's, *Le Baron de St-Castin: Une Figure Légendaire de l' Histoire Acadienne*, and Pierre Daviault's, *Le Baron de Saint-Castin, Chef Abénaquis*, both of which are based primarily on French documents, and focus on Castin's heraldry and support of French and Indian interests during wartime. Most recently, a biography of the Massachusetts merchant-adventurer, John Nelson, by Richard Johnson, details many aspects of Castin's trade relationship with Massachusetts.⁶

Recently, the discovery of the site of Castin's home and trading post, known as "St. Castin's Habitation," has added a new perspective to what is known about Castin's influence on the development of early Maine and Acadia. The site was located in 1983 by a joint team of scholars from the University of Maine and Bates college led by Dr. Alaric Faulkner and Dr. Bruce Bourque. Subsequent archaeological excavations by teams from the University of Maine have shown that the site represents a significant change in settlement strategy at Pentagoet brought about single-handedly by Castin.

Castin first came to Acadia in 1670 as an ensign at Fort Pentagoet, situated near the mouth of the Penobscot River, near its confluence with the Bagaduce River. At that time, Fort Pentagoet was Acadia's primary defensive work. It was meant to enclose a tiny insular French community of soldiers and protect it from physical assault by the English. In 1674 the fort was completely destroyed by Dutch pirates, and Acadia's top officials were taken captive. Within a year after the fort's destruction, Pentagoet was all but abandoned by the French, but Castin remained and settled on the Bagaduce River, about a mile from the ruins of Fort Pentagoet (Figure 1). In sharp contrast to Fort Pentagoet, St. Castin's Habitation had no defensive works and was accessible to both English traders and Abenaki Indians.⁷

Ironically, when it came time to defend the Pentagoet region against English offensives, Castin's strategy was much more effective than the defensive earthenworks, palisades, cannon, and soldiers at Fort Pentagoet. Although St. Castin's Habitation was raided and probably destroyed by the English during King William's War (1689-1697), Castin and the Indians were mobile enough to avoid attacks by English troops. Supplies, rather than being hoarded in a conspicuous fort, were often hidden in the woods where it was difficult for the English to plunder them.⁸ On the other hand, attacks made on English fortifications and settlements by Castin and his Abenaki allies were notoriously successful.

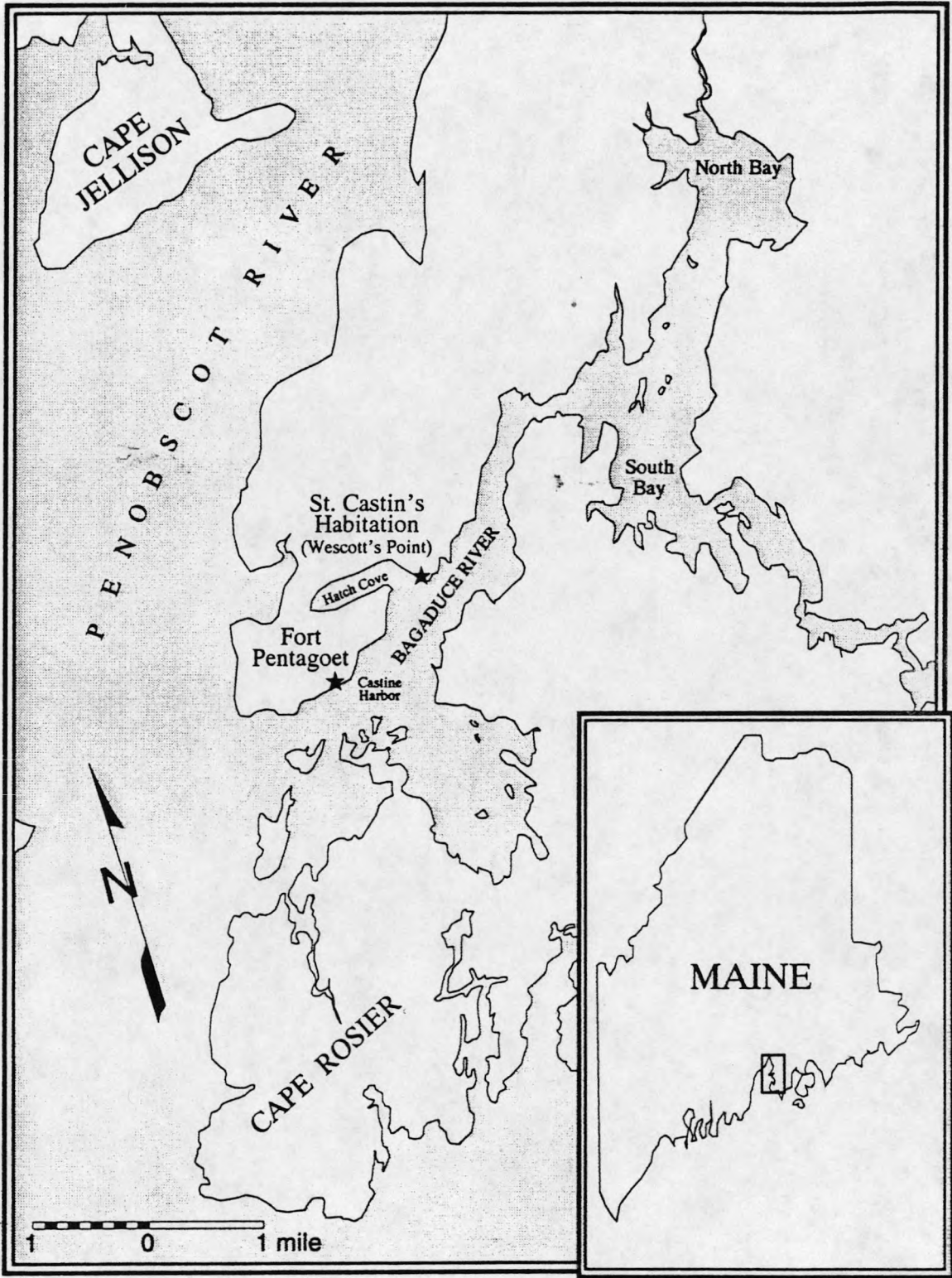


Figure 1. Map of the Pentagoet region showing the locations of St. Castin's Habitation and Fort Pentagoet.

The historical archaeology of Acadia has received increased attention over the past fourteen years and is no longer regarded as merely a supplement to historical research. Analysis of the artifact assemblage from St. Castin's Habitation provides otherwise unattainable information about the types of goods Castin traded with the Abenaki and informs on facets of Abenaki culture largely ignored by contemporary French and English accounts. Historical accounts have helped to make Castin a legendary figure, but the archaeology of St. Castin's Habitation reveals more about the reality of life on the Acadian frontier. St. Castin's Habitation affords a unique opportunity to use archaeological and historical methods to develop a better understanding of Euro-Aboriginal interaction in 17th-century Acadia.

Notes to Introduction

¹According to the *Handbook of North American Indians* the Eastern Abenaki occupied the coast of Maine throughout the 17th century. Some scholars have challenged this designation and believe that during the first decades of the 16th century the people of coastal Maine were actually Etchemin, the name by which Champlain collectively identified the Indians occupying the coastal region from the St. John River in modern day New Brunswick, through the Kennebec River in Maine. The question appears to be moot, however, in the case of the Indians that Castin traded with on the Penobscot and Kennebec Rivers. Most scholars agree that by the late 17th century the Abenaki were the dominant coastal Indians in Maine. If the Etchemin had occupied this territory previously they were no longer present in the region as a culturally unique group by the late 17th century. Regardless of nomenclature, the Indians occupying the Kennebec and Penobscot River drainage basins had a cultural and political affiliation recognized both by French and English colonists in the late 17th century, and they are most easily and appropriately identified by the rivers they lived along, e.g., the Penobscot Abenaki, the Kennebec Abenaki. For a discussion of this debate see Emerson Woods Baker III, "Trouble to the Eastward: The Failure of Anglo-Indian Relations in Early Maine" (Ph.D. dissertation., College of William and Mary, 1987), 15-27; Dean R. Snow, "The Ethnohistoric Baseline of the Eastern Abenaki" *Ethnohistory*, vol. 23, no. 3 (summer 1976), 291-306; Dean R. Snow, *Eastern Abenaki*, in Bruce Trigger ed., *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 137-147.

²"General Census of Acadia by Gargas, 1687-1688," in William Inglis Morse, ed., *Acadiensia nova*, vol. 1 (London: B. Quaritch Ltd., 1935), 149,151.

³Baron Lahontan, *New voyages to North-America*, vol. 1 (London: Printed for H. Bonwicke..., 1703), 223. Copy of a letter from Mr. Randolph to Mr. Povey," June 21, 1688, Hutchinson Papers (Albany: Publications of the Prince Society, Joel Munsell, 1865), 305.

⁴Baron Lahontan, *New voyages to North-America*, vol. 1, 223.

⁵Others include, Catherine Read Williams, *The Neutral French; or The Exiles of Nova Scotia* (Providence: Published by the author, 1841), 92-104. John Gould, *The Wines of Pentagoët* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1986).

⁶Lahontan, Baron, *New voyages to North-America*; Robert Le Blant, *Un figure légendaire de l'histoire acadienne: le baron de St-Castin* (Dax, France: Editions P. Pradeu, 1934); Pierre Daviault, *Le Baron de Saint-Castin, Chef Abénaquis* (Montréal: Éditions de l'A.C.F., 1939); Richard R. Johnson, *John Nelson, Merchant Adventurer* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991). Other informative works include: Ivan Brooks, *The baron de St. Castin* (1883?) CIHM Microfiche no. 00290; Paul Chassé, "The D'Abbadie de Saint-Castins and the Abenakis of Maine in the Seventeenth Century," *Proceedings of the Tenth Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society*, April 12-14, 1984 (Lanham, New York and London: University Press of America, Inc., 1985); Gorham Munson, "St. Castin: A Legend Revised" *The Dalhousie Review* vol. 45 (Autumn 1965).

⁷Alaric and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet, 1635-1674*, (Augusta: The Maine Historic Preservation Commission, and Saint John: The New Brunswick Museum, 1987), 1, 267-269.

⁸Tibierge, "Report on what I have seen since my arrival upon the shores of Acadia, up to September 30, 1695," John C. Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century* (Saint John: The New Brunswick Museum, 1934), 141.

Chapter One

“...without fixed habitation...”

Wescott's Point, the site of St. Castin's Habitation, juts out into the tidal flats on the west side of the Bagaduce River near the town of Castine, Maine. Today, standing on shore at the site, one has a clear view of the comings and goings of vessels in Castine Harbor at the confluence of the Bagaduce and Penobscot rivers, and of the portage across the Castine peninsula leading up the Penobscot River (Figure 2). Yet, the site is inconspicuous, as it no doubt was meant to be in the 17th century. As one involved in trade with Massachusetts merchants which was sometimes illicit, the Baron de St. Castin preferred a spot where he could easily note the approach of visiting vessels, while maintaining some measure of privacy. Because the site was located along a traditional Indian carry, extending from the Penobscot River across Castine neck and into Hatch Cove, it was also an ideal place to conduct trade with the Penobscot Indians.¹

Castin's contemporaries reported that he lived at Pentagoet, the most disputed territory in all of Acadia, for more than thirty years. Indeed, the historical record shows that Castin arrived at Pentagoet in 1670 and left permanently in 1701.² The location of St. Castin's Habitation is noted on maps made of Acadia in the late 1680s and early 1690s by both French and English cartographers. During this time, war was impending between New England and New France, and Acadia was receiving special attention because of its strategic importance. As a result, Castin was becoming an influential political figure, rather than just an unconventional entrepreneur.³

Unfortunately, there is no record of precisely when St. Castin's Habitation was established. Maps of the Pentagoet region are not available for the period of c.1672- c.



Figure 2. View of the site of St. Castin's Habitation looking southwest.
Note Castine Harbor in the background.

1685. During this time, Acadia received little attention from either the English or the French and few, if any, maps were made of the region. Thus, even though archaeological evidence indicates that St. Castin's Habitation was probably established more than a decade before the start of King William's War (1689-1697), there is no record of its existence prior to that time.

Likewise, it was not until 1687 that St. Castin's Habitation was recorded in a census of Acadia. The census, compiled by Vincent de Saccardy Gargus, records two "houses" and 32 wigwams at Pentagoet. It is reasonable to assume that at least one of the houses belonged to Castin. The census records only five adult European men at Pentagoet: three were identified as enlisted men, one was a priest, and the last, indicated simply under the heading, "men," was Castin.⁴

Since the term "Pentagoet" referred to a relatively large and somewhat variable geographic area in the 17th century, the precise location of St. Castin's Habitation eluded 19th and 20th-century researchers until recently.⁵ Some early historians erroneously assumed that St. Castin's Habitation was located at the site of Fort Pentagoet, the French fortification where Castin served as ensign during his early years in Acadia. Now it is clear that after the fort was destroyed in 1674 by Dutch pirates, there were no structures built upon the ruins or in the immediate vicinity until the period of English resettlement, nearly a century later. St. Castin's Habitation was actually located approximately a mile from the ruins of Fort Pentagoet by water.⁶ Although the French planned to re-establish a fort at Pentagoet in the late 17th century and intended for St. Castin to have a part in its construction and administration, the plan was never realized. Excavation of Fort Pentagoet in the early 1980's revealed that the fort had never been repaired and no other structures were built over the ruins until the mid-18th century.⁷

Sequence of Excavation

The search for the site of St. Castin's Habitation began in 1983 with a two week survey of the lower Bagaduce River funded by the Maine Historic Preservation Commission. Using 17th-century maps in conjunction with limited subsurface testing, a team of scholars lead by Alaric Faulkner and Bruce Borque tentatively identified the site on Wescott's Point as St. Castin's Habitation. A segmented test trench consisting of four alternate one-by-two meter pits revealed high concentrations of diagnostic artifacts that could be closely dated to the last quarter of the 17th century. Fired daub, charcoal, and hand forged nails were also found eroding out of the bank along the site's shoreline.

The following year the Maine Historic Preservation Commission funded further excavations. A crew lead by Alaric Faulkner excavated 46 square meters of the site during a four week period and recovered numerous 17th-century artifacts, including clay pipe fragments, bottle glass, ceramics, glass beads, iron hardware, lead shot, and gunflints. Many of the musketballs found *in situ* were neatly aligned in parallel rows within a discontinuous rectangular arrangement of a single course of field stones. The field stones were interpreted as the footings of Castin's truck house, the musketballs having fallen into the spaces between long-since-decayed floorboards (Figure 3). A circular mound of stone and daub (feature 2) was later identified as a bread oven, similar to a type still used in Quebec today. The bread oven was the first archaeological evidence that the site also served a domestic purpose.⁸ During the 1984 season the site was mapped in 25 centimeter contour intervals at a scale of 1:100. A subtle rise in elevation just to the west of the bread oven hinted that there was a second structure, probably a dwelling.⁹

In 1985 a map of the Pentagoet region drawn by the French cartographer, Pasquine in 1688 was located by Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen Fearon Faulkner in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, France (Figure 4). This map was previously available to researchers in the United States and Canada only in black and white. The black and

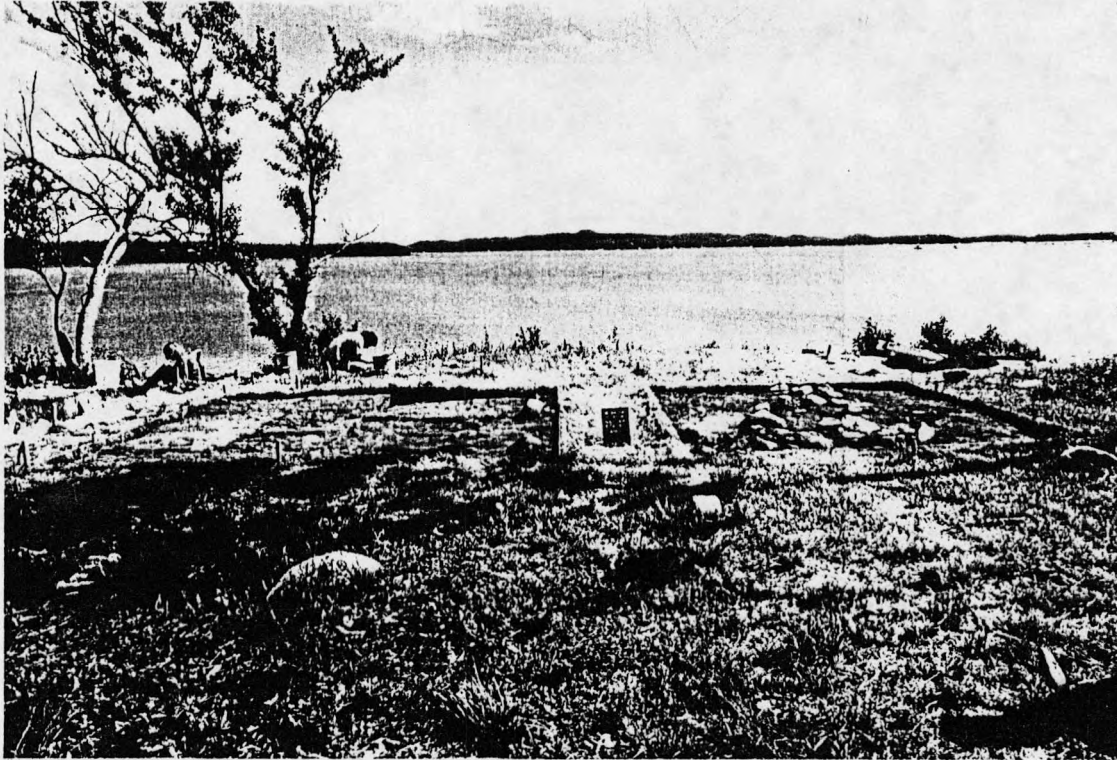


Figure 3. Excavations of Castin's truck house during the 1992 field season.

white version of the “Carte du Havre de Paintagouet,” indicates the presence of the “Habitation de Mr de St Castin” at Pentagoet, but is ambiguous as to its precise location. However, on the original map, which is in color, a tiny red rectangle can be distinguished from similar representations of trees. The rectangle verifies that the precise location of St. Castin’s Habitation is indeed on Wescott’s Point. Other contemporary maps that verify the location of the site have since been located.¹⁰

After a six-year hiatus, during which time the property changed hands and underwent considerable development, a second, more intensive phase of excavation at St. Castin’s Habitation began in 1990. By that time, the new landowners had built a road to the site and had also cleared the site of its dense cover of overgrowth. This facilitated ground penetrating radar (GPR) scans conducted by Daniel Stanfill of Detection Sciences, Inc. and Alaric Faulkner early in the 1990 field season. This survey indicated several subsurface anomalies at the site and provided guidelines as to what areas of the site should receive special attention. The following year, further GPR surveys and additional remote sensing using a flux-gate gradiometer, a device particularly sensitive to iron objects, led to the discovery of several important features over the next four seasons.

Through funding by the Maine Historic Preservation Commission, the Wenner Gren Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and private donations, crews from the University of Maine completed five weeks of excavation in 1990, followed by six weeks in 1991, and a full two months during each of the 1992 and 1993 field seasons. Excavators, under the direction of Alaric Faulkner, located and completely excavated Castin’s dwelling (structure 2) and truck house (structure 1). They also identified several important features, including a watering hole, two European burials, and the remains of what may be Abenaki wigwams (Figure 5). By the end of 1993, more than 10,000 entries for artifacts and samples had been recorded from the excavations.¹¹

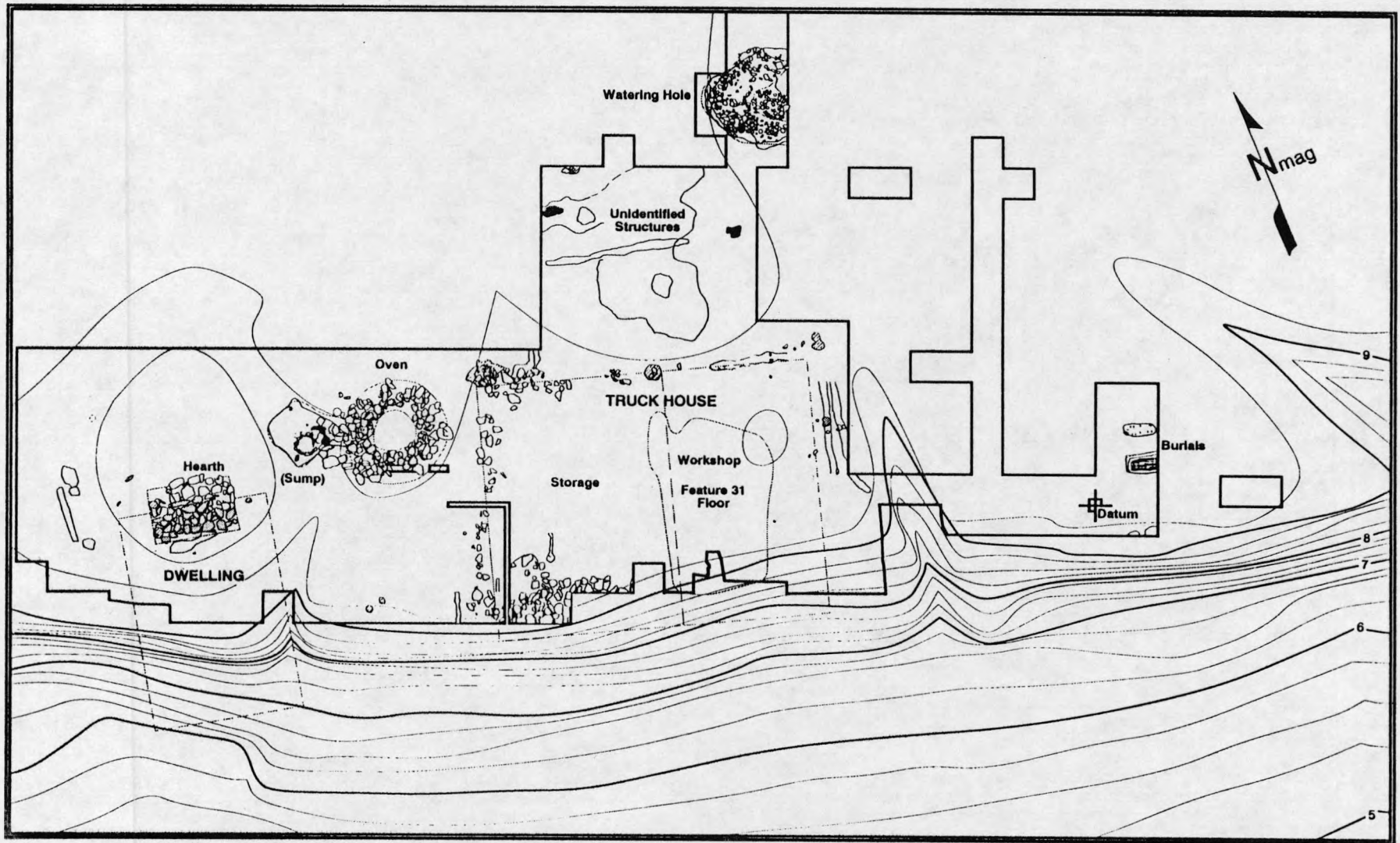


Figure 5. Site map of St. Castin's Habitation. Courtesy of Dr. Alaric Faulkner.

The identification of the remains of two structures at St. Castin's Habitation supports information provided by the Gargus census and prompts the literal interpretation of a map attributed to Pasquine c. 1690 which indicates two buildings on the site (Figure 6). Both structures are represented by very faint "footprints," due to the semi-permanent nature of their wattle and daub construction. A shallow course of tabular fieldstone footings, along with associated concentrations of fired daub, charcoal, nails and other artifacts are all that is left of Castin's truck house. Castin's dwelling is distinguished by the remains of a hearth and chimney, and the distribution of artifacts within the building's interior. It appears to have been built upon wooden sills laid directly on the ground.

Artifacts found in the vicinity of the truck house include lead cloth seals, glass beads, clay pipe fragments and lead shot; all remnants of products sought after by Acadia's indigenous population. However, far from being just a place to store goods brought by English and French traders, Castin's truck house appears to have been the nucleus of his Habitation. In addition to the numerous artifacts found in the vicinity of the truck house that reflect Castin's trade with his Abenaki clientele, the remains of an open-air workshop, used for the manufacture of lead products, were also identified abutting the truck house. The huge amounts of clay tobacco pipe fragments clustered around the truck house and adjacent workshop (feature 31) attest to the tremendous amount of activity that took place there.

Clay Pipestem Bores and Site Chronology

Clay tobacco pipe fragments are among the most abundant artifacts found at St. Castin's Habitation; about 2,500 catalog entries for this artifact type were recorded. Pipe smoking was widely practiced by both European and Aboriginal populations in North America, and European manufactured clay pipes were a cheap, but popular commodity of the fur trade. Therefore, the inexpensive and relatively fragile clay pipes in use during

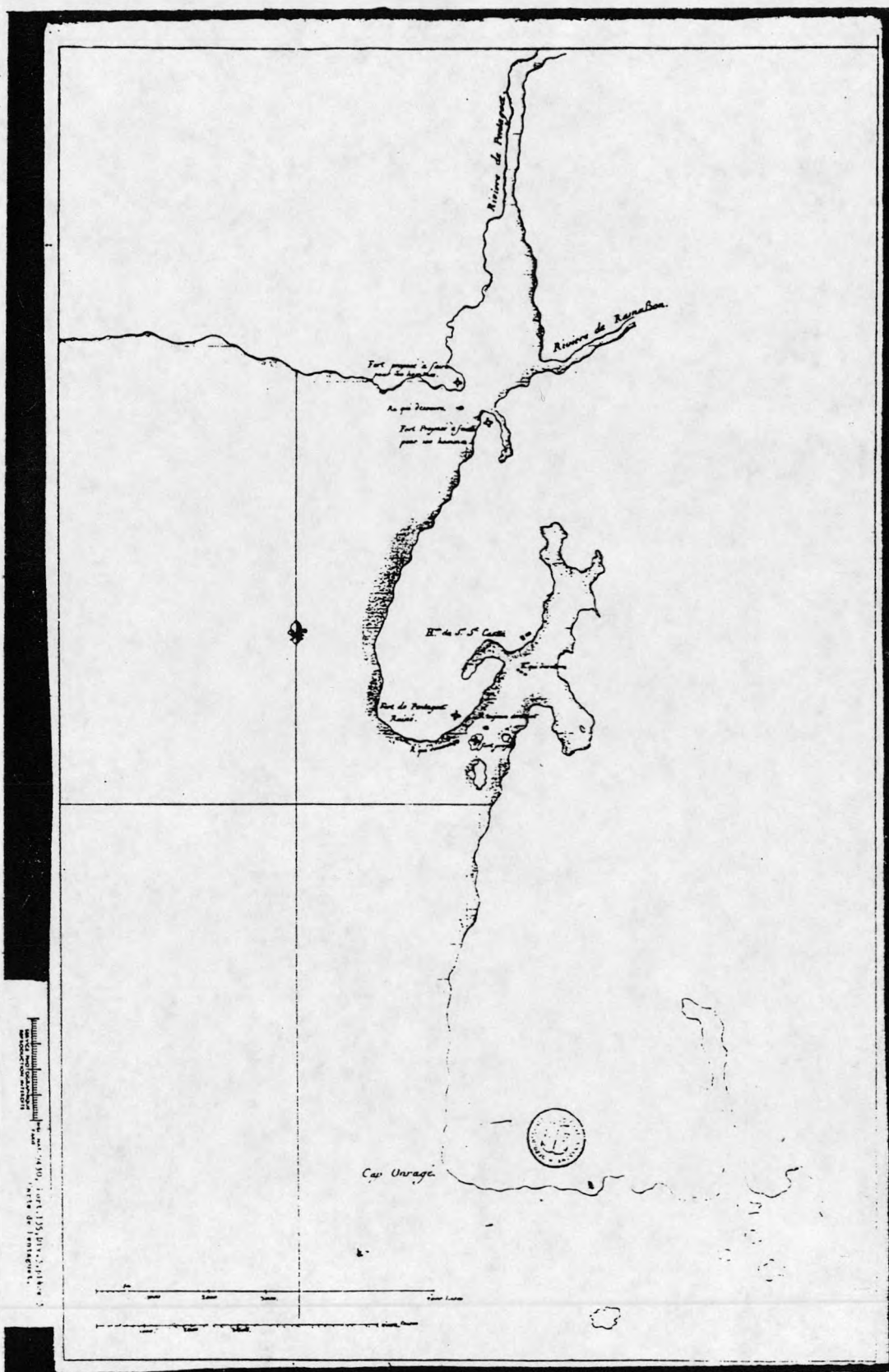


Figure 6. "Carte de Pentaguet," c.1690 (possibly by Pasquine), Bibliothèque Nationale.

the 17th and 18th centuries appear in large numbers on North American colonial sites. Like latter-day cigarette butts, pipes were discarded casually, at the spot where they were last used, or in an area designated for rubbish. Many of the numerous fragments from St. Castin's Habitation still have measurable pipe bores, or smoke holes, which can be used to establish an approximate mean date for a site's occupation, as well as inform on the development of intrasite components, such as Castin's truck house and dwelling.

The idea that a site could be dated through analysis of its pipe bore diameters was first suggested by J.C. Harrington after he observed a regular decrease in the diameter of pipe bores in English pipes manufactured from the 17th to the 19th century. Harrington used drill bits ranging from 9/64 in. to 4/64 in. to measure the diameter of pipe bores from sites with known dates and then assigned different percentages of pipe bore diameters to forty year time periods. Lewis Binford further developed and greatly simplified Harrington's technique by expressing the decrease in the diameter of pipe bores over time as a linear equation.¹²

As long as an adequate sample of pipe stems is used, the Binford formula can usually be depended on to produce a date within a decade or two of a site's mean date of occupation, and often comes remarkably close to the actual mean date. Ivor Noël Hume has found that the Binford formula is most accurate when applied to sites occupied between c. 1680 and c. 1760. When used on sites occupied outside this range, there is a tendency for the Binford formula to yield dates earlier than what other evidence suggests. Although Harrington's research was conducted only with English pipes, the Harrington-Binford dating technique has been proven to work with Dutch pipes as well.¹³

A total of 1,209 of the pipe fragments from St. Castin's Habitation have measurable bores. When all of these fragments are included in the sample, the mean date of occupation for St. Castin's Habitation according to the Binford formula is 1666. This date is ten to fifteen years earlier than what documentary and other archaeological

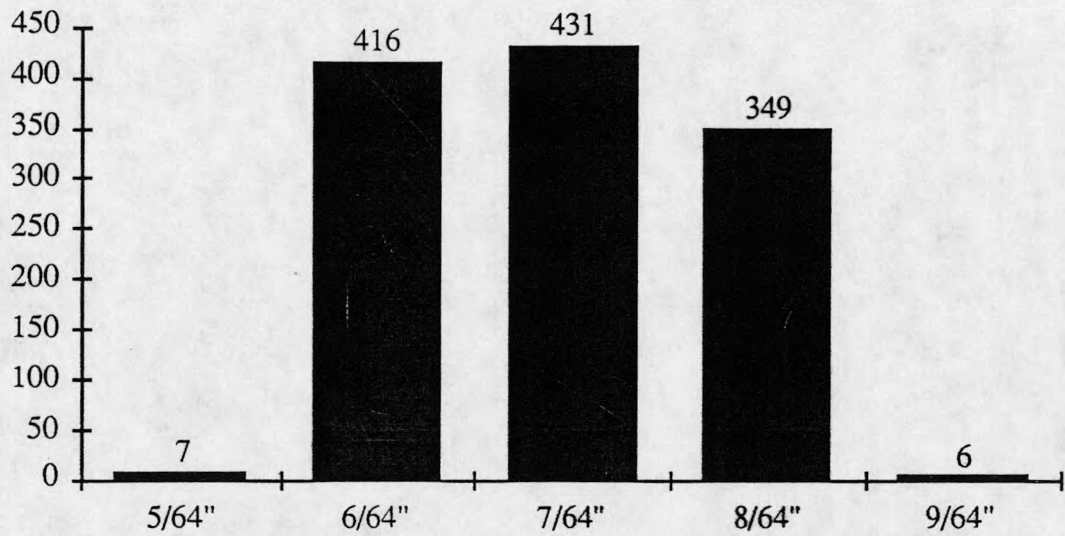
evidence suggest. Most diagnostic artifacts from the site date to the last quarter of the 17th century, and there is no historical evidence of Castin trading in the Pentagoet region until shortly after Fort Pentagoet's destruction in 1674. While it is quite possible that Castin established the Habitation prior to the demise of Fort Pentagoet, there is no evidence that this occurred earlier than Acadia's restitution to the French in 1670.¹⁴

Analysis of pipestem bore diameters has proven more practical for establishing relative rather than absolute dates for St. Castin's Habitation. When amounts of different bore diameters found at St. Castin's Habitation are charted as a histogram, the result is a pattern different from that which has come to be viewed as typical of many other Maine sites. The bore distribution patterns for the contemporary colonial sites, Clark and Lake, Fort Pentagoet, and Cushnoc, are all skewed to the right. There is also a sharp decline in the number of bore diameters smaller than 7/64 in., indicating that these three sites met with an abrupt end at about the same time (Figure 7).¹⁵

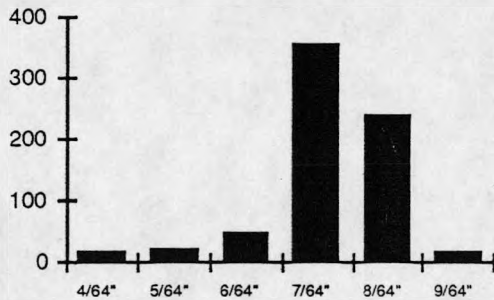
Both documentary and historical evidence clearly indicate that Fort Pentagoet was destroyed in 1674. According to Leon Cranmer, who did an in-depth study of Cushnoc, that trading post was probably abandoned between 1669 and 1676. The Clark and Lake settlement met a catastrophic end when it was attacked by Indians in 1676 during the Abenaki-English war. Many other Maine settlements and trading posts were wiped out just before or during the Abenaki-English War (1675-1678) and therefore have similar bore distribution patterns.¹⁶

The histogram for St. Castin's Habitation, on the other hand, is not skewed to the right, and the sizable percentage of pipestem bores measuring 6/64 in., indicates that, although the sites may have been brief contemporaries, St. Castin's Habitation was occupied after long after Fort Pentagoet, Clark and Lake, and Cushnoc were abandoned. The sharp decrease in bore diameters measuring less than 6/64 in. shows that St. Castin's Habitation was also abandoned abruptly, yet at a much later date. Although, the exact ending date of occupation at St. Castin's Habitation is unknown, historical

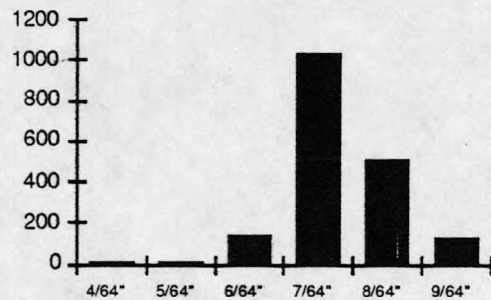
Bore Distribution for St. Castin's Habitation



Cushnoc



Clark and Lake



Pentagoet

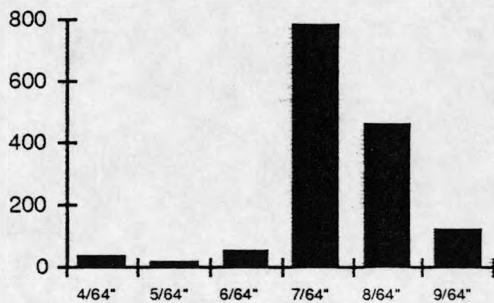


Figure 7. Pipestem bore distribution patterns of four colonial sites in Maine.

evidence suggests that the English destroyed the site sometime during King William's War, probably in the mid-1690s. It remains to be seen if the bore distribution pattern for St. Castin's Habitation is characteristic of other Maine and Acadian sites that either survived or were established after the Abenaki-English War only to be destroyed during King William's War.

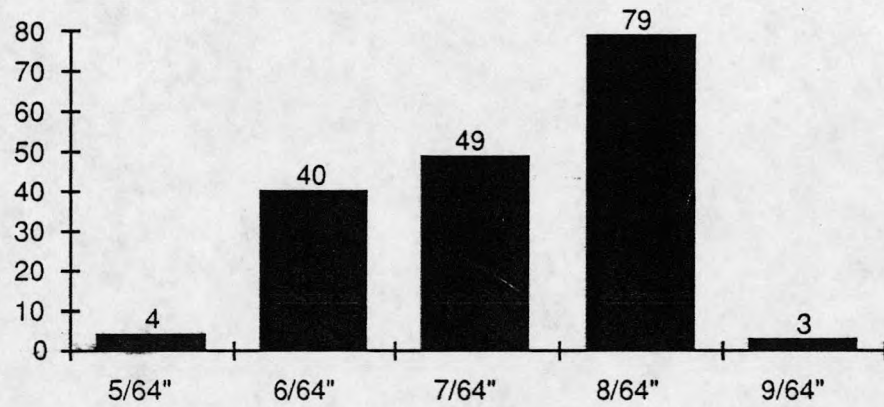
Pipestem bore analysis also informs on the development of intrasite components at St. Castin's Habitation. Pipe fragments from the site are clustered in two major areas, the truck house and the dwelling. When the bore distribution of pipes associated with the truck house is compared to that of the dwelling, it becomes clear that these two structures differ in terms of length and date of occupation (Figure 8). Amounts of pipe fragments associated with the dwelling decrease as bore diameter decreases, resulting in a histogram skewed to the left. The distribution for the truck house, on the other hand, is similar to that of the site as a whole, as this is by far the larger sample. The Binford date is 1655 for the dwelling and 1668 for the truck house.

One likely explanation for the difference in bore distribution between the two structures is that the dwelling was built first, perhaps while Castin was still serving as ensign at Fort Pentagoet. Later, the destruction of Fort Pentagoet may have given Castin impetus to expand his fur trading business and build the truck house. After the construction of the truck house, the focus of activity at St. Castin's Habitation would have switched from the dwelling to the truck house where business was conducted. This would explain the greater amounts of pipe fragments and other artifacts associated with the truck house.

Settlement Strategy

Pipe bore diameter analysis has shown that St. Castin's Habitation was occupied over an extended period of time. Had the site been a place of intensive activity for only a few years, such a wide range in bore diameter measurements would not be expected.

Dwelling bore distribution



Truck house bore distribution

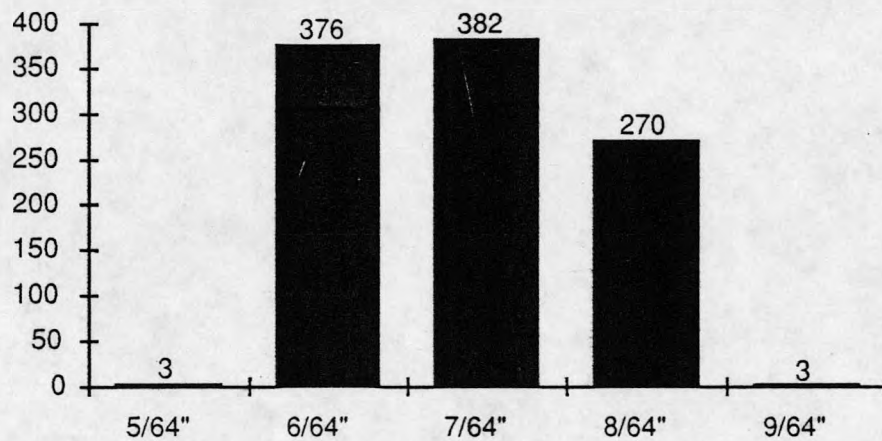


Figure 8. Pipe bore distributions for the dwelling (structure 2) and the truck house (structure 1).

Contemporary maps drawn by both French and English cartographers consistently indicate a site on the west side of the Bagaduce River as St. Castin's Habitation, and there is additional archaeological evidence of a significant period of occupation there. Therefore, in spite of the relative impermanence of its structures, it appears that St. Castin's Habitation was occupied throughout much, if not all, of Castin's thirty-year stay in Acadia.

Yet, Castin was accused by his French superiors of living "sans habitation fixe" at Pentagoet. Historical research indicates that Castin was indeed quite mobile. He conducted business at several points along the Penobscot and Bagaduce Rivers.¹⁷ However, St. Castin's Habitation appears to have been his base of operations throughout much of his stay in Acadia. What the French meant by "without fixed habitation" was that Castin made no attempt to establish a settlement at Pentagoet that could operate independently of the fur trade. Aside from bare subsistence gardening, Castin did not cultivate the land at Pentagoet, or take advantage of any other natural resources, such as timber or fish.¹⁸

Nor does it appear that Castin had any qualms about living in close proximity to the Abenaki Indians who delivered peltry to his Habitation. Just a few meters north of Castin's truck house and dwelling, clustered around the watering hole and in adjacent areas, are a series of post molds which have been interpreted as the remains of Abenaki wigwams, or "cabannes". In his 1687 census of Acadia, Gargus recorded 160 Indians at Pentagoet and 32 wigwams, but he did not indicate whether or not the wigwams were located at St. Castin's Habitation or elsewhere in the Pentagoet region.¹⁹ The Abenaki were probably not settled permanently at St. Castin's Habitation; more likely, the post molds represent seasonal building and rebuilding of wigwams that the Abenaki used when they camped at St. Castin's Habitation either to trade, or in preparation for attacks on English settlements. Regardless of where the Abenaki were situated, St. Castin's

Habitation was economically and defensively connected to the Penobscot Indian village at Pentagoet.²⁰

Castin's settlement strategy was entirely different from that envisioned by French officials when they made Pentagoet the capital of Acadia in 1670, the same year that Castin arrived in Acadia to serve as ensign at Fort Pentagoet. They intended for Fort Pentagoet to support an insular French community of soldiers and settlers who subsisted by means of agriculture. This was a far cry from St. Castin's Habitation, which supported a community of Abenaki Indians rather than French settlers. Archaeological evidence indicates that St. Castin's Habitation represents an innovative approach to settlement on the Acadian frontier that was developed after the destruction of Fort Pentagoet in 1674.

Between 1981 and 1984, the site of Fort Pentagoet was excavated by crews from the University of Maine under the direction of Alaric Faulkner. Excavations revealed that Fort Pentagoet was of sturdy stone construction and was protected from potential enemies by palisades, defensive earthworks, and cannon. Artifacts recovered at the fort indicate that its walls enclosed a tiny transplanted French community. Spurs were worn by French soldiers, even though they had no horses, and food was kept warm over elaborately decorated and distinctly French Saintonge chafing dishes. Artifacts related specifically to trade with an aboriginal population, such as beads or trade rings, are all but absent in the assemblage of artifacts excavated at Fort Pentagoet. Its occupants traded with the Abenaki Indians, but did so well outside the confines of the fort.²¹

Although the Pentagoet region remained in French hands after Fort Pentagoet was destroyed, subsequent leaders of Acadia established their headquarters at more secure locations, such as Port Royal, or along the St. John River. Because of its proximity to English territory and the loss of its only fortification, the Pentagoet region was all but abandoned by the French. The sole French residents were Castin, his "half-breed" children, a few servants, and a priest sent by Acadian officials to help steer

Castin and the Abenaki in virtuous and politically favorable directions.²² It would not have been practical for Castin, in the years following the destruction of Fort Pentagoet, to attempt to rebuild the fort or establish a garrison at Pentagoet. The construction of any large defensive work would have been viewed by suspicious New Englanders as little more than an invitation to attack it.

Instead, Castin chose to trade quietly and peacefully with anyone who was able to provide the European manufactured goods and comestibles he needed to supply his trading post. Castin relied heavily on merchants and traders from nearby Boston for his necessities, and artifacts found at St. Castin's Habitation reflect his English supply sources. The majority of marked clay tobacco pipes from St. Castin's Habitation are embossed "LE" or "WE" for Llewellyn Evans and William Evans respectively, both of whom were Bristol clay pipe manufacturers.²³ Lead-glazed redware, delftware, and fragments of English wine bottles further suggest English suppliers.

However, distinctly French artifacts found at St. Castin's Habitation indicate that Castin received supplies from France as well. Fragments of a single Saintonge vessel constitute the only evidence of that French ware, normally found in abundance on Acadian sites. At least one tin-enameled vessel, a plain faience drug pot, seems to be of French form, and wine and case bottles of French and other European origin are represented as well. A Jesuit trade ring, and cloth seals bearing the arms of the Bourbon kings of France and fleurs-de-lis are unequivocal evidence of a strong French influence at St. Castin's Habitation.

In sharp contrast to Fort Pentagoet, the two, simple, undefended wattle-and-daub structures at St. Castin's Habitation were highly accessible to French and English traders, as well as Abenaki Indians. Castin did not depend on stone masonry or cannon to defend his Habitation. Rather, his alliance with the Abenaki Indians and friendships with Massachusetts merchants allowed him to survive and prosper on the Acadia frontier.

Notes to Chapter One

¹Fannie Hardy Eckstorm, *Indian Place-Names of the Penobscot Valley and the Maine Coast* (Orono: University of Maine at Orono Press, 1978), 195.

²"Mémoire" n.d.; "Mémoire des Services rendus par les sieurs de St-Castin, père et fils dans les pays de Canada en la Nouvelle France," April 23, 1720, in Robert Le Blant, *Un Figure Légendaire de l'Histoire Acadienne: Le Baron de St-Castin*, 137, 157-158; "Resume d'un Lettre du Sieur de St Castin," November 21, 1701, *Collection des Manuscrits contenant lettres, memoires, et autres documents historiques relatifs à la Nouvelle-France recueillis aus Archives de la Province de Québec ou copiés à l'étranger*, vol. 2 (Québec: A Coté and Co., 1883-85), 387.

³Pasquine, "Carte du Havre de Paintagoet," 1688, port. 135, div. 3, pièce 5, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; "Carte de Pentagoet," c. 1690, (possibly by Pasquine), port 135, div. 3, pièce 3, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Map of "New England part of New Fran[ce]," and key, CO 700 New England 2 BC601, British Public Records Office, Kew Gardens. This undated map was probably commissioned in the late 1680's by the Andros administration as tensions between Acadians, New Englanders, and Indians in the northeast mounted and eventually led to King William's War, (1689-1697). The map details French, Indian, and English settlements, fortifications, and trading posts, as well as Indian carries, and navigable or unnavigable rivers. The key to the map often indicates fighting that took place at specific sites during King Philips War, (1675-1676), but does not mention battles that took place during King William's War. It does however, show the stone fort in Brunswick Maine, Fort Andros, which was built in 1688. Therefore, the map was most likely made just prior to or at the commencement of King William's War. Henry E. Dunnack, *Maine Forts* (Augusta: Nash & Son, 1924), 227.

⁴General Census of Acadie by Gargas, 1687-1688, in William Inglis Morse, ed., *Acadiensia Nova (1598-1779)*, vol. 1 (London: Bernard Quaritch LTD, 1935), 145-147, 151. The "enlisted men" at Pentagoet were almost certainly soldiers who had served at Fort Pentagoet who became St. Castin's servants following the destruction of the fort.

⁵Fannie Hardy Eckstorm, *Indian Place-Names of the Penobscot Valley and the Maine Coast*, 191-192. In the 17th century the name Pentagoet referred to both the Penobscot River, and the region at the junction of the Bagaduce and the Penobscot Rivers. Eckstorm gives several examples of how usage of the place-name changed during the 17th and 18th centuries, and gives a detailed etymology of the word.

⁶John E. Godfrey, "Jean Vincent, Baron de Saint-Castin," in *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, vol. 7 (Bath: E. Upton & Son, 1876), 47; Ivan Brooks, The baron de St. Castin, 369; J. G. Bourinot, "Gentlemen Adventurers in Acadia, Jean Vincent de St. Castine," *New Dominion Monthly* (August 1869), 4 microfiche, CIHM no. 06484; Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet, 1635-1674*.

⁷"Resumé d'un Memoire sur l' Acadie par Mons. de Meneval," December 1, 1687, *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 1, 410-411. The Staples-Gray homestead was built upon the ruins of Fort Pentagoet c.1759. Later historians mistook the ruins of the Staples-Gray homestead as St. Castin's Habitation, hence the sign at the site of Fort Pentagoet claiming that Castin rebuilt the fort. Alaric and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet, 1635-1674*, 38-39.

⁸Lise Boily and Jean-François Blanchette, *The Bread Ovens of Quebec* (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1979). This publication aided in the identification of the feature as the remains of a bread oven very similar to those still used in Quebec today.

⁹Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen Faulkner, "Results of the Lower Bagaduce Historic Sites Survey, 1984-85, A completion report submitted to the Maine Historic Preservation Commission," June 27, 1985, on file at the Historical Archaeology Lab, South Stevens Hall, University of Maine, Orono. The rise in elevation was associated with charred stone rubble which turned out, as expected, to be the remains of the dwelling's stone chimney.

¹⁰Pasquine, "Carte du Havre de Paintagouet," 1688; Carte de Pentaguet," c. 1690, (possibly by Pasquine); Map of "New England part of New Fran[ce]" and key; Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen Faulkner, "Results of the Lower Bagaduce Historic Sites Survey, 1984-85."

¹¹Alaric Faulkner, "The Lower Bagaduce Historic Sites Survey, Phase 3: Further Definition of St-Castin's Habitation, 1990-1991, a completion report submitted to the Maine Historic Preservation Commission," July 22, 1991, on file at the Historical Archaeology Lab, South Stevens Hall, University of Maine, Orono.

¹²J.C. Harrington, "Dating Stem Fragments of Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Clay Tobacco Pipes;" Lewis R. Binford, "A New Method of Calculating Dates from Kaolin Pipe Stem Samples"; both in Robert L. Schuyler, ed., *Historical Archaeology: A Guide to Substantive and Theoretical Contributions* (Farmingdale, New York: Baywood Publishing Company, Inc., 1978), 63-65, 66-67.

¹³Lewis R. Binford, "A New Method of Calculating Dates from Kaolin Pipe Stem Samples," 66-67; Alaric Faulkner, "Identifying Clay Pipes from Historic Sites in Maine: Some Rules of Thumb," *Maine Archaeology Society Inc. Bulletin*, vol. 20, no. 1 (Spring 1980), 24; Ivor Noël Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991), 301; Personal Communication, Dr. Alaric Faulkner, March 1994.

¹⁴The first evidence of St. Castin trading with the Indians at Pentagoet comes from the account of a former captive of the Abenaki who was sent by the Indians to procure powder and shot from Castin at "Penobscot." A report by Tibierge, made in the fall of 1695, is the first to mention the destruction of St. Castin's Habitation. Later, in 1700, John Alden, one of Castin's trading partners, also reported that during King William's War, English soldiers had burned St. Castin's wigwams. William Hubbard, *History of the Indian wars in New England*, in *The People's history of America from the earliest discoveries to the present day* (New York: H.S. Allen, 1874), 676; Tibierge, "Report on what I have seen since my arrival upon the shores of Acadia, up to September 30, 1695," John C. Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, (Saint John: The New Brunswick Museum, 1934), 141; "Capt. John Alden's narrative to the Earl of Bellomont," June 13, 1700, in Cecil Headlam, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and the West Indies, 1700*, Preserved in the Public Record Office, (London: Hereford Times Co., LTD., 1910), 371-372, no. 581.

¹⁵Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen Faulkner, "Acadian Maine in Archaeological Perspective" *Northeast Historical Archaeology* vol. 14 (1985), 14-16; Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet, 1635-1674*, 63-64.

¹⁶Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen Faulkner, "Acadian Maine in Archaeological Perspective," 14-16; Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet, 1635-1674*, 63-64; Leon E. Cramner, *Cushnoc: The History and Archaeology of Plymouth Colony Traders on the Kennebec*, Occasional Publications in Maine Archaeology no. 7 (Augusta: The Maine Historic Preservation Commission and Fort Western Museum, 1990), 32, 74; Emerson W. Baker, *The Clarke & Lake Company: The Historical Archaeology of a Seventeenth-Century Maine Settlement*, Occasional Publications in Maine Archaeology no. 4 (Augusta: The Maine Historic Preservation Commission, 1985), 14-15.

¹⁷"Ordres du roi a Menneval," April 3, 1687, *Documents Relatifs a l' Histoire Acadienne*, vol. 2, no. 37, 8, Public Archives of Nova Scotia; Captain Palmer's answer to the French ambassador, November 12, 1687, *Gay Transcripts*, State Papers vol. 6, 113; Tibierge, "Report on what I have seen since my arrival upon the shores of Acadia, up to September 30, 1695," in John C. Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, 141. Gaulin to Tremblay, October 24, 1701, in H.R. Casgrain, *Le Sulpiciens et les Prêtres des Missions-Étrangères en Acadie (1676-1762)* (Québec: Librairie Montmorency - Laval, 1897), 241.

¹⁸According to the Gargas Census, there were just two acres of upland under cultivation at Pentagoet. General Census of Acadie by Gargas, 1687-1688, in William Inglis Morse, ed., *Acadiensia Nova (1598-1779)*, vol. 1, 155, 184.

¹⁹General Census of Acadie by Gargas, 1687-1688, in William Inglis Morse, ed., *Acadiensia Nova (1598-1779)*, vol. 1, 149, 151.

²⁰Father Sébastien Rale described Abenaki wigwams as follows: "Their cabins are very quickly set up; they plant their poles, which are joined at the top, and cover them with large sheets of bark." Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. 67 (New York: Pageant Book Company, 1959), 135.

²¹Fort Pentagoet's magazine, the counterpart to Castin's truck house, was excavated in 1892 by Dr. Willard C. Collins and his brother John under the direction of the historian and amateur archaeologist, George Wheeler. Unfortunately, there is no record of what was found there aside from vague descriptions such as, "curious pottery ware" and "an old-fashioned faucet." There is no way of knowing whether or not the magazine was stocked with trade items intended for the Abenaki. However, if the kind of large scale trading that obviously went on at St. Castin's Habitation also went on at Fort Pentagoet, one would expect to find more trade related artifacts elsewhere in the fort. For instance, there were surprisingly few trade items found in the workshop at Fort Pentagoet, whereas the open-air lead workshop at St. Castin's Habitation yielded hundreds of artifacts related to trade. Alaric and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet, 1635-1674*, 42, 46.

²²George A. Rawlyk, *Nova Scotia's Massachusetts* (Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1973), 52.

²³Iain C. Walker, *Clay Tobacco-Pipes, with Particular Reference to the Bristol Industry*, History and Archaeology no. 11C, (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1977), 1131-1136.

Chapter Two

“He...will be heard about a great deal....”

Throughout the 17th century, control of Acadia shifted between English, French and Scottish hands. Even during periods when European governments agreed on which country should possess the territory, rival claimants of the same nationality vied for power. Acadia's rich natural resources attracted entrepreneurs of all sorts, but its tiny population and meager defenses made it difficult to retain. Establishing permanent, self-sufficient settlements was often regarded as secondary to extracting Acadia's fish, fur, timber, and mineral deposits.¹ While some small agriculturally-based settlements managed to grow amidst the power struggles, Pentagoet, whether under a French or English government, remained ostensibly a place from which to conduct the fur trade.²

Therefore, when one of Acadia's French governors, Charles de Menou d'Aulnay, built Fort Pentagoet sometime between the mid-1630s and early 1640s, he was not trying to protect Acadian settlers or encourage them to come to the Pentagoet region. Rather, the fort's primary function was to protect d'Aulnay's interests in the fur trade against both French and English interlopers.³ Fort Pentagoet continued to serve in this capacity after New Englanders conquered Acadia 1654. The English made no attempt to establish settlers in the Pentagoet region, and the fort remained a bastion of the fur trade for the next 16 years of English rule.

In 1667 the Treaty of Breda between England and France mandated that Charles II return Acadia to the French. This came to include, “the Forts & Habitations of Pentacouet, St John, Port Royal, La Have, and Cape Sable.” However, it wasn't until the

summer of 1670 that Acadia, or Nova Scotia, as it was referred to by the English, was actually relinquished to the new French governor, Hector d' Andigné de Grandfontaine.⁴

The reason for the delay was the reluctance of Acadia's English governor and proprietor, Thomas Temple, to surrender the region to the French. Temple had been struggling to hold on to his position as governor and make a profit in Acadia since 1656. Preferring the comfort of Boston to the Acadian frontier, Temple had allowed others to maintain the fisheries and fur trade that were expected to make Acadia profitable. While his employees and partners filled their pockets, the distant Temple incurred more and more debts. By the time he was asked to relinquish it, Temple had invested 16,000 pounds in Acadia, and Acadian traders and Indians owed him large amounts of capital. Returning Acadia to the French meant that Temple would lose the opportunity to make a profit from the colony he had invested in so heavily.⁵

Realizing that he could not retain all of Acadia, Temple tried to hold on to a portion of it. He claimed that Pentagoet was not a part of Acadia, but a colony of Plymouth to which the French had no claim. He also tried to play on New Englanders' fears of French territorial aggression by emphasizing the danger of relinquishing Pentagoet to the French because it was so close to the New England border (Figure 9). It took a firm admonition from King Charles II before Temple finally relinquished Acadia, in its entirety, to the French. However, the issue of whether or not Pentagoet did indeed belong to the French would be a source of tension between New Englanders and Acadians for many years to come.⁶

In the summer of 1670 Grandfontaine embarked aboard the *St. Sebastien* and sailed from La Rochelle, France to Boston. There he met with Thomas Temple who officially relinquished his rights to Acadia. Shortly after, Grandfontaine sailed on to Acadia and took up his post as governor at Pentagoet, the new capital. Because of its proximity to the New England border, Pentagoet was chosen as the best place from which to govern and defend Acadia. Jean-Vincent d' Abbadie de St. Castin was probably among

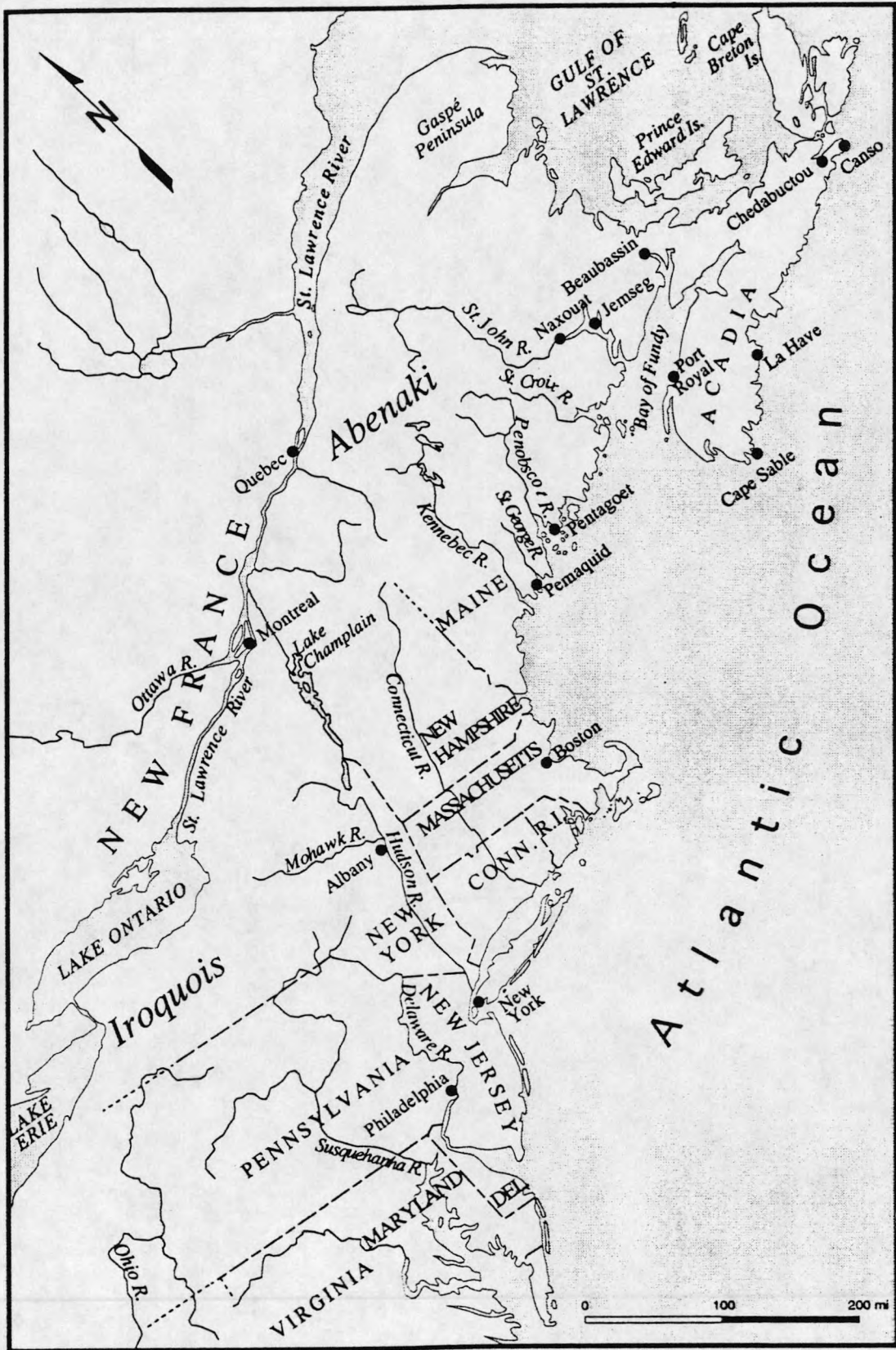


Figure 9. New England and Acadia in the late 17th century (after Johnson, 1991).

the forty soldiers and thirteen officers who accompanied Grandfontaine on his voyage from France. He and the rest of the men were garrisoned at the now rather small and outdated Fort Pentagoet ⁷

Although he had probably never visited Acadia before, Castin was already familiar with New France and its indigenous populations. In 1665, at the age of 13 he came to Canada from France as a member of the Carignan-Salières regiment. For two years the regiment and France's Indian allies fought to subdue the Mohawks who, unlike other Iroquois nations, refused to treaty with the French. His rank as ensign in the regiment indicates that Castin was no typical soldier; he came from the well-established Abbadie/St. Castin family of Béarn France.⁸ However, he was not a first born son and had probably joined the army as a victim of primogeniture. Little is known about the time Castin spent in the Carignan-Salières regiment, but apparently his merit landed him the position of ensign at Fort Pentagoet.

Grandfontaine had also served in the Carignan-Salières regiment, and he and Castin probably became acquainted while in the army. When the regiment was disbanded in 1667 Grandfontaine returned to France for a few years until he was assigned to govern Acadia. There is no record of exactly when or how Castin arrived in Acadia, but it seems likely that he also returned to France and then accompanied Grandfontaine on his journey to Acadia aboard the *St. Sebastien*.⁹

Grandfontaine's initial instructions came from Charles Colbert de Terron, who was the *Intendant de Marine* in France and supported the *Compagnie du Nord*, which carried on trade between Acadia and France in the 1670s.¹⁰ Colbert instructed Grandfontaine to refurbish Acadia's forts, establish communication with Quebec, and quickly put Acadia in a state of defense. Great attention was to be directed toward making the fledging colony self-sufficient and profitable by the fur trade, fisheries, and agriculture. English fur traders were to be thwarted from interloping on Acadian trade.¹¹

Colbert du Terron promised to provide Grandfontaine with anything he needed to fulfill his duties in Acadia. While Grandfontaine did send an account of things he required to Colbert, many necessities were provided by New Englanders, the very people that Grandfontaine was ordered to defend Acadia against. In an early report to his superiors, Grandfontaine informed them that he had bought a ketch from Thomas Temple in Boston in order to take people and supplies to Port Royal and to stop the English from trading furs there. He also claimed that he needed to send to New England for a carpenter in order to construct a small boat or building.¹²

Contacts with Massachusetts merchants had been made during previous French and English occupations of Acadia. Boston was Acadia's closest commercial center, and even though France's ultimate goal was to make Acadia self-sufficient, the practical need to maintain those contacts was recognized by French officials. Jean Talon, intendant to the King in New France, advised Grandfontaine not to "give any cause for jealousy to the English, by new fortifications and new works, nor cause for belief that the King wishes to become the master of all the fisheries...." He also asked that Grandfontaine give "his attention to bringing about a connection and correspondence with Boston" in order to get what he needed. Even so, Grandfontaine had trouble getting supplies to Acadia. In 1672 the garrison at Fort Pentagoet had to send to Quebec for emergency provisions because of the "miserable state" they were in.¹³

This initial dependence on Massachusetts for some necessities did not trouble Grandfontaine and his commissioners. What concerned them was independent traders from Massachusetts and Maine who attempted to deal directly with the Indians of Acadia for peltry. In January of 1672 Grandfontaine complained to the Massachusetts government about one such trader, Daniel Denison, who was not only trading for peltry illegally, but also traded with the Indians for a canon that belonged to the French.¹⁴

Castin probably encountered Denison and other English traders while fulfilling his duties as ensign under Governor Grandfontaine. His position afforded him many

opportunities to travel and become familiar with the Indians and territory of Acadia. One of his earlier assignments was to keep guard over a fort at the mouth of the St. John River.¹⁵ Shortly after, he was assigned to establish overland communication between Pentagoet and Quebec, and to inform the governor of New France, Count Frontenac, of a conflict that had developed between Grandfontaine and his lieutenant, Pierre de Marson.¹⁶

Although there is no record of it, Castin must have begun trading with the Penobscot Abenaki Indians during his early years at Pentagoet. The fur trade was considered to be one of Acadia's greatest resources, but Colbert de Terron's directive was to populate Acadia with French immigrants who would settle the territory and subsist by means of agriculture. Soldiers at Pentagoet and elsewhere were expected to undertake agrarian pursuits. By 1671 Grandfontaine reported that his soldiers had already begun farming about a league from the fort and he requested that some "girls" be sent from France so that his men could begin families.¹⁷ Extensive personal involvement in the fur trade, or an unusually close relationship with the Indians of Acadia was not something that Castin or his superiors would have publicized.

Indeed, the primary reason cited for Grandfontaine's dismissal in 1673 was his alleged participation in the fur trade. Although Grandfontaine had fulfilled his primary duties, Governor Frontenac and others expressed displeasure at his endeavors for personal gain by trading furs to Massachusetts merchants.¹⁸ Henri Brunet, a French trader with contacts in Acadia and Massachusetts, claimed that Grandfontaine regarded Pentagoet as a "place for the fur trade." He also wrote to Colbert de Terron with the following advice:

In the future if his Majesty wishes to maintain a place such as that [Pentagoet], it is necessary to do things differently and not to have as Governor one who is engaged in trading.¹⁹

Grandfontaine's successor was Jacques de Chambly, another former officer in the Carignan-Salières regiment. Chambly served as governor in Acadia for just a little more than a year before Fort Pentagoet was destroyed by Dutch pirates. Chambly, along with lieutenant Marson, was captured and held for ransom, and Castin briefly became Acadia's leader by default.²⁰ The destruction of Fort Pentagoet was a pivotal point in Acadia's history. The situation surrounding the attack and its aftermath tell something of Massachusetts-Acadia relations, and a great deal about what kind of position Castin was in after Fort Pentagoet was destroyed.

In midsummer of 1674 the Dutch privateer, *Flying Horse*, commanded by Jurian Aernoutsz, made its way from the West Indies to New York with a commission granting its crew liberty to "take plundor, spoyle, and poses anny of the Garrisons, Townes, Terrytories, Priveleadges, Shipps, Persons or Estates belonging to anny of his highneses Enemies...." "Enemies" referred to both the French and the English, as the Netherlands had been at war with both for two years. However, by the time Aernoutsz arrived in New York, the Treaty of Westminster had been signed. The Dutch were now at peace with the English, and New Englanders were no longer viable enemies. Subsequently, New Englander John Rhodes, who had worked for Thomas Temple in Acadia before it was handed over to the French, came from Boston to inform Aernoutsz of the "Rasionall Probabilities" of conquering the French in Acadia. Rhodes offered his services to help pilot the *Flying Horse* through Acadian waters. Thus, Aernoutsz decided to fill his tall order by attacking the French to the northeast.²¹

That summer the *Flying Horse* made its way to Pentagoet and quickly captured the fort where only thirty "disaffected and badly armed men" stood to defend it. Governor Chambly was shot during the brief resistance before their surrender, and one account of the attack claims that Castin was tortured in an effort to get him to join the Dutch.²² Not having enough men to leave behind a garrison at Fort Pentagoet, the Dutch decided to turn the guns of the fort inward and destroy it. They then made their way up the coast,

destroying posts and homesteads and taking Acadian leaders prisoner. Castin was sent to Quebec to inform Count Frontenac of the attack and to ask for ransom money. Governor Chambly was held prisoner on the St. John River, unlike Marson and others who were taken to Boston. Frontenac paid Chambly's ransom himself, not wanting "to let our neighbors see a governor in the hands of pirates..."²³

After pillaging the coast of Acadia, the Dutch pirates sailed to Massachusetts where they found that the Massachusetts government was only too happy to approve their plunder as legal prize and even purchase some of it. Credit was also extended to the Dutch in order that they might outfit a couple of vessels and return to the conquered portion of Acadia, now referred to as "New Holland," to maintain their conquest.²⁴ The governor of Massachusetts joyfully proclaimed that "Our neighbors the Dutch have been very neighborly since they had certain intelligence of the peace." Merchant-trader Henri Brunet, who was visiting Boston at the time, wrote to his employers in France that nearby English settlers were "extremely overjoyed at what happened."²⁵

John Rhodes and Dutch captains Peter Rodrigo and Cornelius Anderson returned to Acadia with a commission granting them sole power to trade in and maintain the territory from the Penobscot to the St. John River. To the dismay of Massachusetts traders, who perhaps thought they would now enjoy increased freedom of trade in Acadia, Rhodes and his crew captured English vessels found trading within "New Holland."²⁶

Soon Rhodes and his crew were considered pirates by both the French and English. All vessels traveling "eastward" from Boston were detained until the pirates were captured.²⁷ After being pursued by ships flying French, English and even Dutch colors, the short-lived proprietors of "New Holland" were apprehended and brought back to Massachusetts by Captain Samuel Mosely. Mosely had furnished a Frenchman, probably Castin, with men and supplies to use against the Dutch.²⁸ While trading in Acadia, Henri Brunet helped Castin to mobilize the French against the Dutch after

Pentagoet was taken. Brunet expressed confidence in Castin's abilities, assuring his employers that "He will not fail to surprise them, [the Dutch] and I venture to assume that he will capture them and will be heard about a great deal...."²⁹

In accepting the Dutch conquest of Acadia as legitimate, Massachusetts had failed to consider that the Dutch might be even more restrictive of trade than the French had been. Massachusetts leaders must have been abashed at the task of trying the Dutch for piracy. Just a short time before they had celebrated Aernoutsz's conquest of Acadia and allowed their constituents to buy plundered canon from the Dutch. Perhaps this is why Rhodes, Rodrigo, and Anderson were banished rather than hung as their initial sentence dictated.³⁰ The Dutch ambassador to England soon complained about Massachusetts's attack on Dutch territory, but nothing more was made of the affair.³¹

Although Governor Frontenac blamed the Massachusetts government for organizing the expedition against Acadia, John Rhodes, the trusted former employee of Thomas Temple, was the actual instigator.³² It was he who suggested to Aernoutsz that the Dutch attack Acadia, and his familiarity with the region allowed them to succeed. After being made commander of "New Holland," John Rhodes hoped to have a monopoly on trade there. Historian George Rawlyk surmises that "Rhodes hoped to rule Nova Scotia from Boston as Temple had done."³³

Rhode's aspirations did not expire with his capture and subsequent banishment. He continued to exercise a commission granted him by the Dutch West India Company which allowed him access to the Acadian trade. A few years after the French had reclaimed possession of Acadia, Rhodes was taken prisoner by the government of New York for attempting to conduct trade along the St. George River, territory claimed by both New York and Acadia. In spite of having been a member of the party that supposedly tortured Castin, Rhodes was trading with him in Acadia three years after Fort Pentagoet was destroyed.³⁴

Shortly after the destruction of Fort Pentagoet, Castin received a commission of his own from Count Frontenac. During his trip to Quebec to get the 1,000 pounds worth of beaver skins required for the ransom of Governor Chambly, Frontenac asked Castin to secure an alliance between the French and the Indians of Acadia.³⁵ The request came just as tensions between the Abenaki Indians and the English in Maine erupted into war. The Abenaki-English War, caused primarily by a lack of cultural understanding between English settlers and the Abenaki, helped Castin to forge an alliance with the Penobscot Abenaki that would endure for the next 25 years.

During the third quarter of the 17th century, tensions between the settlers of colonial Maine and the Abenaki mounted. Anglo-Indian relations in Maine had always suffered from a lack of cultural understanding, and this was intensified as the English population of Maine increased. As natural resources in coastal southern New England were depleted, the English were attracted to Maine's rich supply of fish, timber, and farmland, as well as opportunities in the fur trade. The population between the Piscataqua and Kennebec Rivers, or York County, rose to approximately 3,500 English in 1675 with an additional 150 or more families living farther east to the St. George River (Figure 10). As the English population grew so did competition between settlers and Abenaki for land. The increase of English fur traders in Maine, coupled with a decline in the value of peltry, caused further tension as traders tried to get the most peltry for their trade goods. At the same time, the Abenaki were becoming more and more dependent on English goods.³⁶

Massachusetts had governed Maine since the mid-17th century, and in 1674 the Sagadahoc region, which included the territory between the Kennebec and Penobscot Rivers also came under Massachusetts control. Formerly, the eastern part of the Sagadahoc had served as a kind of "demilitarized zone" between Acadia and New England. Now it too was under Massachusetts control. Unfortunately, the Massachusetts government was out of touch with the Abenaki population within its territories and did

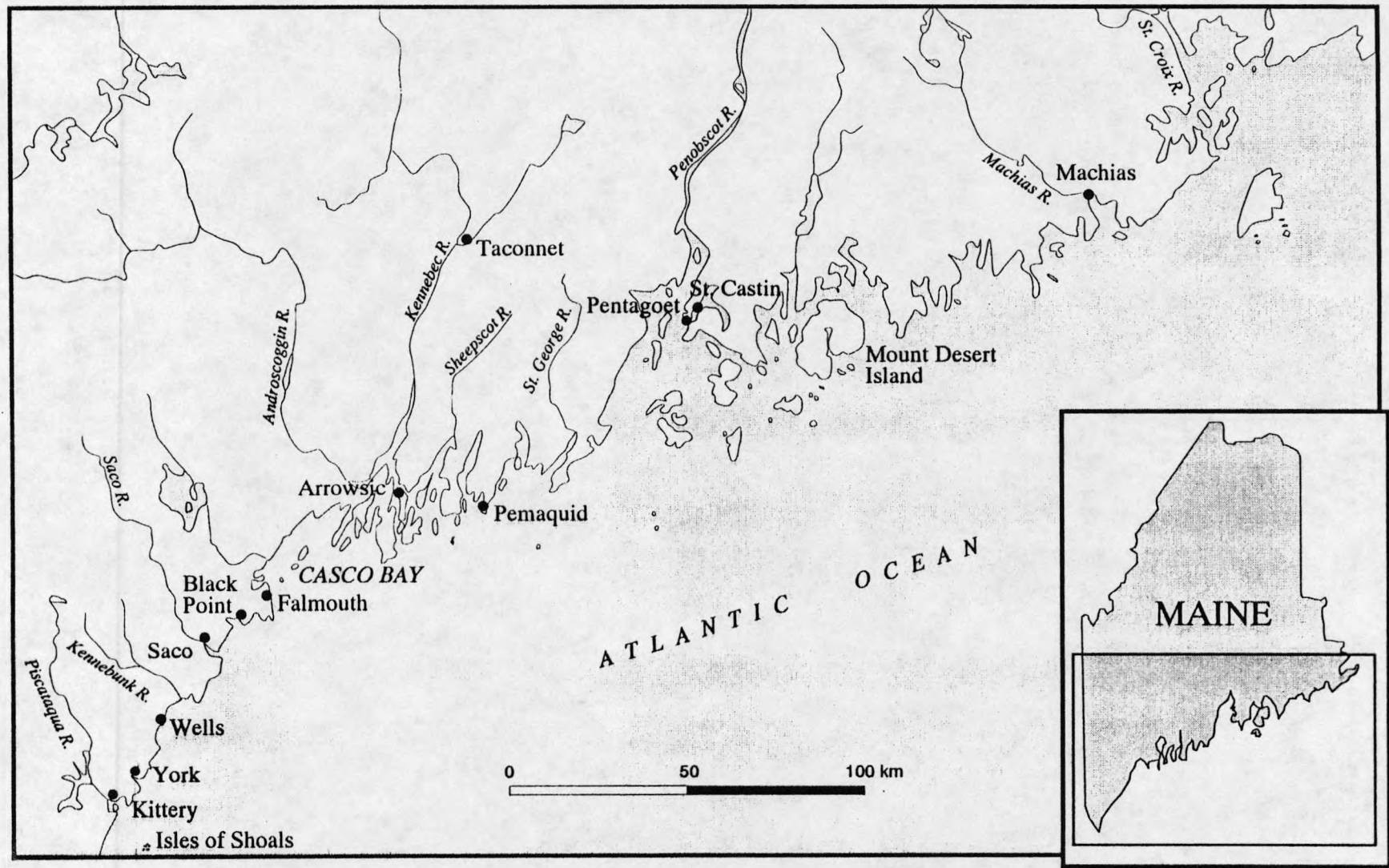


Figure 10. Coastal Maine and part of Acadia at the time of the Abenaki-English War (1675-1678) (after Reid, 1981).

not always recognize the true reasons for discord between the English and Indians in Maine.³⁷

In 1675 King Philip's War broke out in southern New England. Believing that Indians involved in that conflict would encourage the Abenaki to attack English settlers in Maine, the Massachusetts government demanded that the Abenaki give up their arms and knives. Soon after, a series of raids were made by the Abenaki on English settlements between the Kennebec River and Casco Bay. These raids were made primarily by the Saco and Androscoggin tribes who lived west of the Kennebec River.³⁸

The Abenaki of the Kennebec and Penobscot Rivers were reluctant to become involved in the war, but they were dependent on English traders to provide them with firearms and ammunition. Without these they could not hunt for food or the peltry they traded with the English.³⁹ In 1676, during treaty negotiations at Taconnet, Madockawando, chief sachem of the Penobscot Abenaki, explained to English emissaries that the Abenaki would be forced to "go all over to the French" if the ban on powder and shot was continued.⁴⁰ Thomas Gardner, one of the Englishman present at Taconnet, later explained to Massachusetts officials the danger in refusing to accommodate these peaceful Abenaki:

seeing these Indianes in these parts did never apeare dissatisfied untill their Armes were taken Away I doubt of such Acctions whether thay may not be forced to go the french for Releife or fight Against us having nothing for their suport Almost in these parts but their guns.⁴¹

Still, the Massachusetts government would not lift the ban on powder and shot, and within a year the Kennebecs and Penobscots joined their westerly neighbors in war against the English inhabitants of Maine. The Abenaki-English War left many Indians dead, either as a result of fighting, or starvation due to lack of firearms, ammunition, and trade with the English. Approximately 260 Maine settlers were killed, and about half of the

province's settlements were completely abandoned. The war was devastating to both sides, but it proved what one Kennebec Abenaki had said during the conflict:

we are owners of the country & it is wide and full of engons [Indians] & we can drive you out but our desire is to be quiet....⁴²

Although some Abenaki left for the Jesuit mission of Sillery during the war, many stayed. The English, on the other hand, all but abandoned Maine. Most of the Indians' demands were satisfied in the treaty that brought peace in 1678. The English were even required to pay for their use of Abenaki land annually, in the form of a peck of corn per English family.⁴³

Castin's role in the Abenaki-English War is sketchy, as is the role of the French in general. Although Louis XIV ordered Count Frontenac not to become involved in the war, Acadians were not always known for their strict adherence to the orders of their superiors in Canada.⁴⁴ During an Indian raid on settlements at Black Point, a wounded Englishman, who eluded capture by hiding in the bushes, later claimed to have seen seventy or eighty Indian warriors and two or three Frenchmen. The lucky Englishman was at a vantage point to observe that one of the Frenchmen was dressed, "with blue, black, and yellow ribbons on his knees, [and] a hat buckled with a silver buckle." A month later, when the garrison at Black Point was taken, Major Brian Pendleton reported that 300 Frenchmen accompanied 500 Indians in the attack, but there is no other evidence that a French force of that size participated in the war, and this was surely a gross exaggeration.⁴⁵

Little evidence exists that Castin was directly involved in the Abenaki-English conflict. However, the testimonies of English captives of the Abenaki place him at Pentagoet during the war and attest to the close relationship he maintained with the Indians there. Thomas Cobbet, a Massachusetts trader and son of a respected Puritan minister, was captured by Indians at Black Point in 1676 and conveyed to Mount Desert

Island. After nine weeks, Cobbet's captor sent him on an errand to "Penobscot" to get powder from a "Mr. Casteen." As soon as Cobbet reached Pentagoet he was met by Madockawando and by the influential but itinerant Indian leader, Mugg. Mugg and Madockawando treated Cobbet civilly, and arranged for his ransom. No other mention was made of Castin, but Cobbet's testimony is significant in that it proves that Castin was living nearby the Indians at this time.⁴⁶

Cobbet's testimony, which was recorded by the contemporary Puritan author William Hubbard, gives no indication that Castin was providing the Abenaki with powder and shot for the purpose of attacking the English. Hubbard writes that Cobbet's captor needed the powder "to kill moose and deer, which it seems is all their way of living at Mount Desert."⁴⁷ Francis Card, another Englishman who spent time as a captive of the Abenaki, gave a more damning testimony. Card claimed that while in captivity he "herd a french man tell the Idenes that casten was very thankful to them for what they had don and tould them that he and his men would help them in the spring and that he would se for pouder [powder] this winter."⁴⁸

At any rate, bygone authors who blame Castin for showing the Indians how to use guns and rallying the Abenaki against the English are off the mark. Madockawando and other Indian leaders acted independently of the French during the Abenaki-English War. Representing the interests of the Penobscots, Madockawando vied for peace with the English throughout the conflict. At no time is Castin mentioned during any of the negotiations between Abenaki leaders and the English.

By the fall of 1676 lieutenant Marson had been ransomed and was back at his post at Fort Jemseg on the St. John River.⁴⁹ Although he was re-appointed governor of Acadia in 1676, Governor Chambly does not appear to have returned to his post in Acadia, and Marson was briefly made commander of the region in 1677. Castin visited Marson on the St. John River, but appears to have remained at Pentagoet where his relationship with local Indians made the Massachusetts government wary. Regardless of whether or not he

participated, it was during the Abenaki-English War that Castin first attracted the attention of the Massachusetts government.⁵⁰

Notes to Chapter Two

¹ John G. Reid, *Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland*, (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 115-116.

² See Andrew Hill Clark, *Acadia, The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), 71-108; MacDonald, M. A., *Fortune & La Tour: the Civil War in Acadia* (Toronto: Methuen, 1983).

³ It was reported by one of d'Aulnay's rivals, Nicolas Denys that he "feared that it [Acadia] would become inhabited, and not only brought no one there, but he took away all the residents of La Haive (La Hève) to Port Royal, holding them there as serfs, without allowing them to make any gain." This is an exaggeration as d'Aulnay did recruit some colonists, especially much needed trades people. However, during his tenure in Acadia very limited progress was made in increasing the territory's population. D'Aulnay's priority was defending his monopoly on Acadia's fur trade against rival claimants such as Charles de la Tour and Denys. Alaric and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet, 1635-1674*, 16-20; Nicolas Denys, *The Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1908), 151.

⁴ Alaric and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet, 1635-1674, An Archaeological Portrait of the Acadian Frontier* (Augusta: The Maine Historic Preservation Commission, 1987), 20, 23-24; Order of King Charles II of England commanding Colonel Temple to restore Acadia to France, August 6, 1669, *Archives des Colonies*, series C11D, vol. 1, fol. 136-137, National Archives of Canada.

⁵ Richard R. Johnson, *John Nelson, Merchant Adventurer*, 21. Alaric and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet, 1635-1674*, 21-23. As governor Temple defended Acadia from "diverse small attempts made by the French," and worked to drive French settlers out of the region. It is no wonder he was reluctant when commanded shortly after to give up Acadia to the French. Quote from John G. Reid, *Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland*, 155-157.

⁶ Temple was not the only one dissatisfied with the arrangement. The Treaty of Breda was "generally lamented throughout New England." Quote from Edward T. Harrington, Robert H. Lord and John E. Sexton, *History of the archdiocese of Boston in the various stages of its development, 1604 to 1943.....*, vol. 1 (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1944), 20.

⁷ Olmstead, J.W., "The Voyage of Jean Richer to Acadia in 1670: A Study in the Relations of Science and Navigation Under Colbert," *American Philosophical Society*, vol. 104, (1690), 624-626. Alaric and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet, 1635-1674*, 23, 25.

⁸ Robert Le Blant, *Un Figure Légendaire de l'Histoire Acadienne: Le Baron de St-Castin*, 41; "Abbadie de Saint-Castin, Jean-Vincent d'," David M. Hayne, ed., *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 2 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 4; René Chartrand, *The French Soldier in Colonial America, Historical Arms*, series no. 18 (Bloomfield Ontario: Museum Restoration Service, 1984), 6-8; Bruce G. Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers: Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985), 283-284. The regiment was an integral part of a campaign led by Louis XIV and his minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert to revitalize New France. Previously, emphasis had been on the fur trade which was to provide the revenue needed for colonization and expansion in New France. Efforts at colonizing, however, were bogged down by trade wars with the Iroquois, particularly the Mohawks. The Carignan-Salières regiment succeeded in forcing the Mohawks to make peace with the French.

⁹ "Andigné de Grandfontaine, Hector d'" *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 2, 61-62; René Chartrand, *The French Soldier in Colonial America, Historical Arms Series no. 18* (Bloomfield Ontario: Museum Restoration Service, 1984), 6-8. Of the original 1,200 members of the Carignan-Salières regiment over 400 settled in Canada after it was disbanded. Many of the soldiers at Fort Pentagoet were probably veterans of the regiment.

¹⁰Louis-André Vigner, "Memoranda and Documents: Letters of An Acadian Trader, 1674-1676," *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 13, (1940), 98.

¹¹"Instructions pour le Chevallier de Grand Fontaine," March 5, 1670," *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 1, 191-194.

¹²"Instructions pour le Chevallier de Grand Fontaine," March 5, 1670," *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 1, 191-194; Report on Acadia by Chevalier de Grandfontaine, n.d., *Archives des Colonies*, Series C11D, vol. 1, fol. 139, translation Dr. Alaric Faulkner. It is ambiguous from the original document whether Grandfontaine sent for a carpenter to build some small boats, or small buildings: "Qu' il devoit envoyer chercher un charpentier a la nouvelle angleterre pour construire quelque petit bastiment..."

¹³"Memoire de M. Talon au Roy" November 10, 1670, *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 1, 202-204; "Lettre du Gouverneur de Frontenac au Ministre," November 2, 1672, in *Rapport de L'Archiveiste de la Province de Québec*, 1926-1927 (L.-Amable Proulx: Imprimeur de sa Majesté le Roi, 1927), 17.

¹⁴Grandfontaine to Massachusetts government, January 12, 1672, *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. 2, 512.

¹⁵Report on Acadia by Chevalier de Grandfontaine, n.d., *Archives des Colonies*, series C11D, vol. 1, fol. 139.

¹⁶Gorham Munson, "St. Castin: A Legend Revised," 345.

¹⁷Alaric and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet, 1635-1674*, 28; John G. Reid, *Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland*, 157-159. Castin was probably one of the soldiers who had "begun farming." St. Castin's Habitation is about a league (three miles) from Fort Pentagoet over land and it is likely that it started out not as a trading post but as Castin's homestead.

¹⁸John G. Reid, *Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland*, (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press), 161; Alaric and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet, 1635-1674, An Archaeological Portrait of the Acadian Frontier* (Augusta: The Maine Historic Preservation Commission, 1987), 28; "Andigné de Grandfontaine, Hector d'," George W. Brown, ed., *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* vol. 1 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), 63. "Lettre du Gouverneur de Frontenac au Ministre Colbert," November 13, 1673, *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1926-1927* (L.-Amable Proulx: Imprimeur de sa Majesté le Roi, 1927), 43.

¹⁹Henri Brunet to "Messieurs," December 13, 1674; Henri Brunet to Colbert du Terron, November 7, 1674, both in Louis-André Vigner, "Memoranda and Documents: Letters of an Acadian Trader, 1674-1676," 100-103.

²⁰"Memoire de M. le Comte de Frontenac au Ministre," November 14, 1674, *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 1, 229-231.

²¹"Plea & Answer of Peter Rodrigo & Others," in James Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine, Containing the Baxter Manuscripts*, vol. 6 (Portland, Maine: The Thurston Print, 1900), 53-54; "Aernoutsz, Jurriaen," George W. Brown, ed., *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 1, 39.

²²Memoire de M. le Comte de Frontenac au Ministre," November 14, 1674, *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 1, 229-231; "Mémoire des Services rendus par les sieurs de St-Castin, père et fils dans les pays de Canada en la Nouvelle France," April 23, 1720, in Robert Le Blant, *Un Figure Légendaire de l'Histoire Acadienne: Le Baron de St-Castin*, 158.

²³"Plea & Answer of Peter Rodrigo & Others," in James Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine, Containing the Baxter Manuscripts*, vol. 6, 54-55; "Memoire de M. le Comte de Frontenac au Ministre," November 14, 1674, *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 1, 229-231.

24“Plea & Answer of Peter Rodrigo & Others,” in James Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine, Containing the Baxter Manuscripts* vol. 6, 55-56.

25“Extract of a letter of Governor Leverett to Mr. John Collins,” August 24, 1674, in George A. Wheeler, *History of Castine, Penobscot, and Brooksville*, Maine (Cornwall, New York: privately printed, 1923), 218-219; “Henri Brunet to Monsieur [Colbert],” November 7, 1674, in Louis-André Vigneras, “Memoranda and Documents Letters of An Acadian Trader, 1674-1676,” 101.

26“Plea & Answer of Peter Rodrigo & Others,” in James Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine, Containing the Baxter Manuscripts*, vol. 6, 55-59.

27Order of the governor and council to stop all vessels going eastward from Boston, February 15, 1675, *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. 61, 69.

28“Plea & Answer of Peter Rodrigo & Others,” in James Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine, Containing the Baxter Manuscripts*, vol. 6, 59, 64, 65; “Commission of Captain Samuel Mosley,” February 15, 1675, *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. 61, 67-68. The ship flying Dutch colors that helped to pursue the buccaneers was captained by George Manning. The Dutch had apprehended his ship and he had agreed to join them, but when the buccaneers came under attack from French and English ships Manning turned on the his Dutch captors, although his ship still flew Dutch colors.

29Henri Brunet to “Messieurs,” December 13, 1674, in Louis-André Vigneras, “Memoranda and Documents Letters of An Acadian Trader, 1674-1676,” 103.

30“Answer of the Governor and Council of Massachusetts to the Memorial of the Dutch Ambassador,” October 5, 1676, in Charles Wesley Tuttle, *Capt. Francis Champernowne, The Dutch Conquest of Acadie, And Other Historical Papers* (Boston: John Wilson and Son University Press, 1889), 388.

31Letter from the Dutch Ambassador to the King of Great Britain,” July 26/August 5, 1675, in Charles Wesley Tuttle, *Capt. Francis Champernowne, The Dutch Conquest of Acadie, And Other Historical Papers*, 382.

32“Letter of Count Frontenac to the Magistrates at Boston,” May 25, 1675, in Charles Wesley Tuttle, *Capt. Francis Champernowne, The Dutch Conquest of Acadie, And Other Historical Papers*, 348-349; “Memoire de M. le Comte de Frontenac au Ministre,” November 14, 1674, *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 1, 229-231. Massachusetts governor, John Leverett was the same man who had attacked and taken Fort Pentagoet from the French in 1654 under circumstances similar to the Aernoutsz expedition. Alaric and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet, 1635-1674*, 20.

33“The Commission of John Rhode,” September 11, 1676, in Charles Wesley Tuttle, *Capt. Francis Champernowne, The Dutch Conquest of Acadie, And Other Historical Papers*, 377; George A. Rawlyk, *Nova Scotia's Massachusetts*, 38.

34“The Dutch Ambassador to the Lords of the States-General,” August 5/15, 1679; “Letter of the Dutch Ambassador to the Lords of the States General,” October 3, 1679, both in Charles Wesley Tuttle, *Capt. Francis Champernowne, The Dutch Conquest of Acadie, And Other Historical Papers*, 389-390, 394-396; George A. Rawlyk, *Nova Scotia's Massachusetts*, 39.

35“Mémoire des Services rendus par les sieurs de St-Castin, père et fils dans les pays de Canada en la Nouvelle France,” April 23, 1720, Robert Le Blant, *Un Figure Légendaire de l'Histoire Acadienne: Le Baron de St-Castin*, 158.

36Emerson Woods Baker III, “Trouble to the Eastward,” 184-186; Robert Earle Moody, “The Maine Frontier, 1607-1763” (Ph.D. dissertation., Yale University 1933), 260.

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- ³⁷John G. Reid, *Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland*, 131-132; Emerson Woods Baker III, "Trouble to the Eastward," 72, 187-88.
- ³⁸Emerson Woods Baker III, "Trouble to the Eastward." 189-91.
- ³⁹Emerson Woods Baker III, "Trouble to the Eastward," 189-192; "Letter [of] Thomas Gardner to Gov. Leverett," September 22, 1675, James Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine, Containing the Baxter Manuscripts*, vol. 6, 91-93.
- ⁴⁰William Hubbard, *History of the Indian wars in New England*, in *The People's history of America from the earliest discoveries to the present day*, 672.
- ⁴¹"Letter [of] Thomas Gardner to Gov. Leverett," September 22, 1675, James Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine, Containing the Baxter Manuscripts*, vol. 6, 91-93.
- ⁴²"Moxes & Indians W.G. & G recd by Mrs Hamond," July 1, 1677, James Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine, Containing the Baxter Manuscripts*, vol. 6, 178.
- ⁴³John O. Noble, "King Philip's War in Maine," (M.A. thesis., University of Maine, 1970), 6-7; "Moxes & Indians W.H. & G recd by Mrs Hamond," July 1, 1677, James Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine, Containing the Baxter Manuscripts*, vol. 6, 178; Emerson Woods Baker III, "Trouble to the Eastward," 213, 218; Patricia Dickason, "The French and the Abenaki: A Study in Frontier Politics," *Vermont History*, vol. 58, no. 2 (Spring 1990), 86-87.
- ⁴⁴Emerson Woods Baker III, "Trouble to the Eastward," 201.
- ⁴⁵"Letter Brian Pendleton to the Gov. & Council," n.d., James Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine, Containing the Baxter Manuscripts*, vol. 6, 141. Henry Jocelyn and Joshua Scottow to Governor Leveret, September 15, 1676, Collections of the Maine Historical Society, Portland, Maine; Emerson Woods Baker III, "Trouble to the Eastward," 201.
- ⁴⁶William Hubbard, *History of the Indian wars in New England*, in *The People's history of America from the earliest discoveries to the present day*, 676.
- ⁴⁷William Hubbard, *History of the Indian wars in New England*, in *The People's history of America from the earliest discoveries to the present day*, 676.
- ⁴⁸"Francis Card's Declaration," January 22, 1677, James Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine, Containing the Baxter Manuscripts*, vol. 6, 149-151.
- ⁴⁹"Joybert de Soulanges et de Marson, Pierre de," George W. Brown, ed., *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 1, 399.
- ⁵⁰"Chambly, Jacques de," George W. Brown, ed., *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 1, 185.

Chapter Three

“This gentleman who has acquired a great deal....”

Early in 1677, the government of Massachusetts placed an embargo on all ships “bound for the eastward.” Not only did the embargo forbid ships to leave for Acadia, but it also dictated that any vessel and its cargo coming into Boston from Acadia would be confiscated. The English and Abenaki were at war, and the Massachusetts government feared that Acadian traders, such as Castin, were supplying the Abenaki with powder, shot and other supplies.¹

That summer, William Tailer, a wealthy Boston merchant, petitioned the Massachusetts government to make an exception to the embargo. He asked that a small bark, which had been consigned to him by Marson and Castin, be allowed to return to Acadia with the English goods they requested. Further he asked that the vessel later be allowed to return to Boston from Acadia with payment for the supplies. He argued that, according to the ship’s master, Solomon Greene, the French were starving; furthermore Marson and Castin were indebted to Tailer. The court granted Tailer permission to return the bark to Marson and Castin, but said that it must go back to Acadia empty, without the requested English provisions.²

Tailer tried to convince the council again with a second, more detailed petition. Here he argued that Marson and Castin often sent considerable amounts of moose and beaver pelts to Boston and were willing to trade these to Boston merchants in exchange for goods that were not otherwise “vendible.” Tailer pointed out that if he were not allowed to send the goods requested that the French might go elsewhere—perhaps New York—to trade, and that this would be a great loss to Boston merchants. He also argued that such rejection

might “be a prejudice to mr John Nelson.” Nelson, who was about the same age as Castin, had held a similar position in Acadia under his uncle, Thomas Temple during the earlier period of English control of Acadia. Nelson took up permanent residence in Boston after Acadia was handed over to the French in 1670, but continued to be active there as a “merchant adventurer.” According to Tailer, Nelson had “great favor shown him Amongst the French.” If the French were starving, Tailer continued to argue, they would not spare any of their supplies to the “heathens.” Besides, Marson, Tailer claimed, was more like an Englishman than a Frenchman.³

This time the government granted Tailer’s petition. On the list of goods requested by Marson and Castin, the council marked an X by every item they allowed to be sent to Acadia (Figure 11). For the most part Marson requested provisions—things considered necessary for basic survival on the Acadian frontier, such as barrels of flour, pork, beef, rum, wine, cloth, Indian corn, and some tobacco and pipes. The Xs by Marson’s requests indicated that all were granted with the exception of the thirty bushels of Indian Corn and the six axes.⁴

Castin’s list was a bit different, for he had the audacity to request ten dozen knives. Because he was one of a very few Europeans living at Pentagoet in 1677, these could only have been meant for the Indians settled there. In addition to other, less suspicious items, Castin also asked for “350 yards of Cotton & Duffels, some blankets [and] 15 pound of Red Led.” These items were surely intended for the Penobscot Abenaki. The Massachusetts government was suspicious of Castin’s request for knives and other trade items in the middle of a war between the Abenaki and the English and there are no Xs by any of the items he requested.

The types of English goods Castin requested, that is, knives, trucking cloth, and probably the red lead, indicate that he was already trading English goods to the Indians for peltry, which he in turn sent to Boston. Indeed, even in the middle of a war between the Abenaki and the English he was comfortable requesting not only food, but trade items from

Desired by marson de marson

- 14 Barrells of Irish flour which hee left bought when hee went away
- 2 Barrells of pork, 2 barrells of beefe,
- 6 Barrells of Rum, 3 barrells of wine
- 30 Bushells of Indian Corne
- 9 peeces of Cotton
- 3 peeces of Duffell
- 2 Barrells of melleffay
- 1 Barrell of tobacco & some pipes
- 4 kils of salt
- 1 one grinding stone with 2 S
- 6 Axes

By St Castin

- 3 Barrells of pork
- 4 Barrells of rum, melleffay & wine
- 2 Dozen of Irish hose
- 4 Barrells of flour
- 5 Bushells of pease
- 4 Hintalls of Biskett
- 10 Bushells of Indian Corne
- 350 yards of Cotton & Duffell
- four Blankets
- 15 pound of Red Led
- 10 Dozen knives
- 30 pound of Raisens
- 1 kils & 1 barrell of Butter

Figure 11. Goods desired by Castin and Marson, Massachusetts Archives.

Massachusetts. Tailer's petition claims that the French often sent peltry to Boston in great quantities and that if this trade were curtailed it would hurt Boston merchants financially. Just because the French in Acadia were hungry in 1677 did not mean that they were not wealthy. It appears from Tailer's petition that at least some early Acadians had amassed great wealth in the form of peltry. War had just made it more difficult to exchange this valuable resource for food and English merchandise.

In July of 1680, three years after his request for trade items was denied by the Massachusetts government, Castin wrote a polite letter to Governor Simon Bradstreet of Massachusetts asking for "La Liberté du commerce" with Boston merchants. The Abenaki-English War was over, but Castin acknowledged that "any day there could be war between the two crowns." In spite of this threat, Castin asked that he be able to continue trading in Boston.⁵ No official reply to his request has been located, but the historical and archaeological records are replete with evidence that Castin conducted profitable trade with Massachusetts throughout his thirty-year-long stay in Acadia.

Maintaining trade between Acadia and Massachusetts was essential if Castin was to continue providing European goods to the Abenaki. Because they lacked support from France, even the largest Acadian settlement of Port Royal was dependent on Massachusetts for some supplies. As one Canadian official put it:

...up to the present no Frenchman has ever been able to transport any provisions, used clothing, and other merchandise suitable for trade with the people of Port Royal and other places in Acadia, and without the help of the English, who have always brought necessities there, this country would have been abandoned.⁶

The treaty that ended the war in 1678 stabilized relations between the Abenaki and English. Yet an atmosphere of distrust remained and the memory of the conflict encouraged positive French-Indian relations. Marson died in 1678, and Michel Leneuf de La Vallière took his place as the commandant of Acadia.⁷ According to historian John Reid, La Vallière's "frank recognition of the need for coexistence with the English colonists further

south” allowed Acadians to trade freely and legally with Massachusetts merchants and traders.⁸ No one took advantage of both the renewed openness between Acadia and Massachusetts and the opportunity to cement relations with the Indians of Acadia more than Castin.

Although he allowed the English to buy licenses which permitted them to fish in Acadian waters, La Vallière forbade trade between the English and the Indians of Acadia. Because Fort Pentagoet had been destroyed, La Vallière governed from Port Royal and his seigneurie at Beaubassin, leaving Castin and the Penobscot Abenaki to command themselves. Thus, Castin’s position was ideal; he was free to trade with the English, yet the English and Indians were not permitted to trade with one another.⁹

Even though Louis XIV complained of Castin’s “vie vagabonde,” and French officials were well aware of his trade with the English.¹⁰ Castin’s position in Acadia was secured by his relationship with the Abenaki. The Abenaki were potentially important allies of the French, and Castin was responsible for maintaining their allegiance. He had even formalized his alliance with the Penobscots by marrying Madockawado’s daughter, Matilde, in a Christian ceremony.¹¹ One Acadian governor claimed that “The Sieur de St. Castin is absolute master of the savages... and all of their business, being in the forest with them since 1665....”¹²

Henri Brunet and John Nelson stand out as Castin’s most important suppliers of European goods during the 1670s and 80s. Most of what is known about Brunet comes from his copybook, kept between 1673-1676. As an official of the *Compagnie du Nord* in the 1670s, Brunet conducted trade between his native France, Acadia, Newfoundland, Massachusetts and probably England. It appears that he was one of the few French traders bringing provisions to Acadia following the destruction of Fort Pentagoet. It was Brunet who furnished Castin with supplies needed to combat the Dutch, as well as European trade items for the Abenaki.¹³

By the time Brunet began trading with Castin in Acadia, he was already an experienced cosmopolitan trader. A small fragment of a Bristol merchant's account book records goods consigned to a "Henry Brunett" for a voyage to La Rochelle in 1656. Brunet's earlier experience with merchants in England probably helped him to form important business contacts with affluent Boston merchants such as William Tailer. Indeed, it appears that Brunet routinely spent his winters in Boston, probably in the company of fellow merchants.¹⁴

During his trading voyages, Brunet wrote to his employers about the profit that could be made by trading with the English in Maine. In winter of 1674-75, he proposed a trading venture to "an island which is called St. George of the colonies of Pintagouet which is located near the English settlement, where there are only two leagues separating us." Brunet added that "It is not that we should not be welcome if we traded on their shores; but on this island [St George] one is prepared for any emergency...." In another letter Brunet commented on the poor prospects of trading in Boston, complaining that "They are supplied and provided with everything," and that "All manufactured goods are very cheap."¹⁵

When Brunet died in the mid-1680s, it was John Nelson who served as the executor of his will. This task surely would have been taken on by Brunet's friend and business associate, William Tailer, but Tailer committed suicide in 1682 perhaps because of recent business losses.¹⁶ Tailer had been Nelson's mentor and friend, and after his death, Nelson took over management of his estate and business.¹⁷

Nelson had been active in Acadian trade even longer than Castin. In the early 1660s, while still in his teens, Nelson came to Boston from England as an apprentice to his uncle, Thomas Temple. By the fall of 1667, Nelson was beginning to manage Temple's affairs in Acadia under the direction of John Rhodes. In March of 1670, in spite having been repeatedly ordered to relinquish Acadia to the French, Temple named Nelson as

deputy governor of “Nova Scotia.” A few months later, Nelson personally gave up Temple’s fort at the mouth of the St. John River to Governor Grandfontaine.¹⁸

When Temple died in 1674, he left the rights to “Nova Scotia” to Nelson even though he no longer had any claim to Acadia. While Temple’s bequest essentially meant nothing, Nelson’s prior experience in Acadia allowed him to continue trading there. With the backing of William Tailer, Nelson had made trading voyages to Acadia throughout the 1670s and early 1680s. His knowledge of Acadia’s geography, Indian trading practices, and both French and Indian languages made Nelson particularly suited for Acadian trade. Following the deaths of Henri Brunet and William Tailer, he established a fortune and a reputation that soon made him Acadia’s most important supplier of English manufactured goods. Nelson even maintained a warehouse at Port Royal.¹⁹

As historian George Rawlyk puts it, Castin and Nelson were “completely dependent on one another.” In exchange for providing Castin with the European goods he needed to supply his Abenaki clientele, Nelson received a share of the large amounts of peltry the Indians delivered to Castin at Pentagoet.²⁰ If Nelson couldn’t govern Pentagoet, having Castin serve as his intermediary was the next best thing. At one point it was reported that 80,000 livres worth of peltry were delivered by the Indians to Pentagoet annually.²¹

Nelson did his best to render the flow of this precious commodity into his own hands. In 1684 he served as Castin’s representative in a case against the estate of John Hull of Massachusetts. A group of English pirates led by William Carter, took six vessels from Port Royal and absconded with eighty three moose skins from St. Castin’s Habitation. The skins were taken to Boston in a bark that belonged to one of the pirates, James Tayler. However, Tayler had been captured at Port Royal, and while he languished in irons there, John Hull received the skins. Nelson won his case, and was able to get restitution for Castin’s stolen moose skins from the administrators Hull’s estate.²²

Nelson also worked to keep tension between Massachusetts and Acadia in check. Late in 1681, Governor Frontenac complained to the Massachusetts government of the “incursions” made upon the coast of Acadia “where they trade fish & carry away coale without haveing leave or permission.” The Massachusetts government openly condemned “irregularities” in trade committed by Massachusetts traders and in the summer of 1682, Nelson went to Quebec to discuss the problem with Governor Frontenac. The Governor was away when Nelson arrived, but Nelson was wined and dined anyway, and managed to collect considerable information about the city of Quebec and the fur trade there. In spite of Nelson’s failure to have an audience with Frontenac, a system was arranged whereby fishermen could apply to La Vallière or Nelson and pay a fee for the privilege to fish and take coal in Acadia.²³

Nelson’s efforts at minimizing friction between Massachusetts fisherman and Acadian officials soon proved to be in vain. In 1682 French merchant Clerbaud Bergier got the crown’s backing to begin sedentary fisheries in Acadia. Bergier soon became frustrated with the leniency La Vallière exhibited towards New England fishermen who he believed were ruining the fisheries.²⁴

In 1684 Bergier was made lieutenant governor of Acadia, and La Vallière was replaced by a new governor, François-Marie Perrot. Using his new position, Bergier forbade New Englanders to fish or dry their catch in Acadian waters or territory. He underscored this new policy by seizing seven New England fishing ketches and a sloop found interloping on the Acadian fisheries. In spite of Bergier’s efforts, the *Compagnie des Pêches* was a dismal failure. English fishermen were too numerous and persistent to be prevented from fishing in Acadian waters, and Acadia didn’t have the resources to enforce its statutes.²⁵ Throughout the 1680s Acadia see-sawed between excluding New England fisherman and tolerating them. Meanwhile, the European counterparts of both colonies took an increasing interest in the conflict.

While Castin appears to have been only marginally involved in the fisheries, the discord between Acadia and Massachusetts over fishing and trading rights led to serious disruptions in his business.²⁶ Castin also had to deal with competition from other Acadian officials who used their positions in order to profit from the fur trade. An unsavory relationship developed between Castin and Acadia's new governor, Perrot. According to Castin, Perrot incarcerated him for almost two months "under the pretext of some weakness that I am supposed to have for women." Castin believed that the reason for his detainment had more to do with Perrot's wish to be "the only merchant in Acadia."²⁷

Indeed, Perrot, like other of Acadia's governors, was accused by his peers of excess trading with the English. That Perrot maintained close ties to Boston is indisputable. He was well acquainted with John Nelson and even sent his son to live at the Nelson household.²⁸ Although Perrot sent unfavorable reports of Castin to his superiors, officials in New France were willing to forgive Castin's purported addiction to libertinism. As the situation between the French and English colonies in North America worsened, Castin became an increasingly important ally.²⁹

During the first half of the 1680s, Castin managed to avoid becoming embroiled in New England-Acadian politics. However, in the summer of 1686 an incident occurred that pushed Castin into the political sphere and put an end to his and Nelson's unmonitored trade. While shedding light on Castin's somewhat elusive trading practices, the event also highlights a territorial dispute that prompted Acadians and the Abenaki to unite in war against Massachusetts and Maine.³⁰

In 1686 the ship *Johanna* landed near St. Castin's Habitation carrying, according to one sailor, "about Seventy pipes of Mallago wines, two pipes of oyle and about twenty or thirty barrells and about twenty or thirty frailes of fruit...."³¹ The cargo, which had come straight from the Spanish port of Malaga, was consigned to John Nelson by a Mr. John Watkins & Company of London and Malaga. However, the ship's captain and owner, Philip Severett, had orders to deliver the cargo to Castin in an attempt to avoid passing

though customs in New England. After its delivery, the cargo was covered with old sails and boughs of trees. Two crew members of the *Johanna*, one English, the other French, were left to guard it until vessels with orders from Severett would come to retrieve it.³²

Not long after, Captain Thomas Sharpe sailed from Pemaquid, New York's outpost on the Damariscotta River, to the mouth of the Penobscot and confiscated what was left of the *Johanna's* cargo and the vessel itself. Sharpe's orders to confiscate the cargo as contraband came from Judge John Palmer, who had recently been commissioned by the governor of New York to oversee customs at Pemaquid. He claimed that St. Castin's Habitation was within the county of Cornwall, a colony of New York, and therefore under New York's jurisdiction. According to Palmer, the goods should have gone through customs at Pemaquid, where duties would have been exacted on them.³³

It is apparent from Palmer's accusations, as well as from the testimonies of some of the crew members aboard the *Johanna*, that Nelson, Castin, Severett and others were using Pentagoet as a point from which to smuggle non-English goods into New England without paying duties to anyone, anywhere. According to Palmer, their plan was to convey the goods "privily and clandestinely, in small vessells in to some port of New England." Crew member George Gore testified that shortly after the shipment reached Pentagoet, one William Harris arrived from Boston in a shallop and, by order of Castin, loaded up some of the wines before heading back to Boston. Naturally, the frequency with which Castin participated in these smuggling operations cannot be directly inferred from the historical record. Smuggling between Acadians and New Englanders, however, was a major complaint of New England customs official Edward Randolph, and Palmer, in defense of the seizure, claimed that men had "grown ould & rich by this indirect way of trade...." As a participant in these ventures, Castin profited because of his strategic location on French territory so close to New England ports.³⁴

Nelson and Castin both protested the seizure on the grounds that the goods had been unloaded on French territory. More importantly, so did Governor Perrot of Acadia

and Joseph Dudley, temporary president of the newly formed Dominion of New England. Palmer's accusation that the wines and other goods were landed at Pentagoet to "cheate his Majesty of his duty's and customes" was scarcely addressed. The concern was over the boundaries of New England and Acadia, and whether New York had any jurisdiction over Pentagoet at all. Because of the border dispute, even the crowns of England and France took an interest in the case.³⁵

New York's claim to lands between the Kennebec and the St. Croix Rivers was founded on Charles the II's grant of the region to James, Duke of York, in 1664. However, an initial lack of attention to what was named the County of Cornwel resulted in the dissolution of its local county government.³⁶ In 1677 Governor Edmund Andros of New York established a garrison at Pemaquid and began an aggressive effort to reinstate New York's control over the region. But by this time the portion from the Penobscot River eastward had been turned over to the French, and the rest of the region, between the Kennebec and Penobscot rivers, had been incorporated by Massachusetts.

Andros's efforts were continued by his successor, Thomas Dongan, who was appointed in 1683. Dongan required anyone trading between the Kennebec and St. Croix Rivers to register at Pemaquid. In August of 1683, even before he was formally appointed as governor, Dongan dispatched a letter to Castin asserting New York's jurisdiction over Pentagoet.³⁷ Much to the chagrin of the French, Dongan made "advantagious offers" to Castin and simultaneously threatened to forcibly expel Castin and the other French in the region if they did not take an oath of allegiance to the King of England. Dongan also disputed Nelson's right to sell trading licenses in Acadia and insisted that neither Nelson nor the French had any right to the Duke of York's district. "I do much wonder," wrote Dongan to Nelson in reply to one of Nelson's letters, "to find any English gentleman to write so much in the French interest."³⁸ In spite of Dongan's threats, his claim was not enforced until the *Johanna* was confiscated.

The seizing of the *Johanna* occurred at a turbulent time in Massachusetts history. England had recently revoked the Bay Colony's charter and replaced the old Puritan government of Massachusetts with a temporary new council headed by Joseph Dudley and made up of what Bernard Bailyn refers to as "interrelated mercantile leaders." Dudley and his council oversaw Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and the King's Province, but not New York or other New England colonies. This temporary council supported France's claim to lands east of the Penobscot River, and Dudley wrote letters to London explaining that New York's aggressive pursuance of what was considered by residents of Acadia and Massachusetts alike to be French territory could instigate war between New England and Acadia.³⁹

But Dudley's administration was short-lived. Edmund Andros, the erstwhile governor of New York, arrived to take his place as the new royal governor of the Dominion of New England in December of 1686, just months after the wines were seized. Andros asserted that all lands from Maine to the Delaware River, as well as the highly disputed region between the Kennebec and St. Croix Rivers, were within his jurisdiction.⁴⁰

Hatred for Andros was widespread in Massachusetts because he alienated both the old Puritan government and the growing loyalist merchant class. For almost two years following the annulment of the Bay Company's charter, Massachusetts merchants had enjoyed a "feast of political privilege" and "used every device of government to advance their personal interest." Anglican merchants like Nelson were for the first time free to conduct business unfettered by a Puritan government. But their feast ended with Andros's appointment as he instated his old New York associates in political positions. Edmund Randolph wrote that Andros was "safe in his New Yorke confidants, all others being strangers to his council."⁴¹

As Andros became more aggressive in his efforts to assert his control over the county of Cornwall and win the Abenaki over to his side, Castin began appealing to officials in New France and Acadia for support. In September of 1687, he wrote to inform

Governor Meneval of the “continual insults of the English” at Pentagoet. He reported that the English had recently visited Pentagoet and surrounding areas with forty men, a vessel with four canon, and eight pinnaces. The English told Castin that he would have the same “privileges” as the English and warned him not to take any orders from the French. They gave gifts to the Abenaki, who were forbidden to transport their furs outside of New England, and stationed men on Matinicus Island, located on the southwest side of the mouth of the Penobscot River. Their position, explained Castin, made “it difficult in that which one does in these parts in keeping track of the gentlemen of Pemaquid....”⁴²

Castin asked that thirty soldiers be sent to him and for assistance in organizing a settlement of 400 Indians in order to repulse the English. Governor Meneval reported to his superiors that “this gentleman [Castin] who has acquired a great deal” would contribute to the construction of a fort at Pentagoet. Castin even promised to “quit the life that he has led up to the present time” in exchange for French support. A little over a year later Meneval claimed that Castin had indeed begun to “live a more regular life.” This included working to make a permanent settlement at Pentagoet, rather than continuing to live, as King Louis XIV put it, “...without fixed habitation.” Meneval also claimed that Castin had stopped trading with the English and put an end to his “debauchery with the savages.”⁴³

Both to encourage Castin’s reformation and to start a mission among the Abenaki, Father Louis-Pierre Thury was sent to Pentagoet in the fall of 1688. Thury’s appointment was part of a larger policy devised by the French to keep priests among the Abenaki in Maine and Acadia. Through religion, these priests attempted to maintain the Abenakis’ alliance with France, and when the time came, encouraged them to go to war against the English.⁴⁴

In spring of 1688, while Castin and a party of Abenaki Indians were in Canada, Andros personally visited and pillaged St. Castin’s Habitation.⁴⁵ Although he left Castin’s altar and personal ornaments alone, Andros confiscated the Baron’s “armes, powder, shott, iron kettles, and some trucking cloath and his chaires.” There was no physical assault made

on Castin's buildings, but in seizing Castin's property Andros made it clear that he was willing to act on his claim to Pentagoet. Castin could either accept Andros's authority and have his goods restored to him or prepare to defend Pentagoet. At the same time, in hope of gaining Madockawando's allegiance, Andros presented the sachem with gifts of blankets, shirts, cloth, and wine. Andros even intended to build a fort at Pentagoet and went so far as to bring carpenters, building supplies, and other necessary provisions with him.⁴⁶ Castin subsequently refused Andros's offer of freedom of commerce in exchange for acceptance of English sovereignty, and there were rumors that he would seek revenge for the raid on his Habitation.⁴⁷

Castin and Andros may not have always been such bitter adversaries. In 1687 John Palmer of Pemaquid insisted to French ambassadors that when Andros had been governor of New York "no doubt was ever made but that Penobscot belonged to the King of England, this same M. de Castine, who now complains on behalf of the French, never hesitating to obey Sir Andros's orders whenever he sent for him to Pemaquid." Recognizing the significance of Castin's rejection of Andros, the French ordered him to be compensated for the loss of his goods at Pentagoet with a grant of a seigneurie along the St. John River.⁴⁸

A few months after the raid on St. Castin's Habitation, a vessel belonging to Castin was seized by English pirates. The bark was on its way from Quebec to Pentagoet, carrying merchandise and provisions valued at 500 pounds. It was suspected that Andros was behind the seizure and that he was attempting to cut off Castin's supply lines with the French. That summer, it was rumored among the fisherman at Pemaquid that Castin had come from Quebec with a frigate intending to build a fort at Pentagoet.⁴⁹

For a while, England and France attempted to keep conflict between their respective colonies in check. Drafted by King James II and Louis XIV in 1686, the treaty of Whitehall was designed to mediate territorial disputes and tension over trading and fishing rights between Acadia and New England. It re-affirmed the legitimacy of the Treaty of Breda and

forbade English and French colonists to trade or fish in one another's territories.

Unfortunately, the Treaty of Breda was ambiguous as to the exact boundary between Acadia and New England. Also, Massachusetts fishermen were dependent on Acadia's rich supply of fish and a ban on fishing there was impractical.⁵⁰

With the Glorious Revolution and the accession of the anti-French William of Orange, efforts at maintaining peace between the English and French were abandoned both in Europe and in the colonies.⁵¹ Castin's involvement in what was referred to in the colonies as King William's War, cannot be questioned. His contribution to the raids made on New England by the Abenaki and the French was so great that some early historians named the conflict "St. Castin's War." Both the Massachusetts government and his friend John Nelson offered Castin freedom of commerce in exchange for acceptance of English sovereignty, but Castin could not be swayed to the English side.⁵²

An outbreak of hostilities between the Abenaki and the English preceded the declaration of war between France and England. The Abenaki, especially those of the Saco and Androscoggin Rivers, were angry over many of the same issues that had led to the previous war of 1675-78. Maine settlers were once again intruding on Abenaki land, and disputes erupted over the trading practices of both Abenaki and English fur traders.⁵³

Andros and his supporters blamed Massachusetts authorities for responding to tensions between the Abenaki and Maine settlers irresponsibly. However, while they recognized a variety of underlying reasons for the Abenakis' malcontent, many citizens of Massachusetts believed that Andros was responsible for the outbreak of violence. Edmund Randolph wrote of a "heady multitude possessed with jealousyes that our Governor, Sir Edmund Andros, was a Papist and intended to bring the French and Indians to cut off the inhabitants."⁵⁴ Others believed that Andros's harassment of Castin caused the Abenakis' hostility. Referring to Andros's raid on St. Castin's Habitation, Cotton Mather asked "whether the Indians, who were Extremely under the Influence of St. Casteen, that had

Married a Sagamore's Daughter among them, did not from this very Moment begin to be obstreperous?"⁵⁵

Over the summer of 1688 the situation between Maine settlers and the Abenaki worsened and the threat of war increased. Finally, in August there was a violent encounter at North Yarmouth that left three English and several Indians dead. In response to the incident and further threats from the Indians, Captain Benjamin Blackman, a judge at Saco, took several Abenaki prisoner. Blackman believed his prisoners to have been the "Bloodey murderous Roges" involved in the previous Indian war. He hoped that their capture would prevent further outbreaks of violence, but his tactic backfired. Soon it was rumored that the Abenaki were gathered at Pentagoet and were preparing to retaliate, both for the raid on St. Castin's Habitation and the capture of the Indians.⁵⁶ One official reported a rumor that:

monsieur Castin did give to every Indian that Engaged against the English one pound of Powder, two pound of Lead and a Small Quantity of Tobacco, and that Monsieur Castine had a store of fourteen barrells of Powder and 2000wt of Lead and other Necessaryes to Supply them that was sent him by Mr Nelson of Boston.⁵⁷

Andros, who had been in New York when the Indians were taken prisoner by Blackman, freed the captives as soon as he discovered what had happened. In hopes of forcibly restoring peace, he gathered together an army in order to make an expedition through Maine and Acadia that winter. While in Maine, Andros avoided bloodshed; still, he and his force destroyed Indian canoes, burned two Indian forts and confiscated goods and ammunition, "reducing the Indians to bows and arrows." According to Edmund Randolph, "The Indians could have been reduced to beg for terms."⁵⁸ However, Andros's opponents in Boston kept him from succeeding. Randolph complained that two Boston merchants, John Foster and David Waterhouse, sent a vessel "of forty tunns with supplyes of powder, shott, bread, Indian Corne, and English linnen and woolen manufacture to trade with those Indians and the French, betweene Port Royall and Penobscott...."⁵⁹ Foster was an old

associate of John Nelson, and both he and Waterhouse were leading figures in the opposition to Andros.⁶⁰

The men Andros impressed to make the expedition were reluctant and suspicious of his motives. One Andros supporter complained that it was “whispered about that the Governor had drawn all the Youth of the country to the Eastward, on purpose, to destroy them.” Andros’s order that “noe Soldier durst kill an Indian” further incensed his troops.⁶¹ After the expedition, one of the impressed soldiers revealed that Andros had allowed food to be sent to Castin during the expedition. The soldier reported that he

...went by order of Sir Edmond Andros in a sloop with Mr. John Alden to carry provission to the sd Casteen & we delivered a barrell of Porck, two hundred of Bread six or eight bushells of corne & severall rundletts & after this provission was delivered to Casteen we suffereed so as that for two dayes, we that were souldiers had no food allowed us although there was enough before that was delivered to Casteene.⁶²

By alternately bullying and wooing both Castin and the Abenaki, Andros might eventually have forced them to make peace with the English. However, he was overthrown shortly after returning from his expedition through Maine and Acadia. In spite of the English goods Castin received from Nelson and other anti-Andros merchants, the Abenaki had nearly starved during the winter of 1688. Following Andros’s overthrow, it was reported that “Docowando, [Madockawando]...was undoubtedly coming in to submit, [but] seeing the Governor [Andros] in prison and the land in confusion, [he] has turned our Enemy....”⁶³

In June the Abenaki made a devastating attack on Cocheco, now Dover, New Hampshire. About two months later, Pentagoet’s highly influential priest, Thury, reported that one hundred Abenaki under his spiritual direction had attacked and destroyed the settlement and fort at Pemaquid, killing 142 people and taking a large quantity of plunder.⁶⁴ Following their success, the Abenaki informed the English that “Sir Edmund

Andros was a great rogue and had nearly starved them last winter, but he was now a prisoner and they no care for New England people.”⁶⁵

The Indians continued offensives against Maine settlers. By the end of the 1689, only the settlements at Kittery, York, Wells, and Casco Bay survived. None of the attacks made by the Indians were officially sanctioned by the French and, though encouraged by the Acadian government and the priests among them, the Abenaki fought for their own reasons.⁶⁶ However, Castin was involved from the very beginning. In November of 1689 when the English planned to meet with Abenaki Sagamores from “PenyCook to Pemyquid” and inform them that “they must bee Either friends or enemies,” it was decided that Castin should be “discoursed in like manner.” Even before the formal outbreak of war between the Acadia and Massachusetts, Castin ransomed English settlers taken captive by the Abenaki and provided the Indians with powder and shot.⁶⁷

The French noted the success with which the Abenaki waged war on the English. Canada was preparing to make offensives of its own under the command of Governor Frontenac, who had returned to serve as governor of Canada after a seven year hiatus. Frontenac, having charged Castin with nurturing good French-Abenaki relations over a decade before, now looked to reap the benefits.⁶⁸

Notes to Chapter Three

¹Order for an Embargo on Eastern Bound Vessels, January 29, 1677, *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. 61, 147; Emerson Woods Baker III, "Trouble to the Eastward," 184-188, 190-191.

²Petition of William Tailer, July 16, 1677, *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. 61, 156.

³Petition of William Tailer July 19, 1677, *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. 61, 159; Richard R. Johnson, *John Nelson, Merchant Adventurer*, 18, 20-21.

⁴Goods desired by Castin and Marson, *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. 61, 157.

⁵Castin to Bradstreet, July 1, 1680, *Prince Papers*, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Alaric Faulkner, translation.

⁶"Comision from Monsieur Le febure with Instructions for Mr. Nelson," June 29, 1684, *Frederick Lewis Gay Transcripts*, state papers vol. 6, 41, Alaric Faulkner, translation.

⁷John G. Reid, *Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland*, 164; Kenneth M. Morrison, *The Embattled Northeast*, 111-112; "Leneuf de la Vallière de Beaubassin, Michel," David M. Hayne, ed., *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 2, 409-410.

⁸John G. Reid, *Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland*, 172-173.

⁹John G. Reid, *Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland*, 172; "Leneuf de la Vallière de Beaubassin, Michel," David M. Hayne, ed., *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 2, 409-410.

¹⁰"Ordres du roi a Menneval," April 3, 1687, *Documents Relatifs a l' Histoire Acadienne*, vol. 2, no. 37, Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

¹¹In the fall of 1684, Bishop Laval of Quebec requested that Father Jacques Bigot, an Acadian Jesuit, marry Castin and Mathilde. The ceremony occurred at Panawnske Island, now called Indian Island in Old Town, Maine, but the actual date of their marriage is not known. Gorham Munson, "St. Castin: A Legend Revised," 347. Edward T. Harrington, Robert Howard, and John E. Sexton, *History of the archdiocese of Boston*, 24; "Abbadie de Saint-Castin, Jean-Vincent d'," David M. Hayne, ed., *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 2, 5.

¹²"Resumé d'un Memoire sur l' Acadie par Mons. de Meneval," December 1, 1687, *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 1, 410-411.

¹³Louis-André Vigneras, "Memoranda and Documents: Letters of An Acadian Trader, 1674-1676," 98-100.

¹⁴Patrick McGrath, ed., *Merchants and Merchandise in Seventeenth-Century Bristol*, Printed for the Bristol Record Society, vol. 19 (Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith, 1955), 244, no. 334; Brunet to "Messieurs," December 13, 1674; Brunet to Mr. Laisemain, February 4, 1675; Brunet to "Sr.," January 3, 1676, all in Louis-André Vigneras, "Memoranda and Documents: Letters of An Acadian Trader, 1674-1676," 98-100. According to his letters, Brunet spent the winter of 1674-5 in Boston and was there again in January 1676. After his death, sometime in the mid-1680s, Brunet's administrative bond records that he was "of Boston." Although it appears that he spent a considerable amount of time in Boston, Brunet did not consider himself a "Bostonais" and wrote to one of his associates, "I shall never advise anyone to come and settle here."

¹⁵Brunet to "Messieurs," December 13, 1674; Brunet to Godefroy, February 2, 1675, Louis-André Vigneras, "Memoranda and Documents: Letters of an Acadian Trader, 1674-1676," 101-105.

¹⁶"Henry Brunett Admin Bond," March 13, 1687, *Suffolk County Probate Records*, no. 1623, Massachusetts Archives, Boston; Richard R. Johnson, *John Nelson, Merchant Adventurer*, 30-31.

¹⁷Richard R. Johnson, *John Nelson, Merchant Adventurer*, 31. Nelson also served as the executor of William Tailer's estate, "Mrs. Rebecca Tailer &ca Bond for Admcon 1682," *Suffolk Country Probate Records*, no. 1272, Massachusetts Archives, Boston

¹⁸Thomas Temple to John Nelson, October 9, 1667; Commission of John Nelson, March 17, 1670, *Temple-Nelson Papers*, nos. 8 and 11, Houghton Library, Harvard University; Richard R. Johnson, *John Nelson, Merchant Adventurer*, 1991), 18-19, 21.

¹⁹Richard R. Johnson, *John Nelson, Merchant Adventurer*, 20-27; Beamish Murdoch, *A History of Nova-Scotia, or, Acadie* (Halifax, N.S.: J. Barnes, 1865), 200.

²⁰George A. Rawlyk, *Nova Scotia's Massachusetts*, 35-36.

²¹"Report on what I have seen since my arrival upon the shores of Acadia, up to September 30, 1695, in John C. Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century* (Saint John: The New Brunswick Museum, 1934), 141. *Collection des Manuscrits* contains a translation of the same report in which the sum is 30,000l. Clearly there has been a transcription error either in the *Collection des Manuscrits* or Webster's *Acadia*. "Memoire sur L'Acadie par Monsieur Tiberge," October 1, 1695, *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 2, 185-186.

²²Bergier to Segnelay, February 1682, *Archives des Colonies*, series C11D, vol. 1, 162-164, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa; "Nelson conta Hull &a, February 23, 1683," *Suffolk County Court Records*, part 1 (1680-1692), 163, Massachusetts Archives, Boston.

²³Frontenac to Massachusetts Governor and Council, November 3, 1681, *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. 2, 519; Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, vol. 5 (Boston: William White, 1854), 373-374; Arthur Howland Buffinton, "John Nelson's Voyage to Quebec in 1682: A Chapter in the Fisheries Controversy," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Transactions, 1924-1926*, vol. 26 (Boston: University Press, 1927), 427-437.

²⁴John G. Reid, *Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland*, 176.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 176-177.

²⁶When pirates from Massachusetts captured Acadian fishing vessels in response to Bergier's new fishery policies, peltry was also taken from Castin. Bergier to Segnelay, 1682, *Archives des Colonies*, series C11D, vol. 1, fol. 162-164, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa; George A. Rawlyk, *Nova Scotia's Massachusetts*, 46.

²⁷"Lettre du Baron de St Castin a Mons. le Marquis de Denonville," July 2, 1687, *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 1, 399-401.

²⁸"Resumé d'une Lettre du Sieur Perrot au Ministre," August 29, 1686," *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 1, 367-368. Richard R. Johnson, *John Nelson, Merchant Adventurer*, 43.

²⁹"Rapport de Mons. de Denonville au Ministre," November 10, 1686, *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 1, 387-389.

³⁰Richard Johnson has investigated this incident and its aftermath in his biography of John Nelson. Although I reviewed the primary documents pertaining to the event myself, I owe my understanding of its significance to Johnson. Richard R. Johnson, *John Nelson, Merchant Adventurer*, 40-48.

³¹Deposition of Joseph Berry, July 29, 1686, *Frederick Lewis Gay Transcripts*, state papers vol. 6, 104-105. Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

³²Warrant for Thomas Brookes, September 25, 1686, *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. 61, 292; Deposition of George Gore, July 23, 1686; Palmer's answer to the French ambassador, November 12, 1687; Petition of Philip Severett, December 2, 1687, all in *Frederick Lewis Gay Transcripts*, state papers vol. 6, 99-101, 113-116, 120-121.

³³Palmer's answer to the French ambassador, November 12, 1687, *Frederick Lewis Gay Transcripts*, state papers vol. 6, 113-116; "Ordre du Sieur Palmer, Juge de la Nouvelle York, A Thomas Sharpe, Capitaine de Vaisseau," July 23, 1686, *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 1, 363-364.

³⁴Deposition of George Gore, July 23, 1686; Palmer's answer to the French ambassador, November 12, 1687, both in *Frederick Lewis Gay Transcripts*, state papers vol. 6, 99-101, 113-116; Bernard Bailyn, *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), 157.

³⁵Richard R. Johnson, *John Nelson, Merchant Adventurer*, 42-43; "Resumé d'une Lettre de Mons. Perrot au Colonel Dongon," August 29, 1686; "Resumé d'une Lettre de Mons. Perrot au Gouverneur Dudley," August 20, 1686; "Resumé d'une Lettre du Sieur Perrot au Ministre," all in August 29, 1686, *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 1, 366-368.

³⁶Emerson Woods Baker III, "Trouble to the Eastward," 75.

³⁷William D. Williamson, *The History of the State of Maine*, vol. 1 (Hallowell: Glazier, Master & Co., 1832), 581; Richard R. Johnson, *John Nelson, Merchant Adventurer*, 40; John G. Reid, *Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland*, 174-175; Emerson Woods Baker III, "Trouble to the Eastward: The Failure of Anglo-Indian Relations in Early Maine," 77; Alaric and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet, 1635-1674*, 23; "Monsieur de La Barre to Governor Dongan," July 25, 1684, E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York*, vol. 3 (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1853), 450.

³⁸"M. de Callières to M. de Seignelay," n.d., E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York*, vol. 9 (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1855), 265-266; "Journal of what occurred in the Abnauquis Mission from the feast of Christmas, 1683 until October 6, 1684," *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. 63, 63-65; Dongan to Nelson, December, 1683; Dongan to Nelson, March 6, 1683/84, *Temple-Nelson Papers*, nos. 14 and 15. Houghton Library, Harvard University.

³⁹John G. Reid, *Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland*, 177-178; Bernard Bailyn, *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century*, 168-170; Richard R. Johnson, *John Nelson, Merchant Adventurer*, 42.

⁴⁰Bernard Bailyn, *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century*, 169-170; Richard R. Johnson, *John Nelson, Merchant Adventurer*, 43, 46.

⁴¹Bernard Bailyn, *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century*, 169-170; "Copy of a Letter from Mr. Randolph to Mr. Povey," 21 June 1688, *The Hutchinson Papers*, vol. 2, 304-307.

⁴²Richard R. Johnson, *John Nelson, Merchant Adventurer*, 46; "Lettre du Baron de St Castin a Mons. le Marquis de Denonville," July 2, 1687; "Resumé d'une Lettre du Sieur de la Baddie Baron de St Castin a Mons. de Meneval," September, 15, 1687, *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 1, 399-401, 403; Saint-Castin to Meneval, September 13, 1687. *J.S. Fogg Signature Collection*, Maine Historical Society, Portland, translation, Alaric Faulkner.

⁴³"Resumé d'une Lettre du Sieur de la Baddie Baron de St Castin a Mons. de Meneval," September, 15, 1687; "Resumé d'un Memoire sur l' Acadie par Mons. de Meneval," December 1, 1687; "Rapport de Monsieur de Menneval, Gouverneur de l'Acadie," September 10, 1688 *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 1, 403, 410-411, 433. According to Meneval's report of December 1, 1687, Castin had "with him two daughters of the chief of these savages by whom he has many children." It seems odd that Meneval did not mention, or was not aware of Castin's marriage to Mathilde, which must have occurred by this time. There has been some confusion over whether or not Castin had one, or two wives (simultaneously or

subsequently). It is possible that he was married to two of Madockawando's daughters in the Abenaki manner, and then later married just one, Matilde, in a Christian ceremony.

⁴⁴Edward T. Harrington, Robert H. Lord, and John E. Sexton, *History of the Archdiocese of Boston*, vol. 1, 27; Francis Parkman, *Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XVI* (New York: Viking Press, 1983), 249; "Thury, Louis-Pierre," George W. Brown, ed., *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 1, 649; Kenneth M. Morrison, *The Embattled Northeast* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 124; James Axtell, *The Invasion Within. The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 247-249.

⁴⁵Pierre Daviault, *Le Baron de Saint-Castin, Chef Abénaquis*, 70-71.

⁴⁶"Copy of a Letter from Mr. Randolph to Mr. Povey," June 21, 1688, *The Hutchinson Papers*, vol. 2, 304-307; "Memoire sur l'Acadie par Monsieur Pasquine," December 14, 1688, *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 1, 445-446; William D. Williamson, *The History of the State of Maine* vol. 1, 587.

⁴⁷"Rapport de Monsieur de Menneval, Gouverneur de L'Acadie", September 10, 1688, *Collection des Manuscrits* vol. 1, 433-436; "Letter from Joshua Pison," September 22, 1688, in James Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine, Containing the Baxter Manuscripts*, vol. 6, 431-432.

⁴⁸"Answer of John Palmer to the French Ambassador's memorial," November 12, 1687," J.W. Fortescue, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1685-1688*, 467; Pierre Daviault, *Le Baron de Saint-Castin, Chef Abénaquis*, 72-73; Alan F. Williams, *Father Baudoin's War: D'Iberville's Campaigns in Acadia and Newfoundland 1696, 1697* (St. Johns: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1987), 16.

⁴⁹John G. Reid, *Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland*, 180-181; John C. Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, 207; "Captain Francis Nicholson to [Mr. Povey?]," August 31, 1688, E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York* vol. 3, 551-553; George A. Rawlyk, *Nova Scotia's Massachusetts*, 55-56. Castin had spoken of the "fort at Pentagoet" previously, probably referring to the ruins of Fort Pentagoet where he had been stationed as a young ensign. Even though English residents of Pemaquid had scavenged materials from the rubble of Fort Pentagoet as early as 1674, Castin probably intended to rebuild on the same spot, using what leftover materials were still present in addition to new supplies brought from Quebec or France. "Resumé d'une Lettre du Sieur de la Baddie Baron de St Castin a Mons. de Meneval" September, 15, 1687, *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 1 (Québec: A Coté and Co., 1883-85), 403.

⁵⁰John G. Reid, *Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland*, 178-180; George A. Rawlyk, *Nova Scotia's Massachusetts*, 53-55.

⁵¹John G. Reid, *Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland*, 178-180; "Order in reference to defence against our neighboring French enemies," 6 December 1689, James Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine*, vol. 5, 15-16. The War of the Grand Alliance in Europe was fought for reasons entirely removed from the conflict between New France and New England. The treaty of Whitehall was drafted in part to prevent a European war from instigating war in the colonies, but efforts to quell the discord between the colonies came too late. The outbreak of war in Europe gave colonial adversaries an excuse to resort to violence.

⁵²"Abbadie de Saint-Castin, Jean-Vincent d'," David M. Hayne, ed., *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 2, 6; Villebon to Count Ponchartrain, "Journal of what has happened in Acadia from October, 13th, 1691 to October 25th, 1692," in John C. Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, 41; Herbert M. Sylvester, *Indian Wars of New England*, vol. 2 (Boston: W.B. Clarke Company, 1910); Pierre Daviault, *Le Baron de Saint-Castin, Chef Abénaquis*; Richard R. Johnson, *John Nelson, Merchant Adventurer*, 67-68; "Rapport de M. de Monseignat au Ministre," September 10, 1691, *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 2, 68; Governor and Council of Massachusetts to St. Castin, 30 July, 1691, *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. 37, 101-102.

⁵³George A. Rawlyk, *Nova Scotia's Massachusetts*, 56-57; Cotton Mather, *Decennium Luctuosum: An History of Remarkable Occurrences in the Long War, which New-England hath had with the Indian Savages, from the year 1688, to the year 1698, faithfully composed and improved*, 1699, in *Narratives of the Indian wars, 1675-1699*, Charles H. Lincoln, ed., (New York: Charles Scribner's sons, 1913), 186-187; Kenneth M. Morrison, *The Embattled Northeast* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 113-114.

⁵⁴"To the Kings most Excellent -- Majesty," January 25, 1690, James Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine, Containing the Baxter Manuscripts*, vol. 5 (Portland: The Thurston Print, 1897), 32; Cotton Mather, *Decennium Luctuosum*, 186-187; "Mr. Randolph to the Governor of Barbadoes," May 16, 1689, Robert Noxon Toppan, ed., *Edward Randolph Including his Letters and Official Papers...*, vol. 4, Publications of the Prince Society, (vol. 27), (Boston: John Wilson and Son 1899), 264-265; "Answer to Sr Edmond Andro's Account of Forces raised, &c. , May 30, 1690, James Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine, Containing the Baxter Manuscripts*, vol. 5 (Portland: The Thurston Print, 1897), 121.

⁵⁵Cotton Mather, *Decennium Luctuosum*, 190; Deposition of Edward Taylor, Caleb Ray, & Robert Scot etc., January 29, 1690, in James Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine, Containing the Baxter Manuscripts*, vol. 5, 38. Andros's opponents believed that because he was Catholic, he was likely to ally himself with the French in Acadia. In sharp contrast to later Massachusetts leaders such as William Phips, Andros respected the religious beliefs of the Acadians. For instance, when he raided Castin's trading post, he was careful not to disturb Castin's altar. Andro's also promised the Abenaki that priests would be supplied to them by the English government if the Abenaki would submit to English rule. This further incited former Puritan leaders in Massachusetts who believed that Catholic priests were responsible for making the Indians hostile towards the English. Edward T. Harrington, Robert H. Lord, and John E. Sexton, *History of the Archdiocese of Boston, 1604-1943*, vol. 1, 34-36.

⁵⁶William D. Williamson, *The History of the State of Maine*, vol. 1, 608; "Declaration of Sivanus Davis," n.d., James Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine, Containing the Baxter Manuscripts*, vol. 5, 142-144; "Letter from J. Pison," September 10, 1688, James Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine, Containing the Baxter Manuscripts*, vol. 6, 425-427.

⁵⁷"Examination of Henry Smith, Chyrurgion," October 31, 1688, James Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine, Containing the Baxter Manuscripts* vol. 6, 446-447.

⁵⁸Cotton Mather, *Decennium Luctuosum*, 187-188; "Declaration of Sivanus Davis," n.d., in James Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine, Containing the Baxter Manuscripts*, vol. 5, 142-144; "Edward Randolph to Lords of Trade and Plantations, May 29, 1689, J.W. Fortescue, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1689-1692*. (London: Norfolk Chronicle Company, 1899), 45-46.

⁵⁹"Mr. Randolph to the Lords of Trade, May 29, 1689," Robert Noxon Toppan, ed., *Edward Randolph Including his Letters and Official Papers...*, vol. 4, Publications of the Prince Society (vol. 27), (Boston: John Wilson and Son 1899), 277. Foster and Waterhouse maneuvered around the Massachusetts government's embargo on vessels carrying supplies to Maine and Acadia by clearing the goods for the Bermudas, and then sending them to Maine instead. "A Particular Account of the Late Revolution, 1689," in Charles M. Andrews ed., *Narratives of the Insurrections*, 198-200, 263.

⁶⁰Richard R. Johnson, *John Nelson, Merchant Adventurer*, 52.

⁶¹"A Particular Account of the Late Revolution, 1689," in Charles M. Andrews ed., *Narratives of the Insurrections*, 197.

⁶²"The testimony of Isaack Miller," December 21, 1689, James Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine, Containing the Baxter Manuscripts*, vol. 5, 22-23.

⁶³Kenneth M. Morrison, *The Embattled Northeast*, 117; "Extracts from two letters sent to Mr. John Usher," July 7 1689, in J.W. Fortescue, ed, *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1689-1692*, 82.

⁶⁴*Journal of the Rev. John Pike*, in *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society*, vol. 3 (Manchester: John B. Clarke, 1870), 43; "Relation du Pere Thury, Missionnaire en L'Acadie," 1689, *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 1, 464-465; Edward T. Harrington, Robert H. Lord, and John E. Sexton, *History of the Archdiocese of Boston*, vol. 1, 42-44. One of the English taken captive by the Abenaki was John Giles, now famous for his account of his long captivity. Giles was taken to see Father Thury shortly after being captured, and was terrified that the priest would try to bewitch him and make him a Papist. John Giles, *Memoirs of Odd Adventures, Strange Deliverances, etc., in the Captivity of John Giles, Esq.* (Cincinnati: Spiller & Gates, 1869), 12.

⁶⁵Quote taken from Kenneth M. Morrison, *The Embattled Northeast*, 117.

⁶⁶George A. Rawlyk, *Nova Scotia's Massachusetts*, 59; Kenneth M. Morrison, *The Embattled Northeast*, 123.

⁶⁷"Proposals. proposed with reference to ye Eastern parts," November 4, 1689, James Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine, Containing the Baxter Manuscripts* vol. 6, 491; Cotton Mather, *Decennium Luctuosum*, 192.

⁶⁸ Kenneth M. Morrison, *The Embattled Northeast*, 123-125; Francis Parkman, *Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XVI*, 139.

Chapter Four

“...Whether an attempt of treaty with mr st Casteine would not at this juncture be necessarie....”

In December 1689, Massachusetts officially declared war on Acadia, resolving that measures had to be taken “with reference to our neighbouring french enemies, who have declared warr against our nation, & have made great depredations upon us by takeing several of our fishing Ketches... & are allsoe continually aiding & assisting our Indian enemies by supplying them with armes & amunition....”¹ In January of 1690, John Nelson proposed to the Massachusetts government that the expense of a venture against Acadia might be offset by allowing “Divers private Gentlemen” to fund it. In exchange for their financial support, the benefactors would receive “the Indian trade & what plunder may be reasonably made of both of Stores of warr or otherwise.”²

Nelson’s proposals foreshadowed three devastating attacks made on New England by allied French and Indians. Early in 1690, Canadian forces and their Indian allies began carrying out Frontenac’s plan to punish the English for their alliance with France’s Iroquois enemies. In February, the village and fort of Schnectady, New York was taken. Late in March, a successful attack was made on Salmon Falls, New Hampshire. The following May, a third Canadian war party commanded by René Robinau de Portneuf joined forces with Castin and the Abenaki in an attack on Falmouth, now Portland, Maine.³

According to Silvanus Davis, captain of Fort Loyal at Falmouth, the Indians that participated in the attack were those that had been captured the previous year and then released by Andros. Castin and Madockawando were also there “with their Ester

[easterly] forses.” The foray ended with the surrender of the English and total destruction of the settlement. Davis reported that the French broke their promise to provide safe passage for the English after their surrender; several of the wounded were killed and the others taken captive. Although it had been rumored since the early eighties that Castin would instigate war between the Abenaki and the English in Maine, this was the first battle in which he participated openly.⁴

Meanwhile, as Nelson had suggested, the Massachusetts government organized an expedition against Acadia. Initially, it appeared that Nelson would be the leader, but he ended up taking no part in the venture. According to one observer, Nelson was passed over because the Massachusetts government believed that he “was a merchant & not to be trusted.” Nelson’s biographer, Richard Johnson, points out that Nelson’s “opposition to charter government, disdain for political maneuvering and plain preference for trading over warring with the likes of Saint-Castin...” made him a less likely candidate.⁵

Instead, the Massachusetts government decided to fund the venture itself and chose former treasure-hunter and ardent Puritan, Sir William Phips, to lead Massachusetts forces against Port Royal. Phips and his force of 736 men set sail in April of 1690. Early in May, they stopped at Mount Desert Island and one John Alden “was sent within the islands and commanded to view Penobscot Fort, and to bring Tydings of Casteen.” Alden was an associate of Nelson’s and an experienced Acadian trader. He had served as a messenger between the English and Castin before, but this time he was not well received. He reported that Castin was not there, but 200 Indians were in the fort and they had fired on him.⁶ There is no archaeological evidence that Fort Pentagoet had been rebuilt, nor is there evidence of a fort, or any kind of defensive structure, at St. Castin’s Habitation. Most likely this was an Indian fort built by the Penobscot Abenaki and/or Castin when war broke out.⁷

The Indians abandoned the fort before Phips could attack it, so the expedition continued on to Port Royal. Shortly after his arrival, Phips received the surrender of

Governor Meneval who, having only about 70 soldiers under his command, “did not consider himself in a condition to resist.” After capturing Port Royal’s garrison, Phips and his men set about pillaging Port Royal, in spite of their promise to spare the settlement. According to one French report:

The Governor’s and the Priest’s residences and the Company’s store were plundered; the Church, according to their goodly custom, was desecrated by divers ribaldries and infamous actions, and everything it possessed in the shape of ornaments was carried off.”

The warehouse John Nelson maintained at Port Royal served as a convenient place to store the plunder.⁸

None of his force was willing stay at Port Royal, so Phips secured pledges of loyalty from several Acadians at Port Royal and put them in charge of the new “English” government there. He left written instructions for the Acadians to follow in his absence. Included in these were orders pertaining to Castin:

You are to take possession of the houses, lands and mills belonging to the Sr. de St. Castin, an account of the revenue to be rendered when it shall be asked for.⁹

Included among the prisoners Phips carried back to Boston was one of Castin’s daughters. Phips instructed John Alden to find Castin and to use the captured daughter as a bargaining chip to get back English captives taken by the Abenaki. In exchange for an oath of allegiance to England, Phips promised that Castin’s land and mills at Port Royal would be returned to him. Phips also asked Alden to entreat Castin to visit Boston, promising him “the liberty of return at pleasure.”¹⁰

Less than a month after Phips’s superficial conquest of Acadia, Joseph Robinau de Villebon, Meneval’s lieutenant governor, arrived at Port Royal and re-asserted French control over Acadia. Villebon, who had been in France during Phips’s conquest, became Acadia’s commander in the absence of Meneval who was now prisoner in Boston. He

decided to establish a new headquarters at Jemseg, an outpost on the St. John River, because it would be easier to defend.¹¹ From Jemseg, Villebon began construction of a new, sturdier fortification, Fort St. Joseph, farther inland at the junction of the St. John and Nashwaak Rivers.¹²

Villebon's attitude towards Port Royal tells something of the state of affairs in Acadia at this time. He knew local Indians were so hostile towards the English that Massachusetts could not successfully establish a garrison there. Rather than try to prepare Acadians to resist future English invasions, Villebon encouraged inhabitants of Port Royal to continue to cooperate and trade with Massachusetts merchants. Supplies were short at Port Royal and Villebon recognized that the inhabitants were dependent on Massachusetts to get the goods they needed. He allowed Charles La Tourasse, the sergeant in the French garrison at Port Royal who Phips had appointed as commander, to retain his position. Villebon even permitted an English flag to fly over Port Royal. He explained to his superiors that "Without these compromises it would be impossible to exist in this country...."¹³

Representatives of the Penobscot Abenaki visited Count Frontenac early in March of 1691. In spite of recent offensives made by the English, the Penobscots expressed their devotion to the war they had "undertaken by his order." The Penobscots also explained that they had been unable to wage war the previous winter because of a lack of necessities. They assured Frontenac that they would make use of the bones of beasts if he would not supply them with more effective weapons, but also pointed out that their families were starving and requested six canoes full of supplies including blankets, hoods, shirts, tobacco, knives, gunpowder, and lead. Frontenac gave them as many iron arrowheads as they could carry, and informed them that he had already sent powder and shot to their villages.¹⁴

It was supplies sent from France that made possible the large scale offensives the Abenaki carried out against the English during King William's War. Part of the reason

the Acadians of Port Royal were so dependent on Boston merchants was because French resources were being applied to support the Indians.¹⁵ The Abenaki, especially those who resided closest to the English, could not endure against English retaliation without support in the form of supplies from the French.¹⁶ In order to prevent the Abenakis' enthusiasm for war from waning, the French resolved to increase the supplies sent to the Indians. Villebon's superiors in France instructed him to "put forth all your ability and prudence to prevent the Abenakis from occupying themselves in anything but war, and by good management of the supplies which you have received for their use to enable them to live by it more to their advantage than by hunting." This wartime sustenance was the foundation of France's military alliance with Abenaki.¹⁷

The English recognized that Castin was their link to negotiations with the Abenaki, especially the Penobscots. In the summer of 1691 John Nelson and a group of Boston merchants proposed a new plan to the Massachusetts government. In exchange for re-fortifying Port Royal and garrisoning it at their own expense, they would be granted a five year trade monopoly in Acadia. Among the 22 men who funded the venture were longtime Acadian traders John Alden, David Waterhouse, John Foster, James Taylor and Villebon's son-in-law, Jean Martel. These men knew that Castin's support could easily make the difference between the success and failure of their venture, and the leaders of the expedition asked the Massachusetts government "Whether an attempt of treaty with mr st Casteine would not at this juncture be neccessarie...."¹⁸

Both the government of Massachusetts and Nelson sent Castin "very civil" missives asking him to prevail upon the Abenaki to surrender their prisoners. Castin was informed of the plan to establish a garrison at Port Royal and invited to submit himself to the English in exchange for the freedom of commerce and religion, as well as the right to retain his properties. The Massachusetts government reminded Castin that he had "allwaies Manifested a Generous & Christian compassion, towards the Captives, in the hands of the barbarous heathen," and declared, "we hope & trust that your Compliance in

these matters may be a means of a happy Issue [end] to these bloody disturbances.” Castin forwarded this mail to Governor Frontenac explaining that New England was in an “extremely low condition” and that “all this talk about an exchange of prisoners was merely to bring our Indians to a peace....”¹⁹

Late in the summer of 1691, the expedition, led by Nelson and Colonel Edward Tyng, left Boston for Port Royal. Aboard were 20 men, presumably meant to be garrisoned at Port Royal. John Alden and his son also participated in the venture. Upon their arrival, Tyng and Nelson found that the inhabitants of Port Royal were happy to trade with them, but could not guarantee their protection against hostile Indians. According to one disenchanted English critic, the members of the “sham company” arrived at Port Royal and “dealt for 1,200 pounds but did nothing for the King[of England].” Nelson and his associates decided to leave Port Royal and trade around the Bay of Fundy. They soon encountered the French frigate, *Soliel d’ Afrique* patrolling Acadian waters and were captured by Villebon.²⁰

Villebon sent John Alden back to Boston with some English captives in hopes that an exchange could be made for the 59 members of Port Royal’s French garrison that had been captured by Phips. Nelson and Tyng were held for ransom, the former in Quebec and the latter with Villebon in Acadia. Later, both were transferred to France. Tyng died in captivity within the year, and it would be seven years before Nelson was allowed to return to Boston. The French recognized Nelson’s influence in Acadia and Massachusetts, and they were unwilling to ransom the man who posed the greatest threat to French control of Acadia’s commerce.²¹

Meanwhile, Pentagoet continued to be used as a base from which to wage war on the English. Early in 1692, using supplies sent by the French, the Kennebec and Penobscot Abenaki made a successful attack on York, Maine. The English reported to Boston that “the greatest part of the whole town was burned & robbed.” Between 100-200 of its inhabitants were killed or taken captive by the Abenaki. Spurred on by their victory at

York and more gifts from the French, the Indians made a second rendezvous at Pentagoet that summer. Approximately 400 Abenaki, Malicite and Micmac warriors gathered there, as the Indians prepared for an attack on Wells, Maine.²²

The assault on Wells went poorly. Although a great deal of damage was done to the settlement, the Indians failed to collect the plunder that was such an important part of their offensives. An attempt to capture three English vessels laden with provisions that had run aground at Wells failed, and the Indians were forced to retreat. Castin and Portneuf both led the attack, but after the failure at Wells, they could not convince the Indians to continue assaults on Maine settlements. Villebon reported that the Indians “retreated swiftly, each to his own district.”²³

Sir William Phips, who had recently been made governor of Massachusetts, quickly responded to the pleas of Maine’s inhabitants for help. In early August he traveled to Pemaquid with 450 men to oversee construction on a new fortification, Fort William Henry. The new fort was much stronger than the one that had been destroyed by the Penobscots in 1689, and it cost Massachusetts over 20,000 pounds to build.²⁴ Governor Villebon referred to Pemaquid as the strongest outpost of Massachusetts’s administration and the English called it “the key of all the Easterne parts.” The re-establishment of a fortification there interfered with the movement of New England’s Abenaki enemies along the coast of Maine and Acadia and impaired their ability to hunt in the region. Officials stationed at Fort William Henry were also able to offer peaceful Indians cheaper merchandise than what they could get from the French.²⁵

After construction of Fort William Henry was underway, Phips returned to Boston. He left behind two companies of men to finish the fort, and the rest, under the leadership of notorious Indian fighter Benjamin Church, took leave of Pemaquid and made their way to Pentagoet in search of the enemy. This was Church’s third expedition against the Abenaki. In 1689 he and his forces had thwarted an Abenaki attempt to take Fort Loyal at Falmouth. A second expedition in the fall of 1690 was so devastating that it

ultimately forced the Abenaki leaders west of the Penobscot to sign a short-lived truce with the English. Now Church sought to damage the morale of those Indians who posed the greatest threat to Pemaquid. Most of the Indians gathered at Pentagoet eluded Church and his men, but at the expense of their stores of corn and peltry which Church plundered. Before returning to Boston, Church made his way to the Kennebec River. The Indians there escaped as well, but lost their fort at Taconnet and some cribs of corn to Church's forces.²⁶

It is clear from the Abenakis' refusal to listen to Castin after their defeat at Wells that he was not really "absolute master of the savages," as governor Meneval had once claimed.²⁷ However, the Massachusetts government understood that for the most part Castin's and the Abenakis' interests ran parallel, and there was no Frenchman who had more influence among them. Castin's rejection of appeals sent by both Nelson and the Massachusetts government made it apparent that he was no longer willing to negotiate with the English. Consequently, Sir William Phips, who was not known for his skill as a negotiator anyway, decided to try to capture Castin.²⁸

Meanwhile, in Quebec, Count Frontenac made the mistake of treating his prisoner, John Nelson, effectively as an honored guest and allowing Nelson too much freedom. When Madockawando visited Frontenac in 1692, Nelson was allowed audiences with him. Conversing in the sachem's native language, the two managed furtive negotiations, during which Madockawando expressed his discontent with the French and their lack of support for the Abenaki. Madockawando was impressed with Nelson's offer to reinstate a trading post on the Penobscot River at Nagas and told Nelson about Frontenac's plan to attack Pemaquid, Wells, Portsmouth and the Isles of Shoals that fall. In September, just as two French warships, *le Joli* and the *l'Envieux*, were on their way to New England filled with supplies and soldiers, Nelson bribed two French soldiers to desert and warn Massachusetts of the impending attack.²⁹

The deserters reached Massachusetts and delivered Nelson's message. As governor, Phips decided to make further use of them and sent the two men to Acadia with orders to kidnap, or possibly, kill Castin. Two captive Acadians, Jean Serreau de St. Aubin and Jacques Petipas, were forced to serve as guides on the new mission. Phips kept the families of both Acadians hostage in hopes of insuring their cooperation, but this tactic failed. Aubin and Petipas overcame the deserters and took them to Pentagoet, where the French were preparing for their attack on Pemaquid. After a week of what must have been extremely unpleasant interrogation, the deserters were dispatched by having their skulls cracked. The two Acadians who had foiled Phips's plan were awarded with 554 livres for the important service they had rendered Canada.³⁰ The following year, Governor Villebon received instructions from France explaining that when the presents sent from the King to the Indians arrived that year, Castin should be given a special gift of 100 pounds of powder and 300 pounds of shot or something equivalent.³¹

Massachusetts was now aware of the impending attack on its territory and worked quickly to fortify Pemaquid. Citing potential bad weather as their excuse, Pierre le Moyne d' Iberville and Simon-Pierre Denys de Bonnaventure, commanders of *le Joli* and *l'Envieux*, returned to France without carrying out the attack. Castin had promised the Indians the opportunity to assail Pemaquid, and they were disgusted at the cancellation. Before leaving, Bonnaventure and Iberville distributed the gifts intended for the Indians, and later Louis XIV tried to appease them by increasing aid for the following year. This did little to make up having lost the chance to take Pemaquid before its defenses were completely in order. As one French report surmised, "The post of Pemskuit [Pemaquid] being in a state of security, the neighboring Indians will experience great embarrassment and difficulty in resisting the attempts the English have been making for three years to seduce them from our alliance."³²

Gifts from the French could not make up for lack of trade with the English, especially when Abenaki hunting, fishing, and agriculture were disrupted by war. The

Abenaki were discouraged by the construction of Fort William Henry and the failure of the French to assault it. Offensives by English troops continued, and there were threats of attack from the Mohawks as well. In August of 1693, Abenaki sachems of the Androscoggin, Saco, Kennebec and Penobscot Rivers met at Pemaquid and signed a peace treaty with the English. In doing so they acknowledging their subjection to England and promised to abandon their alliance with the French. The Abenaki agreed to release all English captives without ransom and Indian hostages were given to the English as security for the Abenakis' adherence to the treaty. Further, the Abenaki promised to trade only with the English.³³

After receiving word that Madockawando was responsible for organizing the negotiations that lead to the peace treaty, Villebon immediately went to work trying to undermine his authority. Madockawando's son, who had recently returned from a trip to France, was prevailed upon to change his father's mind. Villebon also asked Taxous, one of the few influential Abenaki Sachems who would not sign the peace treaty, to "try to induce Modockawando to join him, or render him contemptable to all the young Indians." Thury was entreated to go to Pentagoet with lieutenant Claude-Sébastien Villieu in order to "assure...the Indians of the danger they placed themselves in by negotiating with the English, who, under the guise of friendship and extensive trade, would not fail to betray them as they had done in the past."³⁴

Convincing the Abenaki to resume war on the English was difficult. Abenaki hostages were in English hands, and the Abenaki were not satisfied with the quantity of gifts sent by the French. However, Madockawando, the greatest proponent of peace, lost some standing among the Indians when Villieu and Thury made it widely known that he and Kennebec Sachem, Edjevemit, had secretly sold lands on either side of the St. George River to Governor Phips. Pressured by his French and Indian peers, Madockawando finally agreed to participate in an enterprise against the English. The peace was broken

when, “contrary to the judgement of the older chiefs,” the Abenaki attacked Oyster River, New Hampshire in July of 1694.³⁵

There is notably little mention by Acadian officials of Castin’s involvement in Indian affairs during the year-long peace between the Abenaki and the English. Some historians have speculated that Castin joined the Abenaki in making peace with the English during this time. If there was an agreement between Castin and Massachusetts, it was kept secret, and made independently of the Abenaki. Castin’s signature does not appear on the treaty between the Abenaki and the English, nor is there any evidence that he took part in deliberations prior to the treaty.³⁶

There is evidence that Castin re-opened lines of communication and trade with Massachusetts at this time. However, Villebon, now the official crown-appointed “commandant” of Acadia, was not nearly as concerned with Castin’s trade with the English as his insubordination. In June of 1693 Villebon sent an official report to Count Frontenac to notify him that “M. Baudoin, missionary, came to tell me...that the Sr. de St Castin had informed him I had no right to give orders, and that, if I did not show him my commission, the inhabitants would be foolish to obey me.”³⁷

Later that year Villebon complained that Acadian trader and spy Abraham Boudrot made a trading voyage to Boston, but did not bring back the twelve tierces of flour Villebon requested for his garrison on the St. John River. Boudrot explained that the vessel he was using, the *Mary*, belonged to Castin, “who said the English had forbidden him on pain of death to let it go to the St. John River.” Villebon didn’t think the English had much to do with it and believed Castin was just trying to keep provisions from making it to Villebon’s headquarters on the St. John.³⁸ Regardless of any agreements Castin had with Massachusetts, it is clear from his behavior that he was unwilling to forfeit his independence to either the French or the English.

Notes to Chapter Four

- ¹“Order in reference to defence against our neighboring French enemies,” December 6, 1689, James Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine, Containing the Baxter Manuscripts*, vol. 5, 15-16. In early fall of 1689, two French frigates captured “at least ten percent of the Salem fishing fleet,” thus putting more pressure on the Massachusetts government to take action against the French as well as the Indians. George A. Rawlyk, *Nova Scotia’s Massachusetts*, 59.
- ²“Proposals of John Nelson,” January 4, 1690; “Answer to the Council, &c., relating to an Expedition against the French of Nova Scotia,” January 16, 1690, James Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine, Containing the Baxter Manuscripts*, vol. 5, 26-28, 30-31.
- ³Kenneth M. Morrison, *The Embattled Northeast*, 1984, 124; Francis Parkman, *Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XVI*, 154-170; “Robinau de Portneuf, René,” David M. Hayne, ed., *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 2, 579.
- ⁴“Declaration of Silvanus Davis,” n.d., James Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine, Containing the Baxter Manuscripts*, vol. 5, 145; “Edward Cranfield to Thomas Hinckley,” February 14, 1683, *The Hinckley Papers*, Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, fourth series, vol. 5, (Boston: Printed for the Society, 1861), 121.
- ⁵“Journal of Benjamin Bullivant, May 19, 1690,” J.W. Fortescue, ed, *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1689-1692*, 263-264; Richard R. Johnson, *John Nelson, Merchant Adventurer*, 61-62.
- ⁶Richard R. Johnson, *John Nelson, Merchant Adventurer*, 61-62; William Phips, *A Journal of the Proceedings in the Late Expedition to Port Royal* (Boston: Benjamin Harris, 1690). 1-4, 16.
- ⁷Alaric and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet, 1635-1674*. Another possibility is that the Penobscots were within the wooden palisade of Fort Pentagoet which had not been completely destroyed in 1674.
- ⁸William Phips, *A Journal of the Proceedings in the Late Expedition to Port Royal*, 4-6; Edward T. Harrington, Robert H. Lord, and John E. Sexton, *History of the Archdiocese of Boston*, 48; “Narrative of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada, 1689-1690,” E. B. O’Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York*, vol. 9, 475; Richard R. Johnson, *John Nelson, Merchant Adventurer*, 64.
- ⁹William Phips, *A Journal of the Proceedings in the Late Expedition to Port Royal*, 14.
- ¹⁰*Ibid.*, 12.
- ¹¹Villebon to Marquis de Chevry, “Account of my voyage to Acadia,” 1690, in John C. Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, 24-25; Rawlyk, *Nova Scotia’s Massachusetts*, 71.
- ¹²John C. Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, 209.
- ¹³Villebon to Count Ponchartrain, “Journal of what has happened in Acadia from October 13th, 1691 to October 25th, 1692,” in John C. Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, 40-41; “La Tourasse, Charles,” George W. Brown ed., *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 1, 426.
- ¹⁴“Narrative of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada, 1690, 1691,” E. B. O’Callaghan, ed., *New York Colonial Documents*, vol. 9, 514; Kenneth M. Morrison, *The Embattled Northeast*, 125.
- ¹⁵Kenneth M. Morrison, *The Embattled Northeast*, 124-126; George A. Rawlyk, *Nova Scotia’s Massachusetts*, 72-73.

¹⁶For instance, in late 1691 the leaders of Abenaki tribes west of the Penobscot River signed a brief truce with the English. The truce was a direct result of notorious Indian fighter Benjamin Church's most recent campaign against them. Church and his force of 300 men had killed or taken captive several Indians, burned Indian forts, and confiscated stores of supplies. Cotton Mather, *Decennium Luctuosum*, 228; William D. Williamson, *The History of the State of Maine*, vol. 1, 624-627.

¹⁷Quote from Francis Parkman, *Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XVI*, 251; Kenneth M. Morrison, *The Embattled Northeast*, 125-126.

¹⁸Richard R. Johnson, *John Nelson, Merchant Adventurer*, 67; Proposal to settle a garrison at Port Royal, July 4, 1691; "Upon the undertaking of a settlement att Port Royall," n.d., *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. 36, 108-109, 110a

¹⁹"Narrative of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada, 1690, 1691," E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York* vol. 9, 525-526; Massachusetts government to St. Castin, July 30, 1691. *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. 37, 101-102.

²⁰Richard R. Johnson, *John Nelson, Merchant Adventure*, 69; Francis Foxcroft to Francis Nicholson, October 26, 1691, J.W. Fortescue, ed, *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1689-1692*, 560; "Report of the Affairs of Canada, Acadia, and Newfoundland," February 17, 1692, E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York*, vol. 9, 527.

²¹Richard R. Johnson, *John Nelson, Merchant Adventure*, 69, 76-78; Villebon to Count Ponchartrain, "Journal of what has happened in Acadia from October 13th, 1691 to October 25th, 1692," in John C. Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, 32; George A. Rawlyk, *Nova Scotia's Massachusetts*, 76; "Report of the Affairs of Canada, Acadia, and Newfoundland, February 17, 1692," E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York*, vol. 9, 527.

²²Francis Parkman, *Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XVI*, 252; Cotton Mather, *Decennium Luctuosum*, 230; "Lettre de Monsieur de Champigny au Ministre," October 5, 1692; "Letter of Monsieur de Frontenac to the Minister," September 15, 1692, *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 2, 85, 89-90; Villebon to Count Ponchartrain, "Journal of what has happened in Acadia from October 13th, 1691 to October 25th, 1692," in John C. Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, 36-38; Cotton Mather, *Decennium Luctuosum*, 233-238.

²³Villebon to Count Ponchartrain, "Journal of what has happened in Acadia from October 13th, 1691 to October 25th, 1692," in John C. Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, 42; "Letter of Monsieur de Frontenac to the Minister," September 15, 1692, *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 2, 85.

²⁴Cotton Mather, *Decennium Luctuosum*, 240-241; William D. Williamson, *The History of the State of Maine*, vol. 1, 634-636. This sum was two-thirds of the Massachusetts budget for the year. The fort was said to be capable of withstanding "all the Indians in America" Quote from Robert L. Bradley and Helen B. Camp, *The Forts of Pemaquid, Maine: An Archaeological and Historical Study*, Occasional Publications in Maine Archaeology no. 10 (Augusta: The Maine Historic Preservation Commission, 1994), 10-11.

²⁵Villebon to Count Pontchartrain, "Memoir on Fort Pemaquid," August 20, 1694, in John C. Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, 67-68; "Petition of Lt. Col. Edward Tyng & others," n.d., in James Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine, Containing the Baxter Manuscripts*, vol. 6, 471.

²⁶William D. Williamson, *The History of the State of Maine* vol. 1, 635-636; Thomas Church, *The entertaining history of King Philip's War: which began in the month of June, 1675, and also of expeditions more lately made against the common enemy....* (Newport: Solomon Southwick..., 1772), 96-137.

²⁷"Resumé d'un Memoire sur l' Acadie par Mons. de Meneval," December 1, 1687, *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 1, 410-411.

²⁸Richard R. Johnson, *John Nelson, Merchant Adventurer*, 74.

²⁹Richard R. Johnson, *John Nelson, Merchant Adventurer*, 71-74; John Nelson to Massachusetts, August 26, 1692, in Beamish Murdoch, *A History of Nova-Scotia, or, Acadie*, vol. 1, 200-201; Villebon to Count Pontchartrain, "Journal of what has happened in Acadia from October 13th, 1691 to October 25th, 1692," in John C. Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, 43; Francis Parkman, *Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XVI*, 258; "Memoir on the Projected attack on Canada. 1692," E. B. O'Callaghan, ed, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York*, vol. 9, 544.

³⁰"Memoir on the Projected attack on Canada. 1692," E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York*, vol. 9, 544; Richard R. Johnson, *John Nelson, Merchant Adventurer*, 74-76; "Esdit en Faveur des Sieurs Saint Aubin et Petitpas," November 9, 1692; "Memoire sur l'Enlèvement du Sieur de St Castin," 1692; "Memoire sur l' Acadie et la Nouvelle Angleterre par Monsieur de Lagny," 1692; "Extrait d'un Memoire par Monsieur Champigny," 1693 all in *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 2, 92, 95-96 ,98 ,100; "Memoir on the Projected attack on Canada," 1692, E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *New York Colonial Documents*, vol. 9, 544. In the letter he sent to Boston via the two "corrupted" Frenchmen, Nelson specifically asked that news of his letter would not be publicized as he would be in danger if the French found him out. Nelson later accused Phips of purposely sending the French deserters on to Penobscot knowing the likelihood that Nelson's spying would be revealed to his French captors. Taking into account his friendship with Castin, it must have been doubly insulting to Nelson that Phips sent the Nelson's messengers to kidnap Castin.

³¹"Instructions au Sieur Villebon, Commandant a l' Acadie," February 1693, *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 2, 107.

³²"Memoire sure L' Acadie et la Nouvelle Angleterre par Monsieur De Lagny," 1692, *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 2, 97-100; Kenneth M. Morrison, *The Embattled Northeast*, 127; "Memoir on the Projected attack on Canada, 1692," E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York*, vol. 9, 544.

³³Villebon to Count Pontchartrain, "Journal of Events in Acadia from September 15, 1693 to September 2, 1694," in John C. Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, 53; Cotton Mather, *Decennium Luctuosum*, 249-251; William D. Williamson, *The History of the State of Maine* vol. 1, 638-639; Kenneth M. Morrison, *The Embattled Northeast*, 127-128.

³⁴Villebon to Count Pontchartrain, "Journal of Events in Acadia from September 15, 1693 to September 2, 1694," in John C. Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, 53-55.

³⁵"Account of a Journey Made by M. de Villieu," 1694, in John C. Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, 57-66; Deed of Sale, Madockawando to William Phips, May 10, 1694, in *York Deeds*, book 10 (Portland: Brown Thurston Co., 1894) fol. 237-238.

³⁶Gorham Munson, "St. Castin: A Legend Revised," 354.

³⁷Villebon to Count Pontchartrain, "Journal of Acadia from 11th November , 1692 to 7th August, 1693," in John C. Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, 47; "Robinau de Villebon, Joseph," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 1, 576. The missionary involved was Jean Baudoin, a priest at Beaubassin. Baudoin was forced to returned to France in 1694 in order to account for his undue involvement in civil matters and his conflicts with Villebon. "Baudoin, Jean," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 1, 8.

³⁸Villebon to Count Pontchartrain, "Journal of Events in Acadia from September 15, 1693 to September 2, 1694," in John C. Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, 54; Deposition of William Hill and Henry Francklyn, November 17, 1693, *Massachusetts Archives* vol. 61, 518.

Chapter Five

“the English will always run the risk of making trade and commerce in Acadia, and especially at Pentagöet....”

From the onset of King William's War, Castin played the part of the wildcard in Acadia. Ostensibly, he remained loyal to the French, yet he often acted independently, challenging the authority of government officials and continuing to trade with the English. Castin's earlier success as an entrepreneur had been based on trade with the English, yet his status as a Frenchman, living on French territory, was also crucial. If Castin had allowed Pentagoet to come under English rule, it is doubtful that the Indians would have continued to funnel all their peltry into his hands. On the other hand, adherence to the ban French officials often put on trade with the English meant that Castin would lose the cheapest and most reliable source of trade goods available to him. It was essential for Castin to strike a balance between loyalty to the French and cooperation with the English.

Furthermore, both the French and New Englanders often over-estimated how much control Castin had over the Abenaki. Though buttressed by friendship, religion, and marriage ties, Castin's relationship with the Abenaki was founded on his ability to get them European goods. Although the Abenaki trusted Castin, and preferred to trade through him, when he failed to get the supplies they needed, they traded directly with the English. Castin was as dependent on them as they were on him.

Thus, even though Castin professed allegiance to the French, English goods still made their way from Boston to Pentagoet during King William's War. There is no way to determine the volume of surreptitious trade that took place between Castin and the

English because such trade was often illegal and the participants did their utmost to avoid detection. Only those traders who were apprehended and tried by the Massachusetts government provide a glimpse of how Castin managed to get trade goods from Boston. Through intensive double-dealing one such trader, Abraham Boudrot, managed to avoid punishment. Still, he left a documentary trail that reveals one way in which English goods fell into Castin's hands at Pentagoet.

In the spring of 1691 Boudrot and fellow Acadian Jean Martel came to Boston and entered into a charter-party with the Faneuil brothers and David Basset, all three of whom were Boston merchants.¹ The Faneuils and Basset provided a large quantity of cloth and a few other items which were to be transported to Port Royal in a shallop recently purchased by Martel and Boudrot in Massachusetts. There was no mention of Castin or Pentagoet in the initial agreement.² Martel and Boudrot presented a petition to the Massachusetts governor and council explaining that, since Port Royal had recently been subjected to English rule, it was necessary to allow trade to be conducted between there and Boston, or else settlers at Port Royal would be forced to go to the French for supplies.³

What happened to Boudrot after he set out to Port Royal is recorded in a testimony given by one of his mariners, Ezekiel Collins.⁴ According to Collins, Boudrot's shallop, *the Mary*, shipped out of Boston towards Port Royal near the end of April, but after the vessel had passed Pemaquid, Boudrot turned towards the Penobscot River. Shortly after this detour, however, the crew "Espied a slooppe" and "judgeing it to be the New Yorke Mann of Warr Slooppe," turned out to sea; the government of New York was still dedicated to protecting its claim over the region. Boudrot tried once more to steer the *Mary* towards the Penobscot River, but when they encountered the sloop a second time, they abandoned course and set off to Port Royal. Once at Port Royal, Boudrot traded with the Acadians for peltry for about ten days.

After leaving Port Royal, instead of going back to Boston as his crew assumed they would, Boudrot again headed into the Penobscot River and into a harbor. There the *Mary*, her crew, and her cargo were soon captured by Indians and the Acadian, St. Aubin. Aubin certainly had need of a vessel; his old one, *Speedwell*, had been seized from him by John Alden earlier that year during a trading voyage to Port Royal.⁵ However, when Boudrot informed Aubin that he had letters aboard the *Mary* for Castin, Aubin took Boudrot to him. After receiving the letters, Castin claimed the shallop and goods, which consisted of some peltry, 150 pounds worth of woolens, and some rum. The crew of the *Mary* remained captive for about a month until they were given a small boat with which to return to Boston.⁶

Exactly why Castin took possession of the *Mary* and her cargo has not been determined. When questioned by the Massachusetts government, Boudrot told them that it was the Indians who had insisted that Castin should have the shallop and cargo, but he did not explain whether the *Mary* was seized as an act of war against Massachusetts, or if there was some other economic justification involved. Most likely the whole affair was planned by Boudrot and Castin. The Faneuils and Basset may have been well aware that Castin would take the shallop and goods. Three years later, Boudrot was using Castin's prize shallop, the *Mary*, to make voyages between Acadia and Massachusetts. Boudrot continued to trade with the Faneuils, who made no protest when he arrived to trade in Boston with goods loaded aboard the *Mary*. Whatever the reason for the seizure of the *Mary*, Boudrot's vague explanation of the event to the Massachusetts government indicates that he wanted it to remain a secret.⁷

It is difficult to untangle Boudrot's motives and loyalties because, as a spy for the French and perhaps the English as well, his activities were necessarily shrouded. Boudrot bought the right to conduct business with the Faneuils in Boston by acting as a spy for Villebon. This allowed Villebon a means of supplying Port Royal while keeping tabs on Massachusetts. Boudrot supplied such important details to Villebon as the dimensions

and battery of Fort William Henry at Pemaquid. Sir William Phips also appears to have regarded Boudrot as a valuable individual. In 1693 a Massachusetts customs collector seized a cargo of peltry Boudrot had brought to Boston in the *Mary*. Benjamin Faneuil and Boudrot explained the situation to Sir William Phips, who insisted that the peltry be restored to Boudrot. Phips proclaimed that Faneuil and Boudrot were, “as good or better Englishmen then the Collector....”⁸

There were other traders besides Boudrot with ambiguous loyalties. Recall that Acadian Jean Martel, who joined Boudrot in petitioning the Massachusetts government for permission to transport English goods to and from Port Royal, was Villebon's son-in-law. Martel was involved in privateering against English shipping, but he also took part in Nelson's ill-fated venture to establish a garrison at Port Royal in 1691.⁹ Furthermore, David Basset, one of the Boston merchants who provided Boudrot with cloth for his trading voyage, appears to have originally been an inhabitant of Acadia. He took part in Phips's expedition against Acadia in 1690, but in 1694 asked to be pardoned by Villebon and sought permission to return to Port Royal. Villebon agreed to the pardon because he thought Basset could be useful against the English.¹⁰

Englishmen John Alden also bent the rules in order to continue making commercial voyages to and from Acadia. Alden was called upon throughout King William's War to organize treaties with the Abenaki, take supplies to and from Port Royal, and maintain contact with Castin.¹¹ These missions, which were sanctioned by the Massachusetts government, allowed Alden to couple diplomacy with commerce. According to the testimony of Mark Emerson, an English captive of the Indians in Acadia, Alden's desire for profit overshadowed his concern for his compatriots. Emerson reported that Alden, who had been sent to check up on Port Royal, stopped and traded badly needed supplies, food, arms and ammunition to the Indians on the St. John River in March of 1691. According to Emerson, Alden told the Indians he had come to trade, not to ransom English prisoners.¹²

Alden also transported English goods to Pentagoet, although Castin did not find him very reliable or trustworthy. In 1692, shortly after the Abenaki made their devastating attack on York, some former captives of the French reported that Castin was in the process of organizing further attacks on the English. They also claimed to have heard from their French captors that Castin had come to a port just east of the Penobscot River expecting to find provisions that John Alden owed him and had promised to deliver. When Castin found that the goods were not there, he made some threats concerning what he would do when he met with Alden again. The Indians and their English captives were in danger of starving and were forced to come to Castin for supplies. Castin had planned to buy nearly one hundred English captives from the Indians with the provisions, and now was unable to do so.¹³

In 1694 Alden sidestepped Castin and traded directly with the Indians at Pentagoet for peltry. When Castin and Villieu devised a plan to kidnap Alden, they found that the Abenaki were unwilling to participate, probably because the Indians were in need of the goods Alden transported. Castin and Villieu tried to capture Alden by themselves, but he narrowly escaped.¹⁴

This network of traders, both French and English, supplied Castin with goods from Massachusetts during the war. Castin was no longer just an entrepreneur, but an important political figure, and it was not always possible for him to trade directly with Boston. He had to rely on intermediaries such as Alden and Boudrot, who through varying amounts of duplicity managed to continue making trading voyages between Acadia and Massachusetts. Throughout the war, goods from Massachusetts made their way to Pentagoet by the resourcefulness of these opportunistic renegades.¹⁵

Still, war made it impossible for Castin to maintain the same kind of trade relationship he had with the Abenaki prior to the outbreak of King William's War. The Massachusetts government was vigilant about keeping powder and shot, two commodities necessary to the Abenakis' survival, from reaching Acadia.¹⁶ Although they

were helpful for waging war, gifts from the French could not sustain the Abenaki permanently. After the Oyster River attack, the Abenaki and English continued alternately to make and break dubious pledges of peace.¹⁷ In June of 1695, the Penobscots and other Indians visited Villebon to explain a recent peace made with the English:

It was our need for many things and our distress at seeing our families destitute, which drove us to make overtures to the English....¹⁸

Throughout King William's War, Castin kept Villebon and officials in Quebec informed of Abenaki activities. He also furnished the French with news from Boston, including plans Massachusetts was making to attack Quebec. Furthermore, he continued to serve as mediator when the English and Abenaki agreed to exchange prisoners of war. The French still had confidence in Castin's influence among the Abenaki. Referring to Castin's offer to mediate the exchange of English captives held by the Abenaki, one French official commented that, "A more attached or intelligent agent could not be selected."¹⁹

In August of 1696 French and Indian forces united to make another attack on Pemaquid. The Abenaki were furious with Fort William Henry's commander, Captain Pascho Chubb, for ambushing them earlier that year as they attempted to trade and negotiate peacefully at Pemaquid. Once again Pentagoet was the place chosen as a rendezvous for the Indians as they prepared to make the attack. Two French warships, *l'Envieux* and *la Profond* arrived at Pentagoet laden with supplies for the Indians and carrying soldiers sent from France and Canada. After the gifts were distributed, 240 Indians under Castin's command joined with French soldiers lead by Villieu.

On August 14, the warships, under the command of Iberville and Bonaventure, sailed to Pemaquid, where the French and Indian forces began their assault on Fort William Henry. At first Chubb belliciously refused to surrender, but on the second day of

fighting, Castin sent a message to Chubb advising him that if the English did not surrender the fort, they would get no quarter from the French. After being informed of how well armed the French and Indians were, and because the fort's water supply had been cut off, Chubb surrendered. Shortly thereafter Fort William Henry was completely destroyed.²⁰

With the surrender of Pemaquid, the English lost their foothold in Maine. A fourth campaign lead by Church set out the following month to punish the Indians, but failed to accomplish more than to harass Acadian settlers and take plunder. Later that fall Church joined an expedition lead by Colonel John Hathorne against Villebon's new headquarters on the St. John River at Nashwaak. Again, the enterprise managed to seize some plunder, but failed to take the French fort.²¹

The successful capture of Pemaquid increased the Abenakis' enthusiasm for fighting the English and renewed their faith in the French. Hoping to take advantage of this, the French devised a plan to attack Boston and Manhattan using both Indian and French forces. Castin was expected to lead the Indians of Acadia in the attack on Boston which was to take place in July of 1697. Former Acadian governor Meneval, who had lodged at John Nelson's house during the time he was held prisoner in Boston, was able to provide valuable information about the city to French authorities. However, due to bad timing on the part of the French and bad weather, neither the plan to attack Manhattan nor Boston was carried out. The Abenaki spent most of the summer waiting at Pentagoet for French warships and troops that never arrived. Still, throughout the rest of the year and well into the next, they continued to make small independent assaults on English settlements farther and farther into Massachusetts territory.²²

In March of 1698 Governor Villebon received word from Boston that the Treaty of Ryswick between the French and English had been concluded the previous September. The English made sure that Castin also received a copy of the treaty. As a result of the peace, French soldiers held captive in Boston were returned to Port Royal at the end of

April. Abenaki prisoners, however, were not released. The Abenaki “felt great surprise” that none of their people had been included in the exchange, and balked at participating in the peace until orders from Frontenac came asking them to “hang up for a while their hatchets”²³

Separate negotiations between the English and Abenaki took place at Pentagoet in October of 1698 when John Alden and Major James Converse met with Abenaki leaders to exchange prisoners and renew the 1693 peace treaty. The Abenaki and their English captives had suffered from starvation and disease the previous winter. Many of the captives had died, along with several Abenaki leaders, including Madockawando. The treaty did nothing to resolve the issues that had started the war, but it gave both sides some time to recover somewhat from the losses they had sustained over the previous ten years.²⁴

At the close of the war, Castin’s old business partner, John Nelson, was released from captivity in France and returned to Boston. Nelson immediately began working to create a viable trade relationship between the colonies. He personally visited Villebon and negotiated the restoration of fishing and trading rights to the English. Villebon, who had always recognized the futility of trying to keep the English out of Acadia, brought back the old system of selling licenses to English fishermen and unofficially made some allowances for English traders. Nelson also advised the English to sell cheap goods to the Abenaki and erect forts and trading posts in territory claimed by Massachusetts in order to prevent a resurgence of hostilities with the Indians. The Penobscots even asked that a trading post be operated at Pemaquid. However, Nelson never conceded that the border between Acadia and Maine was so far east as the St. Croix River and did not believe it wise on the part of the English to have pretensions beyond the St. George River.²⁵

Despite the efforts of John Nelson, the Treaty of Ryswick merely brought a precarious and temporary peace between Massachusetts and Acadia. All the points of contention that existed prior to the war fell back into place. The French government did

not support Governor Villebon's leniency towards English fishermen and traders, and ordered the governor to stave off those who bombarded the coast of Acadia following the war. Yet, Acadia did not have the manpower to repulse the English, and was still dependent on Massachusetts for supplies anyway. The old border dispute concerning the boundaries of Acadia and Maine also remained; the French claimed all territory east of the Kennebec River, whereas the English maintained that the St. Croix was the dividing line.²⁶

Consequently, Castin was still obliged to wend his way around fickle Acadian officials and Massachusetts hard-liners in order to continue to conduct trade with the English. Apparently, business at Pentagoet was good. In October of 1698 Villebon notified his superiors that "the English will always run the risk of making trade and commerce in Acadia, and especially at Pentagöet...."²⁷ He reported that Alden had been at Pentagoet that August, and this time he was trading with one of Castin's sons-in-law.²⁸ Villebon also spoke with frustration of Pentagoet's youthful priest, Jacques Fleury d'Eschambault, who had served at Pentagoet as assistant to the recently deceased Thury. Villebon claimed that d'Eschambault participated in the fur trade "more openly than those who proceeded him."²⁹

Naval officer Bonaventure, who was familiar with the Acadian fur trade, also complained that inhabitants of Pentagoet wouldn't deliver furs to the French "on account of the facility they had for trading with the English." According to Bonaventure, Castin and the other inhabitants regarded "themselves as the proprietors of Pentagoet, only trading without cultivating a single garden."³⁰ Villebon suggested that the French inhabitants of Pentagoet be compelled to move to Passamoquaddy where the Indians were not so friendly with the English. He believed that Pentagoet was too strategic a location to remain merely a place for the fur trade and suggested that a fortification be built there.³¹

After Villebon's death in summer of 1700, Sébastien de Villieu became interim governor for a year. Villieu also wrote to France complaining about St. Castin's trade with the English:

His Majesty forbids the French of this colony from having any trade with the English and your lordship orders by several earlier articles of instruction to hold the line on this point. But he does not specifically authorize punishment for those who would contravene the prohibitions which are so often repeated to them; with the result that several individuals have paid little notice, particularly the Sieur de Saint Castin, who lives among the Indians at Pentagoet and whose ship at this very moment is in Boston where he had taken around a thousand crowns worth of furs which he intends to convert into suitable merchandise for the Indians to whom he makes it understood that the goods of France are not of any better quality and that the Company and the French overcharge them for theirs. This falsehood can only produce a very bad effect of their attitude and if your lordship does not give the order to recall him to France, it is feared that this will give birth to some aftereffects from the influence he holds thereafter on the poor wretches, who this year have refused the presents the king sent them on the basis that they were not substantial enough.³²

Castin had encountered similar criticism more than a decade before from Governor Perrot. Like Perrot, Villieu sought personal gain through trade with the Indians of Acadia, and saw Castin as an obstacle to potential commerce. The Acadian priest, Louis Petit, had defended Castin against Governor Perrot's aspersions and now another priest, Antoine Gaulin, newly appointed missionary among the Penobscot Abenaki, stepped in to defend Castin.³³ Gaulin wrote a scathing report to his supervisor in France concerning Villieu's activities and partially exonerated Castin. According to Gaulin, he and Villieu both visited Castin in the spring of 1701. The purpose of Villieu's visit was to prevent the English from trading at Pentagoet, to bring presents of guns, shirts, and hats to the Abenaki, and of course, to trade with them.

Both Gaulin and the Abenaki elders were shocked when Villieu tried to sell the Indians at Panawaskeag (Old Town), "as much brandy as they wanted." The Indian leaders there resolved not to allow Villieu to settle in the region both because of his offer to sell them brandy and because they were concerned about "having a band of soldiers

move into the region were their wives and daughters were all alone every day” As recorded by Gaulin, one of the Indian leaders addressed his fears to Villieu, explaining that both the Indians of the St. John River and those of the Kennebec had become corrupt because of the liquor sold to them by white traders. “As for me,” declared the Indian, “I feel safe here and I don’t see any brandy, nor anyone who would bring harm to our daughters and wives; its for that reason that I tell you that I do not at all want you to live here. You can stay by the sea with the rest of the French, and we will come to trade there.”

Gaulin further reported that Castin, though he regularly traveled up the river in order to trade with the Abenaki settled at Panawaskeag, did indeed remain by the sea at the same place he had occupied for thirty years. Gaulin explained that rumors that Castin “deals in drink” were false, and that the only time Castin had given the Indians alcohol was in Gaulin’s presence when he gave twenty or thirty Indians a shot of brandy or wine. Gaulin felt that it would be a detriment to the Indians settled on the Penobscot River to have a French fortification there, especially if it was to be commanded by someone like Villieu.³⁴

News of impending war between France and England in Europe kept colonial governments suspicious of one another. After his arrival in Boston in 1699, the royal governor of Massachusetts, Lord Bellomont, adopted a less than conciliatory approach to dealing with Indians and Acadians in the northeast. He vigorously asserted Massachusetts’s claim to lands west of the St. Croix River, and together with the Massachusetts council he outlawed French priests in “Massachusetts territories.”³⁵

Later, Acadia’s official governor, Jacques-François de Mombeton de Brouillan, who arrived to replace Villieu in the summer of 1701, proposed to the Massachusetts government an independent treaty of neutrality between Acadia and Massachusetts. Under this treaty, the two colonies would agree to remain neutral if war broke out between their mother countries. Even as Brouillan was making his appeal for peace

between Acadia and Massachusetts, officials in Canada continued to entertain ideas about attacking Boston. If such an attack was to be carried out, they concluded that it would be necessary to enlist the services of Castin and the Abenaki.³⁶ However, according to a report said to have been presented to Governor Bellomont by John Alden, Castin was actually on the verge of pledging allegiance to England:

M. de St. Castin said he hoped he should shortly come under the King of England's Government; that the true boundary between England and France to the eastward was the River of Ste. Croix, and that the French Court would try to cozen the English out of it. The Jesuits, he said, had taken indefatigable pains to stir up the Indians everywhere to make war upon the English.³⁷

After years of rejecting offers to become an English subject and defending France's claim to Pentagoet, it seems unlikely that Castin would earnestly make such a statement. Furthermore, taking into account the favorable reviews Acadian priests gave Castin and his apparent devotion to Catholicism, it is doubtful that Castin would sincerely speak so disparagingly of the Jesuits, several of whom supported the Abenakis' attempts to cultivate a peaceful, yet aloof, relationship with the English.³⁸ Perhaps, in the face of pressure from Acadian officials such as Villebon and Villieu, Castin simply wished to keep his options open.

The report goes on to say that Castin "professes great kindness to the English, and advised some of the late Governors here of the French designs against this country." However, the English had not compensated Castin appropriately for his cooperation with them. According to the report, the only "reward" Castin received from the English for his beneficence was "a frigate and some soldiers who ravaged his country and burnt his wigwams."³⁹

Whether the "wigwams" the English burned were located at St. Castin's Habitation is unclear. However, a report made by Tibierge, an agent of the *Compagnie de la Pêche*, in the fall of 1695 records the destruction of what surely was St. Castin's

Habitation, as well as the homesteads of his servants “Renauld” and “Deslories.”

According to Tibierge, “All three [Castin, Renauld, and Deslories] had, formerly, several homesteads, but during the war the English burned them so completely that they are now obliged to hide their goods in the heart of the forest in order to avoid pillage.” Although Castin may have had more than one “homestead,” St. Castin’s Habitation must have been his base of operations, since it is quite clearly represented on maps drawn by French and English cartographers shortly before the start of King William’s War.⁴⁰

Lord Bellomont died after serving less than two years as Massachusetts’s governor and in the summer of 1702, another crown-appointed governor, Joseph Dudley arrived in Boston. Like Bellomont, Dudley was wary of a French and Indian offensive against Massachusetts. Shortly after his arrival in Massachusetts, war was declared in Europe between France and England. Dudley responded by sending out privateers against Acadian vessels, and so began Queen Ann’s War in the colonies.⁴¹

Castin was not around to advise officials in Canada and Acadia on how best to respond to the outbreak of war. In the fall of 1701 he left for France both to claim the estate left by his deceased elder brother Jean-Jacques, and to justify his trade with the English to French officials. According to Castin, because he lived “upon the frontier of the colony, where no Frenchman has carried thus far any goods, and not having been permitted to buy at Quebec or in Newfoundland, he has been obliged to take them from the English for his most urgent wants....” It appears that Castin planned to return to Acadia because he promised not to conduct trade with the English anymore and before leaving for France he requested a grant for some land on the Penobscot River where he intended to move the Abenaki and begin a cod fishery.⁴²

In France, Castin was quickly exonerated, undoubtedly because his influence among the Abenaki was so badly needed now that war had broken out between Acadia and New England again. Castin was immediately called upon to counsel French officials on Acadia affairs, and Louis XIV offered him a position as “Lieutenant of the King to the

government at Pentagoet” with a salary of fifty livres a month if he would return to Acadia. Both the French and the English knew how potent a weapon Castin’s influence over the Abenaki could be. While Acadian officials called for his return, the English sacked and burned Castin’s settlement at Pentagoet for a second time and took one of his daughters hostage.⁴³

Nevertheless, Castin was unable to fulfill the commission and return to Acadia. During his stay in France he became embroiled in a lawsuit with his brother-in-law, Jean de Labaig, over the substantial inheritance left by Castin’s brother. Castin died near his birthplace, Bearn France, in 1707 before the conflict could be resolved.⁴⁴ Although the numerous sons and daughters that Castin left behind in Acadia proved to be steadfastly dedicated to French and Indian interests, Castin would henceforth be remembered in both Acadia and New England as Edmund Randolph characterized him—a man who “wished to live indifferent.”⁴⁵

Notes to Chapter Five

¹All three also had ties to France and/or Acadia. Basset was originally came from Acadia and eventually returned there. Basset and Boudrot were brothers-in-law by their marriages to sisters, Marie LaVerdure and Cecile Melanson respectively. The Faneuils were well-known French Hugonots. Personal Communication, John Léger to Alaric Faulkner, July 5, 1994; Andrée Crépeau and Brenda Dunn, *The Melanson Settlement: An Acadian Farming Community (ca. 1664-1755)* Research Bulletin no. 250 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1986), 4.

²"Invoyce of Goods Delivered by Andrew faneuil to a[braham Boudrot]," April 22, 1691; "Facture Des Marchandiscs Consinés au Seieur abraham boudrot pour Le conte des Sieures Estienne Basset Et pastre et assotiez," n.d.; "Fais teure des meir chain dize que moy andre fan[euil] et frere," April 26, 1691, all in *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. 37, 90, 91-92, 93.

³"The Petition of John Martell and Abraham Bodreaut," May 6, 1691, *Massachusetts Archives* vol. 37, 23.

⁴Apparently, Martel did not accompany Boudrot on the voyage as he in not mentioned again.

⁵*Massachusetts Archives*, vol. 37, .

⁶"The Libell or Information of John Alden," July 28, 1691; "The Information of Ezekiel Collins of Glocester," July 24, 1691; "Enquirries to be made unto Abraham Boudreaut," n.d., *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. 37, 280, 93-94, 95.

⁷"Enquirries to be made unto Abraham Boudreaut," n.d., *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. 37, 95. There is an interesting side note to this incident. Later that summer as the Abenaki attacked Wells, and other Maine settlements, the English reported to Boston that "the enemie declars that the reason why they fight us is because they were under some feare in regard that Casteen took three of our men...." The Indians were probably referring to Castin's detainment of the crew of the shallop, the *Mary*. "Letter from Francis Hooke," June 14, 1691, James Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine*, vol. 5, 244; Deposition of Henry Francklyn, September 5, 1693; Deposition of William Hill and Henry Francklyn, November 17, 1693, *Massachusetts Archives* vol. 61, 517-18.

⁸Villebon to Count Pontchartrain, "Memoir on Fort Pemaquid" August 20, 1694, in John C. Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, 68; Richard R. Johnson, *John Nelson, Merchant Adventurer*, 66; Deposition of William Hill and Henry Francklyn, November 17, 1693, *Massachusetts Archives* vol. 61, 518.

⁹Richard R. Johnson, *John Nelson, Merchant Adventurer*, 66-67; "La Tourasse, Charles," George W. Brown, ed., *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 1, 426; Villebon to Count Pontchartrain, "Memoir on Fort Pemaquid," August, 20, 1694, John C. Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, 68.

¹⁰"Basset, David," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 2, 46-47; John C. Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, 162.

¹¹"The testimony of Isaack Miller," December 21, 1689; "Capt. John Alden to have use of the Sloop Mary," "November 6, 1690; Instructions for Captain John Alden," n.d.; "Agreement of a Truce with ye Indian Sagamore Enemys," November 29, 1690; "Instructions for Captain Alden and Captain Convers," February 5, 1691; Instructions to Captain John Alden & Captain James Convers," March 19, 1692; Petition of John Alden, June 8, 1695, all in James Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine*, vol. 5, 22-23, 159, 162-164, 164-166, 321-323, 373-374, 413-414; Cotton Mather, *Decennium Luctuosum*, 273; Oath of Henry Francklyn, August 5, 1693, *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. 61, 517; Thomas Hutchinson, *The History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts-Bay* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1636), 37; William Phips, *A Journal of the Proceedings in the Late Expedition to Port Roya*, 2.

¹²Richard R. Johnson, *John Nelson, Merchant Adventurer*, 72. George A. Rawlyk, *Nova Scotia's Massachusetts*, 73-74.

¹³“Letter Elisha Hutchinson to Issac Addington,” May 19, 1692, James Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine*, vol. 5, 341.

¹⁴“Account of a Journey Made by M. de Villieu,” 1694, John C. Webster *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, 62.

¹⁵For more on Port Royal’s economic dependence on Boston during King William’s War, and the traders who conducted business between the two locales see, Jean D’aigle, “nos amis les ennemis; relations commerciales de l’acadie avec le massachusetts,” 1670-1711 (Ph.D. dissertation., University of Maine at Orono, 1975), 132-197.

¹⁶“Capt. John Alden to have use of the Sloop Mary,” November 6, 1690; Embargo prohibiting vessels from leaving Massachusetts, March 26, 1693, James Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine*, vol. 5, 159, 377-378. While he was being interrogated concerning the loss of the shallop *Mary* to St. Castin, Boudrot was careful to mention that he had brought only enough powder with him on his voyage to “prize fire.” “Enquiries to be made unto Abraham Boudreaut,” n.d., *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. 37, 95.

¹⁷William D. Williamson, *The History of the State of Maine* vol. 1 (Hallowell: Glazier, Master & Co., 1832), 640-643.

¹⁸Villebon to Count Pontchartrain, “Acadian Journal, September 17, 1694 to July 12, 1695,” John C. Webster *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, 78.

¹⁹Villebon to Count Pontchartrain, “Journal of Events in Acadia from the Departure of the King’s Ship L’Envieux, Commanded by M. de Bonaventure, July 22, 1695 to September 5, 1695 also present conditions in New England,” in John C. Webster *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, 81; “An Account of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada from the month of September 1694 to the sailing of the Vessels in 1695;” “An Account of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada from the departure of the Vessels in 1695, to the beginning of September 1696,” E.B. O’Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York*, vol. 9, 617, 642.

²⁰“An Account of the most remarkable Occurances in Canada from the departure of the Vessels in 1695 to the beginning of September 1696,” E.B. O’Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York*, vol. 9, 643, 657-8; Tibierge, “Report on Acadia, October 4, 1695 to October 27, 1696,” in John C. Webster *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, 145-6; Cotton Mather, *Decennium Luctuosum*, 261-2; Beamish Murdoch, *A History of Nova-Scotia, or, Acadie*, 217-221; Account of the attack on Fort William Henry, November 30, 1696, J.W. Fortescue, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1696-1697* (London: Mackie and Co., 1904), 143-144, no. 257, i; Robert L. Bradley and Helen B. Camp, *The Forts of Pemaquid, Maine*, 10-11. Chubb was not killed during or after the attack on Fort William Henry, but in revenge for his treacherous behavior, the Indians later killed him and his family during a raid at Andover Massachusetts in 1698.

²¹Thomas Church, *The entertaining history of King Philip’s War*, 138-153; “Narrative of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada,” 1696, 1697, E.B. O’Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York*, vol. 9, 664.

²²Kenneth M. Morrison, *The Embattled Northeast*, 141.

²³“Narrative of the most Remarkable Occurrences in Canada. 1697-1698,” E.B. O’Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York*, vol. 9, 682; Villebon to Pontchartrain, “Journal of what has taken place in Acadia since October 1697,” October 3, 1698, John C. Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, 111.

²⁴Cotton Mather, *Decennium Luctuosum*, 273-275; Kenneth M. Morrison, *The Embattled Northeast*, 143.

- ²⁵George A. Rawlyk, *Nova Scotia's Massachusetts*, 87-88; Richard R. Johnson, *John Nelson, Merchant Adventurer*, 107-111; Kenneth M. Morrison, *The Embattled Northeast*, 147.
- ²⁶George A. Rawlyk, *Nova Scotia's Massachusetts*, 85-86, 89.
- ²⁷"Fleury d'Eschambault, Jacques," George W. Brown, ed., *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol.1, 309; "Abregé d'une Lettre de Monsieur de Villebon au Ministre," October 4, 1698, *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 2, 305-306.
- ²⁸The identity of this son-in-law is unknown. Castin's daughters Thérèse and Anastasie were married to Philippe Mius d'Entremont and Alexandre Le Borgne de Belle-Isle respectively, but their marriages did not take place until 1707. Another daughter, Ursule, is supposed to have married Louis Damours de Freneuse in 1715. Abbadie de Saint-Castin, Jean-Vincent d'," David M. Hayne, ed., *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 2, 7.
- ²⁹"Fleury d'Eschambault, Jacques," George W. Brown, ed., *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol.1, 309; "Abregé d'une Lettre de Monsieur de Villebon au Ministre," October 4, 1698, *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 2 (Québec: A Coté and Co., 1883-85), 305-306.
- ³⁰"Denys De Bonaventure, Simon-Pierre," David M. Hayne, ed., *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 2, 176-177; "Abrege d'une Lettre de Monsieur de Bonaventure au Ministre," October 9, 1698, *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 2, 307. Bonneventure's comment that there was not even a single garden at Pentagoet is belied by the 1688 Gargas Census which records two acres of upland under cultivation there. General Census of Acadie by Gargas, 1687-1688, William Inglis Morse, ed., *Acadiensia Nova (1598-1779)*, vol. 1, 155.
- ³¹"Abregé d'une Lettre de Monsieur de Villebon au Ministre," October 4, 1698, *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 2, 305-306.
- ³²Villieu to Minister, October 20, 1700, *Archives des Colonies*, Series C11D, vol. 4, fol. 34, translation, Alaric Faulkner.
- ³³"Lettre du Baron de St Castin a Mons. le Marquis de Denonville," July 2, 1687, *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 1, 399-401; "Gaulin, Antoine," David M. Hayne, ed., *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* vol. 2, 238.
- ³⁴Gaulin to Tremblay, October 24, 1701, in H.R. Casgrain, *Le Sulpiciens et les Prêtres des Missions-Étrangères en Acadie (1676-1762)* (Québec: Librairie Montmorency - Laval, 1897), 233-244; "Tremblay, Henri-Jean," Frances G. Halpenny, ed., *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* vol. 3 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 683-685.
- ³⁵George A. Rawlyk, *Nova Scotia's Massachusetts*, 88-89.
- ³⁶George A. Rawlyk, *Nova Scotia's Massachusetts*, 90-91; "Memoir of M. d' Iberville on Boston and its dependencies," E.B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York*, vol. 9, 729-731; "Mombeton de Brouillan, Jacques-François de," David M. Hayne, ed., *Dictionary Canadian Biography*, vol 2 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 477-481.
- ³⁷"Capt. John Alden's narrative to the Earl of Bellomont," June 13, 1700, Cecil Headlam, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1700* (London: Hereford Times, 1910), 371-372, no. 581.i.
- ³⁸Edward T. Harrington, Robert H. Lord, and John E. Sexton, *History of the Archdiocese of Boston*, vol. 1, 24-28. Francis Parkman, *Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XVI*, 249; Gaulin to Tremblay, October 24, 1701, in H.R. Casgrain, *Le Sulpiciens*, 241; Kenneth M. Morrison, *The Embattled Northeast*, 155.

³⁹“Capt. John Alden’s narrative to the Earl of Bellomont,” June 13, 1700, Cecil Headlam, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1700*, 371-372, no. 581.i.

⁴⁰Tibierge, “Report on what I have seen since my arrival upon the shores of Acadia, up to September 30, 1695,” John C. Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, 141.

⁴¹George A. Rawlyk, *Nova Scotia’s Massachusetts*, 89-92.

⁴²“Resume d’un Lettre du Sieur de St Castin,” November 21, 1701; “Resume d’une Lettre de Monsieur de Brouillan au Ministre,” October 30, 1701, *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 2, 385-387.

⁴³Gorham Munson, “St. Castin: A Legend Revised,” 338-349; Dudley to Lords, July 13, 1704, James, Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine Containing the Baxter Manuscripts*, vol. 9 (Portland: Lefavor-Tower Company, 1907), 190; Thomas Church, *The entertaining history of King Philip’s War*, 158-193. Tibierge, “Report on what I have seen since my arrival upon the shores of Acadia, up to September 30, 1695,” John C. Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, 141. Apparently, this was the second time English forces had burned one of Castin’s settlements because Tibierge reported that the English burned Castin’s house sometime before 1695. It is unclear in the historical record whether or not St. Castin’s Habitation was destroyed early in King Williams War, rebuilt, and then destroyed again in Queen Anne’s War, or if he had settlements at two different locations which were destroyed at different times. Benjamin Church was probably responsible for both assaults on St. Castin’s Habitation. When he attacked Pentagoet in 1704 he found Castin’s daughter and her children there. The daughter reported that her “...that her husband was gone to France, to her father Monsieur Casteen.”

⁴⁴Gorham Munson, “St. Castin: A Legend Revised,” 339-340.

⁴⁵“Copy of a Letter from Mr. Randolph to Mr. Povey,” 21 June 1688, *Hutchinson Papers*, 305.

Chapter Six

Trade Related Artifacts

During the initial period of contact between Europeans and Indians in North America, European trade goods were used to supplement the Indians' traditional lifeways and did not necessarily cause major changes in subsistence patterns that had existed before European contact. However, by the late 17th century, when Castin arrived at Pentagoet, the Indians of Acadia and Maine were dependent on many European goods for their survival. Items regarded by Europeans as trinkets or "trifles," such as bells, mirrors and small toys, had been highly sought after by the Abenaki in the 16th and early 17th centuries because of their aesthetic value and perhaps for their "symbolic meaning" and "other worldly" qualities.¹ These types of goods were still in demand during Castin's tenure at Pentagoet, but items such as guns, shot, gunpowder, and food became dominant commodities of the fur trade in Maine and Acadia as they were essential to Abenaki subsistence.²

Yet, as long as there were two European powers competing for the Abenakis' allegiance, each was somewhat limited in their ability to dictate the terms under which these important commodities were exchanged. The Abenaki had leverage in their choice to ally themselves with either the French or the English. As a businessman, Castin understood that the Abenakis' dependence on his trading post was not absolute, and he catered to their needs accordingly. Close examination of the commodities Castin provided the Abenaki with in exchange for peltry is key to understanding the Abenakis' preferences and needs during this volatile and decisive period in their history.

There are two major sources of information about what kinds of goods were traded at St. Castin's Habitation. The first is the assemblage of artifacts excavated from the site, and the second is accounts of trade goods sent to and from Acadia that remain in the historical record. Neither of these sources eclipses the other, rather the two provide complementary information. Historical accounts of trade goods provide a general sense of the commodities Castin needed to stock his trading post and the value of those goods. They also record certain highly perishable items that have little chance of making it into the archaeological record. On the other hand, artifacts excavated from St. Castin's Habitation reveal things considered too trivial to note in the 17th century, but invaluable to the archaeologist. Furthermore, they are unbiased by colonial record-keepers and candidly disclose specific information about their quality, use and place of manufacture.

One of the most useful documents concerning goods the Abenaki and other Indians of Acadia desired and needed is a list of "munitions, arms and supplies" the French proposed to send the Indians of Acadia in 1692 (Table 1).³ These "presents" were meant to maintain the Indians' alliance with the French during King William's War (1689-1697). The gifts were valued at approximately 3,600 livres. Almost half (45 percent) of the total value was made up of firearms, powder, shot and related items such as powder horns, lead ingots, and bayonets. Textiles, clothing and items related to clothing manufacture made up almost a quarter of the total value of the gifts (24 percent), and food and drink in the form of flour, rice, prunes and brandy made up about 15 percent of the value. Other gifts included trade beads, gold and silver galloons, vermilion, plumes, fringed hats, ribbon, filleting and butcher knives, ice cutters, "very small" hoes for digging, swords for hafting, kettles and frying pans, tobacco, and cod and mackerel lines.

A comparison between the items the French intended to send to the Indians of Acadia and the artifacts recovered from the Habitation reveals significant parallels. For example, the Indians' demand for lead shot, as well as their capacity to manufacture it, is

**Report of munitions arms and supplies to send to the
Indians of Acadia, February 27, 1692.**

Description	Value in livres (Ls)	Percentage of total cost
Firearms and accessories		
30 4 foot light weight guns	300.00	8.3
20 carbines	160.00	4.4
24 pistols	96.00	2.7
24 bayonets	30.00	.8
50 powder horns	25.00	.7
Shot and shot manufacture		
2000 pounds musket powder	700.00	19.3
400 pounds lead in bars	84.00	2.3
400 pounds of balls	88.00	2.4
700 pounds of royal or duck shot	154.00	4.3
Textiles		
100 yards of blue serge for cloaks	260.00	7.2
120 yards of mazinnet	102.00	2.8
Tailoring		
100 pounds of thread of the finest mesh	50.00	1.4
10 pounds of thread of various colors	12.10	.3
50 bales for stuffing	5.00	.1
Clothing		
10 blue blankets, 6 jerkins	70.00	1.9
6 pairs of stockings	12.00	.3
6 shirts	18.00	.5
67 shirts	134.00	3.7
20 Normandy blankets	200.00	5.5
Decoration and adornment		
false gold and silver [galloons?]	60.00	1.7
6 fringed hats	15.00	.4
6 plumes	18.10	.5
4 pounds of vermillion	16.00	.4
50 pounds of blue and black trade beads	40.00	1.1
common ribbon of all colors	8.00	.2
Food and Beverages		
16 quarts of flour	216.00	6.0
quintals of rice	60.00	1.7
1 barrel of ordinary prunes	35.00	1.0
16 quarants of brandy	240.00	6.6
Iron tools		
1 gross of filleting knives	10.00	.3
1 gross of butcher knives	18.00	.5
30 ice cutters	25.00	.7
24 very small hoes for digging	18.00	.5
24 swords for hafting	14.00	.4
Kettles & frying pans		
75 Kettles & frying pans of all sizes	75.00	2.1
Smoking		
1 roll of tobacco	210.00	6.0
Fishing		
20 cod lines	25.00	.7
40 mackerel lines	16.00	.4
Total value of all presents	3,620.00	100

Table 1. Accounting errors in original document have been corrected. The total cost according to the original was 3600l. See Appendix.

reflected in both the list of gifts and the artifact assemblage. Likewise, the 50 pounds of small blue and black trade beads recorded in the list of gifts are paralleled by 772 black, white and blue seed beads recovered from St. Castin's Habitation.

It should be noted that in spite of these similarities, many of the artifacts from St. Castin's Habitation reflect an English supply source, and Castin's dependence on Boston merchants for much of his merchandise is well born out in the historical and archaeological records. Furthermore, the Abenakis' peacetime needs may have been somewhat different from those of war. Unfortunately, there is very little documentation of the trade Castin conducted with the English during peacetime. However, documents such as the list of goods that Castin requested be sent to him from Boston in 1677, and an account of the cargo consigned to the Acadian trader Abraham Boudrot by Boston merchants, help to characterize Castin's trade with the English when the colonies were at war.

A glimpse of the variety and volume of furs that the Indians delivered to Pentagoet in exchange for European goods is afforded by an inventory made of the cargo aboard John Alden's ship, *Speedwell*, following a trading voyage to Acadia in 1694. Alden's cargo included:

Eighty eight Moose Skins: Seventeen packs of Beaver, two packs of otter skins, two bundles of Fox Skins, One bagg of Small Furrs, one small Cask of Small furrs, one small pack of Seal Skins, five Deerskins, [and] a parcel of Wheat.

Although Alden claimed to have come from Port Royal, he most likely visited Pentagoet as well and purposely failed to mention it to customs officials in Boston.⁴

Although beaver pelts have the reputation of being the primary commodity the Indians traded for European goods, Alden's list shows that in fact, a wide variety of furs and skins were traded. As Indians in northern New England and Acadia became wholly familiar and well supplied with firearms, larger animals, such as moose and deer, were easier to kill and became important commodities of the fur trade. In particular moose,

which according to the contemporary traveler and reporter John Josselyn, made “excellent Coats for Martial men,” had a considerable market in Europe and yielded large quantities of meat to the Indians who hunted them.⁵

The Abenaki were frequent visitors at St. Castin’s Habitation and a few may have been permanent residents or even Castin’s employees. Therefore, artifacts that contribute to what is understood about trade at St. Castin’s Habitation are not limited to trade goods excavated within the perimeters of the truck house. Many trade related artifacts were associated with the watering hole, the lead workshop, and even the hearth within Castin’s dwelling—all activity areas that appear to have been frequented by both Europeans and Indians. These artifacts include by-products of Castin’s trade with the Abenaki, such as sprue from casting lead shot and lead cloth seals, as well as trade goods that belonged to the Abenaki before they were lost or discarded on site, such as trade beads and clay pipe fragments.

Indeed, the lucrative trade that went on at St. Castin’s Habitation is represented in the archaeological record primarily by items that were lost, broken, and/or discarded over the three decades that Castin operated his trading post. These artifacts were left behind when Castin hid his trade goods in the woods in order to prevent his English enemies from pillaging them. They went unnoticed or ignored by English soldiers who plundered and burned St. Castin’s Habitation, and they survived over the three centuries that followed the destruction of the site in spite of scavengers and pot hunters who have been active into the present decade. In this chapter these once forsaken objects are analyzed in conjunction with contemporary accounts of trade goods in order to create a clearer picture of Castin’s trade with the Abenaki Indians and how it related to the complex political and cultural environment in which the two parties existed.

Firearms

By the late 17th century the Abenaki Indians were wholly dependent on firearms for their subsistence. They needed guns to acquire meat, as well as the peltry they traded for other necessities such as cultivated foodstuffs and cloth. For this reason the Massachusetts government's attempts to confiscate the Abenakis' guns and to cut off their supplies of powder and shot was a major contributing factor in the Abenaki-English War. The Kennebec Sachem, Deogenes Madoasquarbet explained the problem succinctly:

because there was war at naragans [Narragansett] you com here when we were quiet & took away our gons & mad prisners of our chief sagamore[s] & that winter for want of our gons there were severall starved....⁶

Later, during King William's War, both the Abenaki and their English captives faced starvation and disease due, in part, to shortages of powder and shot.⁷

During peacetime, the Abenaki could obtain firearms, powder and shot from the English far more easily than they could from the French, but the Massachusetts government was always ambivalent about supplying the Indians with guns and ammunition which could potentially be used against English settlers. The French, on the other hand, were eager to maintain the Indians as allies in spite of not being able to supply them adequately and offered services such as free gun repair and hatchet sharpening at Quebec.⁸ Castin depended on Massachusetts merchants for much of his own supply of lead and lead shot and provided the Abenaki with a means to avoid dealing with the English while still being supplied by them indirectly.

Probably because of their trade relationship with Castin and their precarious geographical position, the Indians at Pentagoet appear to have been particularly well supplied with firearms. When the Penobscots attacked Pemaquid in 1689, it was reported that they were "all well armed with French fuzees, waistbelts and cutlasses, and most of

them with bayonet and pistol....”⁹ According to the Gargus census, there were 50 guns and four pistols at Pentagoet in 1687. Pentagoet had more firearms associated with it than any other locale in Acadia, and no other settlement had so many firearms per adult European male. Many, if not most, of the firearms at Pentagoet must have belonged to the 30 adult male Indians who lived in the region. Even when the Indians are included, Pentagoet had more guns per man than most of the other settlements in Acadia (Table 2).¹⁰

In spite of the presence of so many guns at Pentagoet, excavators at St. Castin’s Habitation recovered just two gun parts, a cast brass gun sight and a gun battery bridle (Figure 13). The absence of guns or additional gun parts at the site could be related to the care with which Castin and the Indians must have handled their firearms, as well as the fact that St. Castin’s Habitation does not appear to have been equipped with any of the accouterments necessary for gun maintenance and repair. Intensive ground penetrating radar surveys and use of a flux gate magnetometer, which is particularly sensitive to iron objects, revealed no evidence of a forge at St. Castin’s Habitation. Nor were any tools associated with gun repair recovered.¹¹ It appears that Castin and the Abenaki had to go elsewhere to get their guns repaired, probably Quebec or Boston.¹²

Lead Shot

Although Castin did have not the resources needed to repair the Abenakis’ guns, he did import and manufacture lead shot for them. Some evidence of shot production was recovered from Castin’s dwelling in the area around the hearth, but most comes from Feature 31, the workshop abutting the truck house. Shot was produced here using one of two methods; it was cast in molds, or made by the Rupert process. Musketballs appear to have been cast in single bullet molds while smaller pieces of shot were cast in “gang” molds where several uniformly sized pieces could be made simultaneously.¹³ The workshop is scattered with the by-products of this type of manufacture: pieces of zipper-

Location	Adult European Males	Adult Indian Males	Firearms	Firearms per European male	Firearms per European and Indian Males
Port Royal	10	6	10	1	0.6
Le Cap	7	3	14	2	1.4
A Beau Sejour	0	0	2	No Adult Males	No Adult Males
A la pointe aux sauvages	3		1	0.3	0.3
A Ste Marie	3		3	1	1
A la pointe aux chesnes (lower river)	6		7	1.2	1.2
A l'Isle du Pont	2		3	1.5	1.5
A l'Isle Corneille	6		5	0.8	0.8
A la pointe de Paris	2		2	1	1
Au d'Estroit	1		1	1	1
A la Préronde	2		4	2	2
Aux Loups Marins	1		1	1	1
A l'afferre	3		3	1	1
A Beaupré	2		2	1	1
A la Vallée de Misère	1		1	1	1
A St. Christophe	1		1	1	1
A la Montagne	1		1	1	1
A la Renaudière	1		2	2	2
A Bellisle	12		14	1.2	1.2
a la pointe aux chesnes (upper river)	3		2	0.7	0.7
A la Grave	3		2	0.7	0.7
A la Grand Marre	2		2	1	1
A St. Jean	1		1	1	1
A Beaulieu	2		2	1	1
A Vert Pré	4		4	1	1
Au Bout du Monde	1		1	1	1
Les Mines	28	15	45	1.6	1.0
Chicnitou	13	4	27	2.1	1.6
Je Messecet					
Medoctec	5	62	7	1.4	0.1
St. Louis et Femuze	5	4	6	1.2	0.7
Menagouez	5	7	4	0.8	0.3
Pechmoucady	4	10	40	10	2.9
Lincourt	2	20	3	1.5	0.1
Mageis	3	10	3	1	0.2
Doaquet	0	15	6		0.4
Pentagoüet	4	30	54	13.5	1.6
Monteickeis et Montenic	2		2	1	1
Le Petit Plaisance	3		3	1	1
L'archimaguan	2	6	5	2.5	0.6
Cap Breton	6	12	9	1.5	0.5
Isle St. Pierre	0	25	12		0.5
Canceau	0	3	4		1.3
Chedabouctou	22	12	46	2.1	1.4
Chibouctou	1	7	3	3	0.4
Lahève	7	10	8	1.1	0.5
Merliguech	1	4	2	2	0.4
Port Rochelais	5	6	6	1.2	0.5
Cap de Sable	5	6	8	1.6	0.7

Table 2. Firearms per European and Indian Males in Acadia c.1687 (Gargus Census)

like sprue from gang molds, lead ingots, and splatters of once molten lead which have molded the earthen work surface upon which they fell.¹⁴ A pair of sprue nippers, a plier-like device used to cut the sprue from cast shot, was also found within the truck house (Figure 12).

The Rupert process was a technique described to Prince Rupert c.1665 which made the production of very small pieces of shot less tedious and labor intensive. Previously, this size of shot, often referred to as “bird shot,” was cast in very small molds or made by cutting sheet lead into cubes and then tumbling them to make them more or less round. The Rupert technique involved pouring molten lead fluxed with arsenic through a kind of brass colander which was situated about a foot above a pan of water. The lead dripped through the colander and the droplets fell into the water where they cooled and solidified. The result was various small sizes of nearly spherical, “cherry shaped” shot which could be sorted by size with sieves. There is some overlap in the sizes of cast shot and Rupert shot, but Rupert shot can be identified by a characteristic dimple that occurs on the slightly flattened side of each piece. Elongated drippings of lead, one by-product of Rupert shot manufacture, were also recovered from the workshop.¹⁵

The only other type of shot that may have been manufactured at St. Castin’s Habitation is the afore mentioned cube shot, made by dicing and tumbling lead. This type of shot is difficult to identify because it can be confused with lead that has been diced in order to make it melt faster as well as spent shot that has been flattened on one or more sides. About 11 pieces of shot that could be tentatively identified as cube shot were found in the vicinity of the hearth within the dwelling. It is possible that they represent early, rather primitive attempts at shot production during the first years of St. Castin’s Habitation before the workshop was constructed.¹⁶

A total of 7,179 pieces of shot were recovered from St. Castin’s Habitation the large majority of which were found associated with the truck house, workshop and dwelling. Rupert shot, ranging from two to five millimeters in diameter, accounts for



Figure 12. Artifacts from St. Castin's Habitation related to lead working: a, lead ingot; b, sprue from gang molds; c, sprue from single musket ball molds; d, sprue nippers; e, splatters of lead; f, musketballs; g, cast shot; h, Rupert shot; i, drippings from Rupert shot manufacture.

approximately 89 percent of the total amount. The majority of the Rupert shot was associated with the truck house and the workshop, but it was also clustered in and around the dwelling. The 473 pieces of cast shot from the Habitation range in diameter from five to nine millimeters. Concentrations of cast shot were highest within the supposed perimeters of the truck house, but it was found associated with the workshop and dwelling as well. The 263 musketballs excavated at the site range in diameter from ten to 18 millimeters, or according to the old French system which determined caliber according to balls per livre, from 80 caliber to 14 caliber.¹⁷ Most of the musketballs were found within the truck house, where all sizes of shot appear to have been stored after being manufactured at or imported to the Habitation.

Historical evidence shows that Castin received large shipments of lead and ready-made shot from both English and French suppliers. The wide range in sizes and the large amounts of shot found at St. Castin's Habitation suggest that shot production, importation and distribution were some of the Habitation's most important functions. St. Castin's Habitation was equipped to make shot of any size and suitable for any type of firearm the Abenaki might own. Thus, Castin could avoid problems such as Benjamin Church encountered when the shot provided him by the Massachusetts government for an expedition against the Abenaki turned out to be far too large for his soldiers' guns. His men were forced to make smaller slugs while engaged in combat!¹⁸

Gunflints

The guns used by the Abenaki and Castin were probably all flintlocks with sparking mechanisms that required gunflints. The demand for trade guns by North American Indians during this period had become so great that flintlocks, which were much more reliable and easily repaired than earlier firearms, were being produced specifically for trade. Guns traded to the Indians or given as gifts were no longer a hodgepodge assortment of different types. The 30 fusils, 20 carbines, and 24 pistols sent

as gifts to the Abenaki in 1692 were most likely flintlocks made in the French style and intended for a North American clientele.¹⁹

Gunflints used by North American colonists and Indians were made from flint quarried in Europe, and were generally manufactured there as well. Apparently, some on-site gunflint manufacture took place at Fort Pentagoet, but it is unusual to find evidence of this activity on frontier sites, and all of the 70 diagnostic gunflints found at St. Castin's Habitation appear to have been imported.²⁰ Although not spent as quickly as powder and shot, gunflints were subject to wear and/or breakage and periodically needed to be replaced. Many of the gunflints from St. Castin's Habitation show no wear, indicating that they were new. Several of these were found within the truck house and they may have been a part of Castin's trading stock that had yet to be distributed to the Abenaki. In general, the distribution pattern for the gunflints follows that of lead sprue and shot at the site, and they were undoubtedly an essential, if not so controversial, commodity of trade at St. Castin's Habitation.

Most of the gunflints found at the Habitation can be identified either as spall or blade-type, representing two entirely different manufacturing techniques (Figure 13). Spall-type gunflints are struck one at a time from the concave or convex surface of a flint core and then trimmed along the sides and around the bulb of percussion. The result is a wedge-shaped flake thick and rounded at the "heel," which fits into the jaws of the guncock, and thin and square-shaped at the termination, which strikes the steel battery in firing. Spall-type gunflints, or gunspalls, were in use as early as 1635 and the technology to make them was widely available.²¹

Blade-type gunflints are produced by striking a long prismatic blade from a polyhedral core and then snapping the blade into several pieces which are then trimmed around the edges. The resulting gunflints are triangular or trapezoidal in shape with one facet on their ventral side, and two or three on their dorsal side. They are fitted into the guncock so that one edge of the original blade strikes the battery, the other edge being

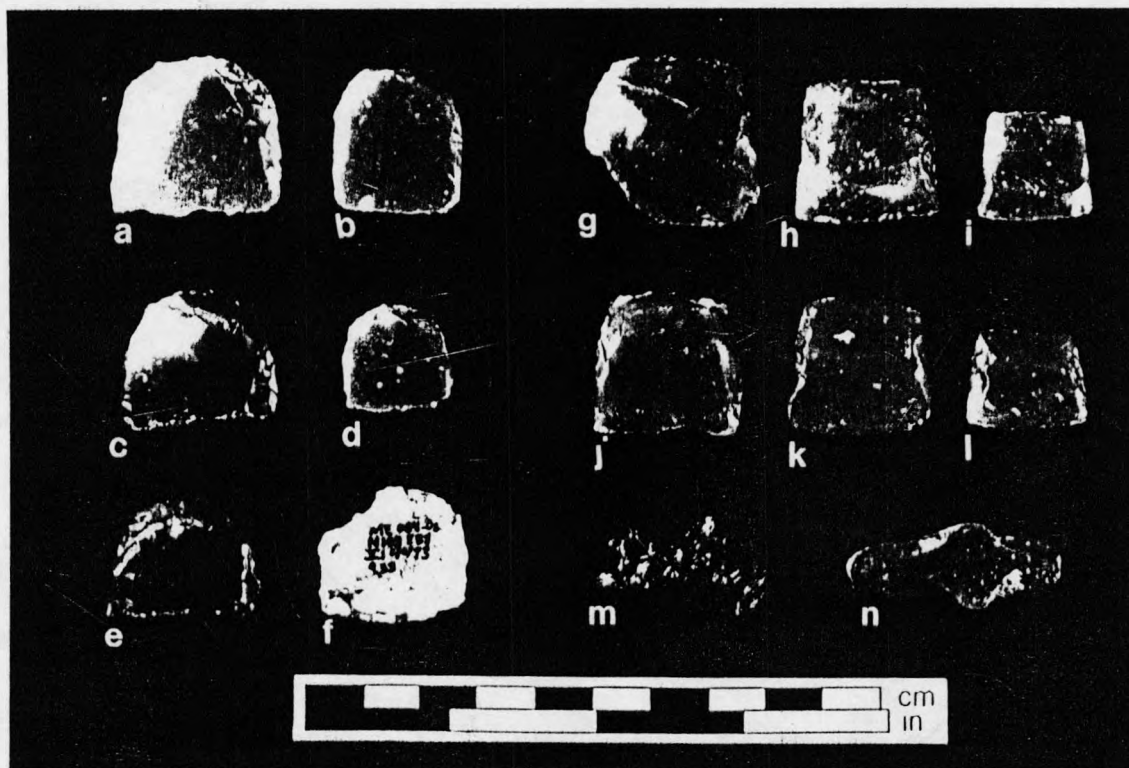


Figure 13. Gunflints and gun parts from St. Castin's Habitation: a-f, spall-type gunflints, f is burned; g-l, blade-type gunflints; m, gun battery bridle; n, brass gun sight.

fitted into the back of the jaws of the guncock. Less labor is required to make blade-type gunflints and the technology allows for a more uniform product with minimal wastage of flint. Exactly when blade-type gunflints were introduced is unknown, but at least a few were in circulation in North America by about 1660. This type was manufactured exclusively by the French until the British finally gained access to the technology in the last quarter of the 18th century.²²

Until recently, evidence suggested that gunspalls predominated in last half of the 17th century and that blade-type gunflints were rare until later than 1740. Excavations at Fort Pentagoet and St. Castin's Habitation have revealed that, at least in this region, blade-type gunflints were in regular use much earlier than what was previously thought. At Fort Pentagoet 51 of the 77 diagnostic gunflints were blade gunflints, most of which can be attributed to the site's third period of occupation (1670-1674), and at St. Castin's Habitation, 24 of the 70 diagnostic gunflints recovered were identified as blade-type. Use of blade-type gunflints during this period was not limited to the French; although rather small, the sample of gunflints from colonial Pemaquid that could be definitely assigned to Fort William Henry is made up of four blade-type gunflints and 13 gunspalls.²³ Even though gunspalls make up the majority of the assemblage at St. Castin's Habitation, it is clear that blade-type gunflints were common in this region, and they may have been a preferred alternative to spall types.

All of the blade-type gunflints from St. Castin's Habitation are of a translucent honey-color associated with gunflints manufactured in France. The spall types are represented by gray, dark gray, tan and honey-colored specimens. Traditionally, gray to black gunflints have been attributed to English manufacturers, but that precept is suspiciously simplistic, and further research will be necessary to determine for sure whether the gunspalls from St. Castin's Habitation were manufactured in England, France, or both.²⁴ Regardless, the variation in gunflint types and colors from St. Castin's

Habitation probably indicates that the gunflints represent various shipments from more than one source.

Clothing and Textiles

The first known evidence of Castin's trade with the Abenaki Indians comes from the French merchant Henri Brunet's copybook. In a letter to his employer, dated February 4, 1675, Brunet mentioned a bill for 200 livres worth of clothing he had furnished to the "Sr de Saint Castin." These were not new clothes sent to the wealthier Port Royal residents as some of Brunet's accounts record, but rather *hardes*, or used clothing, presumably intended for the Abenaki.²⁵ The importance of European cloth and clothing at St. Castin's Habitation is somewhat overshadowed by Castin's reputation for providing the Indians with powder and shot. However, both the archaeological and the historical record suggest that cloth was one of the most important items traded at the Habitation.

Some of the earliest Indian names for Europeans in North America meant "cloth makers," and like most Indians involved in the fur trade, the Abenaki highly valued European cloth and clothing.²⁶ During the Abenaki-English War, English settlers taken captive by the Abenaki were made to sew garments for their captors using cloth plundered from an English truck house, and at least one captive was ransomed for a "fine coat." In 1693, when the influential Abenaki sagamore, Taxous, agreed to continue assaults on English settlers in spite of a peace treaty concluded by other Indian leaders, Governor Villebon honored him by giving him a suit of clothes. Likewise, when Governor Andros raided St. Castin's Habitation in 1688, he also distributed 14 blue blankets, 12 shirts, and three rolls of cloth to the Penobscot Abenaki. This gesture was meant to show the Abenaki that they could rely directly on the English for cloth, rather than use Castin as an intermediary.²⁷

According to ethnographer Frank Speck, who relied heavily on oral testimony from Penobscots in the early 20th century, Penobscot men wore "moccasins, leggings, a

breech cloth, a short skirt or kilt and a characteristically north eastern long-sleeved coat.” Women’s dress also included moccasins, leggings, and a breech-cloth. Skirts were mid-calf length and they wore an “upper garment” that reached below the waist. Women also wore a “conical high-pointed cap.” This is consistent with John Josselyn’s report on the dress of New England Indians in the 1670s. He noted that the Indians had formerly dressed in animal skins, “...But since they have had to do with the English they purchase of them a sort of Cloth called trading cloth of which they make Mantles, Coats with short sleeves, and caps for their heads which the women use.”²⁸ For clothing decoration, beadwork, ribbon, and vermilion were used in addition to materials available prior to European contact such as porcupine quills, moose hair, and locally manufactured dyes.

In general blue and red were preferred colors of trade cloth among the Algonquians and other North American Indian groups. Jesuit leaders specified that religious pictures used to instruct the Huron should depict the Indians in blue and red garb, not green or yellow. According to Speck “in a period within memory” Penobscot men’s leggings were made primarily of red and blue cloth, and Nicolas Denys recorded that the Indians of Acadia dyed their clothing in colors of red, violet, and blue.²⁹ Lists of goods sent to the Acadian Indians by both the French and English are in keeping with this preference; blue, red, purple and white cloth and clothing predominate.

Cloth meant for the fur trade often fell under the general description of trucking or trading cloth. Trucking cloth also appears to have referred to a specific kind of cloth used in the fur trade. Duffel, a coarse inexpensive durable woolen cloth, was known as trucking cloth by merchants in the 17th century.³⁰ According to missionary Daniel Gookin, Indians of New England exchanged peltry with the English, Dutch and French for “...a kind of cloth, called duffils, or trucking cloth, about a yard and a half wide.” In 1677 cotton, “duffles,” and blankets were among the items that Castin requested from Boston merchant William Tailer.³¹

An account of goods confiscated from the Dutch pirates who raided trucking houses and trading vessels along the Acadian coast in 1675, lists several types of cloth including purple penistone, white cotton, narrow white woolen cloth, red broadcloth, white striped Irish cloth, kersey, and trucking cloth.³² The Dutch pirates were intent on cornering the Indian trade in Acadia, not supplying English or French settlers, and it seems reasonable to assume that most if not all of the cloth aboard the pirate ship was intended for the Indians of coastal Maine and Acadia. The rest of their cargo was made up primarily of common trade items such as peltry, feathers, and kettles.

When war broke out between Acadia and New England in the late 1680s and stunted the flow of goods from Boston to Acadia, Castin resorted to creative measures in order to get cloth, clothing, and other items from Boston merchants. When Castin seized Acadian trader, Abraham Boudrot's shallop, the *Mary*, in 1691, he found 150 pounds worth of woolens, peltry, and 1/2 hogshead of rum aboard the vessel. Boudrot acquired the peltry earlier on his trading voyage at Port Royal, but the "woolens" had been consigned to him by Boston merchants. Cloth alone made up over 55% of the total value of the goods consigned to Boudrot which was about 230 pounds. A variety of textiles were represented including duffel, cotton, kersey, penistone, worsted, gingerlin, broadcloth, serge, and linen (Table 3). Boudrot also transported several dozen pairs of stockings and a variety of tailoring supplies. The rest of the cargo consisted of utilitarian items appropriate for a European clientele, but also included three pounds of beads, wampum, and an Indian headdress—items that were exclusively traded to the Indians.³³

England was a dominant exporter of woolens and worsteds in the 17th century, and these English woolens were invariably cheaper than their French counterparts. Although some high quality French cloth was regularly smuggled into New England, the simple and inexpensive cloth and clothing Castin sought from Boston in 1677 as well as that which he confiscated from Abraham Boudrot in 1691 was most likely manufactured in England. However, archaeological and historical evidence shows that Castin also

Glossary of Textiles Aboard Abraham Boudrot's *Shallop, the Mary*.

Auzambriil - [*Amber-colored?*]

Broadcloth - *broad cloath, drap* - "a fine, plainly woven, dressed cloth, usually wool, wider than twenty-nine inches (74cm)" (Folkes and Penny: 65-67).

Cotton - "a woollen fabric with a long nap, which gave a soft fuzzy appearance." (Baumgarten: 235-247) "Made of Cotton: said of cloth, thread, garmets etc; also in specific names of fabrics or materials" (Oxford English Dictionary).

Duffel - *daufel, dofeil, duffeild* - "A course woollen cloth having a thick nap or frieze" (Oxford English Dictionary); "coarse linen, also recorded as woollen and could be a combination" (Wilson: 244-45). "a heavey woollen with a long nap on both sides" (Baumgarten: 235-247).

Estamines - "a twilled woollen fabric having a rough, shaggy surface" (Folkes and Penny: 65-67).

Gingerlin - *geingerlein* - [*ginger colored?*]

Kersey - *kearsy, crezo* - "a coarse, narrow worsted fabric; fulled; during the seventeenth century used for blankets and clothing" (Baumgarten: 235-247).

Linen - *toile, linnen* - "Cloth woven from Flax" (Oxford English Dictionary).

Penistone - "Name of a small town in the west Riding of Yorkshire where the cloth so named was made... A kind of coarse woollen cloth formerly used for garmets, linings" (Oxford English Dictionary). "Cotton penistone was probably a heavy woollen with a napped, "cottoned" surface" (Baumgarten: 235-247).

Serge - *sarge* - "wool with a worsted warp and a woollen weft, usually fulled" (Baumgarten: 235-247); "A woollen fabric, the nature of which has probably differed considerably at different periods. Before the 16th centruy it is mentioned chiefly as material for hangings, bed-covered, and the like; afterwards it is often referred to as worn by the poorer classes (both men and women), per. rather on account of its durability than of its price, which seems not to have been extremely low" (Oxford English Dictionary).

Worsted - "A closely twisted yarn made of long- staple wool in which th fibres are arranged to lie parallel to each other" (Folkes and Penny: 65-67).

Table 3. Definitions of textiles aboard the *Mary*. The accounts of goods consigned to Boudrot were provided in both French and English. Original spellings of both the French and English words for each type of cloth are included in italics. See bibliography for full references.

received cloth from France. Indeed, Henry Brunet appears to have traded only French cloth, clothing, and sewing equipment to settlers on the coast of Acadia.³⁴

Cloth Seals

Additional evidence of the cloth trade comes from cloth seals recovered at St. Castin's Habitation. Cloth seals were used as a means of quality control throughout Europe from at least the late 13th century to the beginning of the 18th century. In England, a crown-appointed *alnager* was responsible for collecting a subsidy on cloth prior to its sale and inspecting it to make sure it conformed to current quality regulations. A lead seal was affixed to cloth that passed the alnager's inspection. Seals also might be attached to cloth at various checkpoints during the manufacturing process. Other European countries had similar systems, though in the 16th and 17th centuries textile manufacturers in some countries were allowed to seal their own cloth.³⁵

A typical seal was made up of two lead discs connected by a strip, although there were varieties made with additional discs. The seal was attached to a piece of fabric by folding the strip over the edge of a piece of cloth, and then striking it between two dies so that the rivet on one disc pierced the fabric and was pushed through a hole in the opposite disc. The two dies also stamped the appropriate information onto the seal. Stamps on seals could indicate everything from the type of cloth to the subsidy paid on it. Several seals might be attached to one piece of cloth indicating different check points during the manufacturing process.³⁶

Three complete cloth seals and twenty-three fragments, two of which can only be tentatively identified, were recovered from St. Castin's Habitation. All but five of the seals were clustered in the area associated with Castin's truck house and workshop. The presence of seals in association with the truck house suggests that the textiles on which the seals were affixed were indeed intended for the fur trade. Because cloth seals were often casually discarded by retailers, it can be surmised that cloth received at St. Castin's

Habitation was cut up and perhaps distributed to Castin's Abenaki clientele just outside of his truck house.

An analysis of the cloth seals from St. Castin's Habitation conducted by Scott Allen suggests a different explanation for their distribution. Allen noted that distributions of lead scrap and cloth seals at the site correlated. When the distribution of lead shot was added to the lead scrap the correlation became even more pronounced. Allen proposed that cloth seals might be present in conjunction with lead scrap and shot because they were recycled into lead shot after being removed from cloth.³⁷

Lead and lead shot became very scarce on the Acadian frontier during wartime because Massachusetts cut off supplies of lead and powder to their Indian and/or French enemies. When allied French and Indians attacked the settlement at York in 1691, the French and Indians collected the lead came used to fasten window panes from buildings at the settlement, evidently to be melted down and made into shot later.³⁸ It seems reasonable that lead cloth seals might have been collected during periods of lead shortage at Castin's Habitation, or perhaps routinely tossed in with chopped lead ingots or scrap being melted down to make shot.

With the exception of one seal which appears to consist of four discs, cloth seals recovered from St. Castin's Habitation are the typical two disc variety. Only a fraction of the seals still have visible stamps on them, and fewer still can be interpreted. One complete seal, found eroding out of the bank just to the west of the truck house, is definitely of French origin. A ship of the line is stamped on one side of the seal and the other side bears the arms of the Bourbon Kings of France (Figure 14). Unlike their English counterparts, cloth manufacturers in France were allowed to seal their own products. Rather than bearing the initials of the alnager, seals from 17th-century France might be stamped with the arms of the manufacture's family, and/or those of the king.³⁹ This seal is especially significant because it is the only definite evidence that French cloth was traded at St. Castin's Habitation. Two other seals bear fleurs-de-lis, and are probably

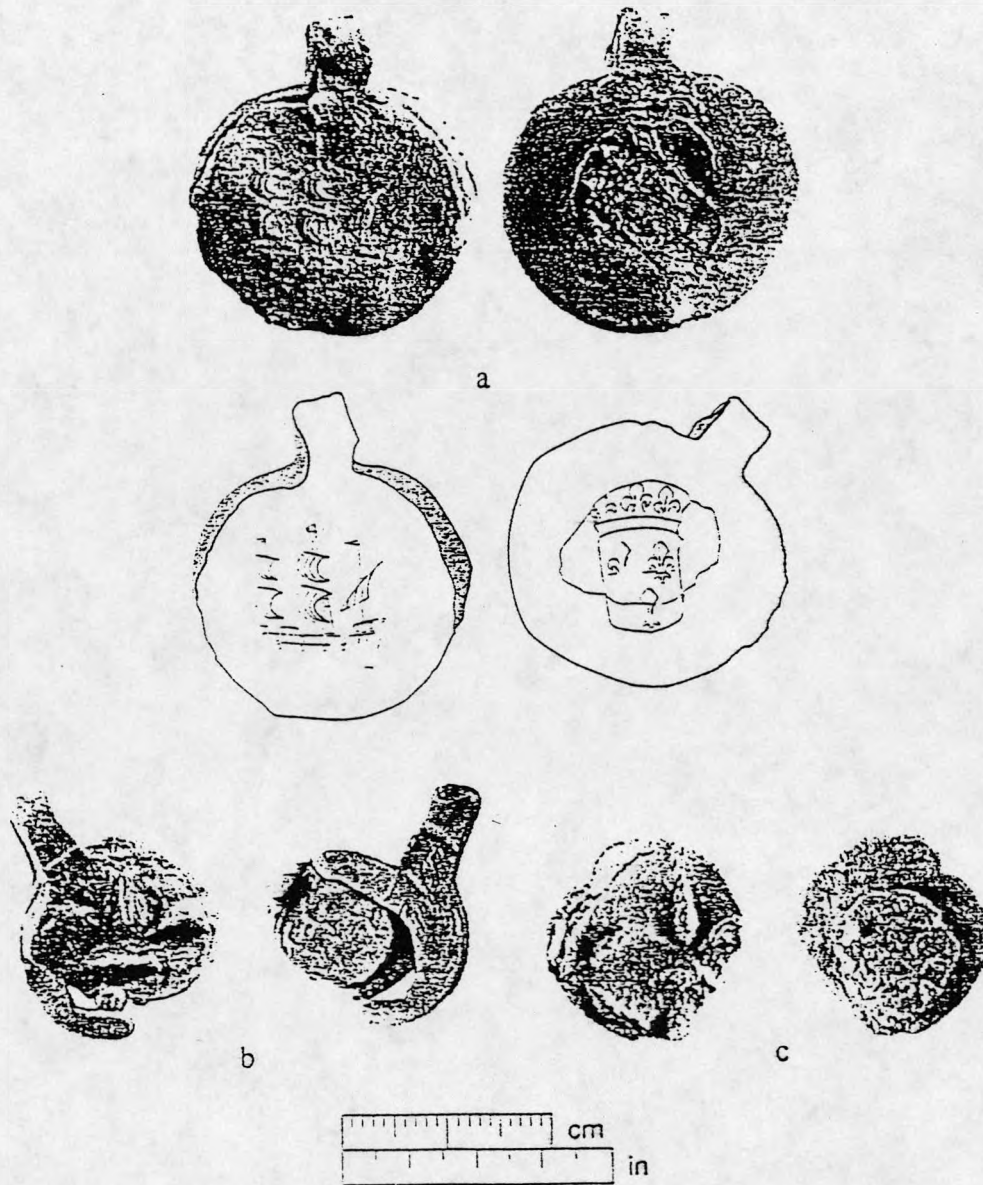


Figure 14. Lead cloth seals from St. Castin's Habitation probably of French origin: a, seal stamped with the seal of the Bourbon Kings of France on one side and a ship of the line on the other; b-c seals stamped with fleurs-de-lis.

of French origin, but the fleur-de-lis, while regarded as a distinctly French symbol today, also appeared on English coats of arms and Dutch products in the 17th-century (Figure 14).⁴⁰

A seal fragment which appears to be stamped with the initials, "SME" is probably of English origin (Figure 15). Similar stamps with different initials have been found in England, and are thought to be products of Oxfordshire. Above the initials on the seal, which may be that of the alnager, is the number 82, signifying the date.⁴¹ This is the only artifact at St. Castin's Habitation that bears a date, and it fits neatly into the period of occupation suggested by other dating methods and historical documentation. Other seals with discernible stamps have yet to be identified.

Glass Beads

Unlike earlier 17th-century sites in coastal Maine which have produced literally only a handful of glass beads, 784 glass beads were recovered at St. Castin's Habitation (Figure 16).⁴² All but 12 of the beads found at the Habitation are seed beads, a type rarely found on other 17th century sites in Maine, but present in great quantities on 18th-century sites in the northeast. In his study of beads found on Seneca sites, archaeologist Charles Wray notes a growing trend towards tiny seed beads underway by 1710.⁴³ It seems likely that the glass bead assemblage at St. Castin's Habitation reflects a similar trend occurring among the Abenaki in the late 17th century. Beads from St. Castin's Habitation served a different function than the larger, necklace beads found on earlier sites. Necklace beads were worn on strings as necklaces or anklets, whereas seed beads were used primarily for embroidery on clothing or moccasins and were an alternative to porcupine quills or wampum.⁴⁴

In general, 17th-century sites in New England and Acadia produce far fewer glass beads than contemporary sites farther inland, and the beads that are found tend to exhibit



Figure 15. Lead cloth seals from St. Castin's Habitation: a, seal with impressions of cloth; b, seal with "41" scratched on the surface; c, seal stamped with "SME" and "82," signifying the date; d, seal stamped with a crowned rose.

less variation in style and color. According to archaeologist, James Bradley, the paucity of beads found on 17th-century New England sites reflects a decrease in demand for beads from c.1630 through King Philip's war. While this may have been the case in southern New England, it does not seem to have been true farther north.⁴⁵ In 1667 a trader on the Kennebec River wrote to his employers, "I want beads most at present and corn and bread." Food was one of the more important commodities of the fur trade in Maine, and it seems that beads must have been in high demand to supersede corn and bread in the trader's request. Some analysts propose that, in fact, beads were in demand during this period, and that both Indians and Europeans considered them valuable. As a result, great care was taken not to loose beads, thus lessening the likelihood of beads showing up on archaeological sites. If this is the case, the greater number of glass beads found on later 18th-century sites can be attributed to the devaluation of beads rather than an increase in demand.⁴⁶

At St. Castin's Habitation, the relatively large number of beads recovered may have more to do with the size of the beads than how much they were valued. Seed beads are much more likely to be lost than larger beads because they are so tiny, and their monochrome colors make them more difficult to find if they are dropped.

Nearly all of the beads found at St. Castin's Habitation are "drawn" beads which are made by drawing out a tube of molten glass, cooling it, cutting the tube into individual beads, and then, if desired, tumbling the beads to make them round and smooth. Only three, badly deteriorated, wire wound beads were found, that is, beads made by winding one or more strands of glass around a piece of wire. Nearly all of the seed beads are monochrome black, white, or one of three shades of blue. The exceptions are three yellow beads and a single "Cornaline d' Allepo" bead with a red exterior and green core. Beads from St. Castin's Habitation were almost certainly imported from Europe, as research has shown it to be highly improbable that any glass beads were manufactured in North America during the 17th century. All of the glass beads from St.

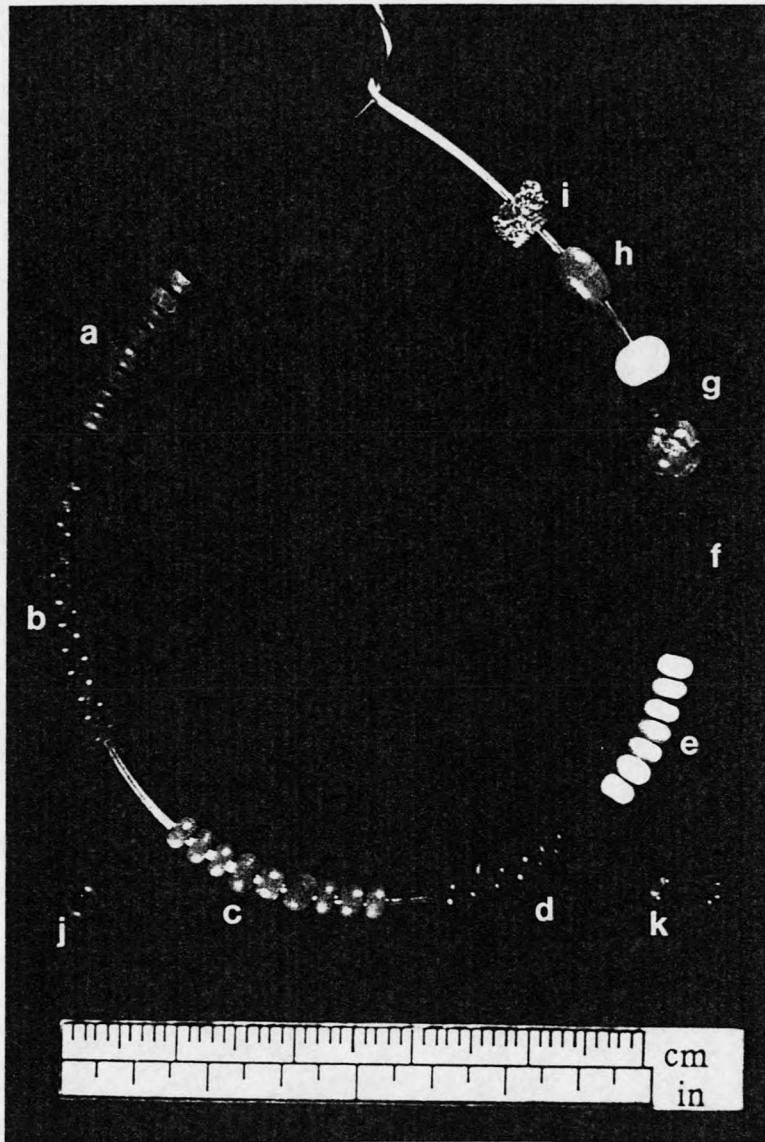


Figure 16. Beads from St. Castin's Habitation: a, blue seed beads; b, navy blue seed beads; c, aqua blue seed beads; d, black seed beads; e, white seed beads; f, aqua tube bead; g, aqua, black and white beads; h, twinned seed bead; i, green wound bead; j, red and green "Cornaline d' Allepo" seed bead; k, yellow seed beads.

Castin's Habitation are very simple and were made using technology available to most European bead manufacturers.⁴⁷ All beads have been described according to the Kidd and Kidd typology (Table 4).⁴⁸

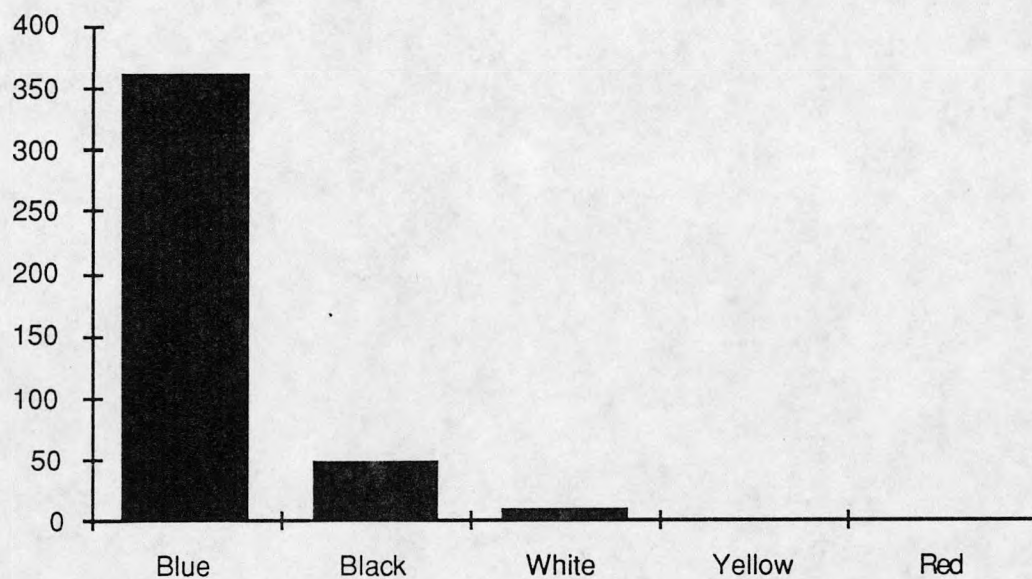
Both the list of presents the French intended to send to the Indians of Acadia in 1692 and the inventory of Abraham Boudrot's cargo, include "rassade," the French name for the simple and inexpensive beads used in the fur trade. In both cases the beads are listed by weight rather than by string or count.⁴⁹ The list of presents specifies that the bead colors should be blue and black and that the size should be "petite." Blue, black, and white are the most common colors of beads found on northeastern North American sites, and the Indians' preference for these colors is evident at St. Castin's Habitation. These colors were probably preferred by the Indians because the color range was roughly the same as that of the antecedent of rassade, shell wampum, which was blue, purple and white.⁵⁰ Although no wampum was found at St. Castin's Habitation, it too was included in the inventory of goods that Abraham Boudrot carried to Acadia in 1691.

Seed beads were found in relatively large quantities in the vicinity of the both Castin's truck house and his dwelling. Of the total 784 glass beads, 245 can be associated with the dwelling and 522 were found in the vicinity of the truck house. There were very few beads found elsewhere at the site. Interestingly, there is a notable difference in seed bead *color* distribution between the dwelling and the truck house (Figure 17). Only 11 of the blue beads from the site were associated with the dwelling, whereas 362 were found in the vicinity of the truck house and abutting workshop. On the other hand, of the 242 black seed beads recovered from the site, 48 came from the truck house and workshop, whereas the remaining 194 were found associated with the dwelling. The distribution of white seed beads was consistent with the distribution of seed beads as a whole. The three yellow seed beads were all found in Feature 29, which has been identified as a watering hole, and the single red and green "Cornaline d' Allepo" bead was associated with the

Type	Shape	Size	Color	Diaphaneity	Count
IIa 37	circular	very small (under 2mm)	aqua blue	opaque	155
IIa47	circular	very small	shadow blue	opaque	111
IIa56	circular	very small	bright navy	transparent	110
IIa7	circular	very small	black	opaque	242
IIa14	circular	very small	white	opaque	149
IIa	circular	very small	light yellow	transparent	4
IVa5 (Cornaline d' Allepo)	circular	very small	outside redwood, with apple green core	outside- opaque; inside- transparent	1
Ia13	tubular	small (2-4mm)	aqua blue	clear	1
twinned seed bead?	elongated	small	aqua blue	opaque	1
IIa39	round	small	aqua blue	translucent	1
IIa13	round	small	white	opaque	4
IIa6	round	small	black	opaque	3
WI	circular	small	apple green	translucent	1
WI	circular	small	NA (burned)	NA	1

Table 4. Typology of beads from St. Castin's Habitation based on the Kidd and Kidd Typology (1970).

Seed Bead Color Distribution for Truck House



Seed Bead Color Distribution for Dwelling

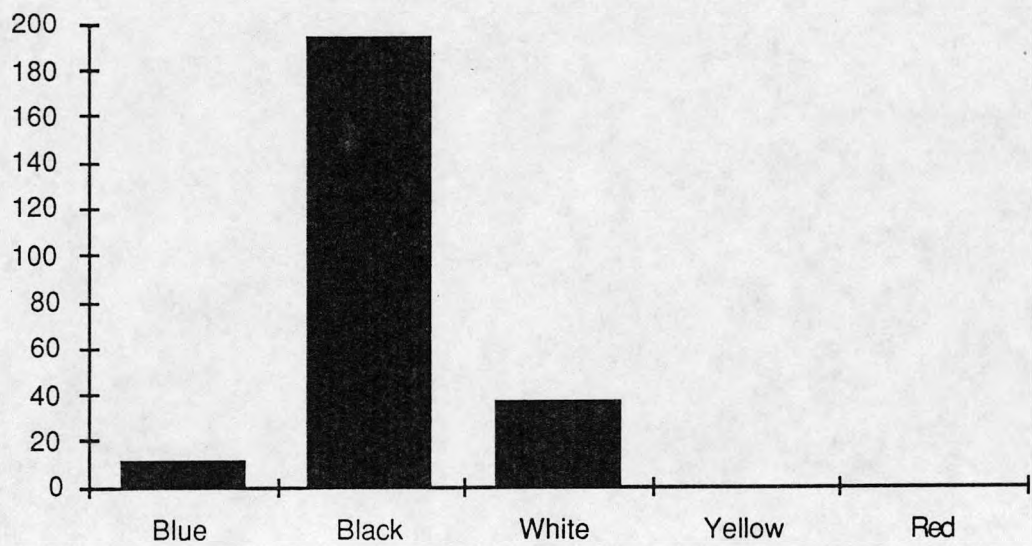


Figure 17. Seed bead color distribution for truck house and dwelling.

dwelling. All 12 of the beads not identified as seed beads were found near the truck house and workshop.

One suggestion for the difference in bead color distribution for the truck house and dwelling is that it reflects a division in women's and men's spheres of activity. If men preferred blue beads and women wore black that would explain why more black beads were found around the hearth where Castin's Abenaki wife, Mathilde, probably worked, and why more blue beads were associated with the workshop and truck house where men labored.⁵¹ Further analysis will need to be done concerning the significance of color in bead embroidery among the Abenaki in order to determine the plausibility of this explanation.

Buttons

Two glass buttons and an iron button shank were recovered at St. Castin's Habitation (Figure 18). The first button, associated with the hearth in the dwelling, is made of plain black unpolished glass and is oval in shape. The remains of a simple embedded wire shank are visible on the back. The second button, associated with the truck house, is semi-conical in shape with "eddies" of white glass incorporated into its polished, black glass face. An unpolished black glass nipple is present at its apex, and on the back there is a clockwise swirl where the remains of a wire shank are embedded.

Buttons were used on men's and women's clothing in 17th-century France as much for decoration as to fasten clothing. Scores of buttons about the same size and shape as those from St. Castin's Habitation are conspicuously displayed on the clothing of French aristocrats in contemporary portraits. Therefore, the buttons from St. Castin's Habitation may have been a part of Castin's or another wealthy European's apparel that merely popped off.⁵²

However, buttons were among the trinkets early fur traders and explorers traded to Indians they encountered, and were used as trade items throughout 17th and 18th

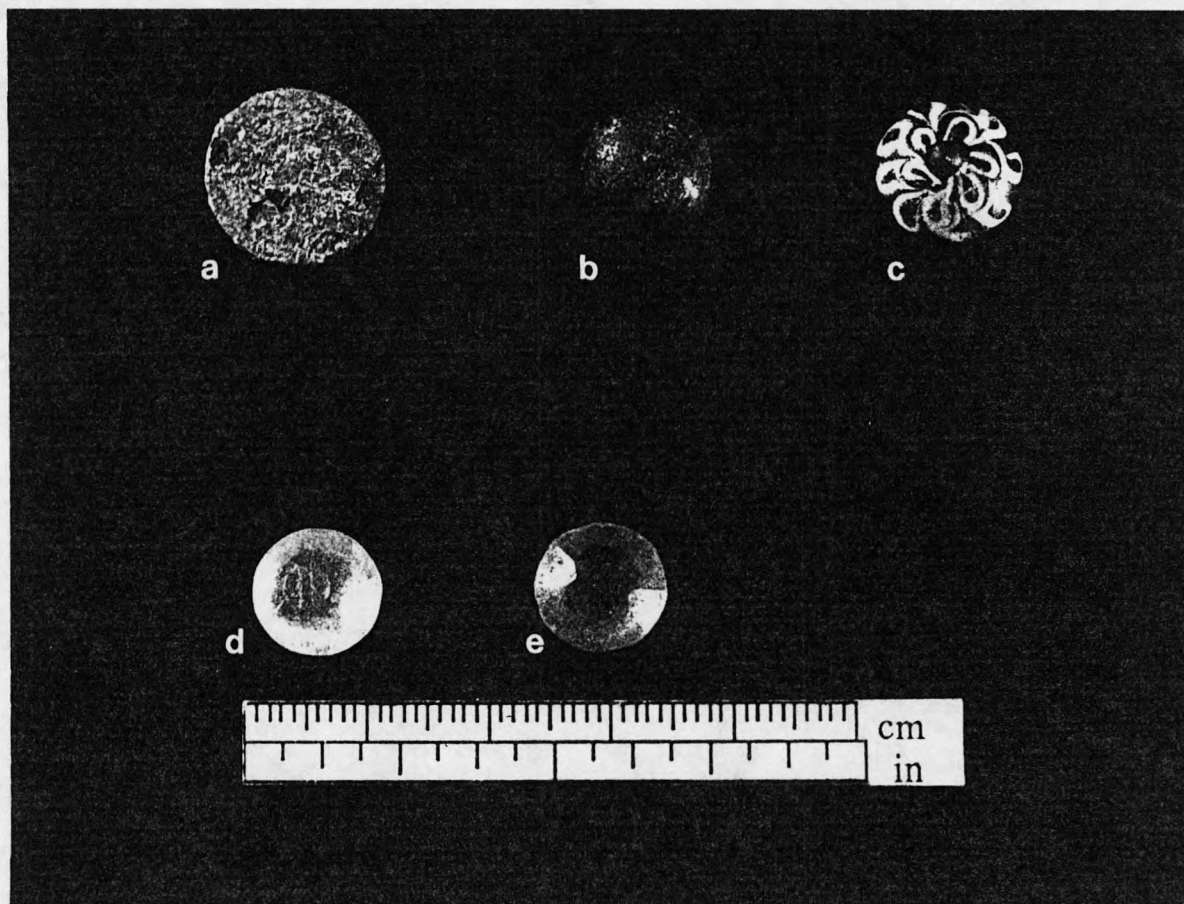


Figure 18. Buttons and gemstones from St. Castin's Habitation: a, iron button shank; b, black glass button; c, black glass button with white glass "eddies;" d-e, front and back views of 2 identical clear cut-glass gemstones.

centuries. Though glass buttons were definitely not a staple item of the fur trade, those from St. Castin's Habitation could have been a part of Castin's trading stock. They fit into the color scheme apparently preferred by the Abenaki and may have been used by them for clothing decoration or jewelry.

Cut-Glass Gemstones

Two identical, clear, cut-glass gemstones were found within the truck house at St. Castin's Habitation (Figure 18). Such gemstones of clear or colored glass were commonly set in brass trade rings, cuff-links, or buttons in the 17th and 18th centuries. Very similar clear cut-glass gemstones are set in a ring and a pair of cuff-links from Fort Michilimackinac, and a specimen found at colonial Pemaquid also appears very similar to the gemstone from St. Castin's Habitation.⁵³

Clay Tobacco Pipes

Since pipe-smoking was done casually in the late 17th century, as one worked or conversed, the concentrations of pipe fragments in the dwelling, truck house and workshop attest to the amount of activity that must have taken place at these locations. It is doubtful that Castin or his few servants, who were said to have homesteads of their own, could have smoked and discarded so many pipes themselves. Therefore, the distribution of pipe fragments suggests that St. Castin's Habitation was indeed a place where Abenaki often gathered to trade, work and prepare for offensives on English settlements.

Nearly all of the pipe fragments at the site are the remnants of pipes that were smoked, broken and then discarded by their European or Indian owners. The only definite exception is a fragment of a defective pipe with a bore that extends all the way through the back side of the pipebowl. (Figure 19). This pipe is not stained from use like others from the site, and was certainly never smoked. The defective pipe verifies that Castin did

import pipes to the Habitation, as neither an Indian nor a European visitor would bring a useless pipe with him to the site.

Concentrations of pipe fragments are particularly heavy within the workshop where smoking must have made the tedious and repetitive task of casting lead shot more enjoyable. Even though pipes were very inexpensive, supply on the frontier was often irregular, and there is evidence at St. Castin's Habitation that, in a pinch, a broken pipe could be made to last until a new one was acquired. Excavators recovered one export pipe with only a little over a centimeter of stem still attached to the bowl (Figure 19). The rough, broken end of the pipe's stem has been whittled away, evidently by its former, 17th-century owner in order to create a new mouthpiece and make the extremely short pipe more comfortable to smoke. A chewed piece of lead shot found at the site suggests that when without a pipe, laborers in the workshop were sometimes reduced to chewing lead bullets.

With the exception of one redware pipe that was produced in North America, clay pipes found at St. Castin's Habitation are made of white clay and are the products of European manufacturers. Virtually all white clay pipes found on North American colonial sites are of Dutch or English origin, as France did not have a major clay pipe industry until the 18th-century.⁵⁴ Whereas Dutch pipes are very common on French colonial sites, English colonial sites were supplied mostly with pipes manufactured in the mother country, especially after 1651 when the first of England's Navigation Acts was enacted. While many pipe forms from St. Castin's Habitation have characteristics common to both Dutch and English manufacture, decorations and maker's marks on their bowls, stems, and heels can often be attributed specifically to either Dutch or English origin.⁵⁵

Like most historic sites, St. Castin's Habitation produced very few complete pipes, and most of the assemblage is made up of pipestem and pipebowl fragments. The fragments as well as the complete pipes have been analyzed by extending a typology developed by Dr. Alaric Faulkner in *The French at Pentagoet*. This classification system



Figure 19. a, smoker's companion; b, whittled export pipe; c, export pipe with defective bore.

is based primarily on variation in pipebowl and heel form as well as decoration.

Pipestems, which are only occasionally found still attached to the pipebowl, are classified separately based on maker's marks and stem decoration. As was expected, not all specimens from St. Castin's Habitation fit the Fort Pentagoet typology and a few new types were designated. Furthermore, several pipe types identified in the Fort Pentagoet assemblage were not found at St. Castin's Habitation.⁵⁶

Pipebowl Typology

Pipes from St. Castin's Habitation can be divided into two major categories based on bowl form: belly bowls and export pipes. "Belly bowls" are characterized by their bulging middles, slightly constricted rims, a heel or spur at the junction of the pipestem and pipebowl, and rims angled forward, away from the smoker. "Export" pipes have a more streamlined funnel-shaped form and generally have a larger bowl capacity than belly bowls. While many funnel forms were manufactured with spurs, export pipes are heelless. Of the pipebowls that could be classified, 23 were identified as belly bowls, and 44 were identified as export pipes.⁵⁷

The 23 belly bowls from St. Castin's Habitation fall into four distinct categories. Three are crusader and huntress pipes (Type VI), 11 are small slender belly bowls, (Type XIII), three are spurred belly bowls (Type XIV), and two are chinned Exeter pipes (Type XV). Pipebowls that could not be assigned to any particular type, but exhibited attributes characteristic of the belly bowl form were classified simply as belly bowls (Figures 20 and 21).

Some of the belly bowl forms from St. Castin's Habitation, might be further described as "transitional" belly bowls. As the 17th century progressed, the belly bowl evolved from small squat bulbous forms to larger taller models, and by the last quarter of the 17th century pipe manufacturers had begun to produce straight sided funnel-shaped pipes. The large, low heels exhibited by earlier belly bowls were gradually replaced with

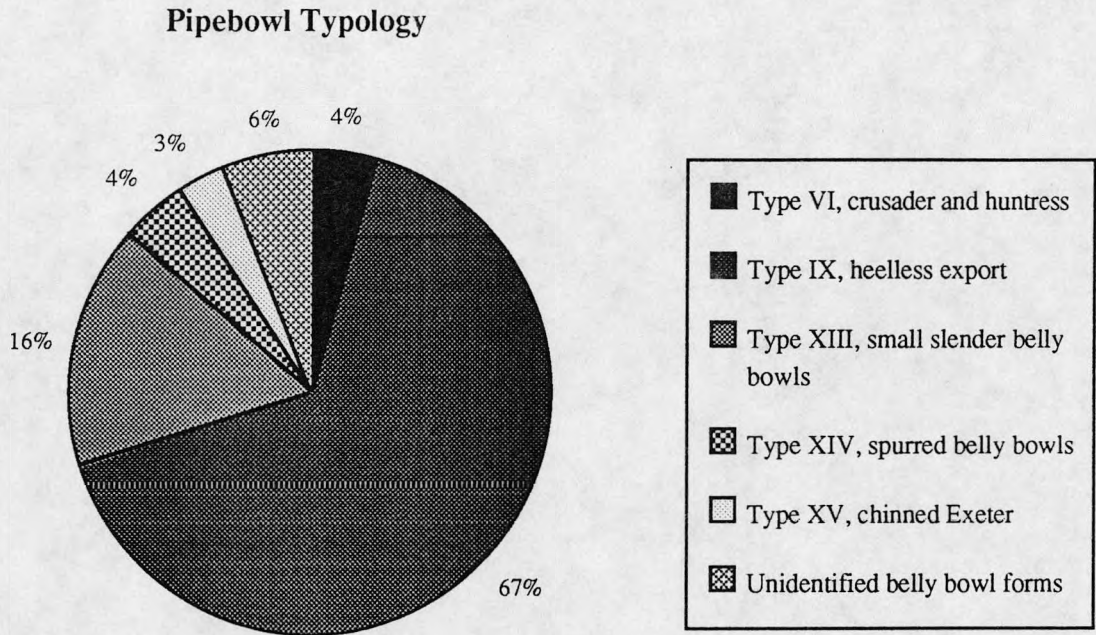


Figure 20. Percentages of pipebowl types at St. Castin's Habitation.

spurs, or no heel at all. Pipebowl rims were cut parallel to the pipestem so that they no longer “spilled” forward like those of erstwhile belly bowl forms. Several of the belly bowls from St. Castin’s Habitation epitomize this transition and have been deemed “hybrids” by some analysts. While they are not funnel shaped, they are less bulbous than their earlier counterparts from Fort Pentagoet. Neither are the rims of these pipes cut parallel to the stem, yet they do not appear to spill forward as much as very early belly bowls. With only a few exceptions the belly bowls from St. Castin’s Habitation exhibit small rather high heels or spurs.⁵⁸

Type VI, crusader and huntress pipes

The relief molded, crusader and huntress pipes from St. Castin’s Habitation are almost certainly of Dutch manufacture. English pipe manufacturers rarely used relief molding on pipes until well into the 18th-century, and relief molding in the 17th-century is considered most likely to indicate Dutch manufacture. Since there is no archaeological or historical evidence that St. Castin traded with the Dutch, these pipes probably came to him by French traders who often dealt in Dutch pipes. The crusader and huntress motif has been dated from c.1670-c.1700, but they appear to have been most popular during the beginning of this time period. Unlike most belly bowl forms from St. Castin’s Habitation, the crusader and huntress pipes have large, bulbous bowls with constricted rims and low flat heels.⁵⁹

The crusaders and huntress pipe’s ornate decoration is limited to the pipebowl and consists of the figure of a fully-armored man, or “crusader” on the right side of the pipe, and the figure of a women, or “huntress,” on the left side. The soldier is accompanied by a dog on hind legs to his left, and the women is flanked on the right by a dog standing on all fours and on the left by a rabbit. Flowering vines surround both characters, and there is a busy series of raised dots around the outside rim of the bowl. Clearly, even a small bowl fragment of this pipe type can be easily identified.⁶⁰

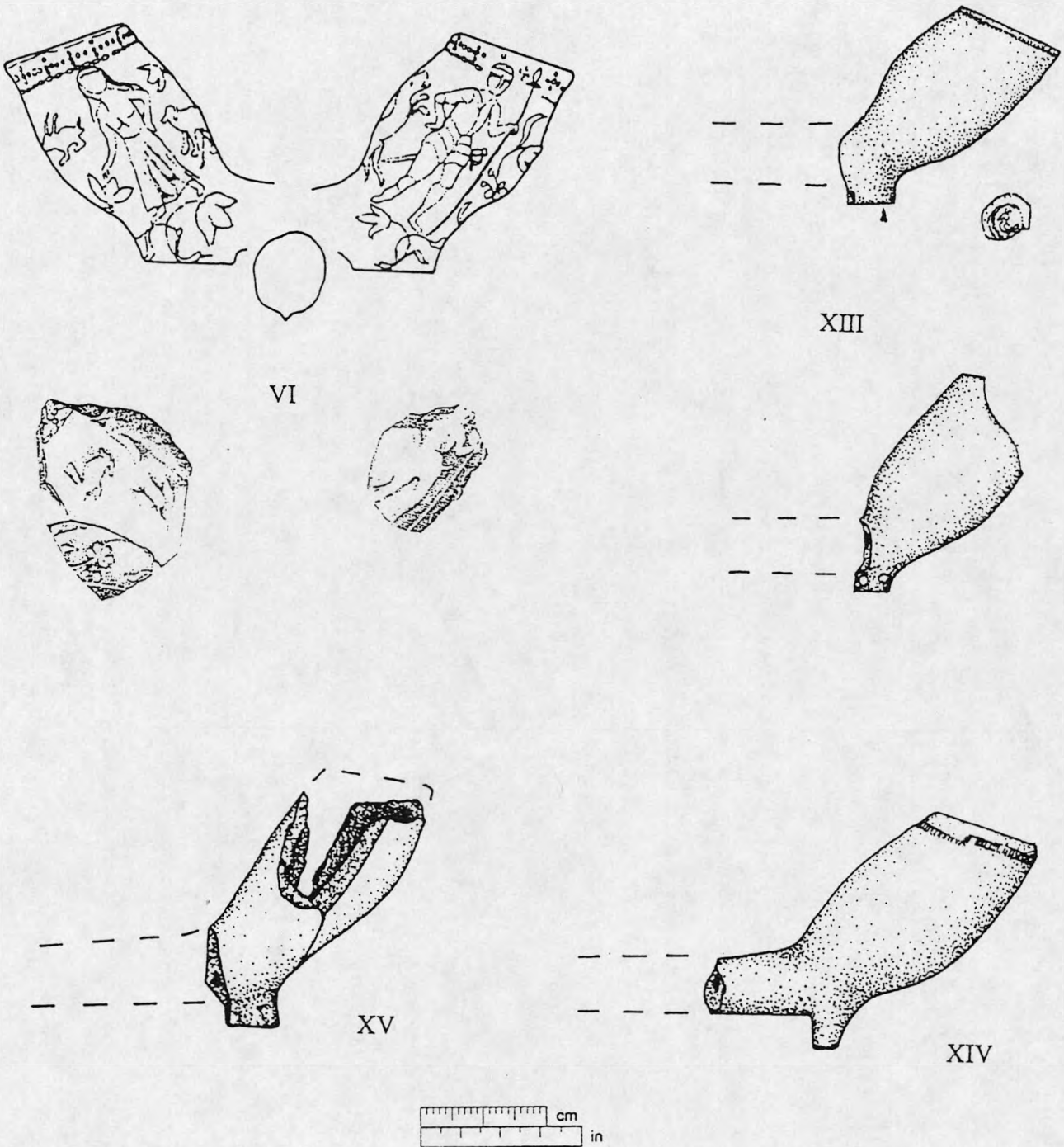


Figure 21. Type VI, complete crusader and huntress pipebowl from Fort Pentagoet and pipebowl fragments from St. Castin's Habitation; Type XIII, small slender belly bowls with bird heelmark and dots on heel; Type XIV, spurred belly bowl; Type XV, chinned Exeter pipe. Illustration of complete crusader and huntress pipebowl by Cathy Brann. Illustrations of all other pipes by Matthew Palus.

The three crusader and huntress pipebowls make up four percent of the classifiable pipebowls from St. Castin's Habitation. With the exception of one fragment all were recovered in the vicinity the truck house and the lead workshop. All fragments show considerable weathering, and no complete pipebowls were found. In comparison, crusader and huntress pipes made up 31 percent of the total classifiable pipebowls recovered from Fort Pentagoet, and several complete pipebowls were found at various locations across the site.⁶¹

The crusader and huntress pipes from Fort Pentagoet came only from Pentagoet III contexts, that is, the third period of occupation which lasted from 1670-1674. Castin may have received imports of this pipe from the same French traders who supplied Fort Pentagoet, although evidently not in the same quantities. Crusader and huntress pipes also show up in small numbers on nearby English sites, such as Pemaquid, and the Clark and Lake site. It is possible that these Maine settlements occasionally received pipes via the same French traders that supplied Fort Pentagoet and St. Castin's Habitation. Although pipes are not documented in an existing inventory of trade goods he requested from France, it is known that Henry Brunet traded his products with English settlers in Maine, and he appears to have dealt regularly with influential Pemaquid resident and trader, Thomas Gardner.⁶²

Type XIII, small slender belly bowls

These 11 gracile pipebowls account for 16 percent of the classifiable pipebowls from St. Castin's Habitation. They have rather small elongated well-burnished bowls that bulge slightly at the center. The rim is not constricted, as in earlier belly bowl forms, but does pitch forward notably. Almost all the pipes classified as type XIII have small flat prominent heels. The one exception has a narrow rounded heel, not quite pointed enough to be described as a spur but not flat enough to bear a heel mark on the bottom. This pipe is undecorated except for two raised dots on one side of the heel. Contemporary Dutch

pipes with one dot on the side of the heel have been found on New York sites, and pipes with several dots on either side of the heel have been excavated in Exeter, England where they were probably manufactured. The dots on the pipe from St. Castin's Habitation may have served as a quality control mark, or some kind of maker's mark. On four of the type XIII pipebowls an impressed bird icon on the heel is visible, and most have rouletting around the rim. Unlike the crusader and huntress pipebowls from St. Castin's Habitation, many of the type XIII pipebowls are nearly complete and show little weathering.⁶³

Additional pipes with bird heel marks have been recovered from other colonial North American sites, but thus far none have been located that resemble those from St. Castin's Habitation. Alaric Faulkner has suggested that a different bird heel mark on a pipe found at Fort Pentagoet is a rebus for the name "Bird." This could be Edward Bird, or "Eduwaert Burt," a pipe manufacturer from Amsterdam whose "EB" pipes predominate on domestic and Indian sites in 17th-century New York and also show up at Fort Pentagoet and the colonial village of Pemaquid. Bird produced and exported pipes until his death in 1665 after which Bird's son, also named Edward, continued to manufacture pipes and use the "EB" maker's mark. Interestingly, the type XIII pipes from St. Castin's Habitation closely resemble pipes with "EB" heel marks found on New York sites dating 1665-1700.⁶⁴

Whether or not the bird heel mark on some of the Type XIII pipes stands for "Edward Bird," these pipes are probably the product of a Dutch manufacturer. Towards the end of the 17th-century Dutch and English pipes, which had previously been very similar in form, began to develop distinguishing characteristics. In general, Dutch pipebowls became more elongated than their English counterparts, and Dutch manufactures more commonly burnished their pipes. English pipe manufacturers rarely used rebuses, or other decorations as heel marks, whereas this was quite common in the Netherlands. In general the type XIII pipes from St. Castin's Habitation have many of the

characteristics attributed to Dutch pipes produced at the time. They also resemble known Dutch pipes excavated on North American sites.⁶⁵

The Type XIII pipes bowls appear to be a form developed during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. No similar pipes have been found on earlier sites in Maine, including Fort Pentagoet, and all but one of Type XIII pipebowls have bores measuring 6/64 in. Very few pipebowls from St. Castin's Habitation other than Type XIII have bore diameters measuring this small, which could indicate that these pipes were manufactured and imported later than most other pipes found at the Habitation.⁶⁶

Type XIV, spurred transitional belly bowls

These three pipes make up four percent of the total classifiable pipes from St. Castin's Habitation and are the only spurred pipes from the site. They have what truly can be called a "hybrid" bowl form exhibiting characteristics of both belly bowl and funnel forms. This type of pipe has about the same bowl capacity and height as do heelless export forms from St. Castin's Habitation, but the shape of the bowl is somewhat bulbous and the rim is at a much greater angle to the stem. None of these pipebowls display any decoration or marks that give a clue to their place of origin, but they do resemble a form that is part of Oswald's general typology of English pipes and is assigned to the period c.1660-c.1680.⁶⁷

Type XV, chinned Exeter pipes

Two examples of this pipebowl type make up three percent of the classifiable pipes from St. Castin's Habitation. This type is characterized by the bulge or "chin" present on the back side of the pipebowl, that is, the side farthest from the smoker, and a small "mushroom shaped" heel. The pipes from the Habitation are nearly identical to examples recovered from various sites in Exeter, England and they were probably

manufactured there. In his analysis of clay pipes excavated in Exeter, Oswald assigns this form to the period c.1690-c.1720.⁶⁸

Type IX heelless export pipes

Export pipes are the most common pipebowl type at St. Castin's Habitation and make up 66 percent, or 44 of the total classifiable pipebowls found at the site (Figure 22). This form became popular in North America after about 1660 and was manufactured both in the Netherlands and England specifically for export to the colonies. Export pipes are thought to have been designed with the fur trade in mind because their form loosely resembles traditional aboriginal pipes. However, both belly bowls and export pipes seem to have been used by North American colonists and Indians interchangeably. Most likely, the pipe owes its popularity to its simple form and lack of ornate decoration which may have made it less expensive to manufacture, perhaps offsetting the extra cost of exportation.⁶⁹

Most of the heelless export pipebowls from St. Castin's Habitation have characteristics indicating that they were earlier forms of this type. Fortuitously, what is almost certainly a later form of export pipe was also found at the site, providing an opportunity to compare earlier and later forms. The bowl of the later pipe is marked with the initials "RT" for one of three generations of Bristol pipe manufacturers named Robert Tippets who were in business from 1660 to at least 1720. The "RT" pipe was found just below the sod layer in the upper rubble of the fireplace and is not believed to be associated with any 17th-century deposits at the site. It has a bore diameter of 5/64 in. indicating that it was manufactured later than most other pipes from St. Castin's Habitation which commonly have bores measuring 8/64 in., 7/64 in., or 6/64 in. The "RT" pipe was probably deposited after the demise of St. Castin's Habitation, perhaps lost or discarded by someone camped by the partially crumbled fireplace, long after the dwelling had vanished.

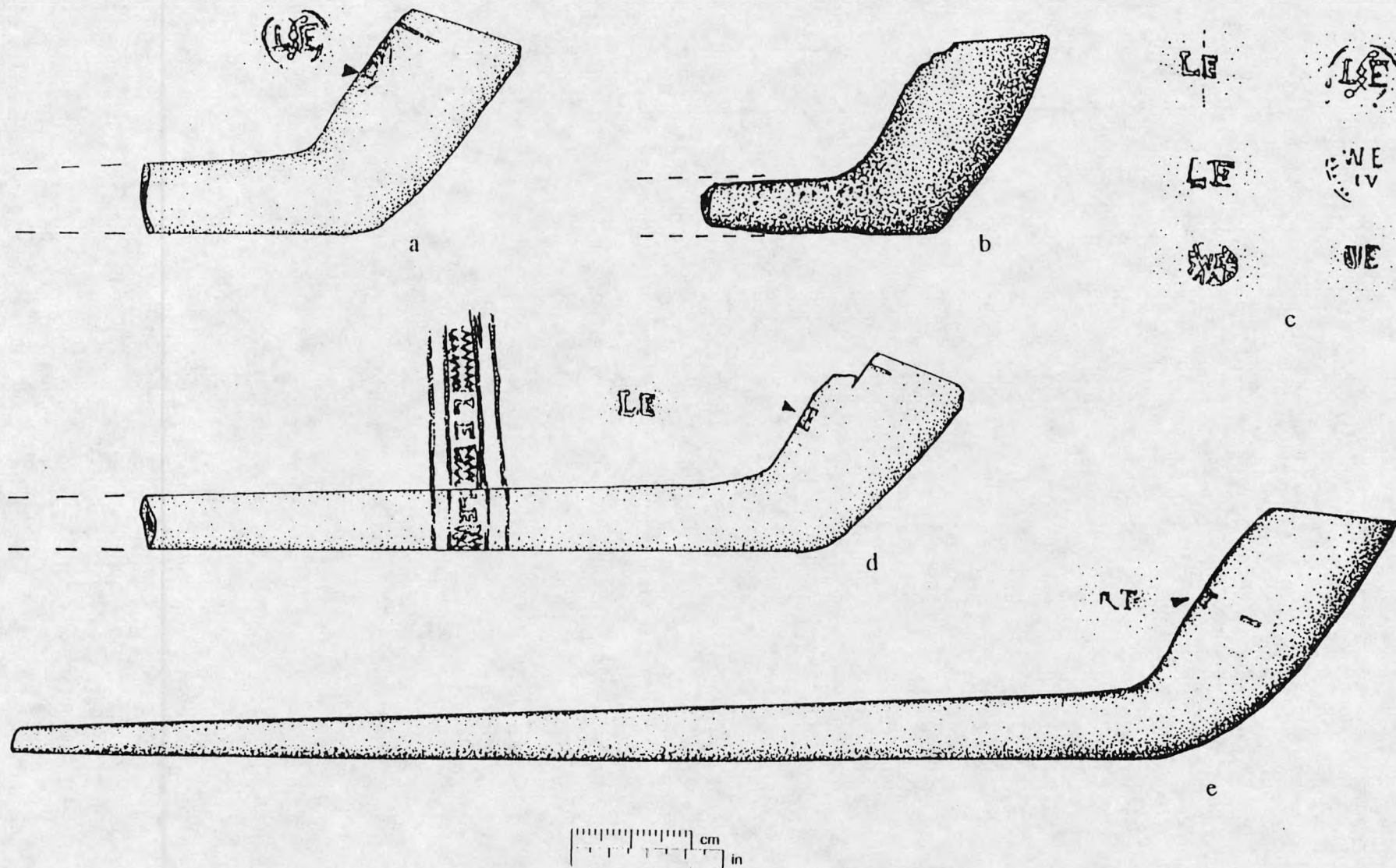


Figure 22. Examples of Type IX pipes. a, export pipe marked "LE;" b, redware export pipe; c, maker's marks found on export pipes from St. Castin's Habitation; d, export pipe with "LE" maker's mark on both stem and bowl; e, export pipe marked "RT," believed to be a later form. Illustrations by Matthew Palus.

The “RT” pipebowl has very straight sides, a rim cut parallel to the pipestem, and no rouletting around the rim; all characteristics of later export pipes. In contrast, all other heelless export pipes from St. Castin’s Habitation have bowls that bow out slightly at the sides, rims cut not quite parallel to the stem and, with a few exceptions, rouletting around the rim. These are attributes traditionally associated with earlier belly bowl forms that are not present in later export pipes.⁷⁰

Maker’s marks on 13 of the export pipebowls indicate that all of the export pipes from the Habitation are probably products of English pipe manufacturers. Six pipebowls of this type bear the maker’s mark “LE,” which can be attributed to Bristol pipe manufacturer, Llewellyn Evans, who was in business from 1661 to the late-1680s. Five pipebowls are marked “WE” for one of two Bristol pipe manufacturers named William Evans. Both of the William Evanses began production in the 1660s, and one continued until the late 1690s. One of the William Evanses may even have been the brother of Llewellyn. Several other pipebowl fragments that could not be classified were also marked “LE” and “WE,” and these marks appear on many of pipestems from the Habitation as well. Although export pipes were not solely an English product, the numerous bowl fragments marked “LE” and “WE” strongly suggest that most, if not all, from St. Castin’s Habitation were from Bristol.⁷¹

Pipes marked “LE” and “WE” had become very popular on English colonial sites in North America by the 1670s and examples have been found in Maine at Fort Pentagoet, the Clark and Lake site, and Colonial Pemaquid. However, at Fort Pentagoet, “LE” and “WE” maker’s marks, along with others belonging to Bristol manufacturers, are found only on the heels of belly bowls and are not present on any of the export pipebowls found at the site. All initialed pipes from Fort Pentagoet are attributed to Pentagoet III (1670-1674), just when maker’s marks consisting of or incorporating initials were rising in popularity. It is possible that pipe manufacturers, such as Llewellyn Evens and William Evans, only marked their initials on pipeheels during the time of Pentagoet III , but began

initialing the sides of pipebowls sometime during the occupation of St. Castin's Habitation.⁷²

Type IXa, redware heelless export pipes

Just one redware pipe, an export form, was found at St. Castin's Habitation, as opposed to 14, or ten percent of the pipes, from Fort Pentagoet. Redware pipes are common on both French and English sites in Maine occupied between c.1655 and c.1676, but generally do not show up on later sites. Redware pipes found on Maine sites, which should not be confused with distinctive "terra cotta" pipes from the Chesapeake region, are believed to have been manufactured in New England. They are somewhat imperfect imitations of contemporary Dutch and English belly bowl and export forms and do not have maker's marks or decoration except for the occasional presence of rouletting around the rim. The pipes rarely make up more than about 10 percent of assemblages from Maine sites.⁷³

The sole redware export pipe from St. Castin's Habitation has a somewhat different form than its nine counterparts from Fort Pentagoet. The redware export pipes from Fort Pentagoet are slightly "chinned," having a small bulge on the back side of the bowl near the rim. The rims of these pipes are rouletted, and are cut at a slight angle to the stem. The pipe from St. Castin's Habitation has a rim cut parallel to the stem, no chin, and no rouletting. It was found in the same context as the "RT" pipe; just under the sod layer, atop the fireplace rubble. Although it is commonly regarded as an earlier type, both the pipe's form and provenience suggest that it dates later than the period of occupation at St. Castin's Habitation.

Pipestem Typology

Of 1,797 pipestem fragments found at St. Castin's Habitation 107 or six percent have some kind of decoration. By far the most popular form is rouletting which was used

on both Dutch and English pipestems from the second quarter of the 17th-century through the 18th-century. Rouletted designs contemporary with St. Castin's Habitation often incorporate the maker's mark of the manufacturer, thus making them a useful tool for determining where pipes from St. Castin's Habitation originated. Four distinct types of rouletting were identified on pipestems from the Habitation. Again, the typology established for pipestems from Fort Pentagoet was expanded to include all of the pipestems from St. Castin's Habitation.⁷⁴

Of the 107 decorated pipestems from the Habitation, five were identified as type Ib, a design incorporating oblique hachures, large oval chains, and zigzags; 72 were identified as type Ic, diamond chain and dentate; 25 were identified as type If, circle chain and dentate; and two were identified as type Ig, zigzags and crisscross hachures. The only other type of decoration on pipestems from St. Castin's Habitation is stamped four-on-diamond fleurs-de-lis. Three pipestems exhibit this form of decoration and have been designated as type II (Figures 23 and 24).

Type Ib, oblique hachures, large oval chains and zigzags

Three, or five percent, of the pipes from St. Castin's Habitation with classifiable decoration exhibit this type of rouletting. Type Ib rouletting also decorates pipestems found at colonial Pemaquid, the Clark and Lake site and at Fort Pentagoet where it was present on almost half of the 14 rouletted stems from the site. Type Ib rouletting has been identified as Dutch by one researcher on the basis of the presence of similar Dutch rouletted pipes from the Fortress of Louisbourg. However, the design does not appear to be popular on New York sites contemporary with St. Castin's Habitation that were known to have had Dutch suppliers.⁷⁵

An incomplete export pipe illustrated in Iain Walker's study of clay pipes, has one of William Evans's maker's marks, "WE, IV," stamped on the bowl, and a rouletted design on the stem that appears to be the same as the one on the type Ib pipestems from

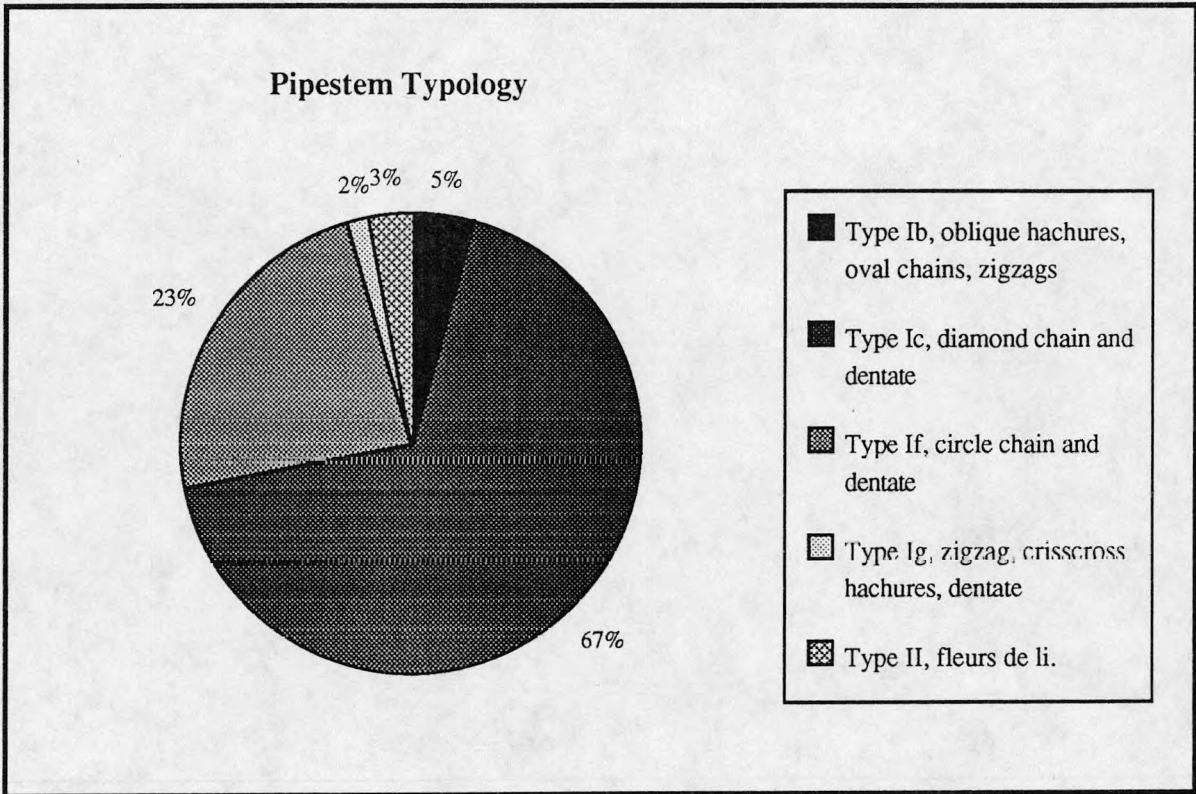


Figure 23. Percentages of pipestem types at St. Castin's Habitation.

St. Castin's Habitation. The "WE, IV" maker's mark appears on one export pipebowl from St. Castin's Habitation, and it is likely that the Ib pipestems were once attached to export pipes bearing this mark. Unfortunately, Walker's example is broken off right in the center of the rouletted design, and it is as yet impossible to be sure whether his example matches the type Ib pipestems from St. Castin's Habitation.⁷⁶

Type Ic, diamond chain and dentate

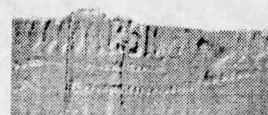
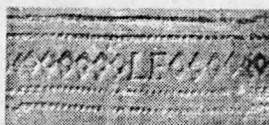
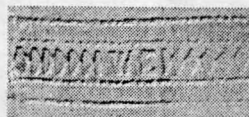
This type of rouletting is present on 72, or 67 percent, of the classifiable pipestems from St. Castin's Habitation making it the most common form of decoration. It was used by several pipe manufacturers, and is considered to be a design typical of Bristol pipe makers. The type Ic design frequently incorporates the initials of Lleullen Evans, "LE" or William Evans, "WE."⁷⁷

One of the type Ic pipestems is marked "RS" possibly for Robert Shepard, a Bristol pipe manufacturer in business from 1669 to at least 1700. Another is marked "IS" and has yet to be attributed to specific manufacturer, as there are several with these initials. The most likely possibility is John Sinderling of Bristol who was in business from 1668 to 1699. Both Robert Shepard and John Sinderling were former apprentices of Flower Hunt, a known exporter of pipes to North America. Identical specimens of both "RS" and "IS" pipestems have been found at the village of colonial Pemaquid, and "IS" pipes have also been recovered at colonial sites in Maryland.⁷⁸

The type Ic pipestems are clearly associated with the heelless export pipebowls from St. Castin's Habitation. Nearly complete "LE" heelless export pipes have been found at St. Castin's Habitation and colonial Pemaquid. Both examples have bowls marked "LE" and stems with diamond chain rouletting that also incorporates the "LE" maker's mark. Therefore the type Ic pipestems provide another source of information about the use of heelless export pipes at the site. Pipe bore diameters of both export pipebowls and type Ic pipestems range in size from 6/64 in. to 8/64 in. perhaps indicating



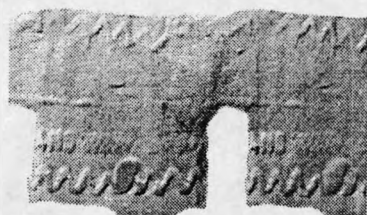
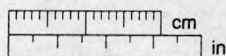
Ib



Ic



If



Ig



II

Figure 24. Type Ib, oblique hachures, oval chains, and zigzags; Type Ic, diamond chain and dentate, from top to bottom: "WE," "LE," "IS" and "RS" maker's marks; Type If, circle chain and dentate; Type Ig, zigzags, crisscross hachures, and dentate; Type II, fleurs-de-lis.

that export pipes were imported at St. Castin's Habitation throughout its occupation. Variation in the "WE" and "LE" insignias both on type IX pipebowls and type Ic stems is also probably the result of several different deliveries of export pipes to St. Castin's Habitation throughout its occupation.⁷⁹

Type If, circle chain and dentate.

Type If accounts for 25, or 23 percent, of the classifiable pipestems from St. Castin's Habitation. This type of pipestem rouletting is very common on sites in New York known to have been supplied with pipes manufactured in the Netherlands, and the design is considered to be a feature of Dutch pipe making. All of the type If pipestems were found in the vicinity of the truck house and, with the exception of one, all have bore diameters measuring 6/64 in. It seems likely that the type If pipestems were once attached to the small slender belly bowls classified as type XIII. These pipebowls and stems have similar distribution patterns and bore diameters, but so far efforts at finding crossmends between the type XIII bowls and the type If pipestems have been unsuccessful.⁸⁰

Type Ig, zigzag, crisscross hachures and dentate.

This type makes up two percent of the pipestems with classifiable decorations from the site. There may be more to this decoration because it occurs on two relatively small weathered fragments, and on both examples it is interrupted where the pipestem has broken. A faint maker's mark is incorporated in the rouletting on one of the pipestems, and appears to be the initials "NS." Nicholas Stone or Nathen Stokes, both Bristol pipe manufacturers apprenticed to William Evans, could be the manufacturers responsible for this maker's mark, but no positive identification has been made.⁸¹

Clay pipes are rarely mentioned in lists of trade goods bound for Acadia or Maine. This is probably because they were inexpensive, took up little cargo space and were so

innocuous that merchants and traders often failed to record them. However, the Indians' adoption of clay pipes manufactured in Europe is well documented in the historical record.⁸² While there is little evidence of exactly which traders supplied Castin with clay pipes, the clay pipe assemblage from the Habitation indicates that pipes smoked there were imported from both the Netherlands and England. Even though English pipes are in the majority at the site, Dutch pipes are far more prevalent at the Habitation than they are on contemporary English sites in Maine and Acadia, and they probably reflect Castin's ties with French merchants who often dealt in Dutch pipes.

Smoker's Companions

Two smoker's companions were found within with the truck house (Figure 19). These small tongs with spring grips served both as pipe lighters and tampers. The tongs were used to pick up a burning ember from a fire in order to light the tobacco in a pipe, and a flat disc on one end of the handle was used to tamper the pipe. Smoker's companions were popular trade items, and in light of Castin's trade in clay pipes and the amount of smoking that went on at the Habitation, their presence at the site is not surprising.⁸³

Knives

Five heavily corroded iron knives were found associated with the truck house at St. Castin's Habitation. A few other specimens believed to be knives were also recovered, but they were too corroded to make a positive identification, and each disintegrated during the conservation process. All of the describable knives are case knives, made up of a single piece of iron forming the knife blade and a rat-tailed tang which is driven into a bone or wooden handle. Although corrosion has made it impossible to determine the exact size and shape of the original knife blades, four of the knives have oblong bolsters and square sectioned tangs of the same size indicating that they were probably identical

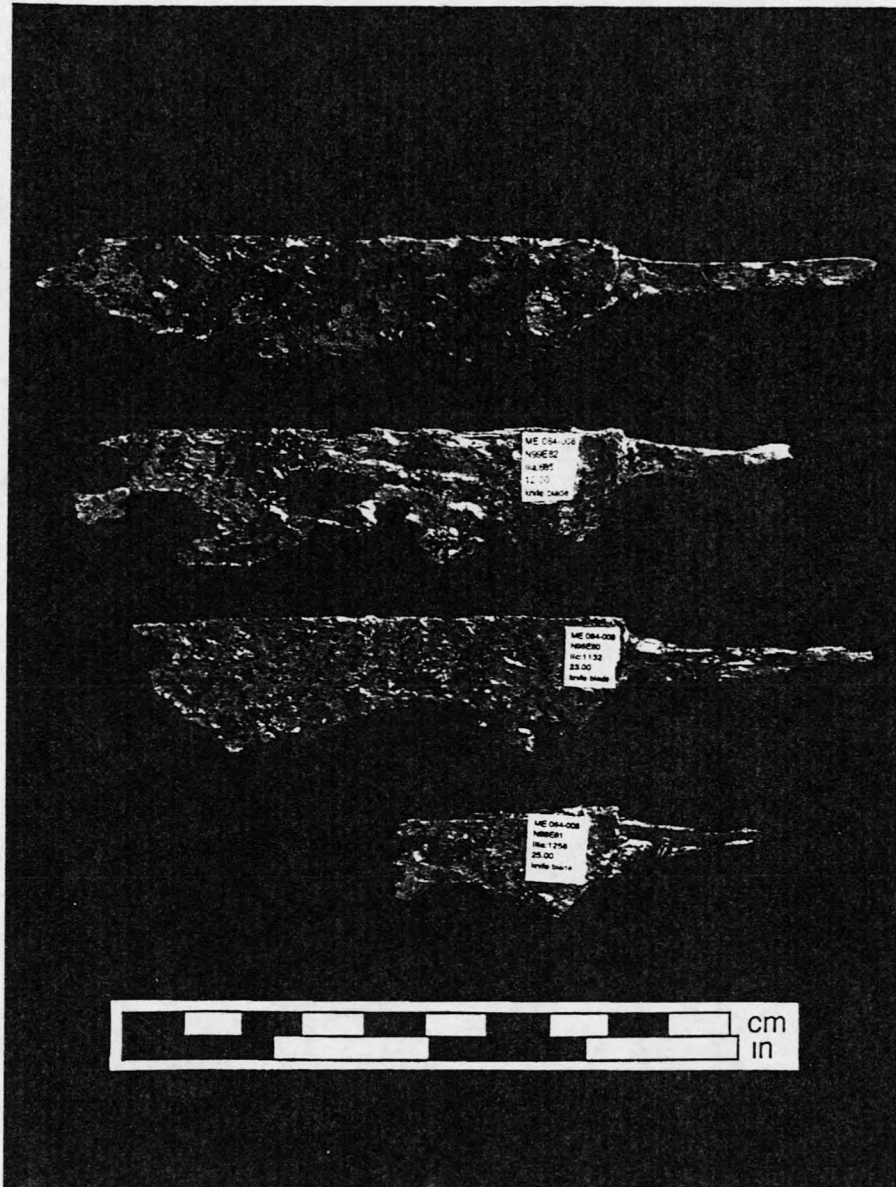


Figure 25. Four knives from St. Castin's Habitation with identical oblong bolsters and square sectioned tangs.

(Figure 25). Unfortunately, none of the bone or wood handles survive, except for that of the fifth knife, which has a round section tang still fitted into a bit of its original wooden handle. The fifth knife's bolster has corroded away leaving the knife in two pieces, and so little is left of the handle that its original size or shape is indeterminate.⁸⁴

The context in which they were found suggests that the knives excavated at the Habitation were trade goods and not a part of Castin's personal cutlery.⁸⁵ When Castin ordered 120 knives from Massachusetts merchant, William Tailer, during the Abenaki-English War, he certainly didn't expect to receive 120 table knives with rounded or squared off ends such as those that were commonly used by Europeans in the late 17th century.⁸⁶ Instead, the knives that Castin wanted William Tailer to send, as well as those excavated at the site, were most likely simple utility knives intended for an Indian clientele.

Iron tools

The remains of two axes and what appears to be the blade of a mattock were found at St. Castin's Habitation. One of the axes, though broken in two pieces, is complete, and conforms to type A in Russel Bouchard's typology of axes traded out of Quebec (Figure 26). This type of axe is commonly referred to as a "French trade axe," and thousands have been found on Indian and colonial sites across North America. It is characterized by a polless head, an oval or teardrop shaped eye, and a downward flaring blade with strait upper and lower margins.⁸⁷ The type A axe found at St. Castin's Habitation measures 23 centimeters from the back of the eye along the upper margin to the bit, and the blade itself measures 13 centimeters. It was formed simply by folding a single iron pattern over an iron handle form to make both the eye and blade.⁸⁸ Such trade axes were commonly stamped with steel punches to indicated the manufacturer, and the specimin from the Habitation has a heart-shaped punch mark on one side of the blade.

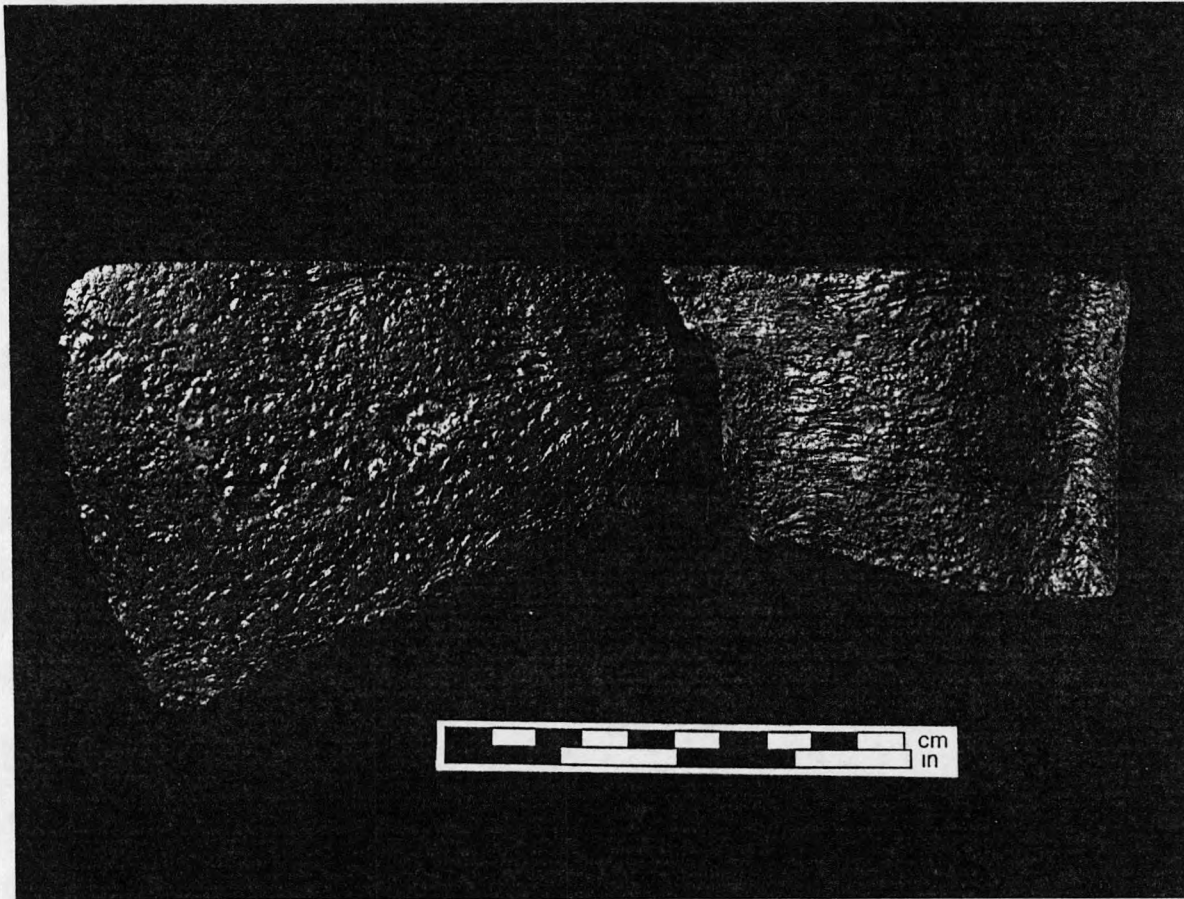


Figure 26. "Type A" French trade axe from St. Castin's Habitation. Note heart-shaped punch mark on the blade.

Many maker's marks on axes have been recorded and identified, but thus far none have been found that match the one from St. Castin's Habitation.⁸⁹

The other incomplete axe consists of most of a blade (Figure 27). It has roughly the same shape as the blade of the complete French trade axe, except that it is considerably smaller and shorter, measuring about nine centimeters in length. This specimen may have been a small hatchet or possibly even a tomahawk, which was based on the traditional shape of the French trade axe, but was smaller and lighter. It appears to have been formed in the same manner as the complete axe.⁹⁰

At Fort Pentagoet, many of the axes found were fitted with steel bits, which greatly enhanced their effectiveness and durability. A steel bit would not wear nearly so quickly as a wrought iron one and would not curl over with use. In his analysis of axes from Fort Pentagoet, Alaric Faulkner has suggested that the axes with steel bits belonged to the Fort Pentagoet's workmen, whereas the inferior axes without steel bits represent trade items. The axes from St. Castin's Habitation support this inference, as neither were fitted with steel bits.⁹¹

Because Fort Pentagoet had a forge and smithy, worn out axe bits or broken axes could be repaired. Inferior axes with wrought iron bits could be fitted with new steel bits, and axes broken at the juncture of the eye and blade could be repaired by lap welding a new eye onto the blade.⁹² St. Castin's Habitation had no smithy so broken axes or other iron tools could not be repaired on site. However, iron implements were scarce on the frontier, and Castin, in keeping with French policy, may have collected the Abenakis' broken axes and taken them elsewhere to be repaired for free. The complete trade axe was recovered from within the perimeters of the truck house where Castin may have been storing it and planning to take it to a smithy in Quebec or Boston for repair.⁹³

The mattock, which consists only of a bit, was also found within the truck house where it too may have been stored in anticipation of taking it to a smithy to be recycled (Figure 27). The bit is curled over, indicating the intense usage it had been subjected to

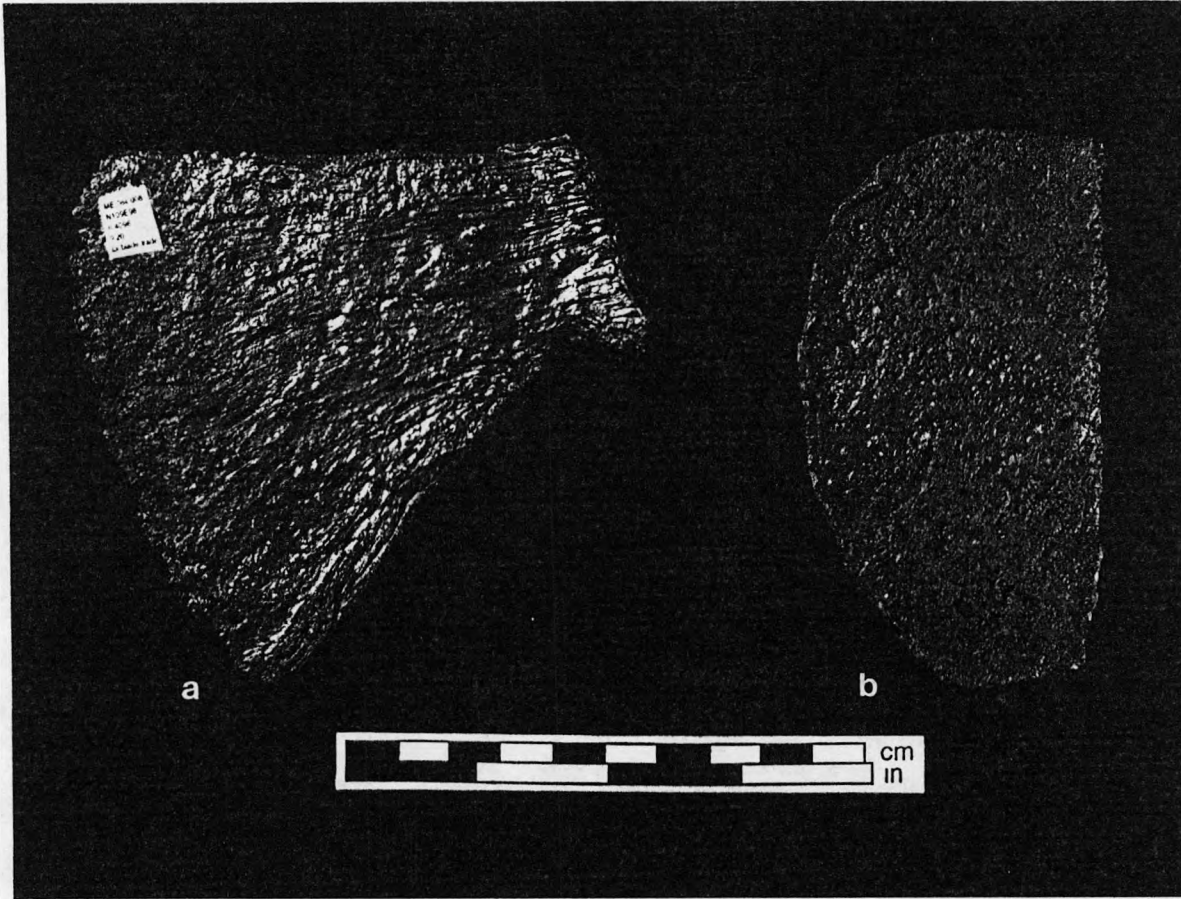


Figure 27. a, small hatchet or tomahawk; b, mattock bit.

before it snapped off. The “hoes for digging” sent by the French to the Indians of Acadia in 1692 may have been mattocks, and it is very likely that the one from St. Castin’s Habitation was also a trade item.

Mouth Harp

One mouth harp, an item commonly referred to as a “toy” in the 17th century, was recovered at St. Castin’s Habitation within the truck house (Figure 28). Mouth harps were common trade items in 17th and 18th centuries and were used by both colonists and Indians. This small musical instrument was portable and durable, making it ideal for use on the frontier where it served in the same capacity as a harmonica would today. Mouth harps are made up of two parts, a lyre-shaped iron or brass frame, and a slender iron vibrator attached to the frame. They are played by holding the ends of the harp in one’s teeth and plucking the iron vibrator. Different tones are created by altering the shape of the mouth. As is often the case, only the iron frame survives of the specimen from St. Castin’s Habitation.⁹⁴

Pewter Spoon

The pewter spoon found associated with the truck house at St. Castin’s Habitation appears to be a “wavy-end” spoon, a type that became popular towards the end of the seventeenth century (Figure 28). Wavy-end spoons are characterized by a bowl that is long and narrow compared to earlier styles, and a stem with a “flat-tongued or shield-like end.”⁹⁵ Unfortunately, the spoon from St. Castin’s Habitation has greatly deteriorated, so it is difficult to ascertain the shape of the original bowl, and any maker’s mark that might have been present on the bowl or stem are no longer visible. The spoon may have been a part of Castin’s cutlery which was lost or discarded within the truck house, but spoons were also a commodity of the fur trade, and it was more likely intended as a trade item for the Abenaki.⁹⁶

Apparently latten and pewter spoons were used by various classes of English peoples in the 17th century, but only the relatively wealthy French used metal spoons. This difference seems to be present in the colonies as well; metal spoons appear on 17th-century English colonial sites, but not on contemporary colonial French sites.⁹⁷ However, since Castin was a wealthy individual who traded regularly with New England, it is not improbable that he would have owned metal spoons.

In addition to being popular finds on 17th-century English sites, metal spoons have shown up in large numbers as grave goods on Algonquian sites in southern New England. Josselyn reported that the Indians of southern New England “eat their broth with spoons” and that they possessed “dishes, spoons, and trays wrought very smooth and neatly out of the knots of wood.”⁹⁸ The Indians probably incorporated metal spoons into these existing foodways. It has also been noted, however, that spoons in Narragansett burials at the West Ferry site and the RI-1000 cemetery in Rhode Island were quite pristine and showed little of the wear that often characterizes spoons found on colonial sites. It is unlikely then, that these spoons served any kind of utilitarian purpose before they were interred, and they may have been special offerings meant to serve the deceased in the afterworld.⁹⁹

Lead Fishing Sinkers

Two fishing sinkers, both meant for drop-lines, were found at St. Castin’s Habitation and are surely products of St. Castin’s workshop (Figure 28). One is tear-drop shaped with a hole for a line pierced at the narrower end. The other, roughly oblong in shape, was apparently meant to be crimped on the line. Whether or not the sinkers from St. Castin Habitation represent small scale subsistence fishing engaged in by Castin and Abenaki, or a larger operation, has not yet been determined. However, just before leaving for France in 1701, Castin requested permission to start a commercial fishery with the



Figure 28. a, mouth harp; b, lead fishing sinkers; c, “wavy-end” pewter spoon.

Penobscots at Pentagoet.¹⁰⁰ This suggests that both he and the Indians were already somewhat familiar with this activity and were prepared to begin a large-scale operation.

Items of Religious Significance

It is clear from the historical record that Castin supported and cooperated with the missionary priests stationed at Pentagoet during his tenure at St. Castin's Habitation. In spite of the addiction to "libertinism" he reportedly suffered during his early years at Pentagoet, Castin was a generous patron of the church in Acadia and welcomed missionaries to Pentagoet. Unlike unscrupulous traders active in the fur trade, Castin did not sell the Abenaki the large quantities of liquor that undermined the efforts of missionaries located elsewhere in Acadia. Consequently, when rival Acadia leaders and/or traders criticized Castin for trading with the English and being more interested in profit than loyalty to his mother country, Acadia's missionaries defended both his character and intentions.

The presence of religious items associated with Castin's truck house, including a Jesuit ring, a lead cross pennant, a rosary bead, and what may be a silver bible clasp, suggests that trade and missionary work were closely connected at the site (Figures 29 and 30). There is no archaeological or historical evidence that the mission operated by Father Thury and other priests at Pentagoet was located at St. Castin's Habitation. However, Castin may have supplied the mission with religious and utilitarian items needed for its operation, or merely supported the missionarie's efforts by trading religious paraphernalia to the Abenaki.¹⁰¹

The religious artifacts found at St. Castin's Habitation are items that missionaries in Canada and Acadia commonly gave or traded to the Indians as a part of their proselytizing. That they were considered an important part of the conversion process is evident from Father Enjardran's 1676 request from his mission at Sillery for "some things which may help us win these poor Indians...small crucifixes, a finger in length or smaller

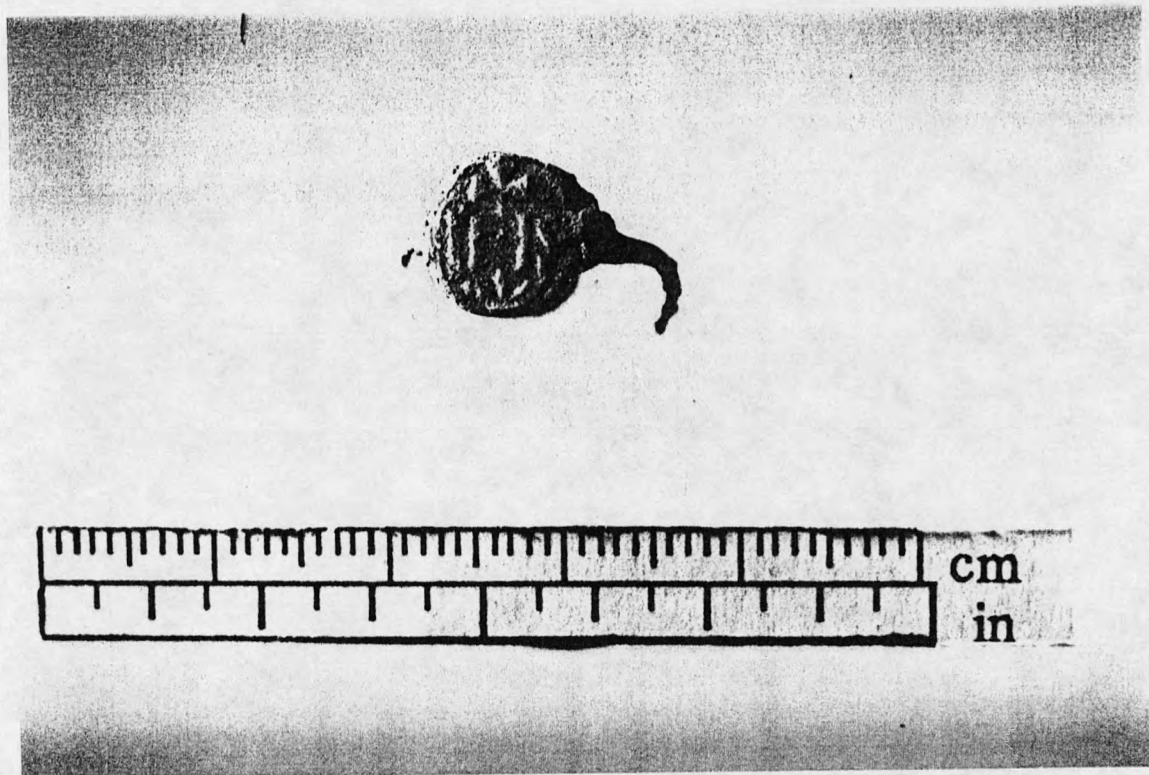


Figure 29. Cast brass Jesuit trade ring from St. Castin's Habitation.
Illustration of a similar ring by Alec C. Wood (Wood, 1974).



still, small brass crosses and brass rings, also in some there is the figure of some saint or the face of the Jesus Christ or the blessed virgin, and wooden rosaries....” Items such as these were meant to supplant the charms, amulets, and fetishes that were such an important part of indigenous religions, and they were probably regarded by the Indians in much the same way.¹⁰²

Jesuit trade ring

The Jesuit ring from St. Castin’s Habitation is made of brass and was cast in one piece. The oval bevel measures between 11-12 millimeters in diameter and bears the seal of St. Ignatius Loyola, a common design consisting of the letters IHS, a cross, three nails and a beaded border. The meaning of the letters is two-fold, they are an abbreviation for “Ihseus,” the Greek spelling of Jesus, and can also stand for “Iesus Hominis Salvator,” or “Jesus Savior of Mankind.” The letters have also been interpreted as “In hoc Signo,” or “In this Sign,” an emblem intended to ward off sickness or evil spirits. The seal of St. Ignatius Loyola was used to lend religious significance to many trade items in the 17th and 18th centuries and even shows up as a punch mark on French trade axes.¹⁰³

Jesuit rings were common trade items that served both a secular and religious purpose in the 17th and 18th centuries. Although they were traditionally used by the Jesuits both to barter with the Indians and to convert them, by the end of the 17th century the rings were just as likely to be traded to the Indians by a *coureur de bois* with no religious agenda. Jesuit rings are found on colonial French and Indian sites throughout the Great Lakes region as well as New England and the lower Mississippi. Although the Jesuits were very active in the territory that now makes up Maine, the Jesuit trade ring found at St. Castin’s Habitation is one of only two recovered on archaeological sites in the state.¹⁰⁴

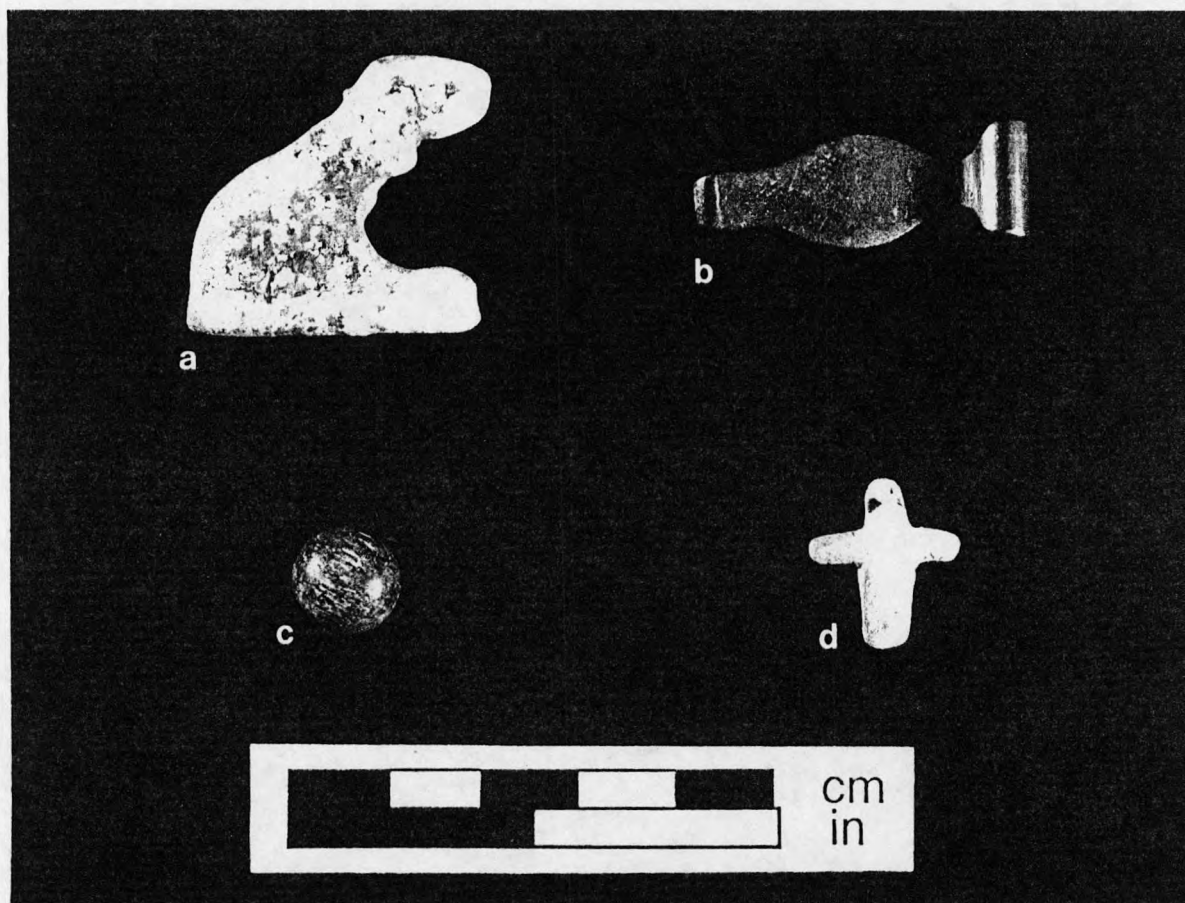


Figure 30. Items of religious significance: a, cast lead beaver; b, possible silver Bible clasp; c, wooden rosary bead; d, cast lead cross.

Lead cross

The rather crude lead cross found at St. Castin's Habitation is a product of Castin's lead workshop, and attests to Castin's, or one of his servant's ability to improvise. Crosses and crucifixes made of brass, ivory, or silver were often traded to the Indians, and the lead cross from Castin's Habitation could be an attempt to provide the Abenaki with an item that was difficult to acquire from Castin's English supply sources. The pendant, which is 18 millimeters long, appears to have been cast in a mold and has a hole driven through it for a string or wire. It may have been worn alone or suspended from a rosary.¹⁰⁵

Lead beaver effigy

Another product of Castin's workshop has been identified as a lead rearing-beaver effigy. The effigy was found among the lead scrap and may have been cast in a mold.¹⁰⁶ Beaver pennants made of silver were popular trade items in the 18th-century, but the effigy from St. Castin's Habitation was apparently not meant to be strung on a necklace because there is no hole driven through it.¹⁰⁷ If it has been identified correctly, the lead beaver effigy indicates that Castin did not object to providing the Abenaki with items that had significance within their native religion.

It is clear from documentary evidence alone that Castin provided the Penobscots with necessities, such as food, shot and cloth, but examination of the trade related artifacts from St. Castin's Habitation further defines the role that Castin played in the Indians' everyday lives. Aside from necessities, Castin provided the Penobscots with the beads that they embroidered into their clothing, the white clay tobacco pipes they had become accustomed to smoking, and even small "trifles" such as mouth harps, gemstones and crosses. Artifacts found within the workshop indicate that the Penobscots probably took part in manufacturing shot at the site, and the presence of the broken axe and mattock blade within the truck house suggests that Castin repaired the Indians' iron tools,

and probably their guns as well, even though he didn't have the resources to do so on site. Castin was not merely a trader who could get on his vessel and return to Boston if a trading voyage went poorly, or abandon his post if local Indians became hostile. In order to survive on the frontier and defend the Pentagoet region he had to make his services indispensable to the Penobscots and integrate himself into their community.

Notes to Chapter Six

¹William Cronon, *Changes in the Land, Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), 93-94; Richard White, *The Middle Ground, Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 99-100; Christopher L. Miller and George R. Hamell, "A New Perspective on Indian-White Contact: Cultural Symbols and Colonial Trade," *Journal of American History* vol. 73 (September 1986), 311-328; See also, George R. Hamell "Strawberries, Floating Islands, and Rabbit Captains: Mythical Realities and European Contact in the Northeast During the 16th and 17th Centuries," *Journal of Canadian Studies* vol. 21 (February 1987). When Giovanni da Verrazano visited the coast of New England in the early 16th century, the Indians he encountered showed little interest in the cloth and metal utilitarian items he brought with him, but highly prized the "bells, azure crystals, and other toys" he proffered. "Giovanni da Verrazano to his Most Serene Majesty the King of France," and "The Third Voyage of Master Henry Hudson," both in George Parker Winship, ed., *Sailors Narratives of Voyages along the New England Coast, 1524-1624* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1905), 16, 181.

²Emerson Woods Baker III, "Trouble to the Eastward," 140-141.

³"Memoire des Munitions, Armes, Ustancilles a Envoyer aux Sauvages de l'Acadie, February, 27, 1692," *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol 2, 73-74.

⁴Goods aboard the *Speedwell*, August 5, 1693, *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. 61, 517.

⁵William Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, 104-105; James Axtell, *The European and the Indian* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 260-261; Paul J. Lindholdt, ed., *John Josselyn, Colonial Traveler, A Critical Edition of Two Voyages to New England* (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1988), 63-64; Emerson Woods Baker III, "Trouble to the Eastward," 142. Evidently, one use of the "swords for hafting" that were listed among the other presents to be sent to the Indians was for hunting. John Josselyn described the final moments of a moose hunt as follows "...at last they get up to him [the moose] on each side and trans-pierce him with their Lances, which formerly were no other but a staff of a yard and a half pointed with a Fishes bone made sharp at the end, but since they put on pieces of sword-blades which they purchase of the French, and having a strap of leather fastned to the but end of the staff which they bring down to the midst of it, they dart it into his sides..." *John Josselyn*, 98.

⁶"Moxes & Indians W.H. & G recd by Mrs Hamond," July 1, 1977, James Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine*, vol. 6, 178.

⁷"Narrative of the most remarkable Occurences in Canada, 1690, 1691," E.B. O' Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York*, vol. 9, 514; Morrison, *The Embattled Northeast*, 125; Villebon to Count Pontchartrain, "Acadian Journal, September 17, 1694 to July 12, 1695," in John C. Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, 78; Cotton Mather, *Decennium . Luctuosum*, 273.

⁸Emerson Woods Baker III, "Trouble to the Eastward," 133-135; Kenneth M. Morrison, *The Embattled Northeast*, 155.

⁹Robert L. Bradley and Helen B. Camp, *The Forts of Pemaquid, Maine*, 8.

¹⁰General Census of Acadie by Gargas, 1687-1688, in William Inglis Morse, ed., *Acadiensia Nova*, 149, 154-155.

¹¹Whereas during its first phase of occupation (1635-1654), Fort Pentagoet was equipped with a forge and an armorer who was capable of making sophisticated repairs to a variety of types of firearms. The various tools for gun repair, worn out, repaired, or manufactured gun parts, and iron scrap found associated with the forge at Fort Pentagoet clearly reflect this activity. Alaric Faulkner and Greichen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet*, 145-151; Alaric Faulkner, "Le site de l'habitation de Saint-Castin," *Journée Thématique du CELAT, "Archéologie à l'extérieur du Québec"*, Université Laval, Québec, 1994, 7, On file at the University of Maine Historical Archaeology Lab, South Steven's Hall, University of Maine, Orono.

¹²Evidently, Obediah Walker, a Maine fur trader and contemporary of Castin, collected broken guns from the Abenaki and took them to Boston to be repaired. After his death an inventory of his house in Boston included "seven small broken Indian Guns." Quote from Emerson Woods Baker III, "Trouble to the Eastward," 123-124.

¹³T.M. Hamilton, *Colonial Frontier Guns* (Chandron, Nebraska: The Fur Press, 1980), 128; Lee Hanson and Dick Ping Hsu, *Casements and Cannonballs, Archaeological Investigations at Fort Stanwix, Rome, New York*, Publications in Archeology 14 (Washington D.C.: U.S. National Park Service, 1975), 80-81. Spaces between the sprue found at St. Castin's Habitation indicate that only smaller sizes of shot (approximately five to nine millimeters) were cast in gang molds.

¹⁴ Alaric Faulkner, "Le site de l'habitation de Saint-Castin," Journée Thématique du CELAT, "Archéologie à l'extérieur du Québec," Université Laval, Québec, 1994, 9.

¹⁵T.M. Hamilton, *Colonial Frontier Guns*, 131-132; T. M. Hamilton, *Firearms on the Frontier: Guns at Fort Michilimackinac 1715-1781*, Reports in Mackinac History and Archaeology no. 5 (Williamston, Michigan: Mackinac Island State Park Commission, 1976), 35; Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet*, 155; Alaric Faulkner, "Le site de l'habitation de Saint-Castin," Journée Thématique du CELAT, "Archéologie à l'extérieur du Québec," Université Laval, Québec, 1994, 9.

¹⁶ Alaric Faulkner, "Le site de l'habitation de Saint-Castin," Journée Thématique du CELAT, "Archéologie à l'extérieur du Québec," Université Laval, Québec, 1994, 9-10.

¹⁷T.M. Hamilton, *Colonial Frontier Guns*, 125,130,134. The most common sizes of musketballs are the 34 caliber balls which made up 15 percent of the sample and the 48 caliber balls which accounted for 60 percent.

¹⁸Thomas Church, *The entertaining history of King Philip's War*, 99,102.

¹⁹T.M. Hamilton, *Colonial Frontier Guns*, 7; "Memoire des Munitions, Armes, Ustancilles a Envoyer aux Sauvages de l'Acadie," February, 27, 1692, *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol 2, 73-74.

²⁰Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet*, 153.

²¹Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet*, 151-153; John Witthoft, "A History of Gunflints" *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* vol. 36, no 1-2 (1966), 25.

²²Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet*, 153; John Witthoft, "A History of Gunflints" *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* vol. 36, nos. 1-2 (1966), 28; Barry C. Kent, "More on Gunflints" *Historical Archaeology* vol. 17, no. 2 (1983), 38-39; T.M. Hamilton, *Colonial Frontier Guns*, 141.

²³John Witthoft, "A History of Gunflints," 28; Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet*, 153-155; Robert L. Bradley and Helen B. Camp, *The Forts of Pemaquid, Maine*, 68, figure 5.4.

²⁴M. L. Brown, *Firearms in Colonial America The Impact on History and Technology, 1492-1792* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1980), 79; Robert L. Bradley and Helen B. Camp, *The Forts of Pemaquid Maine*, 67.

²⁵"Brunet to Delagny, February 4 1675," *Collection Clairambault*, MG7 1A5, vol. 106, no. 864,p. 62, National Archives of Canada. A shipment of goods that Brunet intended for European settlers in Acadia and Newfoundland appears in Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet*, 311-312 (Appendix H); Personal Communication, Dr. Alaric Faulkner.

²⁶James Axtell, *The Invasion Within*, 11.

²⁷William Hubbard, *History of the Indian wars*, 677; Villebon to Count Pontchartrain, "Journal of Events in Acadia from September-15, 1693 to September 2, 1694," in John C. Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, 55; "Memoire sur l'Acadie par Monsieur Pasquine," December 14, 1688, *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 2, 445-446.

²⁸Frank G. Speck, *The Life History of a Forest Tribe in Maine* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940), 138; Paul J. Lindholdt, ed., *John Josselyn*, 92-93.

²⁹Daniel Gookin, *Historical Collections of the Indians in New England*, in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, series 1, vol. 1 (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1968, 152; "Giovanni da Verrazano to his Most Serene Majesty the King of France," George Parker Winship, ed., *Sailors Narratives*, 16; James Axtell, *The Invasion Within*, 115; Nicolas Denys, *The Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1908), 411.

³⁰Duffel, or duffle, defined in *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary*, (The Oxford University Press, 1971); William Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, 102.

³¹Quoted in William Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, 93-94; Petitions of William Tailer to the Governor and Council of Boston, July 16 and 19, 1677; Goods Desired by Marson and Castin, n.d., *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. 61, 156-159.

³²"An Account of goods Landed from onboard the Shallop Edward & Thomas brought in by Captain Samuel Mosely," *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. 61, 77.

³³Goods consigned to Abraham Boudrot by Andrew Faneuil, April, 22, 1691; Goods consigned to Abraham Boudrot by Estienne Basset and father, and associates, n.d.; Deposition of Ezekeil Collins, July 24, 1691; "Enquires to be made unto Abraham Boudreaut," n.d., *Massachusetts Archives* vol. 37, 90-95.

³⁴Kax Wilson, *A History of Textiles* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1979), 223, 236-237; E. Lipson, *The Economic History of England* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1964), 10-11; "Account of Henry Brunet" in Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet, 1635-1674*, Appendix H.

³⁵Geoff Egan, "Leaden Cloth Seals," *Datasheet 3* (Norwich, England: Finds Reseach Group 700-1700. Archaeology Department, Castle Museum, 1985), 1; Walter Endrei and Geoff Egan, "The Sealing of Cloth in Europe, with Special Reference to the English Evidence," *Textile History* vol. 13 (no. 1), 53.

³⁶Walter Endrei and Geoff Egan, "The Sealing of Cloth in Europe" 60; Geoff Egan, "Leaden Cloth Seals," 3.

³⁷Scott Allen, "Cloth Seals at St. Castin's Habitation," 1993, unpublished manuscript, Historical Archaeology Lab, South Stevens Hall, University of Maine, Orono, Maine.

³⁸"Letter from Captain John Floyd to the Governor and Council," January 27, 1692," James Phinney Baxter, ed., *Documentary History of the State of Maine*, vol. 5, 314.

³⁹Dr. Alaric Faulkner, personal communication, August, 1993; Walter Endrei and Geoff Egan, "The Sealing of Cloth in Europe," 53.

⁴⁰Scott Allen, "Cloth Seals at St. Castin's Habitation," 152.

⁴¹Geoffry Egan to Scott Alan, personal communication, 1992.

⁴²Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet*, 262-263; Leon E. Cramner, *Cushnoc: The History and Archaeology of Plymouth Colony Traders on the Kennebec*, 96-97; Helen B. Camp, *Archaeological Excavations at Pemaquid, Maine, 1965-1975* (Augusta: Maine State Museum, 1975), 49.

⁴³Charles F. Wray, "Seneca Glass Trade Beads c. A.D. 1550-1820," in Charles F. Hayes III ed., *Proceedings of the 1982 Glass Trade Bead Conference* (Rochester: Rochester Museum & Science Center, Research Division, 1983), 47; Charles H. Lagerbom, "Jonathan Lowder's Truckhouse: The History and Archaeology of a Colonial Trading Post on the Maine Frontier during the American Revolutionary War," (M.A. thesis, University of Maine, 1991), 129-132. Seed beads were found during excavations of Fort Pentagoet, but they came from 20th-century contexts.

⁴⁴Lyle M. Stone, *Fort Michilimackinac, 1715-1781* (Lansing: Michigan State University, 1974), 88.

⁴⁵James W. Bradley, "Blue Crystals and Other Trinkets: Glass Beads from 16th and Early 17th Century New England," in Charles F. Hayes III ed., *Proceedings of the 1982 Glass Trade Bead Conference*, 29, 36-37. Bradley offers three possible explanations for the Indians' loss of interest in glass beads during the 17th century: One is that other trade items, such as foodstuffs, were in demand; another possible explanation is that the Indians of new England did not place the same symbolic value on beads that groups farther inland, such as the Iroquois; finally, Bradley suggests that the wampum trade boom that occurred among the Indians of New England at this time caused a decrease in the demand for glass beads. According to Emerson Baker, both wampum and beads remained in demand in Maine long after they had ceased to be popular trade items in southern New England. Baker refers to glass beads as wampum's "European imitation" and attributes the demand for glass beads and wampum in Maine to the relatively late arrival of large quantities of wampum to Maine (and Acadia) after about 1630, and the subsequent emergence of large scale wampum trade. If this is the case then the Abenaki must have thought of glass beads as interchangeable with, or at least an acceptable alternative to wampum. Emerson Woods Baker III, "Trouble to the Eastward," 141-142.

⁴⁶Leon E. Cramner, *Cushnoc*, 31; Emerson Woods Baker III, "Trouble to the Eastward," 138.

⁴⁷Kenneth E. Kidd, *Glass Bead-Making from the Middle Ages to the Early 19th Century*, History and Archaeology no. 30 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1979), 13-16; Ivor Noël Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America* (New York: Vintage Books 1991), 53. Previously, it was believed that all glass beads were made in Venice or Czechoslovakia, but subsequent studies have shown that beads were manufactured on a large scale in other European countries as well. Some progress has been made in identifying the European origin of some highly stylistic glass beads found on North American sites, but simple, monochrome beads, like those from St. Castin's Habitation could have been manufactured at any number of locations. See Roderick Sprague, "Glass Trade Beads: A Progress Report," in *Historical Archaeology* vol. 19, no. 2 (1985), 100-101; Karlis Karklins, "Seventeenth Century Dutch Beads," *Historical Archaeology* vol. 8 (1974), 64-82; Kenneth E. Kidd, *Glass Bead-Making*; W.G.N. van der Sleen, *A Handbook on Beads* (York, Pennsylvania: George Shumway), 108-112, 117-118.

⁴⁸Kenneth E. Kidd and Martha Ann Kidd, A Classification System for Glass Beads for the Use of Field Archaeologist, Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History no. 1 (Ottawa: National Historic Sites Service, 1970).

⁴⁹"Memoire des Munitions, Armes, Ustancilles a Envoyer aux Sauvages de l'Acadie, February, 27, 1692," *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol 2, 73-74; Goods consigned to Abraham Boudrot by Andrew Faneuil, April, 22, 1691; Goods consigned to Abraham Boudrot by Estienne Basset and father, and associates, n.d.; *Massachusetts Archives* vol. 37, 90-95. At the turn of the century, Sieur de Diéreville noted that the Micmacs, "bind their Hair with Rassade, a variety of small Beads, which are black & white..." Quote taken from Karlis Karklins, *Trade Ornament Usage Among the Native Peoples of Canada* (Ottawa: Parks Service, Environment Canada, 1992), 14.

⁵⁰Charles H. Lagerbom, "Jonathan Lowder's Truckhouse, 131-132; W.G.N. van der Sleen, *A Handbook on Beads* (York, Pennsylvania: George Shumway), 118.

⁵¹Personal Communication, Alaric Faulkner, 1994.

⁵²See Valerie Cumming, *A Visual History of Costume, The Seventeenth Century* (New York: Drama Book Publishers, 1984).

⁵³George I. Quimby, *Indian Culture and European Trade Goods* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), 77; Lyle M. Stone, *Fort Michilimackinac*, 70, 126; Robert L. Bradley and Helen B. Camp, *The Forts of Pemaquid, Maine*, 97, Fig. 5.65.

⁵⁴By the 17th-century, tobacco had become popular throughout Europe and was taken in a variety of forms. The English and Dutch preferred to smoke it in clay pipes as opposed to the cigars used by the Spanish or snuff taken by the French. As a result the manufacture of clay pipes spread quickly throughout England and the Netherlands during the 17th-century to meet the needs of ever increasing numbers of consumers in Europe and the colonies. Ivor Noël Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America*, 296; James Deetz, *Flowerdew Hundred, The Archaeology of a Virginia Plantation, 1619-1864* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 4; Alexander D. Von Gernet, "The Transculturation of the Amerindian Pipe/Tobacco/Smoking Complex and its Impact on the Intellectual Boundaries Between "Savagerty" and "Civilization," 1535-1935. (Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, McGill University, 1988), 61-64, 284.

⁵⁵Alaric Faulkner, "Redware Clay Tobacco Pipes from Maine's 17th-Century Anglo-Acadian Frontier," 1993, 1, unpublished manuscript on file at the Historical Archaeology Lab, South Stevens Hall, University of Maine, Orono Maine; Alaric and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet*, 165; Iain C. Walker, *Clay Tobacco Pipes, with Particular Reference to the Bristol Industry*, History and Archaeology no. 11a (Ottawa, Parks Canada, 1977), 285; Bernard Bailyn, *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century*, 78-79.

⁵⁶Alaric and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet*, 165.

⁵⁷Alaric and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet*, 166; Alaric Faulkner, "Identifying Clay Pipes from Historic Sites in Maine: Some Rules of Thumb," 26,31.

⁵⁸Early in the 18th-century, the funnel shaped pipe completely eclipsed the belly bowl form and remained generally unchanged over the next century. Alaric and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet*, 166; Alaric Faulkner, "Identifying Clay Pipes from Historic Sites in Maine," 31-32.

⁵⁹Alaric and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet*, 169-170.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, 169-170.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, 169-170.

⁶²Alaric and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet*, 169; Brunet to Messieurs, December 13, 1674, and Brunet to Delagny, February 4, 1675, in Louis-André Vigneras, "Memoranda and Documents," *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 13, (1940), 101-103, 105-106.

⁶³John H. McCashion, "A Preliminary Chronology and Discussion of 17th and Early Eighteenth Century Clay Tobacco Pipes from New York State Sites," in Peter J. Davey, ed, *The Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco Pipe*, vol. 2, British Archaeological Reports International Series no. 60, Oxford, 1979, 120; Adrian Oswald, "The Clay Pipes," in J.P. Allan, *Medieval & Post-Medieval Finds from Exeter 1971-1980*, Exeter Archaeological Reports, no. 3 (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1984), 287; 289 (fig. 160 nos. 80-83).

⁶⁴James W. Bradley and Gordon DeAngelo, "European Clay Pipe Marks from 17th Century Onondaga Iroquois Sites," *Archaeology of Eastern North America*, vol. 9 (Fall) 1981, 117-119; Alaric and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet*, 174; John H. McCashion, "A Preliminary Chronology and Discussion of 17th and Early Eighteenth Century Clay Tobacco Pipes from New York State Sites," in Peter J. Davey, ed, *The Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco Pipe*, vol 2, 67-68. Paul R. Huey, "The Dutch at Fort Orange," in Lisa Falk ed., *Historical Archaeology in Global Perspective* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 59-60.

⁶⁵Alaric Faulkner, "Identifying Clay Pipes from Historic Sites in Maine: Some Rules of Thumb," 32-33. Adrian Oswald, *Clay Pipes for the Archaeologist*, (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports no. 14, 1975), 114-115.

⁶⁶That is, if Dutch pipes exhibit the same decrease in pipe bore diameter over time as English pipes.

⁶⁷Adrian Oswald, *Clay Pipes for the Archaeologist*, 40-41 (no. 8). The similarity between Dutch and English pipes is due to the migration of English pipe makers to the Netherlands in the early 17th century. Pipe maker Edward Bird is an example. He migrated from Surry, England to the Netherlands in order to fight for the Dutch in 1624. Soon after he and his Dutch wife, Aaeltie Govaert settled in Amsterdam and began producing clay pipes.

⁶⁸Adrian Oswald, "The Clay Pipes," in J.P. Allan, *Medieval & Post-Medieval Finds from Exeter 1971-1980*, 283, 286 (fig. 158 no. 49); Personal Communication, Alaric Faulker, 1994.

⁶⁹Alaric and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet*, 171; L.T. Alexander, "Clay Pipes from the Buck Site Maryland," in Peter J. Davey, ed, *The Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco Pipe*, vol 2, 45.

⁷⁰Alaric and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet 166, 171*; Adrian Oswald, *Clay Pipes for the Archaeologist*, 40 (nos. 25-30).

⁷¹Iain C. Walker, *Clay Tobacco Pipes*, 1131-1136. Alaric and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet*, 171. Bristol held an eminent position in the tobacco trade throughout the 17th century and was a major manufacture and exporter of clay pipes.

⁷²Alaric and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet*, 175; Emerson W. Baker, *The Clark & Lake Company*, 23; Helen B. Camp, *Archaeological Excavations at Pemaquid, Maine*, 57-60. "LE" and "WE" Export pipes identical to those from St. Castin's Habitation have been found at the Buck site, a 17th century refuse pit, in Kent County, Maryland, believed to date c.1663-1700. L.T. Alexander, "Clay Pipes from the Buck Site Maryland," in Peter J. Davey, ed, *The Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco Pipe*, vol 2, 37-61.

⁷³Alaric and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet*, 171-17;. Alaric Faulkner, "Redware Clay Tobacco Pipes from Maine's 17th-Century Anglo-Acadian Frontier," 1993, 1.

⁷⁴Alaric and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet*, 175.

⁷⁵Alaric and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet*, 175; Helen Camp, "White Clay Tobacco Pipes," *Maine Archaeological Society inc. Bulletin*, vol. 22 no. 2 (Fall 1982), 27,36; Emerson W. Baker, *The Clark & Lake Company*, 25; John H. McCashion, "A Preliminary Chronology and Discussion of 17th and Early Eighteenth Century Clay Tobacco Pipes from New York State Sites," in Peter J. Davey, ed, *The Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco Pipe*, vol 2.

⁷⁶Iain C. Walker, *Clay Tobacco Pipes*, 1433.

⁷⁷L.T. Alexander, "Clay Pipes from the Buck Site Maryland," in Peter J. Davey, ed, *The Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco Pipe*, vol 2, 46,49. Henry Miller, "A Search for the 'City of Saint Maries'," Report on the 1981 Excavations in St. Mary's City, Maryland" St. Mary's City Commission, St Maries City Archaeology Serires no.1, 1983, 76-77; Also see Iain C. Walker, *Clay Tobacco Pipes*, 1429, 1435.

⁷⁸Iain C. Walker, *Clay Tobacco Pipes*, 1292,1296-1297,1177; Adrian Oswald, *Clay Pipes for the Archaeologist*, 153; Helen B. Camp, *Archaeological Excavations at Pemaquid, Maine*, 58-60; L.T. Alexander, "Clay Pipes from the Buck Site Maryland," in Peter J. Davey, ed, *The Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco Pipe*, vol 2, 52-53. Henry Miller, "A Search for the 'City of Saint Maries'," 76-77. A pipe with a "Flower Hunt" marked on the heel was found at Fort Pentagoet.

⁷⁹Helen Camp, "White Clay Tobacco Pipes," 33. Walker illustrates several of the different styles of makers marks and rouletting used by Lleullen and William Evans many of which were found at St. Castin's Habitation. Iain C. Walker, *Clay Tobacco Pipes*, 1131-1136.

⁸⁰John H. McCashion, "A Preliminary Chronology and Discussion of 17th and Early Eighteenth Century Clay Tobacco Pipes from New York State Sites," in Peter J. Davey, ed, *The Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco Pipe*, vol 2, 140; John H. McCashion, "Part 2, The Clay Tobacco Pipes of New York State Under the Sidewalks of New York: Archaeological Investigations near the U.S. Customs House on Manhattan Island, New York," *The New York State Archaeological association Bulletin*, 1977, no. 71, 398,400; John H. McCashion, "The Clay Tobacco Pipes of New York State, Part One: Caughnawaga, 1667-1693" *The New York State Archaeological association Bulletin*, 1975, no. 65, 341,344.

⁸¹Iain C. Walker, *Clay Tobacco Pipes*, 1306-1307.

⁸²Ivor Noël Hume, *Artifacts of Colonial America*, 296; Alexander D. Von Gernet, "The Transculturation of the Amerindian Pipe/Tobacco/Smoking Complex," 284; Alexander D. Von Gernet, "The Transculturation of the Amerindian Pipe/Tobacco/Smoking Complex," 284-288.

⁸³Ivor Noël Hume, *Artifacts of Colonial America*, 308-309; Lyle M. Stone, *Fort Michilimackinac*, 203-204; Alexander D. Von Gernet, "The Transculturation of the Amerindian Pipe/Tobacco/Smoking Complex," 289.

⁸⁴Lyle M. Stone, *Fort Michilimackinac*, 263-269; Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet*, 241.

⁸⁵However, these knives clearly are not clasp knives, the most popular type traded to the Indians.

⁸⁶Goods desired by Saint-Castin and Marson, *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. 61, 157; Ellen R. Cowie, "The Cutlery from Fort Pentagoet," 1984, 3-5, unpublished manuscript on file at the Historical Archaeology Laboratory, South Stevens Hall, University of Maine, Orono, Maine.

⁸⁷Russel Bouchard, *Les Armes de Traite*, Collection Populaire du Québec, no. 3 (Sillery, Quebec: Boréal Express, 1976), 17-19; Henry J. Kauffman, *American Axes: A Survey of Their Developments and Their Makers* (Brattleboro, Vermont: The Steven Green Press, 1972), 11; Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet*, 142; Norman F. Barka, "Historic Sites Archaeology at Portland Point, New Brunswick, Canada, 1631-c. 1850 A.D.," (Ph. D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1965), 235.

⁸⁸Russel Bouchard, *Les Armes de Traite*, 13-14; Lisa Fiore, "Implements of Iron," in Susan G. Gibson ed., *Burr's Hill: A 17th Century Wampanoag Burial Ground in Warren Rhode Island* (Providence: Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology, Brown University, 1980), 96.

⁸⁹Norman F. Barka, "Historic Sites Archaeology at Portland Point, New Brunswick, Canada, 1631-c. 1850 A.D.," 238-239; Kenneth E. Kidd, *The Excavation of Sainte-Marie I* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1949), 114; Russel Bouchard, *Les Armes de Traite*, 16; Carle P. Russel, *Firearms, Traps, & Tools of the Mountain Men* (New York: Knopf, 1967), 408-413; George I. Quimby, *Indian Culture and European Trade Goods*, 71.

⁹⁰Lisa Fiore, "Implements of Iron," in Susan G. Gibson ed., *Burr's Hill*, 96-97.

⁹¹Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet*, 142-144.

⁹²*Ibid.*, 142-144.

⁹³The small axe blade was found several meters northeast of the truckhouse and workshop during a flux gate gradiometer survey. Although it is almost certainly associated with the site, the area in which it was found was never fully excavated.

⁹⁴George I. Quimby, *Indian Culture and European Trade Goods*, 76; Leon E. Cramner, *Cushnoc*, 98; Lyle M. Stone, *Fort Michilimackinac*, 141.

⁹⁵Robert L. Bradley and Helen B. Camp, *The Forts of Pemaquid Maine*, 181; Ivor Noël Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America*, 181-182; Mary C. Beaudry, "Spoons from the Burr's Hill Collection," in Susan G. Gibson ed., *Burr's Hill*, 72-73.

⁹⁶Peter Allen Thomas, "In the Maelstrom of Change, the Indian Trade and Cultural Process in the Middle Connecticut River Valley: 1635-1665" (Ph.D., dissertation: University of Massachusetts, 1979), 160.

⁹⁷Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet*, 239; Pierre Goubert, *The French Peasantry in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 41; Emerson W. Baker, *The Clark & Lake Company*, 35; Robert L. Bradley and Helen B. Camp, *The Forts of Pemaquid Maine*, 181. Latten is an alloy of copper, zinc and iron.

⁹⁸Quoted in Mary C. Beaudry, "Spoons from the Burr's Hill Collection," Susan G. Gibson ed., *Burr's Hill*, 72.

⁹⁹William A. Turnbaugh, "Assessing the Significance of European Goods in Seventeenth-Century Narragansett Society," J. Daniel Rogers and Samuel M. Wilson ed., *Ethnohistory and Archaeology Approaches to Post contact Change in the Americas* (New York and London: Plenum Press, 1993), 150.

¹⁰⁰"Resume d'une Lettre de Monsieur de Brouillan au Ministre," October 30, 1701, *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 2, 385-387.

¹⁰¹Apparently, Acadian missionary Father Gaulin, owed Castin a large sum of money because his own salary was insufficient to live on or carry out his work among the Indians. Tremblay to M. de Laval, June 15, 1703, quoted in H.R. Casgrain, *Le Sulpiciens et les Prêtres des Missions-Étrangères en Acadie*, 244.

¹⁰²Pamela Crane, "A Jesuit Ring at St. Castin's Habitation, Castine, Maine," 4, Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Council for Northeast Historical Archaeology, held in Portsmouth, N.H., October, 23, 1993, On file at the Historical Archaeology Lab, South Stevens Hall, University of Maine, Orono. "Letter from Father Jean Enjalran to _____," October 13, 1676, Rueben Gold Thwaites ed., *The Jesuit Relations*, vol. 60, 137-139; James Axtell, *The Invasion Within*, 13.

¹⁰³Pamela Crane, "A Jesuit Ring at St. Castin's Habitation, Castine, Maine," 2-3; Alice S. Wood, "A Catalogue of Jesuit and Ornamental Rings from Western New York State," *Historical Archaeology* vol. 8 (1974), 86; Russel Bouchard, *Les Armes de Traite*, 16.

¹⁰⁴Pamela Crane, "A Jesuit Ring at St. Castin's Habitation, Castine, Maine," 2; Judith Ann Hauser, *Jesuit Rings from Fort Michilimackinac and other European Contact Sites*, (Mackinac Island, Michigan: Mackinac Island State Park Commission, 1982), 1-2; Peter A. Thomas, "Jesuit Rings: Evidence of French-Indian Contact in the Connecticut River Valley," *Historical Archaeology*, vol. 7 (1973), 56; William A. Turnbaugh, "Assessing the Significance of European Goods in Seventeenth-Century Narragansett Society," J. Daniel Rogers and Samuel M. Wilson ed., *Ethnohistory and Archaeology Approaches to Post contact Change in the Americas*, 156; Nora Groce, "Ornaments of Metal: Rings, Medallions, Combs, Beads and Pendants," in Susan G. Gibson ed., *Burr's Hill*, 112; Bruce Bourque personal communication to Alaric Faulkner, 1992.

¹⁰⁵Lyle M. Stone, *Fort Michilimackinac*, 117; George I. Quimby, *Indian Culture and European Trade Goods*, 95.

¹⁰⁶Alaric Faulkner, Personal Communication, 1994.

¹⁰⁷George I. Quimby, *Indian Culture and European Trade Goods*, 94-95.

Conclusion

During the 1991 field season, crew members at St. Castin's Habitation recovered a stick of reddish-orange sealing wax as they excavated the remains of the hearth within the dwelling (Figure 31).¹ Subsequent examination of Castin's surviving correspondence has revealed one letter on which bits of reddish-orange wax are present where a wax seal was once affixed.² The sealing wax is a tangible link between the archaeological and historical records that symbolizes Castin's unique approach to settlement on the Acadia frontier. Castin's familiarity with the Indians and his reluctance to establish "fixed dwellings" at Pentagoet caused him to be regarded as something of a maverick by his French and English peers. Even so, the presence of sealing wax at the Habitation is archaeological evidence of Castin's status as a well-educated, respected, and wealthy Frenchman who corresponded and negotiated directly with colonial governors.³

Although the Abenaki were welcome there, excavations at St. Castin's Habitation have revealed that Castin do not wholly embrace native culture. The Habitation was equipped with European domestic accouterments, including a bread oven and imported European ceramics. Furthermore, Castin's children were buried in European style graves, with nothing to take with them into the afterlife save a single gold earring found in one of the burials. Although the children had an Abenaki mother, and a father who frequently fraternized with the Penobscots, their graves show no syncretism of European and Indian burial practices. Castin may have "been in the woods with them since 1665" as one Acadian governor put it, but he still retained many aspects of French culture.⁴

Yet Castin's understanding of Abenaki culture and his respect for the Penobscots' political autonomy was crucial to the survival of his Habitation. Maintaining a genuine

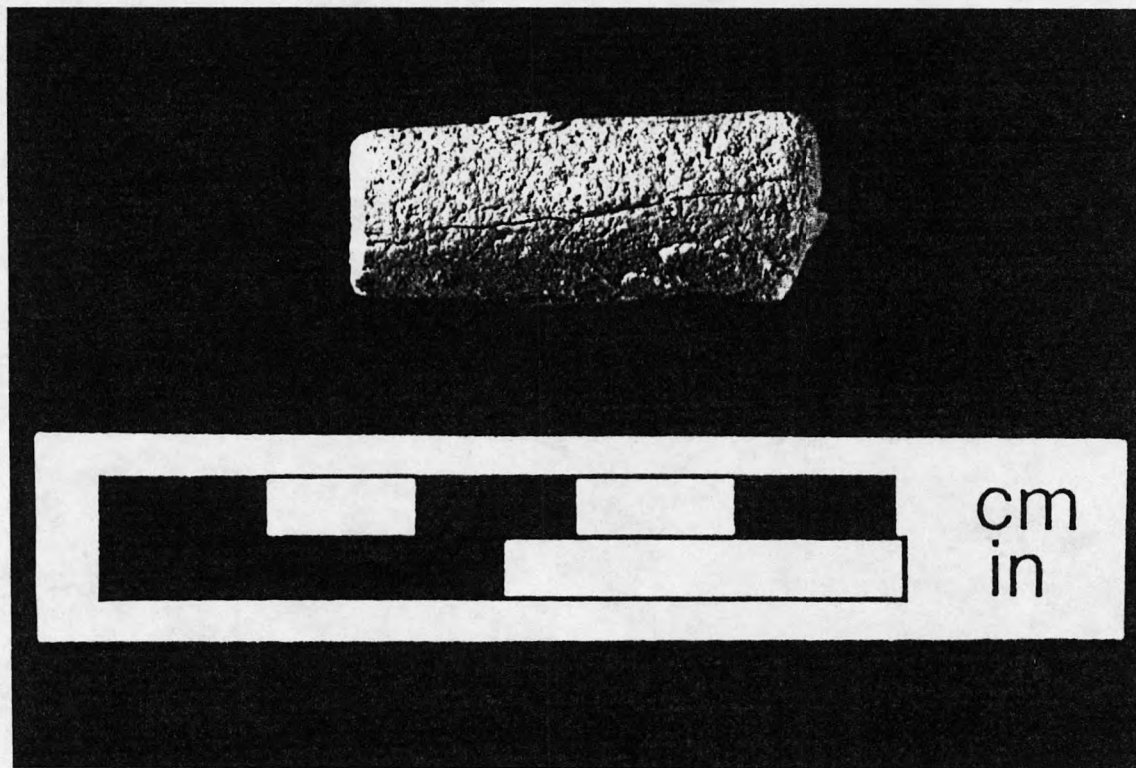


Figure 31. Reddish-orange sealing wax.

alliance with the Penobscots meant recognizing their independence, rather than insisting on their subordination. Castin nurtured his relationship with the Indians by marrying into their tribe and developing an honest and enduring trade relationship with them, but at the same time he supported their autonomy by maintaining a separate residence “by the sea.” He would not sell the Penobscots the liquor that had debauched the Indians of the Kennebec and St. John Rivers, and did not encourage European settlement in the region.⁵ Lack of exposure to both the French and English was at least partially responsible for the fact that the Penobscots were one of the most powerful Abenaki tribes.

Rather than try to recreate the exclusive “European world” that had existed at Fort Pentagoet, Castin concentrated on catering to the needs of his Abenaki clientele. Trade related artifacts from the Habitation and historical documents indicate that the Penobscots had wholly adopted many aspects of European material culture. As they traded for necessities like cloth, foodstuffs, iron tools, and shot, the Indians who visited the Habitation smoked the same white clay pipes as their European counterparts. Because of the Indians’ dependence on firearms, St. Castin’s Habitation was devoted to the large-scale production of shot, and the hundreds of glass seed beads found within the perimeters of the workshop suggest that the Abenaki took part in lead working at the Habitation and produced shot according to their needs.

Dependence on certain utilitarian items had not completely supplanted the Abenakis’ desire for non utilitarian items such as beads, rings, and small toys. Although these items might have been perceived differently at the beginning of the 17th century, their presence in the archaeological record at St. Castin’s Habitation and on contemporary lists of trade goods indicates that they were still in demand. The Abenakis’ tastes were well defined; blue, white, and black beads for clothing decoration were preferred, but red was a favored color for cloth and body paint. More research will have to be done to develop a better understanding of the significance of these color preferences among the Indians, and to determine whether items such as the glass gemstones, Jesuit ring, and lead

cross found at the site were valued primarily for aesthetic reasons, or had a deeper religious or metaphorical meaning.

In order to maintain his status as the Penobscots' preferred trading partner, Castin had to go beyond just supplying the Abenaki with the European manufactured goods and comestibles they needed. He had to sustain a trade relationship that was unmarred by the distrust that often characterized the Abenakis' trade with the English. The English at Pemaquid required the Indians trade outside the walls of Fort William Henry as they had at Fort Pentagoet, and the Massachusetts government passed restrictions on the amounts of firearms, powder and shot that could be traded with the Indians. At St. Castin's Habitation, there were few physical boundaries between Europeans and Indians, and when powder and shot was available it was certainly not restricted. While St. Castin's Habitation may not have been an Abenaki village, it was an integral and accepted part of the Penobscots' existence.⁶

Castin's alliance with the Abenaki made him an extremely wealthy and powerful individual. Aside from his property at Pentagoet, he had a seigneurie on the St. John River, possessed land and mills at Port Royal, and owned the vessels he used to transport goods to and from Boston and Quebec.⁷ He was able to make generous donations to the church and had the political clout to challenge the authority of Acadia's governors.⁸ Because of his notoriety, unusual lifestyle, and wealth Castin was somewhat of a legend even before his death. However, excavations at St. Castin's Habitation were not undertaken to exalt further this Acadian legend. Examination and analysis of Castin's settlement strategy as well as the needs and preferences of the Penobscot, provides a more accurate and detailed look at Euro-aboriginal relations on the frontier. St. Castin's Habitation evolved out of New France's Indian policies, the opportunism of merchants and traders of Massachusetts and Acadia, as well as the Abenakis' resourcefulness and desire for political autonomy.

Notes to Conclusion

¹Subsequent analysis of the sealing wax using X-ray florescence indicates that Cinnabar (Mercuric sulfide) is the pigment in the sealing wax. In an article concerning the centuries-old stationary firm, George Waterston & Sons Ltd., the typical ingredients used by a sealing wax manufacturer in the 17th-century are listed as follows: "resin, beeswax, camphor, red lead, flour, vermilion and lac, the latter a dark red transparent Oriental gum." Hamish Mackinven, "Centuries of Sealing Wax," *The Scots Magazine* vol. 137, no. 9 (December) 1992, 985.

²Castin to Bradstreet, July 1, 1680, *Prince Papers*, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

³"Ordres du roi a Menneval," April 3, 1687, *Documents Relatifs a l' Histoire Acadienne*, vol. 2, no. 37, 8, Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

⁴"Resumé d'un Memoire sur l' Acadie par Mons. de Meneval," December 1, 1687, *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 1, 410-411.

⁵Gaulin to Tremblay, October 24, 1701, in H.R. Casgrain, *Le Sulpiciens et les Prêtres des Missions-Étrangères en Acadie (1676-1762)* (Québec: Librairie Montmorency - Laval, 1897), 241.

⁶Neill DePaoli, "Anglo-Native Trade at Pemaquid," in Robert L. Bradley and Helen B. Camp, *The Forts of Pemaquid, Maine*, 255-256.

⁷ Pierre Daviault, *Le Baron de Saint-Castin, Chef Abénaquis*, 72-73; Alan F. Williams, *Father Baudoin's War: D'Iberville's Campaigns in Acadia and Newfoundland 1696, 1697*, 16; William Phips, *A Journal of the Proceedings in the Late Expedition to Port Royal*, 12; "Captain Francis Nicholson to [Mr. Povey?]," August 31, 1688, E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York* vol. 3, 551-553.

⁸Parkman, Francis. *Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XVI.*, 249; Villebon to Count Pontchartrain, "Journal of Acadia from 11th November, 1692 to 7th August, 1693," in John C. Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, 47.

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Appendix

**Memoire des Munitions, Armes, Ustancilles a Envoyer aux Sauvages de L'Acadie,
Février 27, 1692, *Collection des Manuscrits*, vol. 2, 73-74.**

30 fusils légers de 4 pieds à 10 l. 1 pct	300
20 carabines à 8 l.	160
24 pistolets à 4	96
24 bayonnettes à 25	29
2000 l. de poudre à mousquet	700
400 l. de plomb en barres	84
400 l. de balles	88
700 l. de plomb Royal ou Canard	154
16 quarts de farine à 13 l. 10	216
400 de Ris à 15 l. le quintal	60
16 quarts d'eau de vie	240
100 vgs de serge bleue à capot	260
60 vgs de mazinot	102
10 drap bleu de plus large, 6 justaucorps	70
En galon d'or et d'argent faux	60
6 chapeaux bordez	15
6 plumets	18.10
6 paires de bas	12
6 chemises à 3	18
67 chemises à 40	120
20 couvertes de Normandie	200
1 rolle de tabac	210
1 barrique de prunes communes	35
100 lbs de fil arest de plus fin à 10	50
Une gross de couteaux flatins	10
" " bucheron	18
50 bottes d'empille	5
4lbs de vermillon à 4	16
10 lbs de fil de toutes couleurs à 25	12.10
50 cornes à poudre à 10	25
30 tranchets à rompre la glace	25
24 hoies fort petites à piocher	18
20 lignes à molües	25
40 lignes à maquereau	16
75 de chaudières de toutes grandeurs	75
24 épées à emmancher	14
50 lbs petite rasade noire et bleue à 16	40
En ruban commun de toutes couleurs	8
	3600

Biography

Brooke Ann Manross was born in Cleveland, Ohio on May 25, 1970. She graduated from Lebanon High School in 1987. She attended Miami University of Ohio and graduated in 1991 with degrees in anthropology and creative writing. In 1991 she entered the University of Maine as a Master of Arts candidate in the History department with a specialization in historical archaeology. Brooke is a candidate for the Master of Arts degree in History from the University of Maine in December, 1994.