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# Changing Their Guardians: The Penobscot Indians and Maine Statehood, 1820-1849

Jason M. Dorr  
*University of Maine*

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**CHANGING THEIR GUARDIANS:**  
*The Penobscot Indians and Maine Statehood, 1820-1849*

By

Jason M. Dorr

B.A. University of Maine, 1995

A THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

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May, 1998

Advisory Committee:

Dr. Jacques Ferland, Associate Professor of History, Advisor

Dr. Richard Judd, Professor of History

Mr. Theodore Mitchell, Director of the Wabanaki Center

**CHANGING THEIR GUARDIANS:**  
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An Abstract of the Thesis Presented  
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Throughout the nineteenth century in the United States, Native American and European cultures were often in conflict; consequently, Native Americans found it necessary to transform their traditional practices in order to adhere to the ever-changing environment. These transformations included altering their hunting and gathering patterns since land speculators and industrialists appropriated the land and its resources, and encouraged agricultural development. They had to reconstruct their religion to fit the new Christian worldview. They also had to rethink the role of traditional tribal politics in order to adhere to the laws of emerging governments. Native Americans throughout the United States were experiencing many of the same problems as white American expansion continued, but the focus of this paper will be upon the Penobscot Indians, a group within the Abenaki family of the Northeast. My thesis examines the relationship, which was an ongoing interaction, that developed between the Penobscot Indians and the State of Maine in the three decades following statehood. The relationship they shared with Maine was similar to the one they had with Massachusetts, it just became more refined. By researching the legislation and executive decisions concerning the natives, the petitions to the Governor and Council from many tribal members, and numerous secondary sources, the paper will focus on

four central issues which include territorial matters, political representation, the equitable management of tribal resources, and the concepts of acculturation and assimilation.

The study of Native Americans has acquired greater significance amongst historians, but many tribal histories, such as the nineteenth-century Penobscot, deserve further research; consequently, I have chosen to do my research on the Penobscot Indians. I chose this particular tribe because my life has been spent only a few miles from their reservation, and I have become interested in the young Native Americans with whom I am acquainted. The period of concern extends from Maine statehood in 1820 to approximately 1849 when the bulk of native petitions were sent to Augusta. This period in Penobscot history appealed to me because it is an area that is often overlooked in recent studies in Maine history. Indian history should be incorporated into other areas of history, not just in matters of the first European contact or during war times. Even when war was no longer a threat, Native Americans continued to be historical actors despite their smaller numbers and dwindling resources. Yes, Maine became a state in 1820, but what was happening in regards to Maine Indians is one question that usually is left unanswered.

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## INTRODUCTION

Throughout their history, the Penobscot Indians have formed numerous relationships with other native groups, traders, agents, governments, and nature. Before Europeans arrived, the Penobscots depended upon their relationship with nature and the cosmos to direct their lives. However, when the Penobscots finally did encounter Europeans, past relationships drastically changed and new ones were created. Now they had to communicate with the whiteman and learn his ways as their environment continued to change with the emergence of deadly diseases, new religions, long wars, and foreign governments that came to dominate the New World. Rival European nations competed with one another for the loyalty of the Penobscots and their Indian neighbors. As time passed, more and more Europeans arrived in America and rapidly consumed most of the resources of many native groups such as their land, timber, and game. However, in the case of the Penobscots, many of their resources and much of their land remained plentiful well into the nineteenth century. It was trade and the native dependence on trade goods that led the Penobscots to communicate more regularly with whites for their much needed supplies.

Two students of Penobscot history that need mentioning when researching this nation during the nineteenth-century are William D. Williamson and Fannie Hardy Eckstorm. Both of these researchers devoted much attention to Maine's native population before most others deemed this information as important to the larger historical picture. Most other early historians believed that the natives were no longer historical actors once the period of wars was over and their populations had greatly decreased in numbers. Thus, nineteenth-century Native American history in the northeast was basically overlooked, except by Williamson and Eckstorm. Williamson resided in Bangor, Maine, from 1806 to his death in 1846, where he became

acquainted with many Penobscot leaders and was eyewitness to many of the incidents that I describe in my work, making him a contemporary of this period in history.<sup>1</sup>

Eckstorm, who was writing later than Williamson, grew up in Brewer, Maine, only about a half of a mile from some Penobscot camps. Many of the natives from these camps were friends of the family and business associates of her father. In her work, Eckstorm tells what she personally knows, whether it be from her own experiences or from the stories of her father, other relatives, or friends.<sup>2</sup> Through their personal experiences and observations, both of these individuals made significant contributions to the study of Native Americans in the northeast and especially in Maine, as they laid the groundwork for future historians.

However, when examining the relationship between the State of Maine and the Penobscot nation, what both writers eliminated from their work was the role played by state officials and white society in the "break up" of the "tribe." The "break up" of the "tribe" refers to numerous events that occurred between 1820 and 1849. These events included: the Penobscots loss of more land, the controversial actions of specific Indian agents, the state's severalty policy, the mismanagement of tribal funds by the state, the state's lack of involvement in political factionalism among the Penobscots, and their eventual "confinement" to the islands on the Penobscot River. Williamson and Eckstorm also present what I find as an inaccurate notion that Penobscot woes were largely products of their own personal flaws and political shortcomings. I believe that the state did work to divide the Penobscots, and the state's actions were just as instrumental to the "break up" of the "tribe" as were internal problems. More recent

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<sup>1</sup>William D. Williamson, *The History of the State of Maine* (Hallowell: Glazier Masters & Co., 1832)

<sup>2</sup>Fannie Hardy Eckstorm, *Old John Neptune and Other Maine Indian Shamans* (Portland: Southworth-Anthoensen Press, 1945)



historians, like Colin G. Calloway, have expanded on the views of Williamson and Eckstorm by examining both white society and Wabanaki groups during the nineteenth century, but their histories are general and many important and interesting details are overlooked.<sup>3</sup>

The most descriptive work compiled on the Penobscots during the nineteenth century is the recent dissertation of Pauleena MacDougall entitled *Indian Island, Maine: 1780-1930*. Her objectives are to clarify any blurred details of the real experiences of the Penobscots, to counter the overly negative views of past historians, and to create an appreciation of Penobscot culture. She states that the Penobscots did not disappear, but rather adapted to white culture while retaining their identity and political sovereignty. She marks changes in language, education, religion, politics, family structure, and place of residence. She believes, as do I, that interactions with white society were crucial in the workings of the Penobscot community. What MacDougall has done is to provide future historians, like myself, with a starting place to begin further in-depth studies of the Penobscot nation.

Before 1830, Indian Affairs were the responsibility of committees, appointed by the state when they were needed to review specific issues. The Executive Council Committee on Indian Affairs was not established until 1830.<sup>4</sup> The journal of this committee, in its ten volumes, provides a useful source for this paper, especially when examining the years from the 1830s to the 1840s. The first two volumes of this series also devote some attention to what was happening during the 1820s. These volumes contain many valuable sources such as native petitions, committee reports, letters, and enclosures, sources that are often overlooked.

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<sup>3</sup>Colin G. Calloway, *The Abenaki* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1989)

<sup>4</sup>Maine Bureau of Health and Welfare, *Indian Affairs Documents From Maine Executive Council*, Compiled by Margaret and Dorothy Snow, 1934-35, vol. 10.

Beginning in the late 1820s, the Penobscots began to petition the government in order to receive the things that they greatly desired, to express their grievances, and to protect their rights. These petitions are extremely valuable sources because they constitute one of the few ways of gaining a Penobscot perspective, to some extent, on certain issues. Because most of these petitions were constructed by interpreters, some of the words used may have had a different meaning to the Penobscots. However, the very existence of these petitions shows that something was wrong with the “machinery” or the “order of things.” For the purposes of this work, petition research ends with the late 1840s. Whether or not the circumstances of these petitions were accepted was up to the Governor and Council to decide. In examining these petitions, it seems that most of them revolved around a few central issues. They were concerned with fishing rights, access to certain islands, the choice of certain Indian agents, assistance for widows, criticism of poor seeds and supplies, education of their children, travel expenses of delegates, concern with tribal political parties, and the establishment of a resident Catholic priest.

During this period, the Maine government and the appointed Indian agent tried to dictate the future of the Penobscots through legislation, and the natives, at the same time, actively petitioned the state in an attempt to influence executive decisions. This legislation must be examined to discover what path the state wanted the Penobscots to follow in its effort to control their future. Acts and resolves pertaining to the Penobscot Tribe of Indians passed by the legislature from 1820 to 1840 are listed with appropriate descriptions in several sources such as the *Laws of Maine* and *Public Acts of the State of Maine*. The many public acts and resolves listed in these and other sources reveal that the newly formed State of Maine passed legislation that would eventually aid state officials in their efforts to control the Penobscot nation.

My thesis investigates the relationship that was created between the Penobscots and the newly formed State of Maine. It was an ongoing interaction very similar to their relationship with Massachusetts. Throughout the paper four central issues concerning the natives are explored. The first issue relates to territorial matters largely pertaining to access to certain areas. During the nineteenth century, white settlement greatly intruded on the lives of the Penobscot people. Settlers tended to occupy the best land along the river valley, thus gradually enclosing the Penobscots on the islands, but the Penobscots were different from other indigenous nations in New England in that much of the northern lands were not subjected to this wave of settlement. Still, northern territories attracted the attention of entrepreneurs and land speculators who sought to obtain legally and politically what settlement had not yielded physically.<sup>5</sup> The newly formed state, through its legislation, did exert pressure on the natives to remove them from their ancestral land. It was from this pressure that grievances arose. These grievances were often addressed in many native petitions that refer to numerous issues such as fishing and hunting rights, loss of timber and grasses, access to certain islands, and the release of claims to northern lands. These grievances demonstrate that the Penobscots saw their river valley as a hunting, fishing, and foraging territory to be shared with the incoming white settlers. These territorial matters culminated in the controversial land transaction of 1833-34.

The second major issue concerns political representation and raises the question of who exactly should speak on behalf of the Penobscot nation. It explores the growing, and often controversial role of the Indian agent, as well as tribal political parties. It is evident that the Penobscots expected their agents to express their views

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<sup>5</sup>Richard W. Judd, Edwin A. Churchill, and Joel W. Eastman, eds., *Maine the Pine Tree State from Prehistory to Present* (Orono: University of Maine Press, 1995), p. 195.

and position, manage their resources, and protect their interests and physical well-being from fraudulent practices and white aggression. However, the state did not always perceive the office in this way. There were times when the agents failed to protect the Penobscots and their interests. Consequently, the Penobscots often delegated their own representatives to Augusta to address any injustices. Therefore, what developed was two very different "agents" -- a non-native "agent" appointed by the state to carry out its own agenda and another native "agent" chosen by the Penobscots to achieve their goals and protect their rights in the world of white politics. The question of political representation became more complicated in 1835 with the emergence of two rival factions fighting for the political leadership of the Penobscot nation. Penobscot representatives competed for the appropriation of scarce resources and in the midst of this confusion the Indian agent assumed growing influence in native representation.

The third issue deals with the equitable management of tribal resources. It centers on assistance given to the widows, criticism of poor seeds and supplies, and travel expenses for Penobscot delegates. In researching the management of tribal resources, one finds significant inequities in the distribution of tribal funds. Maine state laws prohibited the natives from securing their share of tribal resources in the form of cash. They were only entitled to commodities and services to be obtained through their Indian agent. Therefore, the role of the Indian agent assumed an economic dimension, as well as a political one previously mentioned in the second issue. The state controlled the apportionment of the Indian fund and encouraged agricultural instruction rather than reading and writing.

The final issue looks at acculturation versus assimilation in regards to religious and educational matters of the Penobscots. The existence of numerous native petitions,

especially during the 1840s, reveals the start of a new cultural period for the Penobscots. From 1820 to 1849, the survival of the Penobscot nation depended upon achieving some fluency in the English language in this newly formed state regulated by public acts and resolves. For their culture to persist, socially and politically, the Penobscots would have to be able to express their views with the use of the written word. However, their task was a complicated one. In order to gain literacy, they needed an adequate educational system. In the 1820s, they rejected a Protestant school and persistently requested a Catholic priest as a teacher for the next three decades. Neither Catholic nor Protestant reformers advocated the training of native instructors. The state failed to provide ample appropriations to support the services of a Catholic priest and preferred an education in farming to one in reading and writing as a form of cultural adaptation.

The third and fourth issues reveal that the state implemented the policies of internal colonialism. Internal colonialism has four main components. These include “(a) the forced, involuntary entry of the colonized group into the dominant society; (b) the colonizing power adopting policies that suppress, transform, or destroy native values, orientations, and ways of life; (c) manipulation and management of the colonized by agents of the colonizing group; and (d) domination, exploitation, and oppression justified by an ideology of racism, which defines the colonized group as inferior.”<sup>6</sup> In this case, the Penobscots were the “colonized” and the state acted as the “colonizing power.”

This thesis is divided into four chapters. The first chapter explores the Penobscot nation on the eve of Maine statehood and answers several important questions. Who

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<sup>6</sup>David G. Perley, “Aboriginal Education in Canada as Internal Colonialism,” *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, v. 20 (1993): 119.

exactly are the Penobscots? What misunderstandings resulted from white society's interpretations of the Penobscot's oral Algonkian culture? What were the terms of their relationship with the Commonwealth of Massachusetts? And which duties and obligations would Maine assume upon achieving independence? The second chapter primarily emphasizes the assault on Penobscot territorial rights during the first fifteen years of Maine statehood. The third chapter deals with the period from 1835 to 1839. It is concerned with the policies and laws, as well as the procedures and forces, that tended to empower the state and the Indian agents while dividing and weakening the Penobscot nation. The fourth and final chapter looks at the native petitions sent to Augusta between 1840 and 1849. After 1849, native petitions to the state are less frequent. These petitions display a group resisting and protesting against the state of dependency implemented since the beginning of Maine statehood.

My interest in this subject matter is the result of my childhood experiences while growing up in Old Town, Maine, located only a bridge-length from Indian Island, the Penobscot reservation. My second reason for selecting this topic was the fact that nineteenth-century Native American history is often an area that is overlooked or drastically simplified by many past sources. Only now are historians attempting to correct this problem concerning the Native American population in the Northeast. The efforts of these historians show that there is ample information and documents available to create a successful work in this area, but they also caution their readers and future researchers on the reliability and biases contained in many documents pertaining to native peoples. Having completed my research on the Penobscot tribe, I must agree that there are both pros and cons to be weighed when dealing with most documentation, but this fact should not discourage historians from continuing their research.

The story of the Penobscots from 1820 to 1849 shows that they did not disappear from history and therefore should be an integral part of the history of the State of Maine. During this period, the Penobscots continued to be historical actors, adapting and changing their lifestyles whenever it was necessary. The Penobscots interacted with the state through their Indian agents, through their delegated representatives, through their numerous petitions to the Governor and Council, and through their priest, if one was available at the time. The Penobscots had entered into a new relationship in which they hoped they would prosper and grow.

## CHAPTER ONE

### *The Penobscots on the Eve of Maine Statehood*

The Penobscot Indians are part of the Abenaki family in the Northeast. The name Abenaki means "people of the Dawnland." They were thought to be the first people to have the sun shine on them each day. This "Dawnland" was a place of great beauty with mountain ranges, mystical forests, and sparkling bodies of water. Native groups within the Abenaki family shared common characteristics such as an oral culture. Their names stood for certain locations or for specific geographical features of the landscape that was known to all, such as a fast moving stream or a slow stagnant river. In the case of the Penobscots, their name translated to "the place where the river widens." <sup>7</sup>

The Penobscots searched out seasonal concentrations of energy, as they hunted, fished, collected maple syrup, grew crops, and gathered nuts and berries, depending on the time of the year. They valued their mobility, living in circular dwellings, when on the move, rather than in more permanent dwellings. These dwellings were "built from poles and covered with birch bark and spruce boughs. They had an indoor fireplace with a hole in the roof to let out the smoke and were very warm." <sup>8</sup> They formed bands amongst their relatives and clustered their "huts" or "cabins" throughout the river valley as they saw fit.

Prior to the early 1800s, they had yet to adopt a residential pattern consistent with a tribal settlement or reservation. Figures 1.1 and 1.2 display the Penobscots' preference to converge on various sites such as Indian Island, the Great Birch Island,

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<sup>7</sup>Colin G. Calloway, *The Abenaki*, pp. 14-25.

<sup>8</sup>Raoul M. Smith, "A Description of the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy Indians in 1808," *Man in the Northeast* 14(Fall 1977): 52-6.



Passadumkeag Point, and Mattawamkeag Point. These two maps show that they were not strictly insular, as they inhabited mainland areas as well as the islands in the Penobscot river.<sup>9</sup> These maps situate the "frontier" of white settlement in present-day Orono at about 3 to 4 miles away from Indian Island; hence, in contrast to southern New England natives, the Penobscots had not been surrounded by white settlers during colonial times. This phenomenon, however, would occur during the next four decades, thus coinciding, perhaps even climaxing, with the early years of Maine statehood. The maps indicate an inclination on the part of the Penobscot people to "band" together in separate residential clusters--not as a tribal unit in the Iroquoian sense of the word. These residential bands are consistent with the settlement pattern observed among other northern Algonkian peoples such as the Ojibwa. They signal that one should be cautious in referring to the Penobscot nation as a "tribe," even though the term is widely used in contemporary sources. Finally, these maps further serve as a reminder that the Penobscot people were no stranger to horticulture during the eighteenth century. Their location on Great Birch and surrounding islands, along with Passadumkeag Point, could have resulted from their quest for fertile horticultural grounds in the wake of land appropriation by white squatters in Veazie and elsewhere.

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<sup>9</sup>State of Maine Land Office, *Land Records* (Augusta), vol. 2, pp. 31-32.

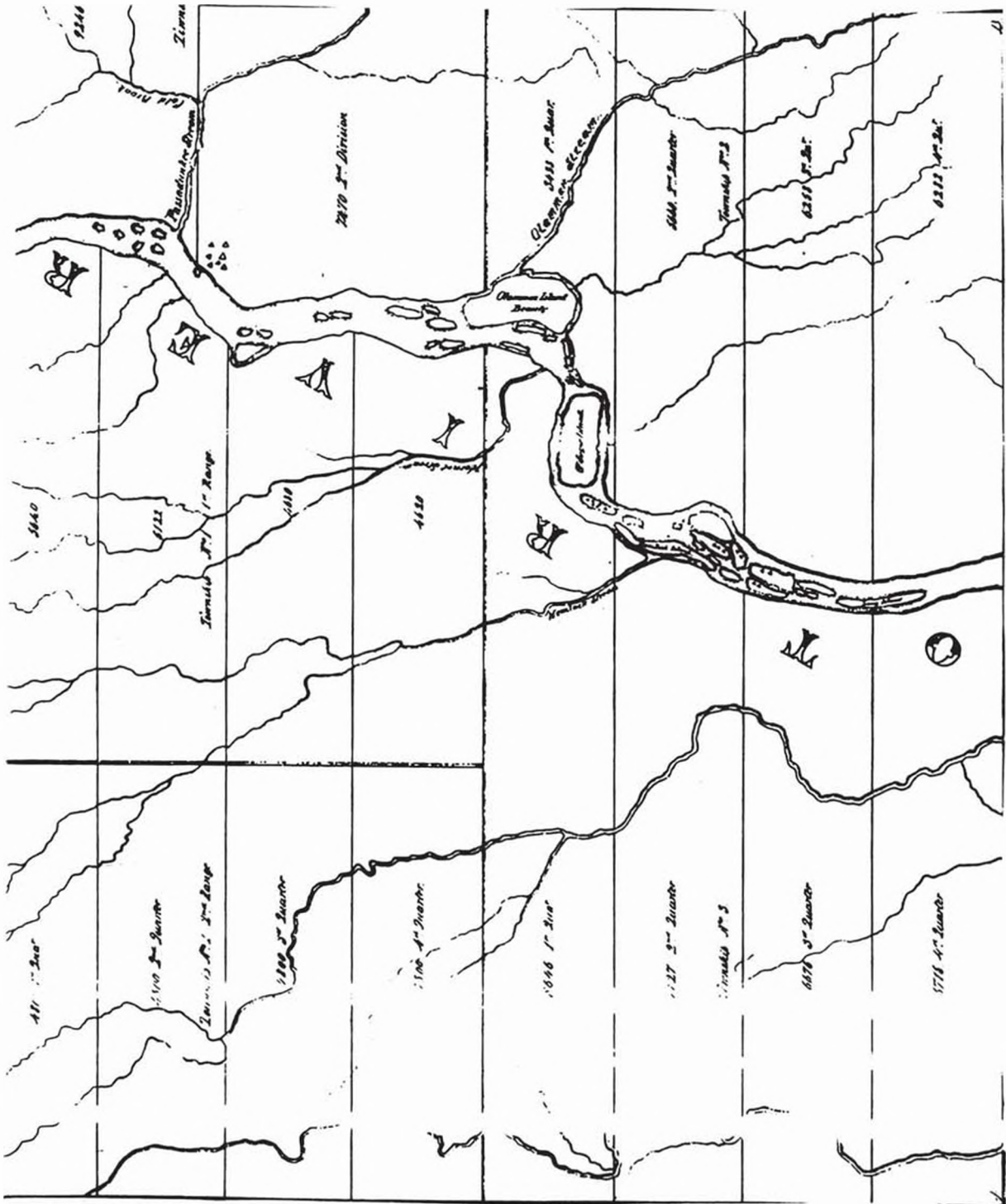
Figure 1.1

*A 1789 Map of the Southern Portion of the Township  
Showing White and Native Settlements*



Figure 1.2

A 1789 Map of the Northern Portion of the Township  
Showing White and Native Settlements



When the United States was created, Massachusetts assumed the responsibility to provide care and assistance to Maine Indians, including the Penobscots, because Maine was part of Massachusetts.<sup>10</sup> At this point in time, the Penobscots are not known to have relied on petitions or other written documents as a means of expression, displaying that they were not yet fluent in the English language. Their relationship with Massachusetts rested largely upon interpreters. Much misunderstanding occurred as a result of the interpretation of one culture by those of another.<sup>11</sup>

Some of this misunderstanding caused by the misinterpretation of their oral culture is revealed in historical sources. Historians are mainly left with biased, impressionistic, and untrustworthy documentary evidence prior to the 1830s. These sources convey information based on the authors' value systems rather than those of the natives; they often depict the Penobscots as "desperate," "despondent," "dependent," and "destitute." It is difficult to understand how a "land-rich" people could be depicted in such a way. The Penobscots were a very versatile people. "The men were hunters and fishermen, while the women attended to the domestic chores, as well as, corn raising, canoe making, and basket weaving."<sup>12</sup> "Some Penobscots offered their services, like chopping wood, to Englishmen looking to employ workers in exchange for a wage or some other compensation like food or alcohol."<sup>13</sup> Thus, other than being hunter-gatherers, they derived sustenance from horticulture, craft work, and wage labor. However, in the eyes of white society, they were "poor" just because they did

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<sup>10</sup>Calloway, *The Abenaki*, pp. 75-6.

<sup>11</sup>David Lynn Ghere, *Abenaki Factionalism, Emigration and Social Continuity: Indian Society in Northern New England, 1725-1765*. Ph.D. diss., University of Maine, 1988.

<sup>12</sup>Colin G. Calloway, *Dawnland Encounters* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1991), pp. 247-51.

<sup>13</sup>Smith, Raoul M., pp. 52-6.

not accumulate capital or display the customary marks of prosperity such as fixed dwellings, cattle, implements, and an enclosed property. These sources also disregard the role of whites in eroding Penobscot subsistence patterns and they neglect native communications which speak of "intrusion," "aggression," and "encroachment."<sup>14</sup> These communications are only known in so far that the Indian agent reported them to Massachusetts officials. The idea that the Penobscots were "destitute" was probably the result of the misunderstandings that occurred when interpreting territorial issues.

For example, the concept of ownership, as understood by white settlers, was probably alien to Penobscot culture. Government officials would assert their ownership over most of the natives' land and suggest, because of their alleged destitution, that the Penobscots willingly parted with their ancestral land for mere gifts and annuities. From a native perspective, it was a "privilege" to inhabit the land, a "privilege" they were willing to share with white settlers. Land was to be shared by all of nature's creatures. The Penobscots did not see themselves as being crowded by white settlers or confined to a certain space while under the care of Massachusetts; they shared the land with whites for which they expected them to reciprocate with annual gifts or annuities. The distinction between the meaning of "privilege" and "ownership" created many misunderstandings between the Penobscots and Massachusetts.

As a result of their friendship and fidelity during the American Revolution, the government promised to protect the Penobscot lands. In July, 1784, the Massachusetts government appointed a commission to negotiate with the chiefs of the tribe to come to an agreement over the location of boundaries, which would involve

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<sup>14</sup>Fannie Hardy Eckstorm, "Papers," Special Collections, Raymond H. Fogler Library, University of Maine at Orono, Orono, box 611, folio 3.

the sale of some Penobscot territory. Thomas Rice, William Lithgow, and Rufus Putnam were the commissioners responsible for negotiating with the Penobscots. Lithgow declined his appointment, leaving his position to Benjamin Lincoln. These three men would work with the chiefs to construct a treaty concerning land issues.<sup>15</sup>

By way of this treaty, all lands above Mattawamkeag and Piscataquis were left as "hunting grounds" for the natives and would not be settled by the state. From a native perspective, this sounds like an official acknowledgement of their entitlement, or "privilege," to all of northern Maine. William D. Williamson explains the particulars of the arrangement:

The Indians released all claims to the lands on the Penobscot, from the head of the tide to the mouth of the Piscataquis, on the western side, and to the Metawamkeag, on the eastern side; reserving only to themselves, Old-town Island, and all others in the river above it, to the extent mentioned. In consideration of which the government engaged, that the tribe should enjoy in fee all reserved Islands, and also White Island and Black Island, near Naskeag point, [opposite Sedgwick]; that all the lands on the waters of Penobscot River, above Piscataquis and Metawamkeag, 'should lie as hunting grounds for the Indians, and should not be laid out or settled by the State, or engrossed by individuals;' and that 350 blankets, 200 pounds of powder, with a suitable proportion of shot and flints, should be given them as a present.<sup>16</sup>

This 1784 or 1785 arrangement was not ratified because the Penobscots refused to sign the treaty. The dispute over this unsigned treaty lasted for twelve years.

Penobscot leaders may have finally conceded that they could not claim exclusive privilege over land lying between Eddington and Mattawamkeag; but they nevertheless asserted their rights to all the islands and to the northern territory while setting up camps throughout the whole river valley.

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<sup>15</sup>Williamson, vol. II, pp. 516-17.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid*, vol. II, p. 517.

The Penobscots signed a treaty with Massachusetts in 1796, about twelve years after the last treaty was proposed. "It called for them to yield almost 200,000 acres of their land in Penobscot Valley in return for an annual supply of 150 yards of blue cloth; 400 pounds of shot and 100 pounds of powder; 100 bushels of corn and 13 bushels of salt; and 1 barrel of rum."<sup>17</sup> According to the terms of this treaty, the Penobscots lost land 30 miles north of Bangor on both sides of the Penobscot River. They did retain the Upper Penobscot Valley. However, even after the signing of this particular treaty, the Penobscots continued to fish at Shad Island and set up camps in Bangor, Brewer, Belfast, Blue Hill, Orland, Bucksport, etc, once again disregarding the Commonwealth's boundaries.

In 1818 the Penobscots were once again forced to sell more of their land as a conflict arose between the natives and the government of Massachusetts over the sale of timber from tribal lands by John Attean, who was chosen as the Governor of the Penobscots two years earlier. The Massachusetts government quickly stepped in and stated that Attean had no right to sell the timber and demanded a new treaty be drawn. In return for more of the Penobscot's land, Massachusetts officials agreed to improve the condition of the natives. The Commonwealth gave the tribe

150 yards of blue woolens,-- 400 lbs. shot,-- 100 lbs. powder,-- 100 bushels of corn,-- 13 bushels of salt,-- 36 hats,-- and a barrel of rum; and agreed to pay them, so long as they should continue a tribe, a certain stipend every year, at the mouth of the Kenduskeag, consisting of 300 bushels of Indian corn,-- 50 lbs. of powder,-- 200 lbs. of shot,-- and 75 yards of blue woolen, fit for garments.<sup>18</sup>

This new treaty also granted the Penobscots the exclusive rights to their four remaining townships covering northern Maine, all of the islands in the Penobscot River

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<sup>17</sup>Calloway, *The Abenaki*, p. 76.

<sup>18</sup>Williamson, vol. II, p. 571.

above Oldtown, money for church repairs, a man to teach farming techniques, a general store with supplies, access to transportation routes, and a tract of land in Brewer.<sup>19</sup> The result of the treaty was inconsequential gifts for the natives and more land for the Commonwealth. With the acquisition of the Penobscot's land, Massachusetts officials promised several things. (1) They would supply the native women and children with certain articles while the men were away hunting to guard them against hunger and cold. (2) They promised to guard the natives against their sins by improving their moral and religious habits. (3) They promised to guard them against a nomadic lifestyle by supplying tools and teaching the use of these tools to improve the land. (4) They offered to guard them against ignorance by affording the means of obtaining useful knowledge. (5) They would instruct the natives on how to lead industrious lives. (6) They would guard them against addiction and intoxicants. (7) They would teach them to love and obey God.<sup>20</sup> These items were the obligations that Maine would assume after achieving statehood. Therefore, if the Penobscots relinquished their lands and islands, then the natives were promised that they would be mainly protected from themselves--their spiritual beliefs, cultural practices, and alleged failings as human beings. Massachusetts officials did not promise to guard the natives from trespassers, thieves, or aggressors. Consequently, the role of the Indian agent was not to prosecute on behalf of the tribe, but rather to protect the natives from themselves, their nature, and shortcomings.

By 1818, the Penobscots, who were once the primary inhabitants of the land, were now supposedly confined to four townships and the Islands in the Penobscot River according to the terms of the treaties they had entered into with Massachusetts.

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<sup>19</sup>*Indian Affairs Documents From Maine Executive Council*, vol. 10.

<sup>20</sup>Eckstorm, "Papers," box 611, folio 3.



However, the Penobscots often disregarded the terms of these treaties and continued to move about the land and set up camps where they wished because their meaning of ownership greatly differed from that of government officials. In 1820, the Penobscots entered into a new relationship. This time it was with the newly formed State of Maine. They entered into this new relationship with the thought they would still be guaranteed the land promised by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. With statehood, Maine was now responsible for its own population, which included the Penobscots, as well as the swelling population of white settlers who were claiming the countryside.

## CHAPTER TWO

### *Under Siege, 1820-1834*

The Act of Separation gave Maine her independence from Massachusetts on March 15, 1820. Maine's native population, their land holdings, and a payment plan, which required Massachusetts to pay the sum of thirty thousand dollars to the new state, are referred to under the fifth article of the first section of this act, as follows:

Fifth. The new state shall, as soon as the necessary arrangements can be made for that purpose, assume and perform all the duties and obligations of this Commonwealth, towards the Indians within said District of Maine, whether the same arise from treaties or otherwise; and for this purpose, shall obtain the assent of the Indians, and their release to this Commonwealth of claims and stipulations arising under the treaty at present existing between the said Commonwealth and said Indians; and as an indemnification to such new State, therefore, this Commonwealth, when such arrangements shall be completed, and the said duties and obligations assumed, shall pay to said new State, the value of thirty thousand dollars, in the manner following, viz: The said Commissioners shall set off by metes and bounds, so much of any part of the land, within the said District, falling to this Commonwealth, in the division of the public lands, hereinafter provided for, as in their estimation shall be the value of thirty thousand dollars; and this Commonwealth shall, thereupon, assign the same to the new State; or in lieu thereof, may pay the sum of thirty thousand dollars, at its election, which election of the said Commonwealth, shall be made within one year from the time that notice of the doings of the commissioners, on this subject, shall be made known to the Governor and Council; and if not made within that time, the election shall be in the new state.<sup>21</sup>

Maine had assumed the role once assumed by the government of Massachusetts concerning the native population, a population which included the Penobscots. The natives were now the wards of the new state, hoping that their new "guardian" would protect their rights and their resources.

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<sup>21</sup>*Indian Affairs Documents From Maine Executive Council*, vol. 10.

Five months after Maine joined the Union, the Penobscots entered into a treaty with the State of Maine. This treaty stated that the natives would have the same rights, lands, immunities, and privileges that Massachusetts had given them under the treaty of 1818. With this treaty the newly formed state was now the natives' "guardian," a guardian that would come to manage their resources as it saw fit or as state officials believed was appropriate, whether the natives agreed or not. In this new relationship it was the state's intention to "guard" the Penobscots from themselves, rather than from white society. The Penobscots retained the exclusive privileges to their four remaining townships in northern Maine and to all the islands in the Penobscot River above Oldtown, two acres of land in the town of Brewer, an "honest man" to instruct them in the art of husbandry, a store where the state would deposit yearly supplies, money for any necessary repairs that their place of worship might need, and access to major transportation routes, even if they crossed into areas of white settlement.<sup>22</sup> The State of Maine promised to annually deliver the following articles to the Penobscots in the month of October:

Five hundred bushels of corn, fifteen barrels of wheat flour, seven barrels of clear pork, one hogshead of molasses and one hundred yards of double breadth broadcloth, to be of red color one year, and blue the next, and so on alternately, fifty good blankets, one hundred pounds of gunpowder, four hundred pounds of shot, six boxes of chocolate, one hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco, and fifty dollars in silver.<sup>23</sup>

Hoping that Maine would treat them better Massachusetts had, the Penobscots entered into this new treaty, not knowing what kind of relationship would develop. If they had known what the future had in store for them, it is possible that the Penobscots would have not accepted the terms of this agreement, but both sides did agree to the treaty in

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<sup>22</sup>*Ibid*, vol. 10.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid*, vol. 10.

1820 before Justice of the Peace from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, William D. Williamson.

From 1820 to 1834, a number of territorial issues arose. The Penobscots tried desperately to hold onto their remaining resources and keep them away from trespassers. The natives actively petitioned the Governor and Council of the state in an attempt to secure their territorial rights and request protection, from the new state, against a rising tide of white settlement. For the most part, their grievances and requests were ignored, as the state released more of the natives' land. Maine's decisions concerning the Penobscots may appear to be harsher than those employed by Massachusetts possibly because white settlements were moving closer to actual Penobscot settlements, but in reality they were very similar.

During this fourteen year period, numerous examples, a few of which follow, existed that displayed the natives' belief that whites had intruded upon their rights and lands. In 1820, Lieutenant Governor John Neptune arrived in Portland where he made a speech by way of an interpreter complaining about some whitemen that were "destroying the Indians' hunting and fishing privileges."<sup>24</sup> The natives believed that the whites took all of the fish before they could get upstream to Penobscot fishing grounds. The natives also complained that the whites were taking both the old and young game, whereas the natives only hunted the old, leaving the young to grow. The whiteman's methods were greatly disrupting the conservationist practices of the Penobscot people. Disputes over hunting and fishing rights would continue throughout this period. Neptune said, "Let white men have the timber and the Indians have the game."<sup>25</sup> Possibly the natives believed that a food supply was more

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<sup>24</sup>Eckstorm, *Old John Neptune and Other Maine Indian Shamans*, p. 11.

<sup>25</sup>*History of Penobscot County, Maine* (Cleveland: Williams, Chase & Co., 1882), p. 593.

important to their survival than the few trees that they assumed the whites would extract. They probably failed to realize that the whiteman's notion of timber rights was the entire forest. Future incidents would display that the Penobscots were concerned with timber rights as well.

Another territorial issue that continuously emerged as a concern of the natives was that of whitemen stealing timber from Penobscot lands. For example, a letter from the Secretary of State to Samuel Call, agent to the Penobscots, revealed the frustrations that timber thieves caused the natives. The Penobscots continuously asked their agent to investigate these matters to see if the lumbermen had legal permits and request that the boundary lines to their upper townships be retraced and marked to prevent lumber theft. This letter mentions a particular incident in 1824 where woodsmen were stealing timber in their upper townships and asks Call to investigate. Call discovered that lumbermen had been working without a permit. He charged them with trespassing and fined them for their illegal actions.<sup>26</sup> This episode, however, was one of the few occasions that trespassers faced a penalty; usually their actions were ignored and the natives were left without compensation.

The following year a major territorial dispute erupted that had great ramifications on the natives' land. In 1825, one of the Great Miramichi Fires ignited in New Brunswick. It was one of the most destructive fires ever to enter Maine and its effects were enhanced by the actions of the State Land Agent. The land agent ordered that hay on the Mattawamkeag drainage was to be burnt, even though he knew that there was a drought. These fires got out of hand and destroyed large amounts of land belonging to the Penobscots. In response to the actions of the land agent, Neptune, along with a native writer, sent a letter to a couple of area newspapers criticizing the

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<sup>26</sup>*Indian Affairs Documents From Maine Executive Council, 1823-24, vol. 3, no. 293.*

agent's orders. The letter charged the state with attempting to drive the natives from their remaining land holdings.<sup>27</sup> This incident could be viewed as an effort by the state to force the natives to release more of their land now that it was void of its resources.

In 1828, a report was presented to the Council from the Indian court on Oldtown Island. Governor John Attean, the other Captains and Chiefs of the Penobscots, and many male tribal members attended court on this day. They unanimously resolved that it was essential that their agent care for the natives' property especially when it came to timber and grass. They also requested physical protection. The natives stated that the reason for their requests was because "our property has been plundered and several of us violently beaten and abused."<sup>28</sup> Thus, territorial disputes could eventually lead to violence and the natives requested protection from this white aggression. This report ended by asking that their former agent, Samuel Call, be reappointed as their new agent by the state. This particular report is an excellent example of the Penobscot's continuous search for protection, for themselves and their resources, which was a very important concern of the natives during the 1820s.

In the late 1820s, another territorial dispute arose over the rights to several islands and the meaning of above Oldtown in the Treaty of 1818 which gave the Penobscots the right to all the islands in the Penobscot River above this point in question. The dispute erupted over whether or not above Oldtown meant "above Indian Island" or "above the white settlement slightly more to the south." The natives claimed these islands as their own and believed it was their right to mow and farm them as their relatives had for so many years. A resolve passed on March 3, 1829, gave the land agent the deed to these islands as the undivided property of Maine and Massachusetts,

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<sup>27</sup>Eckstorm, *Old John Neptune and Other Maine Indian Shamans*, pp. 11-12.

<sup>28</sup>*Indian Affairs Documents From Maine Executive Council*, 1829, vol. 3, no. 17.

and not as the property of the Penobscots. During the previous month the same group of legislators authorized the Penobscots to sell Smith's Island, which was located below the islands in question, causing even more confusion. Another resolve was passed in February of 1831, which authorized the Penobscots to sell yet another island. This time it was Pine Island, located just below Old Town Falls. The money from this sale was to be placed in the State Treasury until the legal ownership of the island was ascertained. The final decision was that the island did not belong to the Penobscots, and the part of the treaty that stated "above Oldtown" was clarified to mean above Old Town Falls.<sup>29</sup> This was an example of the state attempting to remedy the problems created by a territorial dispute by releasing more land belonging to the Penobscots in the contested area.

A native petition sent to Augusta in 1831 revealed several territorial matters that have plagued the Penobscots over the years. They asked for the sole fishing rights on the southern and western sides of Shad Island, an ever recurring issue, and also requested that trespassers in these waters be required to pay a fine of five dollars. It was revealed that white settlers had been using these three islands west of Mount Desert that had been guaranteed to the natives forever, and the natives wanted the state to remove the trespassers.<sup>30</sup> Once again, they desired monetary compensation for timber losses due to theft. In regards to this request, they criticized their agent's inadequate recovery of stolen resources. The petitioners were infuriated that whites and their cattle were encroaching on their land and destroying the grass and also that whites were fastening their boats and rafts to islands belonging to the natives and thus trespassing. Lastly, this petition stated that the Great Boom was depriving them of

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<sup>29</sup>*Ibid*, vol. 10.

<sup>30</sup>America Automobile Association, *Tour Book: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont*, 1990.

some smaller islands by covering them with flood wood.<sup>31</sup> This petition draws attention to many of the territorial issues that angered the natives and were often times neglected by the state.

There are many other examples of "intrusion" of the whitemen on native lands and it was not until 1833 that the issue of Penobscot territorial rights reached its resolution when the state released the exclusive privileges of the four remaining Penobscot townships by securing the approval of a few leaders out of council. Apparently, both Governor Attean and Lieutenant Governor Neptune agreed to mark a deed of conveyance, as long as all other Penobscot male heads of families approved the transaction. When they failed to obtain such approval from the families, the land agents assured the legislature that they had secured the approval from the "chief men" making the transaction legitimate. The Penobscots viewed this sale as fraudulent because it had been secured with false signatures, and a large Penobscot delegation turned up in Augusta, in January 1834, to challenge what they believed was an undemocratic land transaction. Despite the tribe's claims, the Governor pushed the sale through.<sup>32</sup> The Penobscots received a fifty thousand dollar bond in exchange for their four remaining townships of land, excluding the islands in the river. The money was to be deposited in the State Treasury where it would gain interest and with an amount, decided by the Governor and Council, paid annually to the Indian Agent for the benefit of the natives. The interest would allow the fund to remain in the Treasury forever.<sup>33</sup> This proposal was presented to the Penobscots who really had no choice but to accept the treaty since there was no way to regain the townships. The terms of the treaty seem only a small token for what they gave up to the state throughout time.

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<sup>31</sup>*Ibid*, 1831, vol. 4, no. 17.

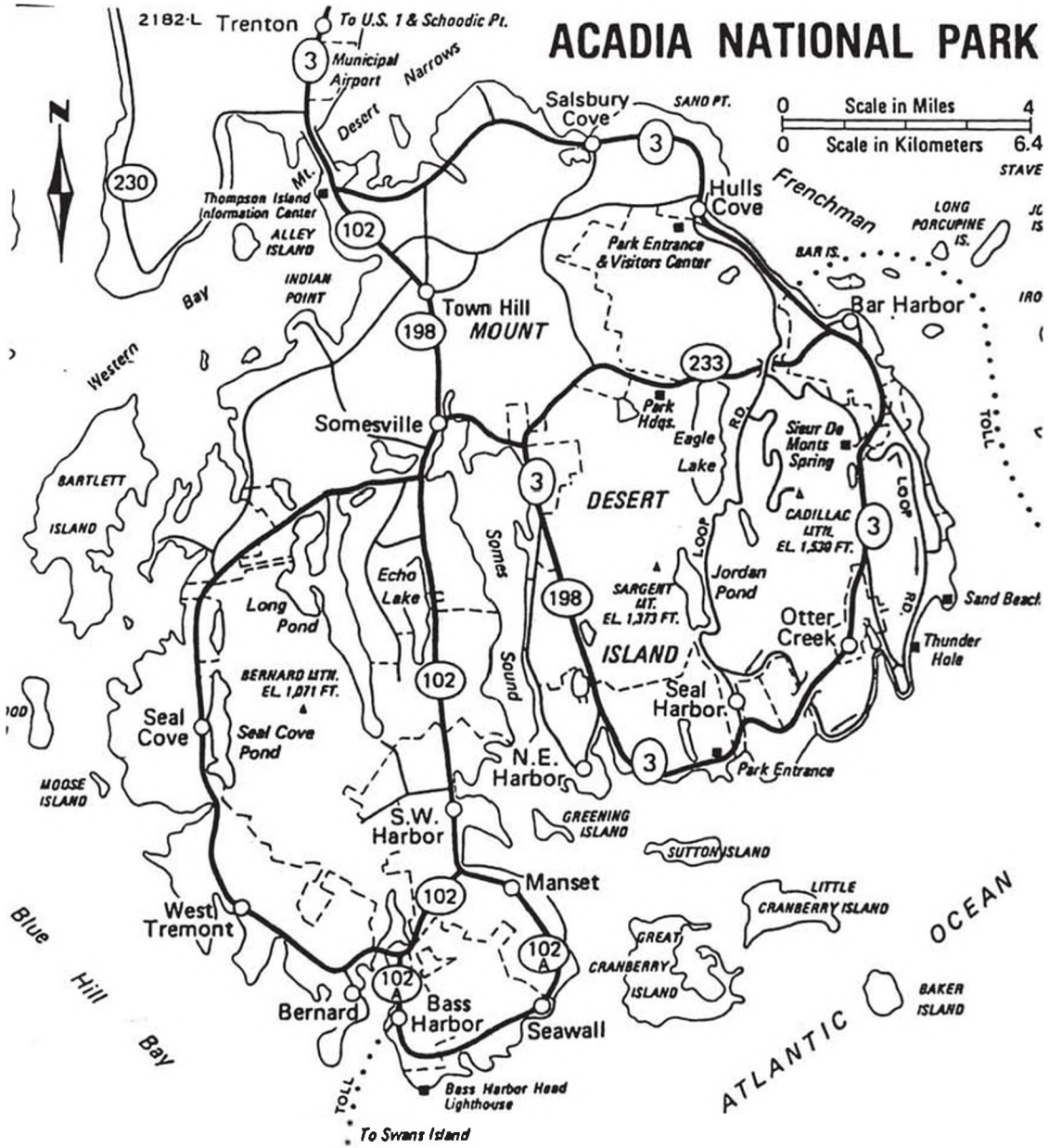
<sup>32</sup>Calloway, *The Abenaki*, p. 76.

<sup>33</sup>*Indian Affairs Documents From Maine Executive Council*, vol. 10.



Figure 2.1

Mount Desert Island, Maine and the Surrounding Islands



By the way of a resolve of the legislature in 1820, the Governor and Council were authorized to appoint an agent "to provide pay, furnish and deliver to the Penobscot tribe on account of the State, articles, goods, provisions and money due them from treaties. The agent to be paid from the treasury of State as fixed by the Governor and Council. The agent to give bond."<sup>34</sup> The Penobscots were familiar with this office because when they were under the protection of Massachusetts they also had an appointed Indian agent to manage their affairs. One agent was to be appointed for each tribe; however, between 1820 and 1840 some agents occasionally hired sub-agents to help them. One job of the agent was to instruct the Penobscots in the art of husbandry. The agent's final duty was to personally attend to the ploughing and cultivating, as well as providing the seed. As time passed and legislation continued to shape the natives' future, Indian agents experienced an expanding role in their relationship with the tribe and the state. When the agents failed in the view of the natives, the state responded with legislation.

From 1820 to the 1834, state legislation was mainly concerned with claims of money for specific uses, the duties of the agent, land and timber sales, island ownership, and agricultural production. In the eyes of government officials, legislation pertaining to these concerns provided for the "better regulation" and "management" of the natives, as the state initiated its "civilizing" policy. These acts and resolves initially put most of the decision making power in the hands of the state with some filtering down to the Indian agent. In his unequal balance of power, the state could control the mobility, land, and opportunities of the natives through its decisions, as well as those made by the appointed agent. A March 5, 1821, act provided for the inspection and

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<sup>34</sup>*Ibid*, vol. 10.

settlement of tribal issues, as well as reviewing the responsibilities of the agent.<sup>35</sup> The agent was authorized to approve land contracts, keep a record of all proceedings, and sell no more than \$500 worth of timber annually.<sup>36</sup> Decision making power was placed in the hands of the agent in the area of land contracts, but it appears that the state was still cautious with how much power it was willing to give to the agent so that his personal interests did not get in the way of the state's.

Legislation intended to "civilize" the Penobscots, begun in the early 1820s, was concerned with agricultural production. The state believed it could curb some of the emerging disputes between whites and Indians by encouraging a more sedentary lifestyle, eliminating their need to move about the land hunting and fishing. It became the agent's responsibility to instruct the natives in the art of husbandry. However, Samuel Call, agent to the Penobscots, noted that the state was not keeping its end of the bargain in its relationship with the tribe and their agent. His report stated that the natives were realizing that they could no longer depend on traditional hunting practices to live and that they wished to get involved in agricultural work. This notion was probably not the view of the majority of the natives, but rather a biased interpretation of their oral culture and wishful thinking on the part of state officials, who were attempting to restrict the natives' mobility to make them more compatible with white society. The money appropriated for agricultural purposes paid for seeds and ploughing, but there was seldom enough money left over for fertilizer.<sup>37</sup> Some Penobscots were receptive and the agent seemed willing, but the state failed to appropriate enough money for the task at hand.

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<sup>35</sup>*Ibid*, 1826, vol. 2, p. 19.

<sup>36</sup>*Laws of Maine, 1821* (Brunswick: J. Griffin, 1821), vol. 2, pp. 766-68.

<sup>37</sup>*Indian Affairs Documents From Maine Executive Council*, vol. 10.

In 1825 an act was passed which held all agents accountable for the expenditures of the tribe and authorized the Governor and Council to settle accounts with Indian agents.<sup>38</sup> During the early 1820s, the state remained reluctant to give the agent too much power, especially when it came to Treasury funds, possibly fearing that he would use the money for personal gains. Monitoring and regulating the duties of the Indian agent was one way that the state responded to native requests for justice and protection.

On January 20, 1826, the Governor approved an act to create a Society for the benefit of the Penobscot Indians, which was a Protestant organization established to aid in the protection of native rights. The creation of such organizations was yet another way the state responded to native grievances. It could also be viewed as an attempt to disrupt the Penobscot's strong commitment to Catholicism. This act gave the Society the right to prosecute and defend law suits, to make by-laws for the better management of Penobscot affairs, to chose their own officers, and to receive the funding needed to best promote the objects of the Society. It also required the tribe to lease an area of no more than one hundred acres of land to the Society so that they could use the land for benevolent purposes to improve the condition of the natives.<sup>39</sup> This Society did set up a school in Old Town under the direction of Rev. Josiah Brewer, but it experienced limited success.<sup>40</sup> This Protestant school may have lasted a few months, but following a three-year hiatus, it was replaced by a Catholic school without support from the state.

On February 3, 1826, an act was approved that permitted the agent of the Penobscots to lease certain islands and dispose of certain timber as long as he had the

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<sup>38</sup>*Ibid*, 1825, vol. 2, p. 372.

<sup>39</sup>*Indian Affairs Documents From Maine Executive Council*, vol. 10.

<sup>40</sup>Eckstorm, *Old John Neptune and Other Maine Indian Shamans*, pp. 179-80.

permission of the Governor of the Penobscots and the Governor of Maine. By requiring the approval of both governors, the agent was being held accountable for his actions. At the same time, this act also increased the agent's influence by putting all of the Penobscot's resources under his control. The Governor of Maine probably assumed that by also requiring the approval of the Governor of the Penobscots, the agent would really be kept in line if he was only working to thicken his own wallet. It was also the agent's duty to pay into the Treasury of the State the profits from any sales and leases.<sup>41</sup> When it came to land and money, the state continued its strict control.

An act was passed in February of 1828 and provided the said agent with funding, not exceeding \$500, necessary to construct a school room and a store house to the specifications of the Governor and Council. This act of the legislature during 1828 also appropriated \$1200 to the agent of the Penobscots for the construction of a place of worship.<sup>42</sup> Interestingly, the state displayed a willingness to appropriate funds to build a place of worship, but it was not ready to support the services of a Catholic priest. The government did appropriate some money for the Penobscots through several specific acts during the 1820s, but while doing so, also basically dictated to the natives how the money should be spent, as they did in the construction of the store house and school room. Acquiring the natives' input was not the state's top priority.

As time passed, the newly formed State of Maine established the grounds for its relationship with the Penobscots, a relationship where the state attempted to protect the natives from themselves. Acts concerning the tribe continued to be passed, but they were mainly concerned with funding, appropriations, and land sales, revealing the

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<sup>41</sup>*Laws of Maine, From Separation to 1833* (Hallowell: Glazier, Masters & Co., 1834), vol. 1, pp. 610-11.

<sup>42</sup>*Laws of Maine, From Separation to 1833*, vol. 2, p. 181.

state's priorities in spending its monies. Once again, many monetary limitations and consensual requirements were established before money was given to the agent to administer to the tribe during the 1830s. The necessity for the Penobscots to get the state's approval, along with strict monetary limitations placed on appropriations, made the State of Maine the dominant party in the relationship with the Penobscots. During the 1830s the agent's role continued to grow, and the Penobscots also continued to go over his head directly petitioning the Governor and Council on their own behalves. The state, through its legislation, continuously tried to dictate what the future had in store for the Penobscots. These state actions can be viewed as efforts to "break up" the Penobscot nation by making them more dependent on the state than on each other and in turn jeopardizing tribal unity. For the natives, this legislation meant that they had to try even harder to keep their identity in the changing world as they continued to ask for a resident priest to assist them.

Beginning in the 1820s, many Penobscots began to petition the Maine government in an attempt to get appropriations to support a resident priest. The Penobscots advocated the presence of a Catholic priest in their midst due to Maine's failure to protect them from settlers, woodworkers, hunters, etc. The natives saw in the priest the advocate that they could not find in the state government. The Penobscots believed that a Catholic priest could, more easily than themselves, express the state's failures, as well as offer criticisms of the agent's interactions and misguided interventions. The priest, seen as more trustworthy than their agent, provided another avenue that the tribe could use to influence the government. They believed that he might possess more political influence than they themselves had. The natives may have also realized that their oral culture had less influence on the legislature than a petition written in the English language. Therefore, they sought the assistance and instruction of the Catholic priest to communicate more easily with the state. The state

was fearful of the influence a resident Catholic priest would have over the natives. With a resident priest, the Penobscots could look to him for support instead of the state or Indian agent, greatly jeopardizing their efforts of control by better advocating the Penobscot culture. However, the Governor did on occasion appropriate money, usually in the amount of \$25, to pay a Catholic priest for services on Indian Island. This compensation was possibly an effort to keep the Penobscots at bay from time to time, seeing how the Governor and Council continuously received native petitions requesting a resident priest.

From the 1820s to the 1840s, priests, when present, petitioned and wrote letters to the government of Maine on behalf of the Penobscots. In a letter from Father Virgil Barber to the Governor of Maine on January 1, 1829, the priest conveyed the natives' distrust of the account books of their newly appointed agent, Col. Chamberlain. Father Barber, who lived with the Penobscots from 1828 to 1830, reports that when meeting with Chamberlain, the Colonel had two account books. One was incorrect, and Chamberlain told Father Barber that he could not see the other one until a later date because it was incomplete. The natives believed that the second book should be made available to them because it could be easily altered by Col. Chamberlain when in his possession. Father Barber stated that he was not saying that Chamberlain had done anything unjust but did not eliminate the possibility.<sup>43</sup> Father Barber sent another letter to the Governor and Council on June 16, 1829. This letter once again criticized Col. Chamberlain's use or reported use of Indian funds.<sup>44</sup>

In another letter from Father Barber to the Governor and Council, the priest once again conveyed the natives' criticisms of their present agent. The agent in question this

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<sup>43</sup>*Indian Affairs Documents From Maine Executive Council*, 1830, vol. 3, no. 275.

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid*, 1830, vol. 3, no. 275.

time was Samuel F. Hussey. Barber pointed to ten reasons to have Mr. Hussey removed from office in his letter, which states:

1. He is getting old, and is prone to illness.
2. He lives too far from the Tribe which makes it difficult for him to realize their needs.
3. The farmer that he employed has been of little help to the Tribe.
4. He failed to build a store after being instructed to do so.
5. Supplies have been of poor quality.
6. There was not enough corn for distribution.
7. The distribution of goods was incorrect and unequal.
8. He displayed bad judgement in a timber sale made in 1828, producing a considerable loss to the Tribe.
9. He violated an Act by selling too much timber on a trip to Oldtown.
10. He unjustly charged the costs of his trip to Oldtown to the Tribe's account.<sup>45</sup>

Father Barber presented the legislature with several petitions concerning issues which the Penobscots deemed important. These issues included the settlement of accounts, disputes over lumber rights, and problems with particular agents.

Father Virgil Barber sent another letter to Augusta in February of 1830 on behalf of the Penobscots. This letter stated that the Penobscots wished to settle some of their accounts and to have their agent examine the titles to several fishing islands in the Penobscot River, as well as the fishing rights at Oldtown Falls. The letter continued to state that the agent refused to perform the tribe's wishes because he had no funds. The final issue addressed by this letter questioned whether or not any former Indian agents still had money belonging to the tribe.<sup>46</sup> This particular letter demonstrated that the Catholic priest did work to influence the state on the behalf of the Penobscots, which is one reason why they preferred the priest over their agent. The letter also shows

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<sup>45</sup>*Ibid*, 1830, vol. 3, no. 315.

<sup>46</sup>*Ibid*, 1830, vol. 4, no. 295.



further distrust with the office of the Indian agent since it expresses suspicion of past agents withholding tribal funds.

This correspondence from Father Barber also contained a petition from several tribal members. This petition criticized the state's efforts in the area of religious instruction and reported that while under the care of Massachusetts, money was annually paid to the tribe in order to support the services of a Catholic priest. Thus, the tribe credits their worsening condition to the lack of priestly attention and the state's inability to keep its end of the bargain. This petition displayed a dislike of the actions of the state government. "Maine has never paid our priest anything, now we are poor and unable to pay our Priest, and we humbly ask you to pay him before Maine agreed to perform this obligation."<sup>47</sup> Even after they had stated their dissatisfaction, the state still did not provide the Penobscots with a resident priest, possibly fearing he could jeopardize their efforts. Numerous other petitions for the same purpose would follow. In most of these petitions, requests for religious instruction went hand in hand with requests for education of the children, as most of the tribe preferred a Catholic school teacher rather than a Protestant chosen by their agent.

In a report from the Honorable William D. Williamson, he describes Indian Oldtown, as well as the religious condition of the tribe and the religious structures built on their main island. This particular report was believed to be written around 1831 and reveals that the Penobscots were well-prepared to accommodate Catholic instruction,

In later years, Indian Oldtown has been their village and altogether the place of their greatest resort. Its situation is upon the southerly end of an island in Penobscot River, twelve miles above the mouth of the Kenduskeag, being

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<sup>47</sup>*Ibid*, 1830, vol. 4, no. 295.

partly cleared, and containing about 350 acres of very rich and mellow land. At the close of the American Revolution, the village contained between forty and fifty wigwams, about equally divided by a street five rods in width, which passed east and west across the island, quite compact on each side, and constructed after the old Gothic fashion with the gable ends towards the streets. These slender cabins, which have been gradually decreasing in number, are usually built and occupied by a family, including all the descendants of a father living, unless some of them choose to construct others for themselves.

Through a short avenue southerly from the main street is their church or chapel, forty feet by thirty in dimensions, and one story in height, with a porch, a cupola, and a bell. It is covered with clapboards, and glazed. Fronting the door within are the desk and altar, two large candlesticks, and some other articles of service, after the Catholic forms; upon the walls behind are images of our Blessed Saviour and some of the primitive saints; and on the right and left of the desk are seats for the elders. Otherwise the worshippers, male and female, who uniformly convene on Sabbath, and frequently for prayers on other days when a priest is with them, both sit and kneel upon the floor, which is always covered with evergreens. But the present edifice, which has been built since the Revolution, is said to be far from comparing with their former one, either in size or appearance.

Northerly of the chapel, twenty rods, is their burying-place, in which stands a cross, fifteen of eighteen feet in height. In its standard post, six feet from the ground, is carved an aperture, five inches by three in compass and four deep, securely covered with glass, enclosing an emblematically form of the Virgin Mary with the infant Immune in her arms. At the head of each grave is placed a crucifix of wood, which is about three or four feet high, and very slender—a memorial borrowed from the Catholics.<sup>48</sup>

Williamson's description displays the tribe's strong commitment to the Catholic faith through the efforts they went through decorating their religious buildings. This account creates an image of the Penobscot settlement with Catholicism as its focal point. The Penobscots were greatly concerned with creating immaculate places of worship. Their concern with the appearance of their places of worship displays that the natives remained optimistic that the state would eventually support the services of

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<sup>48</sup>*History of Penobscot County, Maine*, p. 457.

a resident priest. However, it was almost a century before the state responded to the numerous requests of the Penobscot nation.

In 1820, Maine achieved statehood and one of the state's new intentions was to protect the Penobscots from themselves. The Penobscots entered into a treaty with the state which granted the natives the same privileges they experienced while under the care of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. With the state's focus being on protecting the natives from themselves rather than from white society, numerous territorial issues emerged between 1820 and 1834. These issues revolved around the intrusion of white society on native lands along with the state's and agents' failure to protect the natives from these trespassers. The state responded to the natives' requests for protection and their grievances in several ways, the most common being releasing more of their land instead of punishing the white offenders. Besides petitioning the state, the natives also responded by requesting money to support the services of a Catholic priest who they felt was willing to defend their rights, unlike state officials. The whole matter of territorial rights reached its resolution with the controversial land "cession" of 1833-34, leaving the Penobscots to deal with the state's "civilizing" policy and political factionalism, which are the topics of the next chapter.

## CHAPTER THREE

### *Severalty and Factionalism, 1835-1839*

During the early months of 1834, the Penobscots experienced a condition of political unity, as they rallied in their opposition to the transfer of four Indian townships to the state. Consensual government among the natives was noted by one Maine legislator, Mr. Call of Bangor, in the following terms:

However honest and fair had been the intentions of the commissioners, ... it did not appear to him that they had been successful in making such a bargain as it was becoming the state to ratify; and he inferred the first from the simple fact that they had been able to procure only about 10 or 12 names to the deed of conveyance, while the remonstrance's had the signatures of about 70. The Government of the Indians, if they may indeed be said to have any regular government, was at best a very loose and undefined one; it was most like a pure democracy in which the majority voices was allowed to prevail. And here we have 70 who say they never consented, to 12 who did.<sup>49</sup>

Either enticed by "presents" or misled by false representations, Governor John Attean was "induced to sign [the deed] on one day, by being told that all the Indians were going to sign it on the next--and ...the remaining signatures were obtained at least the more easily, by the fact of the governor's having signed."<sup>50</sup> Faced with widespread opposition in council, Attean was now left with the nearly impossible task of reversing the transaction he had initiated by inscribing his mark on this deed.

A few state representatives did feel an obligation "to protect the Indians, or at least do them no manifest injustice."<sup>51</sup> The majority, however, had no qualms. One legislator summarily dismissed Penobscot petitioners as a "miserable remnant of a

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<sup>49</sup>*The Kennebec Journal Weekly*, (Augusta, Maine) 12 February 1834.

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid*, 12 Feb. 1834.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid*, 12 Feb. 1834.

miserable tribe...Most of them who are disaffected are altogether misinformed as to the provisions of the bargain they had made."<sup>52</sup> Others completely disregarded the democratic nature of tribal politics, implying that natives were not reliable decision makers: "Everyone who dealt with the Indians must know that there was difficulty in coming to any arrangement; that the same individual would agree to a thing one day and fall back from it the next."<sup>53</sup> Maine politicians did not contest that this land transfer was a highly profitable "bargain" for the state, given that the Indian townships were purchased at a price far below their market value. Curiously, though, they argued that in impoverishing the Penobscots, the state was actually doing them a great favor because they were "already paupers to the state" and these "four townships [were] of no use to them whatever..."<sup>54</sup> Concluding that the declarations of the land commissioners "would outweigh the united voice of the whole Penobscot tribe," the committee on state lands finally resolved to accept the land commissioners' report by a vote of 16 to 5.<sup>55</sup>

Much can be learned from the discourse of state officials in Augusta. In its quest to acquire valuable Indian lands, the state did not so much project itself as the "guardian" of "brothers" or of "children" but of "paupers" whose "miserable" condition in life stemmed from their inability or unwillingness to "improve" the land they held. Hence, rather than further impoverishing the Penobscot nation by extorting its land and lumber, state officials preferred to portray themselves as benefactors: they proposed to inject some value to this "worthless" land and to furnish each of these "paupers" with "a good tract of land" and "every necessary of life." No reason to shed

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<sup>52</sup>*Ibid*, 29 January 1834.

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid*, 29 Jan. 1834.

<sup>54</sup>*Ibid*, 12 Feb. 1834.

<sup>55</sup>*Ibid*, 12 Feb. 1834.

one tear for leaving behind "the bones of my friends and ancestors," concluded a particularly cynical legislator.<sup>56</sup>

The state proposed to carry out this project with or without the approval of their "wards" because, in his current condition, the "red brethren" was a "worthless" being both mentally and physically. Vacillating from one position to another, his word could no longer be trusted, for with the use of a few "presents," "the Indians could be made to agree to anything." Moreover, the Penobscots did not know how to read and write. Hence, they were not credible. "Who knows who wrote the petition or who circulated it, or what motive he had for doing it?"<sup>57</sup> Thus the state of Maine completely disregarded what stood for democratic process in tribal politics, having only to deal with the "principal men." The Penobscot people, so the logic went, had thus to be mainly protected from themselves: from their unwillingness to subdue the land, to give it value, from their illiteracy and susceptibility to the collective whims of a misinformed, if not degenerate, tribal population; from its impoverishment, addiction, vacillation, etc.

The consensual nature of tribal politics was disrupted through the land transaction with Governor Attean, which was made without proper consultation in the council house. This transaction gave unprecedented powers to the Indian "chiefs." By the Summer of 1835, it was evident that the legislature was willing to sanction this transaction. The sanction created ill feelings within the Penobscot community towards their governor, and new leaders were appointed for life. Therefore, whites could not be exonerated from having aided in the formation of factions within the Penobscot nation.

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<sup>56</sup>*Ibid*, 12 Feb. 1834.

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid*, 12 Feb. 1834.

This brief struggle over the land transfer, opposing a nearly unanimous Penobscot nation to a mostly united state committee, can be interpreted as a critical juncture in the relationship between the state and Maine Indians. For many years thereafter, the Penobscots turned against themselves, politically, mainly fighting over who should be authorized to act for, and to speak on behalf of, the whole tribe. Meanwhile the state gradually implemented a severalty act, passed in the wake of the land transfer, in an effort to fragment or "break up" the Penobscot nation into a society of nuclear families of farmers. Both political factionalism and severalty tended to undermine the consensual nature of tribal politics and to erode communal practices associated with Algonkian band society. In this regard, they both favored the state's "civilizing" process which aimed at limiting tribal representation to a few "chiefs" and at dissolving any "remnants" of a collective consciousness as manifested in residential bands, clan formation, and communal horticulture. However, political factionalism and social fragmentation could both be countered by systematic native efforts to sustain the influence of tribal councils in each political party and to maintain residential patterns associated with bands and extended families on individual plots of land.

Before 1835, no elections of tribal delegates to the Legislature were held. The offices of the Governor and Lieutenant Governor of the tribe were chosen for life, and John Attean and John Neptune held these two respective offices. A political division existed within the tribe with one group "bent upon disposing the 'old Governor,' and the other, upon supporting and sustaining the existing powers."<sup>58</sup> During the summer of 1835, delegates from the St. John and Passamaquoddy Tribes arrived in Oldtown because the Penobscots were holding an election for governor and lieutenant governor. What resulted from this election was "two sets of coordinate, co-equal and

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<sup>58</sup>*Indian Affairs Documents From Maine Executive Council, 1839, vol. 2, pp. 197-98.*

coextensive ruling powers."<sup>59</sup> One of these parties stated that this new election ended the rule of the old Governors, whereas the opposing party declared that the election was nullified because traditional Indian laws said that these two offices were for life. The portion of the tribe supporting the old Governors, Attean and Neptune, called themselves the Old Party. The other party or second council, who claimed the new election was legitimate and declared Tomar Socklexis as their new Governor, became known as the New Party. The New Party had support from some of the representatives of neighboring native groups. This political division continued to cause controversy within the Penobscot community, and the tribe asked the state for assistance. The state recognized the new election as legal and valid but decided to practice a policy of "non-interference with the municipal regulations of said tribe, so long as the laws of the land are observed."<sup>60</sup> The state practiced this policy of "non-interference" because it wanted tribal divisions to continue and to create disunity amongst the natives, consequently making them rely on the state for assistance rather than on each other. This policy was an example of the state's involvement in the "break up" of the Penobscot nation, which Williamson and Eckstorm tend to overlook. The state proved to be little or no help in the area of tribal factionalism, and the division continued to grow and cause problems in the future.

A petition to the Governor and Council was sent to Augusta in 1838 concerning innovations upon elections. The petition was signed by 46 members of the tribe. It requested "you to allow of no alteration in our well established modes of proceeding and to protect us from all innovations which will not prove for our good."<sup>61</sup> The request was an effort by the Old Party to get the state to support traditional and

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<sup>59</sup>*Ibid*, 1839, vol. 2, pp. 197-98.

<sup>60</sup>*Ibid*, 1839, vol. 2, pp. 198-200.

<sup>61</sup>*Ibid*, 1838, vol. 5, no. 79.



ancient election practices because "a party has of late risen up among us desiring more frequent elections."<sup>62</sup> This second party was the New Party and was now scaring the Old Party in their effort to gain leadership of the tribe by changing the traditional political system.

The New Party also sent a petition to Augusta in 1838 that stated the motives that induced them to begin a political reformation within the tribe. The New Party believed that the Old Party was ignorant to these motives. This particular petition mentioned several of their major concerns with the present government. It stated that for the past twenty-six years the tribe has been "under the government of persons who could not command themselves. They are supporters of an intemperate party such proceedings gave us universal disgust and brought the Indians who have never yet tasted a drop of ardent spirits into disrepute and disrepute with our good neighbors."<sup>63</sup> They blamed the controlling party for their present condition, which was their first complaint with their present political system.

Their second complaint was that "being numberly times destroyed and oppressed, but when we did demand why certain cases occurred our governor's answer was that they were not bound to give an account of their conduct, that they could do as they pleased as they were governors for life."<sup>64</sup> After stating their complaints, the New Party reminded the state that they had conducted an election to appoint new governors in 1835 in the presence of the St. Johns and Pleasant Point Indian Tribes. By way of this election, Toma Sockalexix was voted in as Governor and Eteon Orson as Lieutenant Governor. The Old Party and the New Party were attempting to gain

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<sup>62</sup>*Ibid*, 1838, vol. 5, no. 79.

<sup>63</sup>*Ibid*, 1839, vol. 6, no. 354.

<sup>64</sup>*Ibid*, 1839, vol. 6, no. 354.

political leadership of the tribe and were trying to manipulate state politics to accomplish their ends as tribal factionalism grew in 1839.

Tribal factionalism and election procedures were discussed as tribal delegates gathered in Canada to review issues of relevance. In 1839, the tribe once again requested money to send delegates to this native political gathering. This time they were going to Quebec. The object of the delegation was to unite allied tribes in order to discourage them from getting involved in any of the problems existing between the Province of New Brunswick and the State of Maine.<sup>65</sup> There was mounting tension over the location of the Maine-New Brunswick border. The Penobscots were not the only group to send delegates to other tribes. A petition in 1839 called for appropriations to pay for their existing debts which resulted from the cost of entertaining delegates from the St. John and Passamaquoddy Tribes who came to Old Town on business.<sup>66</sup> Travel expenses of tribal delegates, land claims, and the desire for a resident priest were the main issues addressed in Penobscot petitions; however, they seldom benefited from the legislation that was passed or decisions that were made.

In 1839, the tribe expressed their dissatisfaction with the way the interest for the Indian Fund was being distributed. They asked if money could be distributed by the "two Governors" instead of in the form of provisions and clothing disbursed by their agent. In response to this request, the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs stated that the terms of the bond given to the tribe in exchange for their remaining townships stipulated that the interest should be distributed "by the Governor and Council through the intervention of the Indian Agent."<sup>67</sup> The Committee believed that

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<sup>65</sup>*Ibid*, 1839, vol. 6, no. 445.

<sup>66</sup>*Ibid*, 1839, vol. 6, no. 354.

<sup>67</sup>*Ibid*, 1839, vol. 2, p. 199.

As long as this fund is disbursed by the Agent of this Government, he can be held to a strict accountability for the faithful and impartial discharge of this duty. The interest and welfare of each individual of the tribe can be studiously provided for, and the Executive is enabled to exercise its supervisory power which is believed will always be exerted for the promotion of the happiness, comfort and improvement of our red brethren: If on the other hand the Indian Governors get possession of this money, there is a danger that it might be appropriated to the reward of particular services, while the poor and indigent were left to suffer without remedy or relief. Upon the question whether this accruing interest, should be wholly expended in the purchase of provisions, clothing and the cultivation of their lands, or whether some part of it might not be advantageously applied by making payments to some of the Tribe in money. To some however, perhaps a large majority, it would be highly imprudent to pay the shares in money, while others would make good use of it. To alter the present mode of distributing the fund, would be more productive of more injurious than beneficial results.<sup>68</sup>

State officials possibly believed that the tribe was unable to make beneficial decisions on their own and remained reluctant to place actual money in the hands of tribal members. They saw their distribution methods as a means to control both the funds and the tribe itself. Through control and intervention, state officials could guarantee that internal tensions would continue, thus aiding in their efforts to detribalize the Penobscot nation.

On March 13, 1839, an act was passed and approved by the governor which authorized the tribe to elect their governor and lieutenant governor to a two year term. This act required the selectmen from Orono, Maine, to compile a list of male tribal members who were eligible to vote, and to hold and preside at a meeting consisting of these voters. A vote by voice would determine the results of the election. The election resulted in a victory for Attean and Neptune, as well as their old rules and ancient laws. The two leaders retained their positions as governor and lieutenant

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<sup>68</sup>*Ibid*, 1839, vol. 2, p. 199.

governor respectively.<sup>69</sup> It is evident with this act that the state felt that it was necessary to monitor the actions of the tribe.

Peol Polis is reported as having actively expressed that "while the white man reads books, changes his mind three times and reasons better every time, the Indian takes council before he chooses, then he has no occasion to change his mind...To the white population, the state governor is good one year and no good the following year. The Indian governor is good when he is chosen, and always good till he dies."<sup>70</sup> Polis's emphasis on the council, as opposed to books, and on tribal loyalty to councilors and officers, perfectly illustrates why the majority of Penobscots rejected western democratic electoral processes. Interestingly, then, though factionalism divided the Penobscot nation into two parties, thus provoking a rift that would render it difficult to achieve the unity displayed in early 1834, the natives proved unwilling to institute an electoral process which inherently places stress on individual candidates. They might disagree as to which council could hold office but still resisted discarding their ancient laws for western institutions. In this light, their relationship with the state of Maine was still guided by the principle of consensus building, within a given council, even as Maine politicians disregarded this form of pure democracy. Most Penobscot petitions were not only signed by the governor, lieutenant governor, and councilors, but frequently included all male heads of households who supported the petitioning party.

Beginning in 1835 while the Penobscots were dealing with political factionalism within their own community, the state began to focus on its severalty policy, especially its "civilizing" and allotment strategies. Both of these issues are related in that they

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<sup>69</sup>*Ibid*, 1845, vol. 8, no. 6.

<sup>70</sup>"The Penobscot Election," *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier*, 13 August 1839.

constitute manifestations of what historians Williamson and Eckstorm call the "break up of the tribe." These two issues also shed light on the state's efforts to implement the very old strategy of "divide and conquer." Similar to the federal government's Dawes Severalty Act, half a century later, the primary objective of the state's severalty policy was to induce the Penobscots to till the soil and labor at home. As the word "severalty" implies, this policy was to be conducted by separating nuclear families from their residential band and "fixing" them and their respective dwellings on separate lots of land, which would have meant on separate islands in this particular instance. In this sense, the state aspired to *severe* the many ties that bound extended families and clans into various clusters and to develop proprietary relationships among individual farmers. It was assumed that once they had realized the value of their individual property, heads of household would prove more willing to acquire stock, store seeds, enclose their fields and woodlots, and aspire to produce surplus for the market. In short, the state wished that its relationship with the natives evolve from that with "Indians in tribal affairs" to that of "Indians out of tribal affairs," namely independent commodity producers.

In 1835, the Maine government passed an act which was intended to create what it thought was a more "civilized" environment for the Penobscots and also to "detritalize" the Penobscot people by fragmenting bands into nuclear families living on a plot of about 20 to 30 acres of land. This act was approved on March 10, 1835, and consisted of ten sections. It directed the agent to make specific land surveys. These surveys were to be used in the construction of mills, booms, and fisheries, as well as in the construction of a public farm. Also separate lots were to be surveyed and assigned to each member of the tribe, male and female, that was twenty-one years of age or older. These lots were intended to support agricultural endeavors and could become the property of the native with the approval of the legislature. The island surveys and

the allotted tracts of land that are described in the first two sections of this act are displayed in Figures 3.1 to 3.11.<sup>71</sup> The act allowed the Penobscots to retain any improvements made on the land prior to this act by assigning them lots as close as possible to the areas that they had already been developing. However, it also stated that no Penobscot was allowed to sell or strip their assigned lot. If an individual was found breaking this rule or trespassing on another's lot, they would face criminal charges. It permitted the agent to lease mill and fishery privileges. The state dictated how the money was spent. The interest on the money from land sales, leases, and rents belonging to the Penobscots at the disposal of the Governor of the state. With the Governor controlling their money, their lopsided relationship with the state and its appointed officials continued and the Penobscots lost even more of their influence over future events.

At this time, the state acknowledged that "broken" families might be at a great disadvantage in this projected nuclear rural society. In conformity with its own "Poor Laws," the state proposed to care for widows, invalids, and orphans on a public farm headed by a farm superintendent. The state allowed for a suitable tract of land to be surveyed for a farm for those natives that could not support themselves. The site that was chosen for the farm was on Orson Island. The ground was immediately cleared and tilled. A barn was built and plans for a house were made. A superintendent, who was paid \$300 annually, was hired to supervise the farm. The farmland, which covered 224 acres, was laid out by Mark Trafton and the house was built by Joseph Kelsey. A farmer was employed on the island and with the help of some of the

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<sup>71</sup>*Land Records*, vol. 2, pp. 9-19.



**Figure 3.2**

*Land Allotment on Islands No. 27 and No. 28*

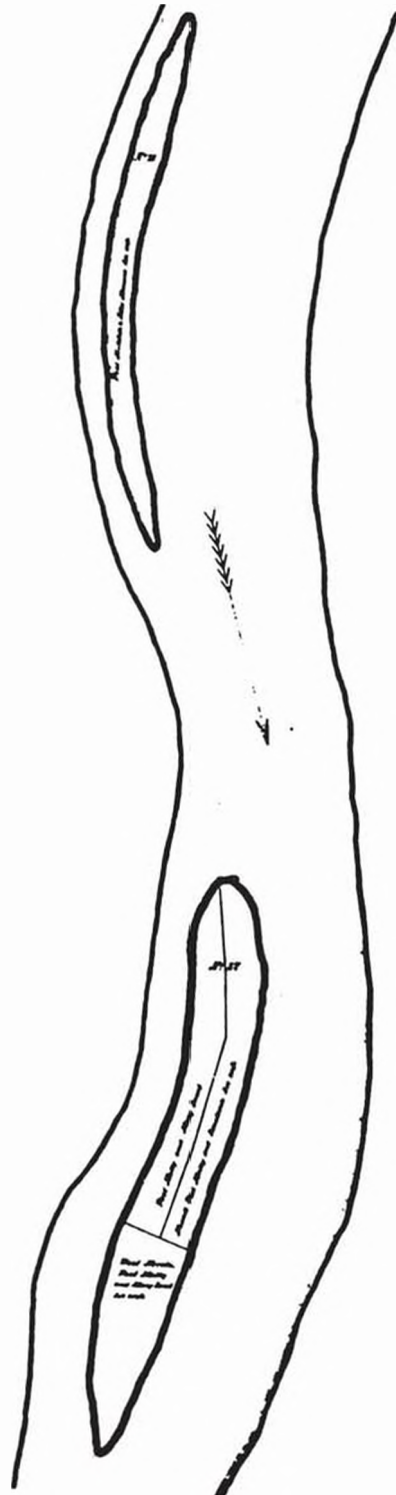




Figure 3.3

*Land Allotment on Islands No. 29-No. 53*

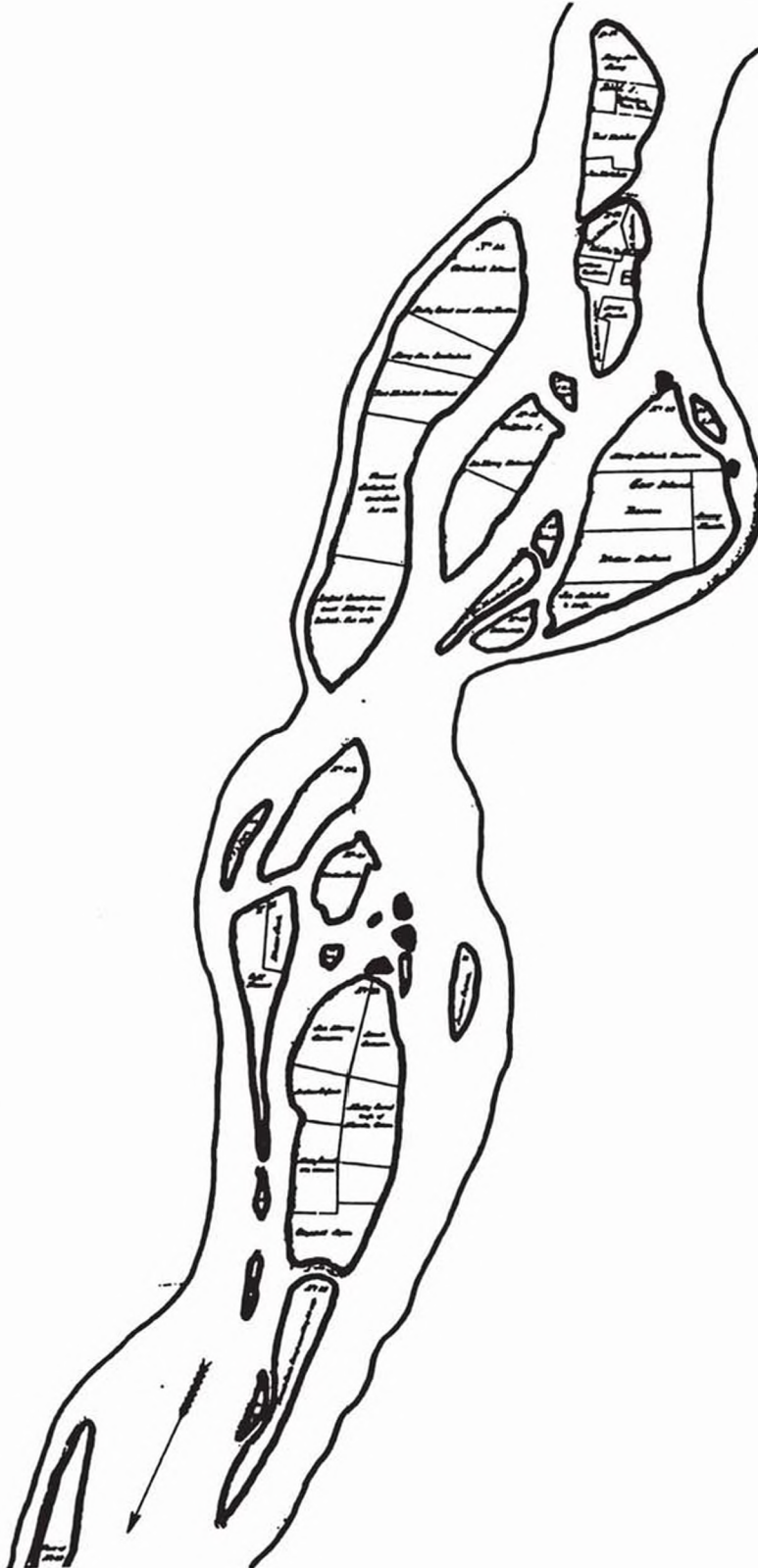
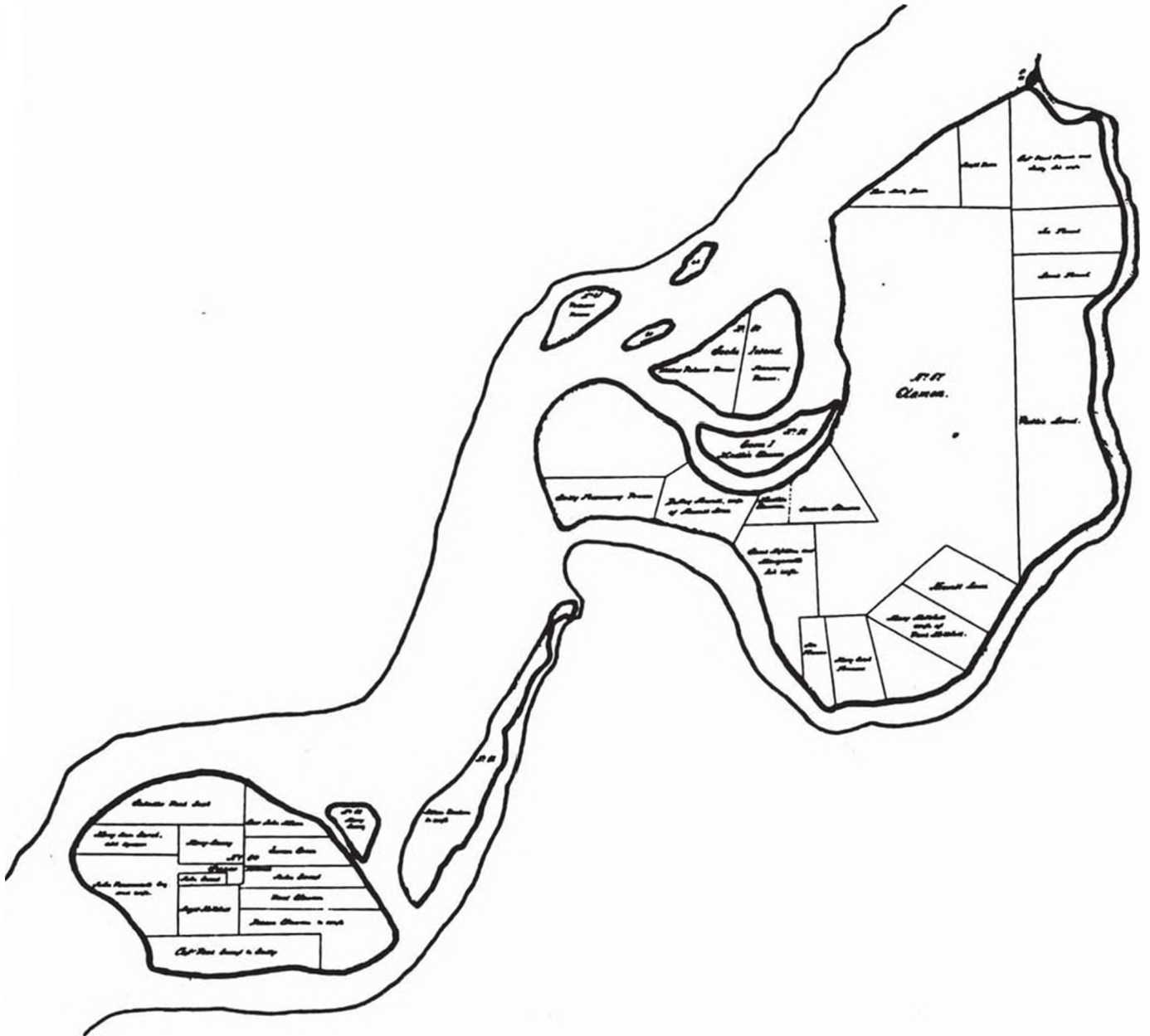


Figure 3.4

Land Allotment on Islands No. 54-No. 63



**Figure 3.5**

*Land Allotment on Islands No. 64-No. 73*

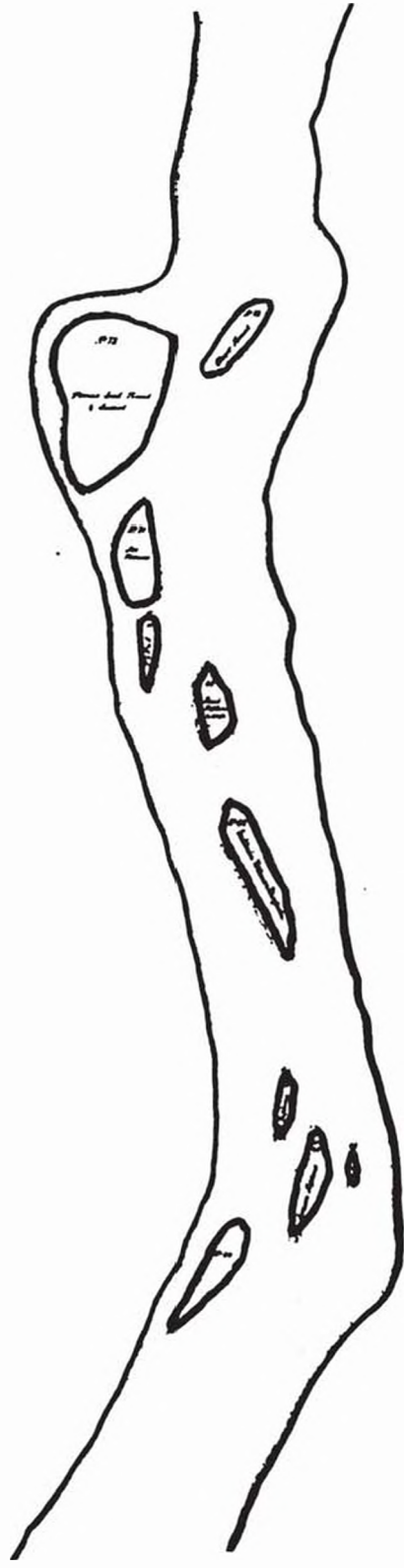


Figure 3.6

*Land Allotment on Islands No. 74-No. 84*

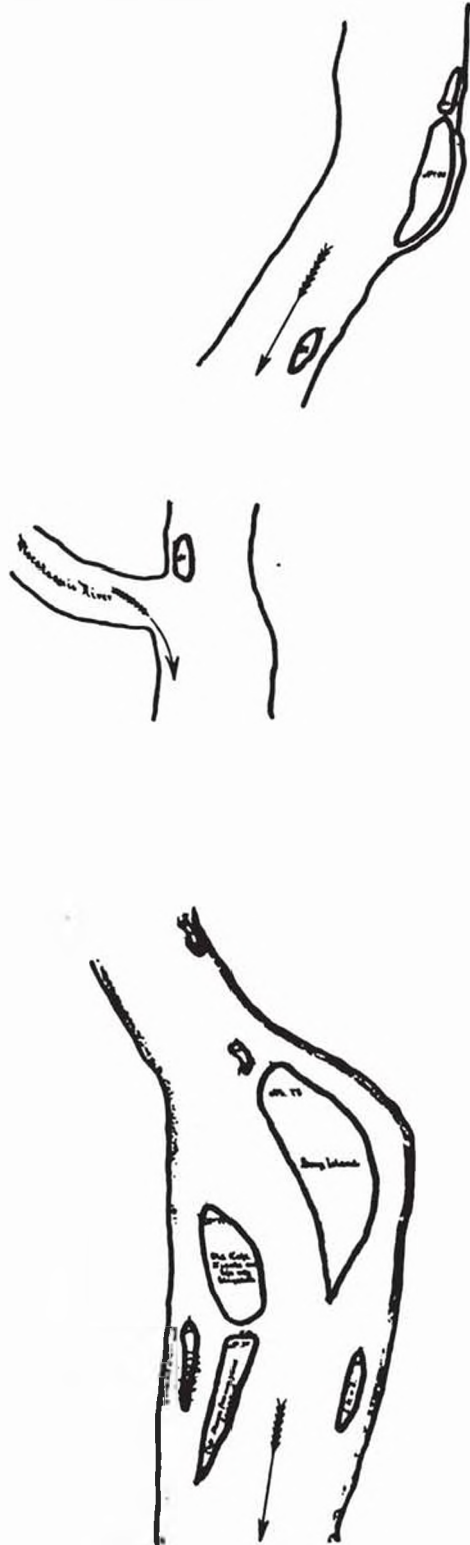


Figure 3.7

*Land Allotment on Islands No. 85-No. 103*

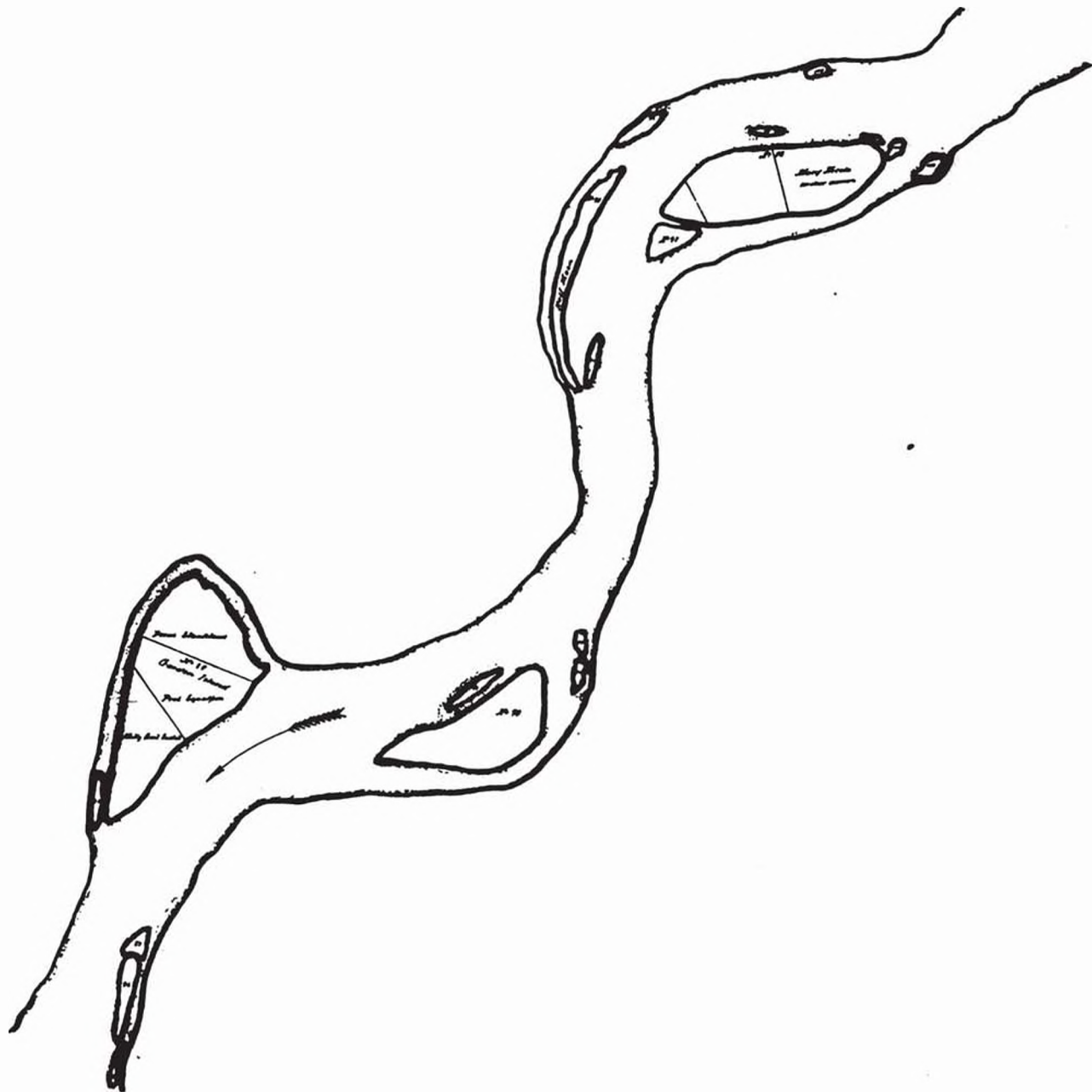


Figure 3.8

Land Allotment on Islands No. 104 and No. 105

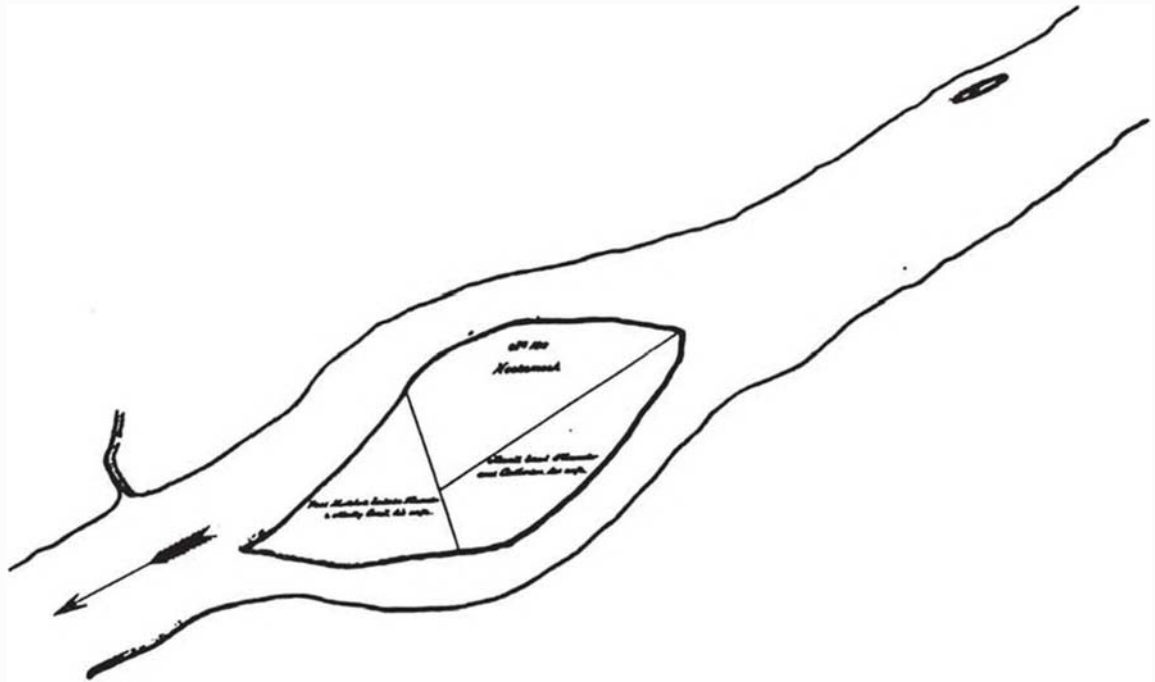


Figure 3.9

Land Allotment on Islands No. 106-No. 121

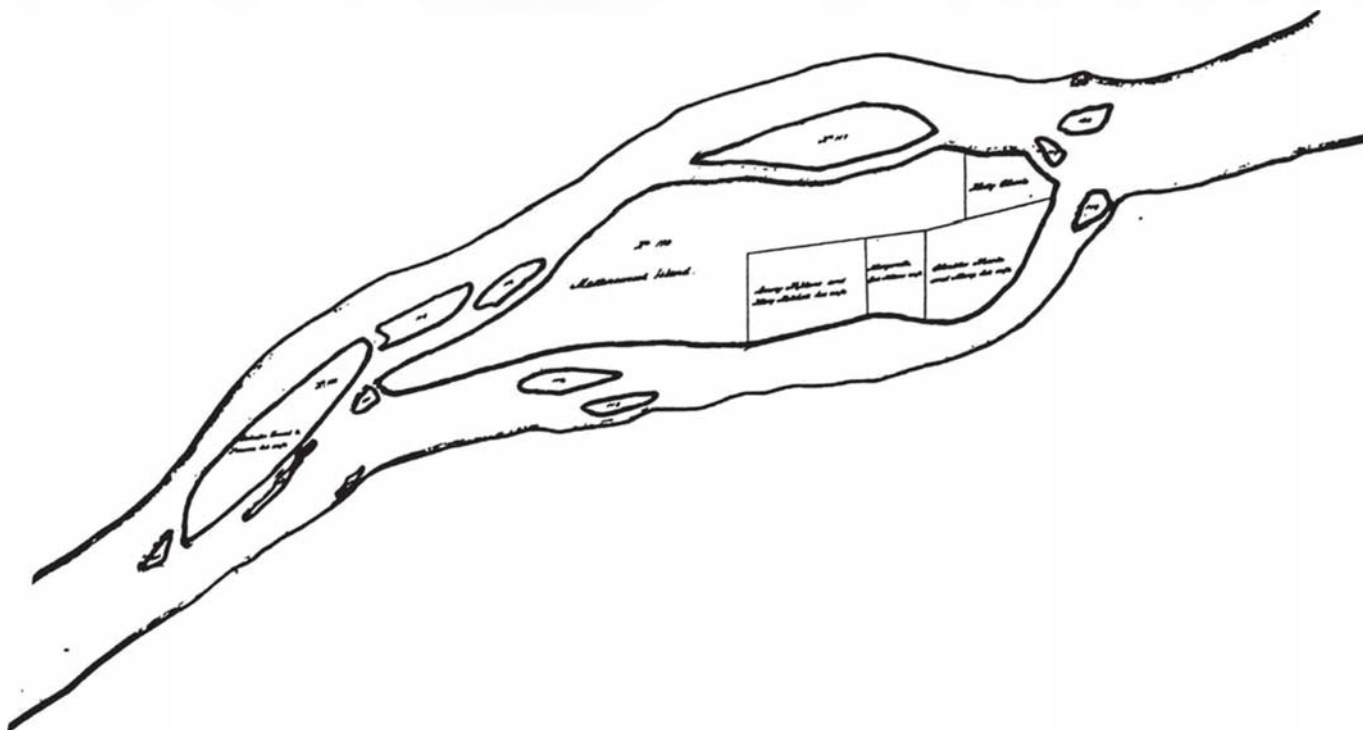
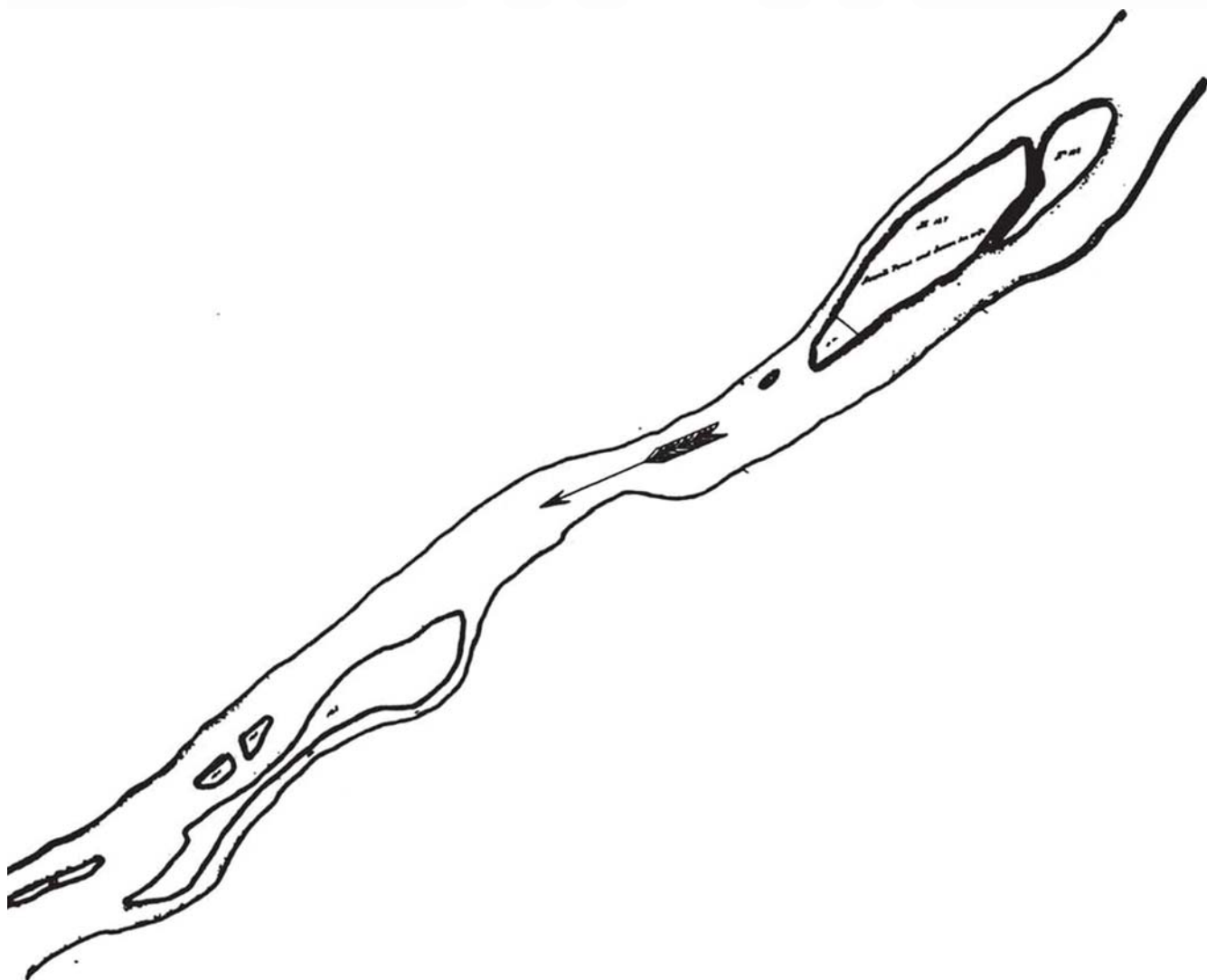


Figure 3.10

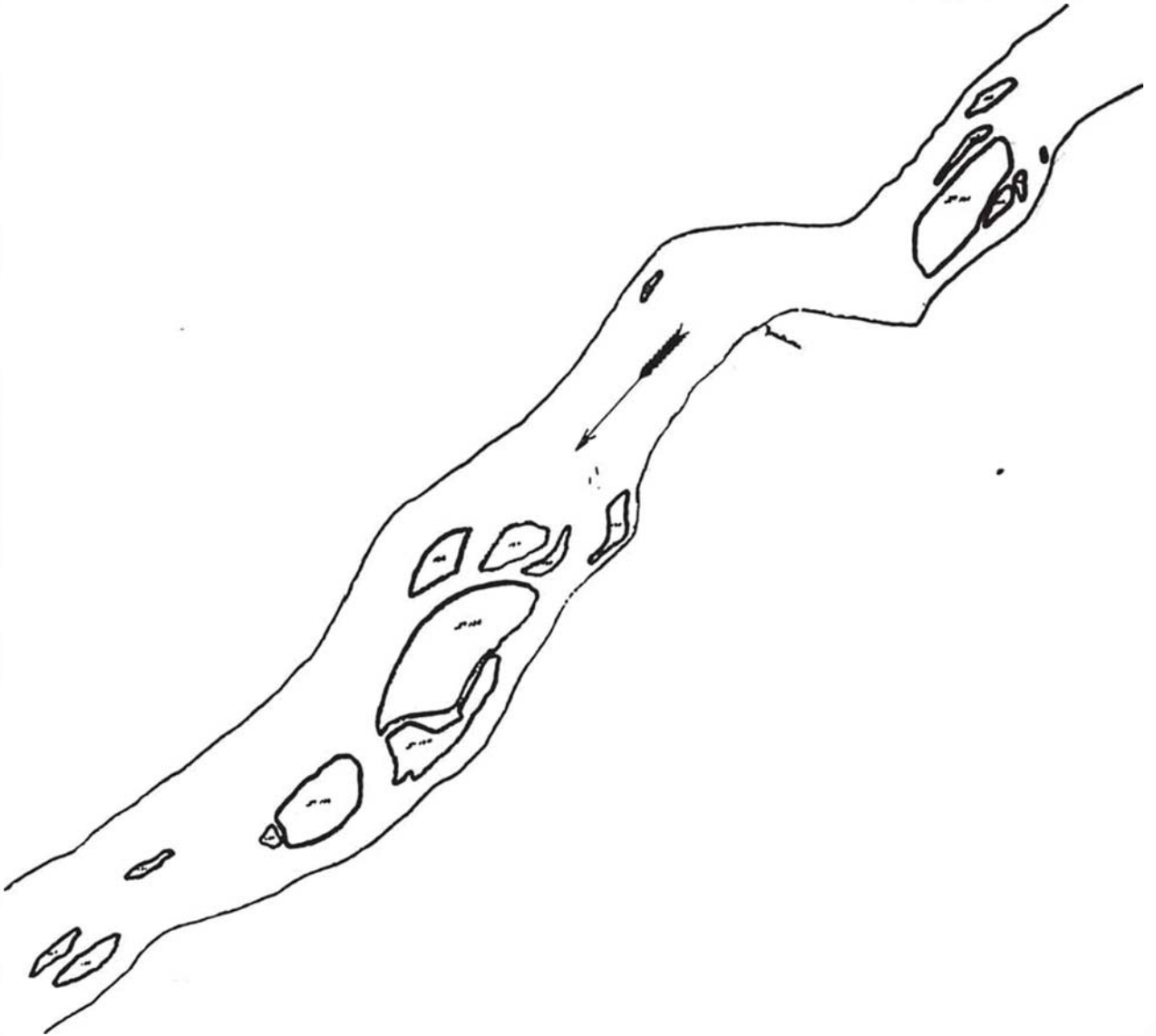
*Land Allotment on Islands No. 122-No. 128*





**Figure 3.11**

*Land Allotment on Islands No. 129-No. 146*



natives, he was able to keep the land under cultivation. With the exception of ploughing, this project proved to be the single most important drain on the "Indian fund" in the aftermath of the severalty act. These monies were appropriated in the hope that the Indian agent would not have to dole out a disproportionate amount of supplies to the needy especially during the winter; the aged, invalids, and orphans were simply expected to become self-sufficient on the Orson farm. As of June 1840, only eight plots of land had been cleared on Orson Island, and the committee appointed to report on Penobscot agricultural progress severely condemned the endeavor on two grounds. (1) It was in a bad location and it was too costly to clear the land. (2) Too many of the Penobscot people were opposed to this project.<sup>72</sup> This farm did not serve its intended purpose because the Indians were inclined to care for their own and the farm was leased in 1862.<sup>73</sup> The farm was yet another decision of the government that showed its propensity to dispose of tribal funds wastefully because of ill-conceived plans and lack of consultation with the natives themselves.

Besides aiding the needy of the tribe in agricultural production, this act passed in 1835 was also concerned with allotting tribal land to Penobscot families to promote agricultural production. It instructed the agent to survey and assign lots to tribal members, both male and female, that were at least twenty-one years old. The Penobscots probably found this procedure to divide their land very strange since it contradicted their notions of communal use of the land in the past. On several occasions, Penobscot families would cluster together in one area and share the other lots, almost in protest of this executive decision which tried to change the Indians to white farmers. However, according to government and agent reports, most

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<sup>72</sup>*Indian Affairs Documents From Maine Executive Council*, vol. 7, 1840, pp. 97-8.

<sup>73</sup>*Ibid*, vol. 10.

Penobscots were receptive to the idea of land allotment and farming, probably seeing it as their only remaining option now that "their means of obtaining even the necessities of life are exceedingly limited."<sup>74</sup> In 1835, a Council report addressed the policy of land allotment. It stated that, "We found them in general well pleased with the provisions of the Act, passed at the last session of the Legislature, providing for the allotment to each individual who should apply, a suitable piece of land for cultivation and to be desirous that the land might soon be surveyed and assigned."<sup>75</sup> At least by 1835 land was beginning to be allotted. However, in a letter from Indian agent Mark Trafton to the Governor and Council in 1836, Trafton writes,

Persuant to an act passed during the last session of the Legislature in addition to the several acts regulating the Penobscot Tribe of Indians, a survey has been made of the Islands in the Penobscot River from Old Town to Mattewamkeag Point. The plans however were returned to me, too late, to do more than set off that part of the island designed to the public use of the Tribe. The survey of the separate lots which may be claimed by the individuals of the Tribe under said act is, therefore, necessarily postponed until the opening of the Spring.<sup>76</sup>

Consequently, the plan for the policy of land allotment was a decision that took a couple of years to set in motion and get the Penobscots onto these plots of land. Whether or not these assignments were accepted is another question which depends on who is answering. To white society, it was a very effective and appropriate policy. On the other hand, the Penobscots viewed this severalty policy as troublesome and a waste of tribal funds.

The severalty act comprised at least one appealing feature for the Penobscots: it secured, through the white man's legal system, islands that had been threatened by

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<sup>74</sup>*Ibid*, 1835, vol. 2, p. 139.

<sup>75</sup>*Ibid*, 1835, vol. 2, p. 139.

<sup>76</sup>*Ibid*, 1836, vol. 5, no. 442.

encroachment, fire, physical aggression, and theft before the land transfer. In this light, the period of "Indian removal," which had begun in 1786 and culminated in the controversial 1833-34 "treaty," had now come to an end. The Penobscot would more or less occupy a 40 mile insular territory throughout the remainder of the century. Penobscot women were also apparently successful in obtaining from the Legislature a remarkably equitable legislation as the severalty act invariably refers to both men and women above 21 years of age as those eligible for land holding. Finally, there exists evidence that the act attracted a number of Penobscot to return to their residential area, thus increasing the tribe's population from four hundred to four hundred and eighty.<sup>77</sup>

In adherence with its severalty policy, the state continued to encourage agricultural development amongst the Penobscots in the years following the 1835 act. The state was greatly concerned with farming, which was previously addressed in the 1835 legislation. The act entitled "An Act to encourage industry and promote civilization among the Indians of the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot Tribes" was approved by the governor on March 6, 1838. This act established monetary payments, called "bounties," for the cultivation of certain agricultural products and required that the claimant show proof of the items that he or she produced. It was now the agent's responsibility to keep an account of all bounties paid to the specific tribal members.<sup>78</sup> A bounty was paid on wheat, potatoes, and other vegetables to the Penobscots who could provide adequate proof of the amount raised. The amounts paid per bushel were as follows: 20 cents per bushel of wheat; 10 cents per bushel of rye, oats, barley, peas, and beans; 5 cents per bushel of potatoes, turnips, parsnips, beets, and carrots.

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<sup>77</sup>*Ibid*, vol. 5, 1836, no. 442.

<sup>78</sup>*Maine Laws, 1822-1838* (Hallowell: Glazier & Co., 1828), vol. 1, pp. 465-66.

Bounties did encourage agricultural production on some scale.<sup>79</sup> However, incentives such as crop bounties entailed some potential inequity. Penobscot islands were not all equally fertile and some low lying grounds were more exposed to freshets and other adverse climatic conditions than other lots. Moreover, widows with young or sick children, aging elders, etc., were obviously not going to reap as much as families with greater labor power. An example of a list of agricultural bounties paid to Penobscots by their agent in 1842 appears in the Appendix D. This act was an example of yet another way the state responded to the numerous territorial disputes by promising the natives annuities if they agreed to adhere to the lifestyle that the state encouraged.

The final component of the severalty policy was concerned with education. A committee invested with the authority to advise the Governor and Council in Indian affairs had proposed to discontinue the Catholic school on Indian Island and to send Penobscot children away "from their own village" for their education. This recommendation had obviously been partly implemented in 1839 for, on January 14, 1840, the New Party petitioned the Governor and Council "that no more appropriations be made for instructing Indians of our Tribe away from the school established on Old Town Island. It is very expensive and our Indians will not attend a school abroad. A large majority of all our Indians, we fully believe [,] are opposed to appropriations of this kind."<sup>80</sup> Faced with such widespread opposition, the committee had to comply with "the expressed desire of the Governor and Council of the tribe expressed in Council," and recommended to continue with the parish school system initiated by Father Barber "as long as the [Indian] agent may think it to be for the interest and improvement of their youth and children."<sup>81</sup> Here is one interesting

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<sup>79</sup>*Indian Affairs Documents From Maine Executive Council*, vol. 10.

<sup>80</sup>*Ibid*, vol. 7, 1840, no. 39.

<sup>81</sup>*Ibid*, vol. 7, 1840, p. 96.

example where the Penobscot nation managed to counter severalty by supporting parochial schools, through the agency of their Catholic priest-teacher.

Between 1835 and 1839, two important issues emerged that would greatly affect the future of the Penobscots. The first was political factionalism within the tribe and the second was the state's severalty policy. Tribal factionalism would continue to grow and create more and more problems as it became a very prominent part of the Penobscot community, but this area remained one of the few that the state refused to address. In regards to the state's severalty policy, it tried to encourage agricultural production by allotting tracts of land and paying bounties on certain crops in their effort to "civilize" the natives. Consequently, the Indian agent gained more influence as regulating the state's new severalty policy became part of his job.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### *Internal Colonialism, 1840-1849*

The 1840s are a remarkable moment in Penobscot history. It is during this decade that we can actually read native "voices," a variety of "voices" -- men and women, Old and New Party members, leaders and non-leaders, etc. Increasingly, the Penobscots wrote to the state or had someone write on their behalf. This occurrence was not necessarily the result of increased literacy since frequent petitioners such as John Attean and John Neptune were not literate. However, they both acknowledged the significance of written documents in the Maine political process and had them written for them partly to circumvent the agent and to communicate their views to those who appropriated their funds on an annual basis.

The state, through its "civilizing" policy, used Penobscot resources for what it deemed most beneficial to the tribe, whether the natives agreed or not. Thus, the Penobscots experienced internal colonialism. Internal colonialism is "a state where an independent country has, within its own boundaries, given special legal status to groups that differ culturally from the dominant group, and has created a distinct administrative machinery to handle such groups."<sup>82</sup> This is the type of relationship that developed between the state and the Penobscots during the 1840s. The agent influenced this process to some extent through his annual reports which stressed certain priorities or needs. The Penobscots could try to gain access to their own funds by stating their most desired needs, by identifying inequities, and by criticizing the

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<sup>82</sup>Harald E.L. Prins, *The Mi'kmaq: Resistance, Accommodation, and Cultural Survival* (Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace College Pub., 1996) p. 3.

state's and agents' use of their resources. Native petitions displayed their great displeasure at being unable to manage their own resources that had been promised to them for their land. Still effected by the continually growing political division within the tribe, the Penobscots were a people resisting and protesting against the state of dependency implemented since the beginning of Maine statehood. As a process of subjugation leading to domestic dependence, internal colonialism can be documented by examining the conditions of political parties, interest groups, individuals, and heads of households.

During the 1840s, a new group of petitioners, individuals and heads of households, appeared that were of a more personal nature. These petitions represented a new development in Penobscot relations with the state. These petitions requested state assistance for needy Penobscot individuals who were usually widows struggling to support a large family. It was not until 1840 that these individuals began to apply directly to the state. This development could suggest that the administrative machinery set up to handle Indian affairs tended to neglect individuals and families who lived beyond the limits of the Indian agency.

A case study of Mary (Neptune) Nicola and her family band sheds much light on the subjugation process associated with internal colonialism. As a widowed mother of ten children, Mary avoided becoming dependent on the farm superintendent on Orson Island, opting instead for founding her own craft-working residential band in the Kennebec River valley. She also wanted her share of the tribe's annual dividend in the form of money, not goods at the agent's store. With this money, she intended to invest in her dwelling house, in land clearing, and her children's education. Her grievances and requests can be seen in her petitions to the state. In 1844, Mary Nicola asked for



family assistance and money to repair her house which was now in bad condition.<sup>83</sup> Evidently, Mary Nicola's band expressed many grievances against this administrative machinery that excluded or deprived them of a just proportion of the tribal fund. In spite of her quest for autonomy away from the "reservation," she remained dependent upon the Indian agency, especially in times of sickness and of major epidemics such as smallpox in 1847 and Asian cholera in 1849, because monetary assistance and relief could only be obtained from the Indian agent. In this situation of internal colonialism, her removal to Augusta and vicinity, away from close monitoring of the Indian agent, only made her family's situation more precarious.

Other Penobscot individuals also directly petitioned the state concerning personal grievances. The following petitions provide a few examples. Maria Newell in 1841 asked for a small allowance to enable her to maintain her children and send them to school.<sup>84</sup> Swassa Neptune, a poor one-handed man with a wife and six young children, petitioned the government in 1842 to allow him to draw 75 cents per week in seed to better support his struggling family.<sup>85</sup> These petitioners possibly by-passed their agent when asking for money, fearing that he would not be compassionate or that they had a better opportunity to get their demands met by going directly to those individuals who controlled their funds. Perhaps their condition was the result of a lack of attention from their respective agent or continuing pressure from the state, encouraging the breakdown of traditional family support networks, which is a direct component of internal colonialism.

Consequently, the Penobscots were forced to ask the government and their agent for help. This particular aspect of internal colonialism centered on the dependency and

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<sup>83</sup>*Ibid*, 1844, vol. 8, no. 31.

<sup>84</sup>*Ibid*, 1841, vol. 6, no. 414.

<sup>85</sup>*Ibid*, 1842, vol. 7, no. 220.

management of the “colonized.” However, on many occasions, the agent, even if he had shown concern in the past, disregarded his responsibilities, and in turn the natives were neglected. This feeling of neglect caused the tribe on several occasions to change their opinion of their present agent and withdraw any past support of his efforts. Governor Attean sent a petition to Augusta in 1844, which displayed the tribe's dissatisfaction with their current agent, Mr. Hayford. Hayford was the same agent that the tribe had supported for the previous two years. They now complained that Mr. Hayford lived too far away and had greatly neglected them, as well as the management of their supplies. The tribe wished that the state would replace him with an individual who lived in Old Town.<sup>86</sup> These petitions did not simply ask for assistance as struggling natives, but also expressed numerous complaints concerning the agent's arbitrary use of tribal resources and his neglect of them and their interests.

One area that the majority of Penobscot interest groups continuously believed was neglected by the state and agent was that of religious instruction and education, an area that was the topic of many native petitions and letters. Most Penobscots were evidently aware that adaptation “was the key to survival, as it had always been” and the natives “viewed education as a tool for adaptation as Indians.”<sup>87</sup> However, the issue of education is never so simple on a tribal basis because it tended to be inextricably linked to that of religious instruction and of a cultural contest between the Catholic Church and the Protestant denomination.

Some historians, such as Harold Prins, perceive the Roman Catholic Church as offering some protection against internal colonialism and subjugation. He writes, on

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<sup>86</sup>*Ibid*, 1844, vol. 8, no. 59.

<sup>87</sup>Olive P. Dickason, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992) pp. 236-37.

the Mi'kmaq's unwavering support for Catholicism, that the "Roman Catholic Church, with its wealth of symbols and rituals, strengthened the Mi'kmaqs' psychological resolve to defend their cultural heritage against British Protestant hegemony."<sup>88</sup>

Others, such as Fannie Hardy Eckstorm, made the issue of religious conflict and of Catholic repression among the Wabanaki peoples a leading problem in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Although perhaps the most influential white author on the "break up" of the Penobscot tribe, Eckstorm did not have the benefit of consulting native petitions. She merely criticized Father Vetromile's version of history. She relied on Thoreau's version of Joseph Polis' testimony and argued that the Catholic Church was against education. According to Eckstorm, the New Party supported the Catholic Church's opposition to education, and the Old Party ran into Catholic repression as it pledged to introduce education on Indian Island. However, we can see in the native petitions that both parties advocated education and religious instruction.

Here again they were angered that their own money could not be used to support the services of a Catholic priest. Only one letter concerning the Penobscots from a priest is present in the Council Reports during the 1840s. This letter is from Rev. Thomas O'Sullivan to Governor Fairfield and the Council and was sent on December 28, 1842. His letter begins by stating that he has rendered his services as Clergyman among the Penobscots but has never received any payment from the Maine government. He says that the natives are willing to support his services which they greatly desired and deem very important.<sup>89</sup> Catholic priests like Father Barber and

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<sup>88</sup>Prins, p. 167.

<sup>89</sup>*Ibid*, 1842, vol. 7, no. 385.

Father O'Sullivan worked on the behalf of the tribe as intermediaries in the relationship between the Penobscots and the State of Maine.

In 1842, the tribe petitioned Governor Fairfield and the members of the Council in their continuing struggle to get a resident priest. This petition demonstrates the intensity of the Penobscot's religious commitment:

That petitioners, as Christians and as Individuals, strongly attached to the Religion of their Christian Fathers, deplore that they are destitute of the means of exercising their religious rights or of adoring their God according to the dictates of their Consciences.

Petitioners would humbly represent to your Excellency and your honorable Council that as accountable beings to their Maker, if they be deprived of many advantages resulting from the practice of their holy Religion, they will not be prepared to render a satisfactory account of their soul to Him who created them.

Petitioners therefore beg your Excellency and your honorable Council to appropriate three hundred dollars to be paid annually out of their funds for the support of a Clergyman of their religious belief.

Petitioners would remind your Excellency and your honorable Council that before the dismemberment of the State of Massachusetts from that of Maine the Government appropriated said sum for said use.<sup>90</sup>

That they were treated better under the care of Massachusetts when dealing with religious issues possibly was the result of the close attention paid by Bishop Fenwick of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. On one occasion, Massachusetts met the Penobscot's request for a Catholic priest by appointing a man named Father Juniper Berthiaume (see Appendix C). This petition continues to address a division within the tribe that should not be ignored because this division complicated matters for the Penobscots by threatening their unity. It asked the state to "not be impressed with the idea that a great majority of the Indians are not in favor of having a resident

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<sup>90</sup>*Ibid*, 1842, vol. 7, no. 106.

Clergyman of their way of belief residing among them."<sup>91</sup> The petitioners pointed out that this notion was greatly exaggerated and asked that the "whole Tribe ought not be punished for the refractory opinions of a few."<sup>92</sup> In this particular instance, the cause of tribal factionalism was the necessity of a resident Catholic priest to assist and instruct the tribe. However, this division does not appear very significant, as only a few individuals went against the majority of the tribe.

In 1843, Peol Tomar and Salomon Swassin presented the Governor and Council with yet another petition for the support of priest for the tribe.<sup>93</sup> The natives were willing to support the costs of a resident priest with money from their own funds; they were not asking the state for monetary assistance, but only for access to their own funds. The petitioners stated that "a similar request has been unavailingly pressed on former occasions; and that a good share of our funds, instead of being appropriated to an object so useful, has been annually expended without yielding any benefit whatever to our Tribe."<sup>94</sup> This particular petition reveals the tribe's frustrations with the actions of the state, actions which they feel were very unsuccessful. It displays their continuing commitment to the Catholic faith, as well as the state's effort to control tribal money and dictate the way it should be spent. More importantly, it once again demonstrates another component of internal colonialism -- the management of the "colonized."

A petition from the Old Party to the state requested, once again, money to support the services of a resident Catholic priest. The petitioners believed that their "religious,

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<sup>91</sup>*Ibid*, 1842, vol. 7, no. 106.

<sup>92</sup>*Ibid*, 1842, vol. 7, no. 106.

<sup>93</sup>*Ibid*, 1843, vol. 7, no. 176.

<sup>94</sup>*Ibid*, 1843, vol. 7, no. 176.

moral, and social happiness depends mainly on this arrangement."<sup>95</sup> In 1844, the New Party also sent a petition to Augusta. In this petition the leaders pointed out that

Peol Polis pretends to go over to oppose the Priest, hoping to operate on your prejudices, but you should remember that the Catholic is all the religion the Indian has, and good or bad, if he has not this he has none. The Protestant will not take the trouble to preach to us, and the man who attempts to break down what little religion we have, is as bad a member, as one would be among you, who endeavors to shake your belief in the Bible. We have had it is true, one or two intemperate and bad men among us as Priests, but you cannot charge such men as Bishop Fenwick as being a bad man, or disposed to mislead us. Now at heart Peol Polis is an infidel--he discharges no religious duties and does not attend worship upon the Sabbath.<sup>96</sup>

This particular petition shows that the New Party was more vehemently opposed to the presence of non-Catholics in their midst than the leaders and councilors of the Old Party. Yet this aspect does not make the Old Party leaders opponents of the Catholic Church, as Eckstorm suggests. Both Penobscot political parties vainly requested the presence of a resident Catholic priest and religious instructor on the Island. The main difference in their position on "education and religious instruction" appears to be that, while the New Party proved very ideological in its support for Catholicism and Catholic education, leaders of the Old Party accepted Protestants in their midst and even appointed Peol Polis as their representative in Augusta.

In 1848, a petition from several Penobscots appeared in the Council reports from the end of the period and portrayed a religious situation that drastically lacked government assistance. This particular petition once again displayed the condition of the tribe along with an insistence that their problems stemmed from the absence of a resident priest among them. The Penobscots continued to hope for a resident priest

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<sup>95</sup>*Ibid*, 1843, vol. 7, no. 190.

<sup>96</sup>*Ibid*, 1845, vol. 8, no. 6.

instead of looking to their Indian agent for assistance. It appears that most of the tribe believed that a Catholic priest would serve their educational needs better than a Protestant who was selected by their agent. A portion of the petition states,

Sadly the red man turns his eye back to his Island home. His church stands silent and deserted. It seldom echoes to the sound of the teacher's voice. His children are neglected. They idle away all of the days of their youth. They have no one to instruct them. They grow up to manhood. They have learned all the bad. The good came not near them. They have no guide. They learned no industry. They learn no temperance. They learn no good manners. They learn no truth. Their sins become very great. The youth is more degraded than his father. He rises not higher than he should. But sinks lower than his ancestor. The white man grows wiser and wiser. The Indian falls lower and lower. This is the answer to his inquiry.

The red man would remedy the evil. He asks for a priest to dwell with him to teach him in all that is good. But the priest would need a house to live in. He must be comfortable to be contented. He also needs money to support him. Our father holds in his hands the property of his red children. Will he grant to them an appropriation sufficient to build a house that shall be convenient for a priest? Will he also appropriate three hundred dollars for the said priest's support? The Indian earnestly hopes that his prayer will be granted by his white fathers and to this end will always pray.<sup>97</sup>

This petition, an attempt to comprehend cultural changes, describes the cultural disintegration that was occurring within the tribe because their young had been neglected by the state's actions. These young tribal members lived in a world full of sin, surrounded by the growing power of the whiteman, without a guide and little hope for the future. This reason was why they continuously searched for money to secure a priest for their village and instruction for their young. Catholic priests continued to come and go, but it was not until 1926 that they finally got the resident priest that they had so greatly desired.

Specific native individuals were not the only group within the Penobscot nation to question the process of internal colonialism through petitions. During the 1840s, three

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<sup>97</sup>*Ibid*, 1848, vol. 9, no. 55.

different and distinct interest groups emerged and also petitioned the state. These groups varied in size, but all had a significant impact on the religious, political, and traditional workings of the Penobscot community, even though they were expressing a minority position. They were concerned with the election of delegates, traditional customs and practices, and religious instruction.

Peol Polis presented the Governor and Council with a petition signed by several tribal members in 1843. This portion of the tribe believed that their degraded condition resulted from "the ignorance of letters, of the arts of civilized life, and of the nature of true religion."<sup>98</sup> They stated that "we cannot teach ourselves letters, nor are we allowed to be instructed in the religion we suppose that it teaches."<sup>99</sup> This group of Penobscots pointed out that they had been meeting on the Sabbath for worship and instruction under the direction of a Mohegan Indian, who was a Dartmouth graduate and a current student at the Bangor Theological Seminary. This group complained that at their last meeting several other tribal members, under the guidance of the Catholic priest and the Governor of the Penobscots, forcibly removed their Mohegan teacher from the Island and told him never to return. Now these petitioners asked that the state instruct their agent to protect them, their religious freedom, and their teacher from the will of the Catholic priest. In this instance, the small group of Penobscots received the instruction that they had desired for so long, but it was not from the Catholic priest. Rather, their instruction was from an "outsider," who was not accepted by the majority of the tribe because of their strong commitment to Catholicism.

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<sup>98</sup>*Ibid*, 1843, vol. 7, no. 139.

<sup>99</sup>*Ibid*, 1843, vol. 7, no. 139.



In this particular instance, a native Protestant group petitioned the Legislature and the Governor of Maine to request the protection of the Indian agent to be free to worship God "in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of our consciences" and for "such teacher or teachers of religion or science, as we may have."<sup>100</sup> This is a case of Catholic repression of a native Protestant preacher, which was not uncommon at this point in time. Eckstorm simply did not realize that, by relying on Polis' testimony against the Catholic Church, she was identifying a minority position within the Penobscot nation, a position held by Peol Polis, Sal Ninepence, Fransway Peneas, Newell Peol, Lewey Mitchell, Newell Polis, Jo Mary Mohawk, Mitchell Swasson, and Peol Sockbeson. The feelings of the entire Penobscot community must be taken into account before disregarding ties to Catholicism. This sole evidence of Penobscot dissatisfaction with a Catholic clergyman is hardly enough to signal a tribal division along religious lines, but it does point to one Penobscot interest group.

A second interest group emerged that included roughly thirty percent of Penobscot adult males, making this group numerically more important than the Protestant group mentioned previously. Its primary objective was to put an end to "wasteful" expenditure of tribal funds into old customs and costly inter-tribal political traditions. It sought to discontinue funding delegations "to the Tribes in the State of New York, and to the Tribes in New Brunswick and in Canada," for such missions "are without any practical use or benefit, and should be interdicted."<sup>101</sup> It also requested that the state should not furnish provisions for the Christmas tribal feast, including an ox or a cow, "which is generally devoured and wasted producing idleness and dissipation."<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>100</sup>*Ibid*, 1844, vol. 8, no. 46.

<sup>101</sup>*Ibid*, 1844, vol. 8, no. 54.

<sup>102</sup>*Ibid*, 1844, vol. 8, no. 54.

Finally, they requested the right to choose and to contract whomever they wished for ploughing their land because the natives hired for this purpose by the Indian agent did not always do the work as well "as when it is done by the white."<sup>103</sup>

It is not known if this interest group persisted over time, but its ideological position clearly sets it apart from other petitioners and from the two political parties. This faction can be said to have been more "assimilationist" in rhetoric and in intent because it advocated the termination of the Wabanaki Confederacy, it perceived communal festivities as wasteful, and it promoted the right to contract independent commodity producers. With its emphasis on thrift and industry, this interest group provides evidence that internal colonialism had made some inroad in repressing cultural survival strategies in the minds of a number of Penobscot natives, perhaps even breaking their psychological resolve to maintain their own ethnic identity.

A debate arose between the two parties in 1844, which was over the question of who should represent the Penobscot nation in Augusta. Political factionalism worked along side the policies of internal colonialism in an effort to break up the tribe. During this debate, the third interest group emerged and forcibly stated its opinion. Governor Attean and other members of the Old Party reported to the state that they had selected John Neptune as their delegate, and any other tribal members arriving in Augusta and claiming to hold this position should be ignored. This report stated that most of the New Party were willing to have Neptune as their representative, and only a very few remained reluctant. At one point, the New Party tried to hold an election of their own delegate, but they decided not to send anyone, as the election was disrupted by a fighting amongst themselves.<sup>104</sup> This election gave the Old Party an opportunity to

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<sup>103</sup>*Ibid*, 1844, vol. 8, no. 54.

<sup>104</sup>*Ibid*, 1844, vol. 8, no. 30.

criticize the New Party for their lack of unity, and in turn raise questions of their effectiveness if they gained political leadership of the tribe. A report from Thomas Bartlett described the chaotic election.

Bartlett's report stated that he was selected by the Indian agent to try and unite these two opposing parties in their choice of a representative to the legislature. The Old Party refused to participate, stating that they had already chosen their delegate and had notified the New Party. Therefore, Bartlett was only able to assemble the members of the New Party, which had selected two candidates. The two men were Solomon Swason and Jo Sockbeson. The election resulted in a victory for Solomon Swason, which greatly angered Sockbeson and his friends who responded with violence. The report mentioned that Peol Molly "seized the paper on which I had taken the vote and destroyed it and commenced beating all near him in which he was aided by his sons and Jo Sockbeson."<sup>105</sup> Bartlett's report showed that in this instance another split occurred within the tribe, and this time it divided the New Party. During the 1840s, tribal factionalism was amplified and magnified for, not unlike the Mi'kmaq, the Penobscots were now being "coerced into a political system of internal colonialism" by the state and its policies.<sup>106</sup> Then the most striking feature about Penobscot political divisions during the 1840s could be how native leaders were now compelled to disclose every power struggle, every divisive argument to the state. Politically speaking, internal colonialism entailed a loss of sovereignty and self-determination.

The practical effects of Penobscot loss of sovereignty and self-determination are quite manifest in the case of tribal petitions to Augusta. Whereas earlier petitions

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<sup>105</sup>*Ibid*, 1844, vol. 8, no. 30.

<sup>106</sup>Prins, p. 167.

generally consisted of grievances against white intrusion, fraud, aggression, mismanagement at the Indian agency, and inaction in Augusta, later petitions originating from both political parties are riddled with internal strife as to who should represent the tribe and which council was empowered to "rule." All too often, because of the state limiting the number of tribal representatives to the government, Penobscot leaders and councilors sought to obtain validation for their respective delegates by discrediting the reputation or denigrating the character of other notable speakers. Native petitions from the 1840s, illustrate the divisive effect of the Penobscot political relationship with the state of Maine.

For example, the Old Party sent a petition to Governor John Fairfield in 1840. This petition notified the legislature that Peol Tomar, impersonating a member of the Old Party, had delivered documents to Augusta. The petitioners asked that the state ignore his requests.<sup>107</sup> The Penobscot's political situation was still being disrupted by the presence of two competing parties seeking control of the tribe and the state remained reluctant to interfere, possibly hoping that factionalism would aid in the state's efforts to detribalize the Penobscots. With their unity broken, the natives would be forced to be more dependent upon the state.

The Old Party sent another petition to Augusta in 1843. The petitioners stated that members of the New Party had committed crimes and acts of violence in their attempts to gain political control of the government. They had vandalized Governor Attean's home, the store, and the school.<sup>108</sup> As political divisions continued to grow, the Old Party accused the New Party of criminal activity, which caused them to turn to the state and ask for protection of their property before things got out of hand. Also in

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<sup>107</sup>*Indian Affairs Documents From Maine Executive Council*, 1840, vol. 6, no. 36.

<sup>108</sup>*Ibid*, 1843, vol. 7, no. 190.

1843, Sole Swasson selfishly misrepresented that the tribe wished to remove the Indian agent because he was prevented "to cut, and take away a quantity of very (sic) valuable oak and other timber, growing on the public lands of said Tribe, and which belonged to the public and not to him individually, and was prevented by the watchful care of the Agent."<sup>109</sup> Misrepresentation was a common reason for disagreement within the Penobscot nation.

Two Penobscot petitions to the state in 1845, are excellent examples of instances when reputations were discredited. Peol Polis, a Penobscot delegate to the Wabanaki confederacy and the Grand Council in Kanahwake, is not only an "infidel," in the eyes of the "New Party," but also a "dishonest" individual who only pretends to be literate.<sup>110</sup> Another petition mentioned Old John Neptune. It stated that he "was permitted to plunder, better[a]y and live and roam about in drunkenness and foolish extravagance, on the funds and property of our Tribe."<sup>111</sup> Rivalries and character attacks became worse and more frequent.

In 1847, in a petition to the state, Governor Attean and other members of the Old Party once again addressed the issue of tribal factionalism as it related to the efforts of their present Indian agent. Their petition revealed their dissatisfaction with their current agent, who they believed failed to treat tribal members equally. The petitioners gave some of the blame to the state because it had not appointed a good and honest man as their agent.<sup>112</sup> The state had disobeyed the terms of the treaty the tribe signed with the State of Maine in 1820. The Old Party leaders were frustrated because their agent, Mr. Hayford, favored the New Party.

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<sup>109</sup>*Ibid*, 1843, vol. 7, no. 139.

<sup>110</sup>*Ibid*, 1845, vol. 8, no. 6.

<sup>111</sup>*Ibid*, 1845, vol. 8, no. 226.

<sup>112</sup>*Ibid*, 1847, vol. 9, no. 20.

If any of the New Party want any provisions they get it, or clothing they get it. If their widows want blankets they have them. If any of them are sick they are provided for whereas if any of the Old Party want anything of the kind it is put off can't attend to it they can get along without or I am busy can't attend to it I'll see you some other time and every time we want to see the agent we have to go to Bangor twelve miles at an expense of several dollars which we have to bear ourselves and then we have to come home without seeing him oftentimes as he is away on some other business of his own, and another thing if we should see him he scarcely gives us any satisfaction.<sup>113</sup>

The Old Party attributed their agent's favoritism to the fact that the New Party had joined with the whites and under their influence had selected the agent that they saw fit. Governor Attean hoped that this petition, concerned with the actions of the Indian agent, would not be ignored by the state as so many others had been in the past. They wanted an agent who resided in Old Town and treated all tribal members alike while disregarding political divisions. Thus, in 1847, the Old Party displayed their concern with the actions of their Indian agent, but their real complaint was with the state, which had appointed this man. Their dissatisfaction also turned into an attack on the New Party, which they believed were forsaking traditional and ancient practices that had been so important to the tribe in the past, and siding with the whiteman who was responsible for many of the Penobscot's problems.

The question now is whether this internal strife was simply politics as usual or were the Penobscots undergoing an extremely disruptive transition as a result of the new administrative machinery set up by the state of Maine? According to Prins, nineteenth-century governments officials operated "from a concept of hierarchical and authoritarian leadership" which tended to boost the status of Native officeholders "by a process of external validation." In turn, this process of external validation contributed

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<sup>113</sup>*Ibid*, 1847, vol. 9, no. 20.

to undermine the democratic principles of Native political organization.<sup>114</sup> While Penobscot political parties and interest groups did seek validation for their representatives in Augusta, the Penobscots apparently could not accept the idea that any portion of their population, any family bands or clans, might be inadequately represented because it had fewer voices or votes -- which is a basic outcome of the electoral system. Both the Old and the New parties looked to state officials and the Governor and Council for legitimization during the 1840s. The Old Party claimed legitimacy in traditions and the New Party in recent history. Occasionally, this division between two rival political parties resulted in different relationships with state officials -- more accommodationist in one case and more oppositional in the other.

When the state of Maine organized a tribal election in 1839, to ascertain by a *viva voce* vote whether the Penobscots "would accept a law providing for the annual election of their Governor," forty individuals "were in favor of accepting the law, and sixty opposed." However, the forty who supported abrogating the traditional system of government did not consider themselves eliminated. On June 25, 1842, they held an election, "against the wishes of the majority, and a former decision of the tribe" and further "threatened to cut down the liberty pole of the old party, which if attempted, will be forcibly resisted."<sup>115</sup> Now that they had their own governor and lieutenant governor and that they met in council, supporters of the New Party felt entirely justified to send their own representatives to, and to petition, the State House on behalf of *their* Penobscot people. As tension mounted between both parties, and as violence was allegedly directed at the dwelling of Governor Attean so as to render it

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<sup>114</sup>Prins, p. 174.

<sup>115</sup>"Penobscot Indians," *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier*, 24 June 1842.

"unfit for repairs," it becomes increasingly obvious that Old and New Party leaders could no longer properly represent their rivals and their families.<sup>116</sup>

Another election held by the New Party in 1843, broke into "a fight among themselves," and Governor Attean claimed "that most of said New Party ... are content to be represented by said Neptune," of the Old Party.<sup>117</sup> Yet on January 1, 1844, Attean himself reported that "after long continuance of trouble for many years of the party business. We are determined to sink or swim. We are angry and don't want to live any longer in this kind of way." Attean proposed to seek resolution to the issue of leadership in "Conawaga" [Kanahwake] "to ascertain which party will carry the day."<sup>118</sup> Both Attean and his rival, Tomer Sockalexix, were then seeking validation for their respective positions and parties, not in Maine, but at the Grand inter-tribal Council of the Mohawks, Quebec Algonkians, and the Wabanaki peoples, in eastern Canada. The outcome of this inter-tribal gathering is unclear, but the following year, in 1845, leaders of the New Party requested an order in council directing the agent to certify tribal representatives so that "no other shall impose himself upon the Legislature or upon you." Socklexix and Orson further asserted their legitimacy as tribal leaders by requesting from state authorities "a certificate ... so that when they travel from Tribe to Tribe, they can be recognized as they ought to be."<sup>119</sup>

This quest for validation, certification, and legitimization along with the need to discredit Penobscot speakers who postured as tribal representatives in Augusta without having been empowered "by the constituted authorities among us," leave little doubt about the Penobscots' difficult transition from a democratic system of council

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<sup>116</sup>*Indian Affairs Documents From Maine Executive Council, 1843, vol. 7, no. 190.*

<sup>117</sup>*Ibid, 1844, vol. 8, no. 30.*

<sup>118</sup>*Ibid, 1844, vol. 8, no. 54.*

<sup>119</sup>*Ibid, 1845, vol. 8, no. 226.*



deliberations -- where every male could be a speaker and a representative of his band or clan -- to a hierarchical system of certified speakers and "authorities." However, this is the only political system state officials would admit, and Penobscot factionalism persisted long after the middle of the nineteenth century. Ultimately, a *modus vivendi* was reached whereby both "legitimate" parties alternated in power on a yearly basis, holding elections only within each party to delegate their own speaker to the state capitol. In the mean time, however, critical issues affecting the whole indigenous nation were being overshadowed by internal conflict.

Unable to control their own resources, the Penobscots were forced to depend upon the state and their agent for assistance. This process of subjugation leading to domestic dependence is documented in the petitions from heads of households, of interest groups, and of political parties. State officials continuously ignored the natives' most acute needs and used the tribe's resources as they saw fit, whether the natives agreed or not. One of their most desired objectives was money to support the services of a Catholic priest, and they actively petitioned the Governor and Council on their own behalf by way of the written word, whether as individuals, band members, political factions, or tribal spokesmen.

## CONCLUSION

The years from 1820 to 1849 brought great change for the Penobscots because they had entered into a new relationship. In 1820, Maine became a state and assumed the responsibility to care for its native population, a job that Massachusetts had performed in the past. The Maine government declared that the natives were not sovereign people, but wards of the state that had to obey its rules and regulations, and so began their relationship with the State of Maine.<sup>120</sup> The Governor and Council appointed an Indian agent to serve as the intermediary between the Penobscots and the State. This system was initially similar to the one they had experienced while under the care of Massachusetts, where the state attempted to protect the Penobscots from themselves, rather than from white society. Maine modeled its relationship with the Penobscots after the one the tribe had with Massachusetts. The difference is that Maine's policies only became more refined as white settlement reached Penobscot lands. Maine still took more native land and made decisions that aided in the "break up" of the Penobscot nation.

The many territorial matters that started in 1820 came to a resolution in 1834 when the Penobscots lost their remaining four townships of land, after a long and heated debate, to the state in exchange for a fifty thousand dollar bond to be placed in the State Treasury. With the release of these four townships, the stage was set for an insular reservation. With their lands gone and the state's unwillingness to allow them to manage their own funds, the Penobscots were forced to ask the government and their agent for assistance, creating a state of dependency. Most problems occurred

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<sup>120</sup>Calloway, *The Abenaki*, p. 76.

when the government or agent failed to ask the natives how they wanted their funds from land sales to be spent. Instead, the money was put in the hands of the agent to the tribe to be spent as he chose, which made the Penobscots even more dependent upon the Maine government.<sup>121</sup> The state and agent did provide the tribe with some agricultural instruction in an attempt to "civilize" the natives, but neglected the areas of education and religion, which could have greatly benefited the tribe by making them literate and less dependent upon others, not possessing the same value system, to express their views. The state wanted the Penobscots to remain dependent, making them easier to control and more compatible with white society.

Between 1835 and 1839, the Penobscots began to turn against themselves, politically, mainly fighting over who should be authorized to act for, and to speak on behalf of, the whole tribe. At the same time, the state gradually implemented a severalty act in an effort to fragment the Penobscot nation into a society of nuclear families of farmers. Both political factionalism and severalty tended to undermine the consensual nature of tribal politics, to erode communal practices, and to dissolve the collective consciousness associated with residential bands, clan formation, and communal horticulture. Political factionalism and social fragmentation were countered to some extent through native efforts to sustain the influence of tribal councils in each political party and to maintain residential patterns associated with Algonkian band society.

The Penobscots entered into a remarkable period of their history beginning in 1840. It is during this decade that we can actually read native "voices." Men and women, Old and New Party members, and leaders and non-leaders petitioned the state. This

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<sup>121</sup>*Ibid*, p. 76.

occurrence does not necessarily suggest that the natives had become literate because on most occasions an interpreter would actually write the petitions. These numerous petitions reveal the condition of several groups within Penobscot society, which included individuals and heads of households, interest groups, and political parties. Through the examination of these groups, a process of subjugation leading to domestic dependence, which was implemented by the state, is evident.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the Penobscots had lost or released most of their land and were legally confined to the islands in the Penobscot River, creating the setting for an insular reservation. Legislation enacted between 1820 and 1849 was basically directed at land sales, agricultural production, and land allotment, while the areas of religion, education, and tribal factionalism were neglected, even though they were the matters that the Penobscots were the most concerned with during this period. Decisions were made by the Governor and Council and carried out by the agents or appointed commissioners, leaving the Penobscots with little influence over their own futures which aggravated many tribal members, resulting in numerous native petitions to the state. In the eyes of the state, its decisions were meant to benefit the Tribe, but the decisions were unsuccessful and only made the Penobscots more dependent upon the actions of the state and the Indian agent. Thus, the Penobscots had moved from a once powerful nation that shared the land with its brothers and nature to their dependent situation in 1849, mainly as a result of their relationship with white society and more specifically with the state of Maine.

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**APPENDIX A**

*Executive Council Committee, and the Joint Standing Committee  
of the House and Senate, on Indian Affairs, 1830-1849.*<sup>122</sup>

	<b>1830</b>	
C-David Crowel	John Burgin	Daniel Steward, Jr.
	<b>1831</b>	
C-William Emerson	Hezekiah Prince	Ralph C. Johnson
	<b>1832</b>	
C-Charles Peavey	Hezekiah Prince	Samuel Strickland
	<b>1833</b>	
C-Robert P. Dunlap	Thomas Sawyer, Jr.	John Hodgdon
	<b>1834</b>	
C-John H. Jarvis	Samuel Moore	_____ Clark
	<b>1835</b>	
C-Seth Labaree	Daniel Emery	Benjamin Carr
	<b>1836</b>	
C-Seth Labaree	Charles Greene	Joseph Johnson
	<b>1837</b>	
C-Samuel Small	Samuel Veazie	Joseph Johnson
	<b>1838</b>	
C-Tappan Robie	William Pope	Brushrod W. Hinckley
	<b>1839</b>	
C-John Webb	H-Retire W. Freeze (Orono)	
Samuel Coney	Geo. F. Patten (Bath)	
Alpheus Lyon	Chas. E. Bartlett (Berwick)	
S-Taft Comstock	Isaac Hobbs (East port)	
Levi Bradley	Wyman B.S. Moor (Waterville)	
Hezekiah Williams	Joseph True (Garland)	
	John Otis (Hallowell)	
	<b>1840</b>	
C-John Webb	H-Abiel W. Kennedy (Orono)	
Micah J. Talbot	Life Wilson (Thomaston)	
Alpheus Lyon	John Otis (Hallowell)	
S-Thomas Robinson	Simon Elliot (Bristol)	
David Hammons	Ebenezer Fisher (Charlotte)	
Levi Bradley	Jacob Main (Belgrade)	
	Nathaniel Hanscom (Eliot)	

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<sup>122</sup>*Indian Affairs Documents From Maine Executive Council*, vol. 10.

**1841**

C-David Dunlap  
Benjamin Bradford  
Elais Dudley

S-Solomon Parsons  
Jonathan Merrill  
Cabeb Burbank

H-John Hitchborn (Rilmarnock)  
Wm. Perry (Bowdoin)  
Jos. Holland (Canton)  
Richard Judkins (Readfield)  
Oliver Peaslee (Whitefield)  
Wm. M. Bryant (Kennebunk)  
Peleg Hall (Milford)

**1842**

C-

S-Drummond Farnsworth  
Merrill Clough  
Jacob Somes

H-Franklin Muzzy (Bangor)  
Thomas J. Cox (Dixfield)  
Joseph Madox (Etna)  
Shubael D. Norton (Mt. Desert)  
Hamilton Jenkins (Wayne)  
Philip Norris (Whitefield)  
Chas. G. Bellamy (Kittery)

**1843**

C-Cyrus Moore  
Moses Mason  
Dennis L. Milliken  
S-Archelaus D. Atwood  
Joshua Patterson  
Shepard Cary

H-Joshua Chadbourne (Baldwin)  
Byron W. Darling (Bluehill)  
Ezra Brown, Jr. (Windham)  
Isaac Sanborne (Orono)  
Tristram F. Jordan (Passadumkeag)  
Joseph Muzzy (Searsmont)  
James Bailey (Anson)

**1844**

C-Samuel Palmer  
Theodore Ingalls  
Geo. W. Towle  
S-Hiram Rose  
Sullivan S. Rawson  
Joseph Brown

H-Benjamin Kilby (Dennysville)  
William Paine (Penobscot)  
David Patten (Sebago)  
William Noyes (Greenwood)  
Mark S. Stiles (Jackson)  
John Jones (Brighton)  
Morrill Prescott (Ripley)

**1845**

C-Theodore Ingalls  
Chas. Stetson  
Joshua F. Elliot  
S-John H. Pillsbury  
Asa Simley  
Samuel Shaw

H-Joseph Kilsey (Guilford)  
Jacob Merrill (Oldtown)  
Joseph Doane (Orrington)  
Geo. A. Young (Gouldsboro)  
Baldwin Muzzy (Searsmont)  
Henry Rooks (Lincolntonville)  
Zebulon Young (Hampden)

**1846**

C-Charles Stetson  
 William Dunn  
 Stillman Howard  
 S-James H. Haines  
 Asa Smith  
 Joseph Barrett

H-Robinson Palmer (Perry)  
 Joseph Day (Bristol)  
 George Crane (Eddington)  
 Abner Libbey (Harrison)  
 Simeon Skillin (Albion)  
 John Lam (Acton)  
 William T. Tayler (Porter)

**1847**

C-Stephen Emery  
 John R. Redman  
 Charles Stetson  
 S-James M. Leach  
 Robinson Palmer  
 Benjamin B. Thomas

H-Jabez Simpson (Sullivan)  
 Lebleus Allen (Hebron)  
 Asa W. Babcock (Orono)  
 Nathaniel Blake (No II Range 5)  
 Jonas Heald (Plymouth)  
 Nahum Goodwin (Lebanon)  
 Daniel Rogers (Windham)

**1848**

C-Randall Skillin  
 Bradlary Collins  
 Manasseh H. Smith  
 S-Isaac Pool  
 Oliver Bean  
 Gilman M. Burleigh

H-Russell Hart (Brewer)  
 Daniel Larabee (Wales)  
 Luther Bailey (Turner)  
 Nathan Baker (Bingham)  
 Chas. Chase (Bloomfield)  
 Warren Gilman (Medybemps)  
 Joseph Stickney (Lowell)

**1849**

C-Randall Skillin  
 Benjamin Wiggin  
 Stillman Howard  
 S-Isaac Pool  
 John P. Davis  
 Manly Eames

H-Samuel Furlong (Calais)  
 Francis Fuller (Winthrop)  
 Nathaniel Fenderson (Scarborough)  
 Daniel Rogers (Windham)  
 Josiah Webster (Glenburn)  
 Benjamin A. Gardner (Charlotte)  
 James Brown (Dayton Plantation)

## APPENDIX B

*A List of Indian Agents to the Penobscots, 1820-1849.*<sup>123</sup>

<b>YEAR</b>	<b>AGENT</b>	<b>RESIDENCE</b>	<b>TERM(years)</b>
1820	John Blake		
1821	Jackson Davis	Orono	During Pleasure
	Samuel F. Hussey	Portland	During Pleasure
	Moses Sleeper(resigned 2/5/23)	Vassalborough	During Pleasure
1824	Samuel Call	Bangor	4
1825	Samuel F. Hussey	Portland	4
1828	Zebulon Bradley	Bangor	4
	Joshua Chamberlain	Brewer	4
1829	Samuel F. Hussey	Portland	4
1832	Mark Trafton	Bangor	4
1836	Joseph Kelsey	Guilford	4
1837	Henry Richardson	Orono	4
1841	Rufus Davenport	Milford	4
1842	Arvida Hayford	Bangor	4
1846	Arvida Hayford	Bangor	4

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<sup>123</sup>*Ibid.*, vol. 10.

### APPENDIX C

#### *The Father Juniper Story: An example of Massachusetts supplying the Penobscots with a Catholic priest.*<sup>124</sup>

In 1780, a delegation of Penobscots went to Boston on their way back from a visit with the French navy in Rhode Island. While they were in Boston, the delegation applied for a priest. A few weeks later a priest was appointed to the natives. The French Consul in Boston selected Father Juniper Berthiaume to "reside with the Penobscot Tribe of Indians, be allowed & paid for his Services in Establishing the said Tribe in the interest of America."<sup>125</sup> His title, given to him by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, was "instructor to the Penobscot Tribe," rather than priest, possibly trying to eliminate any connections between Protestant Massachusetts and Catholicism.<sup>126</sup> The priest was paid five pounds a month and given two rations daily. Lieutenant Andrew Gilman was chosen as his interpreter. Father Juniper came to Maine directly from France to assist the Catholic Indians. He resided at Fort Halifax, which was at the intersection of the Sebec and Kennebec rivers. As soon as Father Juniper arrived at the fort, twenty Penobscot families came to live near the fort.<sup>127</sup>

Father Juniper returned to Boston in June of 1781, with chief Orono and two other tribal members, to address the Massachusetts General Court. He requested payment for his services to the natives, complaining that he had to support himself. The Senate resolved that Father Juniper was to be given sixty pounds for expenses. Later in that

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<sup>124</sup>John M. Lenhart, "Two Revolutionary Chaplains in Government Employ (1780-1784)," *The Catholic Historical Review* 23(April 1937-Jan. 1938): 446-66.

<sup>125</sup>*Ibid*, p. 461.

<sup>126</sup>*Ibid*, p. 463.

<sup>127</sup>*Ibid*, p. 462.

same day, the House raised the appropriation to one hundred dollars and the Senate and President agreed. In November of 1781, Father Juniper sent a complaint to the Senate and House which stated that their truckmaster, Josiah Brewer, was cheating the natives. He was keeping gifts from the government to the tribe and then reselling them at very high prices. Examples such as this one, which shows how greed interfered with a government official's responsibilities, could be one reason why most of the Penobscots came, in the near future, to favor a priest, rather than an agent. What resulted from Father Juniper's complaint was the discharge of Josiah Brewer from his duties as truckmaster in 1782.

## APPENDIX D

*In a report of Rufus Davenport, Indian Agent for the Penobscot tribe of Indians for Bounty paid to them on Agricultural Productions for 1841.*<sup>128</sup>

(products are measured in bushels)

Name	Wht.	Corn	Bean	Pota.	Car't	Beet	Onion	Oats	Bounty
Peal Mitchel Susop			8.5	85					\$4.25
Capt. Nicolar	3	9	1	65					4.85
Jo Mitchel Frances				150					7.50
Saul Nepton	10	3	1.5	6					2.75
Surbatis Peal Sock		5	1	100					5.60
Susan Wider	17	5	4.5	55				3	7.40
John Penewitt	2	14	6	270	2	1	2		16.15
Paul Susop		13	8	175					12.00
Joseph Sockabeson		3	1	98				30	8.30
Glasion Bare	5			110					6.50
Jo. Glasion		2	4	21					1.65
Clarisa Tomer	10								2.00
Horis Stincleft			1.5	20					1.15
Deacon Sockbeson			1	50					2.60
Lewey Nepton			1	90					4.60
John Ation		4		25					1.65
Jo Stanislas	9		0.5	45					4.10
Swasin Nepton								40	4.00
Peal Tomer	13		1.5	12	2		1		3.50
John Wallace		1	4	140					7.50
John Staneslas			2	23					1.35
Tomekin				20					1.00
Mitchel Necolah		2	2	65					3.60
Joe Merry Swasin			3	55					3.05
Surbatis Tomer	3	8	1.5	135					8.30
Jo Merry Mohawk	12		1.5	165	3	1.5			10.80
Peal N. Peal Molly			2	10					0.70
Capt. Peal Molly	5	12	1.5	150	3				10.10
John Peal Susep	10	1	1	80					5.60
John Nepton		6	2	18					1.70
Mary Necolar	5	8	5	65					5.55

<sup>128</sup>*Indian Affairs Documents From Maine Executive Council, 1842, vol. 7, no. 50.*

Telisoneas Francis			1	15			0.85
Maryon Socksusop				70			3.50
Joseph Polis			1.5	10			0.67
Fransway P. Susop		4	5	100			5.90
Andrew Sappel			3	55			3.05
Newell Saul	12	10	6	125	1	4	10.50
Hannah Brasway			2	50			2.70
Sarah Mohawk		2	1	20	1	1.5	1.45
Jo Beetle	9	2	5	175	1		11.45
Sappeal Socklexis	6			26			2.50
William Tibadone				55	2.5		2.87
Tomer Socklexis	12	3	2	70			6.60
Dr. Lolar	3		1	50			3.20
Mary Crow Wider			1	20			1.10
Peal Mitchel Francis				25			1.25
Tomer Sabattis				70			3.50
Newel Lewey Snake	13	14	6	120			10.60
John Orson				60			3.00



## **BIOGRAPHY OF THE AUTHOR**

Jason M. Dorr was born in Bangor, Maine on June 17, 1973. He was raised in Old Town, Maine and graduated from Old Town High School in 1991. He attended the University of Maine at Orono and graduated in 1995 with a degree in History. He continued his work at the University of Maine in the fall of 1995 and entered into the graduate program with the hope of obtaining a Master's degree. After receiving his degree, Jason will be pursuing a career as a teacher in the public school system. Jason is a candidate for the Master of Arts degree in History from the University of Maine in May, 1998.