

CHAP. LIV.<sup>1</sup>

*Transactions between the Massachusetts and some of the Governors of the French Plantations in Acady, from the year 1641 to 1646.*

NOVEMBER the 8th, 1641, one Mr. Rochet, a Protestant of Rochelle, arrived at Boston, with a message from Monsieur La Tour, planted upon St. John's River, in the Bay of Fundy, to the westward of Cape Sable. He brought no letters with him, but only from Mr. Shurt of Pemaquid, where he left his men and boat. He propounded three things to the Governor and Council of the Massachusetts. 1. Liberty of free commerce, which was granted. 2. Assistance against Monsieur D'Aulney, of Penobscot, with whom he had war. 3. That he might make return of goods out of England by their merchants. In the two last they excused any treaty with him, as having no letters, or commission from La Tour; however he was courteously entertained there, and after a few days departed. But on the 6th of October following, there came a shallop from the said La Tour, with fourteen men, one whereof was his Lieutenant. They brought letters to the Governor, full of French compliments, with desire of assistance against Monsieur D'Aulney. They stayed about a week, (in which time they had liberty to take notice of the state of the Massachusetts, with the order of which the Lieutenant professed to be much affected,) and then returned without any promise of what was principally desired; yet having now a second time propounded liberty of commerce with them, some of the merchants of Boston sent a pinnace soon after,<sup>2</sup> to trade with La Tour in St. John's River. He welcomed them very kindly, giving them good encouragement for commerce, and withal wrote letters to their Governor, very gratulatory for his Lieutenant's entertainment, &c., and a relation of the state of the controversy betwixt him and D'Aulney. But in their return they met with D'Aulney at Pemaquid, who wrote also to their Governor, and sent him a printed

<sup>1</sup> LIII. in the MS.—H.

<sup>2</sup> Nov. 7, 1642. Sav. Win ii. 91.—H.

copy of the arrest against La Tour, and threatened them, that if any of their vessels came to La Tour, he would make prize of them. The next summer, June 12, 1643, Monsieur La Tour himself came to Boston, in a ship of one hundred and forty ton, with one hundred and forty persons that lately came from Rochelle, whereof the master and his company were Protestants. There came along with them two friars, (one of whom was well learned, and a ready disputant, and very fluent in the Latin tongue,) and two women, sent to wait upon La Tour's lady. They came in with a fair wind, without any notice taken of them; for meeting a Boston boat at sea, they took a pilot out of her, and left one of their own men in his place. As they passed into the harbor, one of La Tour's gentlemen espied Captain Gibbons's wife and her family passing by water to her farm, and giving notice to the Monsieur, that they had been courteously entertained at their house in Boston, he presently manned out a boat to go and speak with her. She seeing such a company of strangers making towards her, hasted to get from them, and landed at an island near by, called the Governor's Garden. La Tour landed presently after her, and there found the Governor<sup>1</sup> himself, with his family, whom, after salutation, he presently made acquainted with the cause of his coming, viz. that ||this|| ship being sent him out of France, D'Aulney, his old enemy, had so blocked up the river, to his fort, with two ships and a galliot, that his ship could not get in, whereupon he stole by in the night with his shallop, and was come to crave aid to convey him into his fort. The Governor answered him, that he could say nothing to it till he had conferred with some other of the magistrates; so after supper, he went with him to Boston. In the mean time, notice being given hereof by boats that passed by, the town was up in arms, and sent three shallops with armed men to guard the Governor home, and not without cause; for if it had been an enemy, he might not only have surprized the person of the Governor, with his family, but seized also the guns, [at] the castle, and either possessed themselves of the

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<sup>1</sup> Winthrop.—K.

fortification, or carried all away, there being not a man at that time to defend the place. This supposed danger put them upon another course, for better security of the place soon after. But, to let that pass, the Governor having the next day called together such of the magistrates and deputies as were at hand, La Tour [being present, and the Captain of his ship, &c., he<sup>1</sup>] shewed them his Commission, and propounded to them his request, with the cause of his coming. His<sup>2</sup> Commission was fairly engrossed in parchment, under the hand and seal of the Vice Admiral of France, and Grand Prior, &c., to bring supply to La Tour, whom he styled his Majesty's Lieutenant-General of Acady. He showed also a letter from the agent of the Company in France, to whom he hath reference, informing him of the injurious practices of D'Aulney against him, and advising him to look to himself, &c., and subscribed to him as Lieutenant-General, &c. Upon this it appeared, (being dated in April, 1643,) that notwithstanding the arrest which D'Aulney had sent to the Governor the last year, whereby La Tour was proclaimed a rebel, &c., yet he stood in good terms with the State of France, and also with the Company, &c. Whereupon, (though he could not grant him aid without the advice of the other Commissioners of the United Colonies,) yet they thought it neither fit nor just to hinder any that would be willing to be hired to aid him; and accordingly they answered him, that they would allow him a free mercate, that he might hire any ships that lay in their harbor, &c., which he took very thankfully, and rested well satisfied in. He had also leave granted him to land his men to refresh themselves, and, upon his request, liberty was granted to exercise his soldiers, on a training day, at Boston, when the Company of the town were in like manner employed in their military exercises, wherein they behaved themselves civilly, and shewed their activity in feats of arms, which was unto mutual satisfaction, although some persons, unaccustomed to such affairs, were not well pleased therewith, and did foretell that which never came to pass. Many being dissatisfied with

<sup>1</sup> Supplied from Sav. Win. ii. 108.—H.

<sup>2</sup> There is much confusion here; this "his" evidently refers to the Captain of La Tour's ship.—H.

these concessions, the Governor saw cause to call a second meeting, where all the reasons, pro and con, were laid down and debated. After all which, the Governor and Council could not apprehend it any more unlawful for them to allow him liberty to provide himself succor from amongst their people, than it was for Joshua to aid the Gibeonites against the rest of the Canaanites, or for Jehoshaphat to aid Jehoram against Moab, in which expedition Elisha was present, and did not reprove the King of Judah, but, for his presence sake, saved their lives by a miracle; yet the ill success at the last seems not fully justified by these reasons.

The Governor also, by letters, informed the rest of the Commissioners of what had passed, giving them the reasons why they did so presently give him his answer, without further trouble to the country, or delay to the French Monsieur, whose distress was very urgent.

In like manner did the Governor, with the advice of some of the magistrates and others, write to D'Aulney, by way of answer to his letters of November last, to this effect; viz. whereas he found, by the copy of the arrest sent from himself, that La Tour was under displeasure and censure in France, and therefore intended to have no further to do with him than by way of commerce, which is allowed, &c., and if he had made prize of any of their vessels in that way, as he had threatened, they should have righted themselves as well as they could, without injury to himself, or just offence to his Majesty of France, (whom they did honor as a great and mighty Prince,) and should endeavor so to behave themselves towards his Majesty and all his subjects, &c., as became them. But La Tour coming to them, and acquainting them how it is with him, and mentioning the Vice Admiral's commission, with the letters, &c., though they thought not fit to give him aid, as being unwilling to intermeddle in any of the wars of their neighbors, yet considering his urgent necessity and distress, they could not so far dispense with the laws of Christianity and humanity, as to deny him liberty to hire for his money any ships in their harbor; and whereas some of their people were willing to go along with him, (though without

any commission) they had charged them to endeavor, by all means, to bring matters to a reconciliation, &c., and that they should be assured, if they should do or attempt any thing against the rules of justice and good neighborhood, they must be accountable thereof unto them at their return.

Some other gentlemen did, at that time, affirm, that being accidentally, in their passage to New England, made to put into the harbor, where was La Tour's fort, they were there civilly treated, and accommodated with his own pinnace to transport them, when their ship was forced to leave them. And whereas he was charged with the killing two Englishmen at Machias, and detaining £500 worth of goods, that belonged to some of New England, about ten years ago, it was then made out, undeniably, that the Englishmen at Machias were all drunk, (which is not hard to believe, where men, that have not power to govern themselves, have strong liquors and wine to command at their pleasure,) and that they began to fire their murdering pieces against the Frenchmen, whom they had peaceably traded with but two or three days before. And for the goods, La Tour proffered to refer the matter to judgment yet, and that, if it should be found he had done them any wrong, he would make them satisfaction.

In the end, nothing of moment being objected against their hiring of ships of force, to convey him and his lady, with their ship and goods, home to his fort, they set sail July the 14, 1643, with four ships and a pinnace, well manned with seventy or eighty volunteers,<sup>1</sup> who all returned safe within two months after,<sup>2</sup> without loss either of vessels or men, although they chased D'Aulney to his own fort, where he ran his two ships and pinnace aground, with intent to fortify himself with all expedition, and the messenger, that carried the letters to D'Aulney, was led blindfold into the house, and so returned, six or seven hours after. But the commander-in-chief<sup>3</sup> of the

<sup>1</sup> See in Hazard, i. 499-501, "Articles of Agreement" made June 30, 1643, "between Mounseir La Tour of the one party, and Captain Edward Gibbons and Thomas Hawkins, part owners of the good ship called the Seabridge, the ship Philip and Mary, the ship Increase, [and] the ship Greyhound, lett to freight to the said Mounseir De La Tour, of the other party," &c. &c.—H.

<sup>2</sup> About Aug. 20, says Winthrop.—H.

<sup>3</sup> Captain Hawkins, mentioned in note<sup>1</sup>.—H.

vessels, hired at Boston, would not be persuaded by La Tour, to make any assault upon D'Aulney; yet thirty of the New England men went, on their own accord, with La Tour's men, and drave some of D'Aulney's men from a mill, where they had entrenched themselves, with the loss of three of his men, and only three of La Tour's men wounded.

Some of the country took great offence at these proceedings, and drew up a kind of protest against their actings in the Bay, and that they would be innocent of all the mischief that might ensue, &c. Some men have wit enough to find fault with what is done, though not half enough to know how to mend it, or to do better. The Governor, indeed, did blame himself for being over sudden in his resolution; for although a course may be warrantable and safe, yet it becomes wise men, in matters of moment, not to proceed without deliberation and advice. But, on the other hand, where present distress doth urge delays may be as dangerous as denials, and a kindness extorted out of a friend or neighbor with importunity, may be as ill resented afterward as an injury:—*Bis dat, qui citò dat.*<sup>1</sup>

In the summer following, La Tour, understanding that D'Aulney was coming out of France with great strength to subdue him, made another address to the Governor of the Massachusetts, to afford him aid, if need should be. Mr. Endicot being Governor that year,<sup>2</sup> La Tour repaired to him at Salem, where he lived; who, understanding the French language, was moved with compassion toward him, and appointed a meeting of the magistrates and ministers to consider of the request.

It seems this La Tour's father had purchased all the privileges and propriety of Nova Scotia from Sir William Alexander, and had been quietly possessed of it, himself and his father, about thirty years; and that Penobscot was theirs also, till within these five years, when D'Aulney by force dispossessed him thereof. His grant was confirmed under the Great Seal of N. Scotland, and he had obtained also another grant of a Scotch Baronetcy<sup>3</sup> under the same seal.

<sup>1</sup> See Sav. Win. ii. 109-15, 124-8; Hutchinson's Collection of Papers, pp. 113-34.—H. <sup>2</sup> 1644.—H. <sup>3</sup> *Baronet* in the MS. See Sav. Win. ii. 179.—H.

Most of the magistrates, and many others, were clear in the case that he ought to be relieved, not only out of charity, as a distressed neighbor, but in point of prudence, to prevent a dangerous enemy to be settled too near us. But after much disputation, those that most inclined to favor La Tour being unwilling to conclude any thing without a full consent, a third way was propounded, which all assented unto, which was this, that a letter should be sent to D'Aulney to this effect, viz. that by occasion of some Commissions of his, which had come to their hands, to take their people, and not knowing any just occasion they had given him, they would know the reason thereof, and withal, to demand satisfaction for the wrongs which he had done them and their Confederates, in taking Penobscot, and their men and goods at the Isle of Sables, and threatening to make prize of their vessels, if they came beyond Penobscot, &c., declaring withal, that although their men, which went the last year with La Tour, did it without any commission, counsel, or act of permission of the country, yet if he made it appear to them that they had done him any wrong, (which yet they knew not of,) they should be ready to do him justice, and requiring his express answer by the bearer, and expecting he should call in all such Commissions, &c. They sent also in their letter a copy of the order, published by the Governor and Council, whereby they forbade all their people to use any act of hostility (otherwise than in their own defence,) towards French or Dutch, &c., till the next General Court, mentioning also, in the same letter, a course of trade their merchants had entered into with La Tour, and their resolution to maintain them in it.

This being all which La Tour could obtain at this time, he returned home the 9th [of] September, 1644, mutual signs of respect being given betwixt him and the gentlemen of Boston at his parting.<sup>1</sup>

It is here to be noted, that the same summer,<sup>2</sup> Mr. Vines, agent for Sir Ferdinando Gorges, at Saco, Mr. Wannerton,<sup>3</sup> that had some interest in the government of

<sup>1</sup> La Tour had been in the Bay two months, having arrived on the 15th of July previous.—x. <sup>2</sup> In June and July.—x. <sup>3</sup> See pages 215, 220.—x.

Pascataqua, and Mr. Shurt of Pemaquid, went to La Tour to call for some debts, &c. In their way they put in at Penobscot, and were there detained prisoners a few days, but were afterward (for Mr. Shurt's sake, to whom D'Aulney was in debt,) dismissed, and going to La Tour, Mr. Wannerton, and some other Englishmen of the eastern parts, were entertained by him, and sent with about twenty of his men, to try if they could take Penobscot, (for they heard the fort was weakly manhed, and in want of victuals.) They went first to a farm house of D'Aulney's, about six miles off, and there Wannerton and two men more went and knocked at the door, with their swords and pistols ready; one opens the door and another presently shot Wannerton dead, and a third shoots his second in the shoulder, but withal he discharged his pistol upon him and killed him. The rest of Wannerton's company came in and took the house, and the two men (for there were no more) prisoners, and then burnt the house and killed the cattle that were there, and so embarked themselves and came to Boston to La Tour. This Wannerton was a stout man, and had been a soldier many years; he had lived very wickedly in whoredom, drunkenness, and quarrelling, so as he had kept the Pascataqua men under awe many years, till they came under the government of the Massachusetts, but since that time he had been much restrained, and the people freed from his terror. He had (as was said) of late come under some terrors of conscience, and motions of the spirit, by means of the preaching of the word, but had shaken all off, and returned to his former dissolute course, and so continued, till God cut him off by this sudden execution, which if it were so, on him was fulfilled the threatening, mentioned Prov. xxix, 1. "he that, being often reprov'd, hardeneth his neck, shall suddenly be destroyed, and that without remedy." But the assailants in this hostile action, being led on by an Englishman, that lived within the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, it was like to provoke D'Aulney the more against them, of which he found occasion afterward to put them in mind



September 17, the same year, the *Lady La Tour* arrived at Boston from London, in a ship commanded by one Captain Bayley. They had been six months from London, having spent their time in trading about Canada, &c. They met with D'Aulney about Cape Sables, and told him they were bound for the Bay, having stowed the Lady and her people under hatches; so he not knowing it was Captain Bayley, (whom he earnestly sought for, either to have taken or sunk him,) wrote by the master to the Deputy Governor to this effect; That his master, the King of France, understanding the aid *La Tour* had there the last year was on the Commission he shewed from the Vice Admiral of France, gave him in charge not to molest them for it, but to hold all good correspondency with them and all the English, which he professed he was desirous of, so far as it might stand with his duty to his Majesty, and withal, that he intended to send to them, as soon as he had settled his affairs, to let them know what further Commission he had, and his sincerity in the business of *La Tour*, &c.

And soon after,<sup>1</sup> while the Governor and the rest of the magistrates were at Boston, to consider about the premises and other coincident affairs, a vessel arrived at Salem with ten men, sent from D'Aulney, amongst whom was one Monsieur Marie, (supposed to be a friar, but habited like a gentleman.) He wrote to the Governor, (whom he expected to have found at Salem, where he dwelt,) at Boston, by a gentleman of his company, to know where he might attend him; and upon the Governor's answer he came the next day to Boston, and there, with letters of credence and Commission from D'Aulney, he shewed them the King of France's Commission, under the Great Seal of France, with the Privy Seal annexed, wherein the proceedings against *La Tour* were recited, and he condemned as a rebel and traitor, &c., with command for the apprehension of him and his Lady, (who had fled out of France against special order, &c.) He complained also of the wrong done by their men, the last year, in assisting of *La Tour*, &c., yet proffered

<sup>1</sup> Thursday, Oct. 3, 1644.—H.

terms of peace and amity. They answered to the first, that divers of the ships and most of the men were strangers to them, and had no commission from them, nor permission to use any hostility, and they were sorry when they heard what was done, which gave him satisfaction. To the other proposal they answered, that they could not conclude any league with him without the advice of the Commissioners of the United Colonies; but if he would set down his proposals in writing, they would consider further of them; and withal, acquainted him with what they had lately written to Mr. D'Aulney, and the injuries they had complained of to him. So he withdrew himself to his lodging,<sup>1</sup> and there having drawn out his proposals and answers to their complaint, in French, he returned to them, adding two proposals more,—one, that they would aid him against La Tour, and the other, that they would not assist him—and gave reasonable answer to their demands. They urged much for a reconciliation with La Tour, and that he would permit his Lady to go to her husband. His answer was, that if La Tour would voluntarily come in and submit, he would assure him his life and liberty, but if he were taken, he were sure to lose his head in France; and for his Lady, she was known to be the cause of all this contempt and rebellion, and therefore they could not let her go to him, but if they should send her in any of their vessels he must take them, and if they carried any goods to La Tour he would take them also, but give them satisfaction for them. In the end they came to this Agreement, which was drawn up in Latin in these words, and signed by the Governor, and six other of the magistrates and Monsieur Marie, whereof one copy they kept and the other he carried with them. He came to Boston the Friday, and, making great haste, departed on the Tuesday following. They furnished him with horses, and sent him well accompanied to Salem, having entertained him with all courteous respect the time while he stayed. He seemed to be surprised with his unexpected entertainment, and gave a liberal testimony of his acceptance thereof, and assurance

<sup>1</sup> "At Mr. Fowle's," says Winthrop. Fowle was a merchant; his baptismal name was Thomas.—H.

of Monsieur D'Aulney's engagement to them for it.—  
The Agreement was as followeth :

The Agreement between John Endicot, Esq., Governor of the Massachusetts in New England, and the rest of the magistrates there, and Mr. Marie, Commissioner of Monsieur D'Aulney, Knight, Governor and Lieutenant-General for his Majesty, the King of France, in Acady, a Province of New France, made and ratified at Boston in the Massachusetts aforesaid, October 8, 1644.

The Governor and all the rest of the magistrates do promise to Mr. Marie, that they and all the English within the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, shall observe and keep firm peace with Monsieur D'Aulney, &c., and all the French under his command in Acady; and likewise the said Mr. Marie doth promise, in the behalf of Monsieur D'Aulney, that he and all his people shall also keep firm peace with the Governor and magistrates aforesaid, and with all the inhabitants of the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts aforesaid, and that it shall be lawful, for all men, both French and English, to trade each with other; so that if any occasion of offence should happen, neither part shall attempt any thing against the other in any hostile manner, until the wrong be first declared and complained of, and due satisfaction not given. Provided always, the Governor and magistrates aforesaid be not bound to restrain their merchants from trading with their ships with any persons, whether French or others, wheresoever they dwell; provided also, that the full ratification and conclusion of this Agreement be referred to the next meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, for the continuation or abrogation [of the same,<sup>1</sup>] and in the mean time, to remain firm and inviolate.<sup>2</sup>

By this agreement they were freed from the fear their people were in, that Monsieur D'Aulney would take revenge of their small vessels and out Plantations, for the harm he sustained the last year by their means.

As La Tour returned home with a vessel of the Mas-

<sup>1</sup> Supplied from Hazard and Winthrop.—H.

<sup>2</sup> See a copy of the original, in Latin, in Hazard, i. 536-7; and the proceedings of the Commissioners, *ibid.*, ii. 50-4.—H.

sachusetts in his company, laden with provision, he narrowly escaped being taken by D'Aulney; for when he went out of the harbor the wind was very fair, which, if he had made use of, he had fallen directly into the snare; but touching at divers places by the way, where he stayed some time, he passed by Penobscot soon after D'Aulney was gone into the harbor; whereas if he had gone home directly, he must needs have been taken. But the Boston vessel, that ||went|| in company with him, was met by D'Aulney in her return, who staid her, and taking the master aboard his ship, manned her with Frenchmen, telling the master his intention, and assuring him of all good usage and recompense for the stay of his vessel, (all which he really performed.) He brought her with him to the mouth of St. John's River, and then sent her boat, with one gentleman of his own, to La Tour, to shew him his Commission, and withal desired the master to write to La Tour, to desire him to dismiss the messenger safely, for otherwise D'Aulney would keep him for hostage, (yet he assured the master he would not do it.) So La Tour dismissed the messenger in peace, which he professed he would not have done, but for their master's sake. D'Aulney carried the ketch with him to Port Royal, where he used the master courteously, and gave him credit for fish he bought of him, and recompense for the stay of his vessel, and so dismissed him.

Presently after this return, a vessel was sent to trade with D'Aulney, and by it the Deputy Governor wrote to D'Aulney, shewing the cause of sending her, with profession of their desire of holding good correspondency with him, &c., and withal persuading him, by divers arguments, to entertain peace with La Tour; to which the French ||gentleman|| lent a deaf ear, though he treated civilly with the company, and took off their commodities, at the lowest rate he could bring them to.

The Lady La Tour, while she lay at Boston, commenced an action against Bailey, the Captain of the ship, for not carrying her directly to her own place, and for some injuries done her aboard his ship, greatly to her damage.

The action was commenced also against the merchant, (who was both brother and factor to Alderman Berkley, of London, who freighted the ship,) for not performing the charter party, having spent so much time upon the coast in trading, that they were near six months in coming, and, at the last, were not carried to her fort, as they ought, and might have been. Upon a full hearing, in a special Court, after four days, the jury gave her £2000 damage; for had they come in any reasonable time, it might have been more to her advantage in their trade, and safety against D'Aulney; whereas now it was like to occasion their utter ruin, as in probability it came to pass afterward; for she knew not how to get home without two or three ships of force, for D'Aulney coming up with them at Cape Sables, they durst not discover who they were, but stood away for Boston.

The Captain and merchant of the ship being arrested, were forced to deliver their cargo ashore, to free their persons, by which means execution was levied upon them to the value of £1100. More could not be had without unfurnishing the ship, which must have been by force, the master and mariners refusing otherwise to deliver more. The master petitioned the General Court for his freight and wages, for which the goods stood bound by charter party. The General Court was much divided about it, but the major part voted that none was due there, nor the goods bound for them. The major part of the deputies were of another mind, but a negative vote, in the Court of the magistrates, put a stop to any process; whereupon the master brought his action at the next Court of Assistants, but the jury found for the defendant, it being put to them upon this issue, whether the goods were security for the freight, &c., so as they might not be liable to the execution; and yet in the charter party the merchants had bound themselves and executors, &c., and goods, as the owners had bound their ship, &c., to the merchants.

This business caused much trouble and charge to the country, and made some difference between the merchants themselves, some of whom were deeply engaged for La Tour, specially those of Boston. Offers were

made on both sides for an end between them ; but they not coming to agreement, the lady took the goods and hired three ships, which lay in the harbor, (belonging to strangers,) which cost her near £800, and set sail for her fort. But the merchants, against whom she had execution for their bodies, by way of satisfaction for the rest of the judgment, got into their ship and fell down below the Castle, (where they were out of command,) and taking aboard about thirty passengers, set sail for London, where they informed Alderman Berkley of the proceedings against him in New England. Captain Bailey carried over a certificate of their proceedings in the Court, under the hands of some persons of credit, (who being somewhat prejudiced in the case, though they reported truly for the most part, yet not the whole truth,) it proved some disadvantage to the country, so as the Alderman was thereby encouraged, first, to arrest a ship<sup>1</sup> belonging to the country, and then, releasing that by persuasion, he arrested Mr. St. W.<sup>2</sup>, that was Recorder of the Court, and Mr. Joseph Weld, that was one of the jury, when the case was tried, so as they were forced to find sureties in a bond of £4000, to answer him in the Court of Admiralty. But it pleased God to stir up some friends in the case, (especially Sir Henry Vane, who either overlooked the dishonor [which] was put upon him in New England, out of a generous and noble mind, or else, upon serious thoughts, might see no reason to take revenge,) so as being forced to give over his suit there, (though he spared for no cost,) he procured a *ne exeat regno* out of the Chancery against them ; but the case being heard there, they were discharged also. Then he petitioned the Lords of the Parliament, (pretending great injuries, which he was not able to prove,) for letters of reprisal ; but having tried all means in vain, he was at last brought to sit down with the loss of all his charges.

In the end of April following,<sup>3</sup> news was brought to Boston, that a vessel,<sup>4</sup> sent by some merchants of New

<sup>1</sup> The ship was owned by Thomas Fowle, mentioned on page 487 ; her seizure took place, I suppose, in the spring or summer of 1645. Sav. Win. ii. 247.—H.   <sup>2</sup> Stephen Winthrop.—H.   <sup>3</sup> I. e. the April after Lady La Tour's prosecution of Captain Bayley.—H.   <sup>4</sup> The vessel belonged to Joseph Grafton. Sav. Win. i. 332, ii. 217.—H.

England to carry provisions to La Tour, was fallen into the hands of D'Aulney, who had made prize of her, and turned the men upon an island, and kept them there ten days, and then gave them an old shallop, (of about two tons burthen, and some provisions to bring them home, but denied them their clothes, &c., which ||at first he had|| promised them,) not giving them either gun or compass, whereby it was justly conceived that he intended they should perish either at sea, or by the Indians, (who were at hand, and chased them the next day, as they supposed, &c.) Upon this news the Governor and Council dispatched away a vessel to D'Aulney, with letters, wherein they expostulated with him about this act of his, complaining of it as a breach of the Articles of peace between them, and required the vessel and goods to be restored, or satisfaction to be given for them. They gave answer also, to some charges laid upon them, in his letter to the Governor, carried on with such high language, as if they had hired the ships which carried home the Lady La Tour, and had broken their Articles by a bare sufferance of it. They answered him accordingly, that he might see that they took notice of his proud terms, and that they were not afraid of him; and whereas he often threatened them with the King of France's power, &c., they answered, that as they acknowledged him to be a mighty Prince, so they conceived withal he would continue to be just, and not break out against them, without hearing their answer; or if he should, they had a God in whom to trust, when all other help failed.

It was reported that as soon as he had set their men upon an island in a deep snow, without fire, and only a sorry wigwam for their shelter, he carried his ship close up to La Tour's Fort, (supposing that they would have yielded it up to him,) for the friars, and other their confederates, (whom the Lady, presently after her arrival, had sent away,) had persuaded him that he might easily take the place, La Tour being gone into the Bay, and not leaving above fifty men in it, little powder, and that decayed also. But after they had moored their ship, and began

|| he had at first ||

to let fly at the fort with their ordnance, they within behaved themselves so well with their ordnance, that they tore his ship so as he was forced to warp her ashore behind a point of land, to save her from sinking, for the wind coming easterly, he could not bring her forth, and that they had killed (as one of his own men affirmed) twenty of his men, and wounded thirteen more. And if La Tour had bestirred himself abroad, as well as his Lady did within the fort, it had never fallen into the hands of D'Aulney, as soon after it did.

In a letter<sup>1</sup> which was sent soon after from D'Aulney, he slighted those of the Massachusetts very much, charging them with breach of covenant, in entertaining La Tour still, and sending home his Lady. They returned him a sharp answer by Captain Allen,<sup>2</sup> declaring their innocency, and that they sent her not home, but she hired three London ships, that then lay in their harbor, &c. When he received this letter, he was in a great rage, and told the Captain that he would return no answer, nor would he permit him to come within his fort, but lodged him in his gunner's house, without the gate, where, notwithstanding, he came daily to dine and sup with him. But at last he wrote to the Governor, in very high language, requiring satisfaction for burning his mill, &c., and threatening revenge, &c. So the matter rested till the meeting of the Commissioners, in September after, at which time they agreed to send Captain Bridges<sup>3</sup> to him, with the Articles of peace ratified by them, (the continuation or abrogation of which was referred to them before,) with order to demand his confirmation of them under his hand, wherein also was expressed their readiness that all injuries, &c., on either part, might be heard and composed in due time and place and the peace to be kept, in the mean time, so as he would subscribe the same. D'Aulney entertained their messengers with all state and courtesy that he possibly could, but refused to subscribe the Articles, till the differences could be composed, and accordingly wrote

<sup>1</sup> By a great inadvertency Hubbard overlooks the fact, which appears from Winthrop, that this is the same letter spoken of in the preceding paragraph.—H.

<sup>2</sup> He was, says Sav. Win. ii. 237, a shipmaster.—H.

<sup>3</sup> For notice of Captain Robert Bridges, see Sav. Win. ii. 237-8.—H.



back, that he perceived their drift was to gain time, &c., whereas if their messengers had been furnished with power to have treated with him, and concluded about the differences, he doubted not but all had been agreed, for they should find it was more his honor, which he stood upon, than his benefit. Therefore he would sit still till the spring, expecting their answer herein, and would attempt nothing against them till he heard from them again.

The General Court, taking this answer into consideration, agreed to send the Deputy Governor, (Mr. Dudley,) Major ||Denison,<sup>1</sup>|| and Captain Hawthorne, with full power to treat and determine, and wrote a letter to him to that end, assenting to his desire for the place, viz., Penobscot, (which they call Pentagot,) and referring the time also to him, so it were in September.

Some thought it would be dishonorable for them to go to him, and therefore would have had the place to have been at Pemaquid; but the most were of a differing judgment, not only for that he was Lieutenant-General to a great Prince, but because, being a man of a generous disposition, valuing his reputation above his profit, it was considered that it would be much to their advantage to treat with him in his own house. But that was but a French compliment, he was so good an husband as to prevent that charge to himself, as was discerned soon after. However, this being agreed upon for the present, a private committee was chosen to draw up their instructions, which were not to be imparted to the Court, in regard of secrecy, (for they had found, that hitherto, through some false play or other, D'Aulney had had intelligence of all their proceedings,) with their Commission, and to provide all other necessaries for their voyage.

Monsieur D'Aulney, having received their letter, returned answer, that he saw now that they seriously desired peace, which he (for his part) did also, and that he accounted himself highly honored that they would send such of their principal men home to him, &c.; that he desired this favor of them, that he might spare them

|| Donnison ||

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<sup>1</sup> Daniel Denison, one of the most distinguished of New England's worthies.—H.

the labor, for which purpose he would send two or three of his to them at Boston, about the end of August next, in the year 1646, to hear and determine, &c., in which answer they fully rested, expecting to hear from him according to appointment.

And on the 20th of September, Mr. Marie and Mr. Lewis, with Monsieur D'Aulney's secretary, arrived at Boston in a small pinnace, and Major Gibbons sent two of his chief officers to meet them at the water side, who conducted them to their lodging *sine strepitu*, &c., it being the Lord's Day. Public worship being ended, the Governor repaired home, sent Major Gibbons, with other gentlemen, with a guard of musketeers, to attend them to the Governor's house, who, meeting them without his doors, carried them into his house, where he entertained them with such civility of wine, &c., as the time would allow, and after awhile accompanied them to their lodging, which was at Major Gibbons's house, where they were entertained that night.

The next morning they repaired to the Governor and delivered him their Commission, which was in form of a letter, directed to the Governor and magistrates. It was open, only had a seal let into the paper with a label. Their diet was provided at the ordinary, where the magistrates used to dine in Court time, and the Governor accompanied them always at meals. Their manner was to repair to the Governor's house every morning at eight of the clock, who accompanied them to the place of meeting, and at night either himself or some of the Commissioners accompanied them to their lodging. It was Tuesday before the Commissioners could come together; when they were met, they propounded great injuries and damages by Captain Hawkins and their men in assistance of La Tour, and would have engaged their government therein. They denied that they had any hand, either by commission or permission, in that action; they only gave way to La Tour to hire assistance to conduct his ship home, according to the request made to them in the commission of the Vice Admiral of France. And for that which was done by their men, beyond their permission,

they shewed Monsieur D'Aulney's [letter<sup>1</sup>] to the Governor, by Captain Bailey, wherein he writes that the King of France had laid all the blame upon the Vice Admiral, and commanded him not to break with them upon that occasion. They also alleged the peace formerly concluded without any reservation of those things. They replied, that howsoever the King of France had remitted his own interest, yet he had not nor intended to deprive Monsieur D'Aulney of his private satisfaction; here they did stick two days. Their Commissioners alleged damages to the value of £8000, but did not stand upon the value, and would have accepted ||of|| very small satisfaction, if they would have acknowledged any guilt in their government. In the end they came to this conclusion; they of the Bay accepted their Commissioners' answer, in satisfaction of those things they had charged upon Monsieur D'Aulney; and his Commissioners accepted their answer, for clearing their government of what he had charged upon them. And because they could not free Captain Hawkins and the other volunteers of what they had done, they were to send a small present to Monsieur D'Aulney in satisfaction of that, and so all injuries and demands to be remitted, and so a final peace to be concluded.

Accordingly they sent Monsieur D'Aulney a fair new sedan, (worth £40 or £50 where it was made, but of no use to them,) sent by the Viceroy of Mexico to a lady that was his sister, and taken in the West Indies by Captain Cromwell, and by him given to the Governor of the Massachusetts. This the Commissioners very well accepted; and so the agreement being signed in several instruments, by the Commissioners of both parties, on the 28th day of the same month they took leave and departed to the pinnace, the Governor and the Commissioners accompanying them to their boat, attended with a guard of musketeers. And so their dismissal was as honorable as their reception, with such respect as New England was capable to manifest to the King of France's Lieutenant-General of Acady.

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<sup>1</sup> Supplied from Winthrop.—H.

On the Lord's Day they carried themselves soberly, having the liberty of a private walk in the Governor's garden, and the use of such Latin and French authors, as they could there be furnished with.

The two first days after their arrival they kept up their flag on the main top, as they said was the custom for the King's ships, whether English, French, or Dutch; but being minded that it was offensive to some Londoners, then in the harbor, as well as to the people of the country, M. Marie gave order to have it taken down.

But the forlorn of these French Monsieurs' history, being thus far marched before, it is now time to bring up the rear. La Tour's Lady we saw before safely conducted into her own fort, in despite of all D'Aulney's endeavors. In the mean time La Tour himself (who was as well defective in courage as conduct) was coasting to and again, to look after a barkload of provision, and in the mean time left his fort and all his whole estate to the care of his Lady, in the very gulph of danger, and precipice of utter ruin. For in the end of April, 1645, news was brought to Boston, that D'Aulney with all his strength both of men and vessels was before his fort. The Governor and Assistants of the Massachusetts were at a stand, to know what might lawfully be done for the saving it out of the hands of D'Aulney, who, like a greedy lion, was now ready to swallow down his prey. They were the more solicitous in this business, because divers of the merchants of New England were deeply engaged in the behalf of La Tour, and if his fort were once taken they were never like to be reimbursed. Some think it had been better they had never engaged at all in his behalf, than after so great hopes given him, for dependence on them, thus to have left him in the snare. The next news brought from St John's River was, that La Tour's fort was scaled, and taken by assault, that D'Aulney had lost twelve men in the assault, and had many wounded, and that he had put to death all the men which were taken in the fort, both French and English, and that La Tour's

Lady being taken, died with grief within three weeks after. The jewels, plate, household stuff, ordnance, and other movables, were valued at £10,000. The more was his folly that left so great substance at so great hazard, when he might easily have secured it in the hands of his correspondents, with whom he traded in the Massachusetts, whereby he might have discharged his engagement of more than £2,500 to Major Gibbons, (who now by this loss was quite undone,) and might have somewhat also wherewith to have maintained himself and his men, in case his fort should have been taken, as it was very likely it might, having to deal with treacherous friars within his own precincts, as well as a malicious neighbor, encouraged against him by the power of France. But goods gotten after that rate seldom descend to the third heir, as heathens have observed. In the spring of the year he went to Newfoundland, in hope to receive some considerable assistance from Sir David Kirk, another great truckmaster in those coasts, who failing to perform, (if not what himself promised, to be sure he did, as to what the other needed, and expected,) so as he returned to New England again, in the latter end of the year 1645, in a vessel of Sir David's, and soon after was sent out to the Eastward, by some merchants of Boston, with trading commodities, to the value of £400. When he came to Cape Sables, (which was in the heart of winter,) he conspired with the master (who was a stranger) and five of his own Frenchmen, to force the Englishmen ashore, and so go away with the vessel. It was said that La Tour himself shot one of the Englishmen in the face with a pistol. But to be sure they were all turned adrift in a barbarous manner, and if they had not, by special Providence, found more favor at the hands of Cape Sable Indians, than of those French Christians, they might have all perished; for having wandered fifteen days up and down, they, at the last, found some Indians who gave them a shallop with victuals, and an Indian pilot, by which means they came safe to Boston about three months after.<sup>1</sup> Thus they that

<sup>1</sup> In May, 1646.—H.

trust to an unfaithful friend do but wade in unknown waters, and lean on a broken reed, which both woundeth as well as deceiveth those that rely thereon.

CHAP. LV.<sup>1</sup>

*The general affairs of New England, from the year 1646 to 1651.*

MR. WINTHROP was this year, the ninth time, chosen Governor of the Colony of the Massachusetts, and Mr. Dudley Deputy Governor, on the 13th<sup>2</sup> day of May, which was the day of election there in the year 1646. Mr. Pelham<sup>3</sup> and Mr. Endicot were chosen Commissioners for the same Colony, by the vote of the freemen. The magistrates and deputies had hitherto chosen them, since the first Confederation, but the freemen, looking at them as general officers, would now choose them themselves, and the rather because of some of the deputies had formerly been chosen to that office, which was not, as was said, so acceptable to some of the Confederates, no more than to some of themselves; for it being an affair of so great moment, the most able gentlemen in the whole country were the fittest for it.

This Court lasted but three weeks, and notice was taken, that all things were therein carried on with much peace and good correspondence to the end of the session, when they departed home in much love. It was by special Providence so ordered, that there should be so good accord and unanimity in the General Court, when the minds of so many dissenters were so resolutely bent to make an assault upon the very foundation of their government; for if the tackling had been loosed, so as they could not have strengthened their mast, the lame would at that time have easily taken the prey. For Mr. William Vassal, one of the Patentees, that came over in the year 1630, (when<sup>4</sup> he was also chosen an Assistant,) but not complying with the rest of his colleagues, nor yet able to make a party amongst them, returned for England

<sup>1</sup> LIV in the MS.—H.    <sup>2</sup> 6th, says Winthrop.—H.    <sup>3</sup> Herbert Pelham. He was chosen, Dec. 27, 1643, first treasurer of Harvard College.—H.

<sup>4</sup> A slight mistake; he was chosen Assistant, Oct. 20, 1629. See page 124.—H.