

SEBASTIAN RALÉ
JOHN FRANCIS SPRAGUE

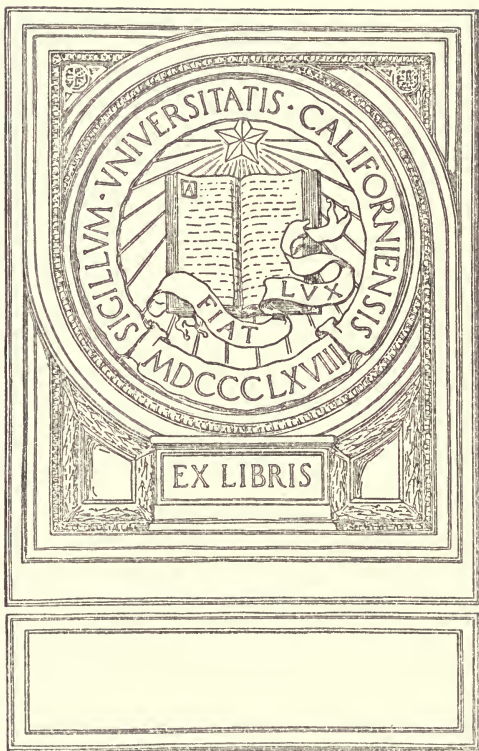
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S E B A S T I A N R A L É

A MAINE TRAGEDY OF THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

**“History is little else than a picture
of human crimes and misfortunes.”**

—VOLTAIRE



"A rude and unshapely chapel stands,
Built up in that wild by unskilled hands."

SEBASTIAN RALÉ

A MAINE TRAGEDY OF THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

BY

JOHN FRANCIS SPRAGUE

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"HISTORY OF DORIC LODGE," ETC.



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By JOHN FRANCIS SPRAGUE

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PREFATORY.

A VERY wise man once averred that "there is no new thing under the sun." The student of history may be entirely familiar with the principal facts appearing in the following pages, and I do not claim to have discovered any new evidence regarding the career of that remarkable character, Sebastian Ralé, or the scenes of his turbulent life. They are interwoven with the early history of New England, and the truth cannot be obliterated by sympathy or prejudice.

It has, however, long been my impression that many of the writers who have attempted to illuminate this subject have in a measure lost sight of the paramount fact that Ralé was stationed upon territory the right of possession to which was in controversy between two of the great world-powers, each of whose discoverers, adventurers and missionaries were in the van-

guard of the brave men who established civilization in the New World.

Although considered and written from the Protestant point of view, and in no wise from that of the Roman Catholic Church, I have endeavored to treat this matter in the full light of what is impartial and just.

J. F. S.

MONSON, MAINE.

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THE KILLING
OF SEBASTIAN RALÉ

The Killing of Sebastian Ralé.

THE world's highway over which civilization has advanced has ever been marked by blood and has ever been the scene of carnage and suffering.

It is always the strong against the weak, who are all unconscious participators in the eternal struggle of the fittest for supremacy. In all history no better illustration of this fact may be found than in the story of the Anglo-Saxon and the French pioneers in New England, Acadia and New France in North America.

Their brave endurance of hardship and privation, their fierce battle with the elements in a boundless wilderness, their continual war with savages, their constant conflict with each other, and the ultimate triumph of the Anglo-Saxon, read like the tales of romance.

That hardy mariner, Jacques Cartier, sailed from the home of his nativity in St. Malo on the twentieth day of April, 1534, steered for Newfoundland, advanced up the St. Lawrence, and upon his return to France infused that nation with a new spirit of discovery and aggrandizement, a desire to compete with the Spaniard and the conquering and gold-seeking Englishman; and on the seventeenth day of September, 1759, Quebec was surrendered to Wolfe, the Anglo-Saxon possessed himself of New France, and the history of the world was changed.

At the time of Cartier, the opposing forces to the Catholic church set in motion by Luther had convulsed Germany, and John Calvin, a worse heretic than Luther, was infecting France, so that devout Catholics under Francis the first aspired not only to build up a new France across the Atlantic but to convert the infidels of the New World as well.

From Cartier to Wolfe covered a period of a little more than two centuries, but for about fifty years after his time, France was so engaged that New France was practically abandoned by that government.

The religious and political ambition of the

French people revived about 1605, under Les-carbot, Champlain, and other leaders, and New France was born again.

From that time until the fall of Quebec, the spiritual and temporal interests of France were united, and the conversion of the Indians was undertaken with a zeal that has never been surpassed in the annals of religious movements.

That the scheme to Christianize the red men embraced commercial and political as well as religious interests, is undoubtedly a fact.

The Recollet friars were the first to enter upon the stupendous undertaking of rescuing from the bondage of Satan a people living, as they averred, "like brute beasts, without faith, without law, without religion, without God." But this order not succeeding, the plan was supplemented by the Jesuits in 1634, just a century after Jacques Cartier had sailed up the St. Lawrence.

Thus the religious destinies of this part of the New Continent passed into the hands of the powerful Society of Jesus, the followers of Ignatius de Loyola, who was born in 1491 under the Spanish flag. He is among the immortals of history, as he was the founder of the strongest

and most potent religious order ever known in the world. First embracing the profession of arms, he was wounded in battle in the defense of Pampeluna. While convalescing in the cave of Mouresua he first indulged in reading romance, but when these books were exhausted he was thrown upon the only other available reading, — that of the lives of the saints. This inspired and fired an ardent spirit, and the result was that he, alone in that cave, evolved the outlines for a plan that formed this mighty society.

Parkman says, “In the forge of his great intellect, heated but not disturbed by the intense fires of his zeal, was wrought the prodigious enginery whose power has been felt to the uttermost confines of civilization.”

It was one of the bravest and most famous of this great organization, Paul la Jeune, that was selected to lead the hosts of Jesus against a continent of savages, some of whom were cannibals.* Father la Jeune wrote to his superior when he first arrived at Quebec: “The harvest is plentiful and the laborers few.”

* Some authorities have claimed this to be a fact, but the writer now believes that a preponderance of evidence is against it.

Parkman in his fascinating work, "The Jesuits of North America" (page 6), observes:—

"These men aimed at the conversion of a continent. From their hovel on the St. Charles they surveyed a field of labor whose vastness might tire the wings of thought itself; a scene repellent and appalling, darkened with omens of peril and woe. They were an advance-guard of the great army of Loyola, strong in discipline that controlled not alone the body and the will, but the intellect, the heart, the soul and the inmost consciousness. The lives of these early Canadian Jesuits attest the earnestness of their faith and the intensity of their zeal."

Before the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, which resulted in the cession of all of Acadia by the French Government to England, the present Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and at least all of that part of Maine that was east of the Kennebec River were collectively called Acadia.

Article XII of this treaty declared that the most Christian King of France ceded to the Queen of England in perpetuity Acadia or Nova Scotia entire, "according to its ancient boundaries," etc.

No one concerned in the making of this

treaty appears to have had any intelligent conception of what the "ancient boundaries" of Acadia were, and from the indefiniteness regarding them disputed questions of boundary immediately arose. The two governments once agreed to settle the contentions by commissioners of the two powers, but their meetings were delayed from time to time for forty years, and then their discussion ended in the Seven Years' War.

Parkman alleges that the claims of the rival nations were so discordant that any attempt to reconcile them "must needs produce a fresh quarrel."

Thus it appeared that neither the treaty of Utrecht or of Ryswick (1697) resulted in any permanent adjustment of what was to the Bourbon world of manifest insignificance, and yet what was to both the subjects of England and of France in Acadia of the utmost importance, namely, where upon the face of the earth was really the boundary line between the English and French possessions under these treaties.

There was absolute certainty as to one fact only, and that was that Acadia had passed to the English. But what constituted Acadia? The

whole question turned upon what were its "ancient boundaries."

It would have been difficult to have conceived of a description more obscure or more pregnant with causes for strife and misunderstanding.

Under the treaty of Ryswick the courts of both governments had claimed all of the territory between the Sagadahoc and the St. Croix.

Charles C. D. Roberts, in his "History of Canada" (1897), in speaking of this period says: —

"Amid the icy desolation of Hudson Bay and about the austere coasts of Newfoundland, France and England were at each other's throats; while along between New England and Acadia was a line of blood and fire. The French claimed the line of the Kennebec as the western line of Acadia;" and that "The New Englanders claimed that Acadia's western border was the St. Croix, which now divides New Brunswick from Maine."

New England writers have generally conceded that the English made many promises to the Indians which were ruthlessly broken, and when news came to the red men that the Governor of New France had, by treaty with the English,

surrendered his right to protection over them, the Indians of Norridgewock having heard of these rumors and also beholding the English building forts and encroaching upon their lands, despatched deputies to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada, to ascertain from him whether it was true that the King of France had disposed in favor of the Queen of England of a country of which they claimed to be the sole masters.

The Governor-General's reply was that the treaty of Utrecht did not mention their country, and this satisfied them.

Williamson and other English writers are in accord with Charlevoix regarding the fact that these representatives from the Norridgewock tribe made this visit to Vaudreuil for this purpose.

After the treaty of Utrecht the Kennebec River was generally claimed by the French to be the dividing line between their possessions and New England, and they were guarded by the French and their adherents with watchful care and jealousy ; so during much of the half-century of conflict so comprehensively treated in Parkman's history of this period, and what

Julian Hawthorne in his "History of the United States" describes as "fifty years of fools and heroes," a large part of what is now the State of Maine was territory about which there was great strife and contention as to title and ownership. Besides these larger contentions there were many minor ones of a local nature between the settlers and the Indians which related to the titles of the home possessions of some of the white men, the Indians often claiming that they were cheated and defrauded by the English, who obtained some of their alleged holdings from their chiefs when they were in a state of intoxication caused by the purchasers themselves; that they frequently acquired these titles for mere trifles, such as a bottle of brandy, etc.

One of the complaints the Indians made against the English, Charlevoix says, was the wanton killing of their dogs, "dearer to them than the oxen of the English."

One of the most important Jesuit outposts was the Kennebec mission, which was established about the middle of the seventeenth century and which was destined to be the storm-centre of warring factions and the scene of a bloody and cruel tragedy.

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In 1694, Sebastian Ralé was recalled from a station among the Illinois Indians to take full charge of this mission, which for a long time had been located at Naurontsouk, now the town of Norridgewock. Ralé was born in Pontarlier-Doubs (formerly a part of Franche-Compté) January 4, 1657. He was educated by the Jesuits and entered the order at Dole, September 24, 1675.

In 1689 he was sent to the American Mission, and arrived at Quebec on the thirteenth day of October of that year. His first mission was among the Abenaki Indians, that is, "men of the east," a name once applied to all of the Indians of the eastern coast of the American continent, but later restricted to the tribes inhabiting a part of Canada, Nova Scotia and Acadia. He had been nearly two years among the Abenakis when he was ordered to the Illinois River. The journey was a perilous and cheerless one, but he met it with a fortitude characteristic of the Jesuit fathers. Before starting upon the journey he spent three months at Quebec, studying the language of the Algonquins. In about two years he was ordered back, as before stated, to the Abenaki country and

the Norridgewock mission assigned to him, where he remained continuously until the time of his death. We may indulge in feelings of pride that the Anglo-Saxon has for many centuries been at the head of the procession in the march of civilization; yet his errors have not been few, and one of his gravest has been his dealings with the American Indian. With a few exceptions, notably that of William Penn, the Quaker founder of the great commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and John Eliot, a Protestant minister in Massachusetts in the seventeenth century, who was known as "Apostle of the Indians," Jonathan Edwards, and possibly a few others, the Anglo-Saxon's record in this respect is generally one of failure and too often one of selfish greed, treachery and cruelty.

My admiration for the stanch and noble qualities of the settlers of New England and for the grand foundation which they laid for the erection of a great empire of intelligence and liberty is exceeded by none. I would not detract one atom from all that the world owes them. But when one studies their relations with the Indians of North America he can but appreciate the facetious remark once made by a noted son of

Massachusetts, William M. Evarts, when he said, "The Pilgrim Fathers were good men, and when they landed at Plymouth Rock they praised God, — that is, they fell on their knees, then they fell on the aborigines."

That the Jesuits were far more successful in securing and holding the confidence of the Indians, and by their methods making them loyal and faithful friends, cannot be denied by the candid student of history.

Among all the devoted followers of Loyola in North America no one has achieved greater fame in this respect than has Father Ralé.

He became familiar with several Indian dialects and understood the language as well as he did French or Latin. It was only by the most persistent effort that he acquired this accomplishment.

During the years when he was learning the Indian language he spent a part of each year in the wigwams of the Indians in order to catch from their lips the peculiarities of their speech. It necessarily required the closest attention to distinguish the combinations of sound and to perceive their meaning. This knowledge of their language gave him an advantage with the

savage which but few other teachers or missionaries possessed.

He lived with them as a tribesman and became one of them in all of their interests, wants and sympathies. He was brother, counsellor and friend and won their sincere confidence. As a result they loved him warmly, and amidst all of the violent caprice of the savage character, their affection for him seems never to have wavered. Just as the people of Canada in our day magnified the contentions, now happily settled for all time, between themselves and the government at Washington regarding the Alaskan and other controversies, and viewed them much more seriously than did the Crown authorities; so in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the people of New England naturally made more fuss over, and regarded as much more momentous, all of the questions of boundary lines between New England and Acadia than did the English government itself. The local strifes between the inhabitants of New France and New England, which were ever alive, and the continual outbreaks of hostilities between the parent countries, which would always involve the respective colonies, made it a period

of tragedy and atrocious scenes which sickens the heart to contemplate.

Maine's geographical situation, as has been observed, was such as to make it the dark and bloody ground of these struggles.

From 1700 to 1713, the war, called by some writers "Queen Anne's war," but what was really the War of the Spanish Succession, raged and was one of the most inhuman and devastating of all of these contests between the pioneers of France and England in Maine ; and we, in our comfortable environments of to-day, cannot imagine the sufferings, privations and hardships endured by the inhabitants of the District of Maine at that time, which were caused by these wars.

One of the causes of this war was, that, in 1701, James II, the exiled king of Great Britain, died at the court of Louis, and the king of France had, in violation of the treaty of Ryswick, recognized the son of James as the rightful sovereign of England.

Another, and probably the greater one, was that, in the year 1700, Charles II of Spain died, having named as his successor Philip of Anjou, a grandson of Louis XIV. This aroused the

jealousy of all Europe, as it pointed to a union of France and Spain. The result was that an alliance was formed between England, Holland and Austria. The war soon extended to the colonies, although none were greatly affected, outside of New England, except South Carolina.

The English made an attempt to enter into a compact with all of the Indian tribes to hold aloof and maintain neutrality between the contending forces. This was generally successful except with the Abenakis of Maine. The Jesuit missionaries, of course, favored the French and succeeded in preventing the Indians from either remaining neutral or espousing the English cause.

In 1698, Ralé and his converted Indians, by the assistance of his superior in Quebec, had built a chapel at Norridgewock, and had erected simple and comfortable houses, and a settlement of civilization was well under way. Religious bigotry and intolerance, however, ran riot under the banners of both Loyola and John Calvin. Three expeditions, as will be seen, were made against Norridgewock, the first two proving unsuccessful.

“the country appeared like a frozen lake.” When Hilton and his troops arrived at Norridgewock they found only a “deserted village.”

These soldiers set fire to “the large chapel with a vestry at the end of it,” and the wigwams and homes of the Indians were utterly destroyed. Whether they had received warning of the approach of the Hilton party, which seems very probable, or whether, as Ralé afterwards asserted, they happened to go there “when the Indians were absent from the village,” has never been fully settled.

The Priest returned to mourn over the smoking ruins of the sanctuary, and soon entered upon the task of rebuilding the church and village.

Ralé’s account is, that for this purpose some of his chiefs went to Boston, it being much nearer than Quebec, to procure workmen ; that the governor received them with a great show of friendship and offered to rebuild at the expense of Massachusetts, if they would dismiss their French priest and take an English minister in his place ; that the Indians rejected this offer with scorn and said : “ Keep your workmen, your money and your minister ; we will



A STREET SCENE IN NORRIDGEWOCK, ME.

go to our father, the French governor, for what we want.”

Francis, in his life of Ralé, does not find any other authority than Ralé's for this application to the Governor of Massachusetts.

Ralé's statement is that the church was erected by the aid of the French governor; yet Hutchinson, in 1724, asserted that it “had been built a few years before by carpenters from New England.”

But, however obscure the fact may be in relation to who rendered assistance in restoring the mission, a new church was erected and a beautiful village sprang up upon the ruins of what was burned by Colonel Hilton. Within the limits of the present peaceful town of Norridgewock, the Kennebec curved around a piece of meadow land surrounded by picturesque hills of forestry. On this meadow, on ground a few feet above the common level, stood the village of Norridgewock, fenced with a stockade of logs nine feet high. The enclosure was square, each of its four sides measured one hundred and sixty feet, and each had its gate.

From the four gates ran two streets or lanes which crossed each other in the middle of the village.

There were twenty-six Indian houses or cabins within the stockade, described as "built after the English manner," though constructed of logs, round and hewn. The church was outside the enclosure, about twenty paces from the east gate.

A small bell, now preserved by the Maine Historical Society at Portland, rang for mass in the early dawn, and for vespers when the sun was sinking among the wilderness hills.

Ralé had but little time for leisure or recreation. His hours were mostly spent in the duties of his priestly office.

Parkman says of him: "He preached, exhorted, catechised the young converts, counselled the seniors for this world and the next, nursed them in sickness, composed their quarrels, tilled his own garden, cut his own firewood, cooked his own food, which was of Indian corn, or, at a pinch, of roots and acorns." When not thus occupied he worked on his Abenaki Vocabulary and was preparing an Indian Dictionary at the time of his death. Twice a year, summer and winter, he followed his flock to the seashore, where they lived at their ease during short vacations, on fish and seals, clams, oysters

and sea-fowl. He was a skilful worker of wood, and with his own hands carved many ornaments for his church and chapels. He also found in the woods a species of laurel, called bayberry, from which he made a wax, which, mixed with tallow, made excellent candles for his altars.

He organized among the young men of the tribe a company of assisting clergy. About forty of his young converts, arrayed in cassocks and surplices, officiated at the sacrifice of the mass, at the chants and in the processions on holy days. At short distances from the village, the Indians built two small chapels, one dedicated to the Virgin, the other to the Guardian Angel. The chapels were near the paths by which they went to the woods or the fields, and Francis says, "They never passed them without offering their devotions."

Whittier, in *Mogg Megone*, has immortalized this scene of worship in "God's first temples," as follows :

"On the brow of a hill which slopes to meet
The flowing river and bathe its feet —
The bare-washed and drooping grass,
And the creeping vine, as the waters pass —
A rude, unshapely chapel stands,

Built up in that wild by unskillful hands ;
 Yet the traveller knows it's a place of prayer,
 For the holy sign of the cross is there ;
 And should he chance at that place to be,
 Of a Sabbath morn, or some hallowed day,
 When prayers are made and masses said,
 Some for the living and some for the dead,
 Well might that traveller start to see
 The tall dark forms that take their way
 From the birch canoe on the river shore,
 And the forest paths to that chapel door ;
 And marvel to mark the naked knees
 And the dusky foreheads bending there,
 And, stretching his long, thin arms over these
 In blessing and in prayer,
 Like a shrouded spectre, pale and tall,
 In his coarse white vesture, Father Rale."

Ralé claims that in 1721, the government of Massachusetts offered a reward of a thousand pounds sterling for his head. Parkman denies this, but there is ample proof that a sum was thus offered. In the records of the General Court of Massachusetts appears a resolve that was passed July 13, 1720, as follows :

Resolved, that a premium of one hundred pounds be allowed and paid out of the Public Treasury to any person that shall apprehend

the said Jesuit within any part of this Province and bring him to Boston and render him to Justice.”

All branches of the government joined in sending three hundred men to Norridgewock, with a demand that the Indians should give up Ralé “and the other heads and fomenters of their rebellion.” In case of refusal they were to seize the Jesuit and the principal chiefs and bring them prisoners to Boston. In obedience to these orders, Colonel Westbrook made an expedition ; but Ralé had timely warning of it, and, swallowing the consecrated wafers and hiding the sacred vessels, fled to the woods and was thus again saved from discovery. Westbrook found papers in Ralé’s strong box which proved that Ralé had acted more or less under the orders of the Canadian authorities, and which subsequent writers have denominated as “ treason ” on his part.

Finally, in 1724, under Governor Dummer, the Massachusetts government was united in a determination to seize or kill Ralé and exterminate Norridgewock. Without considering the immediate causes which led up to the last and fatal expedition against Ralé and his brave and

faithful followers, suffice it to say that a body of men under Captains Harmon, Moulton and Brown and Lieutenant Bean, set out from Fort Richmond in whaleboats on the eighth day of August of that year. They left the boats at Ticonic Falls in charge of a Lieutenant and a squad of men, and, accompanied by three Mohawk Indians as guides, marched through the forest for Norridgewock. Towards evening they saw two squaws, one of whom they brutally shot and captured the other, who proved to be the wife of the noted chief Bomazeen. She gave them a full account of the condition of the village, which they approached early in the afternoon of the 23d. As to the number of men under Captain Harmon and his associates, there seems to be much doubt. Chasse and Charlevoix placed it at eleven hundred white men and Indians,* while the English authorities have stated that there were only two hundred and eighty men under Harmon, Moulton, Brown and Bean. Charlevoix says that the English stealthily crept through the thick woods surrounding the village, and the inhabitants knew

* In the latest edition of Charlevoix the editor admits that this is an error as to the number of men.



TICONIC FALLS, WATERVILLE, ME.

The place where Moulton and his men left their boats for their march upon Norridgewock

nothing of their approach until it was announced by a general discharge of fire-arms which sent their shot through the wigwams.

It was a complete surprise to the dusky inhabitants of the little forest village and they easily fell into the awful death-trap ruthlessly set for them by the English there among the pines and birches, under the evergreens' dark shade, and within sound of the joyous rhythm of the waters of the river Kennebec.

Only fifty warriors were in the village at the time. They seized their arms, rushed out, without preparation, for a fight, not hoping to defend the place against a foe already in possession, but to protect the flight of their wives, children and old men. Father Ralé, who, as Charlevoix says, was apprized of the peril of his people by the shouts and tumult, hastened forth fearlessly to present his person to the assailants, in the hope of attracting their attention to himself, and thus securing his flock at the risk of his own life. La Chasse adds another motive, which was the hope of delaying by his presence their first attack. His expectation was realized. No sooner had he appeared than the English sent up a great shout which was followed by a shower

of musket-shot. He fell dead, as some writers say, near a cross which he had planted in the central part of the village. Several Indians who had gathered about him to protect him with their bodies were slain by his side. Francis says: "Thus died this affectionate pastor, giving his life for the sheep, after a life of thirty-seven years of suffering."

This is substantially the French version of this terrible tragedy. Francis also gives the English account of the affair, quoting Hutchinson, who gathered his information from the journal of one, and from the oral statements of another, of the officers who led the forces against Ralé; also the statements of Penhallow, who was living at the time, and a brief notice in the "New England Courant," a newspaper printed in Boston, a few days after the news of his death and the destruction of his followers arrived there. Summed up, the English account does not differ materially from that of the French, except in regard to the killing of Ralé. These witnesses aver that Captain Moulton gave orders not to kill the priest. But a wound inflicted upon one of the soldiers by Ralé, while firing from a wigwam where he was, so exasperated Jaques, a

lieutenant, that he burst open a door and shot Ralé through the head. Jaques' explanation of this deed was, that when he broke into the wigwam, Ralé was loading his gun, and declared "that he would not give or take quarter." Francis, in speaking of this, observes: "How little confidence can be placed in this statement of the lieutenant we learn from the fact that, according to Hutchinson, Moulton himself doubted its truth at the time."

The following is Charlevoix's description of the death of Ralé: "They found him pierced with a thousand shots, his scalp torn off, his skull crushed by hatchets, his mouth and eyes full of mud, his leg-bone broken and all of his members mutilated in a hundred different ways. Thus was a priest treated in his mission at the foot of the cross, by those very men who on all occasions exaggerate so greatly the pretended inhumanities of our Indians, who have never been seen to use violence to the dead bodies of their enemies. After the neophytes had raised up and repeatedly kissed the precious remains of the Father, tenderly and so justly beloved, they buried him on the very spot where, the day before, he had celebrated the holy myster-

ies; that is to say, on the spot where the altar stood before the church was burned.”

Some of the New England writers have raised doubts as to the truth of the statements regarding the mutilation of Ralé's body. Their contention has been that Charlevoix must necessarily have obtained his information from the surviving Indians, and that, as a rule, their statements were unreliable. There cannot, however, be any doubt but what his murderers took his scalp and carried it in triumph to Boston.

In the first place they had a great incentive to do this. The Massachusetts government paid liberal rewards for the scalps of their enemies in the French and Indian wars.

Penhallow (page 48) says: “The Colonial rewards for scalps made it too rich a trophy to leave. A volunteer without pay got fifty pounds for a scalp; if in service, twenty; while regulars got ten.”

William Allen's *History of Norridgewock*, page 41, quoting from a manuscript in the handwriting of Rev. William Holmes, under date of August 30, 1724, says, in describing the “battle,” but what was really a massacre, when Norridgewock was overwhelmed and Ralé

killed : “ The scalps of twenty-eight of them were brought to Boston ; of which number their priest’s and Bomazeen’s were two.”

Williamson also refers to this as follows : “ Harmon, who was senior in command, proceeded to Boston with the scalps, and received in reward for the achievement the commission of Lieutenant Colonel.”

When Captain Harmon returned to Boston he made “ solemn oath ” that one of the twenty-eight scalps which he produced at a council, held at the Council Chamber in Boston, was that of “ Sebastian Ralle, a Jesuit.” And that twenty-seven other scalps came from the heads of “ rebel or enemy Indians, which were slain at Norridgewock.”

After killing Ralé and as many of the inhabitants of the little village as possible, the victorious party at once commenced their march toward the sea. The Puritan militia thought it a meritorious act to destroy what they called the “ idols ” in the church and carry off the sacred vessels ; but the church itself and all of the buildings within the village were not fired until after the march homeward was begun, when, Francis says, “ one of the Mohawks was sent,

or voluntarily returned, to fire the wigwams and the church, and then rejoined the company.”

Thus ended the proud Norridgewock tribe ; for, although it was not entirely obliterated from the earth, it passed out on that lurid day from its place among the nations of the red men. At the same time all of the hopes, all of the strivings, yearnings and aspirations and lofty ideals of a great soul, having only one purpose in view, living for that only — who in the light of to-day would be a fanatic — whose life’s pathway had so oft been obscured by the wild storm-clouds, were in the grave, forever buried with all that was earthly of Sebastian Ralé.

That he exercised wisdom or ordinary discretion in so long remaining where he believed his God had stationed him, might well be doubted. One less sincere, one less ascetic, one more worldly, would have realized that he must eventually be overwhelmed by the forces arrayed against him, which were increasing in power and strength while his were declining ; that he was fighting for a “ lost cause ” and that defeat was inevitable. But he beheld everything in the halo of his own conception of what was righteous, what was just, and its glitter blinded

his eyes and he was unable to see clearly either fairness in the claims of those who were opposing him or his own imminent danger. Some of the French writers say that his superior and other friends in Canada, during the last months of his life, warned him of the perils which beset him and urged him to abandon his post; but that he scorned all such advice and deliberately elected to be a martyr. Francis, in speaking of this event, said: "Another sad chapter was added to the history of the white man's intercourse with his forest brother."

"No wigwam's smoke is curling there;
 The very earth is scorched and bare;
 And they pause and listen to catch a sound
 Of breathing life, but there comes not one,
 Save the foxes' bark and the rabbits' bound."

From a careful study of all of the authorities relating to this subject, including the exhaustive work of James Phinney Baxter, "The Pioneers of New France in New England," which is by far the ablest defence of the English at Norridgewock that has ever been made, and the strongest indictment against Ralé that any one has ever drawn, I am convinced of the fact that

Ralé acted so far as he was capable in the interest of his own government as well as of his church, believing that he was fully justified in so doing. Even after the treaty of Utrecht, the French claimed all that part of Maine which was east of the Kennebec River, and that was during a long time debated territory; and this treaty left the whole question of bounds and ancient limits entirely indefinite and open to contention. The plan was, when this treaty was ratified, to settle the matter of bounds by commissioners of the two powers, as has already been stated, but it was never done. This disputed territory was therefore a bone of contention between the inhabitants of the two provinces until the God of battles, on the Plains of Abraham, wrested the whole of Acadia from the French and delivered it over to the English. A century later a part of the same controversy arose between Canada and the State of Maine in relation to our northeastern boundary, and the English government and the United States settled it forever by the famous Ashburton treaty.

The writers who have espoused the cause of the English in the assassination of Father Ralé, for I cannot see how it can be truthfully de-

scribed by any other term, have seemed to overlook the fact that his settlement and mission were on territory claimed by the French; that it was his duty as a subject of the king of France to be loyal to that side of the contention; that he was no more intensely partisan in striving to promote the interests of his country than were Baxter, Mather, and many ministers of the Puritan faith who were equally as steadfast to the English cause as he was to that of the French. That he was ever loyal to the interests of his government and his church, that he watched their welfare with vigilance and faithfulness seldom equalled, is undisputed by any; that some of his methods of supporting the cause to which his life was pledged were sometimes questionable and even deceptive, I believe is in evidence which cannot be fully contradicted; but I also believe that they were in harmony with the spirit of the times in which he lived, when men regarded a human life of less value than a dogma, and that he was no worse than many of his contemporaries within the ranks of both of the contending forces. That nearly three hundred soldiers acting under the least semblance of military discipline could

not have made him a prisoner and taken him a captive to Boston is incredible. If this could have been accomplished, then this act of our forefathers was a travesty upon civilized warfare and a black spot in the history of New England. The fate of the Jesuit was undoubtedly glad news to many of the Maine settlers, who believed that it would end all of their troubles. That he had for a long time prior to his death been feared and hated by the New Englanders is a fact. Parkman says that while the latter "thought him a devil, he passed in Canada for a martyred saint"; and he further adds that "he was neither the one nor the other, but a man with qualities and faults of a man — fearless, resolute, enduring, boastful, sarcastic, often bitter and irritating, and a vehement partisan."

Even James Phinney Baxter said of him, "We can but admire the calm reliance of Ralé upon the protection of a higher power, and his entire devotion to what he considered his duty."

Dr. Convers Francis, to whose "Life of Ralé" I have made reference, was a Unitarian clergyman of renown in his day and a graduate of Harvard. He was born in 1795 and died in

1863. In 1842 he was appointed to the Parkman professorship of theology in Harvard College, which he held during the remainder of his life. He was the author of several other historical and biographical works. When he wrote of Ralé he had canvassed carefully all the sources of information relating to his career, and had before him substantially what Parkman, Baxter and subsequent writers have had. Documents and papers which have been discovered since Francis wrote, have not changed materially the facts. Yet Francis, in his conclusion as to the character and sincerity of purpose of Sebastian Ralé says :

“ But, whatever abatements from indiscriminate praise his faults or frailties may require, I cannot review his history without receiving a deep impression that he was a pious, devoted and extraordinary man. He was a scholar nurtured amidst European learning, and accustomed to the refinements of the Old World, who banished himself from the pleasures of home and from the attractions of his native land, and passed much of his life in the forest of an unbroken wilderness, on a distant shore, amidst the squalid rudeness of savage life, and with no

companions, during those long years, but the wild men of the woods. With them he lived as a friend, as a benefactor, as a brother. So far as the patient toils of missionary and love for the darkened soul of the Indian are concerned, we may place the names of Eliot and Ralé in a fellowship, which they indeed would both have rejected, but which we may regard as hallowed and true."

The spot where the Jesuit of Norridgewock fell was first marked by a plain cross which was years afterwards destroyed by hunters. The place was designated in various ways until 1833, when a movement was set on foot to erect a permanent monument over his grave. The first suggestion to do this, it is said, came from Dr. Jonathan Sibley of Union, Me. The project was supported by both Protestants and Catholics, Mr. William Allen of Norridgewock and Edward Kavanagh, afterwards governor of Maine, being prominent in the matter. On the 23d day of August, 1833, which was the anniversary of the Norridgewock fight, a monument was erected which stands there to-day. Bishop Fenwick of Boston had charge of the ceremonies and delivered an address. Delegations from the Penobscot, Passamaquoddy and Canada tribes were present.



THE RALÉ MONUMENT

On the spot where he was killed in Norridgewock, Me.

THE PORTSMOUTH AND
ARROWSIC TREATIES

The Portsmouth and Arrowsic Treaties

WHAT is known in the history of New England as the treaty of Portsmouth was concluded and signed between Governor Walter Barefoot and three of his Council on the part of New Hampshire, and Francis Hook and John Davis, two of the Provincial Councillors of the District of Maine, and twelve sagamores and chiefs representing the Penacook, Saco, Androscoggin and Kennebec tribes, on the eighth day of September, 1685.

The terms of this treaty were :

First : That there should be lasting friendship between the English and the Indians.

Second : That if either harm the other, the English shall be tried and punished by a Justice of the Peace, and the Indians by their sagamore.

Third: That whenever any Indian shall manifest designs of mischief, the other Indians inhabiting these provinces shall give notice to the English and assist them.

Fourth: That all the tribes while in friendship shall be protected against the Mohawks.

Fifth: That whenever the Indians shall remove with their wives and children without giving timely notice to the English, they may be apprehended or war made upon them, till the sagamores render satisfaction.

These conditions did not bind the English to anything very specific, while it did set forth clearly defined limitations for the conduct of the Indians; but the Indians believed, as it would seem rightfully, that, when a few years later the English began to erect forts, manifestly for hostilities against them, that the English were breaking the spirit if not the letter of these treaty obligations. This awakened the animosity of the tribes. These and other overt acts on the part of both the English and Indians soon stirred up a flame which threatened the peace which had been established by the treaty of Portsmouth, and in 1717 the General Court of Massachusetts became alarmed about exist-

ing relations with the Indians. It feared the belligerent attitude which they were assuming and was also jealous of the influence which Ralé and other Jesuits seemed to have.

The Indians pledged themselves not to purchase any goods except at trading houses established by the English. As time went on, the English did not carry out their part of the agreement. No trading houses were established, no shops erected for the repairing of their tools and arms, as had been agreed upon. The Indians complained of adventurers, under protection of the English, who were continually cheating and defrauding them.

Naturally, under these conditions, they preferred the French to the English to trade with. Instead of building trading houses, the English erected forts, which intensified the suspicions of the Indians.

Nearly all historians agree that after the treaty of Utrecht (1713) the Indians desired peace with the English. They were exhausted and tired of war. One of their first moves toward establishing friendly relations with the English was to send leading chiefs and sagamores to Casco.

The English were arrogant, domineering and dictatorial, and did not meet them in a fraternal spirit.

Finally the English and the Indians met at Arrowsic in August, 1717. The Governor was haughty in manner and not inclined to be conciliatory.

He presented the sachems with the Bible, in the Indian language, and said to them: "This book contains the true religion. Mr. Baxter, who has accompanied us, will remain with you, and teach you its principles."

One of the sagamores promptly replied, "All people have their own religious teachers. Your Bible we do not care to keep. God has given us teachers. Should we abandon them, we should offend God."

The chiefs then turned to the political questions which were creating trouble, and Abbot says: "In the conference which ensued they showed themselves to be men of remarkable strength of mind and common good sense." Their principal speaker said: "We admit that the land west of the Kennebec River, the English have a claim to regard as theirs; but certainly no sale has ever been made to them of the country east of that river."

According to the account given in the "*Let-
tres Edifiantes et Curieuses écrites des Missions
Etrangères,*" one of the chiefs gave the follow-
ing answer to the proposition that they should
dismiss their missionary and take an English-
man in his stead :

"You astonish me by the proposition you
make. When you first came here you saw me
a long time before I saw the French, but neither
you nor your ministers spoke to me of prayer,
or of the Great Spirit. They saw my furs, my
skins of beaver and elk. Of these only they
thought. These they sought with the greatest
eagerness. I was not able to furnish them
enough. When I carried them a large quantity,
I was their great friend, but no farther.

"One day my canoe having missed its route,
I lost my way. After wandering a long time I
landed near Quebec. Scarcely had I arrived
when one of the Black Robes came to see me.
I was loaded with furs ; but the French Black
Robe scarcely deigned to look at them. He
spoke to me at once of the Great Spirit, of
heaven, of hell, and of prayer, which is the on-
ly way to reach heaven.

"I heard him with pleasure, and remained a

long time in the village to listen to him. I demanded baptism and received it. At last I returned to my country and related what had happened to me. My friends envied my happiness, and wished to participate. They departed to find the Black Robe, and demanded of him baptism. It is thus that the French have acted towards me. Thus I tell you that I hold to the prayer of the French. I shall be faithful to it until the world is burned up.”

The result of these negotiations was that the treaty of Portsmouth was renewed and ratified by an exchange of wampum and other presents, in accordance with the custom of those days when the red man made treaties and agreements with his pale-face brother.

The unfairness of these proceedings is apparent when one considers how little the Indians could have understood or comprehended the legal terms of the treaty of Portsmouth.

Hutchinson and other writers have admitted that the treaty could not have been morally binding upon the Indians, on account of their ignorance of the translation.

This, and the capture of Baron de St. Castine, whose mother was an Indian woman, and of

several Indians who were taken to Boston and held in captivity as hostages, contrary to treaty obligations, the deception too often used in their dealings and intercourse with the Indians, are among the causes which prejudiced the Indians against the English.

It is evident from the authorities upon this subject, that the English violated their solemn agreements with the Indians, which resulted in so much bloodshed and suffering.

If the English had spent more energy in placating the Indians by fair dealings and maintaining their integrity with them, and less in contending about territorial lines and inciting their own people against Ralé, it would undoubtedly have been far wiser and better for all concerned.

The strife and wrangling over these treaties added to the contentions regarding the boundaries of Acadia, which we have already considered, are among the events of that time which strengthened and stimulated Ralé in persistently pursuing the course which he had marked out for himself.

HOW MUCH CONDONE?
HOW MUCH CONDEMN?

How much Condone? How much Condemn?

IN undertaking to determine the truth regarding Sebastian Ralé, now that we have passed the times of sectarian bitterness, we find really no charges against him which in any degree constitute a valid excuse for the English colonists in transcending the methods of war as conducted by civilized nations, by wantonly murdering him instead of making him a prisoner of war.

The improbable tale related by Lieutenant Jaques, that he killed him contrary to orders and in self-defence, has probably not been taken seriously by any of the writers, and without any further evidence to sustain it than has yet appeared, it should be disregarded.

Other than this mythical story, the two reasons which have been assigned by the advocates

of his enemies as an apology for the course which they pursued, are (*a*), that he was a traitor and an inciter of rebellion against the English Government; and (*b*), that in aiding and abetting the French in their warfare against the New England colonies, regarding this question of territorial rights, he encouraged the Indians to join the French and commit acts of cruelty upon the innocent English in that part of Maine that was in dispute.

To arrive at any reasonable conclusion as to the charge that he was a traitor, it is well to consider the claims of the French to Acadia. Reference has already been made to the fact that there was an attempt between the English and French governments to settle the controversy regarding its ancient limits. The result of these efforts is found in "The Memorials of the English and French Commissioners concerning the limits of Nova Scotia and Acadia from 1750 to 1753," an exhaustive work, which was published in London (1754), and comprises 777 pages. It contains what might be called the "briefs" of the advocates of the two governments.

In the twenty-third memorial on the British side, it was asserted that :

“Both nations having thus agreed that Pentagoet was within the western limits of Acadia, the French from this period omitted no opportunity of endeavoring to extend by claim the limits of that side even as far as the River Kennebec.”

The twenty-fourth memorial states that, in 1685, upon a complaint that some English vessels had fished upon the coast of Acadia, the French Ambassador presented a memorial to the King of England, on the 16th day of January, wherein he claims that the western line of Acadia extended as far west as “St. George’s Island, which lies at the mouth of the river St. George”; that this was possessed by the French until the year 1654, when it was taken by the English, and in 1667 again restored to the French, pursuant to the treaty of Breda.

In the twenty-ninth memorial they say: “It results from these negotiations, as well as from the alternatives proposed by the Ambassador of France, in the year 1700, that the Court of France judged that they had a right to extend the western limits of Acadia as far as the river of Kennebequi.”

The French contended that the construction

of the twelfth and thirteenth articles of the treaty of Utrecht is very clear and precise ; that the design of Great Britian in those articles was to secure to the English exclusive fishery, and that the English Commissioners, being unable to support the claim of their government upon the words in this treaty, “ have reasoned upon evidence and argument foreign to the question.”

To demonstrate that the English themselves acknowledged that there was great doubt as to what were the ancient bounds of Acadia, and that the French possessions east of the Kennebec River were at least established and held under what lawyers would denominate “ a color of right,” I also quote the following statement of the case from the English arguments made to support their claims :

“ To show that these evidences by which the English Commissaries have endeavored to enforce the true meaning of the twelfth article of the treaty of Utrecht, from which the dispute has taken its rise, and what is the nature of the treaty of Utrecht, having ceded to Great Britain all Nova Scotia or Acadia with its ancient boundaries,” etc.

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“Clear and precise as the French Commissioners now think the words of the treaty, a difference of construction has by them been raised upon them, and different limits are assigned by the *two crowns* as the ancient limits.”

The French in these memorials based their claims upon ancient maps, charts, records of French historians, and the terms of the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, made March 29, 1632, when the English ceded this same territory to the French. As bearing upon the subject in hand, all this is not important unless it tends to absolve Father Ralé from the charge of being a traitor to the English crown, for he had a right to assume that he was never its subject, but owed his loyalty to the French government, so long as it asserted sovereignty over the territory east of the Kennebec, as certainly as did any of the Protestant missionaries owe theirs to the English.

The fact that ancient Acadia, by treaty and conquest, passed nine times between England and France in the period of 127 years, and that none of these events conclusively decided what were its actual boundary lines, would seem to clearly demonstrate the general confusion and

misunderstanding that existed during all of Ralé's time regarding the whereabouts of these lines.

Neither is it surprisingly strange that a missionary whose post chanced to be upon territory the title to which was involved in such controversy between two great nations, should not have possessed profound legal knowledge regarding questions of such character, but naturally gave his own government, by whose prerogative he was placed there, the benefit of the doubt.

The Norridgewock mission was established long before the treaty of Utrecht, when the entire world acknowledged Acadia as belonging to the French.

The Mission was in a territory between the Kennebec and the St. Croix, which the French from the first to the last contended did not pass to the English under this treaty. Ralé was then a subject of the king of France and had been installed at his mission at Norridgewock by his government and his church.

Did he not have a moral right to be loyal to the French in their contentions with the English about the territory where he was? Did he not have the right to sympathize with the

French and do whatever he could that was consistent with his priestly office to aid them in holding, by force even, what he believed to be theirs, against the encroachments of the English? That he may, in his zeal as a patriot, have exceeded his duties as a priest, is very likely, and there is more or less evidence in the accounts of those times to substantiate this.

He was under no obligation of fealty to England, unless a fair construction of the twelfth Article of the treaty of Utrecht transferred the territory upon which he dwelt from France to England.

The French government and the governor of Canada were, during the storms of his life, contending that this was not the fact.

Was he a traitor in not adopting the views of the English in regard to this question? Would he not have been a greater traitor if he had turned against France and become an adherent to England?

As to his alleged cruelty, it must be admitted that he espoused the cause of the French, and it is strongly urged that he exerted his influence with the Indians to fight the English colonists whom he believed unlawfully encroach-

ing upon territory that rightfully belonged to the Indians and over which France had control. In this did he differ from the customs of those dark days? Were not the English and French for a century fierce rivals in their efforts to secure the aid of the Indians in fighting each other? And was it not well known to each of the contending forces and to the home government, and to the entire civilized world as well, that whenever or for whichever side the Indians fought, their methods were the very height of barbarous cruelty?

When either side was able, by threats, cajolery, bribery or kindness, to win over to themselves the help of the Indian warriors, it meant burning, pillage, scalping, murder and fiendish torture to the other side.

In his designs, in this respect, Sebastian Ralé was no better and no worse than his compeers in that time of religious fanaticism and devilish intolerance. That he was an intense and most strenuous partisan of his church and the government to which he believed his allegiance belonged, can never be truthfully denied, and I believe that he was a natural, although perhaps a ripely developed product of the times

of blood and bigotry, cruelty and tyranny in which he lived. Some writer has well said that "the age and times in which men live must be taken into consideration when we judge their character"; and this is true, and the fact should be fully realized before passing judgment upon one whose sincerity cannot be doubted and who has been condemned for acts which were manifestly the result of an excessive zeal for the cause to which he gave his life.

Then it seems very evident that the colonists broke faith with the Indians and violated the solemn agreements made with them at Portsmouth and Arrowsic on many occasions and in ways which provoked the antagonism of the Indians and aroused their barbarous natures to commit acts of torture which might easily have been averted.

It is also undoubtedly true that many of the cruelties and barbarities of the Indians were caused by the brandy and rum sold to them by the English, and about which Ralé so often bitterly complained. Ralé was their friend and counsellor and, it would seem, properly espoused their cause.

One of the curious episodes in the life of

Ralé at Norridgewock was his controversy with a minister of Boston, James Baxter, which, beginning about theology, finally ended in a quarrel between them as to which was the most learned in Latin. The correspondence discloses only an absurd vein of vanity in both.

In closing this part of the subject I desire only to add that, from the time of the landing of the iron-hearted Northmen on our shores a thousand years ago or more, until the last of the cruel Indian wars were forever ended, the early history of our grand old State of Maine is replete with perilous adventures by sea and land, of struggles against misery and hardships of which we have no comprehension, of terrible conflicts, devastation and disaster. Our past is a wonderful one, rich in momentous historic events and full of material for song and romance; but it seems to me that whatever view the reader may take of his merits, his errors, his virtues or his faults, there is no event in all this lore more interesting and fascinating than the career of Sebastian Ralé at Norridgewock, one of the bravest in the advance-guard in the forward movement of Christian civilization on the American continent.

THE INDIANS OF MAINE AND
THE TRADITION OF PAMOLA



BIG THUNDER

of the Penobscot tribe of Indians, in the garb of an ancient
Abnaki chief



The Indians of Maine

THE pathetic history of the extermination of the powerful Indian nations of North America is fascinating and full of interest, although it is a tale of cruelty and of "man's inhumanity to man."

The Algonquins formed the most prominent of the three aboriginal races that the French pioneers found in the great basin of the St. Lawrence and much of the territory adjacent thereto. They were the veritable monarchs of that vast forest and the lords of all the mighty rivers and wonderful lakes which were revealed to the astonished vision of the early explorers, friars and Jesuits.

The tribes of the Abenakis, or Abnikis, as they are generally known in history, belong to that nation, and when the first steps of European civilization were made upon what is now

the state of Maine, this branch of the Algonquins controlled the territory.

The principal tribes consisted of the Canabiss on the Kennebec; the Etchenims, living nearer the St. John; the Pennacooks of the Merrimac; the Sokokis further east, besides smaller tribes like the Penobscots, Passamaquoddys, Chesuncooks, etc. The name "Canabiss" undoubtedly gave rise to the idea that some of the Maine Indians were cannibals. It does not appear, however, from the most careful writers, that this was the fact.

The origin of the American Indian is involved in complete obscurity and profound mystery. The "red men" of Canada and the United States differ in many respects from the Guronis of Paraguay, and both from the wild tribes of California; but all writers have agreed that they exhibit clear evidence of belonging to the same great branch of the human family.

Most of the voyagers and discoverers, including Columbus, believed these aboriginals were of Asiatic origin. This idea has never been entirely abandoned, some modern writers still adhering to the same theory.

Dr. Robert Brown, in his "Races of Man-

kind," upholds this view. In its support he cites the fact that the "Eskimo of the American, and the Tchuktchis on the Asiatic side, understand each other perfectly."

It is generally understood that the name Indian was conferred upon them from their real or fancied resemblance to the inhabitants of India.

The aborigines of Maine were not unlike others of their race in the North Atlantic country. They were natural types of the Bow-and-arrow family of men, and were from the earliest times known as the Abenaki tribe. It is unfortunate that the early New England writers did not give us much information regarding the Indians. The greater part of what they wrote of the red men related to their warfare with them; what victories they achieved in these wars, and their versions of the cruelties of the Indian.

As a result we are obliged to take our information from the French writers of that period, who had radically differed from the English in their treatment and dealings with this race, and who were enthusiastic in their praise of them and admittedly their partisans.

These Indians were nomadic in their habits, roaming over immense stretches of hunting grounds and continually travelling from river to river and lake to lake. It may properly be said that their vocation was hunting, although they possessed such passion for war that savage warfare was at least an avocation with them, which they apparently loved as intensely as they did the chase.

No race on this earth has ever exhibited a stronger desire for personal independence and freedom of action or a greater hatred of restraint of any kind than have they. Hence, when the most shadowy and vaguest ideas of the functions of government began to dawn upon their shrouded intellect, they were necessarily its natural enemy.

A crude religious or spiritual strain was one of their predominant characteristics. They believed in a Great Spirit everywhere present, ruling the elements, riding on the storm, his voice in the awful thunder when angry, and gleaming in the glad sunlight when pleased; that the good were rewarded and the bad punished. They also believed in lesser spirits — some good, some bad.

These spirits of both orders visited them on earth. Evil dreams, diseases of all kinds, enemies, cheating pale faces, severe winters, starvation, a scarcity of game, ill luck in the chase, the bad spirits were all responsible for; while, on the other hand, the good spirits brought sunshine, kind friends, peace, plenty and all the creatures which they hunted.

The Rev. Eugene Vetromile, in his "History of the Abnakis," published in 1866, denies the statement of some historians that they were idolaters. It is true that they in some manner worshipped the sun, offering sacrifice to it; but the Indians explain that the material luminary was not the object of their worship, but it only represented another luminary invisible to our eyes; and as the sun illuminating the whole earth gives life and light to every object, so it was representing an invisible Being who gives light, animation, life and support to the whole world.

They believed also in a great Evil Spirit who was the cause of all trouble in this world and the world of spirits.

The Evil Spirit recognized by the Penobscot Indians was called by them *Pamola* (meaning

that "he curses on the mountain"), and was supposed to reside during the summer season on the top of Mount Katahdin. They offered sacrifices to him to appease him so that he would not curse or injure them. Although they hunted and fished in the woods and lakes around Mount Katahdin, yet they never attempted to go on the top of that mountain for fear that they would never be able to return, but would be either killed or devoured by Pamola. It is only within recent years that the Indians have been induced by sportsmen and visitors to act as guides in ascending this mountain.

The medicine man served as priest, seer and prophet, and mediated between them and the spirit world.

This was substantially the gist of their religious superstitions. As friends they were as true as the magnet to steel, but as enemies they were without forgiveness, and to avenge a wrong was one of their highest aims.

The early Indians of Maine are said to have been extremely hostile and revengeful. It would seem, however, that the English had only themselves to blame for this rapid development of the Indian characteristics in these respects.



INDIAN ISLAND, OLDTOWN, ME.
The present home of the Penobscot tribe

They began their intercourse with them by practising treachery and fraud. One of the first English voyagers who visited the Maine coast, Captain George Weymouth, in 1605, landed at what is now known as the Island of Monhegan. Later he visited the mainland, and after making presents to the Indians and treating them with great kindness, he induced five of them to visit his ship, the "Archangel," forcibly kidnapped them and carried them as captives with their canoes and bows and arrows to London.

This was the beginning which these men, professing to represent Him who came to bring "peace on earth and good will to men," made in their dealings with their savage brothers in Maine. This was followed by many acts of cruel treachery which space forbids me to cite.

Is it strange that such treatment should cause the Abenakis with their fiery and revengeful natures to hate the English and make them their everlasting enemies?

However widely we may differ from the Jesuits in some matters, one fact is certainly firmly established, and that is, that in their intercourse with the Indians of Maine and Canada they displayed not only a more Christian and frater-

nizing spirit, but far superior wisdom, judgment and discretion. They first studied their traits of character, habits and peculiarities, and gained their confidence and esteem before attempting to convert them. Had the English pursued such a policy, a century of untold suffering, horror, torture and cruelty endured by innocent settlers in subsequent years would have been averted.

Is it any wonder that the French, their governors, their friars and their priests maintained such a strong influence over them for so long a time?

According to Vetromile, the following vow was once taken by all of the Abenakis of Maine :

“ Our Good Mother and very Beloved Mary: Now the best offer that we can make is, that we might give up our sins ; be willing that, through reverence to our elder brother, they may ask the forgiveness of our sins. Accept now the offer that we make of ourselves to you. We now have more extensively come to the knowledge of who made us, and how he went to work to save us by *buying* us. Oh, that we might have known it before ! We feel ashamed, we stop doing wrong, and we offer a reparation

for our sins. He redeemed us while we were in sin, by our mother. We do wrong, but it is just now that we commence to be Christians. We are coming thither because we have long ago lost the Great Spirit. Five years ago our eldest brothers, by praying, made us pure Christians. Great, good Mother, Sangman Mary, made powerful by Him, make the offer for us for our sins ! It is by the instructions of the Catholic religion that we come to the knowledge that we were in sin, and that we were committing sin ; but we never knew it before that time ; no, we never did. Now you know us, O Mary, very good Mother. We are become a little wiser, hence we feel ashamed of our bad conduct while we were in the state of a savage, wild life. Now we obey your Son — what we call your Son ; being baptized now, we want to know whether we are your children. It is a little thing, yet we offer it of good will for our sins. Speak for us to our Father, the Sangman Francis de Sales, whose body long time ago was buried there. We offer ourselves to you forever ; and this wampum, which we give to you forever, be an everlasting token between us forever. Mary, good owner of the angels and

of the Indians, one thing that we ask from you — that your Son Jesus may be safe in our hearts as He was safe in your body. We love you and your Son till we die, and forever. Mary, accept this wampum forever. May you accept our words and our offer by prayer forever! May you own us forever! We like to obey you. Place in our hearts what we are asking in this petition.”

The Tradition of Pamola

THE following is the legendary tale of Pamola, who was the great Evil Spirit or devil of the Penobscot tribe :

Several hundred years ago, while a Penobscot Indian was encamped eastward of Mount Katahdin in the autumn hunting-season, a severe and unexpected fall of snow covered the whole land to the depth of several feet. Being unprovided with snowshoes, he found himself unable to return home. After remaining several days in the camp, blocked up with drifts of snow, and seeing no means of escape, he thought that he was doomed to perish. In despair he called several times in a loud voice upon Pamola. Finally, in response to his despairing cries, Pamola made his appearance upon the mountain. Taking courage upon beholding him, the Indian offered to him a sacrifice of oil and fat,

which he poured and consumed upon burning coals from the camp. As the smoke was ascending, Pamola was descending, but as the sacrifice was consumed when the spirit was only half way down the mountain, the Indian took more oil and fat and repeated the sacrifice till Pamola arrived at the camp, where the Indian gladly welcomed him, saying: "You are welcome, partner." Pamola replied, "You have done well to call me partner ; because you have called me by that name you are saved, otherwise you would have been killed by me. No Indian has ever called on me and lived, having always been devoured by me. Now I will take you on the mountain, and you shall be happy with me." Putting the Indian upon his shoulders, Pamola bade him close his eyes, and in a few moments, with a noise like the whistling of a powerful wind, they were inside of the mountain. Here in a comfortable wigwam, furnished with abundance of venison, and with all the luxuries of life, lived Pamola with his wife and children. Pamola gave the Indian his daughter to wife and told him that after one year he might return to his friends on the Penobscot, and that he might go back to the mountain at any time

that he pleased to see his wife, and remain as long as he wished; but he must not marry again, for if he should he would be at once transported to Mount Katahdin, with no hope of ever more going out of it. At the end of the year the Indian returned to Oldtown and related all that had happened to him in Mount Katahdin, and the circumstances through which he got into it. At first he refused all the Indians' persuasions to marry again, but at last they prevailed upon him to marry. Upon the morning after his marriage he mysteriously disappeared, and as nothing more was heard from him, they felt sure that he had been taken by Pamola into Mount Katahdin.

Filled with consternation, the Indians conceived a great fear for this evil spirit. One young Indian woman, harder to be convinced than the rest, constantly persisted in refusing to believe even in the existance of Pamola, unless she saw him with her own eyes. It happened that one day while she was on the shores of the Lake Ambocticus, Pamola appeared to her and reproached her with incredulity. Taking her by force he put her on his shoulders, and after a few moments' flight, with a great whistling of

wind, they were in the interior of the mountain. There she remained for one year and was well treated but was got with child by Pamola. A few months before her confinement Pamola told her to go back to her relatives, saying that the child that was to be born of her was to be great, and would perform such wonders as to amaze the nation. He would have the power to kill any person or animal by simply pointing at the object with the forefinger of his right hand. Hence, that the child was to be watched very closely till the age of manhood, because many evils might follow from that power. But when the child grew up he would save his nation from the hands of its enemies, and would confer many benefits on the people. If she should be in need of any assistance, she had nothing to do but to call upon Pamola in any place she might be, and he would appear to her. He warned her not to marry again, for if she should remarry both she and the child would be at once transported into Mount Katahdin forever. He then put her on his shoulders in the same manner as he had done in taking her up to the mountain, and left her on the shore of Lake Umbagog. Returning to Oldtown, she related

all that had happened to her, and also that she had seen in the mountain the Indian who had been taken away by Pamola.

The child was born and she took great care of him. Several times she called upon Pamola, who always made his appearance to her in response to her summons. When in want of venison, either in the woods or in the river, she had but to take the child, and holding his right hand she stretched out his finger and made it point out a deer or moose, and it at once fell dead. So also in a flock of ducks, she made the child's finger single out one of the flock, which likewise fell dead. The child grew and was the admiration and pride of all.

It happened one day that while he was standing at the door of the wigwam, he saw a friend of his mother's coming. He announced it to her, and at the same time with the first finger of his right hand he pointed at him and the man immediately fell dead. This fact caused great consternation, not only in the mother of the child, but also in the entire tribe, who looked on him as a very dangerous subject among them. Everybody fled from his company and even from his sight. The mother called on Pamola

and related to him what had happened, and also the fear and consternation in which she and the entire tribe were. Pamola told her that he had already commanded her to watch the child, because the power conferred on him might produce serious evils. He advised her to keep the child altogether from society till the age of manhood, as he might be fatal with many others. The Indians wanted her to marry, but she refused on the ground of it being forbidden by Pamola, who was her husband, and in case of marriage, she and the child would both be taken up to Mount Katahdin. The Indians prevailed upon her, however, and she married; but on the evening of the marriage-day, while all the Indians were gathered together in dancing and feasting for the celebration of the marriage, both she and the child disappeared forever.

LETTERS

RALÉ TO CAPT. MOODY—RALÉ TO HIS BROTHER—
RALÉ TO HIS NEPHEW—THE GOVERNOR OF MASSA-
CHUSETTS TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW FRANCE

Letters

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER WRITTEN BY RALÉ
TO CAPT. MOODY, FEB. 7, 1720.

“**T**HE Traders in Brandy to the Indians had by their declarations in Canada a fine set upon them of a thousand Crowns, and he that could not pay it was condemned to the Chain and to be whipped through the Town. There is no Justice among’st the English, who have never given them any, Even under this Governor, I think to do it myself.

“ If Rum drinking continues, the drinker of Rum shall find wherewithall to eat, by suffering him to kill one of the cattle belonging to him that shall have given him drink. And if he won’t kill it for fear of being refused it another time, another that is not a drinker shall kill it; this I think to propose to the men, when they come home, and I am sure they’ll hear me with pleasure.

“I can’t by my Character carry them forth to war, I can absolutely hinder them when they haven’t solid reasons for it, but when they have any, I sha’n’t hinder them, as for example, to preserve their Land whereon depends their prayers, or any considerable wrong that’s done to them, in these cases I’ll tell them they may make war.

“The views of your Governor are fine and generous; he desires war, and being a warrior he must not wonder at it, but I’m sure he would be astonished at an Indian war, five forts and many houses in Arrowsick were reduced to ashes in one day.

“The English say it’s the Fryer or Mr. Vaudreuil that stirs up war, but ’twil’ be said at the Conference (where I shall be and upon their desire, perhaps, speak for the Indians) ’tis you English, you seize our Lands against our will & thereby take away our prayers, more valuable than our Lands or bodies; you will govern us; I desire your Governor may know this. I am actually composing an ample writing about these things to send to the King of France, that he see what I do to preserve my Indians in their Lands & prayers, which depend thereon; here-

in I heard the King's designs reported to me by Mr. Vaudreuil, Last fall, and three years before that I should assist the Indians to preserve their Lands & prayers; to move me he has assigned me a considerable pension of 6,000 francs till my death; all this goes away in Good Works; this I suppose comes because your Governor has threatened he will have me taken up, or cause me to quit by writing to his King against me. The Indians told it to Mr. Vaudreuil who wrote it to the Court, since which I am more and more strengthened here . . .”

EXTRACTS FROM RALÉ'S LETTER TO HIS
BROTHER

“ At Nanrantsouak,
this 12th day of October 1723.

“ Monsieur and very dear brother :

“ The peace of our Lord :

“ I can no longer refuse the kind requests which you make me in all your letters, to inform you a little in detail of my occupations and of the character of the Savage nations, in the midst of which Providence has placed me for so many years. I do it the more willingly, because in conforming in this regard to wishes so urgent on your part I satisfy yet more your affection and curiosity.

“ It was the 23 day of July of the year 1689 that I embarked at Rochelle ; and after three months of a pleasant enough voyage, I arrived at Quebec the 13th of October of the same year. I applied myself at first to learning the language of our Savages. This is difficult ; because it is

not sufficient to study the terms and their signification and to make a collection of words and phrases, it is still necessary to know the turn and the arrangement which the savages give them, which one hardly acquires except by intercourse and association with these people.

“ I went then to dwell in a village with the Abnaki nation, situated in a forest, which is only three leagues from Quebec. This was inhabited by two hundred savages nearly all Christians. Their cabins were arranged a little like the houses in the towns; an inclosure of stakes, thick and high, form a kind of wall which shelters them from the incursions of their enemies.

“ Their cabins are very soon set up; they plant poles which they join at the top; and they cover them with great sheets of bark. The fire is made in the middle of the cabin; they spread all round rush mats, on which they sit during the day; and take their repose during the night.

“ The clothing of the men consists of a cassock of skin, or else of a piece of red or blue stuff. That of the women is a blanket; which hangs from the neck quite to the middle of the legs and which they adjust quite properly.

They put another blanket on the head, which descends even to the feet and which serves them for a cloak. Their stockings extend only from the knee to the ankle. Socks made of elk's hide and lined inside with hair or wool serve them in place of shoes. This sock is absolutely necessary to them in order to be adjusted to the snowshoes, by means of which they walk upon the snow. These snow-shoes are made lozenge shape, are more than two feet long and a foot and a half wide. I did not believe that I could ever walk with such machines; when I made a trial of them I soon found it so easy that the savages could not believe that it was the first time that I had made use of them. The invention of these snow-shoes is of great use to these savages not only to travel on the snow, with which the ground is covered a great part of the year, but also to go in pursuit of beasts and above all of the moose; these animals, larger than the largest oxen of France, walk only with difficulty upon the snow; thus it is not difficult for the savages to overtake them, and they often kill them with a common knife attached to the end of a stick, they feed upon their flesh and after having well dressed their skins in which

they are skillful they trade them with French and English who give them in exchange cassocks, blankets, kettles, guns, hatchets and knives.

“To give you an idea of a savage, picture to yourself a large man strong, agile, of a swarthy tint, without beard, with black hair, and whose teeth are whiter than ivory. If you wish to see him in his accoutrements you will only find for his whole adornment what is called beads; this is a kind of shell or stone which they fashion into the form of little grains, some white and others black, and which they string in such a manner, that they represent divers very regular figures which are agreeable to them. It is with this bead that our Savages knot and plait their hair above their ears and behind, make collars, garters, belts, five or six inches wide and with this sort of ornaments they estimate themselves a great deal more than a European does with all his gold and his jewels.

“The occupation of the men is hunting or war, that of the women is to remain in the village and to make there out of bark baskets, bags, boxes, dishes, plates, etc. They sew the bark with roots and make of them various uten-

sils very appropriately wrought, the canoes are likewise made solely of bark, but the largest can scarcely hold more than six or seven persons.

“ It is with these canoes made of a bark which has hardly the thickness of a crown, that they cross the arms of the sea, and that they navigate the most dangerous rivers and lakes of four or five hundred leagues around. I have thus made many voyages without having run any risk. Only once, that in crossing the river Saint Lawrence, I found myself suddenly surrounded with masses of ice of enormous size, and the canoe was wedged in them ; at once the two savages who conducted me cried out, ‘ We are dead men ; it is done ; we must perish,’ in the meantime, making an effort, they leaped upon the floating ice. I did like them, and after having drawn up the canoe we carried it to the extremity of this ice. Then it was necessary for us to place ourselves again in the canoe to gain another ice cake ; we arrived at last at the bank of the stream without other inconvenience than being very wet and numb with cold. Nothing equals the affection which the savages have for their children. As soon as they are born, they place them on a little

piece of board covered with cloth and a little bearskin, in which they envelop them, and this is their cradle. The mothers carry them on their back in a manner convenient for the children and for them. Hardly do the children begin to walk when they are trained to draw the bow. They become so adroit in this, that at the age of ten or twelve years they do not fail to kill the bird that they shoot at. I have been surprised at it, and I should have hardly believed it if I had not been witness of it.

“That which I most revolted at when I began to live with the savages was to find myself obliged to take my repast with them; nothing is more disgusting. After having filled their pot with meat they make it boil, at the most, three-quarters of an hour, after which they take it from the fire, serve it in bark porringers and divide it with all those who are in the cabin. Each one bites into his meat as he would into a piece of bread. This spectacle did not give me much appetite, and they very soon noticed my repugnance. ‘Why dost thou not eat?’ they asked. I replied to them that I was not accustomed to eat meat thus, without adding to it a piece of bread. ‘It is necessary to conquer

thyselves,' they replied; 'is it so difficult as to be a patriarch who knows prayer perfectly? We overcome a great deal to believe that which we cannot see.' After this there was no more to consider. It was best to bring one's self to their manners and customs in order to merit their confidence and gain them to Jesus Christ.

"Their meals are not regular as in Europe. They live from hand to mouth; whilst they have somewhat from which to make good cheer, they profit by it, without troubling themselves about having anything to live on the following days.

"They passionately love tobacco; men, women, children smoke almost continually. To give them a piece of tobacco, is to give them more pleasure than to give them their weight in gold.

"In the beginning of June, and when the snow is nearly all melted, they sow the *scamgar*. This is what we call Turkey or Indian wheat. Their style of sowing is to make with the fingers or with a little stick, different holes in the ground, and to throw in each eight or nine kernels, which they cover with the same earth which they have withdrawn to make the hole.

Their harvest takes place at the end of August.

“ It is in the midst of these people, who pass for the least coarse of our savages, that I passed the apprenticeship of a missionary. My principal occupation was the study of their tongue ; it is very difficult to learn, above all when one has no other master than savages. They have many sounds which they only utter from the throat, without making any movement of the lips ; *ou*, for example, is of this number, and this is why in writing it, we make it by the figure 8, to distinguish it from other sounds. I passed a part of a year in their cabins and heard them talk. It was necessary for me to maintain extreme attention, to gather what they said, and to conjecture the signification of it. Sometimes I guessed right, more often I deceived myself, because not very able to manage their guttural letters. I repeated only part of the word, and this made them laugh. At last, after five months of continual application, I reached the point of understanding all their terms, but that was not sufficient for me to express myself according to their taste. I had still a good way to go to catch the scope and genius of their tongue, which is altogether dif-

ferent from the genius and scope of our European languages. To shorten the time and to put myself sooner in a state to exercise my functions, I made choice of some savages who had more wit and spoke better. I told them roughly some articles of the catechism, and they rendered them to me in all the delicacy of their language. I put them at once on paper, and by this means I made myself in a little while a dictionary and a catechism which contained the principles and the mysteries of religion.

“One cannot deny that the language of the savages has true beauties, and I know not what of energy, in the turn and manner in which they express themselves. I am going to give you an example of it. If I should ask you, Why has God created you? You would reply to me, that it is to know him, to love him, and by this means to merit eternal glory. But should I put the same question to a savage, he would reply to me thus, in the terms of his language: The great Spirit has thought of us: Let them know me, let them love me, let them honor me, and let them obey me; for then I shall make them enter into my glorious felicity.

If I should wish to tell you in their style that you would have much difficulty in learning the savage tongue, see how it would be necessary for me to express myself: I think of you my dear brother, that he will find difficulty in learning the savage tongue. The language of the Hurons is the master language of the savages; and when one possesses it, in less than three months one can make himself understood by the five Iroquois nations. It is the most majestic and the most difficult of all the savage tongues. This difficulty does not come alone from their guttural character, but still more from the diversity of accents, because two words composed of the same characters have significations quite different. Father Chaumont, who has dwelt fifty years among the Hurons, has composed a grammar of it, which is very useful to those who newly arrive in that mission; nevertheless a missionary is most happy when, with those helps, after ten years' constant labor, he expresses himself elegantly in this language. . .

“This mission is about eight leagues from Pentagouet, and they count it a hundred leagues from Pentagouet to Port Royal. The river of my mission is the greatest of all those which

water the lands of the savages. It should be marked on the chart, under the name of Kinit-beki ; which has brought the French to give to these savages the name of kanibals. This river empties into the sea at Sankderank, which is only five or six leagues from Pemquit. After having ascended forty leagues from Sankderank, one arrives at my village which is on the height of a point of land. We are only the distance of two days at the most from the English habitation ; it takes more than fifteen days for us to reach Quebec, and the journey is very painful and difficult. It would be natural that our savages should do their trading with the English, and there are no advantages which the latter have not offered them to attract and to gain their friendship ; but all their efforts have been useless, and nothing has been able to detach them from alliance with the French. The only tie which has so closely united us with them is their firm attachment to the Catholic faith. They are convinced that if they gave themselves up to the English, they would very soon find themselves without a missionary, without sacrifice, without a sacrament, and nearly without any exercise of religion, and that little by

little they would be plunged into their first infidelity. This firmness of our savages has been put to all sorts of tests on the part of their powerful neighbors, without their ever having been able to gain anything. . . .

“ It is only in the spring that they sow their corn, and they only give it the last hoeing towards Corpus Christi Day. After which they deliberate as to what place on the sea they shall go to seek something to live upon till the harvest, which is not ordinarily made until a little after the Assumption. After having deliberated they send to pray me to repair to their assembly. As soon as I have arrived there, one of them speaks to me thus in the name of all the others: ‘ Our Father, what I say to thee is what all of those whom thou seest here would say to thee. Thou knowest us, thou knowest that we want food; scarcely have we been able to give the last hoeing to our fields, and we have no other resource until the harvest, but to go and seek food on the shore of the sea. It will be hard for us to abandon our prayer; that is why we hope that thou wilt accompany us, so that in seeking something to live upon we shall not interrupt our prayer. Such and such

persons will embark thee, and that which thou wilt have to carry will be dispersed among the other canoes. That is what I have to say to thee.' I have no sooner replied to them *Kekik-berba* (this is a savage term which means, I hear you, my children, I agree to what you demand), then all cry together *ourourie*, which is an expression of thanks. Immediately after they leave the village."

EXTRACTS FROM RALÉ'S LETTER TO HIS
NEPHEW.

“ Norridgewock

This 15th October, 1722.

“ Monsieur, my dear Nephew.

The peace of Our Savior:

“ During the more than thirty years that I have lived in the heart of these forests with the Savages, I have been so occupied in instructing them and forming them to Christian virtues, that I have but little leisure to write many letters, even to those who are most dear to me. Nevertheless I cannot refuse the little details of my various duties which you desire. I owe it as an acknowledgment of the friendship which makes you so strongly interested in everything that concerns me.

“ I am in a district of that vast extent of land which lies between Acadia and New England. Two other Missionaries are occupied with me among the Abnaki Savages, but we are far re-

moved from each other. The Abnaki Savages, beside the two villages which are in the centre of the French Colony, have three others, each villages of considerable size, situated on the bank of a river. The three rivers empty into a sea south of the Canada river between New England and Acadia.

“ The village where I live is called Nanrant-souak; it is situated on the bank of a river which discharges itself into the sea about thirty leagues hence. I have built a Church, which is neat and very ornamental. I thought nothing ought to be spared either for its decoration nor for the ornaments which are used at our holy ceremonies: Vestments, chasubles, copes, sacred Vessels, everything appropriate, and would be so esteemed in our Churches of Europe. I have formed a little Brotherhood of about forty young Savages, who assist at divine Service, in their cassocks and surplices. Each have their duties, so many to assist at the holy Sacrifices of the Mass, & to chant the divine Office for the Consecration of the Holy Sacrament, & for the processions which they make with a great crowd of Savages, who often come from long distance to attend them. You

would be edified at the great order which they keep, & the piety which they show.

“They have built two Chapels at about three hundred paces from the village; the one dedicated to the most holy Virgin, & where may be seen her Image in relief, is above the river; the other dedicated to the guardian Angel, is at the lower end of the same river. Since they are both on the road which leads either to the woods or into the open country, the Savages never pass without offering their prayer. There is a holy emulation among the women of the Village as to who shall the better decorate the Chapel, of which they have the care, when the procession repairs thither. All that they have, jewels, pieces of silk or calico and other things of that kind are used to adorn it.

“The abundance of light adds not a little to the beauty of the church and Chapels; I have no need to be saving of wax, as this country furnishes it to me in abundance. The islands of the sea are bordered with wild laurels, which in autumn bear berries a little like those of the Juniper. They fill their kettles with them and boil them with water. As soon as the water boils, the green wax rises & remains on the sur-

face of the water. From a measure of three bushels of this berry, one obtains nearly four pounds of wax ; it is very pure and very good, but neither soft nor manageable. After several attempts I have found that by mixing as much tallow, either of beef, mutton or moose as of the wax, fine, hard & serviceable candles may be made. With 24 pounds of wax and as much tallow, one can make two hundred long candles of more than a foot in length. One finds an infinity of these laurels on the islands & along the sea coast : A single person will easily pick four measures in a day. The berry hangs like grapes from the branches of the tree. I have sent a branch to Quebec with a cake of wax ; it has been found excellent.

“None of my neophytes fail to repair twice a day to the Church ; in the early morning to attend Mass, & in the evenings to assist at the prayers which I offer at sunset. As it is necessary to fix the imagination of the Savages, too easily distracted, I have composed suitable prayers to make them enter into the spirit of the August Sacrifice of our Altars ; they chant them or properly recite them in a loud voice during Mass. Besides the sermons that I give them

on Sundays and Holy Days, I scarcely allow a week to pass, without giving a short exhortation, to inspire horror of the vices to which they are most inclined, or to strengthen them in the practice of some virtue.

“ After Mass I teach the Catechism to the children and young people ; a large number of old persons assist at this and reply with docility to the questions which I ask them. The rest of the morning until noon, is devoted to hearing all who wish to speak to me. It is then that they come in crowds to make me share their pains and inquietudes, or to communicate to me subjects of complaint against their countrymen, or to consult me about their marriages & other particular affairs. It is necessary for me to instruct some, to console others, to re-establish peace in families at variance, to calm troubled consciences, to correct others by reproofs mingled with gentleness and charity, in short, as much as it is possible, to render them all contented.

“ After noon I visit the sick and go around among the cabins of those who have need of particular instruction. If they hold a council, a frequent occurrence among the Savages, they

depute one of the principal men of the assembly to beg me to assist at the decision of their deliberations. I go as soon as possible to the place where the council is being held ; if I judge that they are taking a wise course, I approve it ; if on the contrary I find anything to say against their decision, I declare to them my opinion, which I support by solid reasons, & they conform to it. My advice always fixes their resolutions. They do not even hold their feasts without inviting me ; those invited bring each a dish of wood or bark ; I give the benediction on the food ; they put in each dish the portion prepared. The distribution being made, I say grace, & each retires ; because such is the order and custom of their feasts.

“ In the midst of these ceaseless occupations you will not find it difficult to understand with what rapidity the days slip by. There has been a time when it was with difficulty that I found time to recite my office, & to take a little repose during the night ; for discretion is not the virtue of the Savages. But for some years I have made it a rule to speak to no one, from the evening prayer until after Mass the next morning, & I have forbidden them to interrupt

me during this time, unless it is for some important reason, as for example, to assist a dying person, or for some other affair which cannot be put off. I employ this time to pray and to repose from the fatigue of the day.

“ When the Savages go to the seashore, to pass some months hunting ducks, bustards and other birds which are found there in great quantities, they build on an island a Chapel which they cover with bark, near which they prepare a little hut for my dwelling. I take care to carry there part of the ornaments, & the service is performed there with the same propriety and the same crowds of people as at the village.

“ You see, my dear nephew, what are my occupations. For as to what regards me personally, I will tell you that I only see, only hear, only speak to Savages. My food is simple and light. I was never able to adapt my taste to the meat & to the fish smoked by the Savages; my only nourishment is maize, which they pound and of which I make every day a kind of pudding which I cook with water.

“ The only sweetening which I have here, is to mix with it a little sugar to correct the insipidity. This is not wanting in these forests. In

the spring time the Maples hold in store a liquid similar to that which the sugar cane of the Islands contains. The women occupy themselves in collecting it in bark dishes, when the trees distil it; they boil it and obtain from it a fairly good sugar. The first distilled is always the best.

“All the Abnaki Nation is Christian, & very zealous to preserve their Religion. This attachment to the Catholic Faith, has made them up to this time choose rather our alliance, to the advantages that they had drawn from their alliance with the English their neighbors. These advantages are very attractive to our Savages; the ease which they have of trading with the English, from whom they are not farther away than a journey of one or two days, the convenience of the road, the great market which they find for the purchase of goods which suit them; nothing can be more capable of attracting them. Instead of which going to Quebec, more than fifteen days are necessary to get there, besides they have to provide provisions for the journey, while they have a number of rivers to cross, and frequent portages to make. They feel these inconveniences, & are

not indifferent to their interests, but their faith is infinitely more dear, and they think that if they withdrew themselves from our alliance, they would soon find themselves without Missionary, without Sacraments, without Sacrifice, without almost any exercise of Religion, and in manifest danger of being plunged again into their former infidelity.

“This is the tie which binds them to the French. It has been tried in vain to break it, either by traps which have been held out to their simplicity, or by acts of trespass, which could not help irritating a Nation infinitely zealous of its rights & of its liberty. These beginnings of misunderstandings fail not to alarm me, & make me fear the dispersion of the flock, which Providence has confided to my care so many years & for which I would willingly sacrifice that which remains of my life. Observe the various artifices which they employ to detach them from our alliance.

“An Englishman asked permission of the Savages to build on their river a kind of store-house, to trade there with them, & he promised to sell them goods at a much greater bargain than they had bought them even at Boston.

The Savages who would find it to their profit, & who would save the trouble of a journey to Boston, consented to this willingly. Another Englishman asked soon after the same permission, offering conditions even more favorable than the first. It was accorded him equally. This readiness of the Savages emboldened the English to establish themselves along the river, without asking permission; they built houses there, & raised forts of which three were of stone. This proximity of the English gave at first pleasure enough to the Savages, who did not perceive the trap which they laid for them, & who only looked at the pleasure which they had, in finding their new guests all that they could desire.

“ But at last, perceiving themselves, insensibly as it were, surrounded by the habitations of the English, they began to open their eyes, & to entertain distrust. They asked the English by what right they had established themselves upon their lands, and even built forts there. The reply which was made them, that the King of France had ceded their country to the King of England, threw them into great alarm, for there is no Savage Nation which

does not suffer impatiently what they regard as subjection to any power whatever it may be; they will be called allies and nothing more. This is why the Savages immediately sent some of their number to M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor General of New France, to learn if it were true, that in effect the King had thus disposed of a country of which he was not the master. It was not difficult to calm their inquietude; it was only necessary to explain to them the articles of the treaty of Utrecht which concerned the Savages, & they departed content.

“About this time a score of Savages entered into one of the English houses, to trade or to rest. They had been there but a short time, when they saw the house suddenly surrounded by a troop of nearly two hundred armed men. ‘*We are dead men,*’ suddenly cried one of them. ‘*Let us sell our lives dearly.*’ They prepared to throw themselves upon this troop, when the English, perceiving their resolution, and knowing besides what the Savage is capable of in the first access of fury, strove to pacify them, by assuring them that they had no evil designs, and that they had come only to invite some of them to go to Boston, to confer there with the

Governor, on the means of keeping peace and good understanding, which should exist between two Nations. The Savages, a little too credulous, deputed four of their fellow-countrymen who repaired to Boston ; but when they arrived there, the conference with which they were diverted, ends in retaining them prisoners.”

LT. GOVR. DUMMER TO GOV. VAUDREUIL.

“Boston N. England January 19th 1725.

“ Sir

“ Your letter dated Quebec October 29th per Henry Edgar, one of the English Captives, came safe to me; on perusal thereof I am greatly Surprised at the matters Contained therein, which are so unjustly represented, that I cannot Satisfy my Self to pass them by un-answered. In the first place as to what you say relating to the death of Monsr. Rallé the Jesuit, which you set forth as so Inhumane & Barbarous; I readily acknowledge that he was slain, amongst other of our Enemies at Norridgewalk; And if he had Confined himself unto the professed Duty of his function viz to Instruct the Indians in the Christian Religion, and kept himself within the bounds of the French Dominions, and had not Instigated the Indians to War & Rapine there might then have been some ground of Complaint; But

when instead of Preaching Peace, Love and Friendship Agreeable to the Doctrines of the Christian Religion, he has been a Constant and Notorious Fomenter & Incendiary to the Indians to kill, burn & Destroy, as flagrantly appears by many original letters & manuscripts, I have of his by me, and when in open Violation of an Act of Parliament of Great Britain, and the Laws of this Province strictly forbidding Jesuits to reside or teach within the British Dominions, he has not only resided but also once & again appeared at the head of great numbers of Indians, in an Hostile manner threatening and Insulting, as also publicly assaulting the subjects of His British Majesty; I say, If after all, such an Incendiary has happened to be slain in the heat of Action, among our Open and Declared Enemies, surely none can be blamed therefor but himself, nor can any safeguard from you or any other Justify him in such proceedings: And I think I have much greater Cause to Complain, that Mr. Willard the minister of Rutland (who never had been guilty of the Facts charged upon Mr. Ralle, & applied himself solely to the preaching of the Gospel) was by the Indians you sent

to Attack that Town Assaulted, slain and scalpt, and his scalp carried in Triumph to Quebec.

“As to the next article you mention, That St. Georges River was in the year 1700 by order of the Two Crowns Marked as the bounds of the English and French Lands whereby it appeared That Penobscot was given to you, and that one La Fevre had a right to the Land thereabouts, & that all Vessels paid a Duty to him, And that Mr. Capon Envoy of England when King George came upon the Throne, went to ask the Penobscot Indians to submit themselves to England, which they refused. I have no difficulty to Answer to each of the aforesd Points; And as to the last relating to Mr. Capon you Labour under a very great Mistake to mention him as Envoy of England, he being far below any such Character, and only an Inferior Officer, Comissary or Victualler to the Garrison of Annapolis, & sometime after was taken & yielded up to the English, sent by Lieutenant Govr. of that place to visit the French settlements within that District & to require an Oath of Allegiance and Fidelity from them to Queen Anne; but he had no occasion to Come and Entice the Penobscot Indi-

ans to submit themselves to England, for they as well as the Norridgewalk Indians & many other Tribes had done that long before even in the year 1693 at a Treaty of Sr. William Phipps Governor of this Province, by which Treaty, I can make it appear, that they not only submitted themselves as subjects to the crown of England, but also renounced the French Interest & Limited Claim to the Lands bought and possessed by the English ; But since King George came to the Throne, Mr. Capon has not been in those parts at all, as I am Informed by the People of that Country.

“ As to St. Georges River being the bounds and La Fevre’s pretended Right it seems very wonderful you should make any mention of those things or lay any weight upon them at this time, when if the Case were formerly as you now represent it, which I do not allow, all such claim and pretension is wholly superceded and at an end ; whereof you may soon and easily satisfy yourself by consulting the Treaty of Peace at Utrecht Concluded between the two Crowns in the year 1713, by the twelfth Article whereof it is provided, ‘ That all Nova Scotia or L’Accadie with its Ancient Boundaries &c. to-

gether with the Dominion property & possession of the sd Islands Lands & places, and all right to which the Most Christian King, the Crown of France, or any the subjects thereof have hitherto had to the Islands Lands & places, and the Inhabitants of the same are Yielded & made over to the Queen of Great Britain & to her Crown forever.' Now by the aforesd Resignation, the French King Quitted all Right not only to the Lands, but also to the Inhabitants whether French or Indians, or whatsoever they were & transferred the same to the Crown of Great Britain forever, whereby you are Entirely Cutt off from any Claim to the subjection of the said Indians, from thence forward ; And we are not ignorant how far the French King understood the Countrey of L'Accadie to Extend Westward by his patent Granted to Monsr. D'Alney tho you seem to be a stranger to it.

“ As to the whole Nation of the Indians Exclaiming against some of their Tribe, as pretending that they were suborned to give Deeds for their Lands, if it be matter of Fact, that they do so, which is hard to be Conceived, it is a most unjust Imputation, & must Argue a won-

derful Deceitfulness & self Contradiction in them, since they have upon all Treatys when the whole Tribes were together Constantly acknowledged and submitted to the English Titles and possessions, which they had by honest and Lawful purchase Acquired.

“As to the Building of Forts any where within the British Dominions I suppose that you will not scruple to acknowledge that the King of Great Britain has as good a right to Erect Fortresses or places of Defence within His Dominions, as the French King has in his And therefore when you shall please to Give me Instances of the French Kings Applying himself to the Indians for leave to build a Fort or Forts for the Defence of His Subjects I shall then give you a further Answer to that Argument. And in the meantime I must tell you that we have always treated the Indians with sincerity, & never thought it proper to make Apologies for Building Forts within our own Jurisdiction (as you Insinuate) but on the Contrary in all our Treatys with them have Ascerted our undoubted right to do so.

“You likewise signify that we must Blame no body but our selves for the Violence and

Hostilities Committed against Our nation by the Indians. But syr, If the blame must lye where it ought I must Impute their Outrages, falsness & Ill Conduct towards us, not so much to their own Inclinations, as to the Instigations of the Jesuit Ralle & others Under your Government, whereof we have had sufficient Information from time to time, as also of your own forcing the Indians against their Wills upon our Frontiers to destroy & Cutt of our People which Cannot be otherwise lookt upon except as a direct & Notorious Violation of the Treaty of Peace at Utrecht.

“ Nevertheless Sir, After All, I have much greater Inclination to Amity & good Correspondence with you than otherwise, And therefore I have sent Collo. Samuel Thurber one of His Majesties Council, and Collo. William Dudley one of the House of Representatives who are Commissioned to Confer with you Pursuant to such Instructions as they have received from me; And I Desire that you will Give CREDENCE to them accordingly.

I am, Sir,

Your Most Humble &
Most Obedt Servant

Wm. Dummer.”

RALÉ'S DICTIONARY—INSCRIPTION ON
RALÉ'S CHURCH—HISTORICAL COM-
MENTS—THE TWELFTH ARTICLE OF
THE TREATY OF UTRECHT



THE LATE REV. MICHAEL O'BRIEN, V.G.
An authority on the language and dialects of the Indians of Maine.

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Ralé's Dictionary.

THE Abenaki dictionary which was being prepared by Ralé, and which was taken by Colonel Westbrook and afterwards published, is practically the foundation of what knowledge scholars now have of the language of the Maine Indians. The late Rev. Michael Charles O'Brien, Vicar General of Bangor, Maine, was probably the most profound student of Indian dialects and tribal history that has ever lived in Maine. His researches in this respect attracted the attention of men of letters and learning all over New England, and especially were the late James G. Blaine and the late Chief Justice John A. Peters interested in his work.

On December 23, 1882, he read a most able and entertaining paper before the Maine Historical Society at Portland, which has been

published in the "Collections of the Maine Historical Society (Vol. IX, page 261), entitled, "Grammatical Sketch of the Ancient Abnaki, Outlined in the Dictionary of Father Sebastian Ralé, S. J." The following are extracts from this paper :

"My principal sources of materials for the study are the 'Dictionary of the Abnaki,' written by Father Sebastian Ralé, S. J., and the old Indian prayers and catechism, yet in use (in a modified form) among the Penobscots and Passamaquoddies, which probably are the work of the same author.

"The field has been already traversed by other students, but so little has been gleaned from it that it may be said to be yet almost untouched.

"The dictionary was in the hands of Duponceau and Pickering, and others of less note, but it has hitherto remained a sealed book so far as the grammatical outline of the aboriginal language of Maine, which may be read in its pages, is concerned. The little catechism, which the Indians call from its first question, the *Aweni Kisi hoskesa* (Who made thee)? and the old formulas of prayer have been published by

Fathers Demilier and Vetromile, and are extant in manuscript in the handwriting of the former. These serve chiefly as illustrations, and supplement in several particulars some of the deficiencies of the dictionary, which is my main authority.

“ This dictionary consists of about 7,500 distinct Abnaki words, with the meanings of nearly all of them in French ; but on every page it contains grammatical notes, examples and Indian phrases. These phrases would fill a dozen or more pages of foolscap paper. The grammatical notes consist not merely of marks of singular and plural, indications of moods, tenses, and persons, but also several short grammatical observations in Latin.

“ Scattered as all these bits of information are up and down the pages, and applied to so many different words, they at first only bewilder the curious reader. But when the words to which they are severally appended are classified and compared, and the principles of grammatical induction are introduced to complete the process, they furnish at least an outline more or less distinct of the language to which they refer. Of a certain portion of the grammar, that

especially to which this paper will extend, the outline is very clear and full. Until such an outline shall be studied, the language of the Abnakis will continue to remain the puzzle it has been hitherto, notwithstanding all that has been written and published concerning it." *

* In this paper the author gives the alphabet employed by Father Ralé of the following letters: a, b, d, e, g, h, i, j, k, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, 8, z and n nasal, and the pause or aspirate, '.

Ralé's Inscription on the Outer Door of his Church

*Found by Colonel Thomas Westbrook when he
made his raid, 1721-22.*

“Englishmen.

“I that am of Norridgewock have had thoughts that thou wil't Come and Burn our Church and Our Father's House to revenge thyself without cause for the houses I have burnt of thine. It was thou that didst force me to it, why didst thou build them upon my Land without my Consent.

“I have not yet burned any, but what was upon my land; Thou mayest burn it, because thou knowest that I am not there, such is thy Generosity, for if I were there, Assuredly thou shouldst not burn it, although thou shouldst Come with the number of many hundred Men.

“It is ill built, because the English don't work well; It is not finished, although five or

six Englishmen have wrought there during the space of four years, and the Undertaker who is a great Cheat, hath been paid in advance for to finish it. I tell thee, Nevertheless, That, if thou dost burn it in revenge upon my land, thou mayest depend upon it, That I will Revenge myself also, and that upon thy Land in such a manner as will be more sensible and more disadvantageous to thee for one of thy Meeting houses or Temples is of more value beyond Compare than our Church. And I shall not be satisfied with burning one or two of thine, but many; I know where they are, and the Effect shall make thee know that I have been as good as my word.

“This shall Certainly be done sooner or later, for the War is but just beginning; And if thou wouldst know where it will have an End I tell thee it will not have an end but with the world. If thou canst not be driven out before I dye, Our Children and Nephews will Continue it till that time, without thy being able to Enjoy it peaceably.

“This is what I say to thee, who am of Norridgewock in the name of all the Nation.”*

*From Baxter's “Pioneers of New France in New England.”

COMMENTS OF HISTORICAL
WRITERS



OLD FORT HALIFAX
Winslow, Me., near Ticonic Falls



Comments of Historical Writers

DURING these discussions the Indians, who had been instigated by the French, again gave cause for difficulties. The chief villain in this scheme was Sebastian Rasles (Ralé), a Jesuit missionary, who had falsely accused the New England colonists of encroaching on territory belonging to the tribes." — *George Lowell Austin's "History of Massachusetts."*

"Sebastian Rasle (Ralé) succeeded the bigots in the mission to Norridgewock. He was a gentleman by birth, education and culture. Religious zeal incited him, also, to leave the endearments of a home of opulence and congenial companionship, and to spend thirty-five years in the then unbroken wilderness of Maine. His remarkable character deserves more particular

notice." — *Abbot's "History of Maine" (2d Ed.) page 171.*

"At Norridgewock, on the banks of the Kennebec, the venerable Sebastian Ralé, for more than a quarter of a century the companion and instructor of savages, had gathered a flourishing village, founded a church, which, rising in the desert, made some pretensions to magnificence. Severely ascetic, — using no wine, little food except pounded maize, — a rigorous observer of the days of Lent, — he built his own cabin, tilled his own garden, drew himself wood and water, prepared his own hominy, and, distributing all he received, gave an example of religious poverty." — *Bancroft's "History of the Colonization of the United States, Vol. 3, p. 333.*

.....

"Ralé, the famous Jesuit, was deemed the principal instigator of these insults. He was a man of talents and learning; and by his condescending manner, religious zeal and untiring perseverance, he had greatly endeared himself to his tribe. He had resided with them and had been their tutelar father thirty years; and many of them he had taught to read and write. To

render their devotion an incentive to violence, it is said, he kept a banner figured with a cross, which was encircled by bows and arrows, and while he was giving them absolution before they proceeded to war or upon any hostile expedition, he was in the habit of suspending the flag from a tall standard at the door of his chapel; aware of the advantages gained, if he could give every bold sally of the Indians the character of a crusade.

“Fond of epistolary correspondence, he kept up a constant intercourse with Vaudreuil, the Governor of Canada, giving him an account of every settlement, fort or other enterprise commenced by the English.” — *Williamson's "History of Maine," Vol. 2, page 101.*

A PART OF CHARLEVOIX'S EULOGY.

“Father Ralé was of good family in Franche-Comté, and died in his sixty-seventh year; he was of a robust constitution, but fasting and continual hardships had greatly enfeebled him, especially after the accident which befell him nineteen years before.

“In that long and tedious illness, I often admired his patience, and we could not see how he

could endure such a cruel operation without uttering a single cry.

“ He knew almost all the languages spoken in this vast continent, and he had labored for the salvation of almost all the nations that inhabit it.

“ Three years before his death, on his superior suggesting that it was time for him to withdraw from the fury of England, who had sworn to destroy him, he replied that his measures were taken. ‘ God has confided his flock to me, I will follow its lot, too happy to lay down my life for it.’ He often repeated the same thing to his Neophites.” — *Charlevoix's "History of New France" (1900), Vol. 5, page 281.*

“ Ralé was of a strong, enduring form and a keen, vehement, caustic spirit, and of the genuineness of his zeal there is no doubt, nor of his earnest and lively interest in the fortunes of the wilderness flock of which he was the shepherd for half of his life. The situation was critical for them and for him. The English settlements were but a short distance below, while those of the French could be reached only by a hard journey of twelve or fourteen days.” — “ *A Half Cen-*

tury of Conflict," by Francis Parkman, Vol. 1, page 211.

“ Father Rasles had been dead for almost half a century when the papal suppression of the Jesuits took effect. He must have become a member of that order during its golden period, when Jesuit professors and tutors were in their greatest efficiency and most commanding reputation, when the youth under their direction were candidates, not only for membership in what was distinctly the most learned and influential order in Christendom, but for special service under the direction of that order, according to individual character and ability.

“ Rasles was, of course, trained in the old faith, and in opposition to the reforming ideas. He was of the Franche-Comté, the same department to which our associate, Mr. Allen, traces the Huguenot settlers in what is now Dresden. He could not have failed to be deeply impressed with the fact that the papal programme of his day announced two leading aims, namely, the extirpation of heresy, even by means of persecution, and the conversion of the heathen in America, even at the cost of martyrdom. No doubt Father

Rasles was heartily in accord with both these aims.

“The History of French and English colonization in the New World, taken by itself, is not an edifying story of peaceful competition. It is very largely a military history; but merged in the history of Europe, of which it was a subordinate part, it offers the distressing spectacle of adventurous and loyal subjects always exposed, never adequately supported, harassed in their common industries by savage incursions, or turned aside into forlorn, if not futile, military expeditions, while from time to time the petty raiding is exchanged for something approaching the dignity of civilized warfare, when the great protagonists display their colors upon the field.

“From the year of Rasles’ arrival, at the beginning of what is called King William’s War, down to the surrender of Canada to the English, settled by treaty in 1763, war between France and England is the regular order, though there was one breathing time of considerable duration, for the contestants to recover their strength, after the treaty of Utrecht, 1713, which ended what here was ‘Queen Anne’s War,’ and in Europe the War of the Spanish Succession.” — *F. C.*

Cummings, in the "Collections of the Maine Historical Society," Series II, Vol. IV, page 146.

The following inscription is upon the South side of the Ralé monument :

“Rev. Sebastianus Rasles natione Galluse Societate Jesu Missionarius, per aliquot annos Illinois et Huronibus primum evangelanus, deinde per 34 annos Abenakis, fide et charitate Christi verus Apostolus, periculis armorum intenuis se pro suis Oribus mori paratum sæpius testificans, inter arma et cocdes ac Pagi Nantrantsouak Norridgewock, et Ecclesiæ suæ minas, hoc in ipso loco, cecidit tandem optimus Pastor, die 23 Augusti, A. D. 1724. Ipsi et filius suis in Christo defunctis Monumentum hoc posuit Benedictus Fenwick, Episcopus Bostoniensis dedicavitque 23 Augusti, A. D. 1833. A. M. D. G.”

The English translation is :

“Rev. Sebastian Rallé, a French Jesuit missionary, for many years the first evangelist among the Illinois and Hurons, and afterwards for thirty-four years a true apostle in the faith and love of Christ, among the Abenakies, — unterrified by danger, and often by his pure character, giving

witness that he was prepared for death, — this most excellent pastor, on the 23d day of August, 1724, fell in this place, at the time of the destruction and slaughter of the town of Norridgewock, and the dangers to his church. To him, and to his children, dead in Christ, Benedict Fenwick, Bishop at Boston, has erected and dedicated this monument, this 23d of August, A. D. 1833.” — *Hanson's "History of Norridgewock and Canaan,"* published in 1849, page 47.

Hon. Turner Buswell, of Solon, Maine, in a letter to the author, describes this monument as follows :

“ The monument is a plain granite, pyramidal shaft or obelisk, eleven feet in height, and three feet square at the base, standing on a table stone five feet in height and four feet square. An iron cross, four feet in height, surmounts the shaft.”

RALÉ'S CHAPEL BELL.

“ As the dim light of the lofty ceiled room where it reposes in silence, but for the touch of strange hands, falls upon it, visions of ascetic vigil, savage tumult and massacre, yes, and misguided prayers are painted upon the bronze sides.

“ Every dent and scar upon its time-worn surface are epics of adventure and war panting to be translated — love lyrics too, and low-voiced chants, and songs of triumph and defeat smothered in the smokes of countless council-fires.” — *Herbert Milton Sylvester's "Casco Bay," 1904.*

“ He was a man of heroic courage, of an earnest and self-sacrificing spirit, possessed indeed of qualities, which, in spite of some of his misconceptions of the real spirit of Christianity, entitle him to a measure of respect and admiration.” — *James Phinney Baxter.*

THE TWELFTH ARTICLE OF THE TREATY OF
PEACE CONCLUDED AT UTRECHT ON THE
ELEVENTH DAY OF APRIL, 1713.

THAT the most Christian King shall take care to have delivered to the Queen of Great Britain, on the Same Day that the Ratifications of this Treaty shall be exchanged, Solemn and authentic Letters and Instruments, by Virtue whereof it shall appear, that the Island of St. Christophers is to be possessed alone hereafter by British Subjects; Likewise all Nova Scotia or Acadia with its ancient Boundries; as also the City of Port Royal, now called Annapolis-Royal, and all other Things in those Parts which depend on the said Lands and Islands; together with the Dominion, Property, and Possession of the said Islands, Lands and Places, and all Right whatsoever by Treaties, or by any other way obtained, which the Most Christian King, the Crown of France or any the Subjects thereof have hitherto had to the said Islands, Lands and Places, and the In-

habitants of the same are yielded and made over to the Queen of Great Britain and to her Crown forever as the most Christian King does at present yield and make over all the Particulars above-said, and that in such Ample Manner and Form, that the Subjects of the most Christian King shall hereafter be excluded from all Kinds of Fishing in the Seas, Bays and other Places on the Coast of Nova Scotia, that is to say, on those which lie towards the East within thirty Leagues, beginning from the Island Commonly called Sable inclusively, and thence stretching along towards South-West.

AUTHORITIES

CHARLEVOIX'S "History of New France"; The Jesuit Relations; Parkman's works, and especially "A Half Century of Conflict" and "The Jesuits of North America"; Francis' "Life of Ralé"; James Phinney Baxter's "Pioneers of New France in New England"; Williamson's "History of Maine"; Bancroft's "History of the Colonization of the United States"; Abbott's "History of Maine"; Roberts' "History of Canada"; Collections of the Maine Historical Society; La Chasse; Austin's "History of Massachusetts"; "The Memorials of the English and French Commissaries Concerning the Limits of Nova Scotia or Acadia," 1750 to 1753; "The Abnakis and Their History," by Rev. Eugene Vetromile; Ridpath's, Hawthorne's and other histories of the United States; collections of Massachusetts Historical Society, etc.

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