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JULY, 1898.

# The New Brunswick Magazine

VOL I.

No. 1.

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ST. JOHN, N. B.

WILLIAM KILBY REYNOLDS, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER.

1898.

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ERRATA.—Page 131, last line, for T. W. Peters read Benjamin L. Peters; page 144, line 8, for mill pond read mast pond; page 147, Thomas Hutchinson was the last royal governor of Massachusetts, not Thomas Gage.

# The New Brunswick Magazine.

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VOL. I.

JULY, 1898.

NO. 1

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## *BY WAY OF INTRODUCTION.*

It has been said, by one well qualified to give an opinion, that the first number of a newspaper should be carefully edited, set up, printed—and destroyed before it is issued. In other words, a publisher ought to have an experimental issue for his own benefit, in order that he may see how much it lacks in matter and style, and then, upon the basis of its deficiencies, he should issue a number for the public. Whatever the reader may think of the first issue of a periodical, it seldom comes up to the ideal of its projector, if he be a man who has a knowledge of his business and who puts some conscience into it, and his consolation is that succeeding numbers will more fully develop the plan on which his publication is to be conducted. This is quite true of the first issue of *THE NEW BRUNSWICK MAGAZINE*, in regard to the editorial departments. In future numbers it is hoped these will be much more complete, and that they will include a wider range of topics of general interest.

No apology is needed for the contributors to the first number, however, for their topics are well chosen and admirably treated. Each writer discusses something of which he has a special knowledge and to which he has given careful study. More particular

reference to the contributors and their work will be found in the proper department.

The idea of a New Brunswick magazine became developed during the latter part of April, and a brief circular was sent out with a view of ascertaining how far such a publication was likely to meet with support. Such replies as were received were of a very encouraging character, and since then the list of subscribers has been steadily growing until it has reached a size which warrants the issue of the magazine without a prospect of failure. It remains for the public to encourage the magazine to such an extent that it may be more than merely self sustaining, and that it may be so increased in size and general features as to be well worthy of the people and the country which it aims to represent.

Mingled with the encouragement received so far, has been just a little of the pessimistic side of the question. Some who have kindly subscribed have intimated their belief that the venture will not be a financial success. Having this view, they deserve thanks all the more for being willing to take the chances, even though they cannot be commended for the prudence which has marked the conduct of those who have made this a reason for declining to subscribe. It may reassure both classes to learn that arrangements have been made to issue the magazine for at least one year, whether the venture proves profitable or otherwise.

It is quite true that the history of magazines in the Maritime Provinces give ground for some predictions of failure in this instance. That phase of the question has been fully considered, however, and in the light of the knowledge of past failures it is hoped that at least some of the mistakes of others may be avoided. This is why the magazine has been started with a

minimum of 48 pages and why illustrations are not promised. At a later date it is intended that the number of pages shall be materially increased.

The objects of THE MAGAZINE are set out in the prospectus. Its special field is the Maritime Provinces and the colonies which have an historic connection with them. While history will be dealt with in a popular style, it will also be treated exhaustively, and it is believed that much will be brought out of which little has heretofore been known. The term "history," used in its broad and general sense, will include such topics as are suggested in Prof. W. F. Ganong's "Plan for a General History," \* such as the physical features and natural history of the country, its material resources, its ethnology, early exploration and later settlement, family history, bibliography, chronological data, current literature and much else in regard to the provinces and their people. Under these heads, it will be seen, are included all that relates to this part of Canada in the past, with much that pertains to the present and has a direct bearing on the future.

It will thus be seen that the scope of the magazine is a broad one, and that when the relation of these colonies to the rest of America is considered, the field is larger than would at first thought be supposed. While the title is that of THE "NEW BRUNSWICK" MAGAZINE, this does not imply that only New Brunswick interests are to be considered. To a large extent, doubtless, this province will be to the front, but so far as opportunity offers the interests of the other Maritime Provinces will have a due share of attention. Contributors from all sections may rely on receiving a cordial welcome.

The purpose of the magazine is to deal with facts rather than fancies. It has been the laudable motive of some of the magazines of the past to develop and

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\*Trans. Royal Society of Canada, 1895.

#### 4 THE NEW BRUNSWICK MAGAZINE.

foster native literature of all kinds, and to this end speculative essays were welcomed on account of the writers rather than from the merits of the subjects treated. Verse, and some of it of a very high character, was another feature of those publications. In this way, however, much was printed that did not interest the great body of readers, or when it did interest it failed to instruct. Too much energy was applied to little purpose. An early instance of this was seen in the "Amaranth," published by Robert Shives, in the forties. It was a very good magazine of its kind, but it has no value today except as a curiosity. Its articles, of themselves, give no information which renders them worthy of preservation. "Stewart's Quarterly" was on a better plan, and was an admirable publication to which some of the best writers in Canada contributed, but it too included the whole field of literature and there was necessarily much of the abstract and speculative in its composition, though, unlike the "Amaranth", it has a value today for the many good things it did contain. Had it been continued and developed by Mr. Stewart to the present time, there would have been no field for THE NEW BRUNSWICK MAGAZINE.

The present publication does not aim to be a vehicle for purely literary effort outside of the lines laid down in the prospectus. It is on a wholly different plan from any previous publication in these provinces, for it is devoted to the diffusion of information in respect to the country and its people. It will be an educator in the highest sense of the term, and it will contain much that can be had from no other source. The contributors include those who go out of the beaten paths for their material, and who gather their facts from original sources which are not easily accessible to the general student. For this reason every volume of THE MAGAZINE will be a book of rare information and



interest, and copies of the monthly numbers will have a value which time cannot diminish and will in all probability greatly increase.

That there should be a field for such a magazine is beyond question. With a long experience in various kinds of journalism and a knowledge of what people want, it is the belief of the publisher that *THE MAGAZINE* will at least succeed sufficiently to become self-sustaining, even though there may be little margin for profit and no room whatever for a dream of wealth.

The publisher would be ungrateful indeed if he did not put on record his warm appreciation of the offers of assistance he has had from writers and students at home and at a distance. Some notable names will be recognized in the list of those who have already expressed their willingness to contribute from time to time, and other notable names will be announced a little later. In nearly every instance where names are given, the offer of assistance has been voluntary. Indeed, up to the present time, apart from one or two letters to personal friends, there has been no soliciting of assistance nor has there in any instance been a canvass for subscriptions or advertisements, apart from the issue of the early circular and a prospectus. The desire was to get what was practically a voluntary expression of opinion. Now that the magazine is established, however, it will be in order to adopt the usual business methods to ensure the continued success of the publication.

Having thus introduced *THE NEW BRUNSWICK MAGAZINE* to its readers, the publication can hereafter speak for itself. It is more easy than it is wise to promise much at the outset, but the public may rest assured that every effort will be made to increase the value of the magazine in proportion to the support it may continue to receive.

W. K. REYNOLDS.

*AT PORTLAND POINT.*

## THE FIRST ENGLISH SETTLEMENT AT ST. JOHN.

All that has hitherto been published with regard to the founding of the first permanent English Settlement at the mouth of the river St. John is of a fragmentary character. The story really remains to be written, and in view of the abundant materials available it is a matter of surprise that some competent hand has not long since been found to undertake the task.

As early as the year 1755, Governor Charles Lawrence of Nova Scotia suggested to Sir Wm. Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts, the desirability of establishing a fortified post on the St. John river: he also recommended that steps should be taken to induce the people of New England to occupy the lands left vacant by the removal of the Acadians as well as other eligible situations in Nova Scotia—which colony at that time included the present province of New Brunswick. In reply, Sir Wm. Shirley expressed the opinion that all that could then be attempted was to make known as widely as possible the terms on which the lands would be granted, coupled with an assurance of protection for the settlers from the French and Indians, whom they had come to regard as their hereditary enemies. Unfortunately for the designs of the two royal governors, the exigencies of the war then being waged with France required the withdrawal of most of the forces stationed in Nova Scotia, and Governor Lawrence was unable either to secure possession of the St. John river, where Boishbert the French commander has established himself, or to garrison the fort at St. John harbor captured by Captain Rous the previous summer.

Meanwhile the Lords of Trade and Plantations, who

largely controlled the British colonial policy, advised Lawrence to promote the development of his province in every practicable way, expressing their opinion that their should be no difficulty in obtaining settlers from the other colonies. Although this idea was quite in accord with the governor's own mind, he was obliged to plead his inability to induce the New England people to settle on frontier lands as long as they "ran the risk of having their throats cut by inveterate enemies who effected their escape by their knowledge of every creek and corner." He added that as he could not spare the troops necessary to defend new settlements nothing could be done "till the country was possessed in peace."

The threatening attitude of Boisherbert however determined the British to establish a fortified post at the mouth of the St. John, where the French had again taken possession of their old fort on the point of land opposite Navy Island. Accordingly, in the summer of 1758, an expedition, consisting of three ships of war and two transports, having on board a regiment of Highlanders and one of New England troops, left Boston for the St. John river. A landing was effected near Negro Point, and after making their way with some difficulty through the woods, the attacking party advanced against the fort from the land side. They were repulsed in their first attack, but in a second attempt were more successful and the fort was carried by storm. The defences were found to be very weak, there being but two small cannon in position. The French lost about forty killed and a number of prisoners, the remainder escaping in boats and canoes up the river. The sloop *Ulysses* which attempted to follow them was wrecked in the falls. The fort was now occupied by a British garrison of some 200 men, its defences were improved and barracks built for the accommodation of the troops.

On the 12th of October, 1758, the first of the now celebrated proclamations of Governor Lawrence was issued, offering favorable terms to such industrious settlers as might be disposed to remove to Nova Scotia and cultivate the lands vacated by the French or any unsettled parts of the province. This had the effect of directing attention to the St. John river, as well as to other localities. Young and adventurous spirits came to the fore as pioneers of civilization, among them James Simonds, of Haverhill, Massachusetts, to whom undoubtedly belongs the honor of being the founder of the first permanent settlement at the mouth of the St. John. The circumstances that induced Mr. Simonds to come to St. John are thus detailed in one of his letters \* now in possession of the writer of this article:—

In the years 1759 and 1760 proclamations were published by his Majesty's order through the colonies (some of which I can now produce) which promised all the lands and possessions of the Acadians who had been removed or any other lands lying within the Province of Nova Scotia to such as would become settlers there. In consequence of these proclamations I went through the greatest part of Nova Scotia, in time of war at very great expense and at the risk of my life in search of the best lands and situations, and having at length determined to settle at the River St. John, obtained a promise from Government of large tracts of lands for myself and Brother Richard who was with me in several of my tours.

Mr. Simonds states in another document, a copy of which is also in the writer's possession, that he obtained from the government of Nova Scotia the promise of a grant of 5000 acres of land in such part of the province as he should choose, and that in the year 1762, in company with his brother, he by virtue of this arrangement took possession of the great marsh to the east of St. John, called by the Indians Seebaskastagan, where they cut a quantity of salt hay and began to make improvements. The letter from which we have just quoted continues:—

The accounts which I gave to my friends in New England of the abundance of Fish in the River and the convenience of taking them, of the extensive Fur

\*The letter referred to is dated Jan. 28. 1788, and is addressed by James Simonds to his former partners, Messrs. Hazen and White. It was rescued from an old pile of rubbish some months ago.

trade of the country and the natural convenience of burning Lime, caused numbers of them to make proposals to be concerned with me in those branches of business, among whom Mr. Hazen was the first that joined me in a trial. Afterwards in the year 1764, although I was unwilling that any should be sharers with me in the certain benefits of the fur trade, which I had acquired some knowledge of, yet by representations that superior advantage could be derived from a Cod fishery on the Banks and other branches of commerce which I was altogether unacquainted with I joined in a contract for carrying it on for that year upon an extensive plan with Messrs. Blodget, Hazen, White, Peaslie and R. Simonds.

When Mr. Simonds first visited the St. John river the Indian were hostile to the English, but the capture of Quebec and the consequent discomfiture of their French allies inclined them to sue for peace, and a treaty was made at Halifax by the Chiefs of St. John and Passamaquoddy early in the year 1765. In accordance with this treaty an Indian trading post was to be established near Fort Frederick, at the mouth of the river, and a tariff of prices was arranged which the savages were to receive for furs and peltries and to pay for such supplies, etc., as they needed.

The complete ascendancy of the English over the Acadians on the river St. John was secured by one of the most cruel and unjustifiable forays that ever sullied the annals of civilized warfare. The story in brief is as follows:—

In the month of March, 1759, a company of rangers under Captain McCurdy started up the St. John river, on snowshoes, to strike a blow at the French settlements. The first night they encamped on a hillside near the mouth of the Belleisle river. Here the party had the misfortune to lose their commander, Capt. McCurdy, who was killed by the falling of a birch tree cut by one of his own men. Lieut. Moses Hazen \* succeeded to the command and under him the party proceeded to Ste. Anne's Point, where they set

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\*Moses Hazen was a cousin of James Simonds and a brother of Wm. Hazen one of the preloyalist settlers of St. John. He distinguished himself under Gen. Wolfe on the plains of Abraham. He fought against the British in the Revolutionary war, raised a corps known as "Hazen's own", and attained the rank of Major General in the American army.

fire to the chapel and other buildings and ruthlessly killed the inhabitants with little regard to age or sex. On their return they treated the settlements at Oro-mocto, Grimross and Nerepis in much the same fashion. Sir Jeffrey Amherst, Commander in Chief of the forces in America, refers to this transaction in two of his letters to Governor Lawrence. He says in the first: "You will have heard of the accident poor Capt. McCurdy met with as likewise of the success of his Lieut. in demolishing the settlements at St. Anne's. On the recommendation of Major Scott I have preferred Lt. Hazen to Capt McCurdy's Company." In the second letter he writes: "Major Morris sent me the particulars of the scouting party and I gave a commission of Captain to Lieut. Hazen as I thought he deserved it. I am sorry to say what I have since heard of that affair has sullied his merit with me as I shall always disapprove of killing women and helpless children: poor McCurdy is a loss he was a good man in his post."

Confirmation of the barbarity practised on the occasion is found in the journal of Rev. Jacob Bailey of Pownalboro' Maine, a prominent Loyalist and afterwards Rector of Annapolis, N. S. \* Mr. Bailey on the night of Dec. 13, 1759, chanced to lodge at Norwood's inn in Lynn, and speaking of the company he found there he says: "We had among us a soldier belonging to Capt. Hazen's company of Rangers, who declared that several Frenchmen were barbarously murdered by them after quarters were given, and the villain added, I suppose to show his importance, that he split the head of one asunder after he fell on his knees to implore mercy. A specimen of New England clemency."

When James Simonds first visited St. John he was a young man of about twenty-five years of age: He was descended from Samuel Simonds of Essex,

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\*See Bartlets "Frontier Missionary," p. 48.

England, who came to America in 1630 with Governor Winthrop. His father Nathaniel Simonds of Haverhill, Mass., married Sarah Hazen, whose brother Moses was father of Capt. Moses Hazen just referred to as leader of the party of Rangers that destroyed the French settlements on the River St. John, and also father of William Hazen of Newburyport, who came to St. John in 1775. It is possible that the presence of Capt. Moses Hazen with the garrison at Fort Frederick may have led James Simonds to visit the place in the first instance. Mr. Simonds was a man of good education, resolute character, shrewd and enterprising. He was, moreover, possessed of a robust constitution, as is seen in the fact that in spite of the hardships and privations of his early life in St. John he survived all his contemporaries, as well as every official and appointee of the crown at the time of the organization of the province, and every member of the first provincial legislature, and quietly departed this life at his old residence at Portland Point Feb. 20, 1831, at the patriarchal age of 96 years.

About the same time that Mr. Simonds was laying his plans for establishing a fishing and trading post at the mouth of the St. John, Captain Francis Peabody, Israel Perley and others, were making arrangements for the settlement of the Township of Maugerville, and it appears that in the year 1762, James Simonds came with Capt. Peabody and his son Samuel Peabody, Hugh Quinton and some others to St. John in a small vessel from Newburyport. There were about twenty in the party besides the families of Captain Peabody and Hugh Quinton.

A frame for a small dwelling house with boards, to cover it, was brought by Capt. Peabody in the vessel, also a small stock of cattle. The spot selected for the erection of the house was near the site of an old French

fort at Portland Point, and by the united efforts of the party it was erected, enclosed, and on the third day after their arrival inhabited. The women and children had meanwhile found shelter at the barracks on the other side of the harbor, and there on the same night of their arrival, August 28, 1762, was born James Quinton, the first child of English speaking parents whose birth is recorded at St. John. Capt. Peabody's daughter Hannah, then a girl of fourteen, was among those who found shelter at the barracks until the house at Portland Point was fit for their reception. She afterwards became the wife of James Simonds, and her sisters Elizabeth and Hephzibah married respectively James White and Jonathan Leavitt. Capt. Francis Peabody had served with distinction in the "Seven Years War," \* and from the active part he took in effecting the settlement of the Township of Maugerville, as well as from his age and character, he must be justly regarded as the most prominent and influential person on the St. John river while he lived. He died in the year 1773.

The unstable condition of affairs during the war with France had for some time precluded any serious attempt at settlement along the northern shore of the Bay of Fundy, and the New England traders and fishermen who resorted thither were for the most part adventurers. With the return of peace the more enterprising spirits began to make arrangements for securing a foothold against rival traders.

James Simonds and his brother, in the first instance, established themselves at St. John merely with the tacit approval of the Nova Scotia authorities and of the commander of the garrison at Fort Frederick. It was not until three years later that they obtained their first grant of land.

In the grants issued by the government at this

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\* See Parkman's "Wolfe and Montcalm," p. 428.



period a provision was inserted requiring the payment to the crown of "a free yearly quit rent of one shilling sterling for every 50 acres, the first payment to be made on Michaelmas day next after the expiration of ten years from the date of the grant." In order to prolong the period when the payment of quit rents would be necessary, many of the early settlers delayed taking out their grants. James Simonds tells us that he deferred taking out his grant for this reason, thinking that with the exception of a fishing station, the lime quarries and the marsh, the lands in the vicinity of St. John were not even worth the quit rents. However, before long rival traders appeared upon the scene and the securing of his situation became an object of importance. An entry in the minutes of the Council of Nova Scotia records that on Aug. 9, 1763, license was given to John Anderson to occupy 50 acres of any lands unappropriated on the St. John river until further orders from government, and under date June 7, 1765 we have the following :—

Licence is hereby granted to John Anderson to Traffick with the Tribes of Indians on St. John's River and in the Bay of Fundy he conducting himself without Fraud or Violence and submitting himself to the observance of such regulations as may at any time hereafter be established for the better ordering of such commerce. This licence to continue during pleasure.

A similar license was granted the same year to Capt. Isaac Caton "to traffick with the Indians on Saint John's River and the Bay of Fundy." These licenses for trade with the Indians were issued in accordance with the proclamation of George III, given at the Court of St. James, October 7, 1763, as is shown by the following extract :—

And we do by the advice of our privy council declare and enjoin that the trade with the said Indians shall be free and open to all our subjects whatever, provided that every person who may incline to trade with the said Indians do take out a licence for carrying on such trade from the governor or commander in chief of any of our colonies where such person shall reside, and also give security to observe such regulations as we shall at any time think fit by ourselves, or commissioners to be appointed for this purpose, to direct or appoint for the benefit of the said trade.

The growing importance of St. John as a trading centre is indicated by other references to the locality scattered through the minutes of the proceedings of the Governor in Council ; among them the following shows that the excellence of the lime stone had attracted the attention of the imperial authorities at an early date.

Licence is hereby granted Jonathan Hoar, Esq., \* to carry Lime Stone from Musquash Cove at St. John's River to Annapolis Royal for the repairing of the Fortifications there. Given under my hand and seal at Halifax, October 1, 1763.

(Signed) MONTAGU WILMOT.

Of those who came to St. John with Capt. Francis Peabody in 1762, only Samuel Peabody and one or two others appear to have settled at the mouth of the river, the remainder removed shortly afterwards to Maugerville, where a township had been assigned to them. The small dwelling erected at Portland Point by Capt. Peabody became the property of his son-in-law, James Simonds, but was for some years the residence of James White.

In the year 1763 James and Richard Simonds were actively engaged in the fishery and trading business at St. John and Passamaquondy in conjunction with their relative William Hazen, a young and enterprising merchant of Newburyport who provided the necessary supplies. They had several men in their employ, among them Samuel Middleton, a cooper, and Anthony Dyer ; these remained at St. John the first winter. Others of those engaged in the employ of Simonds and his partners seem to have had a previous acquaintance with St. John harbor ; Moses Genough for example was there in 1758, and Lemuel Cleveland in 1757 when he says "the French had a fort at Portland Point where Mr. Simonds house was afterwards built."

In order to carry on the business at St. John on an extensive scale, James Simonds decided to form a company for the purpose, but first he made sure of his

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\*Colonel Jonathan Hoar : See Murdoch's Hist. N. S., Vol. II, p. 378.

situation by procuring the following license from the governor of Nova Scotia:—

Licence is hereby granted to James Simonds to occupy a tract or point of land on the north side of St. John's River, opposite Fort Frederick, for carrying on a fishery and for burning lime stone, the said tract or point of land containing by estimation ten acres.

(Signed) MONTAGU WILMOT.

Halifax, Feb. 8, 1764.

The accounts that James Simonds gave his friends in New England of the admirable situation he had secured for himself caused numbers of them to make proposals to be concerned with him in the business about to be undertaken, of whom Wm. Hazen was the first that joined him in a trial. Mr. Hazen had intimate business connections with Samuel Blodget a merchant of Boston, and the latter became a partner in the enterprise. It was agreed that Messrs. Blodget, Hazen and Simonds should each have one fourth part in the company about to be organized, and that the remainder should be taken by Richard Simonds, James White and Robert Peaslie as junior partners. The partnership was in its way "a family compact," Richard Simonds being a younger brother of James Simonds, while Robert Peaslie had married Mr. Hazen's sister Anna, and James White had been for some years a clerk in Mr. Blodget's employ, and was moreover a cousin of Mr. Hazen.

Articles of partnership \* were carefully drawn up and signed on March 1st, 1764, under which it was arranged that Messrs. Blodget and Hazen should remain at Boston and Newburyport to forward supplies and receive whatever was sent them in return, and James Simonds, with Messrs. White, Peaslie, and R. Simonds as his aides, should proceed immediately to St. John and there "enter upon and pursue with all speed and faithfulness the business of the cod fishery, seine fishery, fur trade, burning of lime and every other

\*See Collections N. B. Hist. Soc. Vol. 1. p. 187.

trading business that shall be thought advantageous to the company."

Accordingly Messrs. Simonds and White, with a party of about thirty hands, embarked on board the schooner Wilmot, Wm. Story, master, for the scene of operations. They left Newburyport about the 10th of April, arriving at Passamaquoddy on the 14th and at St. John on the 18th. The names of these pioneers of commerce at St. John were Jonathan Leavitt, Jonathan Simonds, Samuel Middleton, Peter Middleton, Edmund Black, Moses True, Reuben Stevens, John Stevens, John Boyd, Moses Kimball, Benjamin Dow, Simon Ayers, Thomas Jenkins, Batcheldor Ring, Rowley Andros, Edmund Butler, John Nason, Reuben Mace, Benjamin Wiggins, John Lovering, John Hookey, Reuben Sergeant, Benjamin Stanwood, Benjamin Winter, Anthony Dyer, Webster Emerson, George Cary, John Hunt, George Berry, Simeon Hillyard, Ebenezer Fowler, William Picket, and Ezekiel Carr.

Quite a number of these men became permanent settlers in the country and their descendants today are numerous and respectable.

Some months ago the writer of this article found in a pile of rubbish that had been thrown out of the old Ward Chipman house some old account books in a fair state of preservation, containing in part the transactions of Messrs. Simonds and White while in business in St. John. One of these, a book of nearly 100 pages, ordinary foolscap size, with stout paper cover, is of especial interest. At the top of the first page are the words

1764, ST. JOHN RIVER,

DAY BOOK NO. 1.

This book is intact and very creditably kept. The entries are in the hand writing of James White. It contains the record of the initial transactions of the first business firm established at St. John one hundred and

thirty four years ago. The accounts during the continuance of the partnership were kept in New England currency or "Lawful money of Massachusetts." The letters L.M. were frequently affixed in order to distinguish this currency from sterling money or Nova Scotia currency. In early times the value of the Massachusetts or New England currency was in the proportion £1 sterling = £1. 6. 8., L.M. The New Brunswick dollar or five shillings was equivalent to six shillings L. M. It is a fact worth recording that the Massachusetts currency continued to be used in all ordinary business transactions on the St. John river up to the time of the arrival of the Loyalists in 1783. This is only one instance showing how close were the ties that bound the preloyalist settlers of this province to New England, and it is scarcely a matter of surprise that during the Revolutionary war the Massachusetts Congress found many sympathizers on the River St. John.

While accounts were kept according to the currency of New England, very little money was in circulation and the amount of cash handled by Simonds and White was small enough. For years they supplied the settlers at Maugerville with such things as they needed, very often receiving payment in furs and skins, in the securing of which the white inhabitants became such expert hunters and trappers as to arouse the jealousy of the Indians. They also furnished barrel and hogshead staves of white and red oak, boards, shingles, oar rafters, spars, cedar posts and cordwood. Later they were able to furnish farm produce, sheep and cattle; they also were frequently employed in the service of the Company in various ways by Simonds and White. With the Indians the trade was almost entirely one of barter, the staple article being the fur of the Spring beaver. The account books that have been preserved probably do not contain a complete record of all the shipments

made from St. John by Simonds and White, but they suffice to show that during the period of ten years that elapsed from their settlement in 1764 to the outbreak of the American Revolution (when the ports of Massachusetts were closed against them) they exported 18,250 lbs. of spring beaver skins, and 8,390 lbs. of fall and winter beaver skins, a total of 26,640 lbs. besides 2,265 lbs. of castor, the whole amounting in value to £8,500, according to the invoice prices. As the average weight of a beaver skin was a pound and a half, the number of skins exported must have been at least 40,000. There were other traders engaged in the same business, as appears from Mr. Simond's correspondence. If then this firm alone sent to New England an average of 4,000 beaver skins annually, it is manifest that the fur trade of the St. John river at this period had assumed large proportions.

During the ten years of uninterrupted trade, Simonds and White shipped to New England, in addition to the beaver which was their staple article, skins of all the animals common to the country, including the following:—11,022 Musquash, 6,050 Marten, 870 Otter, 258 Fisher, 522 Mink, 120 Fox, 140 Sable, 74 Raccoon, 67 Loupcervier, 8 Woolverene, 5 Bear, 2 Nova Scotia Wolf, 50 Cariboo, 85 Deer, and 1,113 Moose, besides some 3,000 lbs. of feathers, of which articles the value according to invoice prices was £2,795.

The prices at which these furs were quoted one hundred and thirty years ago seem, when compared with those of modern times, to be ridiculously low ; \* their total value, however, amounted to the respectable sum of \$40,000.

In their business transactions Messrs Simonds and White kept four sets of accounts: one for the Indian

\*The prices reduced to modern currency would be about as follows:—Bear skin \$1.30, Loupcervier \$1.50, Woolverene .66, Raccoon .50, Red Fox .60, Black Fox \$2.00, Fisher .66, Sable .50, Mink .50, Marten .50, Musquash .09, Deer \$1.30, Cariboo \$1.50, Moose \$2.00, Spring Beaver \$1.66, Winter do. \$1.38, Fall do. \$1.00.

trade, a second for their business with the white inhabitants of the country, a third for that with their own employees, and a fourth for that with the garrison at Fort Frederick. These old account books contain some curious items. The consumption of rum by the employees, and indeed by all the inhabitants of the country, was something astonishing. The use of rum as a beverage seems to have been quite the universal custom of the day, while on the other hand many apparently did not use tobacco, although the use of snuff boxes shows that the use of snuff was not uncommon. Rum was sold at 1 shilling per quart, tobacco at 8 pence per pound, tea (which was little used) sold at 8 s. per lb. coffee at 1s. 6d. per lb. molasses at 3s. per gallon, sugar at 7d. per lb., gingerbread cakes 2d. each, lemons 3d. each, cheese 9d. per lb., soap 1s. per lb. Among other articles in demand were powder and shot, fishing tackle, flints, cuttose knives, milled caps, blankets, blue rattan and fear-nothing jackets, woollen and check shirts, horn and ivory combs, silk handkerchiefs, turkey garters, pins and needles, etc. In the course of a few years the variety of articles kept in stock at the store at Portland Point increased surprisingly till it might be said that the company sold everything "from a needle to an anchor," including such things as a variety of crockery and dry goods besides such articles as knee buckles, looking glasses, men's and women's pumps (or best shoes), tin candlesticks, brass door knobs, wool cards, mouse traps, whip saws, mill saws, skates and razors. Writing paper was sold at a penny a sheet or 9d. per half quire. The only books kept in stock were almanacks, psalters, spelling books and primers.

The old account books bear evidence of being well thumbed, for Indian debts were often hard to collect and white men's debts were at least as hard to collect

in ancient as in modern days. Old and thumbworn as the books are, and written with ink that often had been frozen and with quill pens that often needed mending, they are extremely interesting as relics of the past, and well deserving of a better fate than that which manifestly awaited them when by the merest accident they were rescued from a dismal heap of rubbish.

W. O. RAYMOND.

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### WHERE STOOD FORT LATOUR?

It is not always the events greatest in historic consequences which are enshrined the deepest in the hearts of a people, but rather those that most exhibit the primal human virtues of valor patience and self-sacrifice. Into such events every man can project himself, and not only understand but feel them. In our own early history there were many occurrences of more importance than the gallant defence by Madame de La Tour of her husband's fort against his arch-enemy Charnisay, but there are none better known or oftener related. The historians of St. John have done the story full justice, and Mr. Hannay in particular has left little for any other to say about it. But if anyone, thoughtful of his country's past, wishes to stand on the spot where these things happened, and to call up in fancy the scenes of that April morning of long ago, whither shall he turn? For no man can this day point with certainty to the site of Fort LaTour.

Ample records exist to prove that the fort stood at the mouth of the St. John, but they allow room for difference of opinion as to whether it stood on the east or west side. It is placed on the east side on the map in Volume I of the superb new Jesuit Relations (under the name Fort St. Jean), and on the map in Greswell's History of Canada. Mr. Hannay thinks it was on the



west side at the "old fort", and other local historians, including I believe the late Mr. Lawrence, have thought that it stood on the site of Fort Dufferin. Some years ago in examining ancient maps of New Brunswick I was struck by the fact that most of the earlier ones placed it on the east side; and, led thereby to investigate the entire subject from the beginning, I was forced to the conclusion that the fort stood upon the east side, and probably on the knoll at the head of Rankin's wharf at Portland Point. The full evidence for this belief was given, along with reproductions of the old maps, in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for 1891, but as that work is not readily accessible, and as the subject is of some popular interest, I shall give here a synopsis of two of its most important lines of evidence, along with one or two points which have come to light since then.

The only direct reference to the site of Fort LaTour in any original document known to any of our historians is contained in Nicolas Denys' "Description géographique de l'Amerique septentrionale", published at Paris in 1672. All writers agree on Denys' truthfulness. He knew intimately both LaTour and Charnisay, had visited the St. John River, and after LaTour's ruin had employed some of his men. His authority on this question must be of the highest. And here is a literal translation of what he writes of St. John Harbor.

This entrance is narrow, because of a little island which is to larboard or on the left side, which being passed the river is much larger. On the same side as the island there are large marshes or flats which are covered at high tide; the beach is of muddy sand which makes a point, which passed, there is a cove (or creek) which makes into the said marshes, of which the entrance is narrow, and there the late Sieur Monsieur de la Tour has caused to be made a weir, in which were caught a great number of those Gaspereaux which were salted for winter, [here follows an account of the fish caught]. A little farther on, beyond the said weir, there is a little knoll where d'Aunay built his fort, which I have not found well placed according to my idea, for it is commanded by an island which is very

near and higher ground, and behind which all ships can place themselves under cover from the fort, in which there is only water from pits, which is not very good, no better than that outside the fort. It would have been in my opinion better placed behind the island where vessels anchor, and where it would have been higher, and in consequence not commanded by other neighboring places, and would have had good water, as in that which was built by the said late *Sieur de la Tour*, which was destroyed by *d'Aunay* after he had wrongfully taken possession of it, etc.

If the impartial reader who knows the harbor well, will follow carefully this account, or better if he will read it in comparison with *Bruce's* fine old map of 1761 which shows the harbor untouched by modern improvements, I think he will agree that *Denys* has given a good description of the harbor, that the island on the left of the entrance is *Partridge Island*, that the flats were those at *Carleton* now partly included in the *Millpond*, that the beach of muddy sand making a point was *Sand Point*, that the cove or creek making into the sand marshes was the creek, clearly shown on *Bruce's* map, at the present outlet of the *Millpond*, that the knoll a little farther on was the slight elevation on which stands the "old fort" in *Carleton*. On this knoll, says *Denys*, *d'Aunay* (*Charnisay*) built his fort, and further evidence of the identity of this knoll is given in his statement that the fort was commanded by an island [i. e. *Navy Island*] very near, behind which [i. e. in the channel] vessels could lie under cover from the fort, and that it had bad water. It may seem an objection that he makes the island higher than the fort site, but the island has washed away much in recent times, and the successive forts afterwards built at the "old fort" point must have raised that site somewhat. But aside from this we have important independent testimony that the fort site was really commanded by the island, in the following statement made in 1701 by the *Sieur de Brouillan* in describing the French fort which then stood on this point in *Carleton*,—"it is

commanded on one side by an island at the distance of a pistol shot", and he also speaks of its bad water—(Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia, Vol. I, page 249). Moreover, while Denys description of the location of d'Aunay's fort applies thus perfectly to the Carleton site, it fits no other about the harbor. Charnisay's fort then stood at Carleton, but where was LaTour's? Here Denys is not so clear, and all that we can gather with certainty from his account is that it was *not* on the "old fort" site in Carleton.

The testimony of the maps is in brief as follows: Many maps showing Acadia were published before 1700. Of these some are but copies of others and hence of no value as authorities, but I know of at least four made entirely independently of one another, which place Fort LaTour on the east side of the harbor. In fact, all the maps known to me belonging before 1700 which mark Fort LaTour at all, place it on the east side, with but one exception. This is the fine Duval map which in the editions of 1653 and 1664, as I have been told (I have not seen them) places it on the west side. But the third and improved edition of 1677 removes it from the west to the east side. Now second or later editions of maps like later editions of books are likely to be more accurate than the first, and DuVal must have had good reason for making this change. Another map of much importance has recently been published, (in a fine French Atlas by Marcel) drawn by Franquelin, dated 1708, but really made earlier. Franquelin was in Acadia in 1686 and made by far the best map of the St. John River which had up to that time been drawn, (a copy of which is contained in the the latest volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada,) and he therefore knew well the geography of this region. On his 1708 map he marks Fort Martinon on the west side of the harbor,

and Fort LaTour on the east. The former was of course that of the Sieur Martignon, who was granted the west side of the harbor in seigniory in 1676, but that Franquelin placed Fort LaTour on the east side is significant. After 1700 several maps appeared which placed this fort on the west side of the harbor, no doubt through confusion of it with that built at Carleton by Villebon, and this is the case in the fine maps of Bellin made before 1755. In 1757 however Bellin, the greatest French mapmaker of the last century, issued a much corrected map of Acadia, and in that he not only removes Fort LaTour from the west to the east side but places before the name the significant word "Ancien", so that it reads "Ancien F. LaTour." Bellin had access to the remarkably rich collections of ancient maps in the French "Depot des Cartes" and that he should have changed his earlier maps and especially have added the significant word "ancient" must be given weight in this argument. This is but the barest outline, but I may summarize the whole matter by saying that I know of no piece of evidence drawn from maps tending to show that the fort was on the west side; it all points to the east side.

If now we seek for a possible site for the fort upon the east side, we find that but a single site of an old fort has been recorded, that at Portland Point. Had any other existed it could hardly have completely escaped notice. Thus Mr. Lawrence (*Footprints*, page 4) states "Mr. Simonds erected his dwelling on the ruins of an old French Fort, Portland Point", and there is other evidence to show that a fort of considerable importance stood there. Moreover, and this is important, if this fort at Portland Point was not Fort LaTour, our historians have no idea what fort it was.

Denys, then, tells us that Fort LaTour was not at the "old fort" in Carleton; the early maps place it upon

the east side; but a single fort-site is known on the east side,—that at Portland Point. This is why I think the fort stood on the east side, and probably at Portland Point. It is true these facts do not prove that conclusion; but they seem to me to give it a higher degree of probability than any other theory at present possesses. In any case, these facts are too important to be ignored, and if anyone wishes to establish another view, it will not be enough to give simply the reasons for his own belief, but he must meet and answer this testimony of Denys and the mapmakers, and show either that they were mistaken or else that they have been misinterpreted. But whatever we may think of the evidence, this much is sure, that future students will impartially examine it and give a decision according to its merits.

W. F. GANONG.

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### *THE BROTHERS D'AMOURS.*

#### THE FIRST FRENCH SETTLERS ON THE ST. JOHN RIVER.

Most people in New Brunswick, when they speak of the first settlers on the River St. John refer to the Loyalists who came here in 1783, or to the New England men who settled at Mougerville and Sheffield twenty years earlier. Little is ever said, because but little is known, of those French inhabitants of the St. John river who were living on its banks a full century before the era of the Loyalists, and of whom we obtain very fleeting and uncertain glimpses in the official despatches sent by the commandants of Acadia to the French government. Yet these people cannot but be interesting to us who now inhabit the land which they made their home, and if the whole story of their trials and toils could be told we would no doubt find it as full

of romance as the world has found the story of Evangeline, as related by America's greatest poet. Unfortunately, there is no possibility of going into such details with regard to the early French settlers of the St. John as the poet was able to evolve from his imagination with reference to the fictitious heroine of the Acadian exile. Yet, enough can be gathered from the records of that time to give us a fairly accurate idea of the manner of men who were living on this great river, amidst the vast Acadian wilderness, two hundred years ago.

In 1670 Acadia, which had been seized by the English in 1654, was restored to the French under the terms of the treaty of Breda, and the Chevalier de Grand Fontaine became governor of the colony. The English had held Acadia for sixteen years, yet they had done nothing to increase the number of its inhabitants, and when their fishing establishments were broken up and their forts surrendered to the French, no traces of their occupation remained, with the exception of the fort at Jemseg which they had built, and which was nothing more than a post for trading with the Indians. Fort Jemseg stood on the east side of the St. John river, and just south of the entrance to Grand Lake. It was 120 feet long by 90 wide, enclosed by pickets 18 feet in height. On it were mounted four small guns, and within it was a house for the garrison 60 ft. by 30. Old Fort Latour, at the mouth of the river, was then in ruins, and in 1670 there does not appear to have been a single settler, French or English, on the banks of the St. John from the Bay of Fundy to the river's source. Rich as the territory was in every natural resource, its very vastness and the gloom of the impenetrable forest which shaded the waters of the great river seem to have deterred the humble tiller of the soil from seeking a home there. The great solitude was only broken by the passing of the canoe of the savage or the

movement of the wild animals of the wooded wilderness.

The commandant on the St. John river in 1670 was Pierre de Joibert, seigneur de Soulanges and Marson, an officer in the French army who had married a daughter of Chartier de Lotbiniere, who had been attorney general of New France. Joibert, although he lived but eight years in Acadia, for he died in 1678, has substantial claims to recognition as an historical figure for he was the father of Elizabeth Joibert, who was born in old Fort Latour in 1673, and who became the wife of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor general of Canada, and the mother of the second Marquis de Vaudreuil who was the last French governor of Canada. Joibert seems to have wished to become an Acadian seigneur, and he was the first grantee of territory in that part of Acadia now known as New Brunswick, under the terms of the edict made by Louis XIV. on the 20th May 1676. This document authorized Count Frontenac, the governor general, to grant lands in New France, on condition that they should be cleared within six years. Such a condition was impossible of fulfilment, for the grants were too large to be cleared within the time specified unless the grantees had been able to place a host of tenants upon them. On the 12th Oct. 1676, Joibert, who is described in the document as major of Pentagoet (Penobscot) and commandant of the forts of Gemisick (Jemseg) and the river St. John, received a grant of a seignory called Nachouac, to be hereafter called Soulanges, fifteen leagues from Gemisick, two leagues front on each side of the St. John River, and two leagues deep inland. This grant which contained upwards of 46,000 acres of land, embraced not only the territory occupied by Mr. Gibson's town of Marysville, but also the site of Fredericton, St. Mary's and Gibson, so that if Joibert's heirs could lay

claim to it now they would be multi-millionaires. Four days after the issue of this grant, Joibert obtained a second concession granting him the house or fort of Gemisick, with a league on each side of the fort, making two leagues front on the river and two leagues in depth inland. This second grant was just one half the size of the first, yet it formed a noble domain and included a fort which might easily have been made a formidable place of strength.

When Joibert died in 1678 it does not appear that he had done anything to improve or settle the valuable territory which had been granted to him by the French king. His widow and her children returned to Canada, and we hear nothing more of her in connexion with the affairs of Acadia until 1691, when she received a grant of land on the River St. John of four leagues in front on the river and two leagues in depth, and opposite the grant of M. de Chauffours (called Jemseck) the centre of the grant being opposite the house at Jemseck. This document shows that the grants to Joibert had been escheated or lapsed, and that the territory they embraced had been regranted to other persons. The new grant to the widow was probably intended to compensate her in some measure for the loss of the land granted to her husband, but it does not appear that she ever occupied it or that she was able to sell it to a good purchaser. Land was then too easily obtained from the government to be of much value as a saleable commodity when in private hands.

The Sieur de Chauffours who was in the occupation of the Jemseg territory in 1691 was one of four brothers who had come to Acadia from Quebec in 1684, or perhaps a year or two earlier. They were sons of Mathieu d' Amours, a native of Brittany who emigrated to Quebec and became a member of the Governor's Council in 1663. He was created a member of the Canadian



Noblesse. From his position in the Council, d'Amours was naturally an influential personage, and, like many a modern public man, he used his power to promote the fortunes of his sons. They all received large grants of land in Acadia, and they all resided on the St. John River where they had very extensive possessions. Louis d'Amours, who assumed the territorial name of Sieur des Chauffours had a grant of the Richibucto and Buctouche Rivers, but he afterwards became possessed of the Jemseg seigniory which had been granted to Joibert. Rene d'Amours, Sieur de Clignacourt, in 1684, obtained a grant of land on the River St. John from Medoctec to the Longue Sault, two leagues in depth on each side. In the same year Mathieu d'Amours, Sieur de Freneuse, was granted the land along the River St. John between Gemesick and Nachouc, two leagues deep on each side of the river. In 1695 Bernard d'Amours, Sieur de Plenne received a grant of the Kennebecasis River "with a league and a half on each side of the said river, by two leagues in depth, and the islands and islets adjacent." Six years earlier the same territory had been granted to Pierre Chesnet, Sieur du Breuil, a resident of Port Royal, but this grant seems to have lapsed because the conditions as to settlement had not been complied with. At all events Bernard d'Amours got the territory which du Breuil had possessed and the latter did not come to this side of the Bay of Fundy.

The four brothers d'Amours may be properly regarded as the first settlers on the River St. John who were not officers of the government. Governor Villebon found them here when he came to Acadia in 1690, and he appears to have conceived a strong prejudice against them. Writing to the minister in Paris in 1695 he complains of the brothers d'Amours, whom he calls *soi disants genteil hommes*. He says,—“They are four

in number living on the St. John River. They are given up to licentiousness and independence for ten or twelve years they have been here. They are disobedient and seditious and require to be watched." In another paper it is stated of the d'Amours that "although they have vast grants in the finest parts of the country, they have hardly a place to lodge in. They carry on no tillage, keep no cattle, but live in trading with the Indians and debauch among them, making large profits thereby, but injuring the public good." A year later we find Villebon again writing to the minister in the same strain. "I have," says he, "no more reason to be satisfied with the Sieurs d'Amours than I previously had. The one that has come from France has not pleased me more than the other two. Their minds are wholly spoiled by long licentiousness, and the manners they have acquired among the Indians; and they must be watched closely, as I had the honor to state to you last year."

It would not be quite fair to judge of the character of the d'Amours brothers by these statements, although Governor Villebon doubtless made them in good faith. Acadia, at that time, was so full of jealousies and cabals that no man escaped censure, not even Villebon himself. The French government encouraged the forwarding of complaints to France, not only against private parties but against their own officials; and the French archives are full of letters written by all sorts and conditions of men against the governors, the judges, the priests and against each other. The d'Amours were engaged in trading with the Indians and this was enough to raise the ire of the governor, who deemed such conduct an infringement of the monopoly of the company which was supposed to control the trade of Acadia. But as this company did not provide a sufficient amount of goods and sold them at exorbitant

prices, nearly every person in Acadia was engaged in trading, or at all events, every person was accused of it, even Villebon himself being charged with having secret transactions with the English in the sale of furs. Even the captains of the men-of-war which arrived from France every year with supplies for the fort were engaged in trade, for they brought out goods for the traders in Acadia who were ruining the company's business.

Fortunately we are not without the means of correcting Villebon's statement that the d'Amours brothers had hardly a place to lodge in, kept no cattle and carried on no tillage. In August 1689 a little English boy named John Gyles, then nine years old, was taken prisoner in an Indian raid against Pemaquid, in Maine, and carried to Acadia. He remained six years a captive among the Indians of the Upper St. John, but in 1695 was sold as a slave to Louis d'Amours de Chauffours, the oldest of the d'Amours brothers. Gyles lived with this man for more than three years, and served him so faithfully that, at the end of that time, he gave him his freedom and sent him back to his people in New England. So far from having hardly a place to lodge in, Louis d'Amours at that time had quite an extensive establishment. His residence was at Jemseg on the east side of the St. John river and he seems to have lived in much comfort. Gyles, who published a narrative of his captivity many years afterwards, says that he did a great trade with the Indians and kept a store of which the English captive had charge while he lived there. He also possessed cattle and raised crops, and Gyles mentions particularly one very fine field of wheat of which the birds had made great havoc. Louis d'Amours was married to Margaret Guion, a native of Quebec, and they had two children when Gyles lived with them. This lady treated the poor English captive

with great kindness, and the narrative of Gyles, which has been widely circulated, has handed her name down to the present day as that of a good and true woman.

Mathieu d'Amours, Sieur de Freneuse, lived on the east side of the St. John river opposite the mouth of the Oromocto. Gyles stopped a night at his house in 1695, but he gives us no details as to how he lived. The fact that he had his residence in this fine farming country, rather than in a place more convenient for trading, would lead us to infer that he engaged largely in agriculture. His wife was Louise Guion, a sister of the wife of Louis d'Amours, and they had several children. Louise Guion, under the name of Madame Freneuse, occupies a large space in Acadian history, and for nearly ten years there was hardly a despatch or letter sent from Acadia to France which did not contain some reference to her. Unfortunately these references were not always complimentary, for Madame Freneuse was a sort of Acadian Cleopatra who came near undermining the foundations of the little colony. One commandant she ruined and the Port Royal colony was kept in a continual state of ferment over her, for she had partizans and defenders as well as unrelenting enemies,

Rene d'Amours, Sieur de Clignacourt, who had a large grant of territory on the Upper St. John, does not appear to have lived upon it, but probably resided with his brother Mathieu. Bernard, about the year 1701, married Jeanne le Borgne, a grand daughter of Charles de la Tour, the most striking figure in Acadian history. Rene appears to have been in France in 1696 or earlier; he was probably the youngest of the four brothers. Like his brother Louis he was engaged in trading with the Indians. John Gyles, in his narrative, informs us that when he was residing with the Indians at Medoc-tec—"when they would come in from hunting they

would be drunk and fight for several days and nights together, until they had spent most of their skins in wine and brandy, which was brought to the village by a Frenchman called Monsieur Sigenioncour." The reader will easily recognize in this name that of Rene d'Amours, Sieur de Clignacourt. Perhaps we may discern in this statement, also, the principal reason for Villebon's dissatisfaction with the d'Amours brothers. A man who was engaged in selling the Indians wine and brandy, and keeping them drunk for days until he had obtained from them all the furs they had gathered in the winter's hunt, was not likely to be a favorite with the Acadian governor. Yet the time soon came when Villebon had good reason for looking on the d'Amours with some degree of favor for at a very critical period they rendered essential service to him and to the state.

In 1696 Villebon was established with a garrison of one hundred men at Fort Nashwaak, which was then the head quarters of Acadia. It had been chosen because it was near the principal Indian villages, and so far from the mouth of the St. John river that it could not be easily attacked by the English of Boston, with whom a constant state of war existed. The story of the combats which were carried on between 1690 and 1700 between Villebon and the English would make a paper of itself, and therefore I shall not touch upon it further than as it relates to the fortunes of our first settlers, the d'Amour's brothers. If settlement was tardy on the St. John River it was not without good cause, for the tiller of the soil above all things needs peace to enable him to prosper, and he is not likely to be content to live in a land where his fields are being constantly ravaged by an enemy, his buildings burnt and his cattle killed or driven away. Yet that was what he might expect if he lived on the banks of the St. John two hundred years ago.

The English made several attacks on Acadia during the last decade of the seventeenth century, but the principal one was in 1696. An expedition was fitted out at Boston in the autumn of that year and placed under the command of Col. Benjamin Church who had been a commander in the Indian war of 1675, generally known as King Phillip's war. Church had about five hundred men with him and they were embarked in open sloops and boats. They ravaged the coast of Acadia from Passamaquoddy to the head of the Bay of Fundy, and were on their way back to Boston when they were met by a reinforcement of two hundred men in three vessels under Col. Hathorne, one of the Massachusetts Council. Hathorne, who now took the chief command, had orders to beseige and capture Fort Nashwaak, and the expedition returned to the St. John for that purpose, and ascended the river. Villebon was attacked in his fort on the 18th of October, but after cannonading it for two days the English retired. Villebon was ably assisted in the defence of his fort by two of the d'Amour's brothers, Mathieu and Rene, who arrived on the evening before the English appeared, with ten Frenchmen, their servants and retainers. Louis d'Amours was in France at this time and he had left his affairs in the care of his faithful English slave John Gyles, then a lad of sixteen. I doubt whether I can tell the story of what occurred to the family of Louis d'Amours during this English invasion better than in the words of Gyles himself, who in the narrative of his captivity \* describes the affair thus:—

Some time after, Col. Hathorne attempted the taking of the French fort up this river. We heard of him some time before he came up, by the guard which Governor Villebon had stationed at the river's mouth. Monsieur, my master, had gone to France, and madam, his wife, advised with me. She desired me to nail a paper on the door of her house, which paper read as follows:

"I entreat the general of the English not to burn my house or barn, nor

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\* Nine Years a Captive, by James Hannay, St. John, 1875—(Reprint from Drake, with compiler's notes.)

destroy my cattle. I don't suppose that such an army comes here to destroy a few inhabitants, but to take the fort above us. I have shown kindness to the English captives, as we were capacitated, and have bought two, of the Indians and sent them to Boston. We have one now with us, and he shall go also when a convenient opportunity presents, and he desires it."

When I had done this, madam said to me, "Little English," [which was the familiar name she used to call me by,] "we have shown you kindness, and now it lies in your power to serve or disserve us, as you know where our goods are hid in the woods, and that monsieur is not home. I could have sent you to the fort and put you under confinement, but my respect to you and your assurance of love to us have disposed me to confide in you, persuaded you will not hurt us or our affairs. And, now, if you will not run away to the English, who are coming up the river, but serve our interest, I will acquaint monsieur of it on his return from France, which will be very pleasing to him; and I now give my word, you shall have liberty to go to Boston on the first opportunity, if you desire, it or any other favor in my power shall not be denied you." I replied:

"Madame, it is contrary to the nature of the English to requite evil for good. I shall endeavor to serve you and your interest. I shall not run to the English, but if I am taken by them I shall willingly go with them, and yet endeavor not to disserve you either in your person or goods."

The place where we lived was called Hagimsack, twenty-five leagues from the river's mouth, as I have before stated.

We now embarked and went in a large boat and canoe two or three miles up an eastern branch of the river that comes from a large pond, and on the following evening sent down four hands to make discovery. And while they were sitting in the house the English surrounded it and took one of the four. The other three made their escape in the dark and through the English soldiers, and coming to us, gave a surprising account of affairs. Upon this news madam said to me, "Little English, now you can go from us, but I hope you will remember your word." I said, "Madam be not concerned. I will not leave your in this strait." She said, "I know not what to do with my two poor little babies." I said, "Madam, the sooner we embark and go over the great pond the better." Accordingly we embarked and went over the pond.\* The next day we spoke with Indians, who were in a canoe, and they gave us an account that Signecto town was taken and burnt. Soon after we heard the great guns at Gov. Villibon's fort, which the English engaged several days. They killed one man, then drew off down the river; fearing to continue longer, for fear of being frozen in for the winter, which in truth they would have been.

Hearing no report of cannon for several days, I, with two others, went down to our house to make discovery. We found our young lad who was taken by the English when they went up the river. The general had shown himself so honorable, that on reading the note on our door, he ordered it not to be burnt, nor the barn. Our cattle and other things he preserved, except one or two and the poultry for their use. At their return they ordered the young lad to be put on shore. Finding things in this posture, we returned and gave madam an account of it.

Here we are brought face to face with the realities

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\*This "great pond" was Grand Lake.

of war and the fears and miseries it brought to those who were its victims in ancient Acadia. It is pleasing to know that the fidelity of John Gyles to his mistress did not go unrewarded. When his master returned from France in the spring of 1697, he thanked Gyles for the care he had taken of his affairs, and said he would endeavor to fulfil the promise which his wife had made. Accordingly in the following year, after peace had been proclaimed, an English sloop from Boston came to the mouth of the St. John river and Louis d'Amours sent Gyles back in her to his people from whom he had been parted about nine years.

Mathieu d'Amours did not fare so well as his brother. As he had taken part in the defence of Fort Nashwaak, the English in coming down the river burnt his residence and barns at Freneuse and killed his cattle. The Sieur de Freneuse was left without a house and was wholly ruined, but this was not all the price he had to pay for his loyalty to his country and his king. The exposure to which he was subjected during the seige brought on an illness from which he died, leaving a widow and a large family of young children to struggle as best they might against the world's troubles and cares. Rene d'Amours, the other brother who had taken part in the defence of Fort Nashwaak, had also been ruined by the English invasion, for his goods, which were stored at Freneuse, were seized or destroyed. He afterwards joined the Indian war parties that were making raids on the English settlements of Maine. Thus the ruin wrought by war brings about reprisals and breeds more ruin and destruction of life and property.

In 1698, Governor Villebon removed his garrison from Fort Nashwaak to the old fort at the mouth of the river, on the Carleton side of the harbor, which had been originally built by Latour. Villebon died there



in the summer of 1700 and his successor Brouillan, who arrived at St. John in the summer of the following year, resolved to abandon the fort there and remove the military establishment to Port Royal. This was immediately done, and as a consequence the settlers on the St. John were left without protection. As the war between France and England was renewed in the spring of 1702, these unfortunate people had no resource but to abandon their properties on the St. John and remove to Port Royal. By this time it appears that Margaret Guion, the wife of Louis d'Amours, was dead, for her sister, Madame Freneuse, had taken charge of her children and was providing for them. These children were indeed in a bad plight and were destined soon to be doubly orphaned. Their father was made prisoner by the English in 1703 and taken to Boston where he was confined in prison for more than two years. When he was liberated, under the terms of an exchange, and returned to Port Royal he was broken in health as in fortune and soon afterwards died. We learn this fact from an entry in the register of the parish of Port Royal recording the marriage of "Pierre de Morpain, commander of the Marquis de Beupre, on 13th August, 1709, to Mdlle. Marie d'Amour de Chauffour, daughter of the late Louis d'Amour, ecuyer, and Sieur de Chauffour, and of the late dame Marguerite Guyon".

Madame Freneuse, who had not only her own large family to look after but also the children of her sister, appears to have removed to Port Royal about the time of the transfer of the garrison to that place. In 1701 she was a petitioner to the French government for a pension on the ground of the death of her husband and the losses he had suffered by the English invasion. Two of her sons were at that time cadet-soldiers of the companies in the Port Royal garrison, so Madame

Freneuse must then have been nearly forty. Yet she had captivated the too susceptible heart of M. de Bonaventure, a brave naval officer, who was in command of the King's ships on the coast of Acadia. Nor does it appear that Governor Brouillan was insensible to her blandishments, for he shielded her in every possible way and defended her from her enemies. The French government encouraged what may be properly described as the "pimp" system, so that every person in Acadia was a spy on some one else. In November 1702 we find de Goutins, the commissary of Port Royal, in a letter to the French government, complaining of a scandal caused by Madame Freneuse and Bonaventure. This story was repeated by others and the priests of Port Royal brought the matter to the notice of the Bishop of Quebec who wrote to the French minister suggested that Madame Freneuse be sent to Canada. In the autumn of 1703 Madame Freneuse had a child, but the infant was spirited away and kept at the residence of an inhabitant who lived up the river of Port Royal. Brouillan, the governor, was, however, aware of the affair, and so was one of the priests for the child was baptized by the name of Antoine on the 7th Sept. 1703. Yet all through these proceedings Madame Freneuse, instead of manifesting an humble and contrite spirit, held her head high, and her partizans, who included the two most influential men in the colony, the Governor and Bonaventure, made it uncomfortable for any one who dared to look unkindly upon her. Among the letters in our archives is one from Pontif, Surgeon Major of Port Royal, to the Minister, complaining of the ill treatment which he had received from Bonaventure on account of Madame Freneuse. Even M. de LaTour, the seigneur of Port Royal, and the principal man in the colony, was made to realize the danger of offending a friend of Bonaventure, for in a letter to

the Minister he protests against his interdiction and attributes it to the fact that neither he nor his wife had visited Madame Freneuse. In the autumn of 1704, Madame Freneuse was sent by Governor Brouillan to the River St. John, but she soon returned, alleging that she could not live there because the place was deserted. Brouillan had been ordered to send her to Quebec, but he excused himself on the ground that he had no opportunity of doing so. A journey from Port Royal to Quebec was a serious matter in those days. For nearly a year the cause of all this trouble lived up the river, at a distance from Port Royal, at the house of an inhabitant, but in the autumn of 1705 she went to France. She did not remain there very long, for she was again at Port Royal in the summer of 1706, and was the subject of much correspondence. Subercase, who had succeeded Brouillan as Governor, required her to live at a distance from Port Royal, but she seems to have returned to it occasionally. It was not until the summer of 1708 that the instructions of the French government with regard to this remarkable woman were carried out and she was sent to Quebec.

It might be supposed that this would be the last heard of Madame Freneuse in Acadia, for Quebec was a place which no person could leave without the consent of the Governor General. But this Acadian widow was quite irrepensible, and it would almost seem as if she had become as influential with the Quebec authorities as she was with the leading personages in Acadia. After the capture of Port Royal by the English in 1710 she turned up as an emissary of the French government, and the attempt which was made in the summer of 1711 by the French inhabitants and Indians to recapture that place was thought to be due to instructions she had brought from Canada. Major Paul Mascarene, an officer of the Annapolis garrison who afterwards

became Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia, in his narrative of the events of 1710 and 1711 at Annapolis, has the following reference to Madame Freneuse.

About this time they dispatch almost unknown to us—the "*priest*" from Manis to Canada with an Acco't as may be supposed, of all this—and at the same time, a certain woman by name "Madam Freneuse,"—came from the other side of the Bay of Fundy in a Birch Canoo, with only an Indian and a young Lad, her son—in the Coldest part of Winter. This woman as there is a great deal of Reason to believe was Sent by Orders from Canada, brought by Mr. St. Castine—to keep the French in a Ferment and make them backward in supplying the Garrison with any necessary's and pry into and give an Accot of our Secrets, till occasion should offer of endeavouring to drive us out of the Country. In all this indeed She was but too lucky, tho she came with quite another story at first, she said that want of all manner of necessary's had put her to the Extremity of venturing all—for all to cross the Bay—at that unseasonable time of the year—that the Indians of penobscot—were entirely Starving, and that she was forc'd to come to try whether she could be admitted to live undr the new Govenmt she was upon this received Very Kindly by Sr. Chas. Hobby—and had the Liberty she desired granted to her.

Here we obtain our last glimpse of the first French settlers of the St. John River, for the documents in the archives of Acadia make no further mention of Madame Freneuse. That river had ceased to be a French possession and more than half a century was destined to pass away before the first English settler made his appearance on its banks. All the surviving members of the d'Amours family doubtless returned to Quebec, their original home; their graves are there; the fields they cleared were soon reclaimed by the wilderness. Yet, if in telling what is known of their story, I have awakened an interest in the mind of the reader in the men and manners of that bygone time, this paper will not have been written in vain. JAMES HANNAY.

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The St. John fire department was disbanded on the the 30th of November, 1862, and the present paid force was organized. The volunteer department had been organized on August 7th, 1849. The first steam fire engine, Extinguisher No. 3, was procured in February, 1863.

## THE ORIGIN OF THE MALISEETS.\*

The tribe of Indians to which the name of Maliseet is at present restricted reside chiefly on the banks of the St. John River, in New Brunswick. At one time the local authorities supposed that these people were of Huron-Iroquois stock, but later investigation has shown that they are of the Algonquian family, as are all the tribes who are their immediate neighbors. We now know also that these St. John Indians were members of that nation or group of cognate tribes to whom the name Wapanaki † was applied—tribes that at the time they were discovered by the Europeans were in possession of the country between the St. John and the Connecticut—through Maine, New Hampshire and western Massachusetts, and whose warriors for more than a century kept the border settlements in constant terror.

The Wapanaki nation was originally composed of seven tribes, viz : Nipmuks, Sokokis, Assagunticooks, Wawanocks, Kenebeks, Penobscots, and Maliseets.

That the Micinacs were not Wapanakis has been clearly established by comparison of the languages and the traditions, though the tribes lived on intimate friendly terms and Micmac braves were sometimes found among Wapanaki war parties. Dr. Williamson, in his History of Maine, quotes a Penobscot Indian's statement that "all the Indians between the St. John and the Saco Rivers are brothers; the eldest lives on the Saco, and each tribe is younger as we pass eastward. Always I could understand these brothers very well when they speak, but when the Micmacs talk, I can't tell what they say."

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\*Spelled also Melicite and Amelicite.

†Spelled also Wabananchi, Abnaki and Abenaqui.

It is probable that the Wapanaki nation was founded by a band of Ojibwas who separated from the main tribe, travelled eastward and settled on the western slopes of the Adirondacks, from which they were driven by the Iroquois when those fierce and valorous warriors immigrated thither from the southwest. The Ojibwas retired eastward and the Connecticut river was fixed as the western limit of their territory.

This band of Ojibwas were the progenitors of the large and powerful tribe which the Europeans found in control of the country between the Connecticut and the Piscataquis, including both banks of both rivers. This tribe was known to the early writers as the Nipmuks, though they are sometimes called Pannacooks, from the name of their principal encampment, Pennacook, which was situated where Manchester, N. H., now stands and where resided their head chief Passaconnoway. The Mohegans or Mohicans were of the Wapanaki race, but whether they were recognized as a separate tribe or were under Nipmuk government is not definitely known, though the weight of evidence favor the latter conclusion.

The other tribes originated thus. First a band wandered off from the Nipmuk country and settled on the Saco, where they eventually organized an independent tribe—the Sakoki. Later a detachment from the Saco established a separate tribe on the banks of the Androscoggin, and from them sprang directly both the Wawenocks and the Kenebeks. The latter in turn provided the nucleus for the Penobscot tribe, and from the Penobscot camp went the braves who set up their wigwams on the banks of the St. John and became the founders of the people whom we now know as the Maliseets.

Just when this separation took place is not known, but it must have been some time before they were

discovered by the Europeans, for Champlain, Lescarbot, Captain John Smith and Cadillac, who visited the river during the first decade of the seventeenth century, found large encampments at Meductik and Hekpahak, (Spring Hill) and the early writers mention that the Maliseets took a leading part in the affairs of the nation.

At whatever time the Maliseets entered New Brunswick, they were confronted on their entrance by the Micmacs. The tribe had come from the southwest—so their tradition states—and finding the Atlantic Shore, which they coveted, in possession of the Iroquois—called Kwedecks in some of the Micmac legends—drove these toward the St. Lawrence, and established the Restigouche as the northern boundary of the Micmac territory.

The Micmacs seem to have permitted the Maliseets to secure the St. John without opposition, reserving one village site at the mouth of the river. According to the traditions of both tribes, their people have maintained friendly relations ever since, though the Micmacs were inclined to be aggressively combative and had several misunderstandings with the more western of the Wapanaki tribes which, according to the custom of their times, was referred to the arbitrament of the tomahawk.

In some of the earlier histories there are slight and indefinite references to battles during the period between 1605 and 1615, in which Micmacs and Penobscots seem to have been at war with the Maliseets, but these rumors lack confirmation, and it is more than probable that some other tribes were engaged in these conflicts.

The Passamaquoddy Indians were not organized as an independent tribe at the time of the European occupation, and that is the reason why we do not find any reference to them, as a tribe, in the pages of early

history. The tribe is a mixture of Maliseet and Penobscot, and originated thus: A Maliseet man, so the tradition runs, married a woman of the Penobscots and built a wigwam at the mouth of the St. Croix. The pair were joined by other Maliseets and by parties of Penobscots from Machias, Mattawamkeag and the Penobscot river. The band thus formed continued to hold allegiance to the Maliseet tribe until sometime after the advent of the whites. It was not until the Penobscots finally deserted Machias and most of the families moved to St. Croix that the band, thus augmented, elected a chief of its own and set up a tribal establishment. The inaugural of this chief was conducted by leading men of the Maliseet, Penobscot and St. Francis tribes.

Of these tribes, numbering according to the estimate made by Williamson and others, at some 36,000 at the time of the European invasion, there are at the present time but small bands, numbering in all something less than 2,000 people. They are scattered thus: The Passamaquoddies still occupy Sipayik or Pleasant Point, as it is better known, but the tribe has been separated; for a few years ago, the band living at Lewy's Island, on the upper waters of the St. Croix, quarreled with the Sipayiks over the election of a chief, and now there are two divisions on the St. Croix. The Penobscot chief still holds his council at Old Town, and the Maliseet villages are scattered along the St. John. A branch of the Maliseet is settled at Cacouna on the south side of the St. Lawrence, near Riviere du Loup. This tribe was founded in 1828 by some thirty families who moved from the upper St. John. They are written down Amalecites in the Report of the Canadian Department of Indian Affairs.

Other branches of the Wapanaki are settled at St. Francis and Becancour, near Quebec. These are the



remnants of the large tribes whom the first settlers found in possession of the New England frontier, and who were driven from their homes through the ill treatment of the British Colonists.

While for convenience sake the term Nation has been used when referring to the Wapanaki tribes collectively, that term should be understood as applicable only in its widest sense. These people were related through descent from a common ancestry, but the tribes were not confederated. They were avowed friends, and this term means vastly more when applied to these sons of the forest than to any other race, but they were not held together by any such compact as that, for example, which bound the Iroquois League. The Wapanaki tribes had no legislative union, nor permanent general council, nor head chief. When a convention or council was to be held, the delegates from each tribe were chosen for the occasion, and when assembled they elected their own president.

In the treaty that was signed at Portsmouth in 1713, the Indians participating are described as those living on the "Plantations lying between the rivers St. John and Merrimak." Attached to this treaty are the signatures of the several delegates—two or more from each tribe.

The last time at which representatives of the Wapanaki nation met the white man in convention was in 1775, when General Washington invited the tribes to send delegates to Watertown to discuss with the Massachusetts council the relations of the Indians to the contending parties in the war of the revolution. At that convention the spokesman for the Indians was Ambrose Var, the Maliseet Sakum.

MONTAGUE CHAMBERLAIN.

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The ter-centenary of St. John will be in 1904.

## AMERICAN COLONIAL TRACTS. \*

The first volume of this unique publication has been completed, and twelve rare and important tracts, written by the founders of the English colonies in America, have been reprinted from original copies, in monthly parts, and placed in the hands of the reading public. The publication, though modest in conception and detail, is a most important historical contribution, and will be valued for the vast store of English colonial history it will contain. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a large number of tracts relating to America were printed in England, but only a few copies of any of these have escaped the vicissitudes of time, and those few were almost inaccessible to the large number of readers interested in historical and social studies.

The twelve tracts comprising the volume represent the golden and romantic age of English colonial adventure—a period so fraught with momentous consequences to the English race. The earliest of these tracts were printed in 1609 and the latest in 1742, and while representing a diversity of opinion among the writers, yet all make the advancement and glory of England the predominant motive that influenced the writers, and guided the enterprises which they advocated with unbounded faith and enthusiastic zeal.

Five of the tracts relate to the history and colonization of Georgia and Carolina, five to Virginia, one to New England, and one to the Propagation of the Gospel in America and the West Indies, all dealing with the difficult phases of colonization present in those early days. Grandly, and even quaintly, as many of these

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\*Colonial Tracts, issued monthly. George P. Humphrey, Publisher, Rochester, New York.

old tracts are written, they nevertheless reveal the high motives that influenced the writers, and the broad and humane benefits they hoped would accrue to England from their efforts in planting colonies in the new world.

The first tract in the series (printed in 1717) "A Discourse Concerning the Designed Establishment of a Colony to the South of Carolina," has for us a certain provincial interest, as the author, Sir Robert Montgomery, gives this account of his ancestry and the motives that influenced him to embark in a colonization scheme :—

It will perhaps afford some satisfaction to know that my design arises not from any sudden motive, but a strong bent of genius I inherit from my ancestors, one of whom was among those Knights of Nova Scotia purposely created near a hundred years ago for settling a Scots' colony in America ; but the conquest of that country by the French prevented his design, and so it lies on his posterity to make good his intentions for the service of his country.

Notwithstanding Sir Robert's eloquent appeal for his colony, which he named the "Margravate of Azilia," and his bold assertion, "that it lies in the same latitude with Palestine herself, that promised Canaan which was pointed out by God's own choice to bless the labors of a favorite people," his scheme perished, and not until 1732 was a permanent English settlement established south of Carolina, when James Oglethorpe that year arrived at the mouth of the Savannah river with a band of Englishmen and founded the colony of Georgia.

The high hopes and lofty aspirations of those brave adventurers are recorded in the pages of their tracts. Although disappointment, failure, and in many cases ruin came to some of them in their lifetime, by their efforts, and by the genius which guided them, the world has been made wealthier and wiser ; the freedom and the peaceful security of mankind have been made permanent through their sacrifices, and the dominion of the Anglo-Saxon race has been assured.

Living as we do under the folds of the Union Jack, and keeping our allegiance unsullied to old England, these tracts have for us a far greater historic value than for those who now possess the land those noble pioneers of English civilization reclaimed with their labor and defended with their swords, as they throw a flood of light on the difficult paths the pioneers of English greatness had to tread, and the sacrifices they so freely made for their race.

In a literary sense the tracts are exceedingly instructive, showing the transformation that has taken place in English composition during the centuries, and, combining the beauties of expression with simplicity of language, make the reading of them a pleasure. But as a record of the greatness of English colonization effort these tracts should be valued by every Canadian and every lover of our empire.

The publication has been begun at a most singularly opportune time in the history of the Anglo-Saxon race; and may not these silent "Discourses" of the past stir men's thoughts to that brilliant past, before schism divided the race, and do their part in bringing together, in a united whole, the race so long divided?

J. HOWE.

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The Germain street Methodist church, which stood at the corner of Germain and Horsefield streets, was the first place of worship in St. John to be lighted with gas. The date was Jan. 3, 1847.

The keel of a steam ferry boat to ply on the harbor of St. John was laid in Carleton, Dec. 8, 1838. The first master of this ferry was Nehemiah Vail, who died Feb. 12, 1842, aged 43 years.

The corner stone of St. Ann's Chapel, Fredericton, was laid May 30, 1846.

## A STORY OF TWO SOLDIERS. \*

On the Marsh road, to the eastward of St. John and just beyond the Rural Cemetery, (Fernhill) is what a reflective stranger would take to be "a house with a story." It stands on the slope of the hill which rises gently from the dead level of the marsh through which run the railway and the highway, and there is a distinctive old-time look about the building and its surroundings. It is a wooden mansion dating back to the first half of the century, and it is approached by a semi-circular avenue lined with trees. In its early days it was considered to be out in the country, and at different periods in its history it was the property of well known old-time residents of St. John, who used it as a place of recreation and summer holiday resort. Among its owners were such men as the Hon. Hugh Johnston, Barton Powlett Wallop and others whose names are familiar to students of the city's history. It is likely the house of itself has much to interest the people of today, could its walls be made to speak, but the strangest story about the place belongs to a large spruce tree which used to stand in a forest growth further back on the hill, but only a few hundred feet from the highway.

Everybody with observant eye who has travelled much in the woods with some better motive than to seek out and slaughter harmless creatures, has noticed the strange resemblances to human forms and faces found in woody growth. Very often, too, the spreading base of some very old tree is fantastic enough to

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\*This sketch appeared in one of the St. John papers, a few years ago, and is now reproduced by the writer for the convenience of some readers who desire to preserve it in a better form.

suggest many odd fancies, and once upon a time there was something of the kind at the place which I have mentioned.

There was at the foot of this particular tree, on the side next to the road, what appeared to be a portion of the root from which the soil had in part fallen away, yet which was not exposed because of a thick covering of luxuriant green moss. In the ridges and hollows thus formed, it required no effort to trace the likeness of two semi-recumbent human forms, not perfectly outlined, indeed, but so distinct in parts as to convey but the one idea. It may be that, in the good old days of fifty, sixty and seventy years ago, pleasure parties sought the grateful shade of the forest in the hot summer months and talked about this curious freak of nature. Children, too, may have romped and shouted there, and plucked the bright red pigeon berries, which seemed to be larger and richer there than at any other place. The years went by; one after another of those who sought their pleasure there passed away. Again and again the property changed hands and the old walls of the mansion no longer gave echo to the gay revelry of former days. The tree with the curious figures at its base became forgotten.

In the autumn of 1853, a party of surveyors, running lines in this part of the county, stopped one day in the woods by this tree to rest themselves. Sitting there, smoking and chatting, the attention of one of them was drawn to the singular shape of the ground, and to the peculiar mossy growth. The vivid green, in contrast with the sombre brown in other places, excited his curiosity, and suggested the occurrence of some peculiar mineral deposit. With the small axe he carried, he began tearing away some of the moss, when he was surprised to find a bone which beyond doubt was that of a human thigh. Speedily, but with great

care, the party removed all the moss around the green ridges, and when they had done so there remained the bones of two skeletons, with the substance of much of the bony structure nearly wholly absorbed by the growth it had so greatly enriched.

A few other articles were found. There were a small bottle or flask, the remains of leather boots, and some metal buttons, so corroded that little remained of them. On one of the buttons, however, which by some chance in its surroundings was better preserved than the others, what appeared to be figures were seen. A careful examination subsequently disclosed the number "101".

This meant that the skeletons were those of soldiers of the 101st regiment. How long had it been since that body of troops was stationed in St. John? None of the party could remember it. Some old people to whom the surveyors afterwards went for information declared that the 101st had not been at this garrison since the early part of the century.

Several gentlemen, among them the Messrs. Drury and Gilbert, took a deep interest in the discovery, and one of them wrote a letter of inquiry to the War Office in England. The reply received was that the 101st regiment had left St. John in the year 1809; that previous to its departure two men had deserted in the winter; that no trace of them was afterwards found; and that an entry to that effect had been made on the roll and returned to the office in due course.

The story was a plain one. The fugitives had sought the shelter of the woods in the bitter cold of winter, had sat down with their backs against the tree and refreshed themselves with the spirits in the flask. Waiting for a favorable chance to pursue their journey, they had become drowsy, dropped asleep and never awakened. The wood was little frequented in those

times. Years went by before a human being passed that way, and then there was only to be seen the singular contour of the ground and the vivid green of the moss.

For nearly half a century the grim sentinels kept their silent vigil, overlooking the thousands who passed and repassed on one of the great highways of the province. Two soldiers had been marked off from a muster roll; two men had dropped out of existence. On the hill beside them was marked out a city of the dead, that those who passed away might be recorded and remembered. Beyond its pale lay two who were forgotten. Grim guardians were they of the valley traversed by the multitude in quest of pleasure; so near is death to life, though life seems all in all to us, and death, unseen, is heeded not. W. K. REYNOLDS.

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The road from Maguadavic to Lepreau, a part of the main highway and mail route between St. John and the United States, was completed through the wilderness and made passable for teams in October, 1827. Col. Wyer was the supervisor, and Rankin & Hinston were the contractors.

Workmen began digging for the foundation of the Provincial Lunatic Asylum, St. John, in September, 1846, at which date there were more than 90 patients in the old asylum in Leinster street.

The St. John Mechanics' Institute was established Dec. 10, 1838, and had a half-century of existence. Its early meetings were held at the St. John hotel.

Dr. Collins, the hero of the ship fever epidemic, died on Partridge Island July 2, 1847. He was in the 24th year of his age.

The St. John fish market was opened in 1838.



## IN THE EDITOR'S CHAIR.

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WITH THE CONTRIBUTORS.

The first of a series of papers on the early settlement of St. John appears in this number, and will be found to be a most valuable contribution to the history of that part of New Brunswick. The writer is Rev. W. O. Raymond, M. A., rector of St. Mary's church, St. John, who is well known as one of the most thorough and painstaking students of provincial history. Mr. Raymond gathers his information from first sources and has a quick eye in recognizing the bearing of stray facts upon any subject in which he is interested. It is not to be doubted that he finds not only "sermons in stones", but that he can make even an old account book the foundation of a most interesting historical sketch. In this way he is continually bringing to light much of which little has been known, and students will find many facts that are new to them in the present sketch. Among the published contributions of Mr. Raymond to local history are "Kingston and the Loyalists," "Early Days of Woodstock," "The United Empire Loyalists," "The London Lawyer," (Elias Hardy) and "Old Meductic." Mr. Raymond is among those to whom the editor of the recent Cleveland edition (60 volumes) of the "Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents" acknowledges his obligations for information supplied. Mr. Raymond is a prominent member of the N. B. Historical Society. Readers of THE MAGAZINE will be glad to know that he will be a frequent contributor.

Prof. William F. Ganong, of Smith College,

Northampton, Mass., has been and is doing much in the interests of New Brunswick history. Prof. Ganong is of Loyalist stock. He is a native of St. John and one of number of the graduates of the University of New Brunswick who have achieved distinction. He is an A. M. and Ph. D., of his alma mater, an A. B. of Harvard and Ph.D. of Munich. He has been instructor in botany at Harvard and is now Professor of Botany at Smith College. His contributions to various learned societies on topics of history and natural history have been numerous and of great value. He has for some years been collecting material for a history of New Brunswick on a magnificent scale and has gathered a large amount of matter in this line. His "Plan for a General History" appears in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for 1895, and since then he has contributed two important monographs to the same body. One of these, the "Place-Nomenclature of New Brunswick," is a marvel of industry and research. His latest paper is on the Cartography of the province, to which reference is made elsewhere. In the current number of THE MAGAZINE Dr. Ganong deals with the much vexed question of the site of Fort LaTour, reiterating his opinion that it was on the eastern side of St. John harbor.

Mr. James Hannay stands to the front as the historian of Acadia, and is widely known as one of the most ready and pleasing writers in Canada. Whatever may be the individual views of his treatment of the question of the expatriation of the French, his "History of Acadia" must be recognized as a book of absorbing interest, written in an exceedingly graceful style. At the time it was written there were not the facilities which exist at the present day for obtaining information on the Acadian question, and the work of Mr. Hannay was done amid difficulties which were

overcome only by extraordinary effort and perseverance. Despite of the demands of a most exacting profession upon his time and attention, Mr. Hannay has published much else that is of permanent historic value, including "The Township of Maugerville" and the "Life and Times of Sir Leonard Tilley." The latter derives its interest very largely from the picture the author draws of the early times in which the subject of the sketch lived, and is considered so valuable on that account that the provincial government has caused it to be placed in the school libraries. Among the newspaper contributions of Mr. Hannay which are to appear later in book form are a "History of the Loyalists" and "The War of 1812." Mr. Hannay has been president of the N. B. Historical Society, is historian of the Loyalist Society, a corresponding member of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society and of the N. S. Historical Society. He is recognized as one of the leading journalists of Canada and has for some years been editor of the St. John Telegraph.

Mr. Montague Chamberlain is another New Brunswicker who has done much to make his native province known to the literary and scientific world, though his vocation causes him to be a resident of the United States. Mr. Chamberlain is a native of St. John, where he was educated and began life for himself in a mercantile establishment. At a later period he was connected with William Elder's Morning Journal, one of the leading newspapers of the period, which was finally merged into the Daily Telegraph. Leaving New Brunswick in 1888, he became assistant secretary of Harvard University in the following year and recorder of Harvard College in 1890. Two years later he was appointed secretary of the Lawrence Scientific School, Harvard University, which position he holds at the present time. Mr. Chamberlain early showed a taste

for the study of ornithology and ethnology, and is an authority on both subjects. He was one of the founders of the American Ornithological Union and associate editor of its organ, "The Auk." He has been a vice-president of the Natural History Society of New Brunswick, and in his connection with the Nuttall Ornithological Club, of Cambridge, Mass., he has edited Nuttall's "Hand-book of the Birds of Eastern North America." Among his published productions are "A Catalogue of the Birds of New Brunswick," "A Catalogue of the Mammals of N. B.," "A Catalogue of the Birds of Canada," "Systematic Table of the Birds of Canada," "Birds of Field and Grove," an annotated edition of Hagerup's "Birds of Greenland," with numerous lectures on kindred topics and on the language and characteristics of the Indians. His paper on "The Origin of the Maliseet Indians," in this number of THE MAGAZINE will be found both interesting and valuable.

Mr. Jonas Howe, of St. John, is locally known as an earnest student of provincial history, but one who rather avoids publicity in his labors. Mr. Howe has for a number of years been engaged in an extensive manufacturing business in St. John, but has found time to devote a great deal of attention to local history. He was one of the contributors to Stewart's Quarterly and has written for the press on various topics. He was identified with the N. B. Historical Society in its early history and is now its corresponding secretary. Among the works by which he is known are "Early Attempts to Introduce the Cultivation of Hemp in Eastern British America," and the "King's New Brunswick Regiment." His paper in this number of THE MAGAZINE is on American Colonial Tracts, and while not purely local in its character will interest all students of colonial history.

Mr. Samuel W. Kain has kindly assisted in making the first number more complete by contributing many of the notes included under the title of "Writers and Workers."

Dr. George Stewart, of Quebec, was to have had a paper in this number, but owing to special demands upon his time of late he has been obliged to defer it until the August number.

In addition to the names of contributors announced in the prospectus issued some weeks ago, THE MAGAZINE has pleasure in stating that contributions may be looked for in future numbers from Mr. George Johnson, Dominion Statistician, Ottawa, Mr. John T. Bulmer, bibliophile and historical writer, Halifax, Mr. S. D. Scott, M. A., journalist and president of the N. B. Historical Society, Mr. W. P. Dole, M. A., and Mr. W. G. MacFarlane, M. A., journalist and bibliographer, St. John.

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#### WRITERS AND WORKERS.

The Maritime Provinces occupy no mean place in the fields of science and literature, as will be seen by the following incomplete notes of what has been done of late either by those who are claimed as sons of this part of Canada or by others who are interested in our history and resources. Further reference will be made later to some of the work of which there can now be only a brief mention.

Prof. Loring W. Bailey was engaged by the Dominion Geological Survey, last year, to make an examination of the mineral resources of New Brunswick. His report is now in press and will soon be published. The recently issued transactions of the Royal Society of Canada contain a paper by him on the Bay of Fundy Trough in American Geological History. Prof. Bailey

will spend his summer vacation in examining some of the deposits of coal in the central part of the province.

Bliss Carman, one of the New Brunswick poets, is living in New York. A few months ago he published a volume of poems—"Ballads of Lost Haven." He has another volume in preparation, which will appear soon.

Robert Chalmers has been for a number of years on the staff of the Geological Survey. He resides at Ottawa. A recent number of the American Journal of Science contains an article by him on the Pre-glacial Decay of Rocks in Eastern Canada. Mr. Chalmers has made an excellent record in his profession, and his studies in glacial geology are among the most important made in this country.

Prof. A. Wilmer Duff, while in New Brunswick last summer, made a number of experiments on sound. The results were recently published in the Physical Review. He also made some tidal observations, which will be published in the forthcoming Bulletin of the Natural History Society. Prof. Duff and family will spend the summer in New Brunswick.

Prof. William F. Ganong is one of our most industrious workers. Early in the year a sketch of the Smith College Botanic Gardens, written by him, appeared in Garden and Forest. In the Botanical Gazette for April he has a learned article on Polyembryony in *Opuntia Vulgaris* (one of the cactus family.) Prof. Ganong is recognized as an authority on this group of plants. Of more interest to Maritime Province readers, however, are two articles from his pen which appear in the last volume of the Royal Society. In his study of the Raised Peat Bogs he describes his investigations of the bogs of Charlotte and St. John counties. The subject matter is well illustrated by maps and drawings. His monograph of the Cartography of New Brunswick

is a splendid piece of work, which must have cost him much time and labor. It has so many important points that it is a necessity for all students of provincial history, and it is a model of how such studies should be made. At the May meeting of the Royal Society he submitted a paper on the historical geography of New Brunswick. In the U. S. Weather Review for April, Prof. Abbe quotes Prof. Ganong's article on Remarkable Sounds in the Bay of Fundy, and adds some comments. Prof. Ganong is now in New Brunswick. He will spend July investigating the structure and growth of the bogs in Westmorland county, and in August will do some further field work in the northern part of the province.

D. Leavitt Hutchinson, Director of the Observatory, St. John, is making cloud studies. He has taken a very good series of cloud pictures, and his photo of the fine display of cirrus clouds on June 5 is worthy of special mention.

Samuel W. Kain, one of the most industrious workers of the N. B. Natural History Society, has an article in the March Weather Review, on some meteorological phenomena.

The recently issued Transactions of the Royal Society contain a paper by Dr. George F. Matthew on the Cambrian Fauna, which he has made his special study. Dr. Matthew will spend his summer vacation in field work.

Some months ago, Dr. W. D. Matthew published a paper on the Puerco Fauna, a group of primitive mammals. He is now on an exploratory trip among the northern counties of Kansas, where he is collecting fossil saurians for the American Museum of Natural History.

Charles F. B. Rowe has been actively engaged in field work this season, so far as his time has permitted.

He is studying batrachians and reptiles, and has had good results.

The last volume of the Royal Society contains a sketch of Goldie, the botanist, by George U. Hay. Mr. Hay has issued his second number of Leaflets of Canadian History, and finds that his good work in this line is meeting with appreciation. He will spend August in botanical work in the northern part of New Brunswick.

Hon. Pascal Porier's book, "Le Pere Febvre et L'Acadie," has reached a third edition. It is a valuable addition to the Acadian literature of these provinces, as well as an important contribution to ecclesiastical history.

Rev. W. C. Gaynor is preparing a sketch of the life and work of Very Rev. Thomas Connolly, V. G., in connection with the celebration of Mgr. Connolly's golden jubilee at St. John on July 10.

An interesting paper by Dr. I. Allen Jack was submitted at the May meeting of the Royal Society. It dealt with early slavery in New Brunswick and the case of the black woman brought before the judges, with Ward Chipman as her counsel.

Sir John Bourinot is the first native of the Maritime Provinces who has been knighted on account of his literary attainments.

Victor H. Palstits, of the Lenox Library, New York, has been engaged in preparing a new and complete edition of the story of the Captivity of John Gyles, working from original sources and comparing with the version in Drake. The story of Gyles, as given by Drake, was published by James Hannay, in 1875, with important annotations. Mr. Palstits' work will be of great interest and value. It is possible he may visit Maine and New Brunswick this year, in connection with his labors.



Dr. T. J. W. Burgess, of Montreal, read a paper at the last meeting of the Royal Society, on the history of lunatic asylums in Canada. The old asylum in Leinster street, St. John, was the first institution of the kind in what is now the Dominion. Dr. Burgess refers to this, and also deals with the history of the Provincial Lunatic Asylum.

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#### PROVINCIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY.

MacFarlane's Bibliography of New Brunswick, published in 1895, shows a great deal of faithful work and is very accurate. It would be unreasonable to expect that the first edition of such a work would be complete, however, and the Addenda and Supplement show that the author continued to make discoveries up to the last moment. As it is improbable that a second edition of the book will be issued for some years, and in view of the opportunity for a Bibliography of all the Maritime Provinces, it is suggested that THE MAGAZINE have a department devoted to the subject, to which readers can contribute such information as they may possess. In this way those who have MacFarlane's Bibliography may make their copies more complete from time to time, while it is hoped that bibliophiles in the sister provinces may be induced to furnish notes which may lead some one to undertake a Bibliography which will include Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. In the case of New Brunswick, these notes would take the form of additions to what has already been published. In respect to the other provinces the better idea, perhaps, would be to deal more particularly with rare and notable books, rather than to attempt anything in the nature of a classified list. Each note will be of more interest if signed with the name or initials of the contributor. This should be a very valuable department of THE

MAGAZINE, and it is hoped that readers everywhere will aid in sustaining it by their contributions. This will also be found a good medium for inquiries in regard to books not commonly known. The editor submits a few samples of the method in which the subjects may be treated.

*Additions to N. B. Bibliography.*

CONNOLLY, Right Rev. Thos., D. D., Bishop of St. John.

Pastoral Address to the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese for the Lent of MDCCCLIV. St. John, published by T. W. Anglin, Freeman Printing Office, 1854. 8°, pp 24.

Replies to Two Speeches of Hon. L. A. Wilmot. (See Wilmot, L. A.)

WIGGINS, Rev. R. B., A. M.

A Review of the Rev. Dr. Gray's "Reply" to the "Statement of Some of the Causes which have led to the late Dissention in the Episcopal Church in this City." St. John, Chubb & Co., 1851.

OWEN, Admiral W. F., of Campobello.

The Quoddy Hermit, or Conversations at Fairfield on Religion and Superstition, by William Fitzwilliam of Fairfield. Boston, printed by S. N. Dickenson, 1841. Small 8°, pp. 194 and 3 of errata. The latter pages are composed of 2 which note 66 errors and an inset with 22 more.

(This book is credited to William Fitzwilliam in MacFarlane. There is another book by Owen, professing to be an autobiography. Who can give any information about it?

SHIVES, Robert.

Publisher of "The Amaranth," etc. Omitted by MacFarlane. Can some reader give further particulars about him?

*Anonymous.*

A Report of the Committee appointed by the

Inhabitants of Carleton to Vindicate their Rights secured to them by the City Charter. St. John, Chubb & Co., 1852.

*Corrigenda.*

BATES, Walter. MacFarlane states that the author's second edition of Henry More Smith was "published by Wm. L. Avery, St. John, about 1837." An edition of this book was advertised as in press by John McMillan in May, 1836.

GRAY, Rev. J. W. D.

Add to the note of A Sermon preached at Trinity Church, 24th Nov., 1839, the pagination, "pp. 13."

All matter appearing in this publication is specially written for it, unless expressly stated to be otherwise. The contents, it will be noticed, are protected by copyright, but it is permissible for newspapers to copy paragraphs, or to give extracts from the signed articles, when such extracts do not exceed one-third of the length of each article, and when credit is given to THE MAGAZINE in each instance.

The initial number of THE MAGAZINE is considerably larger than was promised, in respect to the number of pages. The regular size, as announced, is 48 pages of reading matter, and it will be understood that while there will never be less than that number there is no promise that there will be any more.

Publishers who mention THE NEW BRUNSWICK MAGAZINE will oblige by sending marked copies of the issues containing notices. THE MAGAZINE does not exchange with newspapers, unless special arrangements are made to that effect.

THE MAGAZINE is printed from new type, ordered expressly for this purpose, and the printing has been done at the Gazette job office.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### QUESTIONS.

1. What is the date of the oldest tombstone in the Old Burial Ground? B.
2. When were the "Three Lamps" erected at Reed's Point?
3. From what circumstance does Souris, P. E. I., derive its name? W. D.
4. When did percussion caps take the place of flints for the muskets of the British Army? J. M. B.
5. What is the true source of the Restigouche river?
6. Was St. John or Halifax the first of the Maritime Province cities to use gas? J. W.

### ANSWERS.

1. According to the Loyalist Memorial book, the oldest stone in the Old Burial Ground, St. John, is that of Conradt Hendricks, who died July 13, 1784. ED.
4. I have a memo. that in July, 1846, the soldiers of the 14th Regiment, then at Quebec, exchanged flints for percussion muskets. Some military reader may be able to furnish further information on the subject. ED.
6. Halifax appears to have been in advance of St. John in the use of gas for illumination. The former city was lighted by this method late in 1841 or early in 1842, while in St. John the gas was turned on for the first time in September, 1845. ED.



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# PROSPECTUS

OF

## THE NEW BRUNSWICK MAGAZINE.

The NEW BRUNSWICK MAGAZINE will be a publication specially representative of New Brunswick, but not to the exclusion of articles of general interest in respect to the other Maritime Provinces. The title is not intended to imply a limitation of the scope of research.

The field of the Magazine will be the history, natural history material resources, topography, genealogy, bibliography, etc., of these provinces, with a view to throwing light on many obscure points and preserving in a permanent collective form much that might otherwise be lost. These subjects will be treated by competent writers, many of whom are recognized as authorities in their respective lines of research.

Among those at a distance who have consented to contribute from time to time are the following :—

Prof. W. F. Ganong, Ph. D., &c., of Smith College, Northampton, Mass.  
Mr. Montague Chamberlain, of the Lawrence Scientific School, Harvard University.

Dr. George Stewart, F. R. G. S., &c., of Quebec.

Dr. John Harper, of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society, Quebec.

Hon. J. W. Longley, M. A., Q. C., Attorney General of Nova Scotia.

Mr. Placide P. Gaudet, of Ste. Anne's College, Church Point, N. S., an authority on Acadian history.

Mr. Moses Burpee, C. E., of Houlton, Me., Chief Engineer of the Bangor and Aroostook Railway.

Dr. Philip Cox, of Chatham, N. B., an authority on the natural history of the province.

Dr. Amos Henry Chandler, of Cocagne, N. B.

Mr. George Johnson, Dominion Statistician, Ottawa.

Mr. John T. Bulmer, historical writer and bibliophile, Halifax, N. S.

Among the contributors resident in St. John will be the following well known writers, several of whom will be recognized as having an extended reputation for the excellent work they have done in the lines on which the Magazine will be conducted :

Mr. James Hannay, Rev. W. O. Raymond, M. A., Dr. A. A. Stockton, Q. C., M. P. P., Dr. I. Allen Jack, Mr. Jonas Howe, Count deBury, Rev. W. C. Gaynor, Messrs. Clarence Ward, Geo. A. Henderson, S. W. Kair, J. B. M. Baxter, S. D. Scott, M. A., W. P. Dole, M. A., and W. G. MacFarlane, M. A.

The list of contributors is but a partial one, and will undoubtedly be supplemented by the names of other well known writers who have not been heard from at this early stage of the Magazine's history.

The Magazine will consist of at least 48 pages of reading matter, and it

is intended that the increase in the number of pages will be in proportion to the support received.

An effort will be made to have the editorial departments of value to all who take an interest in the history and general features of the provinces, their people and their literature. Not the least in interest and value will be the department of notes and queries.

The Magazine will not be primarily an illustrated publication, but good engravings will be given whenever they are necessary to the completeness of an article.

As the Magazine is intended to be a vehicle for information, facts rather than fancies will be sought. There will be no room for essays on abstract subjects, or for purely literary efforts outside of the special field of work. It is needless to say that a publication of this kind will not discuss religion or party politics, nor will it lead itself to the puffing of places or people.

A limited number of select advertisements will be inserted in pages supplementary to the reading matter. For certain lines the value of such a medium of advertising will be readily recognized. The Magazine will go to a reading, thinking and purchasing class in every province of Canada, and it will also circulate to some extent in the United States.

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## AGENTS WANTED

In all parts of the Maritime Provinces, to push the circulation of

# The New Brunswick Magazine.

Applicants who are unknown to the publisher will oblige by giving the name of some prominent person as reference. Where possible, refer to some person in St. John. Address W. K. Reynolds, 107 Prince William Street St. John, N. B.