

COL. THOMAS GOLDTHWAIT—WAS
HE A TORY?

BY R. GOLDTHWAITE CARTER, U. S. ARMY.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, December 19, 1895.



Thos. Goldthwait

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ON Fort Point, a bold, rocky promontory of Cape Jellison, at the mouth of the Penobscot River, overlooking the beautiful waters of Penobscot Bay, thickly studded with the greenest of emerald isles, are the crumbling ruins of an old colonial fort.

The local historians have from time to time given some very interesting accounts of the inception and completion of this ancient work by Gov. Thomas Pownall of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in July, 1759, and of its destruction by Col. James Cargill in July, 1775; but of its garrison, those hardy men who occupied it during this period of sixteen years, little has been said, presumably because little has been known.

We are told that Brig.-Gen. Jedediah Preble was the first commandant of Fort Pownall after its completion, and that Col. Thomas Goldthwait, with the exception of one year, was its commanding officer from 1763 to 1775; the longest and most important period of its existence.

In Maine, most historical readers are very familiar with the main incidents of the life of the former, so closely identified is it with the history of old Falmouth, now Portland; but of the latter little is

known, and it is the purpose of the writer, in this paper, to give some knowledge of his early life and history.

Before me are copies of the first and last muster rolls of Fort Pownall, with the names of the garrison upon them, together with the petition of the same to the Provincial Assembly at Watertown, Massachusetts, for pay after the destruction of the fort, and the garrison had been scattered by the loud tocsin of the war for independence.

Thomas Goldthwait's name here appears as captain; Thomas Goldthwait, junior, as lieutenant; his son Henry, a lad of about seventeen, as private; as also that of Francis Archbald, junior, the clerk of the fort, who afterwards married Mary, the daughter of Col. Goldthwait, and who is referred to in the trial of Capt. Preston of the Twenty-ninth British Foot, as one of the lads who, on the night of March 5, 1770, near old "Cornhill," was one of the controlling causes of the "Boston Massacre." He was a witness before the court, and his affidavit is given, containing a very graphic, as well as a most amusing account of that stirring event, which led up to, and was so closely identified with, what followed.

But, who was Col. Thomas Goldthwait? Some rather incomplete statements concerning him have been written by the local historians of Maine, who, with but limited opportunities for access to the official archives of that time — prior to and during the period of the Revolutionary War — have allowed themselves to be guided largely by tradition, or the prejudiced

statements and writings of those days, and have handed down in cold type, thus far unchallenged, a character which, without a cool and dispassionate judgment, as afforded by the valuable contributions of to-day, would pass down to future generations as a man whose very name and memory should be shunned, even by his own descendants.

These statements, however, have been published in such a fragmentary and disconnected way, that the writer much doubts if to-day there are many of the inhabitants of the state of Maine interested in such matters, especially those living about the mouth of the Penobscot River, who have any adequate conception of the true or inner life of the man who had so much to do in shaping the early settlement and development of that region.

Were it not for a pressing duty which the writer, a descendant, feels incumbent upon himself to rescue a name once honored and respected throughout the entire Province of Massachusetts Bay, from the cloud of reproach and obloquy which has hung over it for more than a century of time, Thomas Goldthwait's memory, with his deeds, would still remain buried with his ashes in the little kirkyard at the village of Walthamstow, England, where he died an exile from his native land, August 31, 1799. Let us turn the search-light of truth upon that record which, during this long period of silence, has remained shrouded in darkest doubt.

Lorenzo Sabine, in his very valuable work on the American Loyalists, says: —

Goldthwaite, Thomas, of Maine, born in Chelsea, Massachusetts, Grantee with Francis Bernard, son of the Governor, of a large tract of land in Prospect on the Penobscot, on condition of settling thirty families, of building an Episcopal church and employing a minister. The enterprise was interrupted by the Revolution. Both adhered to the Crown and forfeited their property. . . . The account of him is that he was an extortioner, arbitrary and cruel. Early in the war he embarked for Nova Scotia, was shipwrecked on the passage and perished. (Volume 1 : 478.)

It is but fair to say, however, that in his introduction, Sabine states that but little could be learned concerning the Loyalists, and that he met with so many serious obstacles, he nearly decided at one time to abandon the work.

Lossing, in his *Field-Book of the War of 1812*, says : —

It [Fort Pownall], was garrisoned until the Revolution, when it was betrayed into the hands of the British by a Tory commander.

The Rev. Richard Pike of Dorchester, Massachusetts, in a paper read before the New England Historic Genealogical Society of Boston, as far back as October 5, 1859, frequently alludes to the subject of this sketch, and states that : —

Col. Goldthwait has left behind him in the valley of the Penobscot a bad reputation. The Indians complained loudly of his unfair treatment of them in his dealings with them. He was very unkind to the early settlers. He was cruel, arbitrary, and an extortioner. He further declares that he was a tyrant and a coward (New England Historical and Genealogical Register 14 : 7-10.)

There could be no worse character to be handed down to history and his descendants than this.

The historians of that region add many traditions and neighborhood anecdotes to substantiate this record, and to prove further that Thomas Goldthwait was an exceedingly bad, unscrupulous man, and that his memory is odious, and held in execration by those familiar with the story of old Fort Pownall at the mouth of the Penobscot.

The writer can trace, with but little effort, the foregoing statements to the same source, viz:— the unpublished narrative manuscript of one John Davidson (to whom he will refer later on); and all recent sketches of, or concerning Thomas Goldthwait, are merely changes rung upon a well-worn theme, with no new material added.

Thus far the statements made by these writers have been mere assertions, but accepted as historical facts, and they have, so far as the writer has any knowledge, never been denied.

Should ancient history remain forever uncontradicted and unchallenged? The writer thinks not. Living as we do in this remarkable age of discovery and progress, with the world of knowledge spread at our feet, whatever is inaccurate and false, whatever is based upon uncertainty, or obtained from traditionary or unreliable sources, and given as true history — to stand for all time — especially where it vitally concerns the life and character of a man, should be sifted and probed: the search-light of the student's investigations should be turned on, until truth and history righted is the ultimate result.

Nevertheless the writer has approached this subject with much hesitation. History had already been recorded and accepted; should he one hundred years after the ashes of his ancestor had been laid to rest, struggle with an uncertainty?

Meager indeed were the results of many months of patient search and investigation, and at every turn he met with nothing but cold proof that what he had seen and read concerning Thomas Goldthwait was confirmed and verified by the strongest evidence, and with no extenuating circumstances. Far better would it be that the mantle of charity should be wrapped about his memory, than that such an unenviable reputation should be dragged forth to the light of day.

In preparing this paper, the writer has, at intervals, during the past five years, made a very careful and exhaustive search through the Congressional and departmental (war, state and navy), libraries of Washington, D. C., those of the New England Historic Genealogical and Massachusetts Historical Societies of Boston, together with all their publications, and the files of colonial newspapers of that period; besides many volumes bearing more or less upon the relations between Tory and Whig, and the numerous bitter factions of those times and localities.

But it was to a free and unrestricted access to the Massachusetts Archives at Boston, that he is most indebted for material, and to which the incubation of this paper is largely due.

Thomas Goldthwait was not, perhaps, from our modern standpoint, a remarkably brilliant, or a very

wonderful man ; he was not even a man of national distinction, for this great nation had not then been born. There were then no men of cheap, political, or sky-rocket, clap-trap reputation. Judge Mellen Chamberlain of Chelsea, Massachusetts, ex-librarian of the Boston Public Library — who is about to publish a history of the city of Chelsea — in which he will incorporate a sketch of our subject says, however : —

Goldthwait must have been an extraordinary man, if one may judge of the confidence reposed in him by his fellow citizens of Chelsea, as well as by the Crown officials of the province. I confess that the condition and fate of the Loyalists have always seemed very pitiful ; and I have no patience with what seems to me the unjust estimate of Hutchinson by Bancroft, and even of Palfrey, from whom I should expect a more candid judgment.

Speaking of Col. Goldthwait's portrait, painted by the great artist — John Singleton Copley — he, says : —

The tradition is that Copley painted it. However that may have been, the face and head were those of no common man.

He was, at all events, in the then feeble, struggling colony, a man of note and distinction. The historians of Maine admit this ; and had he lived in these times, with the present opportunities, he would have made his mark.

He lived, however, at a period, and in a region, where brilliant efforts and extraordinary parts were not called for, but rather that power which, like Abraham Lincoln's, rough hews and shapes men's lives to higher and greater possibilities. And he so shaped his own life as to make that power felt in the eastern part of the Province of Massachusetts Bay.

The writer will endeavor to show and prove — First. That Thomas Goldthwait was not born in Chelsea, Massachusetts. Second. That he was not shipwrecked and lost when en route to Nova Scotia, in 1775. Third. That he was not a Tory or a Loyalist, in the sense that he took any active part against his countrymen, and then only so far as he was forced, after the dismantlement of Fort Pownall, by the rancorous spirit engendered by this event, increased by the intense excitement which so soon followed the announcement of the battle of Lexington, and the treatment he received at the hands of the turbulent characters about him, and by the Provincial Congress, through garbled and malicious statements. He was then forced to assume, in a passive and dignified manner, the role of a harmless spectator of the strife then on between the colonies and the mother country, instead of taking an active part with his neighbors, the patriotic Whigs of that region. Fourth. That Thomas Goldthwait was not a cruel, arbitrary, or an unjust man: an extortioner, a coward, or a tyrant: but, on the contrary, was a kind, just, and a humane man, and bravely performed his duty as he saw it.

Col. Thomas Goldthwait was the son of Capt. John Goldthwait and Jane (Taley or Tawley) Halsey of Boston. His father was born in Salem, but removed to Boston in 1701, where certain sales of lands, &c., locate him on Charter Street, about January 15, 1717, when the subject of our sketch was born. (Boston Records.)

John Goldthwait was a master mason and contractor, and was a man much respected, holding the office of collector of taxes of Boston several times from 1739 to 1758. He was an assessor in 1746 — perhaps oftener. He was active in all the affairs of the town. He was one of the founders of the new North church, and was a subscriber with John Hancock and others to the bells of Christ church, which have become so celebrated in history.

His father was Samuel of Salem, who married Elizabeth Cheever, daughter of the celebrated Ezekiel Cheever, sixth master of the Boston Latin School, the oldest and best known schoolmaster of America. He was for seventy years a teacher, and died at ninety-four years of age, with a crown of well-earned glory. (Salem Records.)

Col. Thomas Goldthwait's brothers were: — Ezekiel, for twenty years — 1741–61 — just preceding William Cooper, the town clerk of Boston, and from November 6, 1740, to January 17, 1776, register of deeds for Suffolk County, Massachusetts, and clerk of the inferior court; and Col. Joseph and Maj. Benjamin Goldthwait, who were splendid soldiers in the Louisburg, Cape Breton (Acadian), and Crown Point expeditions, the latter commanding the English forces at the battle of Minas, Nova Scotia, January 31, 1747. His nephews, Maj. Joseph Goldthwait, Capt. Philip Goldthwait, and Dr. Michael Burrill Goldthwait, were in one or more of the French and Indian campaigns. The former was the commissary and barrack-

master of the British forces during the siege of Boston. So much for a brief allusion to his immediate family relations. They were a family of soldiers.

Of the early life and childhood of Thomas Goldthwait nothing is known. That he attended the public schools of Boston — probably on Salem Street — there can be but little doubt, for all his letters, papers, accounts, etc., show the result of a careful education. But the history of the Boston Latin School and of Harvard College fail to show his name upon their rolls.

In 1740 he is recorded as a constable of Boston, and the same year, January 28, he gave surety for his father, John Goldthwait, as collector of taxes. In 1742 he appears on a petition with others for the acceptance of that part of Atkinson Street “bounded northerly by Milk Street and southerly by Cow Lane.” Early in life he became a successful merchant, for his accounts have been found, showing that before he removed from Boston, he was engaged in general merchandise and on a large scale.

August 26, 1742, (published July 7, 1742), he married Esther Sargent, daughter of Col. Epes Sargent of Gloucester, Massachusetts. February 19, 1746, he was married by the Rev. Roger Pryor of Hopkinton, Massachusetts, to Catharine Barnes, sister of Henry Barnes, a wealthy merchant of Boston and Marlboro, Massachusetts. He had nine children. (Boston Records).

The children of Thomas and Esther (Sargent) Goldthwait were : —

1. Thomas, born April 27, 1743 ; died March 25, 1749.
2. Catharine, born January 5, 1744 ; married at Poole, England, October 26, 1784, Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, the celebrated surgeon of Boston. (2) September 2, 1789, William Powell, a wealthy merchant of Boston. Dr. Gardiner died August 8, 1786. William Powell died March 5, 1805, aged seventy-eight. His mother was Anna Dummer the sister of Gov. William Dummer. Through William Powell's first marriage with Mary Bromfield, sprang many of the first families of Boston, the Masons, Sears, Perkins, Rogers, Loring, etc.
3. Esther, born January 14, 1745 ; married (1) July 4, 1765, Capt. Timothy Rogers of Gloucester, Massachusetts. (2) Capt. Peter Dolliver of Marblehead. By the first marriage there was one son, Timothy, born 1766. He was a captain in the merchant service and commanded a packet ship plying between England and America about 1787. About 1792-93 he entered the Royal navy, and as "a gallant officer of the Earl St. Vincent's Fleet, died at Lisbon, Portugal, in 1797."

The children of Thomas and Catharine (Barnes) Goldthwait were : —

1. John, born July 9, 1748 ; died September 5, 1749.
2. Thomas, born June 4, 1750 ; married (1) Sarah (Wood) Primatt, widow of Rev. Humphrey Primatt of Kingston-on-Thames, England. (2) Anne Wilson, 1791, daughter of Rev. Thomas Wilson of Woodbridge, Suffolk, England. He died about 1810.
3. Elizabeth, born August 23, 1751 ; married Richard Bright of Walthamstow, England ; died February 12, 1840, *s. p.*
4. Mary, born March 1, 1753 ; married about 1777, Francis Archbald, junior ; he died about October, 1785 ; she died about 1825 ; two children, Thomas, died young, and Catharine, born 1786 ; died May, 1868.

5. Jane, born February 16, 1755; died at Walthamstow, England, February 13, 1804, unmarried.
6. Henry, born in Chelsea, March 29, 1759; died about 1801. He entered the British army November 13, 1793, died at some unknown place in the Mediterranean Sea. One descendant, Oliver C., is now living in London, England.

Thomas, the eldest son, born June 4, 1750, was a lieutenant at Fort Pownall in 1774. He is referred to by the historians of Maine as a trader at the mouth of the Kenduskeag in 1772-73. He went to England before his father, but returned after his marriage to Anne Wilson, and lived for several years in Boston, where a number of his children were born and educated. There were six. He returned to England, however, and the tradition is that he died there, or was lost by shipwreck on his return again to this country. His widow migrated to the vicinity of Montgomery, Alabama, and all the southern Goldthwaits are sprung from this branch.

A son, George, born in Boston, December 10, 1810, was educated at the Boston Latin School; was two years at West Point; became chief justice of Alabama in 1856; adjutant-general of the state during the War of the Rebellion; United States senator from 1870-77; died March 18, 1879.

A daughter, Esther Anne, married Judge John A. Campbell of Alabama. He was associate justice of the United States Supreme Court, and during the War of the Rebellion was assistant secretary of war for the Confederate States. He was at West Point two years.

Henry, another son, born in Boston, 1798, died in Mobile, Alabama, 1847. He was educated in Boston; studied law; removed to Montgomery, Alabama, where he became the partner of Gov. Benjamin J. Fitzgerald. He edited a paper, served in the state Legislature several times, and afterwards returned to Mobile, where he was a successful lawyer. From 1839 until his death he was a judge of the Supreme Court of Alabama. His son, Alfred, born 1847, was a state senator of Alabama; studied law with his uncle, Judge John A. Campbell, with whom he practiced for twelve years. He was a great-grandnephew of Gen. William A. Graham of the Revolution. He represented the litigants in the famous Mrs. Myra Clark Gaines case, and finally won a decision in the United States Supreme Court in June, 1891. He died February 27, 1892. Such is a very brief and rather imperfect sketch of some of Col. Thomas Goldthwait's immediate descendants.

Through this marriage with Esther Sargent of Gloucester, he (Col. Goldthwait) became connected with Col. Epes Sargent; his son Col. Epes Sargent jr., Gov. Winthrop Sargent, Col. Paul Dudley Sargent, of Revolutionary fame; Lucius Manlius Sargent, the celebrated writer; Col. Henry Sargent, the great painter; Rev. Dr. John Murray, the eminent Universalist divine, and founder of his faith in America; besides many other noted men of that day.

By his marriage (second) with Catharine Barnes, he became also connected with some of the first families of America. Her sister Elizabeth married Nathan-

iel Coffin, cashier of customs under the crown. His sons were Sir Isaac Coffin, Baronet, first American admiral of the British navy, and Sir John Coffin, Baronet, lieutenant general in the British army.

Through them he (Col. Goldthwait), was connected with the Amorys, Ochterlonys, Arbuthnots, Auchmutys, and a host of well-known men of that period in Boston.

His eldest daughter, Catharine, married first the celebrated surgeon, Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, after whom Gardiner, Maine, is named, who was the largest landed proprietor in America, owning in the Kennebec purchase, five hundred thousand acres of land, mostly on the Kennebec River. She also married, second, William Powell, a wealthy merchant of Boston. Through the first marriage he (Col. Goldthwait), became connected with the Hallowells, Dumaresques, Mascarenes, McSparrans and others.

Through the second, he was connected with the Masons, Perkins, Sears, Dummers, and Powells. Madam Powell died February 27, 1830, at No. 14 Beacon Street, Boston, corner of Walnut. With such connections and associations by marriage, and contact with the aristocracy of old colonial Boston, Col. Goldthwait's life was cast in a mold, which, in after years, among the struggling colonists of the eastern part of the province, may have led many of them to regard him as a man somewhat apart from their lives and methods; and made it easier, perhaps, when the lines began to be drawn so closely between Whig and Tory, to stigmatize him as a proud, haughty aristocrat, a

Loyalist and traitor, and condemn him unheard in the most severe and unmeasured terms, to be branded and handed down by the historians of that time and place to the present period and generation.

The only record of his home is in Drake's "History of Boston." In a memorial to the town of Boston, Dr. Douglass, in a note to the assessors August 14, 1747, complaining of his taxes, etc., says: "I have sold my garden in Atkinson Street, to Mr. Thomas Goldthwait." It is now Congress Street.

About 1750 he removed from Boston to Chelsea, and from that time he became fully identified with the interests of that city. We find him, connected with his brother Ezekiel and others, about 1754-55 at Pullen or (Pulling) Point, (now Point Shirley), extensively engaged in the fishery trade. Deer Island was leased to them for this purpose, for a term of seven years.

They were under a certain contract with the Province, and were required to make extensive improvements on the island, which were inspected from time to time by committees, appointed by the General Court, and everything being found satisfactory, were duly approved.

He was active in fitting out and supplying troops for the Louisburg expeditions, although it is not known that he went on either.

In 1755 he was an assessor of Chelsea. April 28, 1756, he was moderator of a town meeting. June 27, 1757, he was one of five selectmen of Chelsea. June 9, 1757, or earlier, he was duly elected a representa-

tive from Chelsea to the Great and General Court of the Province of Massachusetts Bay.

The writer finds many references to his work here, in the provincial laws of Massachusetts, and in the Council records and House journal. He was on many important committees. But the most important service he rendered Chelsea was the reopening of the celebrated Bellingham will case, which, commencing in 1673, continued until 1787. In Judge Mellen Chamberlain's forthcoming history of Chelsea, he will refer to this famous case and Col. Goldthwait's connection with it. He was a member of the Assembly some seven or eight years.

In June, 1760, while yet a member of the House, he was appointed by Gov. Hutchinson paymaster general and agent for all the Massachusetts troops in the Crown Point expedition. (Council Records 1759-61 : 258, 261.)

There is also a "Return of men enlisted for His Majesty's service within the Province of Massachusetts Bay in Independent Company, whereof Thomas Goldthwait of Chelsea, Esq., is Captain, to be put under the immediate command of His Excellency Jeffrey Amherst, Esq., General & Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty Forces in North America for the Invasion of Canada."

The diary of Captain Samuel Jenks of Chelsea, (Massachusetts Historical Society, 5 : 353, 387), the youngest captain in the Provincial Army, records the arrival of his "friend Esq. Goldthwait" at Crown Point, his relations with, and much of interest concerning him.

He was entrusted with all the funds, several thousand pounds, for the payment of over four thousand soldiers, besides their billeting and supplying.

He was under heavy bonds for the faithful execution of this trust. His letters or reports concerning his duties, written to Lieut. Gov. Thomas Hutchinson, which the writer has found, show that he performed this duty in a highly conscientious and creditable manner.

There are many accounts with quaint vouchers attached, which detail all the expenditures of the money entrusted to his care for this purpose. His negotiations with Sir Jeffrey Amherst; his solicitude for the sick and suffering soldiers; his sagacious insight into all their wants and comforts; protecting them from the greedy rapacity of the numerous sutlers who were hovering on the flanks of the camps; his frequent journeys from Boston to Albany, and thence to the camps at No. 4 (Charlestown on the Connecticut River), and at Crown Point; in fact, his general management of the multitudinous cares and duties imposed upon him, by this position — all set forth by these letters — show rare executive ability, indomitable energy and industry, most excellent judgment, and a humane regard for those under him, and rarely to be found in these days of spoils-gathering. During this period, he was also untiring in recruiting and forwarding troops to the field, particularly the Chelsea contingent.

A few only of these letters will be introduced, as they are too numerous to be included in a paper of this character.

Col. Goldthwait goes to Albany on his way to Crown Point, and from there writes the following letter:—

SIR:—My journey has been so much retarded by heavy rains, that I did not get here until yesterday. I send this letter after Coulson to Kinderhook to advise your honour of it.

I left Col^o Whitcombe at Sheffield but I heard he got to Kinderhook yesterday & is expected here to-day: he stops to hasten his men along, and they are coming in fast.

I find our forces are posted at different places from hence to Crown Point, so I conceive it will be necessary for me to go on, & as there is occasion shall distribute the money which I bro't. I learn by some people lately from Crown Point, that it will be very acceptable to the men, as their money is all gone, tho' what I have will go but a little way.

It wont pay above 78 of one months pay. It's pretty difficult & expensive getting the money up, especially if it be in dollars; but I am convinced that if the soldiers be at the charge of it themselves, they'l be great gainers.

Mr. Sanders tells me that some quantity of money may be procured here upon loan, or for Bills of Exchange & upon London, without loss by the exchange; but, upon my asking him whether dollars or gold could be had, he told me it would take time to procure specie; that bills might be sold without loss, but the payment must be in proper bills of the Province, gold or silver, as it happened: that either of em could not be refused, & intimated that it must be principally paper, w'ch he said was as good as dollars.

I own I have my opinion of carrying paper bills of another Gov't to pay our forces. It appears to me from all the information I can get, that it will be best for the Gov't to furnish me with 12,000 dollars, that is to make it up to 12000, for I have already 3333.

I apprehend that by circulating that number, one half of the soldiers wages may be paid, & the act and intention of the Gov't wholly carried into execution.

The Sutlers tell me that a less sum than that will not be sufficient to pay what they are obliged to pay in money for transportation, &c., & which must be paid toward the close of the campaign. Some of the principal sutlers who are here tell me that three dollars p. man by circulation will pay any sum during the campaign which the Gov't incline to pay, as they may come into the Paymasters hands once a month, & so the men will always have their money to pay for what they want.

If they have not money they will run in debt to those sutlers who will trust them. Whatever orders I receive from your Honour, shall be punctually complied with, but I own it would give me pleasure to prevent the men being abused by those mercenary sutlers.

Last Sat. there was an excessive rain here which continued about three hours; it caused such a flood in the streets that several barns & other buildings were removed several rods; some quite overturned, & in many houses the water was almost up the ceiling.

I am just told that Col^o Whitcombe is come in. I intend to apply to him for a guard & go on immediately.

I am with great esteem & regard, your Honours

Most obedient & most humble servant,

Tho. Goldthwait.

Albany, July 29, 1760.

To Lt. Governor Hutchinson.

The next letter was written after he had reached Crown Point. It is as follows:—

SIR:—I did myself the honour to write you a letter from Albany of the 29th July. I got here yesterday morning, & finding the bearer hereof going to Boston I have detained him a little to get some further account of the state of our forces y^t I might give your Honour the fullest information I could.

I find the men generally healthy & in good spirits: a very few have been taken down with the small-pox, & as they are taken they are removed to a hospital at some distance from the

camp, & there dont appear to be any danger of its spreading. A few also are down with a fever & flux.

The officers tell me that the men have already taken up a pretty deal of their wages in necessaries supplied by the officers & sutlers, & as I've reason to think they pay pretty dearly for what they are supplied in this manner, I hope it will be in my power to put a stop to it.

I am convinced they pay at least 25 p. ct more than if they purchased with their money. The money w'ch I bro't, I began to distribute on my way to Albany as I found it wanted at the several posts, & shall go on to do the same, & render an account when finished agreeable to my instructions.

The bearer, I understand, intends to return here, & the carrier I suppose will be returning likewise. These may be good opportunities to furnish more money, tho' the bearer is a stranger to me.

Your Honour is sensible that y^e money w'ch I bro't, will in no measure put it in my power to comply with the act of the Gov't, tho' you may be assured I'll do the best I can with it. I bro't it here with much difficulty, all in dollars, & found, as I had been before informed, that it will be much more serviceable to the men than if I'd bro't it in gold.

In my letter from Albany, I advised your Honour that 12,000 dollars in my opinion, might, by a circulation, pay one half the mens wages & enable them to purchase what they wanted with money, which money would not only be a great saving & comfort to the men, but it carrys the act of the Gov't into execution.

I am confirmed in my opinion, & I apprehend that short of that sum wont be sufficient. If the money could be got to Mr. Sanders, & I advised of it, I could send a suitable person from here to fetch it. I think by all appearances the forces will move from hence in a few days.

I am w'th great esteem & regard,

your Honours most obed. & most humble servant,

Tho. Goldthwait.

Camp at Crown Point, August 7, 1760.

To Lt. Gov. Hutchinson.

Then follows another letter from Albany after his return from Crown Point:—

SIR:— I did myself the honour to write to your Excellency of the 29th Sep. [letter not found among Mass. Arch.], since which I have had transferred to me by the Honourable Committee of Council, two thousand dollars, which I received & did expect they would be sufficient to have wound up with, but the sick have been so many, & their necessities so great, that they have required more money than I was aware of, & in spite of all I could do, I fear that some who were posted out of my reach have suffered.

There have been 600 or 700 dismissed as invalids, & upon their going off I furnished them with two or three dollars each as there was occasion, & I came this way from Crown Point in order to take care of these posts upon this road.

I expected to have had a thousand dollars left which I intended to have taken around to No. 4, to have distributed among them who go home that way, but your Excellency will please to observe by the incl'd account that my money is almost exhausted, & will be quite before I leave this place, so that tho' I continue my design of going to No. 4, I can be of no service there without a further supply of money, & without which the men must suffer, as what they've had from me will probably be exhausted by the time they return.

Therefore if your Excellency will be pleased to order to me 1000 or 1500 dollars to be at Winchester by the 16th instant, by which time I expect to be there, I hope it will prevent the soldiers suffering on their way home.

Notwithstanding the great number of invalids that have already been dismissed, there was 600 returned unfit for duty when I left the Camp on the 1st instant, & all that are able to walk at all I suppose will be ordered by way of No. 4: those that are unable to walk will come this way under the care of Major Burt whom I furnished with money to supply him before I came away.

I am uncertain when the Camp will break up, tho' I judge it

wont exceed the 12 or 13th, notwithstanding what Col. Haviland says in his orders, an extract of which I enclose.

If the men are detained until the barracks are finished, its probable they'd be kept all this month: however, I dont lay so much stress upon Col^o Haviland's order as I do upon what the general told me himself.

I waited on him about a fortnight ago to know if I should have time to send for to Boston for money for the troops: it was before I heard of the 2000. The General told me that I would not have time, but that I might meet the troops at No. 4.

I have the honour to be with great esteem & reg^d

y^r Excellencys Most obed^t & most humble servant,

Tho. Goldthwait.

Albany, Nov. 7, 1760.

The general referred to was Sir Jeffrey Amherst. No. 4, was a Post at Charlestown on the Connecticut River.

Council records, 1760, Mass. Arch. p. 288, have the following relating to the subject of the preceding letter:

“Representing his want for money to forward the troops home: Advised and consented that a warrant be made out to the Treasurer to pay his Excellency Francis Bernard, Esq., the sum of 600 pounds, and that his Excellency despatch a messenger forthwith to Winchester with the same, to be delivered to Mr. Thomas Goldthwait, to furnish such of the troops as shall need it: he to keep an account of the sum he shall pay, and to what particular men or companies.”

PART II.

In the year 1761, or perhaps earlier, Col. Thomas Goldthwait was appointed by Sir Francis Bernard, then governor, secretary of war for the Province of Massachusetts Bay.

He was very active from this date until September, 1763, in settling up the accounts of both officers and men who had returned from the Crown Point expedition. In this, as well as in all of the other positions he had been appointed to, he showed unusual executive ability, and that he was a many-sided man.

That he was a warm personal friend of both Thomas Hutchinson and Sir Francis Bernard, goes without saying, and is shown by his correspondence with them during the period that he was thrown so closely with both of these noted men.

The following advertisements, or official notices, were found in the provincial newspapers of the date of his appointment as secretary at war: —

Province of Mass. Bay.

His Excellency the Captain-General is informed that some of the officers who have received orders have been very negligent in their Duty of Recruiting, which he apprehends is one cause of the Levies being so backward; it is therefore his Excellencys Positive Determination to suspend those officers if he finds any just cause for said complaint.

And he expects that those Troops which are already raised for Colonel Thwing's Regiment proceed without any loss of time to Castle William.

Tho. Goldthwait,
Sec'y at War.

Boston, June 9, 1761. (Boston News Letter.)

For the compleating of the Provincial Regiments Notice is hereby given (with reference to recruiting them) to compleat the number to 3000 men. Make frequent returns of numbers, &c., and that recruiting shall cease as soon as the regiments are full.

By order of His Excellency,
Tho. Goldthwait
Sec. at War.

July 16, 1761.

Province of Mass. Bay.

The officers recruiting for Col. Holt's and Col. Saltonstall's Regiment are hereby notified to collect all the men they have enlisted and march them immediately to Springfield, where they will receive other orders.

Each officer upon his arrival there to make a return of his Deserters to the Commanding officer, giving as particular a Description of them as may be, that the same may be transmitted to the Secretary at War.

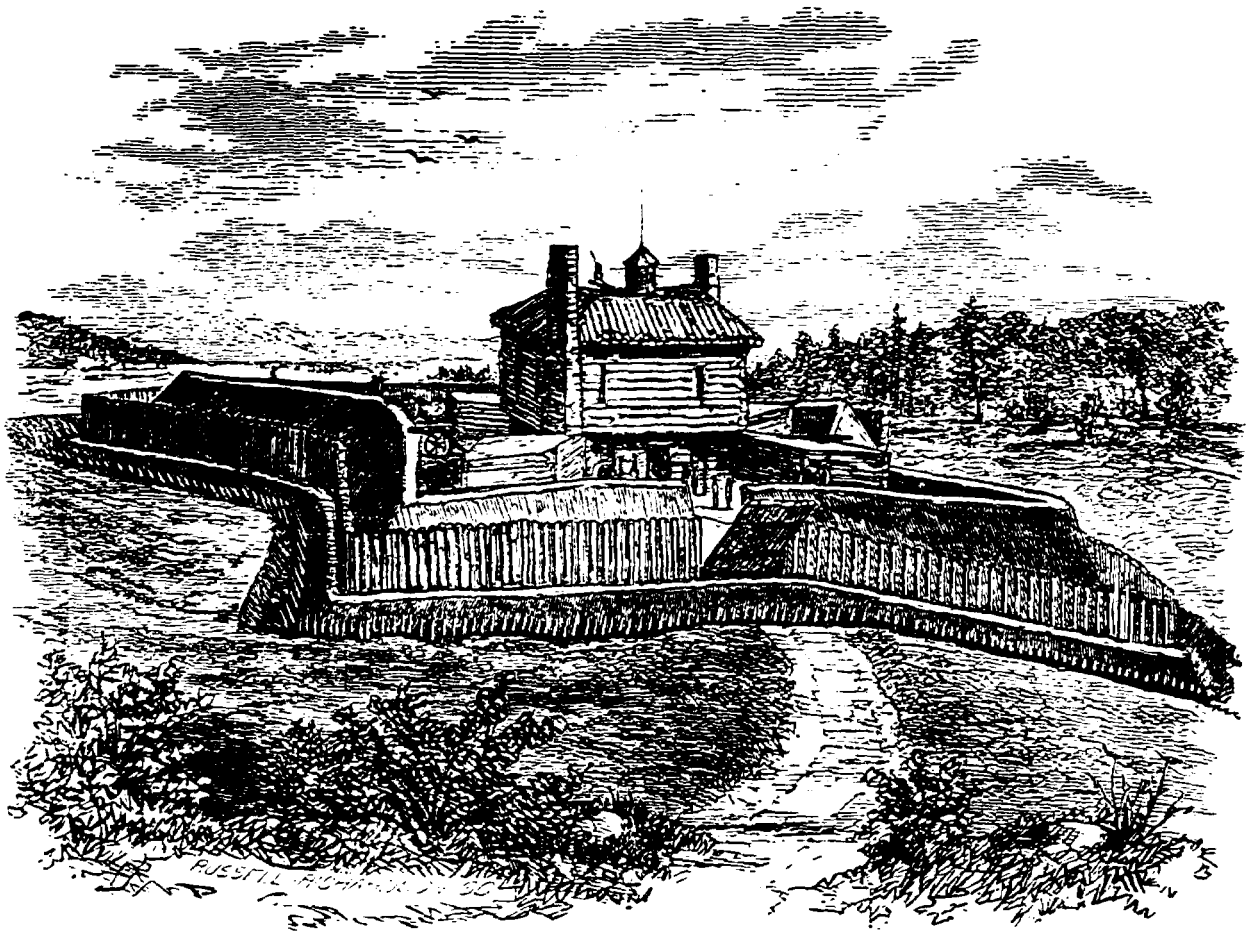
By order of His Excellency,
Tho. Goldthwait,
Sec'y at War.

Aug. 12, 1761.

(Boston News Letter, Aug. 20, 1761.)

Province of the Massachusetts Bay.

The officers who were employed in the Service of the Province the last year, that are concerned in making up the Pay Rolls, are directed to attend at Boston, as soon as may be, upon a Committee appointed by the General Court to examine the said Rolls :



FORT POWNALL.

and the Suttlers who were employed in the Said Service are also directed to attend the said Committee with their accounts.

By order of His Excellency,

(signed) Tho. Goldthwait,

Sec'y at War.

Boston, Jan. 20, 1763.

(Boston Evening Post, Monday, Jan. 24, 1763.)

In 1763, Col. Goldthwait was appointed to command Fort Pownall on the Penobscot. A description of this old fort will not be necessary, as it has been fully described in a number of historical publications from plans now in possession of the Bangor Historical Society. (Vol. 14, N. E. His. Gen. Reg. pp. 7-10.) An engraved cut is shown in the History of Belfast, Me., pp. 55-57. It was the largest and most important post in the eastern part of the province, and a very large trade was carried on with the Tarratine or Penobscot Indians, and other tribes.

The office of truckmaster, or official trader with the Indians, was separate and distinct from that of commander, and it appears that various persons held that office: among them Jedediah Preble, his son, John Preble, and Thomas Cushing; but during most of the period, between 1763 and 1775, it was held by Thomas Goldthwait.

His predecessor, Jedediah Preble, is described in the History of Maine as a man "whose administration of affairs at the fort gave general satisfaction, and secured the respect of all who came in contact with him."

As the acts of Thomas Goldthwait, while in command of Fort Pownall have been frequently cited in

comparison with those of Gen. Jedediah Preble, let us throw a searchlight upon this: not so much for the purpose of condemning Preble, but to set Col. Thomas Goldthwait right.

The writer finds that on August 24, 1763:—

A complaint having been made to the Great and General Court against Brig. Preble at Fort Pownall about treatment of garrison and carrying on the Truck Trade, a Committee was appointed to look into it.

And, on September 9, 1763:—

His Excellency, having communicated to the Board a letter from Brig. Preble wherein he desires to resign his command at Fort Pownal and the office of Truckmaster there, and his Excellency having nominated Thomas Goldthwait, Esq., to be Truckmaster at said Fort—Advised—That his Excellency appoint Thomas Goldthwait, Esq., accordingly.

(See Council Records of 1763, pp. 227, 277.)

He was, therefore, appointed truckmaster September 9, 1763, and the following commission was duly issued:—

(L. S.) Francis Bernard, Esq., Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief over His Majesty's Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England,

To Thomas Goldthwait, Esq., Greeting!!

Whereas in and by an act passed in the Fifth year of His Majesty's Reign, entitled, "An act for allowing necessary supplies to the Eastern Indians, for regulating Trade with them, and preventing abuses therein:" Provision was made that a suitable person be appointed by the General Court as Truck-Master for the management of the Trade with the Indians for such place whence any supplies of Cloathing and Povisions was made in and

by said Act, that in certain cases when a vacancy should happen in the office of Truck Master, another should be put in by the Commander-in-Chief, and thereby the office is to become vacant.

I have thought, therefore, fit to appoint, and do hereby, with the advice of his Majesty's Council, appoint you the said Thomas Goldthwait to be Truckmaster at Fort Pownall in the room of the said Jedediah Preble. And you are to govern yourself in the said office by such Rules and Instructions as you shall from time to time receive pursuant thereto: and before you shall enter upon said office, you shall take an oath and give sufficient security to the Province for the faithful discharge of the same.

In Testimony whereof I have caused the Publick Seal of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay aforesaid to be hereunto affixed.

Dated at Boston the 9th day of September 1763, In the Third year of His Majestys Reign.

By His Excellencys Command,

Jno. Cotton,

D. Sec'y.

He was made captain of Fort Pownall, September 12, 1763, and the following commission was issued:—

(L. S.) Francis Bernard, Esq., Captain-General, &c.

To Thomas Goldthwait, Esq., Greeting!!

By virtue of the Power and Authority unto me granted by his Majesty, I do hereby constitute and appoint you the said Thomas Goldthwait to be Captain of his Majestys Fort Pownall at Penobscot, and of the Batteries, Fortifications & Platforms to the said Fort belonging, and of the soldiers, which are or shall from time to time be posted in garrison there.

You are therefore carefully and dilligently to discharge the duty of Captain in all things relating to that place, and duly exercise the inferior officers and soldiers in arms, and to use your best endeavours to keep them in good order and discipline who are ordered to acknowledge you as their Captain, and you are to observe and follow such Orders and Directions as you shall

from time to time receive from me, or the Commander-in-Chief for the time being, or other of your superior officers, according to the Rules and Discipline of War.

Given under my hand and seal at arms at Boston, the 12th day of September 1763, in the Third year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France & Ireland, King Defender of the Faith.

By His Excellencys Command,

Jno. Cotton,

D. Sec'y.

(Book of Commissions, p. 173, Mass. Archives.)

It would seem from the fact that Thomas Goldthwait was appointed to succeed Jedediah Preble upon the eve of an investigation of the latter's conduct at Fort Preble, of which there seems to be undeniable proof, that Gen. Jedediah Preble resigned as the army term fitly implies: "under fire," or "under pressure," for the same acts which Thomas Goldthwait is alleged to have committed afterwards.

Can it be possible that these two truckmasters and captains of Fort Pownall may have been confounded by John Davidson and his subsequent historians? For I find in the Centennial Celebration of the Settlement of Bangor, Maine, September 10, 1869, p. 34, and foot note, the following:—

Jed. Preble was the first Truckmaster; he was very unpopular with the Indians, and they made great efforts to have him removed, and to have Johnathan Lowder, a late gunner at Fort Pownall substituted. They accused him of lying in bed until 10 o'clock: of treating them with great indifference, going away and leaving them waiting a day at a time for their supplies, thus affording the young men an opportunity of getting drunk.

Are there any complaints filed against Thomas Goldthwait? If so, they could be as easily found as those against his predecessor.

The writer, after a most careful and exhaustive search fails to find — from 1763 to 1775 — a single official complaint made against him, either by the Indians or soldiers of the garrison under his command. On the contrary, he was repeatedly appointed truck-master — an office of high trust — while still holding the position, with the exception of one year, of captain of Fort Pownall.

All charges of cruelty, extortion, arbitrary conduct, tyranny and cowardice came after the dismantlement of Fort Pownall, in April, 1775, and were conceived in malice and hatred.

While commanding Fort Pownall, Col. Goldthwait was, of course, in frequent correspondence with Sir Francis Bernard, then governor of the province. He continually advised with the governor with regard to “augmenting” the garrison, and pointed out to him the danger of not doing so; at the same time when the acts of the Indians themselves became so flagrant and intolerable as to demand prompt action, his ready tact and good judgment repeatedly averted a bloody outbreak.

These letters are all official in their character, but they all indicate very clearly the confidence that the Indians reposed in him, his wise and judicious government of affairs there, and his kind and considerate treatment of the Indians and soldiers under his charge.

They are too numerous and lengthy to admit of their introduction entire within the limits of short historical papers, but a number of them give in full several quiet interviews with certain chiefs and members of the tribe, to ascertain their real relations and intentions toward the English, to locate the malcontents, if any, and ascertain the causes for disaffection of the latter.

They are in the nature of reports, in which are clearly defined, in a very intelligent and comprehensive manner, the actual condition of affairs at the post, and the surrounding region.

One the writer will briefly quote from, which, written some time after he had received his appointment, and after the complaints made against the first truckmaster, would indicate any feeling among the principal chiefs and Indians against him, if there were any.

March 26, 1764.

SIR:— I got here on the 23d instant in the morning. Just before I came from Boston Capt. Wasgat hinted to me that the Indians had grown very surly, and that the inhabitants of Magabagduce were very uneasy about it: he said he owned he was himself.

I did not pay much regard to it as I had letters from the officers of the Fort by him which made no mention of it, but still it made me more anxious about getting down.

Upon my arrival here I enquired of the officers whether there was any foundation for the report: they told me there was. Mr. Treat told me that he had wrote a letter on purpose to acquaint me of it, but Wasgat was gone and he didn't know which way to convey it.

I found no Indians in but the old squaw, Oso. I immediately sent for her, and also for Mr. McFarland, and examined her

about it. She seemed very frank and open to me, tho' Mr. Treat says she had before denied it to him. I enclose your Excellency the dialogue we had upon it.

Mr. G.— I have heard that some Penobscot Indians have proposed to the tribe to break their friendship with the English and commit hostilities, and, as I know you to be a friend to us I expect you'll tell me whether there's any foundation for it or not.

Oso.— You may depend on it that I am your Friend, and will tell you the truth.

Mr. G.— Has such a thing been proposed?

Oso.— Yes!

Mr. G.— What started it?

Oso.— Toma.

Mr. G.— What did he say?

Oso.— He said to us, 'Why shall the English live upon our lands? Let us take them and drive them off.'

Mr. G.— Did he say it to a few or many?

Oso.— He mentioned it to all.

Mr. G.— What answer did they make him?

Oso.— They said his purpose wasn't good: the English treated them kindly, and held their lands by conquest.

Mr. G.— What answer did he make?

Oso.— Says he — 'The English have no right to command us: let us be our own masters, and not be slaves to them.'

Mr. G.— What answer did your people make?

Oso.— They said — 'What can we do? The English have got possession of our land, and its best for us now to live in friendship.'

Mr. G.— Did any Indians join with Toma in this proposal?

Osa.— Yes! some.

Mr. G.— Did Toma make this proposal to the St. Johns Indians also?

Oso.— I have heard he did, and believe he did, but I do not know it: I did not hear it with my own ears.

Mr. G.— Where is Toma now?

Oso.— I do not know. It is said he is a very great way in the country.

The next day came in French Meser, one of the Indians that was in Boston, and with him Anson, another very friendly Indian. They all agreed in the same story, separately examined. I found it was the old villian Toma, whom your Excellency had a conference with last year, and who, upon all occasions, has had so much respect shown him, together with Espequeunt, another deceitful fellow, were at the bottom of the affair.

Mr. Treat says he had observed several of them more snappish and sullen than usual, and couldn't account for it till some more friendly inclined gave him a hint of this. Meser says the better sort among them despised them who moved it. He says he plainly told them so: that they were going to ruin themselves and their nation: but he says they can make no head.

He says he thinks I shall not see Toma this year. He hopes I wont lay Toma's faults upon him. I told him if they followed Toma's plan they might disturb the neighborhood and ruin themselves, but they must know they couldn't hurt the fort.

He said he knew it very well, and if Toma was not a fool he might know it too. But Toma he say'd was a proud man, and wanted to be greater than they thought him to be. In a little time, says he, the children will despise him.

I am now at the 29th instant. Capt. Frost came in this morning: he tells me that the Indians have been surly his way so much that he had once concluded to move his goods. He desired me to advise him what to do respecting his Indian trade. I told him, etc., etc., etc.

This is a very long letter, and relates to unimportant matters, until the last portion which gives an interview with the Indian Toma as follows:—

Capt. G.—I have been informed that you have proposed to your nation not to renew with the English. Is it so or not?

Toma.—Who told you this?

Capt. G.—The Indians.

Toma.—The Indians and the English speak against Toma. All my young men that come to the Fort call themselves gentle-

men. They talk against Toma. They want to be governors themselves.

Capt. G.—It is both your young men and your old men that have given this information: are they all liars?

Toma.—Brother, hear me! and understand me! You have two ears and you have a head. God now hears me, and God has power to tear me this moment in pieces. He knows all my thoughts. I say I have not had any such design.

Capt. G.—You certainly have no cause to be inimical to us. You know I have always treated you kindly. I have given you meat. . .and when you had nothing to pay for it. You complained that the English hunters interfered and hurt your hunting. Gov. Bernard made a representation of it, and obtained an Act to prevent Englishmen from hunting only within their own towns. You see we do all we can for you.

Toma.—Brother, you are always kind to me. I am always a friend to the English. I myself was the cause of the English having peace with us, etc., etc.

Capt.—What is the reason that your own people and some of your own family report these things of you?

Toma.—Adduhando, Espequeunt, (these are their Chief Governors, as they are called) and I know nothing of this story.

Capt.—I have been told that you and Espequeunt first proposed it.

Toma.—Brother, hear me! The Indians have got two hearts: one is possessed by God, and one is possessed by the Devil. Sometimes they combat. If the Devil gets the better, then whatever he (the Indian) speaks of, or whatever he does is bad. The English have the hearts of women; they believe everything. What could I aim at? You see I am an old man: my eyes begin to lose their faculty of seeing: my ears fail me very fast: you see my head is growing very white: I cannot live but a little while. God hears me. I say again I had no such thoughts.

Capt.—I am glad to hear you declare in this solemn manner that you have had no such thoughts. I wish you would dispossess yourself of the notion that the French will ever retake Can-

ada? It's a foolish notion. Drive it away! I fear this thought causes you to be wavering in your friendship for us: you are a man of sense: how can you think that the French can retake Canada? And, if they should, will you then have better friends than you have in us?

Toma.—Brother, we have got little eyes. We cannot see France or England. If I was to shoot at them (leveling a stick he had in his hands as if it were a gun, and taking sight) I should shoot at random, and I might hit them or I might miss them. The Indians on the back of Canada are very numerous.

Capt.—What have you to do with the Indians on the back of Canada? or what have they to do with me? Put away that notion! I have heard several of your people say that you are not friends to one another.

Toma.—Brother, would you say more upon this subject?

Capt.—I have heard that you shou'd say your young men have told stories about us.

Toma.—It is true they told me the English wou'd take me and poison me. I did not believe it. If I had believed it I shou'd not have come in. Brother, stop up both your ears! I stop up mine.

The balance of this dialogue is very interesting, but reveals nothing beyond the fact that Toma, in his most persuasive Indian diplomatic language, denied that he was in any plot for the overthrow of the English.

The representation and act referred to concerning the English hunters is as follows:—

On July 19, 1763, Gov. Bernard issued a proclamation forbidding all hostile acts towards the Eastern Indians, compelling restitution of furs, &c., taken from them by the hunters, and made the greatest exertions to soothe their fears.

This was followed by a legislative act to prevent the English from hunting in any part of the king's woods.

Col. Goldthwait further emphasized this act by the following calm and deliberate letters addressed to a party of these hunters: —

FORT POWNALL, Mar. 24, 1764.

Gentm:—The Indians complain heavily of the injury you do them in hunting on a stream which they had taken up. There is a law against English hunting at all, but it is hardly yet in force: still, I cannot but hope that you are so friendly to the Commonwealth that you won't give the Indians any just cause of complaint.

The little advantage you may make will be poor compensation to you if by this means you should be the cause of disturbing the peace and quiet of your Country.

Therefore I earnestly entreat you to quit the stream you are upon. But, if you will not, and any mischief ensues, I cannot see how you can acquit your dues if you are apprehended after the act taken against the Province by your not complying with my request.

I am, Gent^m,
Y^r very good friend,
THO. GOLDTHWAIT.

The answer of the hunters was received upon a piece of birch bark marked with a pin.

Capt. Goldthwait:—this come to let you know that I have seen the Indians you sent your letter with, and they have given it to us. and we haven't set any traps where they have any and we would be very glad you would tell the Indians that we would (perhaps could) hunt upon the pond, that we were upon it first and there were no signs of any Indians upon it when we came here, if there was any traps on it we would not have sat any there, and as we were here first we think it is our Right to hunt here, but if you are not satisfied we will go home, so I am your humble servant

HANS ROBINSON.

FORT POWNALL, Mar. 28, 1764.

Gent^m:—I received your note by Arexes, and am sorry to tell you that there is an absolute occasion for you to leave the Pond which you are upon, and which the Indians say & demonstrate they have y^e best right to. I wish you could accomodate yourselves otherwise for the little time which you have a right to hunt: but if you are determined to continue where you are, I fear what will be the consequence.

It is as much as I can do to pacify the Indians, and I hope you^d consider what injury may be done in this Province.

You are liable to a fine and to forfeit your fur, and I shall certainly use my best endeavours to have the act fully executed.

I am yours, &c.

THO. GOLDTHWAIT.

The English Hunters
Quantabagood Pond.

These hunters were law-breakers. Col. Goldthwait had the power vested in him to arrest and punish them. They are the early settlers whom he is accused of being unkind to.

“He was very unkind to the early settlers.” “He was cruel, arbitrary, and an extortioner.”

Had he been an arbitrary or a cruel man he could, because he had the power, and doubtless would have sent out, arrested them at once, and placed them in confinement inside the fort. Had he been an extortioner he might have sent a messenger to them and demanded a division of the valuable spoils or a summary arrest.

The writer asserts that these letters are models of calm, considerate judgment. They are couched in the most careful, courteous and diplomatic language, show

great tact, and indicate the very reverse of a cruel, arbitrary nature.

In order to offer a strong contrast with Col. Goldthwait's methods of governing not only these lawless hunters, but in his interviews with the Indians, his rare tact in pacifying them, and smoothing over their grievances, it is the writer's purpose to introduce a letter written about this date, by Col. William Lithgow, who commanded Fort Halifax, the next fort on the Kennebec River, to Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, the celebrated surgeon of Boston, who has been previously referred to as having married the eldest daughter of Col. Thomas Goldthwait.

FORT HALIFAX, Mar. 26, 1764.

SIR :—The Indians according to the best of my apprehensions do not at present rest satisfied with the late peace, as appears to me by some threatening words made use of to me by one Indian as that he would in the Spring prevent me from going up or down this river, and would shut up the gates of this Fort, and as the fellow behaved with great insolence in other ways I *knocked him off the chair* where he sat, and as soon as he had recovered from the stroke of my fist, he immediately arose from the floor, stripped up his arms in order for Battle According to their custom, and at the same time yelling and claping his hand several times on his bare Britch and breast, in an insulting and braging manner, *which gave considerable flow to my spirits.*

I then immediately caught him fast by the throat and with my other arm around his neck I *fetchd him down with his head against the chimney Jam with such force which made the Blood come plentifully out of nose and mouth,* and being determined to follow the advantage I had gained, gave him no time to rise, but *siezed him by the hair of the head and draged him outside the Door,* when I *gave him a kick on his Britch and told him if*

I heard any more of his bad Talk I would make him unable to stand or go.

Upon which the other Indian present lugged him off to their Lodging, it being just night. *Thus the quarrel ended to my satisfaction.*

The italics are the writer's. There is no mention made of this act in any local histories the writer has been able to find, and the reason appears to be obvious.

Col. Lithgow was not compelled, under stress of circumstances, when the alarm of war sounded, to have Fort Halifax dismantled, and he adhered strongly to the Whigs, as also did Gen. Jed. Preble.

From a strictly military standpoint of speedy justice and good government however, the foregoing novel method of dealing with the poor Indian of that period, comes pretty close to being arbitrary and cruel, and stands out in sharp contrast with any act that the writer has yet found, connecting Col. Goldthwait with similar force, or with the present refined modes of treating with the wards of the nation.

PART III.

While Thomas Goldthwait was in command of Fort Pownall he was appointed agent for the Waldo heirs, to survey, settle and develop the vast tract of land in the Waldo Patent, lying on the Penobscot River, and included within what is now known as the towns of Frankfort, Prospect, Stockton and Searsport. During this period he was in constant correspondence with Thomas Flucker, who married Hannah, the daughter of Gen. Samuel Waldo. He was the last provincial secretary of state. Gen. Henry Knox, Washington's favorite general and secretary of war, married Lucy, the youngest daughter of Thomas Flucker. This correspondence was found among the very valuable papers of the Knox collection, at the library of the New England Historic Genealogical Society at Boston, and it was due to the liberal courtesy of Mr. John Ward Dean of that society that the writer is now enabled to place before your readers the following :—

FORT POWNALL, Oct. 24, 1765.

SIR :— I thank you for your kind letter of the 10th inst., by Capt. Saunders & am extreme glad to hear you arrived safe & sound, & found your lady & family all well.

Almost ever since you went from hence Mr. Chadwick has been employed in surveying & exploring the land betwixt my bounds & the salt marshes, & he thinks there will not be near enough land

within these bounds to compleat the 24,000 acres, even if he should take in a ridge of mountains which lyes in the middle, which is by no means desirable to lay out for settlers, for, by Mr. Chadwicks & others account of it, 1000 acres assigned to one lott & given away with it, woud be no temptation to a settler to go on, & if they once got a notion that they are to have a part of their lot in such land, it woud probably strike such discouragement to the settlement that I could never accomplish it. Therefore I have been thinking that it will be best to exclude this ridge of mountains as waist land, as is usual in such cases, & to return no further West than to the foot of the other mountains, & then what land may be wanting of the 24,000 acres to be made up in land towards Passoggasawackkeeg & to have the lots in general laid out upon a road to run nearly through the middle as may be, beginning at the head of the salt marsh, along by the side of the meadow towards Sandy Point, & from there to ye road leading to P.

I woud avoid as much as I can giving out lotts upon the shore, tho' it will be necessary at first to give some there. In short, things of that sort must be done as they can be done. I think we shouldn't boggle at little matters in getting on a good settler. You'l please consider it y'our mutual interest to have it settled so as to make what land remains valuable.

This is a great undertaking for me who have had so little experience in such things: however, I dont despair of getting thro' it, especially if I have the assistance of so good a friend & so able a Counsellor as his Excellency the Governor, to whom I proposed being concerned in it, & if he consents to it I shall leave it wholly with him & you to settle the plan of the Town, which I must carry into execution as nearly as I can: but in laying out a road you are sensible it must go as land is found suitable for it.

It wont do to carry a road thro' a morass, or over a mountain if it can well be avoided. Indeed, I cannot see how we can determine absolutely upon a road until the land be sufficiently explored, which Mr. Chadwick is now employ'd about, & probably I can write you more fully of that by Capt. Saunders next trip.

Mr. Chadwick has given me a small sketch of it, which I send herewith that you may have some idea of it. You'll see by this

sketch that the head of the marsh dont lay above 4 miles from my bound, & the foot of the mountain is not 4 miles from the shore, which is very different from what I had conceived of it.

Mrs. G. says I must tell you that we had a dish of green peas yesterday in perfection. She joins me in our best regards to Mrs. Flucker & your family: to Mr. Winslow, his lady & family, & Mr. Bethune & his family. If Col^o Waldo or his Bro^r be in town please to pay my respects to y^m.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Humble servant,

Tho. Goldthwait.

This foregoing letter was written upon the return to Boston of Thomas Flucker from a visit to Col. Goldthwait, at Fort Pownall. Mr. Winslow referred to was Isaac Winslow of Roxbury, Massachusetts, who married Lucy, another daughter of Gen. Samuel Waldo. Mr. Chadwick, the surveyor referred to, is the same who made the original survey for Sir Francis Bernard of Mount Desert, when it was granted to him by the Province. Capt. Saunders is referred to as follows in the Bernard Papers at Harvard College:—

By His Excellency Francis Bernard, Esq., Captain-General and Governor-in-chief of the Province of Mass. Bay, and Vice Admiral of the same.

To Captain Bradbury Saunders, Commander of His Majestys Sloop the “Massachusetts” of the said Province.

You are hereby commanded to take on board the said sloop such provisions, stores & goods as shall be delivered to you by the Commissary General at Boston, for the vitualling & supplying his Majestys Garrison at Fort Pownall, on Penobscot & the Indians which depend on the said Fort for their subsistance & carry the same to Fort Pownall, with all proper expedition.

And after you have delivered the same, you are to receive from the Commander of the said Fort such goods & things as he shall

have to return to the said Commissary General for his Majestys service in keeping & maintaining the said Fort & Truckhouse of the Indians thereto belonging according to the Act of the Assembly made for that purpose, & take the same aboard the sloop & bring them unto the said Commissary General at Boston as aforesaid.

Given under my hand at Boston, the twelfth day of November, in the year of our Lord, 1765.

(Bernard Papers, Harvard College, Vol. 4, p. 87).

A recent visit to Fort Point and Stockton Springs, Maine, has enabled the writer to understand these letters better, and any of your readers who may be familiar with that locality will have little difficulty in recognizing the plans for the township referred to.

FORT POWNALL, Nov. 30, 1765.

SIR:—Capt. Saunders arrived here on the 23d, and bro't me your favour of the 11th & 19th instant.

Mr. Chadwick now returns and will wait on you with a plan of the Townships as he has taken it, & I think he'l give you a good information of everything about it, & when he has done that, I believe you'l think I could not have laid it out better.

He tells that between this and Passoggasawackkeeg, there may be another Township superior to this, & if no obstruction attends this settlement I dont see why that might not be put forward.

I understand by his Excellency that he is willing to be concerned in this Township provided the terms be agreeable, but I expect as soon as it's known it will be improved to his disadvantage tho' he does it entirely to save me.

It will be a very heavy affair. I must expect the first settlers will be a burthen upon me for some time, & I know not at present what assistance I shall want: however may be I may get such settlers as wont require a great deal.

I have received the six barrels of cider from Mr. Winslow, & I hope I shall find time to return him thanks for his trouble.

Tho' Saunders is uneasy to be gone, & I've a great deal on hand, I tho't it would be agreeable to you to have the Island above ye

Fort (Bethune's) explored, as well as survey'd, therefore I got Mr. Chadwick to do it, & he has made remarks upon his plan of the quality of the land. This will enable you to found better judgment of the value in case you've opportunity to sell it.

I shall enclose an account of the charge as you desired, & also an account of the charge of surveying the Townships, which I suppose must be divided up among us as may be settled hereafter.

I am sorry to see the confusions all over the Continent still prevail. God grant they may end in peace & good neighborhood. I often drink to it & am sure none wishes it more heartily than I.

I am rejoiced to find you speak so pleasingly of your tour to this country. I wish it may induce you & some more of my friends to come again. I am sure nothing could give me greater pleasure.

When youv' an opportunity and leisure I shall be very glad to hear from you & any interesting events that may happen. Mrs. G. joins me in our regards to you & Mrs. Flucker.

I am, with great esteem & regard, Sir,

Your most obedient & most humble serv't,

Tho. Goldthwait.

The hands which assisted Mr. Chadwick in survey'g the Township, amount to 22 days, which I believe I cant put at less than 2 /s p. day & do em justice. Mr. C. himself is to have 4 / p. day. I found him. He hasn't quite finished the plan.

If Thomas Goldthwait never did any other act for the province, a glance at this correspondence would convince his worst critic, that he was, and is, entitled to the everlasting gratitude of his countrymen for this great labor of opening up and settling that magnificent tract of country at the mouth of the Penobscot. The surveys here and there; the laying out of roads; supplying the new settlers with necessities to save them from hardships, perhaps absolute starvation, and to prevent them from leaving their lands on account of disheartening drawbacks—all tell of the

tremendous labors devolving upon him in connection with his duties as commander and truckmaster of Fort Pownall. The entire correspondence is a model of moderate conservatism and calm judgment, yet showing untiring skill, energy and ability, which reflects nothing but credit upon his wisdom and sagacity, and which it would be well for some of the present generation to emulate.

In one of these letters he briefly refers to the coming struggle; the burdensome taxation, etc., and one could hardly call him else than a patriot with such loyal sentiments to the colony as it clearly expresses. He says:—

FORT POWNALL, Feb. 15, 1766.

SIR:— Though I havn't been favored with any letter from you since mine of the 30th. Nov., I have been preparing to go for'd with the Township as soon as the Spring opens, & I hope soon to hear that matters are so accomodated respecting the Stamp Act that business may go on in its proper channel & that I may proceed and finish ours.

I can form no opinion from the papers which I've seen how the Opposition to the Stamp Act is likely to issue. If it shou'd end in allowing the Colonies a representation in Parliament, I think it will be making bad worse, for, tho' those representatives serve without pay, & the Province be at no expense about em who can think they can influence the Parliament to excuse the Colonies from the burthens which they themselves bear, & as they will be then laid on us in effect by our own consent, we can have but little pretence even to remonstrate against it, & little do many of us know what burthens those are.

What shou'd we think if in the price of a mug of beer, seven eights of the cost of it was duties of one kind or another, that $\frac{3}{4}$ of the cost of a gallon of rum was duties, &c. &c.? When those times come, woe unto us!! But this is a dangerous subject to handle.

I shall be glad to hear from you, and gladder to see you here,
as I am with great regard,

Sir, y^r most obedient serv't,
Tho. Goldthwait.

My compliments to Mr. Winslow & Messrs Waldo.

To the
Hon. Thomas Flucker, Esq.

FORT POWNALL, April 24, 1766.

SIR:—I have been favoured with two letters from you since I have done ye pleasure of writing to you, but as you are sensible how my time is generally taken up, I know you'l excuse it.

I wish Mr. Chadwick had come down with Saunders, as it wou'd have forwarded the settlement: for ye plan which he left with me is imperfect: & I cannot well judge of the bounds that are agreed upon. However, I am doing what in my opinion, is the first step in such an undertaking, that is making suitable provision & taking such measures as may convince the settlers that when they come on, they wont starve: for I cant expect to get many that are able to bring much stock of any kind with them.

Mr. Chadwick agreed with me to build a grist mill, which I have heard nothing about since he went from hence: this is an essential thing, to encourage settlers, & if I knew he had altered his mind I shou'd treat with some other.

It will be too late to have an answer to this sent here, as I expect to go from hence so as to be at Boston by the end of May, & then I hope I shall have the opportunity of talking over and settling all matters relative to the Township; & I hope by that time things will be come to rights with you.

It seems to me that you cou'd have but little comfort for some time past. Mrs. G. joins me in our best regards to Mrs. Flucker & your family, Mr. & Mrs. Winslow, & your brothers Messrs Waldos.

I am, my dear Sir,
Your most obedient, humble serv
Tho. Goldthwait.

FORT POWNALL, July 25, 1766.

DEAR SIR:— We arrived here on the 19th instant, since which my hands have been so full that I did not think of writing to you by this opportunity, but one thing comes to my ears which I think proper to communicate to you.

It is whispered about here that there are several lead mines on your land on this side of the falls, & some ball has been run out of y^e ore. The man who run it & bro't the ore y^e it seemed to be pure lead. I deliver to Major Goldthwait a ball sealed up which was run from this ore. He knows not what it is nor anybody else. But I must tell you I have it from one or two soldiers, & how far such information can be depended upon you can judge as well as I.

I know common people are sometimes most egregiously mistaken in such matters. Still, I think this is a necessary hint, & if there be anything in it worth while, you'll probably hear from me more about it by the Elk which I expect will sail from hence in 6 or 7 days.

Our best regards to y^r lady & family, Mr. Winslow & his family & lady, & believe me very sincerely,

Dr Sr Y^r Most ob't & faithful servant,

Tho. Goldthwait.

(Knox Papers, N. E. Hist. Gen. Society, Vol. 50: 148, 176, 177, 178, 180: Vol. 51: 11, 32.)

The establishment, *i. e.*, the number of the garrison, pay, etc., of the fort, was made annually. About 1766-67 it had been so much reduced that the Indians became very bold, and there was imminent danger of an outbreak. The settlers became alarmed on account of the weakness of the garrison. On June 20, 1767, the governor sent in a message upon the reduction of the garrison at Fort Pownall. June, 1768, he sent another message dissenting from the House resolve reducing the garrison. Several letters were written by Col. Goldthwait stating the

general condition of things, the uneasiness of the Indians, continued alarm of the settlers, etc., and the wish of the Indians to communicate with the governor.

The Board (council) took into consideration these letters, and “advised that it be increased by eight men.” “Advised that his Excellency go to Fort Pownall and quiet the Indians.” Later it was further advised that “Captain Goldthwait send three of their number to Boston accompanied by Capt. Fletcher, the interpreter.”

About this time also, there came to Col. Goldthwait a petition from one, Dudley Carlton, “humbly requesting that Col. Goldthwait represent to his Excellency the Governor, the true state and circumstances of the Province to the East and Northward of Penobscot River, etc., and a plan ‘rooting out the savages, where it has always been a nursery for them.’”

This period, more than any other, was the turning point with the early settlers at Fort Pownall and the surrounding region; and, as its history is now, and ever will be of the most vital interest concerning the development of the Penobscot Valley, its people and their descendants, the writer adds the following valuable correspondence between Col. Thomas Goldthwait and Sir Francis Bernard, the governor of the province.

FORT POWNALL, 6th Sep. 1767

[Extract.]

At present we are in a little confusion, occasioned by some insolent and unjustifiable behaviour of the Indians, which has so frightened the inhabitants that they are so uneasy in their own

Houses they cannot be prevailed upon to stay in them, and desire me to give them protection in the Fort.

I cannot deny them, tho' I see at present no real danger. The insolence of the Indians, I believe, proceeds from there being a large body of them together, & their knowledge of the weakness of the garrison.

While I was gone to Mt. Desert a small number of Indians came in & without applying or giving any notice of their want of provisions, they drove up a flock of sheep in order to kill some, but before they could carry their design into execution, my people had notice of it & prevented it.

Afterwards some others took another method. They suffered their dogs to be loose, and they killed eight sheep, some of which they carried away with them. On my way from Mt. Desert I had many complaints from the inhabitants of their sheep being killed by the Indians, and many other complaints of mischief being done by them.

I took the first opportunity to demand in a peremptory manner satisfaction for it. They appeared concerned about it, and promised that satisfaction should be made; but, at present they could do no more than pawn their words, and assure me that I shou'd have no further cause for complaint.

These very people in all probability, killed the peoples swine within 5 miles of the Fort next day. Another Indian soon after shot a hog in the Cove while the owner was almost in sight of him, and by the time that the hog was half roasted, (the owner got some assistance) the Indian got off; but the hog they bro't to me, which appeared to be full of shot. I have since heard that the Indians dont deny the fact. They have never been so open and daring in their insult before. Their wandering about after a priest the last year made them extreme poor, & perhaps they think they cant be more miserable let what will happen to them.

What serves to increase the peoples fears is what the Indians themselves give out, viz:—that there are great numbers of Indians of different tribes now assembled on Penobscot River: that they are determined to maintain their rights to 12 rivers which they claim, and that they intend soon to pay me a visit together.

What truth there may be in this I know not. All I know of certainly is, that there are a considerable number of Indians of different Nations, such as Cape Sable, St. Johns, Norridgewalks, Aresequeenticooks, with some other Indians, & some white men on Penobscot River, and they have had a Council with the Penobscots upon some occasion or other.

A Neutral Frenchman, who is known in Boston came with a party of Indians from Canada, & has been in here. He tells me that he came only to spend a little time with the Indians hunting for his diversion: behaved very civilly and went off.

But there is another thing which has greatly served to alarm the inhabitants. While I was gone to Mt. Desert, a St. Francois Indian came in and told the commanding officer that he came express from Sir. William Johnson to me: that he had a letter from him to me: but that he must not leave it unless I was here, and that he would soon be in again.

Last Thursday he came in to see if I had returned: told me he did not come from his camp, and had not got the letter. He said he came from Canada and brought 16 Indians in his party who were now hunting on this River, and that he wou'd be in again on Monday and bring me the letter, & then open his mind to me. He then went off, and going up the River, met some of our people, & told them (he speaks English), that there were 300 men near Penobscot Falls who wou'd be at the Fort in a few days.

His not telling me this occasioned my sending immediately after him, & also to get the letter. My people overtook him at Salmon Point & bro't him back, but without the letter. He denyed what he had told the people and pressed me to let him fetch the Letter, but would not consent to my people going with him.

His name is Philip, & has been employed in the English and French service, and is now an inhabitant of St. Francois. I expect him in to-morrow, but, in the meantime I shall put the fort in the best position for defence I can. & my doing this will unavoidably increase the fear of the inhabitants, who are already too much agitated.

Thursday, the 8th—Yesterday there came in four canoes of Indians, among whom were Philip beforementioned, Espequeunt, &

Oso & 8 or 10 others. I met them at the shore and asked Philip for the letter. He said that Espequeunt met him & desired him to come with him, & that he had'nt the opportunity to go to his camp.

I then took Oso aside & told her I confided in her, and that she must tell me what she knew about Philip. She said she knew but little about him; that he was a Canada Indian & she believed he wasn't good.

I then had some talk with Espequeunt, but he said he wanted some refreshment and wou'd say more to me the next day. This morning he came early and desired to speak with me in private: nobody was present but Mr. Treat & him & me.

He says he was at Canada 15 days ago & was invited by a French Gentleman there (whom he took to be an officer, or a man of distinction by his being laced with gold), to stay in Canada and assist them in an enterprise against the English.

He says he told them he was far away from home & his family wou'd suffer, and that he cou'd not stay. He askt me if there was a war between France and England. I told him there was no appearance of any such thing, and that I believed there wasn't the slightest foundation for such a suspicion.

He said the Canada people told him it was so, but they hadn't determined what part to take. He said he spoke the truth: he pointed towards Heaven & said he spoke before God. I askt him if he had any request to make to Gov. Bernard. He said no. I then asked Oso by herself if she knew of any ill intention among the Indians: she said she knew of none; that Espequeunt was very secret about the news he brought from Canada: she said she wou'd always speak the truth to me.

She said she once told me of an intention to surprize the garrison, and says she — "I told you the truth!" That now, she thout there was no ill design among the Penobscot Indians. All the Indians she said, talk about the Englishmen hunting and settling upon the River, but that was all.

I have not exaggerated, but rather extenuated everything that may be the occasion of expence or agitation. Mr. Harrod & some other gentlemen from Boston have been eye witnesses of some of it, and I think it will be best for your Excellency to hear them upon it.

I shall be upon my guard, but with as little appearance of my apprehension of danger as may be to avoid alarming the inhabitants; for, in my opinion, one or two more frights wou'd break up all the settlements.

The garrison is too weak, and the Indians know precisely the strength of it. It is not sufficient to keep them in awe. I ought to have men enough to send out a party to reconnoitre upon occasion, and upon occasion to demand satisfaction at their village for any injury done the English.

I am now at the 9th.—Nothing new has appeared, & I think it best not to detain Wesent any longer. I fear this matter will have a bad effect upon this settlement and all about here.

In the talk with Espequeunt, he told me repeatedly that he thought there might be some news of importance from the Governor of Canada to your Excellency. I therefore thought to open it upon such an occasion, which I hope your Excellency will excuse. It was brought by some Indians who came from thence before Espequeunt.

Sep. 10th — Last night Oso came in again, and several other Indians have been in since. They accuse Philip of being the author of this disturbance. Whatever their intention might be, I believe there is a stop put to it for the present.

They all promise that satisfaction for the mischief shall be made that has been done, and that they mean to keep up Peace & friendship with us: but it is not in their power to settle peoples minds as they were before.

I can hardly persuade them to return to their Homes. Oso now tells me, that their former Priest at St. Johns was an impostor, and they have thrown away their Books, and Espequeunt & the others told Mr. Crawford to-day that if he would go to their village, they wou'd attend his prayers.

To any fair minded and impartial reader, the foregoing will appeal to his candor and good judgment as to the character of the man who could calmly write such a letter amid such scenes of confusion, doubt, and fateful rumor. In it there is no uncertain ring; no trace of cowardice; no tyranny; no hasty conclu-

sions; no desire, as he says, "to exaggerate, but rather to extenuate," all the circumstances, which the inhabitants, in their terror felt were impending. On the contrary, he showed a quick perception, ready tact, a wise discretion, and great determination. He made a clear-headed, forcible report to the governor, so that he could readily grasp the situation with its causes, and apply the proper remedies: at the same time he quickly resolved (showing him to be a man of resourceful expedients) to place the fort in a proper state of defense, and, with his little garrison — then less than thirty men, make as bold stand as possible, quieting in the meanwhile a gathering of panic-stricken people who had moved in and were appealing to him for protection, counsel and advice.

So far there has not been found a particle of evidence, not a scrap of paper, or written complaint, which could, even by inference, connect his name with any cowardice, tyranny, cruelty or extortion toward either settler or Indian. These accusations took no shape until after the dismantlement of Fort Pownall.

The reply of the governor now follows:—

JAMAICA FARM, Sep. 28, 1767.

SIR:—I communicated your letter to the Council, and upon full deliberation they advised that I should order you to augment the garrison with 8 men, if you shall still think it necessary. I send you a copy of the minutes which must be your direction.

You have two objects in view, the repressing the insolence of the Indians, relieving the fears of the people, and if either of these shall require this reinforcement, you must raise it: for it is expedient to guard not only against real danger, but against the ill consequences of the apprehension of it; especially so detrimental as the

unsettling of that country would be : and as these 8 men make but a small addition I have thought of a method to double the service with the same pay.

Inlist 16 men at half pay & half duty, and let them relieve one another every week, the whole being paraded at the time of relieving ; and let them engage to repair to the Castle upon a certain signal.

You will judge of the practicability of this : but, at all events, let the men enlisted be cloathed as soldiers. It is in my opinion a very material circumstance.

I hope you will attend to it. We have very unpleasing accounts of the frequent exposure of the Fort : it is said that it is always in the hands of the Indians when they come in to trade in any number. I am sensible that so small a garrison as you have now must occasion a great relaxation of discipline, as there are not enough men to exercise it upon.

But you must keep up the form of discipline as well as you can. Let the Drummers beat all the usual beats : the reveille, the relief of the guard, the retreat and the tattoo. After the beating of the latter, let the keys of the gates be brought to you, and remain with you till reveille is beaten next morning.

As for the danger arising from the Trading : it will not be removed but by setting the Truckhouse out of the Fort, which, it seems to me must be done.

I must desire you would do your best to quiet peoples minds that they mayn't think of deserting their settlements : which would be a great disgrace as well as detrimental to the Province.

If the people are convinced that it is the smallness of the garrison which has encouraged the Indians to insult and plunder them (as, indeed, it has been fully proved before the Council that it is the chief or sole cause of it), they should petition the General Court and pray that they would allow for a larger garrison.

In such case they will have my opinion on their side, whether it will weigh more or less. I always expected that this reduction would have these effects.

I have sent you six barrels of powder for the use of the Fort, understanding that you have now but what belongs to the Truck Trade.

I will write upon the subject of the Indians in a separate letter that you may communicate it to them with more care.

I am, Sir, &c.

Fra. Bernard.

Tho^s Goldthwait, Esq.

P. S.—In regard to the Bridge, Platforms & Outworks of the Fort, you must do what is necessary for their repair, as you propose, in the most frugal manner.

(Mass. Arch. 38 : 343,354.)

The letter of the governor with reference to Col. Goldthwait's report concerning the Indians and the alarm in the Penobscot Valley, now follows :—

BOSTON, Sep.—(28), 1767.

SIR :—I have received your letter informing me of the Indians insulting and plundering the English settlers. I know not whether my astonishment or resentment at these hostilities was the greater, and I should have immediately set about punishing the authors of them if you had not in the same letter informed me that the Chiefs of the Tribe had apologized for the acts of their people and promised to make satisfaction.

I am, on that account, willing to leave this to a Treaty, but expect that they will satisfy not only the people for what they have lost, but the King's Government also for what his dignity has suffered by this insult upon his subjects.

I had intended upon this occasion to have set out for Fort Pownall myself, but am obliged to wait here for particular orders which I expect every day to receive from the King. I must, therefore, leave this negociation to you, and if the Chiefs with whom you have talked are sincere, I hope there will be no great difficulty in it.

I must, therefore, desire that you will call them together as soon after you receive this as may be, and endeavour to reduce what we are to expect, and they to undertake, to as great a certainty as can be.

Tell them that the Reduction of the garrison which is supposed to have encouraged this insolence, was made by the confidence we had

in their profession of friendship, and they should not have rendered our considering them as friends, a reason for their treating us as their enemies.

You have now an order to augment the garrison if you think fit, & tell them if nothing but soldiers can keep them in order, they shall have soldiers enough, and higher up the River than they are at present.

There is now at Halifax a Regiment quite unemployed, and I can have from thence at an hours warning, 2 or 300 men to send up to Passionkeag if it shall be necessary.

If Philip is among them, tell them I insist upon their delivering him up as a Public disturber of the peace. For, whilst they harbour such a villian, their enemy as well as ours, they cannot expect that their professions can gain credit with us. For, if they are really our friends, they should show the same resentment against a man who endeavours to make a Breach between us, which we do.

If you can lay hold of that fellow, send him to me in Iron, and I will take care that he shant disturb Penobscot again. Tell them not to deceive themselves with idle stories about a War between England and France. There never was a more cordial intercourse between the two Kings than there is at present.

There is nothing for them to quarrel about. But, if there should be a variance, N. America will not be affected by it: for the French know well they can never get a footing in Canada again: so that if the Indians will fight on the side of France, they must do it by themselves.

As to the satisfaction to be made to the sufferers by these plunderers: if it is not made when this letter arrives, I desire you will immediately demand it, and if they cannot pay directly, let the damages be liquidated & allowed by the Indians, and let them give their note for the money payable as soon as can be; and dont be put off with a pretence that they dont know who did the mischief: they must know it, and if they wont discover & deliver up particulars, they must answer for it in the whole: but, if they are sincere, & are really poor (for I understand their pretended priest has plundered them unmercifully), I wou'd have them allowed all reasonable time for their payments, they giving security as aforesaid.

As for the satisfaction to be made the Gov't, you will consider what is due to its honour upon this occasion. Tell them in general that I am really & truly their friend, and I desire that they would not oblige me to appear as their enemy.

I am, Sir, &c.

Fra. Bernard.

Tho^s Goldthwait, Esq.

There is nothing to show that the orders of Gov. Bernard to Col. Goldthwait were carried out. If Philip had been arrested, placed in irons, and carried to Boston to be delivered up to Gov. Bernard for imprisonment, thus affording ground for charges of cruelty to be made against Col. Goldthwait by the Indians, as also pretext for war, the archives would undoubtedly show the same. It does not appear that this plan was carried out; but had it been, the responsibility for the act would have rested with the governor and not with Col. Goldthwait.

While Col. Goldthwait was commanding Fort Pownall, he was commissioned, August 5, 1767, judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Lincoln County, succeeding Judge Denny of Georgetown. The writer has found his commission; but aside from its quaintness of language, and extreme formality, it would hardly have a place in this paper. (C. R. Mass. 1765-74: 584.) In October 1769, he was appointed colonel of the 2d regiment Lincoln County militia.

The writer has been unable to find his commission for the same, but for October, 1771, he has discovered the following:—

List of officers Commissioned for a Regiment of Militia to be formed of the inhabitants of all the lands in the County of Lincoln,

lying East of a River called Damariscotta, and to be called the Second Regiment of Militia in the County of Lincoln.

Thomas Goldthwait Esq.,	Colonel
Alexander Nickel,	1st Lt. Col.
Nathan Jones Esq.,	2nd Lt. Col.
Mason Wheaton,	1st Major.
Arthur Noble,	2nd Major.
Jed. Preble,	Captain at a place called Majebag- waduice, &c., &c.

William Lithgow was colonel of the 1st regiment of the county of Lincoln.

Belfast, in 1765, when John Mitchell (who was the first founder of the town (went there to examine it, was a howling wilderness, and was merely designated as "a tract on the southerly side of a township granted to Col. Goldthwait" when the petition of John Mitchell and others was referred to the Provincial Assembly of Massachusetts asking for its incorporation.

In accordance with this petition, an act was passed, requesting "that Thomas Goldthwait be empowered, and he is directed to issue a warrant appointing some person to notify the inhabitants to hold a town-meeting for this purpose, etc., etc."

In the History of Belfast, by Hon. Joseph Williamson, will be found the warrant, dated at Frankfort, October, 1773, signed by Thomas Goldthwait, calling the meeting at the dwelling-house of John Mitchell, Thursday, November 11, in the forenoon. In the History of Belfast will also be found a very interesting bill which John Mitchell rendered to the new town for rowing Goldthwait to and from the place of meeting, etc.,

etc. Col. Goldthwait was chosen moderator and John Mitchell town clerk, and the town was duly incorporated.

In the Bangor Historical Magazine some time since, there was a very interesting article by William D. Patterson of Wiscasset, Maine, entitled "Some Transactions of Colonel Thomas Goldthwait at Fort Pownall, 1764 to 1786." These refer to deeds of land. The writer has found many more, all of which are valuable as showing the part which Col. Goldthwait took in opening up, settling and developing the Penobscot Valley. His descendants had always supposed that this immense tract of land, owned with Sir Francis Bernard, was a grant for services rendered either at Louisburg or Crown Point; but it seems that it was a direct purchase from Gen. Jedediah Preble, and originally belonged to the Waldo Patent.

On January 14, 1769, it was :—

Resolved — That the garrison of Fort Pownall be augmented, and that it consist of one Captain, one Lieut., one Gunner, a Chaplain, an Interpreter, two Sergeants, and 32 privates, on the following establishment :— Captain, £4 /10s per mo., Lieut., 3/10, Gunner 3/0, Armourer 2 /10, Chaplain 4 /0, Interpreter 3 /0, Sergeant 1 /10, Private 1 /4. To continue in force one year.

A conference was had with the Penobscot Indians, July 26, 1769.

Lieut. Gov. Thomas Hutchinson says in a message of July 2, 1771 :—

You have reduced the establishment for the garrison of Fort Pownall from 20 to 10 Privates. The Commanding officer there has formally represented to me that 20 Privates were scarcely suffi-

cient for the necessary service, especially when any considerable number of Indians came in to trade. This, it is probable, you were not informed of when you passed the last vote for an establishment. *I doubt not you will think with me that a Fortress that cost the Crown so considerable a sum, ought not to be left without a garrison sufficient for its preservation and defence. I must recommend to you to make the further necessary provision.*

T. Hutchinson.

Council Chamber, Cambridge,
July 2, 1771.

Thus it will be seen that the garrison was annually increased or diminished by a few men, through the caprice of a Great and General Court, far removed from the locality, but not in entire ignorance of its necessities. As has been shown, they were repeatedly warned.

The writer finds that this practice was kept up until the opening of hostilities in 1775, when Col. Thomas Goldthwait was practically left without any garrison for offensive or defensive purposes. This criminal neglect on the part of the provincial officials will be referred to later in connection with the dismantlement of Fort Pownall.

PART IV.

THE STORY OF FORT POWNALL.

We come now to the events just preceding the outbreak of the struggle for Independence.

Besides the statements made that Thomas Goldthwait was cruel and unjust to the settlers and Indians, that he was an extortioner, etc., all accounts reflect severely upon him for the part he took when the fort was dismantled in 1775, which — with the traditions and stories handed down by those who were more or less injured by the temporary suspension, through this act, of the extensive trade which had been carried on with the Indians, and upon which the very existence of the settlers then depended — had set the seal of condemnation upon Col. Goldthwait for all time.

Having recently examined into this matter very carefully and exhaustively, the writer has come across such strong proof as will, he feels confident, not only upset and contradict these statements, but will exonerate Col. Goldthwait, from all blame in the matter.

The files of the Massachusetts Archives were not then so fully accessible to the historians of Maine as now, and the history of that event — the dismantlement of Fort Pownall — of so much significance to

the people of that region, to be written at all at that time, had to be based upon no more authentic source than that of John Davidson's manuscript narrative, as there was no other account to be had.

It is thus graphically described in the following letter, which the writer believes has never been printed. It was found accompanying and attached to the petition of Capt. Goldthwait and the garrison to the General Court, for pay for their services for the year 1774-75. (Mass. Arch. 88: 211.)

The following is an account of the manner which the cannon & spare arms were taken from Fort Pownall on the 14th of April 1775 by an order of General Gage directed to Tho^s Goldthwait, Esq., Commander of said Fort.

On Friday even'g the 13th of Apl. came into Penobscot river a Topsail Schooner, which anchored near Fort Pownall, which myself and others took to be a Merchantman, going up the River to purchase Lumber: and early next morning we saw another schooner which came to anchor near the Former.

Soon after came ashore some sailors from the first mentioned Vessel to beg some milk for their Breakfasts, and said they were going up the River to get Lumber.

Presently after came on shore an officer who enquired for the Commander of the Fort, and on seeing him, presented an order from Gen. Gage for the Cannon and spare Arms: he then returned on board and immediately appeared a large number of Soldiers on the Deck (which before was not seen), who directly got into Boats & came ashore & marched into the Fort, and went to work getting out the Cannon, &c. w^{ch} was carry'd on board.

I am convinced at that time 'twas not in Col^o Goldthwait's power to have resisted them with the least degree of success, having only 6 or 8 men in the Fort, and but half a Barr^l of powder which the Gunner shew in the Magazine.

I further declare that I remained at said Fort, 'till the news came of the Battle of Lexington — immediately on which (tho' late at

night), Col^o Goldthwait dispatched a number of Men in his Barge to go 20 miles up the River and advise the people of the news, and recommended to them to immediately call a Meeting, to consider what was Elagable to be done.

The meeting was accordingly held the 6 day of May— when Col^o Goldthwait présided a Moderator thereof. I attended the Meeting myself, and found that after Col^o Goldthwait's Conduct was represented to them, that they were universally satisfyed, w^{ch} they manifested by a General vote. during the whole of the above transactions I was at the Fort, and look't on Col^o Goldthwait to be a Strong Advocate for the Liberties of his Country.

W. Molineux.

The above if required am ready to make oath to
Watertown, 23 Oct. 1775.

I would further add that the Officer which Commanded the party, said that if Col^o Goldthwait refused delivering up the Cannon, &c. 'twas his orders to destroy the Fort immediately.

W. M.

The writer has included in the foregoing letter all erasures, interlineations, etc. It will bear a very close study as to Col. Goldthwait's motives in calling the meeting, etc. There is every reason to believe, by a correspondence had with the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty at London, that the two schooners referred to were the Diana, commanded by Lieut. John Graves, a nephew of Admiral Samuel Graves, commanding the British fleet in American waters, and the Neptune. Both were tenders to the sloop of war, Canceaux, commanded by Lieut. Henry Mowat, who later burned Falmouth.

The armed force on board the two schooners was a large detachment from the 64th British Foot. (Cor. British War Office.) The report of the proceed-

ings of the meeting referred to, as held on May 6, has been searched for but without success.

It may be of interest, just here, to state that the *Diana* commanded by Lieut. Graves, was in action May 28, 1775, at Noddles Island (East Boston), and after being riddled with shot from two field-pieces served by Capt. Gideon (?) Foster and a detachment of men, was run ashore, burned and blown up. (Moore's *Diary of the Revolution*, pp. 85-7.) (Vol. 1, *Kemble Papers*, New York Historical Society.)

It must be borne in mind that this event occurred just preceding the actual outbreak of hostilities, five days before the Battle of Lexington. Col. Goldthwait had not been in close touch with the sentiments and inflamed passions of the people at Boston.

He was at a place remote from the centers of uprising, where news reached slowly. The writer does not think that, in that quiet region of Penobscot, he could have been so keenly aware of the spark of war then being fanned into an intense flame at Boston, by any thing he could see at Fort Pownall. But, nevertheless, he was then compelled to obey that order.

Directly following this, there transpired an event, which had more to do with shaping public sentiment in that region, and branding Col. Goldthwait with the opprobrious epithets and aspersions which have been so freely bestowed on him, than the event just described. It is thus given in the Rev. Richard Pike's *Centennial Address*, previously referred to, as also in the *History of Belfast* (pp. 55-57).

The people of Belfast suffered greatly from the scarcity of provisions. One cause of this was that they had gone short of ammunition, and could take but little wild game. Col. Goldthwait had ammunition entrusted to him for the public good.

In their distress, the people of Belfast sent to him for a supply, but he refused to give heed to their representations, and treated their importunities with contempt. But they were determined not to be defrauded of their rights by a tyrant and a coward; so a few days after they made another application. Taking their guns and what ammunition they had, they went in numbers to the fort.

Upon drawing near their destination, they deputed two of their men to go in advance and make the demand. They met with no better success than their predecessors. The narrator of the account says: we told him that we were determined to have it, the ammunition, and would take it by force of arms if we could not get it without.

By this time our company was in sight. We said — here comes assistance, and you may see them. We are determined not to be treated as the two men were who came to you on this business before. He cooled down, and gave to each man a pound of powder and ball and flint.

The next we heard of the Colonel he had gathered up all, and gone on board a British vessel out of the Country. He adds the following words which are very suggestive:— We heard nothing of him afterwards, *so that what we received at the time was clear gain.*

The italics are mine.

This visit to the fort, of the detachment of men from St. Georges, is even more graphically described in a letter written by Col. Goldthwait himself to the selectmen of that town.

This letter has been copied several times, and published both in the Annals of Warren and in the Bangor Historical Magazine. But there have been just enough errors in them of sufficiently vital importance to have it now printed correctly.

It has now been copied from the original by Mr. Edward Brown of Thomaston, Maine, in whose possession it is, who has kindly sent copies to the writer, with explanations as to the missing sentence, an altered word, etc., and it is now absolutely correct.

It is given entire, as follows :—

To the Gentlemen, the Selectmen of St. Georges, and in the absence of Selectmen, to Major Mason Wheaton and Capt. Jno. McIntire, to be communicated to the Inhabitants of St. Georges.

FORT POWNAL, May 8, 1775.

Gentlemen :— On the 27th of last month about 20 arme'd men arrived here from St. Georges who came in the name & as a Committee from the people of St Georges & others who they said had assembled there to the amount of 250 men & this party in their name demanded of me the reason of my delivering the Cannon, &c. belonging to this Fort to the Kings forces.

I told them I tho't their request reasonable and that I would give them all the satisfaction they demanded in this matter, & immediately left them.

I went into the Fort & got the Governor's letter to me, and it was read to them. I then informed them that this was the King's Fort & built at his expense; that the Gov^r was Commander in Chief of it, that I could not refuse obeying his orders; that I was ready to make oath that I had no intimation of this matter until Mr. Graves who commanded this expedition shew'd me the Governor's order, within ten minutes after his vessels came to anchor here; & in case it had been in my power to have resisted this order, I should not have tho't it expedient to have done it, as the inevitable consequence of such resistance, would have been the Total Ruin of the River: being that a small naval force at the mouth of it, could entirely stop the provision Vessels & Coasters, and all other merchant Vessels, & must have soon broke up the River.

Upon my representing these facts and reasoning in this manner, Capt. Gragg & his party appeared to be satisfied: He then told me

that they had intelligence that the Canadians & Indians were swarming down upon us; that the arm'd vessels that went from hence had killed the peoples cattle at Townsend, & they expected to meet with the same fate at St. Georges; that among all the people that were assembled there, they hadn't ten charges of ammunition, and were very scant of arms; & that one part of their orders was to desire & demand of me a part of ours, I informed them the true condition of the Fort & the Scarcity of ammunition upon the River; still they persisted in their request.

I sometime after told the Serjent he must see what there was & let them have what could be spared upon such an emergency; and he accordingly delivered them 7 musketts 10^{lb} powder & 24^{lbs} Balls, for which Messrs Sam^l Gragg, Rob. McIntire & Benj. Burton gave a rec^t for, as a Committee from St. Georges.

Now Gentⁿ as it appears that this alarm was premature, & that these people came, as they declared, with authority from your Town; I hope you'll interfere in it and see that the arms & ammunition are returned to the Fort, and especially too, as it is now declared & known to be true that this river is barer of arms and ammunition than you are at St. Georges.

I shall enclose a copy of the Gov^{rs} letter to me for your satisfaction. I beg the fav^r of you to communicate this letter, together with the votes passed upon this river (which will be delivered you by a Committee sent on purpose) to your Town that they may have an opportunity to act in it as they judge expedient, I am Gentⁿ,

Y^r most humble serv^t,

Tho. Goldthwait.

In the original, there appears the word "*letter*" crossed out, followed by the word "order." But in the copies, it reads "*later order.*" This latter expression would make it appear that Col. Goldthwait *had already received a prior order*, which was not the case. *One order was handed to him by Lieut. Graves*, and this *condition with the alternative* — as stated in William Molineux' letter — *stared him in the face.*

There is also omitted in the copies, one very important sentence, one that in all human probability, influenced his decision quite as much as the appearance on the scene of an overwhelming force. In fact, it may have been the strongest motive, or mainspring of Col. Goldthwait's action in so promptly obeying the Governor's order. The sentence reads as follows:—

Being that a small naval force at the mouth of the river, cou'd entirely stop the provision vessels & coasters, & all other merchant Vessels, & must have soon broke up the River.

This, with the sentence just immediately preceding it, shows conclusively that his good military sense and sound judgment which, by all the letters quoted, he had previously shown, was, in this case given for the benefit of the settlers as it had been done on all other occasions.

To have resisted a large armed force at that moment, with the few men he had on hand, would have been not only madness on his part, but would have invited the prompt destruction of the fort, and insured a speedy blockade of the Penobscot River, and, in consequence brought sure starvation to the inhabitants of the entire Penobscot Valley. It nearly followed as it was.

None but a good soldier, with a rare *Coup d'œil*, would have known that it was wise to surrender to an overwhelming force, or have displayed such a remarkable forethought, as is shown in the sentence now quoted, as to the consequences to the people had he not have promptly done so.

This was another most dignified and soldierly letter : written calmly amidst the tumult of his surroundings.

In reading carefully the events of that period, just prior and subsequent to the battle of Lexington, in many histories, journals, diaries and narratives, we have been struck with the generally lawless, unreasonable character of the acts committed by the Whigs, under the guise of patriotism in carrying out their loyal plans : and especially in and about the region of what is now known as Eastern Maine.

It is very evident to our mind that John Davidson was one of those rough, lawless, border characters, who reigned supreme at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, in those sparsely settled districts. The writer has seen just such within twenty years in Mexico, Texas, and the Indian Territory.

Everybody was supposed to take sides upon the spur of the moment at the outset, and if one was suspected even of being Loyalist, Tory or Neutral, the first thought was to burn him out, mob, or kill him, or do him some personal injury.

The Annals of Warren, by Eaton, mention the lawless acts committed, and the turbulent spirits in that region, ready to use mob violence, or any other methods to enforce their demands upon all who did not agree with them. There was lack of sound judgment and cool reason on both sides. Burton and Gregg are cited in this valuable work as examples of this sort. They were the companions of Davidson and Nichols on their errand to the fort ; and the two latter were selected to make the demand upon Col.

Goldthwait. Burton was also in the famous tea-party of Indians (?) at Boston. (Annals of Warren.)

In Davidson's narrative, this feeling is quite in evidence, from the manner in which he describes their visit to the fort, first demanding powder and ball, then threatening what would be done were it not complied with, and his general condemnation of Col. Goldthwait for all his acts.

The narrative was written when Davidson was an old man, and necessarily from memory; but his prejudices do not seem to have died out or even abated, for his recollections of those days centered on two events — the dismantlement of Fort Pownall, the incident connected with the ammunition, and Col. Goldthwait's seeming indifference to his demands.

To further prove the lawlessness, turbulence and unorganized force of those times, one need only to consult the archives: they are bristling with facts.

A letter from Marshfield, Massachusetts, to a gentleman in Boston, dated January 24, 1775, describes it in very vivid colors there. (Am. Arch. 1: 177.)

A letter was written by Enoch Freeman, Committee of Safety, etc., at Falmouth, May 10, 1775, concerning the projected capture of the sloop *Canceaux*, Capt. Mowat, by one Col. Thompson. He says:—

We are in confusion. Pray let Congress be informed of this affair, and let us know whether Thompson had such orders, and pray the Congress to give us some directions, *for we are in such confusion nobody seems rational.*

On May 11, follows a letter from a gentleman of Falmouth to somebody at Watertown (probably Enoch Freeman to Samuel Freeman, Secretary of the Provincial Congress), then the seat of Congress, concerning the doings in the town on that day; he describes the rioting, drunkenness, the number of barrels of rum drank, etc., etc. (Am. Arch., 2: 550-552.)

Then follows a letter from Gen. Jedediah Preble, Chairman of the Committee of Safety, commending Capt. Mowat for his prudence, gentlemanly conduct, etc. (Am. Arch., 2: 585.)

A letter was sent to Col. Thompson, censuring him for his unjustifiable conduct, etc. (Am. Arch., 2: 587.)

Numerous other instances are on record.

Numerous letters were written to the Provincial Congress concerning the act of Col. Goldthwait. They do not seem to have been wholly free from jealousy and selfish motives.

In the journal of each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts is a letter written by Enoch Freeman of Falmouth, dated Falmouth, May 5, 1775, about three weeks after Fort Pownall had been dismantled. He says: —

We have lately heard that the Penobscot Indians are highly exasperated at Captain Goldthwait for suffering the tender to dismantle the Fort there, and carrying off the powder: and truck trade is stopped we are informed: and that a number of men around about there are going to take him — Goldthwait — for delivering up the fort, into their custody: but what they intend to do with him I dont hear.

Perhaps it would be prudent for Congress to send down here and secure the Indians in our interest, by keeping Truck Trade open, supplying them with powder, or any other method in their wisdom, upon mature consideration they may think best.

A hint on this head is enough.

A letter now follows from Gen. Jedediah Preble, the first Truckmaster. Its animus is clearly seen and as easily understood. In fact, the letter explains itself. The truck trade must be kept open and continued for the benefit of his son John Preble; and the influence of the party addressed, whose name is not given, is solicited for that purpose.

FALMOUTH, June 1, 1775.

Col. Goldthwait will no doubt make interest to have provision made for the subsistence of the garrison at Penobscot, but I will leave you to judge whether a man is fit to command such a fortification as Fort Pownall who will suffer two schooners to Rob it of guns & ammunition.

I think it will be the height of imprudence to neglect supplying the Truck Trade. Shall be much obliged to you to use your influence that my son may be continued Truckmaster, for he has been at grate expence to furnish himself with a habitation and other necessaries for carrying on the Indian Trade.

I am your ready friend & humble servant,

Jedediah Preble.

These waite on you by Capt. John Lane, who arrived here yesterday from Penobscot with four Indian Chiefs who are bound to the Congress.

(Willis Papers, Portland Public Library.)

This letter was undoubtedly addressed to Samuel Freeman, Secretary of the Provincial Congress.

Acting upon the hint given by the letters of Enoch Freeman and Gen. Jedediah Preble, both members of

the Committee of Correspondence and Safety at Falmouth, the Secretary of the Provincial Congress, Samuel Freeman, addressed the following letter to the Penobscot Indians:—

In Provincial Congress, Watertown, May 15, 1775.

Friends and Good Brothers:—We, the Delegates of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, being come together in Congress to consider whatever is best for you and ourselves, &c. have thought it best to write the following letter: . . . “Captain Goldthwait has given up Fort Pownall to our enemies. We are angry at it, and we hear that you are angry at him, and we dont wonder at it.

We want to know what you, our good brothers, want from us of clothing, or warlike stores, and we will supply you as fast as we can. We will do all for you we can, and fight to save you any time: and hope none of your men or the Indians in Canada, will join with our enemies. You may have a great deal of good influence on them.”

“We have sent Captain Lane to you for that purpose, and he will show you his orders for raising one company of your men to join with us in the war with you and our enemies.”

“Brothers! if you will let Mr. John Preble know what things you want, he will take care to inform us, and we will do the best for you that we can.”

(Am. Arch., 2: 1433.)

The italics are mine. This sudden exuberance of spirit and excessive liberality, now displayed towards the Indians, is in marked contrast with the niggardly policy previously shown.

It looks very much like a clear case of “locking the stable door after the horse is stolen.” Had one-half of this diplomatic generosity been exercised in that direction toward *reenforcing and supplying Fort Pownall with its necessary garrison, ammunition and stores*, before Admiral Graves had the opportunity of

sending down and dismantling it; had the “cunce of prevention” been applied at the right time, instead of the “pound of cure” after the mischief was done; Col. Goldthwait’s course might have been different, and all the suffering and misery caused to the inhabitants of the Penobscot Valley might have been avoided.

There was certainly a most remarkable lack of wisdom shown in dealing with this momentous problem at the mouth of the Penobscot River.

After the dismantlement of Fort Pownall, the following private letter was sent from that region to the Provincial Congress at Watertown. This appears in full in *American Archives*, 2: 943.

Extracts have been quoted from it at various times by the local historians of Maine, *but not that portion which stands out as a strong vindication of the character of Col. Thomas Goldthwait.*

It is as follows:—

PENOBSCOT, (written from Wheelerborough), June 7, 1775.

(Extract)

Sir:—The River excells for fish of various kinds, and easie navigation for the largest of vessels. The people firmly attached to the Constitution you precide off, and I am confident will support it to the last moment of their lives, being willing in general to encounter any difficulty, rather than yield to that Band of Tyranny whose plodding Poles (Pates) have long been projecting methods to enslave us.

I am confirmed in this opinion by an anecdote or two that has come to my knowledge since my residence on this River, for I live in the neighborhood of Col^o Thomas Goldthwait, who was a member of our Assembly (as you may remember) for many years, particularly in the year 1762.

From whom I had the following story. Richard Jackson, Esq., was then the agent for our Province. The Col^o says that then in some of his private letters, which he wrote after his appointment, he intimated his fears that it would not be in his power to do the Province much service, as there was a principle prevailing in England at that time to render the Colony Assemblys useless.

The Colonel also says Mr. Bollin (who was agent before Mr. Jackson), was continually warning the General Court of this principle then prevailing in England, and yet, you no doubt remember, both those Gentⁿ were turned out of their Agency upon a suspicion that they were not in the interest of the Province.

Certainly, they were faithful as touching the most important matter, whatever part of their conduct might give umbrage to their Constituents. And there seems to be some degree of similarity in the Case of the above gentlemen and Col^o Goldthwait, For one of your members, viz:—Capt. John Lane, who is now here, says the Congress had rec'd very unfavorable acct's of the Col^o's conduct, Whereas on a fair and impartial examination, it will appear that Col^o Goldthwait has been a steady and uniform Friend to our Constitution.

Some unimportant or irrelevant matter follows and he adds:—

Pray excuse the want of order in these hints.

From, Honble Sir, Your Humble Ser't,

In Haste, Elihu Hewes.

P. S.

I have wrote by this opportunity to Joseph Hewes, Esq., in the Continental Congress. We are Brothers children, and were bro't up together in the same Family. Your favour in forwarding is prayed by.

Sir. Yours, &c. &c.

There is an Island in the mouth of this River owned by Isaac Winslow, Esq., as he saith, contains 6 or 7000 acres. I first settled on it. There is 10 or 12 good Conn. [Connecticut] men who are Heartily in our cause and should hold what they have

taken in their own right. The rest should be deemed Forfeit. This is my private opinion made to none but you.

To Joseph Warren, Esq. President of the Provincial Congress for the Mass. Bay.

This letter as a whole will bear a great deal of careful study. Had he at that time had any occasion to suspect Col. Goldthwait's loyalty to his cause, he would have so stated it in a private letter to the President of the Provincial Congress. The writer will refer to him later.

The following petition was also referred to the Provincial Congress, of this same date. As it is headed by Thomas Goldthwait, and it expresses the strongest sentiments of loyalty to the cause, it would indicate just the reverse of Toryism or disaffection to the Province.

PETITION.

Gent^m :—

We the subscribers being appointed a Committee by the inhabitants on Penobscot River, the inhabitants of Belfast, Major bigwaduice & Benjamins River, to make representation to you of the difficulties & distress the said inhabitants are under, in respect to the scarcity of corn & ammunition occasioned by the interruption of vessels, which they depend upon for their supplies, & also in the impediments in exportations from the Seaport towns, &c.

We accordingly herewith send you the votes of the said inhabitants passed by them at a general meeting on Teusday the 6th day of June instant which we are to pray your consideration of, &c. &c.

We are further to assure you that the said inhabitants are ready with their lives & all y^t they have to support the cause which their country is engaged in, in defence of their liberties & their priveledges, and will hold themselves in readiness for that purpose, &c.

We are in behalf of the said inhabitants, Gentⁿ ,

Your most humble ser^{ts} ,

Tho. Goldthwait.

John Tufts.

Benj. Shute.

Jonathan Buck.

Oliver Crary.

Edwin Mooers.

Accompanying it was the following letter : —

PENOBSCOT, June 7, 1875.

Gentlemen :— The said Committee are also to inform you that it was represented at the said meeting that the establishment of Fort Pownall is nearly expired. That the Commander of the s^d Fort in obedience to the command of the Gov^r delivered to his order the Artillery & spare arms belonging to s^d Fort : that he also delivered to our inhabitants in the different parts of this vicinity, upon their own application, some spare arms & ammunition, reserving only a small quantity of each for the use of the soldiers belonging to said garrison, which occasions the said Fort at this time to be very bare of arms in those respects.

To the Hon. The Gentlemen at Cambridge to represent the Province in Provincial Congress. (Mass. Arch. 193 : 328.)

It must be borne in mind that this petition and accompanying letter were written after the dismantlement of Fort Pownall and before it was destroyed. It was also written before the maltreatment of Col. Thomas Goldthwait: the mutilation of his portrait, and the indignities he and his family suffered in the dead of night July 21, 1775, when the lawless and turbulent spirits collected, under the name of militia, in command of Col. James Cargill, and burnt him out of house and home for having, as is set forth in the above petition : —

In obedience to the command of the Governor delivered to his order the Artillery, &c.

The italics are mine. Could anything in the shape of loyalty to one's country be stronger, especially after the act of his, already so many times cited, than this petition over the signature of Thomas Goldthwait? Can anyone doubt of his sincere intentions toward sustaining the cause of the patriots? *In the original, the petition looks as though it was drawn up by Thomas Goldthwait himself.* It is my belief that it is his own handwriting. He would not even allow another to express his own language in the sentiments he wished to convey.

PART V.

THERE is still further proof that up to this date, Col. Thomas Goldthwait's sympathies and sentiments were loyal to his countrymen.

In the letter of Elihu Hewes reference is made to Capt. John Lane. The writer finds that he received an appointment to treat with the Penobscot Indians, and to raise a company among them if possible.

In event of his raising a company of fifty-six effective men, and for his valuable services on this mission to the Indians, he was promised a captain's commission.

He makes the following very interesting report of his work : —

Fort Pownal, June 9, 1775.

SIR : — I have proceeded agreeable to my orders, as you will see by the enclosed Journal, and have got one of the chiefs to go as an ambassador, and I am in hopes to get them as far as Watertown, &c.

The following is my Journal to Penobscot, in behalf of the honourable Provincial Congress.

Monday, May 22, 1775. I received my orders from the Congress by James Sullivan, Esq., Monday, and proceeded to Falmouth, where I arrived on the 24th current, and applied to Colonel Preble, and the gentlemen belonging to the Committee for that place.

On Sunday, the 28th of said month, set sail for the Penobscot.
. . . The 31st, set sail to go up the Bay, and got up to the Fort the first of June when I waited on Colonel Goldthwait and acquainted

him with my business, *who was willing to do anything in his power for the good of the Province, and offered me all the assistance possible to forward my business, and any sort of provision or clothing that I should want for the Indians, which I accepted, and he ordered the Interpreter to go with me to assist in my business, &c. &c.*

On the 6th attended the meeting of said river (this is the meeting, the proceedings of which, as represented in the petition headed by Col. Goldthwait has been given), and repaired to the fort, waiting for the Indians to go to Casco with me; at the same time I informed Colonel Goldthwait what success I met with, and *who proved to me of his being contrary to what has been represented by some evil-minded person respecting his delivering up the cannon to the Governor.*

And I am sensible in my own mind, he could not have acted to the contrary, not because he was obliged to obey the Governor's orders, but that there was not sufficient powder (700 pounds).

And I am further convinced by the conversation I had with him, he is ready to give all the assistance in his power for the good of the Province, and has been a great help to me in my tour this way: and I dont know of any person better qualified to act in the office he holds for the good of the poor in that part; for, I am sure neither I nor the Indians could have been accomodated on the river elsewhere.

He assures me that by advice of Congress, he will still keep vp the fort, and pay the soldiers off, and wait for the pay till its convenient for them, although at this time there is twelve months pay due the garrison, and which he has paid off to the soldiers and some of the officers.

And I did not think he ought by any means to lay under the scandalous report that has been spread abroad about his delivering the cannon.

I am sir, with much respect, your much obliged servant,
Honourable Joseph Warren, Esq. John Lane.

Remainder per another opportunity.¹

(Am. Arch. 2: 942.) The italics are mine.

The mission of John Lane was, as will be doubtless understood, for the purpose of securing the Penobscot

¹ It could not be found.

Indians in behalf of the Province in its effort to throw off the British yoke.

Did Col. Goldthwait do otherwise than heartily cooperate with and assist him in his effort in this direction? Does this look like disloyalty? And yet, how easy for him, while still in command of Fort Pownall, and exercising a great influence over the Indians, to have thwarted this agent or representative of the Provincial Congress. He could have rendered useless all its efforts in securing on the side of the colonists, the assistance of those tribes in the region of the Penobscot Valley.

On the contrary, however, he offers and provides food and clothing for the Indians; all the assistance asked for by John Lane to forward his business; an interpreter to go with him (and without one he could have done nothing), and besides all this, he offers, through John Lane, a man in the fullest confidence of the Provincial Congress — and it was communicated to them by him in writing: *to keep up the fort, pay off the soldiers himself, and wait for the pay until convenient for this same liberal (?) Congress to reimburse him; having already paid the garrison twelve months pay out of his own pocket.*

Did anybody ever hear of an officer of any government on the face of the earth, who has been given the reputation that this man has: cruel, arbitrary, an extortioner, a tyrant and a coward; even then accused of past and contemplated disloyalty to his country in the hour of her need, voluntarily offering, by the advice

of Congress, to keep up its fort, and maintain and pay its garrison in that remote region?

Manifestly, there was ample opportunity for the Congress to have availed themselves of such valuable services. By not doing so, after what had been sent them in the shape of the highest commendations from W. Molineux, Elihu Hewes, and John Lane, they are proven culpable and negligent in the highest degree, and may well be rightfully accused, after this open, manly offer, of trumping up false charges against the victim of their spite and malice.

In addition to what has already been cited, as though that was not enough, how did they thank or reward him for this loyal offer?

The following petition was presented by the garrison:— It is in the handwriting of Francis Archbald, Jr., the clerk of the Fort.

To the honourable the General Assembly of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.

The Petition of Thomas Goldthwait, Esq., & others, late of the Garrison of Fort Pownall

Humbly shews

That your petitioners served in the said Garrison from the first day of June 1774, for the time they inlisted for or untill the said Garrison was dismiss'd agreeable to the establishment made for the said Garrison by the general assembly of the Province at Salem the last year, and your petitioners having received no pay for their said service excepting only what has been advanced them by the officers of said garrison, and are in great want thereof.

Your petitioners therefore humbly pray your honours to take their case into consideration and order them their pay.

And your petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray, &c.

Isaac Clewley	Tho. Goldthwait
his	
Joseph X Pitcher	Tho ^s Fletcher
mark	
William Pratt	Josh ^a Treat
Nathanel Couzens	W. Crawford
	Fra. Archbald Jun'r
his	his
Daniel X Morrow	Tim ^o X Pratt
mark	mark
	his
Henry Goldthwait	Jacob X Clifford jun.
his	mark
John X Evens	Obadiah Moor
mark	

Mass. House of Reps. Sat., Aug. 19, 1775.

A petition of Thomas Goldthwait and others, late of the garrison of Fort Pownall, praying for pay for their services, was read, and committed to Colonel Lovell, Colonel Perry and Deacon Rawson.

In Council, Aug. 19, 1775 : Read and Concurred. (Am. Arch. 3 : 346.)

In Council, Aug. 22, 1775.

The Committee on the Petition and Pay Roll of Thomas Goldthwait, Esq., reported. The report was re-committed, and the Committee were instructed to bring in a Resolve directing that the payment of said Roll be made to the several persons mentioned therein, or their order.

In Council, Aug. 22, 1775 : Read and Concurred. (Am. Arch. 3 : 334.)

The Committee on Pay-Roll of Captain Thomas Goldthwait's Company, of the garrison of Fort Pownall, again reported : and the consideration of the Report was put off to the next session of this Court.

In Council, Aug. 24, 1755 : Read and Concurred. (Am. Arch. 3 : 363.)

It was then again brought up in October, 1775, and it had W. Molineux' letter attached, dated October twenty-third.

In the House of Reps,
Oct. 25, 1775.

On the petition of Thomas Goldthwait, Esq., and others mentioned in said petition, late officers & soldiers of the garrison of Fort Pownall, praying that they may be allowed their wages from the 1st day of June 1774 to the 1st day of June 1775: being agreeable to ye rolls herewith exhibited, which is according to ye establishment made by the General Court in June 1774.

Resolved, That there be paid out of ye Public Treas'y of ye Colony to ye said non com'd officers & soldiers named in said pay roll, ye sum of £338 for their services, and ye Treasurer of said Colony is directed to pay to each officer named in said pay roll (Captain Goldthwait & Jon^a Lowder, Gunner,¹ *excepted?*), against each of their names, & take their several receipts for ye same, or orders under their own hand, which sums are agreeable to ye establishment for one year last past.

Sent up for concurrence,
J. Warren, Speaker,
Perez Morton, Sec. Pro. Tem.

In Council,

Oct. 26, 1775.

Consented to —

James Otis

and others.

(House Journal, Vol. 88, p. 207.)

Upon a motion, Ordered that Mr. Morton, Captain Bragdon, Mr. Sewall, Colonel Thompson and Mr. Hovey be a Committee to make

¹ I find in the original resolution, copied from the House Journal, Massachusetts Archives, that after the word — Gunner — the word — “excepted” — is left out, perhaps others, as though intentional, or to be suppressed.

The resolve would then read so as to give these officers — Col. Goldthwait and Jona. Lowder their pay. On another page, however, I found the following separate entry:—

Wednesday, Oct. 25, 1775.

Resolved — That £333 be paid in full for all soldiers of Fort Pownall on Muster Roll (Captain Goldthwait and Jona Lowder excepted).

In Am. Arch. 3: 1475, is given the full text, and with the missing word or words included.

It is not, however, in the same form of language, spelling, etc., as the House Journal.

inquiry into the conduct of Captain Goldthwait and the Gunner at Fort Pownall. (Am. Arch. 3: 1476.)

The writer, after a most exhaustive search can find no report of this committee, or that any action was ever taken in the matter. It is his belief that having no proof of any disloyalty on the part of Col. Goldthwait there was no action, or if any report was made it was favorable to him, and was either suppressed, or abstracted from the files, and then somebody entered the separate Resolution with the word — “excepted.”

Petition of Jonathan Lowder, setting forth: That he has been employed as a Gunner at Fort Pownall under the command of Thomas Goldthwait, Esq., and has done his duty in said office to the acceptance of his commander and other officers, humbly prays your Honours that they would grant him a warrant for his pay due him on said Goldthwait's Pay-Roll, for the garrison of Fort Pownall.

Resolved — That Jonathan Lowder have leave to draw his pay that is made up to him on Captain Goldthwait's Pay-Roll, for his services as Gunner at Fort Pownall, and the Treasurer of the Colony is ordered to pay the same. (Am. Arch. 6: 400, 445.)

Thus Col. Thomas Goldthwait was the last scapegoat of the unfortunate affair at Fort Pownall, and the Provincial Congress, notwithstanding what had been shown to them, took this last step in denying him his pay, on this petition, in order to show their angry spite.

Who were William Molineux, and Elihu Hewes, who furnish such strong evidence in defense of Thomas Goldthwait?

William Mollineux was on two committees on the sixth of March, 1770, the day after the “Boston

Massacre;” one of fifteen — on which was Ezekiel Goldthwait, brother of Col. Thomas Goldthwait, and another of seven, with Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Joseph Warren, Joshua Henshaw, Samuel Pemberton and William Phillips, to present a resolution passed at a town meeting held that same day in Boston, to Lieut. Gov. Hutchinson, demanding the removal of the British Troops from Boston to Castle William. (Lossing’s F. B. of the Rev.)

He was also with the tea party in Boston harbor. He was one of the class styled by Sir Francis Bernard: — “the faction, mischief makers, zealously bent on poisoning the minds of the people, and bringing ruin to all.”

In the Boston Gazette, for 1774, is a copy of a letter which was thrown into the British camp by some unknown party. It contained the names of Samuel Adams, *William Molineux*, and others, and stated that they “were the authors of all the misfortunes that had thus far been brought upon the Province,” and the letter urged that: —

The instant rebellion happens, you will put the above persons immediately to the sword, destroy their homes, and plunder their effects. It is just that they should be the first victims to the mischief they have wrought upon us.

A Friend to G. Britain and America.

P. S. Dont forget those trumpeters of sedition, Edes & Gill & Thomas.

He was appointed an assistant commissary of one of the Massachusetts regiments in 1776. (American Archives, 2: 1463.) Could any higher tributes be paid to his intense loyalty?

Elihu Hewes was one of the first settlers of Wheelborough, above Fort Pownall, and was the first town clerk of Hampden. His cousin, Joseph Hewes, to whom he refers in his private letter to Joseph Warren, president of the Provincial Congress, was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He was also, at that time, a member of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia.

Thus we have the very strongest testimony of two such men as William Molineux and Elihu Hewes, together with the still stronger statement from Capt. John Lane: all, as shown in their letters and acts, most devoted patriots—the former hated for his radical doings—who knew Col. Goldthwait well; were friends of his; one of whom, the former, was an eye witness, and visiting him at the fort at the time of its dismantlement, and all three letters were written very soon after the occurrence.

Does any student or historian doubt that during the stay of William Molineux at Fort Pownall, from April thirteenth to May sixth, a man of his radical and pronounced views, he would not have known had Col. Goldthwait been an enemy to his country, a Loyalist, or that he contemplated in any way playing the part of a traitor?

He had ample opportunities for discussing the entire situation with his host, and surely any trace of Toryism or disloyalty to the cause for which all were then beginning to prepare themselves, would have been quickly observed.

This evidence should certainly carry more weight than a journal written by John Davidson many years after the events therein contained transpired; who was not an eye witness of the dismantlement of Fort Pownall, and, who seemed only intent upon branding the author of his alleged wrongs as a cruel, unjust extortioner, a tyrant and a coward.

Whom should the present historian be most likely to credit? The writer thinks there is but little doubt.

There is another point of most vital importance concerning the events which led up to the responsibility for the dismantlement of Fort Pownall.

It was known as early as September, 1774, that Gen. Gage was consulting with Lord Dartmouth with reference to securing cannon, and all the magazines then known to be in the hands of the Whigs, and those likely to be seized by them.

A petition was addressed to him October 14, 1774, to desist from "further war-like demonstrations, such as reenforcement of troops, bringing in of cannon from Castle William, etc."

A letter, written by a British officer stationed at Boston, dated December 17, 1774, stated that, "Gen. Gage means to strike a stroke of some importance soon, which the Americans are little aware of." About the same time Lord Dartmouth directed Gen. Gage to seize all war-like stores, dismantle the forts, etc.

On December 13, 1774 there was a seizure of cannon, arms and powder by the Whigs at Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

A little later, the same thing was done at Castle William, Boston harbor, and Capt. Cochran, commanding the same was injured. On December 18, 1774, a report came from Capt. Wallace, commanding his Majesty's ship *Rose*, at Newport, Rhode Island, to Admiral Graves that the people had already anticipated him, and seized the king's cannon on Fort Island, consisting of thirty-six guns of various calibers, etc.

He states:—“among their votes you will find they intend to procure powder and Ball, and Military stores wherever they can get them.” (American Archives, 1: 1039, 1042, 1049.)

In most of these instances the patriots had forestalled the British troops. On Sunday, February 28, 1775, a transport arrived at Marblehead with a regiment of British regulars, commanded by Col. Leslie. They marched across to Salem during church hours, for the purpose of seizing cannon, powder, stores, etc., but the people took alarm, soon gathered at the old North Bridge and frustrated the design of the troops without bloodshed.

This is known as “Leslie's Retreat.”

The question naturally occurs to a military student—why was Col. Thomas Goldthwait, after repeated warnings of what was to take place—left in that far-off fort, remote from Boston, where the people were now alive and quickened to all that was going on about them: why was he left without reinforcements and with but a handful of men to resist two armed schooners loaded with regular troops? Why did the

patriots about Fort Pownall not anticipate this very event — the dismantlement of the fort — as their compatriots had about Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Newport, Rhode Island, Castle William and Salem, Massachusetts?

From two hundred to three hundred men should have been thrown into the fort a month or more before, with plenty of ammunition, and the work should have been strengthened. He had repeatedly urged the increase of the garrison, and the parsimonious Congress had refused to do it.

In their confused and excited state about Boston, this most important fort had been entirely lost sight of. The Committee of Safety was caught napping.

A march had been stolen upon this little, defenseless garrison, and the enraged Congress, for lack of some other victim upon whom to vent their wrath, felt compelled to condemn Col. Goldthwait for their lack of energy and foresight.

And the patriotic Whigs about that region, they also were caught napping, and, after the act had been committed, instead of abiding by the sense of the meeting called to investigate Col. Goldthwait's conduct, and which entirely exonerated him, chose to make him a scapegoat, and then — through history's pages, hand him down for more than a century of time as a tyrant, a coward and a traitor.

There was, we repeat, ample warning and sufficient time, and the neglect of the Provincial Congress in not supporting him, and reenforcing the fort, and the lack of energy and promptness of the people of Penob-

scot in not coming to his rescue, was not only a *stupendous blunder, it was a crime!*

He has been called a coward. We will now leave it for future history to determine which was the more cowardly — the act of Congress in abandoning him to his own judgment and resources, with a small handful of men, in the face of such odds; condemning him for obeying a legal order; and for the people of that region to permit him to be trapped, and then bravely (?) gathering a mob of two hundred and fifty men, and marching a large party to Fort Pownall, to demand of a single man his reasons for allowing the fort to be dismantled.

We ask which was the braver act — this, or the act of this commander; this one resolute man, in the face of this mob, standing up, undismayed, without fear, answering all their questions, and handing their leaders a letter to be taken back to the selectmen of St. Georges, which is a model of calm, dispassionate, logical reasoning?

A letter of that tenor is not written in fear. To exercise a calm demeanor (construed by John Davidson to be a proud, haughty indifference), was not the sign of a craven, or cowardly spirit, but rather that of a brave man and soldier, unconscious of having done any wrong, but courageous in what he most solemnly believed to have been his soldierly duty.

What was Col. Thomas Goldthwait's position? It was a most peculiar one: that of a soldier holding the king's commission, and serving under the king's legally appointed representative — the governor of

the province — and this before war had been declared, the Declaration of Independence thought of, or before a battle had been fought.

There had been simply a few outbreaks, in the form of an uprising of the mob element; but no organized movements or overt act.

The authority that had appointed him to the command of Fort Pownall, had also the power to order him to turn it over to any other officer, also commissioned by the king; to abandon it if necessary; to allow it to be dismantled, etc., etc.

Whose orders was he under at that moment if not those of the military governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay?

The commission which has been given, reads as follows:—

You are to observe and follow such Orders and Directions as you shall from time to time receive from me, or the Commander-in-Chief for the time being, or other of your superior officers, according to the Rules and Discipline of War, pursuant to the trust reposed in you.

The foregoing is perfectly plain, and so far had not been rescinded.

There were other and very important conditions which also controlled him then, at that particular day and hour, through the governor of the Province, and the commander-in-chief of the forces in North America.

If he disobeyed a legal order from his lawful and superior officer, he was in danger of being punished by death, or such other punishment as the king might inflict.

He was between two fires, and, without being in full touch with, or reach of, the patriots in Boston, or being fully able to judge of how far the intense spark of liberty had progressed, by any demonstration or overt act he could then see about him, he hesitated not to obey the order as he then received it, and do his full duty as a soldier.

On the other hand, if he obeyed the king, who had already sent an order through Lord Dartmouth to Gen. Gage to dismantle these forts, seize all arms, powder, etc., he was liable to death at the hands of the patriotic Whigs, who were then beginning to feel the heavy hand of taxation and tyranny.

He did, the writer doubts not, what his conscientious sense of duty, under the circumstances of time and place dictated, without a thought of being regarded as a traitor to his country.

Certainly his letter to the selectmen of St. Georges setting forth his position, and reasons for the act, clearly shows the soldierly spirit which guided him, and is, from a soldier's standpoint, a most manly and soldierly letter ; this regardless of his convictions.

Many a soldier has been compelled to obey an order in direct contradiction to his personal views and feelings ; to fire upon a mob of citizens, among whom might be some of his personal friends, for example. Numerous examples could be given. The inflexible rule is, however, *provided the order is not known to be illegal, and a flagrant violation of the Articles of War, decency, etc., to obey the order first, then enter a solemn protest afterwards.*

His subsequent action in heading the petition from Penobscot is conclusive to the mind of the writer that he was still loyal, and acting for the best interests of the people of that section, so far as he was able to judge at that time and place with no other guide to go by.

He did not, like Benedict Arnold, accept service under his country's flag — a native born American — and then, under promise of British rank and British gold, voluntarily turn traitor and go over to the enemy.

He acted strictly under the orders and authority that had appointed him to the command of Fort Pownall, and which, when he accepted his commission, he took an oath to support. In all this, it must be borne in mind, he was placed in an entirely different position from the irresponsible parties who then surrounded him, who had *taken oaths to nobody*.

Nothing short of a resignation of that commission could have relieved him from the duty he then was called upon by the king, or his representative, to perform. Was he warranted in resigning? *He could not have done so then had he wished to*, for the order was *then and there staring him in the face*. It was imperative, as shown by William Molineux' letter, and he had no time to consider it. Many another soldier has been placed in *similar positions and circumstances*, but few under *precisely the same conditions* — viz: — those of a great war just breaking out into actual bloodshed, and the colonists called upon to take sides, and at once, for or against the mother country.

Did the masses gathered at the meeting, called by him, to discuss the situation after the Battle of Lexington, and of which he himself, was moderator — referred to in William Molineux' letter — did they condemn him for obeying that order ?

The vote conveying the sentiments of that meeting says, no! John Davidson, with his party of lawless, turbulent spirits, say, yes! And why? *Because they could not go to the commanding officer of a fort, and make a demand, which could only come from the proper legal authority, to turn over arms and ammunition, and have it at once acceded to.*

The record shows that when directed by that lawful authority, he did not hesitate to do so. Does William Molineux' letter indicate any other spirit than a true fidelity to his country, even while obeying Gen. Gage's order under stress of an overpowering force as well as conviction of duty? Does Elihu Hewes' letter indicate any other position than that of a faithful adherence to the Constitution?

And yet, his command was taken away from him: he was censured by the Provincial Congress: he was virtually banished, and tradition among his descendants declares that he was maltreated. At all events, the harsh, unreasonable and unmerited treatment he did receive, for having obeyed a lawful command, forced him into comparative retirement, and gave a pretext for the name of Loyalist, traitor, etc., etc.

But the query is naturally made — then why did he flee from his native land? Did he flee? He did not! And, notwithstanding Lorenzo Sabine's state-

ment that he was shipwrecked and lost when en route to Nova Scotia in 1775, he remained a silent spectator of events, either at Castine or Penobscot until 1779.

This is shown by accounts recently found, dated up to 1777; a letter to Col. Goldthwait's wife at Penobscot (now Castine) as late as 1779, written from Nova Scotia by one J. Snelling; and when the British fleet came into Penobscot Bay in July, 1779, to prosecute the siege of Bagaduce, the writer has found that he went aboard the frigate *Le Blonde*, Capt. Andrew Barclay. (New London Gazette, July 1779.)

Also, that he took passage for New York in the same frigate is shown by the following:—

In Thomas' Massachusetts Spy, or Oracle of Liberty, published in Worcester, Massachusetts, October 7, 1779, there is an extract from "Rivington's Royal Gazette, New York City, September 10, 1779," as follows:—

"Last Tuesday evening arrived His Majesty's Ship *Blonde*, A. Barclay, Esq., Commander, with advices of the Glorious success of the British arms at Penobscot." (Here follows a full account of operations there; list of rebel fleet destroyed, etc., etc.) Then follows:—"We have the pleasure to inform our readers that Col. Thomas Goldthwait of Penobscot is lately arrived in this city. The death of this gentleman had been announced in the New England papers."

His daughter, Catharine, met him there. On the twenty-third of December, 1779, he sailed for England in the fleet that became so badly scattered by a

hurricane, and barely escaped foundering. He was on the ship *Cornwallis*, Capt. John Stevenson.

Gov. Thomas Hutchinson's diary then announces his arrival, February 15, 1780, at Portsmouth, and frequently meeting him. The diary of Judge Samuel Curwen of Salem, Massachusetts, frequently mentions meeting him in London, at the New England coffee house, with Sir William Pepperrell and others; dining with him at Walthamstow, etc., etc., up to 1783.

He died August 31, 1799, and the writer has a photograph of the inscriptions on his tombstone.

What were the circumstances which forced him to abandon his native land and take passage for England long after the so-called Refugees had been proscribed and had fled for safety?

His command had been taken away from him; he had been refused pay for his services for the past year 1774-1775, notwithstanding it is shown that he himself had advanced the money to the soldiers who were suffering for it; Col. Jonathan Buck had superseded him, by order of the Provincial Congress; evil-minded people had succeeded in poisoning the Congress against him so that a message was sent to the Indians censuring him. In July, 1774, the fort was ordered to be destroyed by the militia, under Col. James Cargill. Col. Goldthwait was ordered out in the night, his family with all their household effects were removed to the little brick chapel which he had built for devotional purposes; his portrait was mutilated; he was threatened with violence, and then the

blockhouse and all other buildings were reduced to ashes. (American Archives, 3 : 329, 330.)

Following this came the seizure of his property, his lands, destruction of his crops, etc., etc. He was literally forced to take refuge with his family at Castine (then Penobscot).

Of this the writer has ample proof; and he is of the opinion that few men in the northern states during the late War of the Rebellion, known to be, and personally conscious of being loyal, would have taken any active part on the Union side, had such treatment been accorded them, merely on suspicion by a few hot-headed men of being copperheads, or, on the ground of having obeyed a legal order before hostilities had begun — not in harmony with what took place later

The fact that he did not, while temporarily living at Penobscot with his family, from about August, 1775, until September, 1779, a period of four years, seek service with the British which, from his previous service and high standing would have been a comparatively easy matter, especially as he had then apparently done them a great service in allowing the fort to be dismantled; the fact that he committed no overt act nor joined the Tories by taking up arms against his countrymen, but simply remained a quiet spectator of events, is the strongest proof, in addition to what has already been adduced, that he had no inclination or desire to be a traitor to the cause.

So far the proof is overwhelming that Col. Thomas Goldthwait was loyal to the cause of the Province, but, realizing that there was nothing worth living for

in his native country, after such treatment, he took the course he did.

It would have proved far better for him had he remained in this country, and defended his rights and interests, hard and dangerous as it might have proved; for, by going to England, or, as Sabine has it, "fleeing to Nova Scotia," he lent color to the assertion that has passed into history, that he was a pronounced Loyalist and a strong supporter of the king.

He left all of his lands — unfortunately owned with Sir Francis Bernard — to be seized and confiscated, and was made to feel and know, with the Loyalist refugees (although his name is not included with theirs in the official announcement) that he was proscribed, banished, and threatened with "death without benefit of clergy," should he ever return.

It would have proved far better had he returned about 1785, for those eminent Loyalists who did return at that period recovered most of their lands. They did not, however, recover their personal property.

A careful search of the Massachusetts Archives will convince the most skeptical patriot of to-day the reason for this: for the thieving and looting of the Loyalists' personal property, and the surprisingly exorbitant and grossly fraudulent accounts brought against their estates for that purpose, has hardly a parallel in war's history.

It was a most thorough piece of thieving and jobbery, one that would put the Tammany tiger of to-day to the blush. It can all be found in Massachusetts

Archives, Vol. 1, 1774, 1784, and Vol. 2, 1778, 1784 : also Vol. 139 : 333, 338.

Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, however, and many other Loyalists returned at this date, and recovered most of their lands : he his immense estate on the Kennebec.

The Waldo heirs, among them the wife of Gen. Henry Knox, who was Lucy, the daughter of Thomas Flucker, and a part of whose lands had, at one time included Thomas Goldthwait's, recovered, not without a hard struggle, however, all that belonged to them, although the numerous squatters were loth to let go their tenacious hold.

Thus, this once trusted Crown officer of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, the brilliant legislator from Chelsea ; the gifted secretary of war for Sir Francis Bernard ; the once trusted paymaster-general of all the Massachusetts troops in the Crown Point expedition, the upright judge of Lincoln County, the Colonel of the 2d regiment of Lincoln County, the firm and judicious commander of the great trading station on the Penobscot River, was doomed to die far away from his native land.

That he wrote many letters, journals and papers at Walthamstow, the writer has ample proof ; but it is also quite as certain that they were carelessly destroyed after his death.

What would they now reveal could they be resurrected from the ashes and decay of the dead past, or who can fathom the hourly thoughts and meditations of this alleged Tory and Loyalist during those nineteen years of exile in that far-off land of England ?

If the writer has succeeded, however, in rescuing his name from oblivion and the prejudiced statements that have been handed down from one generation to another, to pass unchallenged into history ; if he has succeeded in shedding a new light upon his character, portraying him in such different colors ; if the overwhelming proof which he has offered against such slight evidence to the contrary—of which there can be but little doubt—has acquitted Colonel Thomas Goldthwait of the charges which have stood against him for more than a century of time, he will ever feel grateful to that sense of duty which urged him on to this laborious work, especially in that of passing ten days among the files of the Mass. Archives, and the keenest pleasure in having brought his labors to such a satisfactory conclusion.