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NEILL DePAOLI

BEAVER, BLANKETS, LIQUOR, AND POLITICS
PEMAQUID'S FUR TRADE, 1614-1760

The trading posts at Pemaquid typified the transactions, administrative phases, and cross-cultural contacts that made up the New England fur trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Using archaeological and documentary evidence, Neill DePaoli explores this important yet volatile industry through several stages, including early informal transactions, a merchant entrepreneurial phase, provincial supervision, and illegal exchanges during the closing years of the fort's significance.

In 1623 English adventurer Christopher Levett was told that a group of Casco Bay Indians were traveling up the Maine coast to Pemaquid with beaver pelts and coats to trade with fisherman John Witheridge.¹ By the end of the decade, a fur trading post had been established in the recent English settlement of Pemaquid. This business rapidly became an integral part of the plantation's economy and would remain so for more than a century. The following essay focuses on the structure and dynamics of Pemaquid's fur trade, from its presettlement roots to its collapse in the mid-eighteenth century. Pemaquid was typical of early English settlements that were sites of Anglo-Indian fur trade. In this case, the trade began with exchanges between Indians and English fishermen sailing in local waters. These modest ship- and land-based transactions expanded into larger, more regularized affairs with the establishment of a permanent English settlement and trading post owned by Old-World English merchants. Private ownership was succeeded by crown and provincial control in the latter half of the century. With this shift

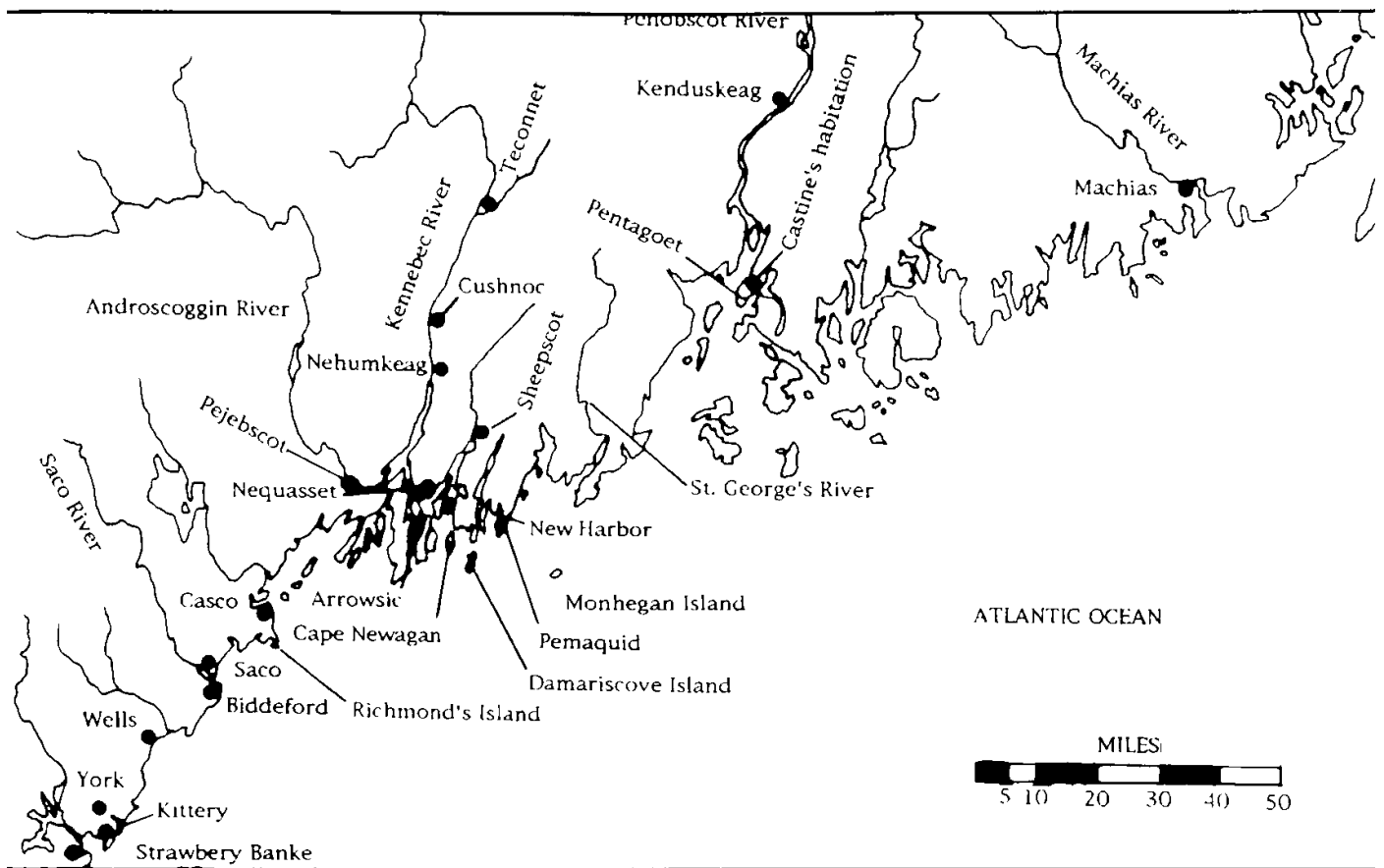


Figure 1. Seventeenth-century Maine.

came a change in emphasis from profit-making to politics, as England's struggle with France for North American supremacy intensified. Pemaquid's decline in the eighteenth century came under provincial administration, until the trade finally collapsed with the diminution of both the European beaver market and Maine's beaver stocks.

Until recently, study of Maine's fur trade was confined to a handful of publications. Most notable were three essays written between 1931 and 1958. Francis Moloney's 1931 study focuses on the southern portion of New England. Coverage of Maine is cursory, although Maloney did recognize the region as New England's "first fur trading frontier," and he established the linkage between the presettlement fishing industry and the emergence of the fur trade. Nearly a decade later, Ronald MacFarlane dealt with Massachusetts's truck house system in Maine during the eighteenth century. MacFarlane argued that

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the system grew out of the province's concern for good Indian relations and its desire to win Maine's Indians from New France.² William Roberts's 1958 history of New England's seventeenth-century fur trade is by far the most comprehensive. His work was the first to carefully reconstruct the complex international trade that tied New England's fur trade to New Netherlands, Acadia, England, and Europe. He also made the first serious effort, albeit flawed, to explore the role of the region's Indians in the trade and its impact on their traditional ways.³

Since the mid-1970s, the quantity and scope of scholarly study has increased dramatically. One of the most geographically extensive is John Reid's study of the colonies of Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland—territory presently comprising Maine, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. Reid devotes considerable attention to the interactions between the English, the French, and the Indians, and he recognizes Pemaquid's importance in this fur-trading nexus.⁴ Emerson Baker's 1986 ethnohistorical study of the demise of peaceful Anglo-Indian relations in Maine includes a thorough and balanced survey of the fur trade, which he considers an important factor in the outbreak of warfare in 1675. Baker places blame on both English and Indian traders, claiming they were "much more concerned with the short-term benefit of material goods and overlooked the long-term benefits of cultural understanding which the trade could have promoted."⁵

Scholars such as Baker draw upon a growing body of historical and archaeological information about Maine's early English, French, and Indian settlement and trade sites. Archaeological investigations by the late Helen Camp and the author on the lower reaches of coastal Maine's Pemaquid River have exposed the ruins of several early truck houses. On the Kennebec River, Baker and Lee Cranmer located the sites of Clarke and Lake (Arrowsic), Nehumkeag (Pittston), and Cushnoc (Augusta), English trading outposts active during the third quarter of the seventeenth century. The work of Alaric and Gretchen Faulkner on the French fortified trading post of Pentagoet (1635-1654, 1670-1674) and a French and Etchemin settlement (1680s) just

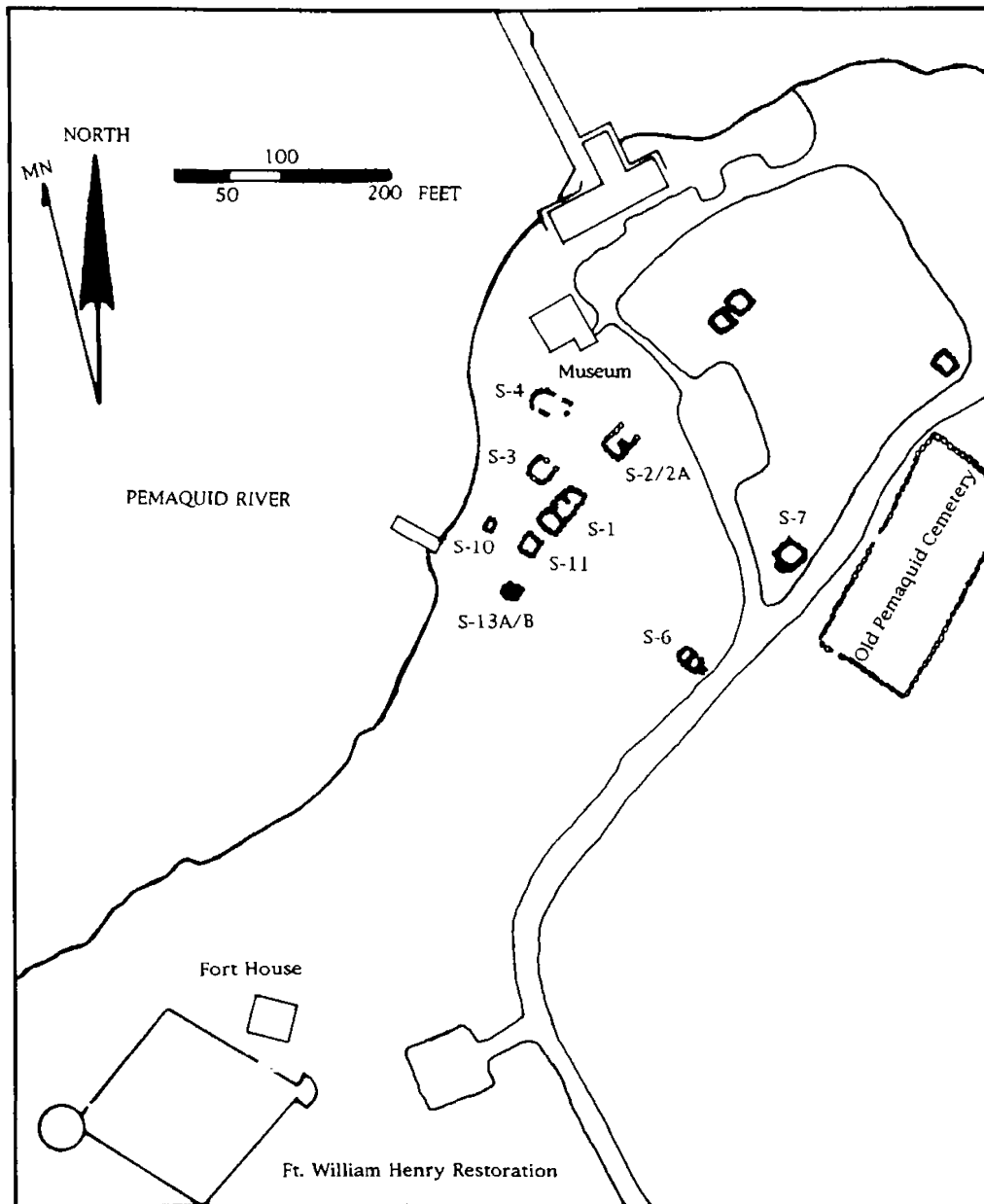


Figure 2. Colonial Pemaquid Historic Park. This state-owned property is part of seventeenth-century Pemaquid's primary settlement nucleus.

Adapted from D.B. Peck (1985).

upriver from the fort also illuminates the close social, political, and commercial relations between the two groups.⁶

Prehistorians and ethnohistorians such as Kenneth Morrison, Bruce Bourque, Ruth Whitehead, David Sanger, and Arthur Spiess have focused on the impact of English and French trade contact on the Indians' traditional settlement and subsis-

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tence patterns. Morrison explores the social, political, and spiritual worlds of the Indians and the changes wrought by Anglo- and Franco-Indian relations. Morrison attributes deteriorating relations largely to English fear and mistrust of the Indians and a provincial legal system that did not protect Indians from white abuses. Two historic Indian camps excavated by David Sanger and Arthur Spiess on the Pemaquid and St. Georges rivers illustrate some of the European trade goods incorporated into Indian life and the resulting decline of traditional skills such as stone tool production.⁷

Despite the progress of the last two decades, research gaps remain. This essay addresses one of them. It is not only the first comprehensive study of Pemaquid's fur trade, but also the first to focus on Maine's south-central coast. Reconstructing Pemaquid's fur trade is critical to understanding Maine's pioneering English settlement, since the operation was an important facet of the province's economy.

PEMAQUID'S EARLY FUR TRADE

The origin of Pemaquid's fur trade was closely tied to the expansion of England's North American fishing industry from Labrador and Newfoundland into the Gulf of Maine. This was spurred on by enticing accounts of Maine's rich fishing grounds and sheltered harbors made by explorers and colonizers such as Giovanni Verrazano, George Waymouth, George Popham, and John Smith. One English visitor from Plimoth Plantation claimed in 1623 that 400 English vessels were fishing between Cape Ann and Monhegan. By c. 1624, year-round fishing stations had been established in Maine's southern coast at Damariscove, Monhegan, and Cape Newagen.⁸

From the outset, the primary concern of the fishermen and their England-based merchant sponsors was cod-fishing. The seemingly boundless stocks of cod were processed on shore and shipped back for sale in England and Europe. Nonetheless, there was growing English interest in the New-World fur trade. Their response stemmed from increasing European demand for beaver pelts and luxury furs of the marten, otter, ermine, fox,

raccoon, and lynx, in addition to the hides of moose, caribou, and wapiti. The beaver was especially sought after since it provided European furriers with pelts for clothing and adornment and the hatter with "wool" for hats. By the early seventeenth century, the wide-brimmed Swedish cavaliers' slouch hat was the latest fashion craze in Europe. The prolific and higher quality North American beaver provided an ideal replacement for its nearly extinct European counterpart.⁹

Taking the cue from the sixteenth-century European fishermen and explorers who traded with Indians while frequenting the Grand Banks and other northern waters, early seventeenth-century English explorers and fishermen sailing in Maine coastal waters sought Indian fur traders or traded with those seeking their business. George Waymouth, during his 1607 exploration, traded with Maine Indians, exchanging four or five shillings worth of "knives, glasses, combs and other trifles" for "40 good Beaver skins, otters skins, Sables and other small skins, which we knew not how to call."¹⁰ Seven years later, John Smith claimed to have procured from Indian traders "eleven hundred Bever skins beside Otters and Martins" worth £1,500 for mere "trifles." Smith also spoke of a fishing vessel of Sir Francis Popham's, "right against us in the Main" (presumably New Harbor) that had captured most of the local Indian trade. In addition, several Bristol merchants sent vessels carrying Indian trade goods over to the Maine coast. Francis Moloney claims that by 1620 there were six or seven trading vessels engaged in the business.¹¹

The earliest documented Anglo-Indian fur trade in the Pemaquid area is that of Francis Popham. Smith claimed that Popham's fishing vessel had frequented these waters before 1614. A lead cloth seal reputedly dated "1610" found on the New Harbor shore in the early nineteenth century may represent an exchange between Maine Indians and fishermen. By 1624 Casco Bay Indians were traveling to Pemaquid with beaver to trade with Barnstable fishing master John Witheridge. The fact that the Indians mentioned Witheridge by name when speaking to Christopher Levett points to the likelihood of previous trade

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with these or other Maine Indians. Wilbur Spencer states that Witheridge was based in Pemaquid waters during the 1623-1625 fishing seasons. That Witheridge did business with Casco Bay area Indians also reveals something of his trading reputation or stock of trade goods: These Indians could have traded more conveniently at posts in Piscataqua or Casco Bay, or with the traders and fishermen sailing Maine's southern coast.¹² None of the accounts refer to the locations of these early exchanges. The most likely meeting places would have been on board the fishing vessels and coasting traders or at Indian coastal settlement sites. Archaeological investigation indicated the Pemaquid area supported Indian settlements long before contact and during the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

THE ERA OF MERCHANT BACKERS

The modest fur trade of presettlement Pemaquid expanded into a more formalized and lucrative undertaking with the establishment of an English settlement at Pemaquid by 1628. At the forefront were two Bristol merchants, Gyles Elbridge and Robert Aldworth, and their on-site manager, Bideford, England native Abraham Shurt. Their commercial investment in the Pemaquid area began modestly enough with the c. 1626 purchase of Monhegan for £50 from Abraham Jennings and William Cross, Plymouth and London importers and exporters. Aldworth and Elbridge looked to the Pemaquid mainland as the site for a permanent fishing settlement. The first English planters began settling on the mainland the following year. When the Council of New England granted Aldworth and Elbridge the 12,000-acre Pemaquid Patent in 1631, the two merchants also gained the right to "Trucke Trade & Traffique in all lawfull Comidities with the Salvages in any part of New England or neighbouring thereabouts." While documentation of the early years is sparse, existing accounts indicate the plantation rapidly grew into a small but flourishing community. Not surprisingly, given the bountiful waters off the Pemaquid mainland, the local economy was based heavily on fishing. The fur trade and agriculture played lesser but important roles in the plantation's economy.¹³

Abraham Shurt managed Pemaquid from the purchase of Monhegan until mid century. The location of Shurt's residence and trading post remains open to debate. A 1662 deposition made by him suggests he first established himself on Monhegan. By c. 1630 he was operating a truck house on the Pemaquid mainland.¹⁴ Period documents provide no details on the post's location or appearance. However, archaeological investigations have exposed three possible sites. Two are situated at the Colonial Pemaquid historic site on the eastern side of the Pemaquid River at its mouth. The third is on the western side of the river north of the state-owned historic property.

The first two buildings were unearthed in the 1960s during excavations led by the late Helen Camp. S-2/2A is the foundation of a large seventeenth-century structure (roughly 35 X 20 feet; Figure 3). Its contents suggest use as a truck house and tavern. Artifacts of note include glass beads, cloth seals, Jews' harps, spear points, lead shot, and gun flints, items commonly used by English traders (Figure 4). The second site is a short distance northwest of the first. In this case, excavators exposed the foundation of a similarly sized seventeenth-century structure (S-4). The structure's contents, while lacking a trade assemblage comparable to that of S-2/2A, did include a cache of 108 cannon balls stacked against the northeast corner of the building's cellar walls. The variously sized cast iron shot may have been used to arm the cannon thought to have defended the warehouse.¹⁵

The third possible site of Shurt's trading post was found by the author on the opposite side of the Pemaquid River. Excavations have unearthed a fortified English hamlet occupied from c. 1640 (possibly earlier) to c. 1676. Most notable are the remains of a large cellared and fortified building housing living quarters, a truck house, and a blacksmith shop (Figures 5, 6). Existing evidence suggests the structure was utilized throughout most, if not all of the hamlet's occupation.¹⁶

During Abraham Shurt's tenure, Pemaquid's fur trade flourished. By the mid-1630s, the settlement's trade operation emerged as one of the major concerns in provincial Maine. Shurt's enterprise competed with truck houses operated by

*The persons following are appointed and have
"liberty to keepe houses of publique intertaymment
& are to be provided with permits &c accordingly
and to retayle beere wyne & liquors....for Pemaquid
Jonathan Cole alsoe Lieutenant Gardner to his
fishermen & John Earthy."*

Records of the Massachusetts General Court granting licenses for
persons to keep taverns at Pemaquid, 1674.

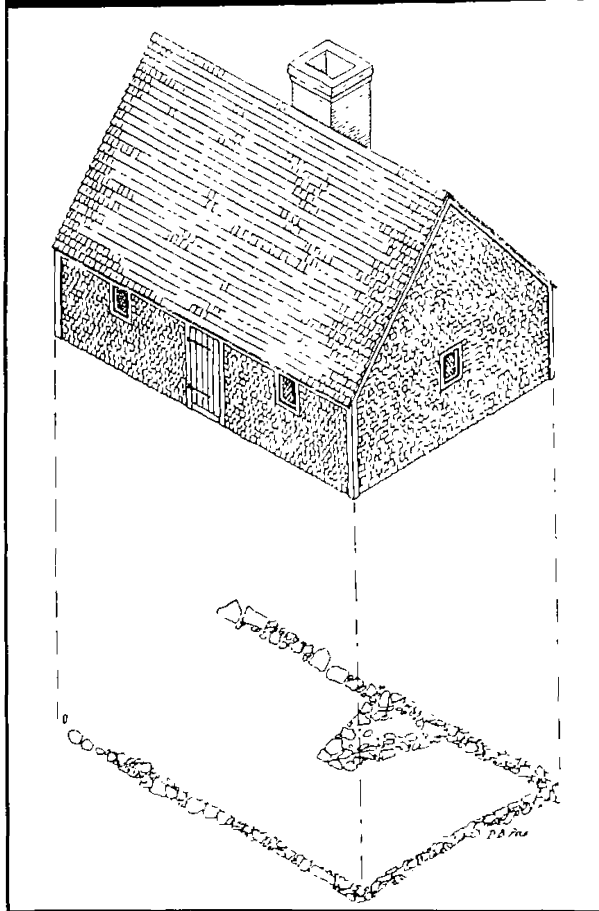


Figure 3.
Archaeological plan and conjectural view of Structure 2/2A, Colonial Pemaquid. Indians probably destroyed the tavern/trading post during their 1676 attack on Pemaquid.

*Drawing by D.B. Peck, courtesy of
Maine Bureau of Parks and
Recreation.*

Plymouth Colony on the upper Kennebec (Cushnoc), by Thomas Purchase near the mouth of the Androscoggin River (Pejepscot), and by Charles d'Aulney at the mouth of the Penobscot River (Pentagoet), and with the ship-based traders and fishermen that ranged Maine's coast and major rivers. Pemaquid's trading post had already outlasted Plymouth Colony truck houses at Penobscot and Machias, which had fallen to French traders.¹⁷

The early success of Pemaquid's fur trade can be attributed to the wealth and entrepreneurial expertise of Aldworth and

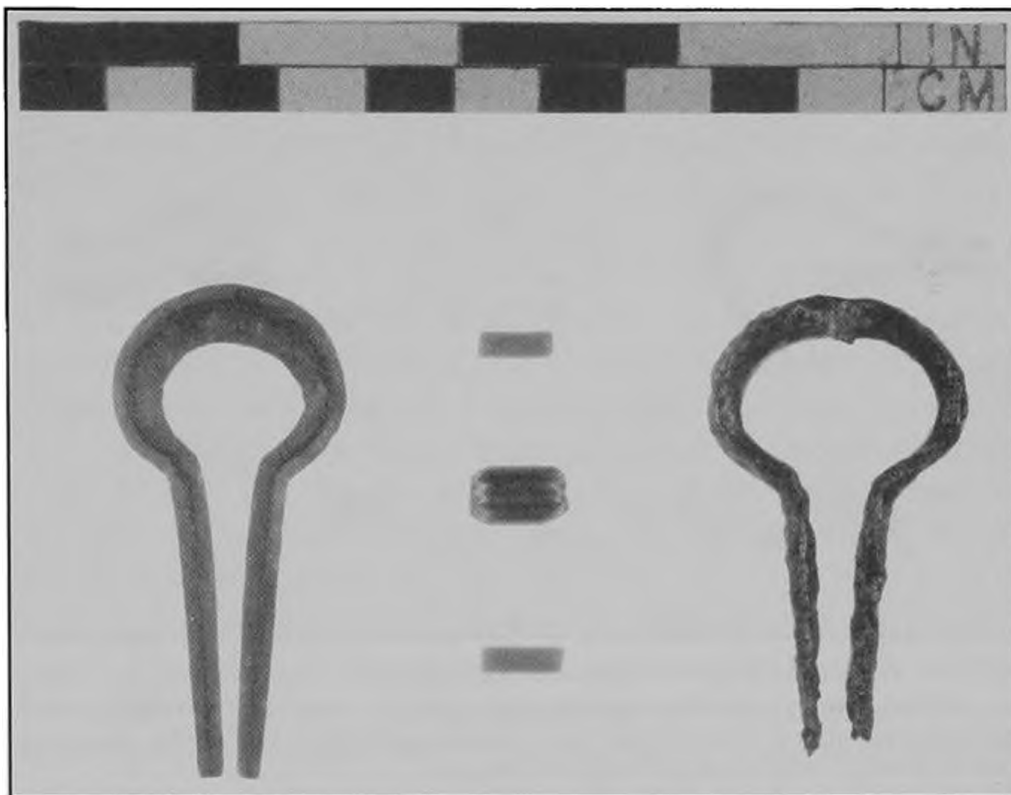


Figure 4 Fur-trade artifacts from S-2/2A: brass Jews' harp; light-blue imitation (glass) wampum; chevron (multiple layers of dark blue, brick red, ivory) glass bead (c. 1625-1650) Venetian); light-blue imitation wampum; iron Jews' harp.

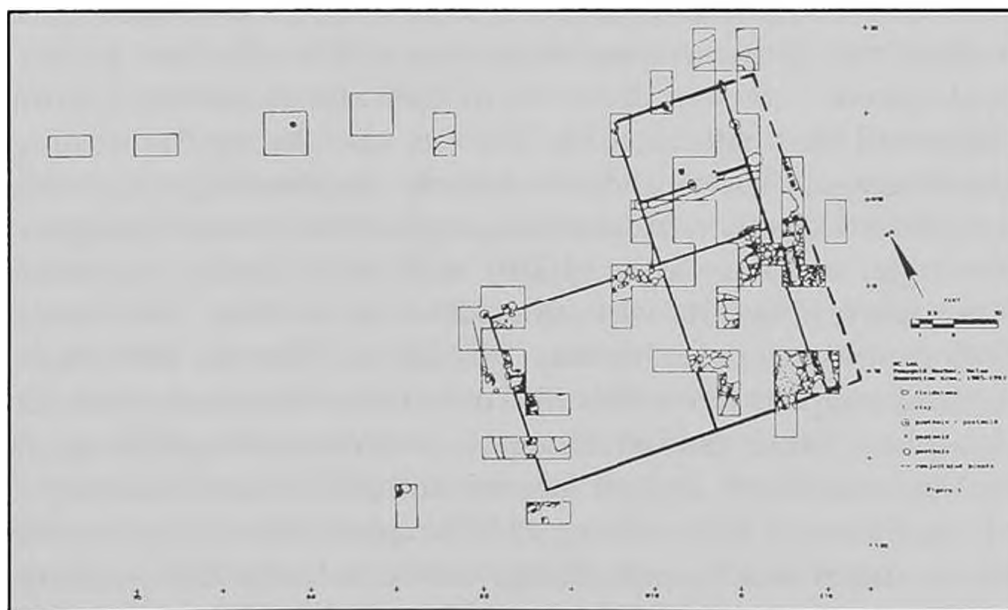


Figure 5. Archaeological plan and conjectured layout of fortified multipurpose structure (c. 1640-1676), Pemaquid Harbor. The building was probably abandoned shortly before the 1676 Indian attack on Pemaquid. However, it apparently survived the conflagration.

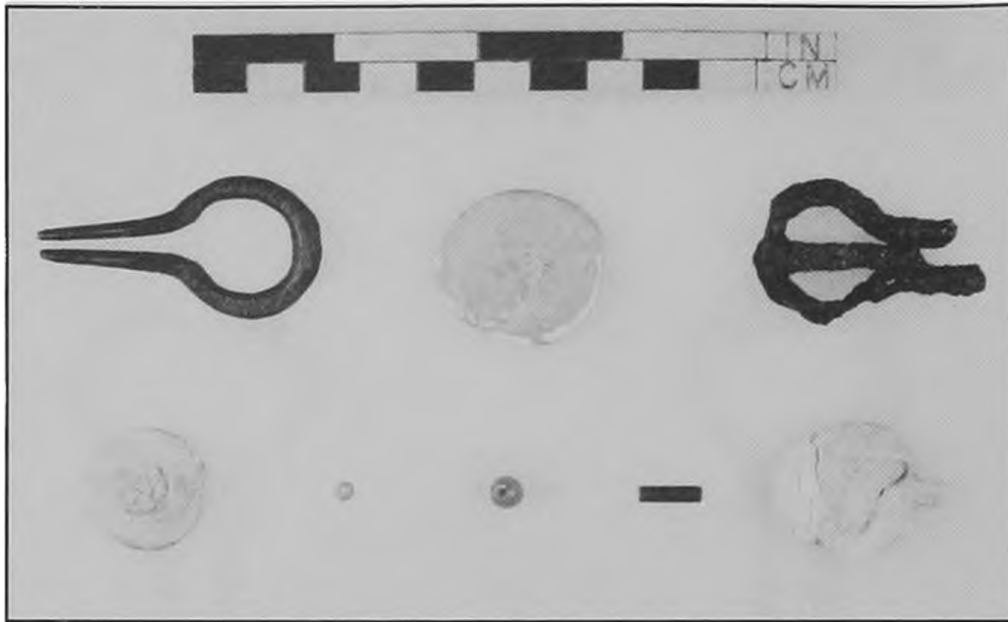


Figure 6. Trade-related artifacts from building in Figure 5. Top row: brass Jew's harp (seventeenth-century); possible lead scale weight; iron Jew's harp. Bottom row: lead cloth seal; light-blue glass seed bead; light-blue oval glass bead; dark-blue tubular glass bead; lead cloth seal (textile fragment visible on left side).

Elbridge, to Shurt's skill and reputation as a trader, and to the post's location on an established Indian overland travel route. Pemaquid's two Bristol patentees were well suited to undertake such an enterprise. Aldworth was one of Bristol's most prominent citizens – a mayor of the city in 1609 and an alderman from 1614 until his death in 1634. He was also among the leading merchants of Bristol and was heavily involved in trade with continental Europe. Aldworth is credited with establishing the first sugar refining house (1609) in Bristol. Lastly, Aldworth came from a family with substantial interest in New-World exploration and colonization. His father, Thomas Aldworth, secured support from Bristol's merchant community for Sir Humphrey Gilbert's 1583 attempt to establish an English colony on Newfoundland. Robert was one of the "chiefe Adventurers" who underwrote Martin Pring's 1603 exploration of the coasts of Maine and Massachusetts. Pring, in fact, named a hill overlooking Plymouth Harbor "Mount Aldworth."¹⁸ Gyles Elbridge, Aldworth's son-in-law, was a well-to-do merchant in his own right, owning five ships, a farm at Yatton, and a manor in

Somerset. He also held several posts in the influential Merchant Venturers of Bristol. Elbridge inherited a considerable portion of his father-in-law's holdings in 1634, including the St. Peter's sugar house and the other half of the Pemaquid Patent.¹⁹

Shurt utilized a blend of New- and Old-World commercial contacts to obtain and market animal pelts and hides, a common pattern among English fur traders. The majority of the furs and hides were obtained from Kennebec and Penobscot river Indians. What they brought for trade was most likely a mix of pelts and hides from animals speared or shot in the wooded interior or bartered from others from Maine, New Brunswick, or the St. Lawrence River region.²⁰

Unfortunately, documentation of Shurt's trade stock is poor. The sole reference is a letter to John Winthrop in 1638 in which Shurt referred to his purchase of "a parcell of Dutch trading cloth valued at £30."²¹ The post was undoubtedly stocked with other popular items, such as English trading cloth, food-stuffs, clay smoking pipes and tobacco, shot, powder, kettles, axes, liquor, and beads. By this time, Maine traders had shifted from curiosities such as the mirrors, rings, and bells used by explorers and early fishermen to practical goods intended to satisfy the Indians' changing needs and meet the challenge of their French trading rivals.²²

Shurt would have utilized an exchange policy common among English traders. Indians were "trusted" or given credit, enabling them to obtain goods in advance. Indian debts were reduced or eliminated once furs or hides were brought to the post. The amount of credit a trader extended to his clients depended on their reliability and the state of the trader's finances and trading stock. Indian clients who accumulated large debts and showed no signs of reducing them were usually denied further credit. Successful traders benefited not only from dependable financial support but from good business acumen and sound relations with Indians. Inadequate or inferior supplies of trade goods could lead Indians to seek other English or French traders, and several English traders who regularly cheated Indians were killed by disgruntled clients.²³

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Abraham Shurt enjoyed a good reputation among the region's Indian population, as attested by the longevity of his trading career and Indian acceptance of him to negotiate peaceful resolution of a dispute between Maine or New Brunswick and Massachusetts Bay Indians in 1631.²¹

Shurt obtained additional supplies of furs and hides from Pemaquid's northern rivals, the French of Acadia. Shurt and other English traders regularly did business with bitter rivals Charles D'Aulney at Pentagoet and Charles de la Tour at the mouth of the St. John River – the preeminent Acadian traders of the second quarter of the century. Shurt supplied his French counterparts with powder, shot, and “all manners of provisions,” much to the consternation of Plymouth Colony authorities.²⁵ The furs and hides stockpiled at the Pemaquid truck house had a number of destinations. The majority were probably shipped directly to England or to Massachusetts Bay. In both cases, several modes of transportation were available. Shurt was fortunate to have access to several ocean-going vessels owned by his merchant-backers. Research has located several references to the proprietors' vessels leaving for or returning from New England. The earliest and most detailed is a 1628 Plymouth Company business entry acknowledging a £187 payment for the shipment of three hogsheads of beaver to Bristol on board the *Whitt Angell* (*White Angel*), a vessel owned by Gyles Elbridge. The ship had presumably sailed to Plymouth to pick up the company's cargo of beaver after putting in at Pemaquid. The *White Angel* and Elbridge's *Charles* and *Angel Gabriel* continued to shuttle cargo and passengers back and forth between Bristol, Massachusetts Bay, and Maine's south-central coast throughout the following decade.²⁶

Those furs and hides not carried to England on merchantmen owned by the Bristol entrepreneurs would have been shipped on colonial bottoms to the numerous commercial contacts Shurt had scattered along the New England coast. The bulk of these domestic shipments were destined for Massachusetts Bay. Boston's John Winthrop was Pemaquid's primary client. Pemaquid's furs, hides, fish, wood products, and agricul-

tural produce would have found a ready market in the region's primary entrepot. With their sale, Shurt could clear old debts and replenish stocks of consumables for Pemaquid's planters and Indian clients. Much the same was undoubtedly done, but on a smaller scale, with the merchants and traders from Massachusetts South and North shores, New Hampshire, and Maine who did business with the Pemaquid manager.²⁷

By the late 1640s several changes occurred in ownership and management of Pemaquid Plantation. Gyles Elbridge died in 1643, leaving his personal finances in disarray. He owed his father-in-law, Humphrey Hooke, £3,000 and had to mortgage the St. Peter's sugar house. These difficulties were compounded by the outbreak of the English Civil War (1642) and the deaths of the next two Elbridge heirs, Robert in 1643 and John in 1646. The war hurt English commercial trading centers and merchants such as the Elbridge family. The fighting disrupted Bristol's domestic and international trade links and threatened its political standing. Thus, as Bristol historian Donald Jones suggests, Thomas Elbridge (younger brother of now-deceased John and Robert) sailed from England to his recently inherited Pemaquid Plantation with little social standing and limited financial means.²⁸

Abraham Shurt stopped managing the Pemaquid Plantation and its fur trade between 1648 and 1653. The first date marked the appearance of Francis Knight (probably the patentees' next manager) in Pemaquid. By the early 1650s, Shurt was a resident of Charlestown, Massachusetts.²⁹ His "retirement" after twenty or more years signaled the end of the longest and most successful stint of the settlement's fur traders. None of those who followed were active for more than thirteen years. Furthermore, Shurt established, with the logistical and financial support of Aldworth and Elbridge, a trade network that would remain in place during the remainder of the seventeenth century.

The upheaval the Elbridge family underwent in the 1640s had severe consequences for their Pemaquid fur trade. The family's financial losses cut into funds necessary to their distant New-World enterprise. Pemaquid's fortunes were further dis-

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rupted by the rapid succession of deaths of Gyles, Robert, and John Elbridge. Subsequent documentation of Pemaquid's fur trade is sparse. Francis Knight appears to have managed the operation for Elbridge from 1647 until 1650 when the latter began selling off the Pemaquid Patent. Knight came to Pemaquid from Nequasset (Woolwich) where one document suggests he was operating a trading post, quite possibly for the Pemaquid patentees.³⁰

Francis Knight did a brisk business with Boston-area merchants and distributors during these years. He had unpaid accounts with vintner Hugh Gunnison, brewer Isaac Grosse, and merchant Robert Button. The "half tun [126 gallons] off strong beare" he purchased from Grosse and £23 of wine from Gunnison may have been intended to replenish stocks at the truck house or a Pemaquid tavern.³¹ Knight's sole itemized trading account from business transacted during his residence at Nequasset provides an indication of who might have done business with the Pemaquid trading post, the types and quantities of furs and hides brought there, and its stock of trade goods.

Francis Knight's Nequasset clientele were largely from the Pemaquid-Sheepscot and Kennebec regions. Others were based in Casco Bay, Boston, and Bristol, England. There is little doubt he kept most, if not all, of these clients when moving to Pemaquid, considering Pemaquid's well established reputation and its proximity to these individuals. Beaver and moose constituted the majority of the animal furs and hides. They consisted of nearly seventy-seven pounds of beaver furs, more than sixteen pounds of beaver coats, fourteen moose skins, and seventy pounds of moose skins. The remainder included moose hides, bear and otter skins, skins, and one otter "coat." Some may have come from the local settlers, who often supplemented their income with small-scale fur trading. The rest came directly from Kennebec and Penobscot Indian hunter-traders.³²

Knight received a number of items commonly used in trade with the Indians. They included shot, gunpowder, "Trading cloth," "Shagg bages" (a coarse cloth), aqua vitae, sack, and probably brandy.³³ Alcoholic beverages were popular among

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English traders despite the debilitating effects on the Native Americans. However, it is unlikely the alcohol was intended solely for Indians; Knight probably sold a sizable portion to local settlers and coasting fishermen.

Thomas Elbridge, while delegating most of the day-to-day management of the Pemaquid trading operation to Knight, likely was in regular contact with his manager. Shortly after his arrival at Pemaquid, Elbridge held a "Court" unto which "divers of the then inhabitants of Monhegan and Damariscove repaired, and continued their fishing, paying a certain acknowledgement...." Elbridge had the advantage of living in Pemaquid during his proprietorship, in contrast to his late uncle and father who never visited the settlement.³¹ However, his presence did little to revitalize the proprietorship. Elbridge was in financial difficulty throughout his brief ownership. A number of suits were brought against him, and in 1650 he was jailed for five months for debt in a case stemming from the sale of goods from the *Angel Gabriel*. Not surprisingly, Elbridge soon began selling off the patent, beginning with Monhegan and Damariscove to Richard Russell of Charlestown for £100 in "Bevar or merchantable dry codfish." By September 1657 Massachusetts Bay merchant Nicholas Davison was the sole owner of the Pemaquid Patent.³⁵

PEMAQUID'S LAST PRIVATE ENTREPRENEURS

Transferal of the plantation to Davison was far from smooth. As late as 1657, he and a former partner were still in court, hoping to resolve an earlier dispute between Elbridge and Paul White. Davison claimed that while they waited four years for White to pay off debts to Elbridge, the latter had "spent and sold away all the stock & moveables & is now altogether unable to deliver or make good the same." This last statement illustrates the deteriorating circumstances of the last of the original patentees' heirs and quite likely that of the plantation's fur trade. Thomas Elbridge's sale of "all of the stock & moveables" may well have included his truck house stock, which would have devastated the fur trade operation.³⁶ Thomas Elbridge's relinquishment of the Pemaquid Patent marked the end of the

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Aldworth-Elbridge era; never again would the plantation be owned by Old England business interests. In the century that followed, control shifted to Massachusetts Bay, and from private to provincial ownership. The change was part of a larger shift in control over Maine from crown-supported English merchants to the increasingly powerful business community of Boston, a phenomena that had roots extending back to the 1630s.

Nicholas Davison relocated in Pemaquid soon after purchasing the patent, establishing himself on the western side of the Pemaquid River near its mouth, where he lived and traded until his death in 1664. An elderly fisherman, who claimed in 1737 to have frequented the Pemaquid area with his father as a youth, described Davison as a "man of considerable estate." Davison's personal and real estate at the time of his death was valued at £1,896. Holdings included "2 houses,...dwelling house and wharf;...2100 acres at Winsor, Conn.; house at Boston; property at Pemaquid, an old bark."³⁷

Details of Davison's business affairs were even more obscure than those of his predecessor. The only documentation of his fur trade operation is an 1666 Massachusetts court case filed by his widow against Philip Swadden. The suit centered around Swadden's debt to Davison. Swadden, who ran a trading post near the mouth of the St. Georges River, owed the Pemaquid trader £45 of beaver and moose.³⁸ Davison undoubtedly did business with other merchant traders and fishermen between the Penobscot and the Piscataqua, considering the settlement's trading tradition with other outposts. Although period records make no reference to Indian clients, he probably continued to trade with the Kennebec and Penobscot River Indians. Davison's relocation from the Boston area and the settlement's continued regional importance suggests he relied heavily on Boston merchants when restocking fur trade goods and supplies and marketing animal furs, pelts, and hides.

How Davison's fur trade operation fared can be surmised from the extensive changes the business was undergoing in Maine during the 1650s and 1660s. A great deal of growth had taken place since Pemaquid's heyday as a fur trading center in

the 1630s and the early 1640s. Expansion was especially pronounced on the Kennebec River where a partnership of Boston merchants acquired two massive tracts bordering the river and established new posts at Teconnet (Winslow) and Nehumkeag (Agray's Point, Pittston) between 1648 and 1653. In 1654 two of the Boston partners, Thomas Clarke and Thomas Lake, erected a third post at Arrowsic near the river's mouth.³⁹

The placement of these truck houses above and below Plymouth Colony's Cushnoc trading post not only isolated that facility but must have cut into Davison's fur trade with the Kennebec Indians. The deep pockets of Clarke and Lake made the competition formidable. In addition, the Pemaquid trader had to contend with English posts established on the Penobscot River following the capture of French Acadia in 1654. Under the proprietorship of Sir Thomas Temple and William Crowne, the first Penobscot post was situated at the former French outpost of Pentagoet, and a second subsidiary operation further up the Penobscot at present-day Veazie.⁴⁰ The growing number of ship-based traders frequenting Maine's coast and major rivers provided additional competition. Finally, the trade suffered as a whole from the Abenaki-Iroquois warfare of the 1650s and 1660s. Maine's Indians were forced to divert their efforts from hunting to defense.⁴¹ It is likely that Davison's operations continued to decline relative to these newer posts, despite modest local success.

With Davison's death in 1664, Pemaquid's fur trade fell to Thomas Gardner, who moved to the area by the mid-1660s, after commanding the English fort and trading post of Penobscot (formerly Pentagoet).⁴² Although there is no documentation of the Salem native's purchase of the Pemaquid patent, his appearance in Pemaquid about the time of Davison's death and his familiarity with the fur trade make this likely.

Thomas Gardner quickly established himself as a dominant force in the Sagadahoc region. In 1665 he was appointed Pemaquid's sole justice of the peace under the short-lived royal territory of Cornwall. Eight years later, Gardner was selected by the Massachusetts General Court as one of four commissioners

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to establish a new government – Devon or Devonshire County – including all territory east of the Kennebec River. In 1674 the court appointed Gardner, Edmund Patteshall of Kennebec, John Palmer Sr. of Monhegan, and Robert Gammon county commissioners. The four men administered a county court responsible for enforcement of civil and criminal law. In addition, the Pemaquidian was selected county treasurer, “commander of all the military forces to be raised in the country,” and one of three operators (another was his son-in-law, John Earthy) of “houses of publicke entertaynement.”¹³

Although documentation is sparse, Gardner clearly traded with Maine Indians and French Acadians. Piscataqua residents John Abbott and John Lux claimed in 1675 that “certaine Frenchmen...com ashoare at Pemaquid & Carry up their moose & bevar to Left Gardiners house....” Their complaints to the Boston Council resulted in an order to Pemaquid officials to “Aprehend Left Thomas Gardiner...for traiding wth the french & or Indians....”¹⁴ This trade included La Rochelle merchant and Compagnie du Nord official Henri Brunet. Gardner’s debt to Brunet (1,200 livres) was substantial enough in 1675 that he sold Brunet a bark to clear his account. What the two exchanged is not documented, but Gardner probably sought imported goods and supplies for his employees and truck house. Louis-Andres Vigneras, in his translation of several of Brunet’s business letters, points out that the French trader typically exchanged French goods such as “salt, fishing tackle, pork, flour, brandy, pins and needles, cards, hats, shoes, shirts, and even corsets...for fish, oil, logwood, tobacco, lumber, and elk and beaver skins.”¹⁵

Despite Pemaquid’s continued prominence in Maine’s fur trade, developments in the 1670s cut further into local business. Expansion of white settlement brought even more fur traders to the region. Their appearance increased competition among the English and encouraged Indian overhunting of beaver. These problems were compounded by the declining market value of beaver and moose – the mainstays of the fur trade. Prices for beaver pelts dropped from ten shillings a pound to eight shillings between the 1630s and the 1670s, and moose-hide prices began

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to drop in the 1670s. The crowning blow for Maine's fur trade came with the outbreak of Anglo-Indian warfare in September 1675. Pemaquid was abandoned and then destroyed by Indian forces the following summer.¹⁶

The fighting grew out of a combination of long-festering problems and recent events. Accelerating expansion of white settlement and trade abuses fed growing Indian resentment and mistrust. In turn, English fears of the region's Indians grew when news of King Philip's War, the rifling of several homes on the Kennebec River, and the murder of nine Casco settlers spread through Maine late in the summer of 1675. English efforts to contain the "Indian threat" only magnified Anglo-Indian tensions. In 1675 men from the Kennebec and Sheepscot rivers disarmed the Kennebec River Indians, despite their neutrality. The Native American's loss of their weapons and subsequent English prohibition of the sale of shot and powder to Indians led to a severe food shortage the following winter. To make matters worse, several Machias and Cape Sable Indians were kidnapped and sold into slavery in spring 1675 by a Boston-based trading vessel sailing along the Maine coast.¹⁷

Gardner was one of a handful of English settlers who remained sympathetic to the Indians' circumstances. In a letter to Governor John Leverett, Gardner attributed much of the Anglo-Indian tension to the actions of the English. He pointed out that the Kennebec Indians "never Apeare dissatisfied until their Armes were Taken Away," while their Penobscot brethren only fled the English because they "well Know it may Cost them their Lives if the wild fishermen meet with them...." In addition, he and his son-in-law, John Earthy, were active in efforts to bring about a negotiated settlement to English and Indian differences.¹⁸

Pemaquid's fur trade resumed following the signing of an English-Abenaki peace accord at Pemaquid and the settlement's reoccupation in 1677. However, there were two notable changes. First, Pemaquid's fur trade was no longer controlled by private interests. The provincial governments of New York (1677-1686), Dominion of New England (1686-1689), and Massachusetts

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(1689-1696) assumed this role. Immediate authority was placed in the hands of the commanders of Fort Charles (1677-1689) and Fort William Henry (1692-1696). Second, the primary objective of the Anglo-Indian fur trade changed with the assumption of government control. English provincial and crown authorities used the trade to encourage and solidify Indian alliances with the English, as French competition for control of Maine and the Canadian Maritimes intensified and fears of French-inspired Indian attacks grew. Officials also believed centralized control would reduce English trade abuses and subsequent Indian animosity. Since profits were of secondary concern, it was necessary to subsidize the sanctioned English truck houses with provincial funds. England maintained this policy until the conclusion of English and French hostilities in North America in 1763.⁴⁹

THE ERA OF GOVERNMENT REGULATED TRADE

New York officials established the first set of comprehensive trade regulations in the late 1670s. They designated Pemaquid the sole "trading place" between the Kennebec and Penobscot rivers. Trade was to be carried out in approved truck houses situated outside, but within sight of Fort Charles. Traders ignoring regulations lost their trading privileges and goods.⁵⁰ Placing oversight of Pemaquid's fur trade in the hands of the military commander had several drawbacks. Typically, such men served at the post for only three or four years – not long enough to establish stable relationships with local English and Indian traders. Furthermore, at least two of the Fort Charles commandants were of questionable character. In 1683 Captain Skinner was reprimanded by New York Lieutenant Governor Brockhols for the "loosenesses and Carelessness" of his command. Local residents described another case of physical abuse and threats by a Pemaquid commander.⁵¹

By designating Pemaquid Sagadahoc's trade center, New York hoped to monopolize the region's business affairs. Accomplishing this goal was difficult. Maine settlements like Pemaquid were tied into an existing commercial network centered in

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Massachusetts Bay. Commercial links to Manhattan and regulations promulgated from Albany seemed remote by comparison. Not surprisingly, Bay merchants continued to send coasters to Maine to do business.⁵² However, the large number of vessels clearing Manhattan for Pemaquid and Newfoundland during the 1680s attests to the fact that New York did capture a substantial portion of the trade in timber, fish, and Indian peltry, and hides.⁵³

Pemaquid's clients remained unchanged throughout the late seventeenth century, despite the uneasy Anglo-Indian peace. In addition to trade with Kennebec and Penobscot Indians, Pemaquid retained commercial ties with French Acadia, most notably with Baron de St. Castin on the Bagaduce River, a short distance north of the now abandoned Fort Pentagoet. Here, within a village of 160 Etchemin, he lived with his family among the Indians as a trusted leader and trader between 1677 and 1700.⁵⁴ Pemaquid's trade ties with the Frenchman were seriously damaged when provincial authorities implemented a campaign of harassment (1685-1688) to force Castin to acknowledge English royal authority. Instead, Castin shifted from a position of neutrality to support for New France. That situation, combined with already strained Anglo-Indian relations, provided the impetus for a series of French-inspired Indian attacks on Maine settlements in the summer of 1689. Pemaquid fell in August to a force of Canadian-based Abenaki led by Jesuit Father Peter Thury.⁵⁵ The English fur trade was not resumed until after the construction of Fort William Henry on the former site of Fort Charles in 1692. By this time, most English settlements had been abandoned as a result of King William's War (1688-1697). Pemaquid's population appears to have been limited to Fort William Henry's garrison and the one or two sanctioned fur traders operating outside the fort's walls.⁵⁶

During this time, Massachusetts authorities designated Pemaquid as Maine's primary military and fur trade outpost. The settlement's importance was evident when a contingent of Massachusetts officials and leaders of "all the Indians" inhabiting the Saco, Androscoggin, Kennebec, and Penobscot rivers met at

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Fort William Henry in 1693. Terms of the resultant Anglo-Indian accord included Indian agreement to end the war and a promise to abandon their alliance with the French for a comparable arrangement with the English. Bay officials, in turn, assured the Indians of continued Anglo-Indian "trade and commerce" under the "management and regulation" of Massachusetts.⁵⁶

Anglo-Indian fur trade guidelines, implemented the following year, were intended to maintain a tightly controlled operation that benefited Massachusetts militarily and economically, ensured the security of the "Eastern Frontier," and protected Indian clients from trade abuses. Regulations were similar to the earlier New York statutes. All business was to take place within sight and under command of the fortifications and their commanders. Enlisted men and officers were forbidden to trade with Indians, and approved truck masters were to offer goods at fair market prices. Indians could purchase a variety of items including clothing, powder, shot, and lead (presumably lead bars for casting shot). The latter three trade items were permitted only in amounts deemed "necessary for their hunting." Strong liquors were prohibited.⁵⁸

Three documents illustrate the limitations and strengths of this strategy. French-Canadian commandant Joseph Robineau de Villebon wrote in 1694 to France that the English offered "all the merchandise [Indians]...required at the low prices current in Boston." However, Villebon confidently predicted that English overtures would have little long-term impact on the Franco-Indian alliance; the Indians would return to French traders once they had replenished their trade stocks. What Villebon did not acknowledge was the fact that the Indians were manipulating both the French and the English, a tactic they used throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to improve their bargaining position with the Europeans.⁵⁹

Nevertheless, the trade did seem to foster close relations between the English and the Indians. The 1693-1694 account of French Marine Captain Sebastian de Villieu, made while leading an aborted Etchemin and Kennebec Indian attack against Fort William Henry, pointed to active Anglo-Indian trade at Pemaquid.

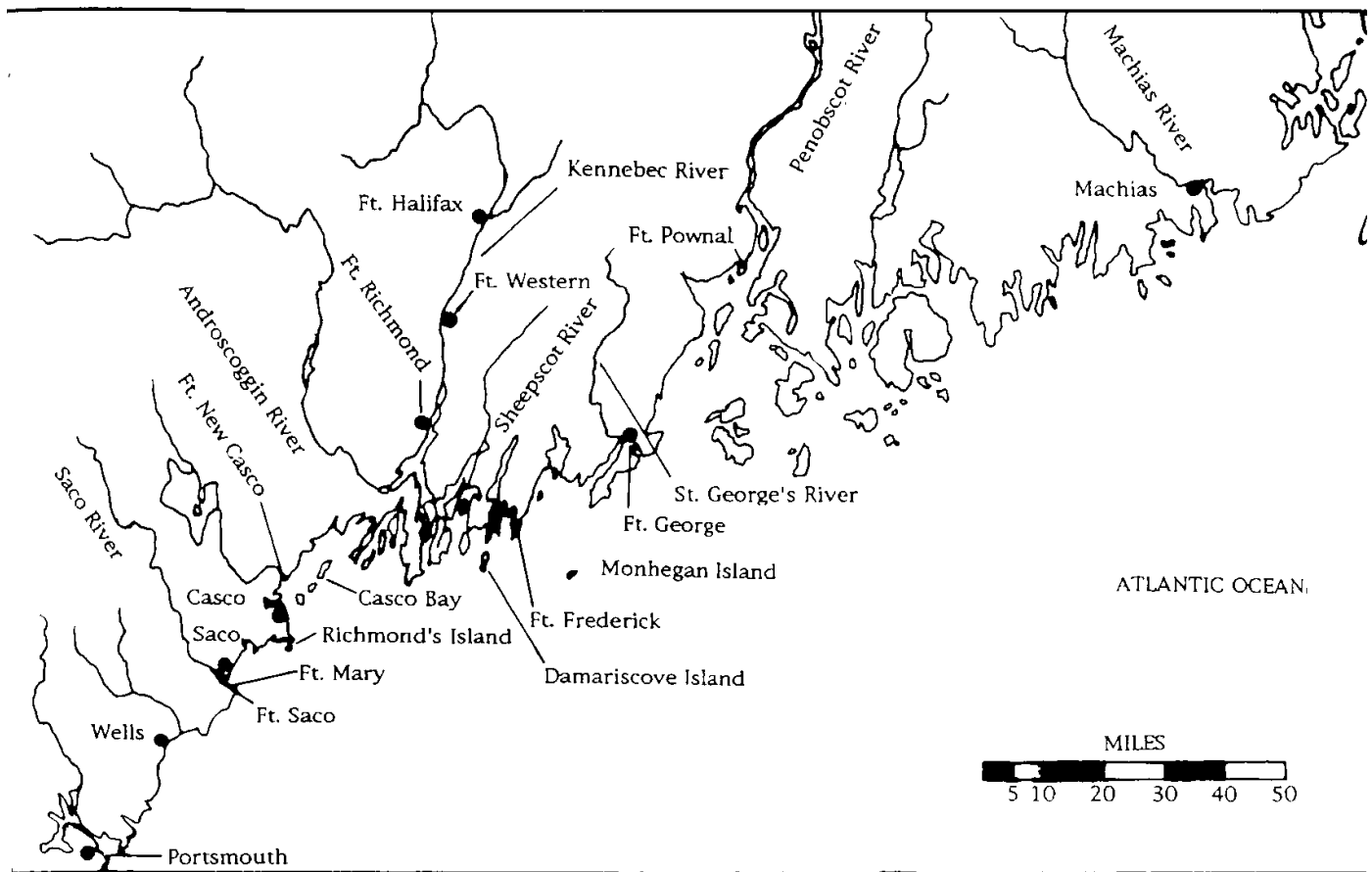


Figure 7. Eighteenth-century coastal Maine.

Adapted from Baker, Clarke and Lake Company.

Villieu and three Indians traveled to Pemaquid in July 1694. The Indians carried several pelts to Fort William Henry (given to them by the Frenchmen) “so that they might have a pretext to trade.” Villieu, disguised as an Indian, set off separately and surreptitiously made plans of the fort and surrounding area. He commented that a “minister had come to the fort of Pemaquid to teach the Indian children to read and write.” This appears to be the earliest instance of English church-affiliated individuals working among Maine Indians. Villieu’s reference to Indian children suggests at least some of the trading parties came as family groups. Furthermore, that a minister intended to teach them to read and write indicates the Indians were remaining in the Pemaquid area for more than a few days.⁶⁰

Two years later, Joseph Giddings, a soldier stationed at Fort William Henry during the command of Pasco Chubb, submitted

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a deposition to provincial authorities detailing Chubb's behavior in an affair that resulted in the death of Indian sachem Edgeremet and several others. In the process, Giddings provided a vivid account of fraternization and trade between English troops and an Indian party (including sachems Edgeremet, Abenquid, and Toxus) that traveled to Pemaquid ostensibly to negotiate a prisoner exchange. For six weeks, garrison members "went frequently abroad a gaming & went among the Indians & were greatly entertained." The Indians, in turn, "came frequently [to the fort] & traded for bread tobacco & rum." Giddings claimed that the commander used the trade and socialization to lull the Abenaki into a false sense of security. At the right moment, the Indians were seized. Chubb's actions and the resultant Indian deaths aggravated already tense Anglo-Indian relations. This event was one of several factors that inspired the French and Indian attack on the fort several months later.⁶¹ Giddings account revealed the ease with which provincial trade regulations could be ignored on the frontier, even by those responsible for enforcing them.⁶² The frequent presence of Indians ready to trade was tempting to officers and enlisted men alike.

THE CLOSING YEARS OF THE FUR TRADE

The brief florescence of Pemaquid's fur trade ended with the French and Indian destruction of Fort William Henry in 1696. Thirty-three years passed before English settlers returned. In the interim, Indians had alternate sources of European trade goods. On at least one occasion (1701), Massachusetts Bay authorities agreed with Penobscot Indians to send a trading vessel along the Maine coast as far as Pemaquid or New Harbor. The ship was to carry goods such as kettles, hatchets, sword blades, shot, powder, duffels, broadcloth, pennistone coats, shirts, molasses, and apples. The Indians were to meet the ship and exchange beaver furs, moose hides, bear skins and "small furs" (most likely otter, mink, and fox) for the vessel's trade stock.⁶³ The Penobscots also could turn to Baron de St. Castin and his sons, who lived among and traded with the Abenaki and Etchemin on the Bagaduce. The more southerly Indians had

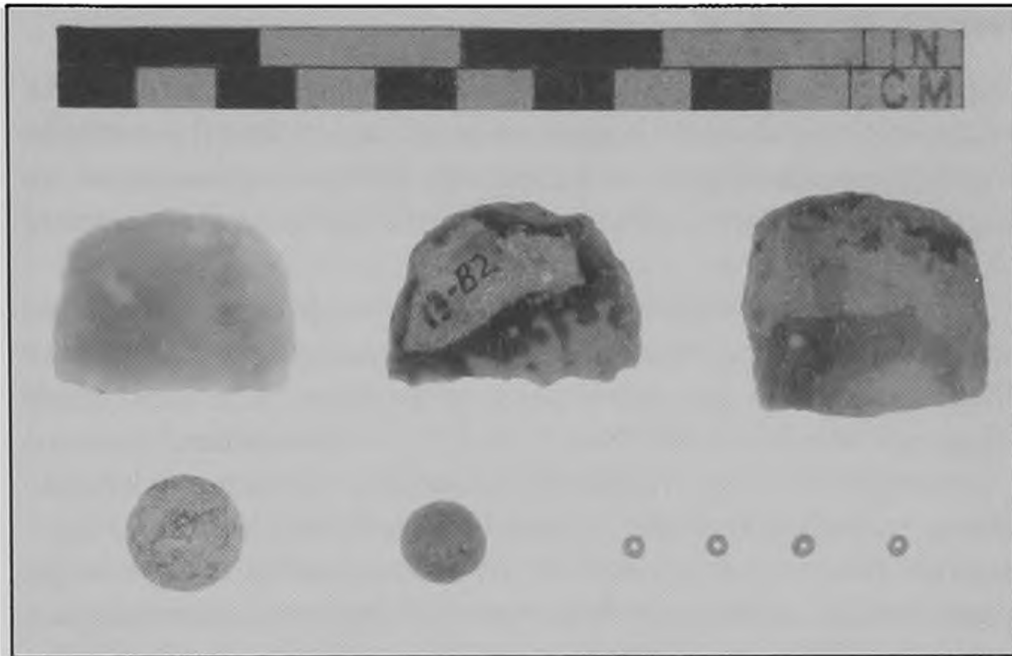


Figure 8. Fur-trade artifacts from post-1729 dwelling/truckhouse (S-13A/B). Top row: gunspalls (eighteenth-century French or English). Bottom row: cast lead musket balls; light-blue glass seed beads (probably eighteenth-century).

access to the trucking operations at the recently established Forts Saco (1693-1708) and Mary (1708-c. 1734) in the Saco-Biddeford Pool area and Fort New Casco (1700-1716) at the mouth of the Presumpscot River in Falmouth (Figure 7).⁶¹

In 1729 resettlement of Pemaquid began under the direction of the controversial Colonel David Dunbar. His accomplishments included construction of a new fortification on the ruins of Fort William Henry. Fort Frederick was one of several fortifications and truck houses established in Maine by Massachusetts during the first half of the eighteenth century. In addition to Forts Saco, New Casco, and Mary, these also included Forts Richmond on the lower Kennebec, Fort George on the St. Georges, and Fort Pownal on the Penobscot. These fortifications and renewed trade regulations were intended to stabilize the eastern frontier, minimize Anglo-Indian tensions, and further England's claims against France in North America.⁶⁵

Interestingly, provincial plans did not include reestablishment of an authorized truck house at Pemaquid, despite repeated Indian requests.⁶⁶ By then, Massachusetts had shifted the focus of its eastern fur trade to the other four provincial

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outposts. Presumably, officials based their decision on the settlement's diminished economic importance, but this remains somewhat surprising considering the area's long history as an Anglo-Indian meeting place and its continued popularity among the Abenaki.

Even so, fur trading continued at Pemaquid on a limited basis outside the legal sanction of Massachusetts, probably in the village and in the general vicinity of the fort. The most likely village site was S-13A/B. (See Figure 2.) The structural remains appeared to be those of a dwelling and privately run truck house that operated for an undetermined period after c. 1729. Archaeologists recovered a number of items commonly used in Anglo-Indian trade, including wine and liquor containers, glass beads, gun flints, shot, and kettles (Figure 8).⁶⁷

A small amount of illegal trade probably took place between Maine Indians and Fort Frederick's garrison. Conditions were ideal for illegal transactions: The area was frequented by Indians eager to trade; Fort Frederick was manned by a small, ill-trained, and poorly paid garrison far from home; and at least one of the post's commanders was of questionable character.⁶⁸ Indians continued to travel to the fort into the 1750s, and during these visits, the fort's commander entertained and supplied them with items such as pork, bread, rum, tobacco, smoking pipes, shot, and powder, as part of crown policy to win Indian support. Enlisted men (and possibly officers) had ample opportunity to use these occasions to exchange small quantities of trade goods, either from personal holdings or stolen from the fort's stores for a likely mix of furs, hides, deer and moose meat, and bird feathers.⁶⁹ Many Indians were reduced to casual exchanges brought on by a contracting European market for beaver and additional decreases in northern New England's beaver population due to Indian and white overhunting and white encroachment on Indian lands.⁷⁰

Pemaquid's fur trade appears to have persisted at least until the decommissioning of Fort Frederick in 1759. However, transactions in these later years were linked to Fort Frederick's declining importance as a military outpost and meeting place.

These conditions, combined with the worsening economic plight of Maine's Indians, relegated Pemaquid's fur trade to occasional exchanges between local residents and small, destitute parties of Indians. Nonetheless, Indians continued to make seasonal forays to Pemaquid into the early twentieth century. During these summer visits, Old Town Indians sold craft items such as basketry and bows and arrows to vacationers and local residents.⁷¹

CONCLUSION

This study of Pemaquid's fur trade reveals a business venture that had been at the core of the settlement's economy at least since its formal establishment. Pemaquid's early success as a fur trading center was due to a combination of factors. Most important were the wealth and commercial expertise of the original Pemaquid patentees Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge, the skill of their New-World manager, Abraham Shurt, the small number of competing trade operations, and the community's location on a traditional Indian travel route. The Bristol merchants and their Pemaquid-based factor operated through contacts in Massachusetts Bay, northern New England, New Brunswick, England, and continental Europe. Research indicates that a substantial quantity of beaver, moose, and otter furs, skins, and hides were obtained from English or French fur traders, in addition to those traded by Abenaki or Etchemin hunters or middlemen. Much of this trade network remained in place throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Scrutiny of Pemaquid's trade ties reveals the importance of French Acadia in the settlement's fur trade. The strength of these Anglo-Acadian contacts was demonstrated by their persistence well into the last quarter of the seventeenth century, a period of rapidly escalating English-French and English-Indian tensions. Differing national and ethnic affiliation had little impact on commercial relationships. In turn, English and French directives, while making the trade more difficult, did not stop it. What mattered most to Pemaquid and Acadian fur

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traders and to Indian hunters and middlemen was the availability, price, and quality of the goods offered.

Pemaquid's glory days as a thriving fur trade center were short lived. The death of Gyles Elbridge and the outbreak of the English Civil War in the early 1640s signaled the beginning of the decline. This pair of events brought an end to the guiding force and fortune that were critical to the operation's early success. Thomas Elbridge's lack of financial backing and expertise and increased competition for a shrinking market in beaver and moose accelerated the trend. Nonetheless, the collapse of the settlement's fur trade only came in the eighteenth century with the rejoined decline of the trade and the official decision to cease sanctioned truck house operations at Pemaquid.

At no time did Maine's trading post enjoy the success of the French and English operations based in the St. Lawrence River, Great Lakes, and Hudson Bay regions. This was due primarily to Maine's smaller supplies of fur bearers and the New Englander's greater emphasis on other financial pursuits, particularly fishing, lumbering, and farming. The French and Anglo-Canadian fur merchants had access to seemingly boundless supplies of fur-and hide-bearers hunted and trapped by Indians in the expansive Canadian interior. It was not unusual for Canadian posts to obtain 9,000 or more furs and hides a year. In contrast, in 1653 the Plymouth colony's Cushnoc truckhouse was owned 1,050 beaver pelts by Indian clients, a substantial total by Maine standards.⁷²

A number of issues remain unresolved. Most pressing is clarification of the volume of Pemaquid's fur trade. To date, no records have been found to document the amount and proportions of the type of animal furs and hides exchanged at the settlement. Such data would allow comparisons between Pemaquid's business and competing operations in New Hampshire, Maine, and Acadia, permit an assessment of changes in proportions of the various furs, pelts, and hides over time. What impact did economic trends and warfare have on the volume and overall success of Pemaquid's fur trade? A great deal remains unknown about the plantation's Indian clients. There is little

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question that Indians from the Kennebec and Pentagoet rivers were Pemaquid's primary contacts, and period sources suggest there was some trade with St. Georges River Indians. Was there contact with other "local" groups, such as those based in Boothbay or the more distant Eastern Etchemin of the St. Croix and St. John rivers? How large were the Indian groups, and how long did they remain at Pemaquid? Was the six-week stint of trade between Fort William Henry troops and nearby Indians typical? Where did they establish their trading encampments? The matter of an English minister teaching reading and writing to Indian children is intriguing: was this the effort of a single individual, or part of a provincial or crown plan to win their hearts and minds?

While a number of important questions remain, this research provides a better understanding of the role the fur trade played in Pemaquid's early development. It also suggests much about Maine's early economy – particularly about the complex and far-reaching economic system Maine's traders were part of. In addition, the study once again demonstrates the growing importance of archaeology in reconstructing the European and Indian worlds that coexisted in Maine during this time of peace and war.

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²³Noyes, et als., *Dictionary of Maine*, pp. 632-33; Maine Historical Society, *Province and Court Records* 1: 251.

²⁴Francis Knight, "Goods Received from Mr. John Holland (1647)," *Suffolk Deeds* 3: folios 100-101.

²⁵"Inventory of Isaac Grosse's Estate, March 29, 1649," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 7 (1853), p. 228; Maine Historical Society, *Province and Court Records* 1: 251-52; "Inventory of Robert Button's Estate, November 21, 1650," *New England Genealogical and Historical Register* 8 (1854), p. 59; John Worlidge, *Dictionarium and Urbanicum*, facsimile of 1704 edition (Los Angeles, 1970)

²⁶"Goods Received from Mr. John Holland (1647)," *Suffolk Deeds* 3, folios 100-101; "Debt Settlement between Thomas Phillips and John Smith, December 12, 1652," *York Deeds* 3 (Portland: John T. Hull and B. Thurston and Company, 1887), folio 173.

²⁷"Goods Received from Mr. John Holland"; *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary* 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 598.

²⁸Towns of Bristol, et als., *Petition and Memorial of the Towns*, pp. 40-41.

²⁹Noyes, et als., *Genealogical Dictionary of Maine and New Hampshire*, pp. 216-17; *Suffolk Deeds*, folios 46-52, 57-58.

³⁰"Richard and Nicholas Davison vs. Paul White, June 16, 1657"; "The Declaration of Richard Russell & Nicholas Davison Against Capt. Paul White def., in an Action of the Case," Court File no. 1657-19-2"; "Paul White to Richard Russell and Nicholas Davison, June 25, 1657 (household inventory)," *Middlesex County Court Deeds* 2: 26-28, Middlesex County Court, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Thanks are due Emerson Baker for providing his transcriptions of these documents.

³¹Thomas Lyman, *The Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown.. 1629-1818* 1 (Boston: David Clapp and Son, 1879), p. 284; Noyes, et als., *Genealogical Dictionary of Maine and New Hampshire*, p. 189; Deposition of Tobias Oakman, February 16, 1737, Massachusetts State Archives, Boston.

³²Noyes, et als., *Genealogical Dictionary of Maine and New Hampshire*, p. 189; Baker, "Trouble to the Eastward," pp. 116-17.

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¹⁹Baker, *Clarke and Lake Company*, pp. 7, 9-10; Cranmer, *Cushnoc*, p. 30; Faulkner and Faulkner, *Pentagoet*, p. 22.

²⁰Faulkner and Faulkner, *Pentagoet*, pp. 20-22; Reid, *Acadia*, pp. 135-38.

²¹Baker, "Trouble to the Eastward," p. 114; Cranmer, *Cushnoc*, pp. 28-30.

²²Baker, "Troubles to the Eastward," pp. 117-18; Faulkner and Faulkner, *Pentagoet*, p. 22; Johnston, *History of Bristol and Bremen*, pp. 103-06.

²³Johnston, *History of Bristol and Bremen*, pp. 105, 111-15. In 1665, Charles II granted the Sagadahoc region (including Pemaquid) and New York to his brother the Duke of York. Sagadahoc then encompassed territory from the Kennebec to the St. Croix rivers, north to the St. Lawrence.

²⁴James P. Baxter, ed., "Att A Council held at Boston the 16 October 1675," in Baxter, ed., *Collections* 6: 96-97.

²⁵Louis-Andre Vigneras, "Letters of an Acadian Trader, 1674-1676," *New England Quarterly* 13 (March 1940): 98-99, 105.

²⁶Baker, "Trouble to the Eastward," pp. 143-45, 186, 188-200; Edwin Churchill, "Introduction: Colonial Pemaquid," in Camp, *Archaeological Excavations at Pemaquid*, p. xi.

²⁷Baker, "Trouble to the Eastward," pp. 189-192; "Thomas Gardner to Governor Leverett, September 22, 1675," Baxter, ed., *Manuscripts* 6: 96-97; "Petition from Thomas Gardner and other Inhabitants of Pemaquid, 1676," *ibid.*, pp. 118-19; "Moxes to Governor of Massachusetts, *ibid.*, July 1, 1677," pp. 177-79.

²⁸Baker, "Trouble to the Eastward," pp. 194-200; "Thomas Gardner to Governor Leverett," Baxter, ed., *Manuscripts* 6: 118-19; *The Present State of New England*, facsimile of 1677 edition (Bainbridge, New York, 1972), pp. 54-56.

²⁹Baxter, ed., *Manuscripts* 6: 179-180, 185-86, 189-93; *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies* 2 (1861): 740; Franklin B. Hough, ed., *Papers Relating to Pemaquid and Parts Adjacent in the Present State of Maine* (Albany: Parsons and Company, 1856), pp. 18-21; Anthony Limmani, "Life at Fort Richmond, District of Maine: From the Account Book of John Minot, Truckmaster, 1737-1742," *The Kennebec Proprietor* 5 (Winter 1988): 15; MacFarlane, "The Massachusetts Bay Truck-Houses," pp. 48-65.

³⁰Hough, *Papers Relating to Pemaquid*, pp. 18, 20, 21.

³¹Johnston, *History of Bristol and Bremen*, pp. 146, 148.

³²Hough, *Papers Relating to Pemaquid*, pp. 29-31.

³³*Ibid.*; John Romeyn Broadhead, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York* 3 (Boston, 1853), pp. 238, 334.

³⁴*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1685-1688* 12 (Norwich, Norfolk Chronicle Company, 1899), p. 567; "Deposition of Lenox Beverly Aug 17, 1689," Baxter, ed., *Collections* 9: 31; John C. Webster, ed., *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, Monographic Series no. 1 (Saint John: New Brunswick Museum, 1934), pp. 193-94; Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen Faulkner, "Acadian Maine in Archaeological Perspective," *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 14 (1985): 13-18; Faulkner and Faulkner, *Pentagoet*, pp. 29, 38; Alaric Faulkner, "Leadworking at St. Castin's Habitation: New Insights on the Workshops of the Acadian Frontier," paper presented at 1993 Conference for Northeast Historical Archaeology Meetings, Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

³⁵Broadhead, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York* 3: 551-54; Churchill, "Introduction to Colonial Pemaquid," p. xiii; *Calendar of State Papers, America and the West Indies, 1685-1688* 12: 261, 306, 467.

³⁶Charles E. Clark, *The Eastern Frontier: The Settlement of Northern New England*,

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1610-1763 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), pp. 67-69; Johnston, *History of Bristol and Bremen*, p. 186; "Edward Randolph to Lords of Trade and Plantations, September 5, 1689; *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1689-92* 13; (London: Mackie and Company, 1901), p. 40.

¹⁷Province of Massachusetts, "The Submission and Agreement of the Eastern Indians, August 11, 1693," vol. 30, p. 339, Massachusetts State Archives.

¹⁸Province of Massachusetts, "Bill for the Regulation of Trade with the Indians, June 12, 1694," vol. 30, pp. 346-47, Massachusetts State Archives.

¹⁹Wilbur Jacobs, *Wilderness Politics and Indian Gifts: The Northern Colonial Frontier, 1748-1763* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), pp. 30-31; Roberts, "The Fur Trade of New England," pp. 65-66; "Villebon to Count Pontchartrain, August 20, 1694," Webster, ed., *Acadia*, pp. 67-68.

²⁰"Account of a Journey Made by M. De Villeu, 1693-1694," Webster, ed., *Acadia* pp. 61, 63

²¹Deposition of Joseph Giddings, October 3, 1696, typescript, Colonial Pemaquid Museum, Bristol, Maine. Period documents provide few details on the location(s) of encampments established in Pemaquid by Indian trading and negotiating parties. One likely location is at the mouth of the Pemaquid River on a protected sandy beach. Archaeologists discovered the remains of an Indian camp dating to the mid-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Kathy Callum, personal communication, 1993.

²²Captain Chubb's decision to carry out such a plan was his own. There was no indication that Massachusetts authorities encouraged his actions or the illicit trade.

²³Province of Massachusetts, "Peace and Trade Negotiations Between Massachusetts Authorities and Eastern Indian Representatives, December 27, 1701," vol. 30, folios 480-83

²⁴Robert L. Bradley, *The Forts of Maine, 1607-1945: An Archaeological and Historical Survey* (Augusta: Maine Historic Preservation Commission, 1981), pp. 8, 13; Webster, ed., *Acadia* pp. 192-97.

²⁵John S.C. Abbott, *The History of Maine* (Boston, 1875), pp. 338, 359; Limmani, "Life at Fort Richmond," p. 15.

²⁶Province of Massachusetts, "Peace and Trade Negotiations Between Massachusetts and Eastern Indian Representatives, July 24-28, 1714," vol. 39: 44; "Colonel David Dunbar to the Duke of Newcastle, December 10, 1729," Baxter, ed., *Collections* 10: 460-62; "Governor Jonathan Belcher to Captain Arthur Savage, September 1, 1740," *Jonathan Belcher Letterbooks*, August 24, 1739-September 23, 1740, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. Indian leaders met with provincial officials in 1714, 1729, and 1740 to discuss trade relations. On the first two occasions, they renewed requests for a truckhouse at Pemaquid. The English never acted on the requests.

²⁷Camp, *Archaeological Excavations at Pemaquid*, pp. 20-21, 63, 66-68.

²⁸"Governor Jonathan Belcher to Captain Arthur Savage, September 1, 1740"; Harrington and Pemaquid Residents Petition, February 26, 1757, *Towns, Etc., 1755-1762*, vol. 117: folio 276, Massachusetts State Archives; Johnston, *History of Bristol and Bremen*, pp. 296, 310, 312; Province of Massachusetts, *The Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts Bay* 12 (Boston, 1904): 20, 25.

²⁹Province of Massachusetts, *Accounts, 1676-1734*, vol. 244: folio 379.

³⁰Penobscot and Norridgewock Indian representatives complained to Massachusetts officials in 1738 and 1740 about their increasingly difficult trading conditions and circumstances. Some traveled to truckhouses with nothing to trade. The Indians asked the provincial authorities to allow their people "to trade with the soldiers for small things...." Typically, these would have been such items as needles, knives,

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combs, Jew's harps, and beads. The Indians were also frustrated by the continuing problem of abusive and dishonest truckmasters. Province of Massachusetts, "Peace and Trade Negotiations between Massachusetts Authorities and Eastern Indian Representatives," June 28, 1738 and August 25, 1740, vol. 29: folios 336-354, 364-375, Massachusetts State Archives.

⁷¹ Cartland, *Twenty Years at Pemaquid* (Pemaquid Beach, 1914), pp. 179-80; Mildred Ross, personal communication, 1992.

⁷² Harold Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), pp. 34, 87, 137-38, 142; Baker, "Trouble to the Eastward," p. 109.

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